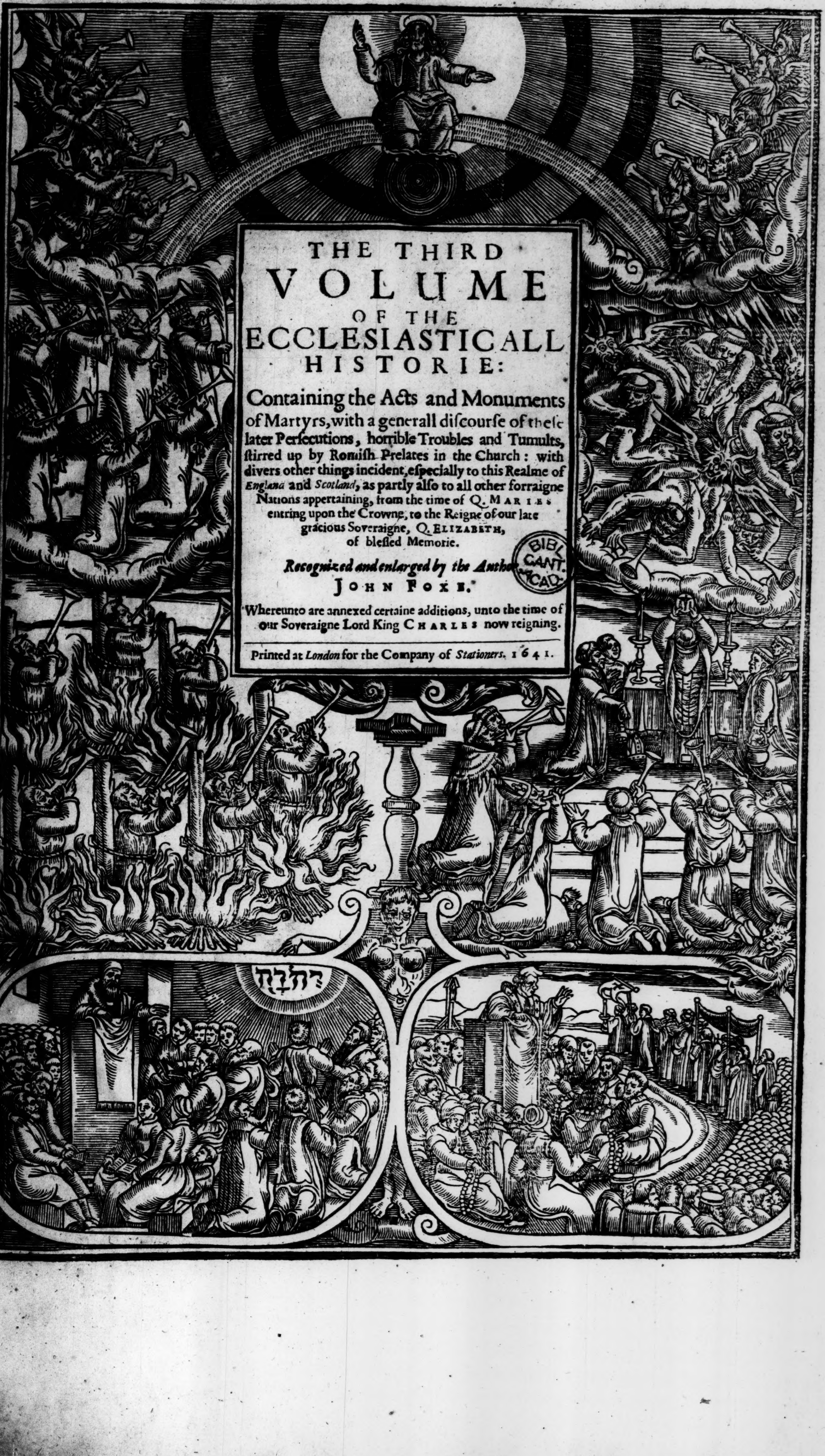
P—1—12



THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORIE:

Containing the Acts and Monuments
of Martyrs, with a generall diſcourſe of theſe
later Perſecutions, horrible Troubles and Tumults,
ſtirred up by Romiſh Prelates in the Church: with
divers other things incident, eſpecially to this Realme of
England and *Scotland*, as partly alſo to all other forraigne
Nations appertaining, from the time of Q. MARIES
entring upon the Crowne, to the Reigne of our late
gracious Soveraigne, Q. ELIZABETH,
of bleſſed Memorie.

Recognized and enlarged by the Author

JOHN FOXE.

Whereunto are annexed certaine additions, unto the time of
our Soveraigne Lord King CHARLES now reigning.

Printed at *London* for the Company of *Stationers*. 1641.

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MUNIFICENTIA
REGIA. 17
GEORGIUS D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX F. D.
J. Pine ſculp

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AND
THE TENTH BOOKE,
Beginning with the Reigne of Queene MARY.

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Firſt, concerning the origine of this word Miſſa, whether it came of Miſſach in Hebrew, Deut. 16. or Mincha, Levit. 6. which ſignifieth oblation; or whether it came of ſending away the Catechumeni, and perſons unworthy out of place of miniſtration, as certaine Writers ſuppoſe; or elſe, Ex miſſis donariis & ſymbolis quæ in offertorio proponebantur, that is, of gifts and oblations wont to be offered before the Communion; or whether Miſſa is derived of Remiſſa, which in the former Writers was uſed pro remiſſione: or whether Miſſa, pro licentia dimittendi populum, is taken of ſending away the congregation by the words of the Deacon, Ite miſſa eſt: or whether Miſſa hath his denomination of that the Grecians call ἄφεσις τοῦ λαοῦ, dimiſſion of the people, alluding to the ſtory of the Hebrewes, licenſed of Pharao to depart out of captivitie after the eating of the Paſchal Lambe, as I read in an old Popiſh booke intituled De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus; or what terme ſoever it bee elſe, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French: or howſoever elſe it taketh his appellation, as there is no certainty, amongſt themſelves that moſt magnifie the Maſſe, ſo it is no matter to us that ſtand againſt it. To my iudgement and coniecture this later expoſition of the word ſeemeth more probable, both for that it is ioyned with the word Ite, which ſignifieth departing; and alſo the time and order in ſpeaking the ſame agreeth wel thereunto. For as the old Hebrewes, after the ſupper of the Lamb, and not before, were ſet at liberty ſtraightway to depart out of captivity: ſo belike to declare our myſticall deliverance by Chriſt offered and ſlain for us, firſt goeth before the action of the holy ſupper: that done, then the Prieſt or Deacon ſaith, Ite miſſa eſt, meaning thereby the deliverance and liberty which is ſpiritually wrought in us, after that the bodie of Chriſt hath beene offered for us. Or elſe, if Miſſa otherwiſe ſhould ſignifie the celebration or the action of the ſupper, it would not be ſaid Ite, but Venite, miſſa eſt, &c. Moreover, beſides other arguments, there be certaine places in Caſſianus which ſeeme to declare that Miſſa ſignifieth dimiſſion of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which commeth not in time to the howers of prayer, ſaying it not to be lawfull for him to enter into the Oratory, Sed ſtantem præ foribus Congregationis miſſam præſtolari debere. i. that he ought, ſtanding without the dores, to waite for the miſſe of the congregation. And againe in the next Chapter following hee inferreth the ſame vocable Miſſa in like ſenſe: Contenti, inquit, ſomno qui nobis poſt vigiliarum miſſam uſque ad lucis indulgetur adventum: i. Contented, ſaith hee, with ſo much ſleep as ſerveth us for the miſſe, or breaking up of the night vigill, unto the comming of the day &c.

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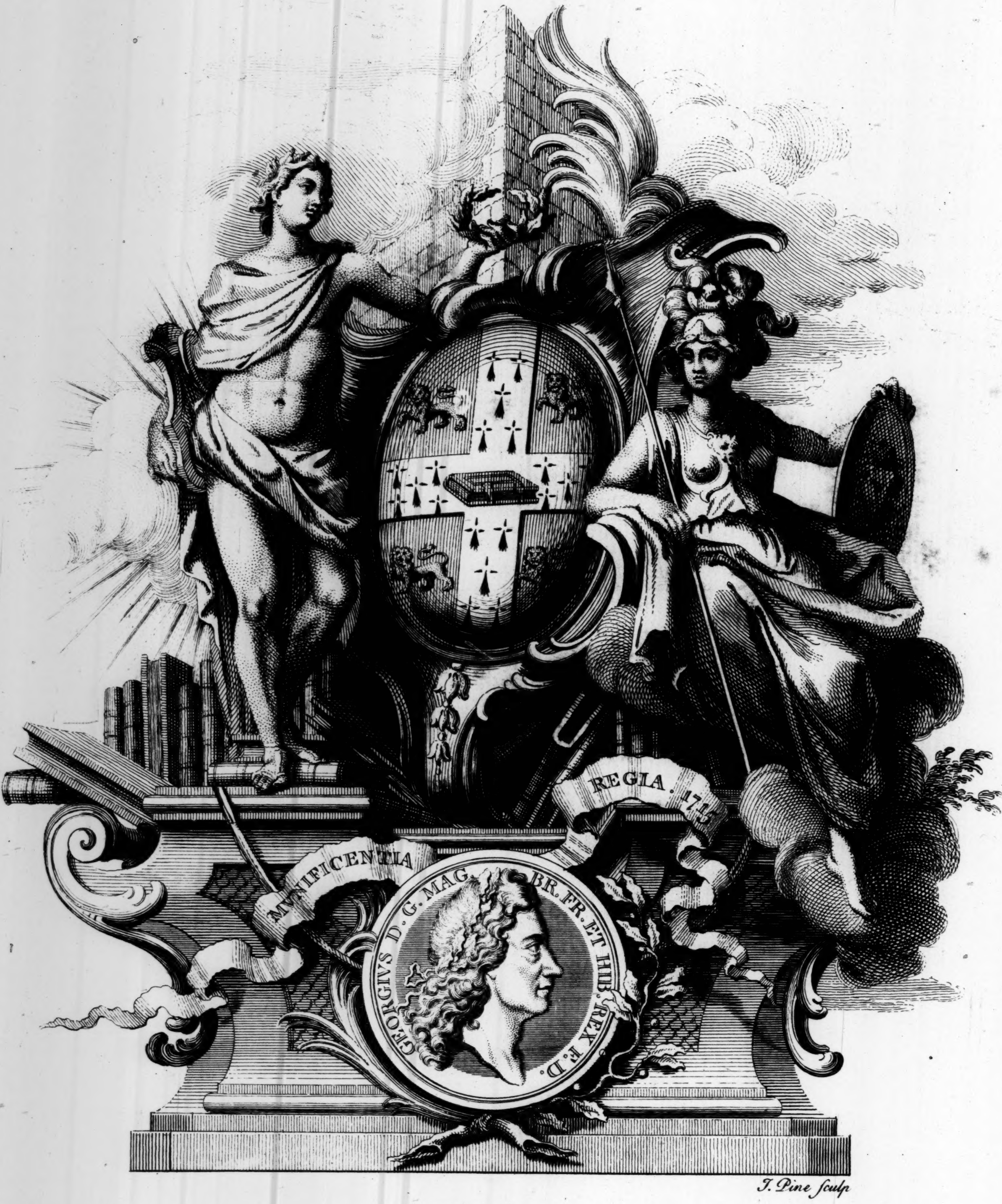
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(Meſſe) ſignifieth any ſolemne frequency, or panagyrie, or gathering together of the people. But of the name enough and too much.

To expreſſe now the abſurdity of the ſaid Maſſe, and the irreligious application thereof, unſeemly and perillous for Chriſtians to uſe, I will bring two or three reaſons of the worthy ſervant and Martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may be alſo added out of others.

The Maſſe a double enemy againſt Chriſt. The Maſſe iniurious to the Prieſthood of Chriſt.

Firſt the Maſſe, ſaith he, is a moſt ſubtile and pernicious enemy againſt Chriſt, and that two wayes: namely againſt his Prieſthood, and againſt his ſacrifice: which he proveth by this way. For the prieſthood of Chriſt, ſaith he, is an everlaſting prieſthood, and ſuch an one that cannot go to another. But the Maſſe utterly putteth him out of place, as though he were dead for ever, and ſo God were a liar, which ſaid that Chriſt ſhould be a Prieſt for ever: which briefly commeth unto this Argument.

Feſ- That thing is not perpetuall, nor ſtandeth alone, which admitteth ſucceſſion of other to do the ſame thing that was done before.

ti- But the Maſſe Prieſts ſucceed after Chriſt, doing the ſame ſacrifice (as they ſay) which he did before.

no. Ergo, the maſſe prieſts make Chriſts Prieſthood not to be perpetuall.

Another Argument.

Major.

Ba- All Prieſts either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchiſedech, or after the order of the Apoſtles, or after that ſpirituall ſort whereof it is written, Vos eſtis ſpirituale ſacerdotium, &c.

Minor.

ro- But our Maſſe Prieſts neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to reſume that which Chriſt hath aboliſhed; neither after the order of Melchiſedech, for that is peculiar only to Chriſt; neither after the order of the Apoſtles, for then ſhould they bee Miniſters not Maſters, not Prieſts but Preachers, and which of the Apoſtles was ever named by the title of a Prieſt? Again, neither are they after the generall ſort of the ſpirituall Prieſthood. For after that prerogative every true Chriſtian is a ſpirituall Prieſt as well as they, offering up ſpirituall not bodily ſacrifice, as prayers, thankſgiving, obedience, mortification of the body framed to the obedience of his commandements.

Concluſio.

co. Ergo, Our maſſe Prieſts are no Prieſts unleſſe it be after the order of the Prieſts of Baal.

The Maſſe iniurious to the ſacrifice or death of Chriſt

Secondly, concerning the ſacrifice of Chriſt above mentioned hee reaſoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of Argument as followeth:

Major.

Da- To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accompliſhing of the end wherefore it was begun, declareth the imperfection of the ſame thing before.

Minor.

ri- The maſſe prieſts do reiterate the ſacrifice of Chriſt once done for the end wherefore it was begun, that is, for propitiation and remiſſion à poena & culpa pro vivis & pro defunctis.

Concluſio.

i. Ergo, maſſe Prieſts make the ſacrifice of Chriſt to be unperfect, and ſo are they iniurious to the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

For confirmation of the premiſſes, marke here, Reader, I beſeech thee, the Rubrick here following, written before the Maſſe of the 5. wounds in the Maſſe book.

Boniface Biſhop of Rome lay ſicke, and was like to die, to whom our Lord ſent the Archangell Raphael with the office of the Maſſe of the five wounds, ſaying; Riſe and write this office, and ſay it five times, and thou ſhalt be reſtored to thy health immediately: and what Prieſt ſoever ſhall ſay this office for himſelfe, or for any other that is ſick, five times, the perſon for whom it is ſaid ſhall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in vertue, life everlaſting. And in whatſoever tribulation a man ſhall be in this life, if he procure this office to be ſaid five times for him of a Prieſt, without doubt he ſhall be delivered. And if it be ſaid for the ſoul of the dead, anone as it ſhall be ſaid and ended five times, his ſoule ſhall bee rid from paines. This hearing the Biſhop, he did erect himſelfe up in his bed, coniuring the Angell by the Name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore hee came, and that hee ſhould depart without doing him harme: who anſwered that he was Raphael the Archangell, ſent unto him of God; and that all the premiſſes were undoubtedly true. Then the ſaid Boniface confirmed the ſaid office of the five wounds by the Apoſtolike authority.

The Maſſe is an hinderance to the true ſervice of God, and to the godly life of men.

Another Argument againſt the Maſſe is, for that it is an hinderance to the true ſervice of God, and to the godly life of men: the declaration whereof is more at large by the ſaid Author ſet out; but briefly in forme of Argument it may thus be contracted.

Another Argument.

Major.

Da- Whatſoever cauſeth or occaſioneth a man to reſt in outward ſerving of God, whoſe ſervice ſhould be all inward in ſpirit and verity, that hindreth the true ſervice of God.

Minor.

ti- The Maſſe occaſioneth a man to reſt in outward ſerving, as in hearing, ſeeing, and ſaying Maſſe, which be but outward ſenſes of a man, and is as they ſay meritorious ex opere operato, etiam ſine bono motu intentionis.

Concluſio.

ſi. Ergo, the Maſſe hindreth the right and true ſervice of God.

Another Argument, proving that the Maſſe hindreth good ſife.

Major.

Di- Upon the maſſe riſeth falſe hope; and falſe remedie is promiſed to wicked livers. For evill men hearing maſſe in the morning, upon hope thereof take more ſecurity in doing all day what they liſt. And ſuch as have in bibbing, brauling, taverning, ſwearing, whoring, dicing, carding, committed wickedneſſe, to them the maſſe is ſet up, promiſing ſufficient propitiation, ſacrifice, remedy of body and ſoul, for man and beaſt, a poena & culpa, pro vivis & mortuis. Though they never heard preaching, never uſed praying, never repented, or how wicked ſoever they have been; yet if they come to the Church, take holy bread and holy water, and hear a maſſe, or find a ſoule Prieſt upon the remedy thereof, then they think themſelvs diſcharged, and good Catholike men:

The Maſſe hindereth good life.

Minor.

ſa- Upon what cauſe ſoever riſeth falſe hope, and falſe remedy is promiſed to wicked livers, that hindreth good life.

Concluſio.

mis. Ergo, the maſſe hindereth good life.

Another Argument.

Maior.

Da- Where one thing is ſufficient and ſerveth alone, there all other helps be needleſſe thereunto wherein it ſerveth.

Minor.

ti- The maſſe as they ſay, hath all, ſerveth for all: for by it commeth pardon for ſins, by it commeth deliverance from Hell and Purgatory, by it commeth health for man and beaſt: In ſumma, the Maſſe is Mare bonorum &c.

ſi. Ergo,

Anno 1552

Concluſio.

ſi, Ergo, all other helps els be nèedleſſe; hearing of Gods word, faith, praying in ſpirit, repenting, preaching, piety and other helps to good life, &c.

Another Argument, proving that the Maſſe is divers and contrary from the inſtitution of Chriſts Supper.

1. Chriſt ordained his Supper to be a memoriall of his death and paſſion, to be preached untill he come.

The Maſſe is no memoriall thing of Chriſt remembred in the Sacrament; but rather they make the Sacrament to be Chriſt himſelfe offered and ſacrificed for remiſſion of ſins, both for the quicke and the dead.

2 Chriſt ordained his Supper to bee celebrate and received of the congregation. And therefore Paul biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the Maſſe there is no ſuch thing; chooſe the people whether they will come or no, Sir John is kinne to the tide, he will tarry for no man: if hee have a boy to ſay Amen, it is enough.

3 Chriſt received not, but hee diſtributed alſo the whole in every part. Sir John when he hath received all alone, he ſheweth the people the emptie chalice. And if he diſtribute to the people once a yèere, it is but in one kinde alone.

4 Chriſt ordained the Supper to bee a taking matter, an eating matter, a diſtributing and a remembring matter: Contrary, our Maſſe men make it a matter not of taking, but of gazing, pèeping, piring, boring, carrying, recarrying, worſhipping, ſtouping, knèeling, knocking, with ſtoupe downe before, hold up higher, I thanke God I ſèe my Maker to day &c. Chriſt ordained it a table matter, wee turne it to an altar matter; he for a memoriall, we for a ſacrifice; he ſate, our men ſtand, he in his common tongue, we in a forreine tongue. Whereby it is manifeſt to appeare how divers and repugnant the Maſſe is to the inſtitution of the Lords Supper.

Another Argument proving that the Maſſe is contrary to Gods commandements.

The doctrine of the Maſſebooke contrary to Gods commandements.

Major.

Item, where the firſt table of Gods bleſſed and ſacred commandements teacheth men to worſhip and ſerve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in al places, at all times, both publikely and privately;

Minor.

The Maſſe booke doth point out ſervice for Saints and for creatures by name, to be ſerved at the leaſt 300. dayes and years, as appeareth by the Calendars, Maſſes, Collects, Martyrologues, &c.

Concluſio.

Ergo, the doctrine and inſtitution of the Maſſe booke tendeth contrary to Gods holy commandements.

Another reaſon againſt the Maſſe.

Item; where S. Paul in expreſſe words willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the maſſe is celebrate in a tongue forreine, ſtrange, and unknown to the people; ſo that although the matter therein contained were wholeſome, and conſonant to Scripture (as it is much diſagrèeing from the ſame) yet for the ſtrangeneſſe of the tongue it giveth but a ſound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant. Now both the tongue being ſtrange to the eares of the people, and the matter alſo in the maſſe contained being repugnant to Gods word, what defence can the maſſe have, but utterly it is to be reiected?

And forſomuch therefore as the maſſe ſo long uſed in a forreine language hath not hitherto come to the underſtanding of the ſimple and vulgar ſort, to the intent they may themſelves perceive the matter, and be their owne iudges, I have here ſet forth the chiefeſt part thereof, which is the Canon, in Engliſh, ſo as I found it in a certaine written copie, by maſter Coverdale tranſlated, adioyning withall the Rubricke and circumſtance of the ſame in every point, as it is in the maſſe booke contained.

The whole Canon of the Maſſe, with the Rubricke thereof, as it ſtandeth in the Maſſe booke, after Saliſbury uſe, Tranſlated word by word out of Latine into Engliſh.

The Rubricke.

After the Sanctus, the Prieſt immediately ioyning his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth theſe words, Te igitur clementiſſime &c. that is to ſay, Therefore moſt gracious father through Jeſus Chriſt thy Son our Lord, we humbly beſèech thèe.

Let him bow down his body, while he ſaith,
And we deſire

Here the Prieſt ſtanding upright muſt kiſſe the altar (a) on the right hand of the ſacrifice, ſaying:
that thou accept and bleſſe

a And why not on the left hand as well? or why any ſuch kiſſing at all?

Here let the Prieſt make thrèe croſſes upon the chalice and the bread ſaying:
theſe ✠ gifts, theſe ✠ (b) preſents, theſe ✠ holy and unſpotted ſacrifices.

b Precious no doubt & principall: or elſe are they too preſumptuous, that hath already offered it up for thy ſins, and for the ſalvation of others

When the ſignes are made upon the chalice, let him lift up his hands, ſaying thus;
Which firſt of all (c) we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholike Church; that thou vouchſafe to pacifie, kèep, unite, and governe it throughout the whole world, with thy ſervant our Pope N. and our Biſhop N.

c Who gave you that commiſſion? will you offer bread and wine for the Church of Chriſt, who of very love hath offered up himſelf for it already? Ephes 5.

That is (d) his own Biſhop only
and our King N.
And they are expreſſed by name.
Then let there follow
and all true believers, and ſuch as have the Catholike and Apoſtolike faith in due eſtimation.

Here let him pray for the living.
Remember Lord thy ſervants and handmaides N. and N.

d Charity would pray for others alſo.

In the which prayer a rule muſt be obſerved for the order of charity. Five times let the prieſt pray. (e) Firſt for himſelfe. Secondly for father and mother, carnall and ſpirituall, and for other parents. Thirdly, for ſpeciall friends, pariſhioners and others. Fourthly, for all that ſtand by. Fifthly, for all Chriſtian people. And here may the Prieſt commend all (f) his friends to God. But my counſell is, that none make over long tarrying there, partly for diſtraction of minde, partly becauſe of immiſſions which may chance through evill Angels: And all that ſtand here by round about, whoſe faith and devotion unto thèe is knowne and manifeſt; for whom we offer unto thèe, or which themſelves offer unto thèe, this ſacrifice (g) of praiſe for them and theirs: for the redemption of their ſoules, for the hope of their ſalvation and health, and render their vowes unto the eternall living and true God.

e So did not the Lord teach his Diſciples to pray Mat. 6. Luke 11.

f And why not his enemies alſo? Mat. 5.

g Why [illegible] them a [illegible] ctory ſacrifice of it?

Communicating and worſhipping the memoriall, firſt (h) of the glorious and ever Virgin.

Bowing down a little, let him ſay:

Mary the mother of our God and Lord Jeſu Chriſt, and alſo of thy bleſſed Apoſtles and Martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprianus, Laurence, Chryſogonus, John and Paul, Coſme and Damian,

h Here had the [illegible] matter [illegible], ye would doe it in remembrance of him.

and of all thy Saints: By whoſe (i) merits and prayers, grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the helpe of thy protection, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

(i) Thus the merits & praiers of Chriſt are defaced.

Here let the Prieſt behold the hoſte (k) with great veneration, ſaying:

(k) And why? for within a little while he looketh to have it his God.

Therfore Lord we beſeech thee, that thou being pacified wilt receive this oblation of our bound ſervice, and of all thy houſhold: and order our dayes in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternall damnation, and to be numbred in the flock of thine elect, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Here againe let him (l) hold the hoſte, ſaying:

(l) That muſt he do with a ſower & frowning countenance, if he follow the cantels of the Maſſe.

Which oblation we beſeech thee O Almighty God in all things to make.

Here let him make (a) three croſſes upon both, when he ſaith,

(a) Yea three at the leaſt; for this geare muſt be conjured as well as other things: leſt when they think Chriſt to be naturally preſent, the Divell be there, and take up the lodging before.

✠ Bleſſed; ✠ appointed; ✠ ratified; reaſonoble and acceptable; that unto us it may be,

Here let him make a croſſe upon the bread, ſaying:

✠ The body,

Here upon the chalice.

And ✠ blood,

Here with hands ioyned together, let him ſay,

Of thy moſt dearly beloved Son our Lord Ieſu Chriſt:

Here let the Prieſt lift up his hands, and ioyn them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the hoſte, ſaying:

Who (b) the next day afore he ſuffered took bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into heaven

(b) The Scripture ſaith: Ea nocte, the ſame night.

Here let him lift up his eyes.

Unto the God almighty his father,

Here let him bow downe, and afterward erect himſelfe up a little, ſaying:

Rendring thanks unto thee, he ✠ bleſſed, he brake.

Here let him touch the hoſte, ſaying:

And gave unto his diſciples, ſaying, (c) take ye, and (d) eat of this ye all (e) for this is my body.

(c) He ſaith not let one of you take and eat it himſelfe alone.
(d) He ſaith not hang it up, keep it, worſhip it, &c.

(e) Enim have they put in of their own, and left out quod pro vobis datur.

And theſe words muſt be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pauſe betwéen. After theſe words, let him bow himſelf to the hoſte, and afterward lift up above his forehead, that it may be (f) ſéen of the people: and let him reverently lay it againe before the chalice, in manner of a croſſe made with the ſame, and then let him uncover the chalice, and hold it betwéene his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger aſunder, ſave only when he bleſſeth, ſaying thus:

(f) If it were the true ſacramental bread of the body of the Lord, it ſhould be taken and eaten, & not lift up, to bee gazed upon.

Likewiſe after they had ſupped, he taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendring thanks alſo unto thee.

Here let him bow himſelfe, ſaying:

Bleſſed, and gave unto his diſciples, ſaying: take, and drink of this (g) ye all.

(g) Why takeſt thou it then alone? Or why ſhould not the lay people then drink of the cup alſo? be not they the Lords diſciples? ſchollars of his heavenly ſchoole?

Here let him lift up the chalice a little, ſaying thus:

For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlaſting teſtament (h) the myſtery of faith which for you and for many ſhall be ſhed to the remiſſion of ſinnes.

(h) Theſe words (myſterium fidei,) have ye here added, declaring the cup to be but a myſticall repreſentation of the bloud.

Here let him lift the chalice to his breaſt, or further than his head, ſaying:

As oft as ye doe theſe things, ye ſhall doe them (i) in remembrance of me.

(i) How ſtandeth this with the remembrance of ſaints or of the dead, In quorum memoria, &c.

Here let him ſet downe the chalice again, and rub his fingers (k) over the chalice. Then let him lift up his armes, and cover the chalice. Then let him lift up his armes croſſe wiſe, his fingers being ioyned together untill theſe words, De tuis donis, that is to ſay, of thine owne rewards.

(k) By theſe crummes may ye know what bread was wont to be uſed

Wherefore O Lord, we alſo thy ſervants, and thy holy people, being mindfull aſwell of the bleſſed paſſion and reſurrection, as of the glorious aſcenſion of the ſame Chriſt thy Sonne our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent maieſty of thine owne rewards and gifts.

Here let there be made (l) five croſſes, Namely, the three firſt upon the hoſt and cup, ſaying: ✠ a pure hoſt; ✠ an holy hoſt; ✠ an undefiled hoſt.

(l) And may no fewer croſſes than five ſerve?

The fourth upon the (m) bread only, ſaying:

The holy ✠ (n) bread of eternall life,

The fifth upon the cup, ſaying:

And ✠ cup of eternall ſalvation. Vouchſafe thou alſo with a mercifull and pleaſant countenance to have reſpect hereunto, and to accept the ſame (o) as thou diddeſt vouchſafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous ſervant Abel, and the ſacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and the holy ſacrifice, the undefiled hoſt, that the high Prieſt Melchiſedech did offer unto thee.

(m) And why then be ye angry with us?
(n) The bread of eternall life, is Chriſt himſelfe: if this then be he, how dareſt thou preſume to offer him up unto his Father?
(o) Have ye the moſt precious body of Chriſt in ſo ſmall eſtimation that ye reſemble it to the beaſts which Abel and Abraham offered?

Here let the Prieſt with his body bowed downe, and his hands holden acroſſe, ſay, Supplices te rogamus, we humbly beſeech thee, untill theſe words, ex hac altaris participatione, of this partaking of the altar. And then let him ſtand up, kiſſing the altar on the right ſide of the ſacrifice; and (p) let him make a ſigne of the croſſe upon the hoſt, and in his owne face, when he ſaith; omni benedictione cœleſti, with all heavenly benediction.

(p) If the hoſt, as thou ſayeſt, be Chriſt himſelfe, is not he then moſt bleſſed already?

We (q) humbly beſeech thee O almighty God command thou theſe to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angell unto thy high altar in the preſence of thy divine maieſty; that as many of us as,

(q) How ſtandeth this with our faith, to deſire Chriſt to be brought up to the preſence of his Father, as though he were not there already?

Here erecting up himſelfe, let him kiſſe the altar on the right ſide of the ſacrifice, ſaying:

Of this participation of the altar ſhall receive thy ſonnes holy

Here let him make a ſigne of the croſſe (r) upon the hoſt, ſaying ✠ body.

(r) And is hee not yet bleſt enough?

Then upon the cup, ſaying:

and ✠ blood may be repleniſhed.

Then let him make a ſigne (ſ) in his owne face, ſaying, with all heavenly benediction and grace thorow the ſame Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

(ſ) Gods bleſſing on your good face.

Here let him pray for the dead.

Remember Lord alſo the ſoules of thy ſervants and handmaidens, N. and N. which are gone before us with the mark of faith, and reſt in the ſléep of peace. We beſéech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto (a) all ſuch as reſt in Chriſt, thou wilt grant a place of refreſhing, of light, and of peace, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

(a) Thus thou prayeſt for our Lady and all the Saints in heaven, declaring that they are in no ſuch painfull purgatory, as they dream ſo much of.

Here let him ſmite once (b) upon his breaſt, ſaying:

“ Unto us ſinners alſo thy ſervants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchſafe to give ſome portion and fellowſhip with thy holy Apoſtles and Martyrs, with Iohn, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anaſtacia, and with all thy Saints; within whoſe fellowſhip we beſéech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveneſſe through Chriſt our Lord.

(b) Down great heart.
“ Here he muſt lift up his voice ſignifying the Centurion which lift up his voice at the paſſion.

(c) here is not ſaid Amen.

(c) No, good reaſon why.

By whom O Lord, all theſe good things thou doſt ever create.

Here let him make a ſigne over the chalice (“) three times, ſaying:

Thou ✠ ſanctifieſt; thou ✠ quickneſt; thou ✠ bleſſeſt, and giveſt unto us.

“ If this were not a ſilly poore Chriſt, hee ſhould not need ſo many bleſſings of ſuch a god-father.

Here let him uncover the chalice, and make a ſigne of the croſſe with the hoſt five times:

(d) firſt beyond the chalice on every ſide; ſecondly, even with the chalice; thirdly, within the chalice; fourthly, like as at the firſt; fifthly, before the chalice.

Through ✠ him, and with ✠ him; and in him is unto thee God, Father ✠ almighty, in the unity of the ✠ holy Ghoſt, all honour and glory.

Here let the Prieſt cover the chalice, and hold his hands ſtill upon the altar till the Pater noſter be ſpoken, ſaying thus:

World without end, Amen. Let us pray. Being advertiſed by wholeſome precepts, and taught by (e) Gods inſtitution, wee are bold to ſay.

Here let the Deacon take the patten, and hold it uncovered on the right ſide of the Prieſt (f) his arme being ſtretched out on high untill da propitius. Here let the Prieſt lift up his hands, ſaying: Pater noſter, &c. The Queere muſt ſay, Sed libera nos, &c.

Deliver us we beſeech thee, O Lord, from all evill paſt, preſent, and for to come. and that (g) by the interceſſion of the bleſſed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy bleſſed Apoſtles Peter, and Paul, and Andrew: with all Saints.

Here let the Deacon commit the patten to the Prieſt, kiſſing his hand: and let the Prieſt (h) kiſſe the patten. Afterward let him put it (i), to his left eie, and then to the right. After that let him make a croſſe with the patten (k) above upon his head, and ſo lay it downe again into his place, ſaying:

Give peace graciouſly in our dayes, that we being helped through the ſuccour of thy mercy, may both be alwaies free from ſin, and (l) ſafe from all trouble.

(m) Here let him uncover the chalice, and take the body doing reverence, ſhifting it over in the hollow roome of the chalice, holding it betweene his thumbs and fore-fingers: and let him break it into three parts: the firſt breaking, while there is ſaid:

Through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt thy Sonne,

The ſecond breaking;

Who with thee in the unity of the holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth God,

Here let him hold two peeces in his left hand, & the third peece in the right hand upon the brink of the chalice, ſaying this with (n) open voice;

World without end.

Let the Queere anſwer, Amen. Here let him make three croſſes (o) within the chalice with the third part of the hoſt, ſaying:

The peace of the Lord (p) ✠ be alwaies ✠ with ✠ you,

Let the Queere anſwer:

And with thy ſpirit.

To ſay Agnus Dei, let the Deacon and Subdeacon approach neere unto the Prieſt, both being on the right hand, the Deacon neerer, the Subdeacon farther oft. And let them ſay (q) privately:

O Lambe of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lambe of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lambe of God, that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, grant us peace.

In Maſſes (r) for the dead it is ſaid thus:

O Lambe of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world, give them (ſ) reſt,

With this addition in the third repitition, Everlaſting.

Here making a croſſe, let him put downe the ſaid third part of the hoſt into the Sacrament of the blood, ſaying;

This holy mingling together of the bodie and blood of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt (t) bee unto me, and to all that receive it, ſalvation of minde and body: an wholeſome preparation both to deſerve and to receive eternall life, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord.

Afore the Pare be given, let the Prieſt ſay, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternall God: grant me ſo worthily to take this holy body and blood of thy Sonne our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, that (a) by this I may (b) merit to receive forgiveneſſe of all my ſinnes, and bee repleniſhed with thy holy ſpirit, and to have thy peace: for thou art God alone, (c) neither is there any other without thee, whoſe glorious Kingdome and Empire endureth continually world without end, Amen.

Here let the Prieſt (d) kiſſe the corporas on the right ſide, and the brinke of the chalice, and afterward let him ſay to the Deacon, Peace be unto thee, and to the Church of God.

Anſwer.

And with thy ſpirit.

On the right hand of the Prieſt let the Deacon receive the Pare of him, and reach it to the Subdeacon. Then to the ſteppe of the Queere let the Deacon himſelfe beare the Pare unto the Rectors of the Queere. And let them bring it to the Queere, either of them to his own ſide, beginning at the eldeſt. But in feaſts and feriall daies (e) when the Queere is not governed, the Pare is born from the Deacon unto the Queere by two of the loweſt of the ſecond fourme, like as afore.

After the Pare given, let the Prieſt ſay the prayers following, privately, before he communicate, holding the hoſte (f) with both his hands.

O God, Father, thou fountain and originall of all goodneſſe, who being moved with mercy, haſt willed thine only begotten Son for our ſake to deſcend into the lower parts of the whole world, and to be incarnate; whom I (g) unworthy hold in my hands.

Here let the Prieſt bowe (h) himſelfe to the hoſt, ſaying, I worſhip thee, I glorifie thee, I praiſe thee with whole intention of minde and heart: And I beſeech thee that thou (i) faile not us thy ſervants, but forgive our ſins, ſo as with pure heart and chaſte body we may be able to ſerve thee (k) the onely living and true God, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, thou Son of the living God, who according to the will of the Father, the holy Ghoſt working withall, haſt quickned the world through thy death, Deliver me, I beſeech thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy blood, from all my iniquities, and from all evils. And make me alway obey thy commandements, and never ſuffer me to be ſeparated from thee for evermore, thou Saviour of the world, who with God the Father and the ſame holy Ghoſt, liveſt and reigneſt God world without end, Amen.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, let not the Sacrament of thy body and blood which I receive (though unworthy) be to my judgement and damnation; but through thy goodneſſe let it profit to the ſalvation of my body and ſoule, Amen.

To the body let him ſay with humiliation afore he receive, Haile for evermore, thou moſt holy (l) fleſh of Chriſt; unto me afore all things and above all things the higheſt ſweetneſſe. The body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt be unto me ſinner the way and life, in the ✠ name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, Amen.

Here

d Hoigh child and turn thee.

e If Gods inſtitution be your ſchoolemaſter, why go ye then from the rules thereof?

f The Lords inſtitution teacheth you not ſuch fond tricks nor juggling geſtures.

g How ſhould the Scripture els be verified that ſaith, It is Chriſt, which hath the everlaſting Prieſthood, being able to ſave thoſe that come unto God by him, forſomuch as he ever liveth to make interceſſion for us? Heb. 7.

h But he telleth us not why.

i Yet ſeeth hee never a whit the better.

k As who ſay, God ſave this marke.

l The tenderlings may abide no cold.

m Did the Lord Jeſus teach ſuch toies in his holy inſtitution.

n It is time to ſpeake at laſt, for he hath gone a mumming all this while.

o Intra, Some reade Infra, beneath.

p So many croſſes would make a man think, that here were none but Popes & popiſh crucifiers of Chriſt.

q Leſt the people be edified.

r That metall clinketh well.

ſ Do they not reſt already in Chriſt, and in the ſleep of peace by thine owne ſaying afore?

t Gods holy word teacheth that the offering of the body, and ſhedding of the moſt precious blood of Chriſt once upon the croſſe, is the ful perfect & only ſalvation of all mankind.

a Thus the death of the Lord is defaced.

b Oh ſinfull man, wilt thou merit that which is Chriſts only gift?

c Yes: the hoſt that ye worſhip and ſpeake unto afterward, if your words be not falſe.

d For very devotion be ye ſure.

e As it is ſeldome in good order.

f For falling.

g Hold him faſt while ye have him in your hands: leſt he fly from you as like he will, if ye mock him too much.

h Why not? if it be his maker.

i If it faile, your kitchen will be the colder.

k Note that the prieſt ſpeaketh all this to the hoſt: whereby it is evident how horribly they abuſe Gods creatures.

l That never was borne of our Lady.

(m) Benedicite a Gods name.

Here let him take the body, (m) a croſſe being firſt made with the ſame body afore his mouth, ſaying:

Haile for evermore, thou heavenly drinke; unto me before all things and above all things the higheſt ſweetneſſe. The body and blood of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt profit me ſinner for a remedy everlaſting into life eternall, Amen. In the ✠ name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, Amen.

Here let him take the blood, which when it is received, let him bow himſelfe, and ſay.

The Prayer.

I Render thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternall God, which haſt refreſhed me out of the moſt holy body and blood of thy Sonne our Lord Ieſu Chriſt. And I beſeech thee, that this Sacrament of our ſalvation, which I unworthy ſinner have received, come not to my iudgment nor condemnation after my merits, but to the profit of my body, and to the ſalvation of my ſoule into life everlaſting, Amen.

Which prayer being ſaid (n) let the Prieſt go to the right ſide of the Altar, with the chalice betweene his hands, his fingers being yet ioyned together as afore, and let the Subdeacon approach neere, and powre out wine and water into the chalice. And let the Prieſt rinſe his hands (o) leſt any parcels of the body or blood be left behinde in his fingers or in the chalice (p.) But when any Prieſt muſt celebrate twice in one day, then at the firſt Maſſe he muſt not receive any ablution, but put it in the Sacriſty, or in a cleane veſſell, till the end of the other Maſſe; and then let both the ablutions be received.

(n) Here be ſuch tricks as S. Peter and Paul never wrote of.

(o) A dangerous matter I tell you.

(p) Magno conatu magnas nugas agunt.

After the firſt ablution, is ſaid this prayer:

That we have received with mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure minde, and (q) out of a temporall gift let it be to us a remedy everlaſting.

(q) De munere temporali. Note well theſe words.

Here let him (r) waſh his fingers in the hollow roome of the chalice, with wine being powred in by the Subdeacon: which when it is drunk up, let the prayer follow:

(r) A token that he hath had ſome corrupt matter in hand.

Lord let this (a) communion purge us from ſin, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy.

(a) What? dare ye call it a communion? doctor Weſton will be angry then.

After the receiving of the ablutions, let the Prieſt lay the chalice upon the patten, that if ought remaine behinde, it may drop. And afterward bowing himſelfe, let him ſay.

Let us (b) worſhip the ſigne of the croſſe, whereby we have received the Sacrament of ſalvation.

(b) What is it that theſe Idolaters will not worſhip? Very ſignes and tokens will not they ſtick at.

Afterward let him (c) waſh his hands. In the meane ſeaſon let the Deacon fold up the corporas. When his hands are waſhen, and the Prieſt returneth to the right end of the altar (d) let the Deacon reach the chalice to the prieſts mouth, that if ought of that which was powred in do remaine behinde, (e) he may receive it. After that, let him ſay (f) the communion with his miniſters. Then making a ſigne of the croſſe in his owne face, let the Prieſt turne himſelfe to the people; and (g) with his armes ſomewhat lifted up, and his hands ioyned together, let him ſay, Dominus vobiſcum; and, turning him againe to the altar, let him ſay: Oremus, let us pray.

Then let him ſay (h) the Poſtcommon, according to the number and order of the aforeſaid prayers. Before the Epiſtle, when the laſt Poſtcommon is ended, and the Prieſt hath made a ſigne of the croſſe in his forehead, let him turne him againe to the people, and ſay, Dominus vobiſcum. Then let the Deacon ſay, Benedicamus Domino. At another time is ſaid, Ite miſſa eſt. As oft as Ite miſſa eſt is ſaid, it is alwayes ſaid in turning to the people. And when Benedicamus Domino, or Requieſcant in pace muſt be ſaid, let it be ſaid in turning to the altar. When theſe things are ſpoken, let the Prieſt (with his body bowed downe, and his hands ioyned together) in the midſt before the altar ſay, (i) with a ſtill voice, this prayer.

(c) He had need I trow that hath dawbed ſuch a muddy wall.

(d) Is the prieſt then too proud to take it up himſelfe?

(e) For the poore Deacon is not worthy to receive it.

(f) By this is meant, theſe few words that are ſpoken next before the laſt collect.

(g) Oh what a vizour of holineſſe is here?

(h) That is, the laſt collect.

O holy Trinity, let the office of my (k) bondſervice pleaſe thee, and grant that this ſacrifice, which I unworthy have offered in the eys of thy maieſty, may be acceptable unto thee: and that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it (l) it may availe to obtaine remiſſion, thou being mercifull, who liveſt and reigneſt God, &c.

Which prayer being ended, let the Prieſt ſtand upright, (m) croſſing himſelfe in his face, ſaying, In nomine patris, &c. And ſo, when obeyſance is made, after the ſame order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the Maſſe, ſo having on their apparell with the cenſer-bearer, and other miniſters, let them (n) goe their way againe.

(i) And why not with a loud voice, if it be good? Becauſe it is not the Maſſe-mongers profeſſion to edifie the people.

(k) Bad ſervice is as fit a name for the Popiſh maſſe, as can be. For not onely cuſtome, but evill will alſo doth much, if maſter money help not.

(l) What? the maſſe, in the Divels name? for what intent then died Chriſt?

(m) That face hath much croſſing.

(n) Walk as ye came: ye have leave to be trudging.

The end of the Canon.

NOw it remaineth (as we have promiſed before) to intreat of the parts and parcels of the Maſſe, declaring likewiſe how and by whom this popiſh or rather apiſh Maſſe became ſo clampered and patched together with ſo many divers and ſundry additions: whereby it may the better appeare what hath been the continuance of the ſame.

Firſt, in the beginning of this Preface it was declared before, how this word Maſſe was never uſed nor knowne in the old Primitive Church among the firſt Chriſtians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the origine of the Maſſe from Saint Iames and Baſilius, are farre deceived. As I thinke, that Saint Iames was once Biſhop at Ieruſalem, ſo I thinke not contrary, but ſometimes he miniſtred at the communion there in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lords prayer, and other prayers of thankſgiving: As we now in our Communion uſe like prayers, and theſe prayers make not the Communion to be a Maſſe. And the like is to be ſaid of S. Peter; who though he did celebrate the Communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he ſaid Maſſe at Rome, as ſome report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origine, how this error firſt came up among the people, that Saint Iames ſaid Maſſe at Ieruſalem, if a man conſider well hiſtories and authors which have written. For in the hiſtory of Euſebius, Egeſippus thus writeth of Saint Iames, Eum ab Apoſtolis primum conſtitutum fuiſſe Epiſcopum & Liturgum, &c. Upon the which word Liturgus, it is not unlike, and divers ſuppoſe this error to come, that Saint Iames did firſt ſet and inſtitute the order of Maſſe. For ſo lightly the old Tranſlators, whereſoever they finde Liturgia, or Collecta, κοινωνία, they tranſlated it Miſſa; whereupon the greateſt occaſion of this error riſeth, to make the people beleeve the Maſſe to be ſo ancient as to proceed from the Apoſtles, and from Saint Iames. Notwithſtanding that error as it lightly came up, ſo it may be as lightly exploded. For how could Saint Iames ſay Maſſe then at Ieruſalem, or Saint Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the name of Maſſe was heard, nor the parts thereof invented? And although Sigibertus in his Chronicles report, that in the city of Vaſath, being delive-

Ex Euſeb. lib. 2. How it cometh that S. Iames is thought to be the firſt ſetter up of the Maſſe.

Sigibertus in Chronico.

red from the ſiege of the Huns, the Paſtor of that Church did celebrate maſſe with thankſgiving, about the yeere 453. yet Sigibert in ſo ſaying is to be taken, as ſpeaking rather after the uſe and manner of his time when hee wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the works of S. Auguſtine, and of Chryſoſtome, and in all that age the name of Maſſe is not fonnd, but it is called either the Supper of the Lord, or the Lords Bord or Communion, Synaxis, ſacrifice, oblation, myſtery, celebration of the Sacrament, Euchariſtia, the myſticall Table, Miſtagogia, Cœna myſtica; or with ſome other like term they nominate it. The name of the Maſſe was not yet deviſed, nor the patches thereof compiled. Platina teſtifieth, that before Celeſtinus pope, only the Epiſtle and Goſpel were read at the Communion, which being done, the Communion ended. And Gregorie ſaith, that the Apoſtles afore the miniſtration or the ſacrament did uſe only the Lords prayer, that is, the Pater noſter. Let us heare what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter, lib, de rebus Eccleſiaſtic. cap. 22. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & conſecrationum officio, totum hoc Apoſtoli, & poſt ipſos proximi, (ut creditur) orationibus, & commemoratione paſſionis dominicæ, ſicut ipſe præcepit, agebant ſimpliciter. &c. i. That which now is done in the Church with ſuch a long circumſtance of ſo many oriſons, leſſons or readings, ſongs, and conſecrations; all that the Apoſtles, and they that next ſucceeded the Apoſtles (as it is thought) did accompliſh ſimply with prayer only, and with the commemoration of the Lords paſſion, &c. It followeth in the ſame author; And, as the report is, like as it is in the Romane Church upon good Friday, where the communion is wont to be taken without any Maſſe: ſo it was in the old time with them, &c.

Platina.

Greg. in Regiſt. lib. 7. cap. 63.

Now how this Maſſe hath grown up and increaſed ſince, let us ſearch out, by the Lords help, out of authors, ſo much as may be found.

The Introite.

Celeſtinus pope gave the firſt Introite, as Platina and Sigibertus write.

Platina. Sigibertus in vita Sergii.

The Pſalme. Iudica me Deus. &c.

And before the prieſt doe prepare himſelfe to his Maſſe, firſt with the Pſalme, Iudica me Deus, & diſcerne cauſam meam, &c. that was ordained by the ſaid Celeſtinus.

And where they aſcribe to Saint Ambroſe the two prayers which he uſed in the preparation to the Maſſe, and be added to the bookes of Ambroſe, Eraſmus iudgeth the ſame to be none of his, and that rightly as it ſeemeth: for therin are contained errors, not elſe to be found in the bookes of Ambroſe, both in giving adoration to the bread of the ſacrament, and making invocation to Saints, namely, to bleſſed Mary; as in the ſecond prayer, where he ſaith, Vt efficax hæc mea ſit deprecatio, beatæ Mariæ virginis ſuffragia peto, &c. i. And that this my prayer may be of efficacie, I deſire the ſuffrage and interceſſion of bleſſed Marie the Virgin, &c. Wherby it may appeare learned Ambroſe not to be the author of ſuch an error.

Sigibertus.

Chryſoſtome in the xi. Homily upon the Goſpell of Matthew, ſaith, that in his time (and afore his time) the uſe was to ſing whole Pſalmes, till they were entred and aſſembled together. And ſo belike Celeſtinus borrowed this cuſtome of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latine Church, as Rupertus writeth.

Chryſo. hom. 11. in Mat.

Gregorie the great (as ſome write) called a Synode at Rome, about the yeare of our Lord, 594. In which Synode he appointed that the Introite of the Maſſe ſhould bee taken out of ſome Pſalme.

Rupertus Tuitienſis l. 2. de divin. offic. cap. 21 Chro Chro. Faſci. temp.

The Confiteor.

The Confiteor pope Damaſus brought into the Maſſe, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popiſh Confiteor, which in the later Church hath beene uſed, ſtuft full of idolatry and invocation of Saints, againſt the word of God.

Confiteor brought in by pope Damaſus

The Kyrie eleyſon.

The Kyrie eleyſon ix. times to bee repeated in ſuch a tongue, as few prieſts either underſtand, or doe rightly pronounce, Gregory did inſtitute, about 600. yeares after Chriſt, taking it out of the Greeks Church, and yet tranſpoſing it otherwiſe than there it was uſed. For among the Greekes this Kyrie eleyſon, which they called their Letanie, was ſung of all the people: The which Gregory ordained to be ſung only of the Quire, adding thereto alſo Chriſte eleyſon, which the Grecians uſed not, as Gregory himſelfe, writing to the biſhop of Syracuſe, doth teſtifie.

Greg. Ioanni. Epiſc. Syracuſ. lib. 7. epiſt. 63.

Walfridus c. 22.

Gloria in excelſis.

Next followeth Gloria in excelſis, &c. Which words were ſung of the Angels at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit theſe words alſo were corrupted, as many other things were in the Church. For where the words of the Angels Hymne were Hominibus bona voluntas, i. To men good will; the Maſſe ſaid, Hominibus bonæ voluntatis, i. To men of good will, &c. This Hymne was brought into the Maſſe by Pope Symmachus (and not by Teleſphorus, as ſome not truly write that hee ordained three Maſſes on Chriſtmas day; for in his time there was no Maſſe, Anno 140.) about the yeere of our Lord, 510. And after, the ſaid Hymne was augmented by Hylarius Pictavienſis, with thoſe words that follow; Laudamus te, &c. ſinging it firſt in his owne Church, which was, Anno 340. And afterward it was brought into other Churches by pope Symmachus, Anno 510. as is aforeſaid.

Hugo de S. Victor.

Dominus vobiſcum, with the anſwer Oremus, and the Collects.

Dominus vobiſcum, with the anſwer of the people, although wee have no certaine Author named by whom it came; yet this is certaine, that it was deduced out of the Greeke Church into the Latine: as may appeare by the liturgy of Chryſoſtome and Baſilius (if the Liturgy be rightly aſcribed unto them) alſo by Origen, and other ancient Writers; by whom, it may ſeeme that the Liturgie or Maſſe (as they call it) did firſt begin with Dominus vobiſcum, and then Surſum corda; after that Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro, and ſo following upon the ſame, Verè dignum & juſtum eſt, &c. To the which beginning of the Canon other additions after were put by others, as ye ſhall heare, by the Lords grace, hereafter more at large.

Ex Bea. Rhen. Tertul. de coro. milit.

Hugo de S. Victore writeth that this prayer was taken out of the ancient ſalutation of Booz ſaluting his harveſt folkes. And out of the booke of Paralip. Where the Prophet ſaluteth Azan the King with his company about him, ſaying, Dominus vobiſcum. Honorius writeth thus,

Hugo de S. Victore.

Honorius

Presbyter cum ſalutatione veteris Teſtamenti, & Epiſcopus cum ſalutatione novi Teſtamenti ſalutat populum, quia dignius eſt novum quàm vetus Teſtamentum, i. As the Prieſt ſaluteth the people with the words of the old Teſtament, Dominus vobiſcum; ſo the Biſhop uſeth the words of the new Teſtament, ſaying: Pax vobiſcum, &c.

Walafrid. Strabo.

Hugo de S. Victore.

Concerning the Collects Walafridus writeth, that as they bee divers and uncertain, ſo they were made of divers and ſundry Authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de S. victore affirmes that chiefly they were made by Gelaſius and Gregorius.

Guliel. Durand. in rationali. Microlog. de Eccleſiaſtic. obſerv.

Why they were called Collects, W. Durandus and Micrologus ſhew the cauſe, for that in the citie of Rome they ſaid them over the people collected together in the ſtation day, therefore they were called Collectæ.

The Gradual, with Alleluya, Tracte, and Sequencies.

Honorius lib. 2. cap. 88.

The Reſponſorie, which is called the Gradual (being wont to be ſung at the ſteps going up) with Alleluya, Honorius ſaith that Ambroſe made them, but Pope Gregorie ordained them to be received.

Abbas Nokkerus, autor ſequentiarum.

Upon feſtivall dayes the Sequencies, which were wont to be ſung, were chiefly compoſed by an Abbot called Nokkerus de S. Gallo, and by Pope Nicholas commanded to bee ſung in the Maſſe.

The Graduall the people were wont to ſing when the Biſhop was about to goe up to the pulpit, or ſome higher ſtanding, where the word of God might bee the better and more ſenſibly heard at his mouth, reading the Epiſtle and the Goſpell.

The Epiſtle and the Goſpel.

Hugo de S. Victore.

The reading of the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, although it was not uſed in the Apoſtles times, yet it ſeemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo ſaith: Primis temporibus ab epiſtola Pauli miſſa incipiebatur, poſt quam ſequebatur Evangelium, ſicut nunc, i. In former time the Maſſe begun firſt with the Epiſtle of S. Paul, after which Epiſtle then followed the Goſpell, as alſo now, &c.

Walafrid. Strabo.

Walafridus ſaith, it is uncertaine who firſt ordered and diſpoſed them ſo to be.

Some attribute them to Hierome, ſome to Damaſus, ſome to Teleſphorus aforeſaid. This is certaine, that Pope Anaſtaſius ordained to ſtand up at the hearing of the Goſpel read; about the yéere of our Saviour, 406.

Pet. Cirvelus Docracenſis in expoſitione. lib. Miſſal. in epiſt. nuncupatoria.

Petrus Cirvelus writeth thus, Legimus & circa annos Chriſtianæ ſalutis 500. fere, jam inſtitutas Epiſtolas in officio miſſali, &c. About 500. yéeres ſince almoſt the Epiſtle, ſaith he, was firſt brought into the Maſſe.

Hono. in ſumma li. 1. ca. 88.

Honorius lib. 1. Epiſtolam & Evangelium Alexander Papa legi ad miſſam conſtituit. Hieronimus autem Presbyter lexionarium & evangeliarium, ut hodie habet Eccleſia, collegit; ſed Damaſus Papa, ut nunc moris eſt, legi cenſuit. Alexander, ſaith he, appointed the Epiſtle and Goſpell to be read at Maſſe. The tranſlation and the diſpoſition of them, in that order as they ſtand. Hierome the Prieſt collected; but Damaſus appointed them to be read in the Church, ſo as the uſe is now.

Hono. ibid.

Betwixt the Epiſtle and the Goſpel the old Canons of the Spaniards did forbid any Hymne or Canticle to be ſung in the order of the Maſſe, which now by the Romiſh order is broken.

The Creed.

Ex Honor.

The Créed was made by the Synod of Conſtantinople, but, by Damaſus the Pope ordained to be ſung at the Maſſe. And where ſome affirme, that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the yéere of our Lord 340. To reconcile theſe two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the Créed, or Symbole of the Nicene Councell, the other appointed the Créed of Conſtantinople, as is ſaid.

Ex actis pontif. Rom.

The Offertory.

Ex Rabano lib. 1 cap. 3.

After this, oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the Prieſt; and the Offertorie to be ſung of the Quire.

De inſtit. cleric. Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 18.

Of theſe oblations ſpeaketh Irenæus. Pro diverſis ſacrificiorum ritibus, ſimplex oblatio panis & vini fidelibus ſufficiat, &c. In ſtead of the ſundry rites of ſacrifices, let the ſimple oblation of bread and wine ſuffice the faithfull.

Walafrid. in expoſit. ordinis Rom.

Item, Walafrid. Omnis populus intrans Eccleſiam debet ſacrificare, ſicut docet ordo inſtitutionis Eccleſiaſticæ, i. Every perſon entring in the Church muſt do ſacrifice, as the order of Eccleſiaſticall inſtitution doth teach: what order this was it is declared in ordine Romano by theſe words; Populus dat oblationes ſuas, id eſt, panem & vinum, primò maſculi, deinde fœminæ, noviſſime vero Sacerdotes & Diaconi offerunt, ſed ſolum panem, & hoc ante altare, i. The people give every one his oblations, that is, bread and wine, firſt the men, then the women, after them Prieſts and Deacons offer, but bread onely, &c.

Burchardus li. 5. cap. 31. Ex concil. Matiſcon. cap. 50.

Likewiſe Burcardus teſtifieth the ſame, In Synodo Matiſcon. decretum eſt, ut in omnibus dominicis diebus, aliiſque feſtivitatibus, oblatio ab omnibus qui ad Miſſam convenerint utriuſque ſexus offeratur in Eccleſia, ſingulas oblationes offerentes, finita Miſſa oblationes à Presbytero accipiant. i. In the Synod Matiſcon it was ordained, that every ſunday and feſtivall day oblation was made of all the people which came to the Maſſe, or Liturgie, both men and women, in the Church, every perſon bringing and offering his own oblation; the Liturgie being done, they receive the oblations of the Prieſt, &c.

Thus ye may ſée what were their oblations and ſacrifice in the ancient time, in their Liturgie. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name onely with the ſong.

This Offertory ſome aſcribe to Eutichianus about the yéere of our Lord 280. but thereof no certaine evidence appeareth.

Orate pro me fratres, &c.

Nauclerus lib. generat. 5. Ex vetuſto quodam libro de officio miſſæ.

Nauclerus writeth, that Pope Leo brought in that which is ſaid in the Maſſe, Orate pro me fratres & ſorores, &c.

The preface of the Canon.

Cyprianus de oratione Dominica. Auguſt. Tho. Waldenſi. B. Rhenanus in Tertul. de corona militis.

The preface of the Canon from verè dignum & juſtum eſt, &c. to per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum is given to Gelaſius: Surſum corda ſéemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Gréek Church; S. Cyprian alſo maketh mention of the ſame, and S. Auſtin de vera religione cap. 3.

And therefore Thomas Waldenſis judgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelaſius.

After Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, in the old Liturgie, then followed Qui pridie quam pateretur as Rhenanus ſuppoſeth, but then came Pope Gelaſius the firſt, about the yeere of our Lord, 497. which inſerted that which followeth, Te igitur clementiſſimè, &c.

Polyd. Virgil contraried.

Wherby it is to be noted, that Polydorus Virgilius (which aſcribeth Qui pridie to Pope Alexander) De invent, lib. 5. cap. 10. is deceived.

The like is alſo to be ſaid of Panormitanus, who referreth the ſame clauſe Qui pridie, &c. to the Apoſtles, lib. de celebratione miſſæ cap. cum Martha.

Panormitan deceived.

Furthermore note, good Reader, how this doth agree with the long Canon of Saint Ambroſe lib. 4. de Sacramentis cap. 5. Dicit Sacerdos; fac nobis hanc oblationem adſcriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod eſt figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Qui pridie quam pateretur in ſanctis manibus ſuis accepit panem, reſpexit ad cœlum ad te ſancte Pater omnipotens, & æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, &c. if it be true that either Panormitanus ſaith, or that Gelaſius made Qui pridie, &c. how can this Canon then be fathered upon S. Ambroſe? And by the ſame reaſon alſo his whole booke intituled de Sacramentis may be ſuſpected, as of divers learned men it is.

Rupert. ex pont. Damaſ. liturgia Baſilii.

Then came Pope Sixtus ten yeers after him, which brought into the Canon Sanctus, ſanctus, thrice to be ſung out of the booke of Eſay. And to annexe it together, ioyned alſo that which goeth before, Per quem majeſtatem tuam, &c.

He that writeth the Liturgie of Baſilius, aſcribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that ſeeing in the ſaid Liturgie of Baſilius the ſame particle, Sanctus, ſanctus, ſanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni ſunt cœli & terra gloria tua, oſanna in excelſis, is ſung; therefore it muſt needs follow, that either Leo which was about the yeere of our Lord, 460. borrowed this out of Baſilius Liturgie, or els the ſame is falſly attributed to Baſilius.

After this followeth Sanctum ſacrificium, immaculatam hoſtiam, till ye come to placatus accipias, which Leo the firſt did make and inſtitute.

Humbertus epiſc. contra libellum Nicetæ Monachi.

The words in the communion, Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis, &c. were put in by Pope Alexander, i. as Humbertus writeth: Alexander Martyr & Papa 5. ab apoſt. Petro paſſionem Domini inſerens canoni miſſæ, ait, Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis, &c.

Ex actis Rom. Pontif.

Pope Gregory the third about the yeers of our Lord, 732. put to his piece, Et eorum quorum memoria, &c.

This Gregory the third called a Councell at Rome, wherein he decreed that Images ſhould not only be had in temples, but alſo worſhipped, and that all gaineſayers ſhould be counted as heretikes.

Innocent. 3.

Innocentius the third of that name affirmeth Pope Gelaſius, which was about 490. yeeres after Chriſt, to have made a great piece of that Canon, as he himſelfe did ſomething therein, about the yeere of our Lord, 1215.

Panor. de celebratione miſſæ.

Panormitanus affirmeth that Gregory did add to the Canon this clauſe, Dieſque noſtros in pace diſponas.

Briefly, Gregorius in regiſtro ſaith, that one Scholaſticus made the moſt part of the Canon, finding alſo fault with the ſame, that in compoſing the Canon he would put in his own prayers and leave out the Lords prayer, &c.

☞ Authors reconciled.

Where is to be noted, for the reconciling of theſe Writers together, of whom ſome impute the Canon to Gelaſius, ſome againe to Scholaſticus: In my coniecture it may be ſaid, that both theſe be one, and ſo the matter is reconciled. The reaſon that moveth me is this, for ſo I find In vetuſto quodam libro de officio miſſæ, after theſe words, Gelaſius Papa ex Scholaſtico effectus in ordine 48. fecit tractatus & hymnos, &c.

Ex vetuſto libro de officio miſſæ. Gelaſius & Scholaſticus both one.

The elevation and adoration.

The elevation and adoration of the Sacrament we cannot finde to come in by any other than by Honorius the third, about the yeere of our Lord 1222. which ordained that the people then ſhould kneele downe and worſhip the Sacrament.

Ex actis Rom. pont.

The Pater noſter.

Ioan. Diaconus in vita Gregorii.

Joannes Diaconus writing of Gregory ſaith; Orationem Dominicam mox poſt Canonem ſuper hoſtiam cenſuit recitari, i. that Gregory cauſed the Lords Prayer to be recited immediately after the Canon upon the hoſt, &c.

Although the Apoſtles ever uſed the Lords Prayer at the Supper of the Lord, as is ſaid before; yet Gregory belike placed it ſo in that order after the Canon, and brought it in with thoſe words, Præceptis ſalutaribus, &c.

Greg. lib. 9. Reg. ad Ioan. Syra.

Gregorius in Reg. Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo; apud nos vero à ſolo Sacerdote cantatur, i. The Lords Prayer, ſaith he, amongſt the Grecians was wont to be ſung generally of all the people; with us it is ſung only of the Prieſt.

Agnus.

Expoſit. Rom. ordinis.

The Agnus, Pope Sergius about the yeere of our Lord 700. brought into the Maſſe, as witneſſeth Expoſit. R. ord. propter officium confractionis Dominici corporis, conſtitutum eſt à Papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur, &c.

The Pax.

Ex decretis Innocentii P. P. cap. 1.

Innocentius ordained the Pax to be given to the people. Pacis, ait, oſculum dandum poſt confecta myſteria, ut conſtet populum ad omnia quæ in myſteriis aguntur, præbuiſſe conſenſum, &c.

Peter Martyr in his Commentaries in Iud. ſaith, that it was brought in by Pope Leo the ſecond, as it is ſaid: and yet he ſuppoſeth the ſame not to be ſo, ſaying, that this was an ancient cuſtome in the Apoſtles time for Chriſtians to ſalute one another with the kiſſe of peace, &c.

Gabriel Biel in can. lect. 8.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth alſo Gabriel Biel, writing in theſe words; Porrexit in primitiva Eccleſia Sacerdos oſculum pacis Miniſtro, cæteris impartiendum, ut per hoc ſignificaret, &c. i. In the primitive Church the Prieſt gave a kiſſe of peace to the Miniſter, to be given by him to the people.

The diſtribution and communion.

After this followeth the communion, wherein our Popiſh Maſſe and Miniſters thereof doe much alter and degenerate from ancient antiquity, two manner of wayes.

Anaclet. epiſt. 1. De conſecrat. diſt. 2. ca. peracti.

Firſt, in that they make no communion thereof, receiving only to themſelves, contrary both to their owne words, where they ſay after their receiving, Sacramenta quæ ſumpſimus, &c. and alſo to the ancient examples and decrees of the Apoſtles and others. And where it is decreed in the Epiſtle of Anacletus; Peracta autem conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apoſtoli ſtatuerunt, & S. Romana tenet Eccleſia, &c. i. The conſecration being done, let all communicate together; unleſſe they will be thruſt out of the Church doores, &c.

Cochleus contra Muſculum de officio miſſæ.
Gratianus & Cochleus taken in an untruth.

Here note by the way gentle Reader, how Gratianus the writer of the Popes decrées is overſéene, which in his booke De conſecrat. diſt. 2. referreth this ſaying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewiſe alſo Cochleus, writing againſt Muſculus, followeth Gratianus in the ſame error.

Cano. apo. cap. 9
Cano. apo. cap. 8

Likewiſe in the Canons of the Apoſtles (if the Canons were theirs) we read πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, &c. i. All the faithfull, which reſort to the Church, and tarrie not out the end of the ſervice, and receive not the holy communion, be ſuch as bringing in diſorder to the Church, ought to be diſſevered, &c. And againe, Si quis Epiſcopus, Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut quicunque ex ſacerdotali conſortio, oblatione facta, non communicaverint, cauſam dicito, &c.

Micrologus de eccleſiaſtic. ſer.

For how can that be called a communion, which is not common but private to one? As Micrologus writeth, Nec enim propriè communio dici poteſt, niſi plures de eodem ſacrificio participent, &c. It cannot be called a communion, except moe than one do participate of one ſacrifice, &c.

Guliel. Durand. in ration. lib. 4. cap. 53.

And Durandus, In primitiva eccleſia omnes qui celebrationi miſſarum intererant ſingulis diebus communicare ſolebant, eo quod Apoſtoli omnes de calice biberunt, &c. i. In the primitive time all that were preſent at the miniſtration were wont every day to communicate, becauſe that the Apoſtles did altogether drinke of the cup, &c.

Gelaſ. Ioan. & Majorico epiſc. De conſecrat. diſt. [illegible] cap. Comperimus.

Secondly, they alter and degenerate therein from ancient antiquity, in that when they communicate alſo with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy cup: which deprivation was not in the Church before the Councell of Conſtance, about the yéere of our Lord, 1414. For before it was ſo authentikely received, that it was counted a ſacriledge to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope Gelaſius; Comperimus quod quidam ſumpta tantummodo corporis ſacri portione, &c. The whole in Engliſh is this; we underſtand that there be ſome, which receiving the one part onely of the holy body abſtaine from the cup of the ſacred blood: who becauſe they be taught ſo to doe (by what ſuperſtition I cannot tell) either let them receive the ſacrament whole together, or let them abſtaine from the whole ſacrament altogether, becauſe the diviſion of that one and whole ſacrament cannot be without great ſacriledge, &c.

Aug. ſermone feriæ, 2. paſch.

Hitherto alſo pertaineth the teſtimonie of Saint Auſten in theſe words; Et ibi vos eſtis in menſa, & in calice nobiſcum vos eſtis. Simul enim hoc ſumimus, ſimul bibimus, quia ſimul vivimus, &c. i. There be you at the table, and at the cup there alſo be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drinke, becauſe we live together.

Ex libro ſacramentorum Gregorii.

As alſo out of the booke of Gregory it is manifeſt, that not onely the people received them in both kinds; but alſo the words were preſcribed to the miniſter, that he ſhould ſay in giving the cup; Item Sacerdos calicem dando dicat; Sanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti cuſtodiat te ad vitam æternam, i. Let the Prieſt ſay in giving the cup; The blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt keep thée to everlaſting life, Amen.

Thomas 3. part. quæſt. 76, art. 25

Further, in rendring the cauſe why it ſhould ſo be done, Thomas Aquine writeth, Nam hoc valet ad repræſentandam paſſionem Chriſti, in qua ſeorſum fuit ſanguis à corpore ſeparatus, &c. Secundò, hoc eſt conveniens uſui hujus ſacramenti, ut ſeorſim exhibeatur corpus Chriſti fidelibus in cibum, & ſanguis in potem, i. For that ſerveth to repreſent the paſſion of Chriſt, wherein his blood was parted ſeverally from the body, &c. Secondly, for that it is convenient to the uſe of the ſacrament, that the body ſhould ſeverally be given to the faithfull for meat, and the blood for drink.

Amb. lib. de omnibus divin. officiis.

And therfore ſerved the office of the Deacons as we read, ut oblata à populo ſuper altare conſecranda diſponant, & perfectis myſteriis calicem ſacroſaucti ſanguinis Domini fidelibus propinent, i. To lay the offerings of the people upon the altar to be hallowed, and when the myſteries be conſecrated, to diſtribute the cup of the ſacred blood of the Lord to the faithfull, &c.

Hieron. in epiſt. 1 Cor. cap. 11. Convenientib.

But among all other teſtimonies to prove that the ſacrament ought to be common to all people in both kindes, there is none more evident than that of Hierome. Cæterum Dominica cœna omnibus debet eſſe communis, quia ille omnibus Diſcipulis ſuis qui aderant æqualiter tradidit ſacramenta, i. The ſupper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his Diſciples there preſent, &c.

Innocent. 3. de ſacro altaris myſterio lib. 3. ca. 1.

And thus have ye heard the Canon deſcribed, which otherwiſe is called ſecretum, i. the ſecret of the Maſſe, being ſo termed, becauſe the Prieſt was wont to read it in ſecret or in ſilence. The reaſon thereof Pope Innocentius the 3. declareth in his third booke, for that the holy words, ſaith he, of the Canon ſhould not grow in contempt with the people by the daily uſe and hearing thereof. And he bringeth in an example concerning the ſame of certaine ſhepheards, which in the fields uſing the ſame words of the Canon upon their bread and wine, the matter was turned, ſaith he, into fleſh and blood, and they plagued therefore from heaven; but with ſuch popiſh tales the Church hath béen long repleniſhed.

The Poſtcommon.

Old Collects.

After the Canon and Communion then followeth the Poſtcommon, with the Collects, which the Maſſe booke requireth alwayes to be uſed in an odde number, ſometime teaching to uſe but one, as in the ſundayes in Lent; and ſometime thrée, as in certain Maſſes from Low-ſunday till the Aſcenſion; but never to paſſe the number of ſeven.

Ite miſſa eſt.

Ex vetuſto lib. de divin. officiis.

Laſt of all commeth Ite miſſa eſt, whereby the Miniſter dimitteth and ſendeth away all the congregation there preſent to their buſineſſe: for, as you heard before, it was decréed in ancient time, that it was not lawfull to depart from the congregation in the time of holy miniſtration, before the end of the whole communion. And therefore all things being accompliſhed, the Miniſter turning to the aſſembly pronounceth, Ite miſſa eſt.

Where note that upon ſundayes and feſtivall dayes onely, when Gloria in excelſis was ſung, Ite miſſa eſt was wont to be ſaid: on the worke dayes Benedicamus Domino, ſometime Requieſcant in pace.

Albes and Corporaſſes.

Now concerning ſuch trinkets as were to the foreſaid Maſſe appertaining or circumſtant: Firſt, the linnen Albes and Corporaſſes were brought in by Pope Marcus Anno 340. if that be true which is thought of ſome: where note againe, that in the time of this Pope it was nothing offenſive for every honeſt Prieſt to have his owne proper wife. In the time alſo of this Marcus was Concilium Eliburtinum, which condemned all kindes of Images and Pictures in Temples.

Contrary to the which Councell Pope Gregory the third, about the yeere of our Lord, 732. calling a Councell at Rome, did not onely ſtabliſh the Images before condemned, but condemned the gainſayers for heretikes, as is aforeſaid.

Hallowing of altars.

By Sixtus the third it was ordained, that no Liturgie ſhould be done ſave onely upon altars hallowed, about the yeere of our Lord, 260. as ſome ſuppoſe. But as I ſee no firme probation upon the ſame; ſo have I probable coniecture the ſame not to be true.

Veſtments and Albes.

Some there be that ſhame not to ſay, that S. Clement brought in the Albe and veſtments to the Popiſh Maſſe.

Chalices of glaſſe.

Item, that the Sacrament of the blood of the Lord ſhould be conſecrate in chalices of glaſſe, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they ſay it was the ordinance of Pope Severinus.

Chalices of gold.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true Proverbe withall, That once they had wooden Chalices and golden Prieſts, now they have golden Chalices and wooden Prieſts.

Bels.
Lamps.
Organs.

Sevenianus ordained the ringing of bels and burning of lamps in Churches.

Vitalianus the playing on the Organs.

Gloria Patri.

Damaſus, by the inſtinct of Hierome, appointed Gloria Patri after the Pſalmes.

Memento for the dead.
Incenſe.
The offering.

Pelagius deviſed the Memento for the dead.

Leo brought in the Incenſe.

Eutichianus, as other ſay, brought in the Offertorie, which was then after a manner farre otherwiſe than it is, or hath beene uſed now a great while. For what time as many of the Heathen being greatly accuſtomed with offerings, were converted unto Chriſt, and could not be well brought from their old long uſe of offerings, the Pope thought to beare ſomewhat with the weake, and permitted them to bring meates into the Congregration or Church, that when the Biſhop had bleſſed them, they that brought them might diſtribute them to the poore or take them to their owne uſe. But afterward did Pope Gregory ſo helpe with this ſentence, Non apparebis in conſpectu Dei tui vacuus, &c. Thou ſhalt not appeare in the ſight of thy God empty, &c. that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar; ſo they did, and have not yet forgotten to do ſo ſtill.

Soule maſſes.

Soule Maſſes, and Maſſes applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, which brought in the Memento, as is ſaid.

☞

Application of maſſes for the dead.

Wherein note (good Reader) and marke how theſe two ſtand together, that which our Saviour ſaith in his Evangeliſt, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, Doe this in remembrance of me; and that which they ſay, In quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur, &c. i. In whoſe commemoration the body of Chriſt is taken, &c. Chriſt would it to be done in his remembrance; and the Pope ſaith, do it in remembrance of the dead, &c. What can be more contrary?

Reſervation of the ſacrament.
Auricular confeſſion.
A policie for unity of popery.

Innocentius the third ordained that the ſacrament ſhould be reſerved in the Church. The ſame brought alſo in auricular confeſſion as a law: about the yeere of our Lord, 1215. he did alſo conſtitute that no Archbiſhop ſhould enioy the pall, unleſſe he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvell if there be ſuch unity in Popery.

Vigilius ordained that the Prieſt ſhould ſay Maſſe having his face toward the Eaſt.

The firſt Latin maſſe ſung at Conſtantinople.
A coniecture probable that the Romane maſſe is of no great antiquity

Platina writeth how the firſt Latine Maſſe was ſung in the ſixth Councell of Canſtantinople, which was about the yeere of our Lord, 680. ſo that the ſaid Maſſe was there and then firſt allowed and not before. And yet they (I meane the Greeke Church) ſhould have knowne as ſoone the Maſſe, if it had proceeded from James or Baſilius, as the Latine Church did know it.

The feaſt of all ſoules.

The feaſt of Alhallowes.

The opinion to think the Maſſe to help ſoules in Purgatory, was confirmed by Pope Joannes the 19. by reaſon of a dreame, wherein he dreamed that he heard and ſaw the voices of divels lamenting and bewailing, that ſoules were delivered from them by the ſaying of Maſſes and Diriges. And therefore hee did approve and ratifie the feaſt of all Soules, brought in by Odilo; Moreover he adioyned alſo to the ſame the feaſt of Alhallowes, about the yeere of our Lord, 1003.

Lent faſt.

Three Maſſes on Chriſtmas day.

Concerning Lent faſt, ſome think that Teleſphorus, about the yeere of our Lord, 140. was the Author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they alſo attribute to him, that he ordained three Maſſes of one Prieſt to be ſaid on Chriſtmas day. Or if he did ordaine that faſt, yet he did ordaine it but freely to be kept: for ſo I finde among the decrees, that Lent was commanded firſt to be faſted but onely of the Clergy or Church-men.

Cenſing of the Sacrament.
Covering of the Altars.

Pope Leo commanded the ſacrament to be cenſed.

Pope Boniface ſet in his foot for covering of the altars.

Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 3.
Ex libro ordinis Rom. officii.

In S. Cyprians time it ſeemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his ſecond booke of Epiſtles: which mixture is referred to Alexander the firſt in the order of the Romane Canon.

The breaking of the hoſt in three parts.
Ex Rom. ordine de officio Miſſæ.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read alſo mention to be made in the ſame booke of order, but no certaine Author thereof to be named. The words of the booke be theſe; Tripliciter, inquit, corpus Domini intelligitur. Vnum quod reſurrexit à mortuis, quod ſignificat particula in ſanguinem miſſa; Aliud quod adhuc vivit in terra ſignificatum per particulam à Sacerdote conſumptam; Tertium, quod jam requieſcit in Chriſto, quod etiam à tertia particula in altari reſervata aptè figuratur, &c. i. Three wayes is the body of the Lord underſtanded; One which roſe againe from the dead, being ſignified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; The other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the Prieſt eaten doth ſignifie; The third is that now reſteth in Chriſt, which alſo is figured by that particle that is reſerved upon the altar.

Dedication of Churches.

Dedication of Churches came in by Felix the third; and that Churches might not be hallowed but by a Biſhop, Anno 492.

The Canticle, Gloria, laus, &c. in the proceſſion before the Maſſe on Palmſunday, was inſtituted by Theodulphus Biſhop of Aurelia as Sigebertus writeth, about the yeere of our Lord, 483.

Honor in gemma. lib. 1. ca. 66.
Guliel. Durand. in Ration. lib. 4. caa. 53.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occaſion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the Miniſters were wont to receive certaine meale of every houſe or family, wherewith a great loafe was made, called Panis Dominicus, able to ſerve in the Communion, and to be diſtributed unto the people, which then was wont every day to be preſent and to receive, eſpecially they that offered the meale: for whom it was wont therefore to be ſaid in the Canon, Omnium circumſtantium, qui tibi hoc ſacrificium laudis offerunt, &c. But afterward the number of the people increaſing, and piety decreaſing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but onely upon ſundayes.

At length followed the third conſtitution, that thrice a yeere, at leaſt at Eaſter, every man ſhould communicate, it being thus provided, that inſtead of the daily Communion before uſed the Paxe did ſerve. And in ſtead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed and ſundaily given and diſtributed unto the people, which alſo was called Eulogia; the conſtitution whereof ſeemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For ſo we read in the decrees of the ſaid Pope Pius, Vt de oblationibus quæ offeruntur à populo, & conſecrationibus ſuperſunt, vel de panibus quos deferunt fideles ad Eccleſiam, vel certè de ſuis Presbyter convenienter partes inciſas habeat in vaſe nitido & convenienti, & poſt miſſarum ſolennia qui communicare non fuerint paràti Eulogias omni die Dominica, & in diebus feſtis, exinde accipiant. That is, That the Miniſter ſhall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the conſecration, or elſe of the bread which the faithfull bring unto the Church, or els to take of their owne bread and cut it conveniently in portions in a cleane and a convenient veſſell; ſo that after the ſolemnity of the miniſtration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or Feſtivall day Eulogies, or Benedictions with the ſame. Hæc ille.

Holy bread. Ex ſanctionibus Eccleſiaſticis. Claſſ. 3. decreta Pii Papæ.

As concerning holy water which they uſed to ſprinkle at the Church doore upon them that entred in, I will not ſay that it ſprung from the idolatrous uſe of the Gentiles.

This I ſay as I finde in hiſtoria Zozomeni. Erat autem Romanis vetuſta conſuetudo, ut quum limen Templi tranſeundum eſſet, Sacerdos ſecundum morem Ethnicum madidos quoſdam Olivæ ramuſculos manu tenens ingredientes aſpergebat, &c. i. It was an old cuſtome among the Romanes, that at the entring in at the Church doore the Prieſt after the uſuall manner of the Ethnicks, having in his hand moiſt branches of Olive, did ſprinkle with the ſame ſuch as entred in, &c.

Zozom. li. 6. ca. 6. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 6.

To the which cuſtome this our manner of giving of holy water is ſo like, that it ſeemeth to proceed out of the ſame.

In the booke of the Popes decrees, and in the diſtinctions of Gratianus, there is a certaine decree fathered upon Alexander the firſt, about the yeere of our Lord, 121. Which decree may well ſeem to be a baſtard decree, neither agreeing to ſuch a father, nor ſuch a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be theſe, Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur, & purificentur, quod omnibus Sacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus: Nam ſi cinis Vitulæ aſperſus populum ſanctificabat, atque mundabat, multò magis aqua ſale aſperſa, diviniſque precibus ſacrata, populum ſanctificat atque mundat. Et ſi ſale aſperſo per Heliſæum Prophetam ſterilitas aquæ ſanata eſt; quantò magis divinis precibus ſacratus ſal ſterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, & coinquinatos ſanctificat & purgat, & cætera bona multiplicat, & inſidias Diaboli avertit, & à phantaſmatis verſutiis homines defendit? That is, We bleſſe water ſprinkled with ſalt among the people, that all ſuch as be ſprinkled with the ſame, may be ſanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all Prieſts to doe: for if the aſhes of the Cow, in the old Law, being ſprinkled among the people, did ſanctifie and cleanſe them, much more water ſprinkled with ſalt, and hallowed with godly prayers, ſanctifieth and cleanſeth the people. And if that Heliſeus the Prophet by the ſprinkling of ſalt did heale and helpe the barrenneſſe of the water; how much more doth the ſalt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenneſſe of humane things, and ſanctifie and purge them that be defiled; alſo multiply other things that be good, and turne away the ſnares of the divell, and defend men from the deceptions of phantaſie, &c.

Ex lib. concil. De conſecrat. diſt. 3. c. Aquam.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which ſome alſo aſcribe to Pope Sixtus which ſucceeded Alexander. But as the Papiſts do not agree in the firſt author or inſtitutor of this hallowing of elements, ſo I think the ſame untruly to be aſcribed to either: but leaving the probation of this to further pleaſure, let us now heare in our owne tongue their owne words, which they uſe in this their conjuration.

The forme and words uſed of the Prieſt in conjuring ſalt.

I conjure thee thou creature of ſalt by the ✠ living God, by the ✠ true God, by the holy God, &c. That thou maiſt be made a conjured ſalt, to the ſalvation of them that beleeve; and that unto all ſuch as receive thee thou mayeſt be health of ſoule and body; and that from out of the place wherin thou ſhalt be ſprinkled, may flie away and depart all phantaſie, wickedneſſe, or craftineſſe of the divels ſubtilty, and every foule ſpirit, &c.

Salt conjured.

The forme of conjuring water.

I conjure thee thou creature of water, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, and in the name of ✠ Jeſu Chriſt his Son, our Lord, and in the vertue ✠ of the holy Ghoſt, that thou become a conjured water to expell all power of the enemy, &c.

Water conjured.

Who ſeeth not in theſe words blaſphemy intolerable, how that which is only due to the blood of Chriſt, and promiſed to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and inſenſate creatures, to be ſalvation both to body and ſpirit, inwardly to give remiſſion of ſins, to give health and remedy againſt evils and devils, againſt all phantaſies, wickednes, and all foule ſpirits, and to expell the power of the enemy, &c. If this be true, whereto ſerveth the blood of Chriſt, and the vertue of Chriſtian faith?

Therefore judge thy ſelf, gentle Reader, whether thou thinke this trumpery rightly to be fathered upon thoſe ancient Fathers aforenamed, or els whether it may ſeeme more like truth that John Sleydan writeth, whoſe words in his ſecond booke de Monarchiis are theſe; Horum decreta ſunt in libris inſerta conciliorum, ſed ex his pleraque tam ſunt levicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena prorſus à ſacris literis, ut credibile ſit ab aliis longo poſt tempore fuiſſe conficta, &c. That is, The decrees of theſe foreſaid Biſhops and Martyrs be inſerted in the booke of Councels, but of theſe decrees many be ſo childiſh, ſo trifling, and ſo farre diſagreeing from the holy Scripture, that it is very like that the ſame were fained and counterfeited of others long after their time, &c. Thus much ſaith Sleydan with moe words in that place. Unto whoſe teſtimony if I might be ſo bold alſo to add my conjecture, I would ſuppoſe the conjuration of this foreſaid water and ſalt to ſpring out of the ſame fountaine, from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, becauſe I ſee the order and manner of them both to be ſo like and uniforme as may appeare.

Ioan. Sleid. lib. 2. de 4. Monarch.

Many decrees falſly imputed to the old Fathers which were none of theirs.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

I conjure thee thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, & in the name ✠ of Jeſu Chriſt his Son,

Flowers and branches hallowed.

our Lord; and in the vertue of the holy ✠ Ghoſt. Therfore be thou rooted out and diſplanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou ſtrength of the adverſary, all thou hoſt of the divell, and all the power of the enemy, even every aſſault of the divels, &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayeſt partly coniecture the ſame not to be ſo old as Steven Gardiner, in his letter againſt Maſter Ridley above mentioned, would have, being both deceived himſelfe, and alſo going about to ſeduce other.

Ex actis Rom. Pontif. in vita Greg. 3.

Furthermore, as touching the reſerving of reliques and the memoriall of Saints brought into the Maſſe, Gregory the third is the author thereof, who alſo added to the Canon therof this clauſe, Quorum ſolemnitates hodie in conſpectu divinæ majeſtatis tuæ celebrantur, &c.

Oyle & creame.

The Corporas only of linnen.

Autor. lib. concil. tom. 1.

Finally, it were too long to recite every thing in order, deviſed and brought in particularly to the Maſſe, and to the Church. For after that mans braine was once ſet on deviſing, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all religion was turned welnigh to ſuperſtition. Thereof commeth oyle and creame brought in by Pope Sylveſter, not wont to be hallowed but by a Biſhop. That the Corporas ſhould not be of ſilk, but only of fine linnen cloth. That the Pſalmes ſhould be ſung on ſides, the one ſide of the Quire ſinging one verſe, the other another, with Gloria patri, &c. That Baptiſm ſhould be miniſtred at no other time in the yeere but only at Eaſter and Whitſontide (ſave only to Infants, and ſuch as were in extreme infirmity) and that it ſhould be required 40. dayes before; ſo determined by Pope Siricius: and therfore was it that Fonts were hallowed onely at theſe two ſeaſons, the which hallowing they keep yet ſtill, but the ordinance they have reiected. Item, that Bels alſo were chriſtened. Item, no Prieſt ſhould weare a beard, or have long haire; ſo appointed by Pope Martin the firſt. Item, that auricular confeſſion ſhould be made, that the booke of decrees and decretals ſhould be ſtabliſhed, and tranſubſtantiation confirmed, in which three acts Pope Innocentius the third was the chiefeſt doer, about the yeere of our Lord, 1215.

Hallowing of the Font at Eaſter and Whitſuntide.
Chriſtening of Bels.
Ex pont. Damaſ.
No beards.

Tranſubſtantiation.

And thus have ye in ſumme the gatherings of the Maſſe, with the Canon and all the appurtenance of the ſame: which, not much unlike to the Crow of Eſope, being patched with the feathers of ſo many birds, was ſo long a gathering, that the Temple of Salomon was not ſo long in building, as the Popes Maſſe was in making. Whereby iudge now thy ſelfe, good Reader, whether this Maſſe did proceed from James and other Apoſtles, or no. And yet this was one of the principall cauſes for which ſo much turmoile was made in the Church, with the blood-ſhed of ſo many godly men, ſuffering in ſo many quarters of this Realme; ſome conſumed by fire, ſome pined away with hunger, ſome hanged, ſome ſlaine, ſome racked, ſome tormented one way, ſome another, and that onely or chiefly for the cauſe of this aforeſaid Popiſh Maſſe; as by the reading of this ſtory following, by the grace of Chriſt our Lord, ſhall appeare more at large. In whom I wiſh thee to continue in health, and to perſevere in the truth.

The firſt entring of Queene Mary to the Crowne, with the alteration of Religion, and other perturbations happening the ſame time in this Realme of England.

Anno 1553.
The reigne of Q. Mary.

Marriage betweene the Lord Gilford and the Lady Jane.

What time King Edward by long ſickneſs began to appeare more feeble and weake, in the mean while during the time of this his ſickneſſe, a certaine marriage was provided, concluded, and ſhortly alſo upon the ſame ſolemnized in the moneth of May, betweene the Lord Gilford ſonne to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane the Duke of Suffolks daughter; whoſe mother being then alive, was daughter to Mary King Henries ſecond ſiſter, who firſt was married to the French King, and afterward to Charles Duke of Suffolke. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the King waxing every day more ſicke than other, whereas indeed there ſeemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to paſſe by the conſent not onely of the Nobility, but alſo of the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the King by his Teſtament did appoint the foreſaid Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, to be inheretrix unto the Crowne of England, paſſing over his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Sir James Hales ſtandeth with Q. Mary.

To this order ſubſcribed all the Kings Councell, and the chief of the Nobility, the Mayor and City of London, and almoſt all the Judges and chiefe Lawyers of this Realme, ſaving onely Juſtice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true Religion, and alſo an upright Judge, as any hath been noted in this Realme, who, giving his conſent unto Lady Mary, would in no caſe ſubſcribe to Lady Jane. Of this man (God willing) you ſhall heare more in the ſequele of this ſtory. The cauſes laid againſt Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared ſhe would marry with a ſtranger, and thereby intangle the Crowne; as alſo that ſhe would cleane alter Religion, uſed both in King Henry her father, and alſo in King Edward her brothers dayes, and ſo bring in the Pope, to the utter deſtruction of the Realme, which indeed afterward came to paſſe, as by the courſe and ſequele of this ſtory may well appeare.

Two things feared in Q. Mary.

Much probable matter they had thus to coniecture of her, by reaſon of her great ſtubborneſſe ſhewed and declared in her brothers days, as in the letters before mentioned, paſſing betweene her and King Edward, and the Councell, may appeare. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every mans hand, King Edward an impe of ſo great hope, not long after this departed by the vehemency of his ſickneſſe, when he was ſixteen yeers of age; with whom alſo decayed in a manner the whole flouriſhing eſtate and honour of the Engliſh Nation.

When K. Edward was dead, this Jane was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome by the Nobles conſent, and was forthwith publiſhed Queene by Proclamation at London, and in other Cities where was any great reſort, and was there ſo taken & named. Betweene this young damſel and K. Edward there was little difference in age,

Queene Jane proclaimed at London.
Compariſon betweene young King Edward and young Lady Jane.

This inſtructor of the Lady Iane, was Maſt. Elmar.

though in learning & knowledge of the tongues ſhe was not only equall, but alſo ſuperiour unto him, being inſtructed of a maſter right nobly learned. If her fortune had béen as good as was her bringing up, ioyned with fineneſſe of wit, undoubtedly ſhe might have ſéemed comparable not only to the houſe of Veſpaſians, Sempronians, and mother of the Gracchies, yea, to any other women beſide, that deſerved high praiſe for their ſingular learning; but alſo to the Univerſity-men, which have taken many degrées of the Schooles.

In the meane time while theſe things were a working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brothers death, writeth to the Lords of the Councell in forme as followeth.

A letter of the Lady Mary, ſent to the Lords of the Councell, wherein ſhe claimeth the Crowne after the deceaſe of King Edward.

Lady Maries letter ſent to the Councell, wherein ſhe claimeth the Crowne.

MY Lords, we greet you well, and have received ſure advertiſement, that our deareſt brother the King, our late Soveraigne Lord, is departed to Gods mercy; which newes how wofull they be unto our heart, he onely knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure we muſt, and doe humbly ſubmit us and our wils. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to wit, now after his Majeſties departure and death, concerning the Crowne and Governance of this Realme of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath beene provided by Act of Parliament, and the Teſtament and laſt Will of our deareſt Father, beſides other circumſtances advancing our right, you know, the Realme, and the whole world knoweth, the Rols and Records appeare by the authority of the King our ſaid Father, and the King our ſaid Brother, and the Subjects of this Realme; ſo that we verily truſt that there is no good true Subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of our ſelves cauſed, and, as God ſhall aid and ſtrengthen us, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weighty a matter ſeemeth ſtrange, that our ſaid brother dying upon Thurſday at night laſt paſt, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we conſider your wiſdomes and prudence to be ſuch, that having eftſoones amongſt you debated, pondered, and well weighed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your owne eſtate, the Common-wealth, and all our honours, we ſhall and may conceive great hope and truſt with much aſſurance in your loyalty and ſervice, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worſt; and that ye will, like Noblemen, worke the beſt. Nevertheleſſe we are not ignorant of your conſultations to undoe the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and proviſions forcible wherewith ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can but feare ſome evill. But be it that ſome conſideration politike, or whatſoever thing elſe hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not my Lords, but wee can take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right ready to remit and fully pardon the ſame, and that freely, to eſchew blood-ſhed and vengeance againſt all thoſe that can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part as appertaineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to uſe the ſervice of other our true ſubjects and friends, which in this our juſt and right cauſe, God, in whom our whole affiance is, ſhall ſend us. Wherefore my Lords, we require you and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegeance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the ſurety of our perſon onely imploy your ſelves, and forthwith upon receit hereof, cauſe our right and title to the Crowne and government of this Realme to be proclaimed in our City of London and other places, as to your wiſdomes ſhall ſeeme good, and as to this caſe appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very truſt is in you. And thus our letter, ſigned with our hand, ſhall be your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe.

Yeven under our Signet, at our Manor of Kenyng-hall, the ninth of Iuly. 1553.

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the Lords of the Councell make anſwer againe, as followeth.

Anſwer of the Lords unto the Lady Maries letter.

A letter of the Councell anſwering again to the Lady Mary.

MAdame, we have received your letters the ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title, which you iudge your ſelf to have to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For anſwer whereof, this is to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our Soveraigne Lady Quéen Iane is, after the death of our Soveraigne Lord Edward the ſixth, a Prince of moſt noble memory, inveſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right title in the Imperiall Crown of this Realme, not onely by good order of old ancient Lawes of this Realm, but alſo by our late Soveraigne Lords letters patents ſigned with his owne hand, and ſealed with the great ſeale of England in preſence of the moſt part of the Nobles, Counſellours, Iudges, with divers other grave and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: We muſt therefore, as of moſt bound duty and allegeance, aſſent unto her ſaid Grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithfull ſubiects cannot) fall into grievous and unſpeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no leſſe do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you alſo, to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as the divorce, made betwéene the King of famous memory, King Henry the eight, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the everlaſting Lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, and by the moſt part of the noble & learned Univerſities of Chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry acts of Parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iuſtly made illegitimate and unheritable to the Crowne Imperiall of this Realme, and the rules, and dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you will upon iuſt conſideration hereof, and of divers other cauſes lawfull to be alledged for the ſame, and for the iuſt inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late King our Soveraigne Lord King Edward the ſixth, and agréed upon by the Nobles and great perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe by any pretence to vexe and moleſt any of our Soveraigne Lady Quéene Iane her ſubiects from their true faith and allegeance due unto her Grace: aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpect ſhew your ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall finde us all and ſeverall ready to doe you any ſervice that we with duty may, and glad with your quietneſſe to preſerve the common State of this Realm: wherein you may be otherwiſe grievous unto us, to your ſelf, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, this ninth of Iuly, 1553.

Lady Iane inveſted in poſſeſſion of the Crowne by king Edwards will and aſſent of the whole Councell.

Lady Mary recounted illegitimate.

Your Ladiſhips friends, ſhewing your ſelfe an obedient ſubject.

Thomas

Anno 1553.

Thomas Canterbury.
The Marqueſs of Wincheſter.
Iohn Bedford.
Wil. Northampton.
Tho. Ely Chancellour.
Northumberland.
Henry Suffolke.
Henry Arundell.
Shrewsbury.
Pembrooke.
Cobham.

R. Rich.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheyney,
R. Cotton.
Iohn Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cecill,
Iohn Cheeke.
Iohn Maſon.
Edward North.
R. Bowes.

¶ All theſe aforeſaid, except only the Duke of Northumberland, and ſir Iohn Gates, afterward were either by ſpeciall favour, or ſpeciall or generall pardon diſcharged.

Lady Mary keepeth her ſelfe from the city of London.

After this anſwer received, and the minds of the Lords perceived, Lady Mary ſpeedeth her ſelfe ſecretly away farre off from the City, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the Commons, and yet perchance not deſtitute altogether of the ſecret advertiſements of ſome of the Nobles. When the Councell heard of her ſudden departure and perceived her ſtoutneſſe, and that all came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed, they gathered ſpeedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and firſt aſſigned that the Duke of Suffolke ſhould take that enterpriſe in hand, and ſo have the leading of the band. But afterward altering their minds, they thought it beſt to ſend forth the Duke of Northumberland, with certaine other Lords and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke ſhould keep the Tower, where the Lord Gilford and the Lady Iane the ſame time were lodged.

The Duke of Northumberland ſent forth againſt Lady Mary.

In the which expedition the Guard alſo, albeit they were much unwilling at the firſt thereunto, yet notwithſtanding, through the vehement perſwaſions of the Lord Treaſurer, maſter Chomley. and other they were induced to aſſiſt the Duke, and to ſet forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the Duke now being ſet forward after the beſt array out of London, having notwithſtanding his times preſcribed, and his iourney appointed by the Councell, to the intent he might not ſeem to do any thing but upon warrant. Mary in the meane while toſſed with much travell up and downe, to worke the ſureſt way for her beſt advantage, withdrew herſelfe into the quarters of Northfolk and Suffolk, where ſhe underſtood the Dukes name to be had in much hatred for the ſervice that had been done there of late under King Edward, in ſubduing the rebels, & there gathering to her ſuch aide of the Commons in every ſide as ſhe might, keeping her ſelfe cloſe for a ſpace within Fremingham Caſtle. To whom firſt of all reſorted the Suffolke men; who being alwayes forward in promoting the proceedings of the Goſpell, promiſed her their aide and help, ſo that ſhe would not attempt the alteration of the Religion, which her brother King Edward had before eſtabliſhed, by lawes and orders publikely enacted, and received by the conſent of the whole Realme in that behalfe.

Policy of Lady Mary.

The Lady Mary taketh Fremingham Caſtle.

The Suffolke men gather to the Lady Maries ſide.

To make the matter ſhort, unto this condition ſhe eftſoones agreed, with ſuch promiſe made unto them that no innovation ſhould be made of Religion, as that no man would or could then have miſdoubted her. Which promiſe, if ſhe had as conſtantly kept, as they did willingly preſerve her with their bodies and weapons, ſhe had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had alſo made her Reigne more ſtable to her ſelfe through former tranquilitie. For though a man be never ſo puiſſant of power, yet breach of promiſe is an evill upholder of quietneſſe, feare is worſe, but crueltie is the worſt of all.

The L. Mary pr[illegible] that [illegible] would not [illegible] religion.

Breach of promiſe in Queen Mary.

Thus Mary being guarded with the power of the Goſpellers, did vanquiſh the Duke, and all thoſe that came with her. In conſideration whereof it was (me thinkes) an heavie word that ſhe anſwered to the Suffolke men afterwards, which did make ſupplication to her grace to performe her promiſe: Forſomuch (ſaith ſhee) as you being but members deſire to rule your head, you ſhall one day well perceive, that members muſt obey their head, and not looke to beare rule over the ſame. And not only that, but alſo to cauſe the more terror unto other, a certaine Gentleman named maſter Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndam ſide, for the ſame cauſe, that is, for advertiſing her by humble requeſt of her promiſe, was puniſhed, being three ſundry times ſet on the Pillory to bee a gazing ſtocke unto all men. Divers other delivered her bookes and ſupplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then ſtabliſhed; and for their good will were ſent to priſon. But ſuch is the condition of mans nature (as here you ſee) that we are for the moſt part more ready alwayes to ſeek friendſhip when we ſtand in need of helpe, than ready to requite a benefit once paſt and received. Howbeit againſt all this one ſhote-anker we have, which may bee a ſure comfort to all miſerable creatures, that equitie and fidelitie are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above, though the ſame, being ſhut out of the doores in this world, bee not to be found here among men. But ſeeing our intent is to write a ſtorie, not to treat of office, let us lay Suffolke men aſide for a while, whoſe deſerts, for their readineſſe and diligence with the Queen, I will not here ſtand upon. What ſhe performed on her part, the thing it ſelfe, and the whole ſtory of this perſecution doth teſtifie, as hereafter more plainly will appeare.

Queene Maries anſwer to the Suffolke men.

Maſter Dobbe puniſhed.

Perfect fidelity ſhut out of the doores, yet is to be found in heaven.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of Northumberland having his warrant under the broad Seale, with all furniture in readineſſe, as he tooke his voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what ſtirring on every ſide, what ſending, what riding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what heart burning among the people, what faire pretences outwardly, inwardly what privie practices there were, what ſpeeding of Ordinance daily and hourely out of the Tower, what rumours and comming downe of ſouldiers from all quarters there was; a world it was to ſee, and a proceſſe to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. The greateſt helpe that made for the Lady Mary was the ſhort iourneys of the Duke, which by commiſſion were aſſigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingred in his voyage, the Lady Mary the more increaſed in puiſſance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her. Which after the councell at London perceived, and underſtood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them to ſtand with her, and that certaine noble men began to goe the other way, they turned their ſong, and proclaimed for Queene the Lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to King Henry the eight, and appointed by Parliament to ſucceed King Edward dying without iſſue.

Queene Mary proclaimed at London.

And ſo the Duke of Northumberland, being by counſell and advice ſent forth againſt her, was left deſtitute, and forſaken alone at Cambridge with ſome of his ſons, and a few other: among whom the Earle of Huntington was one:

The Duke of Northumberland overthrowne.

The Duke of Northumberland brought to the Tower as a traitor.

who there were arreſted and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the Crowne, notwithſtanding that he had there proclaimed her Queene before.

Queene Mary commeth up to London.

Thus have ye Mary now made a Queen, and the ſword of authoritie put into her hand, which how ſhe afterward did uſe, we may ſee in ſequele of this book. Therefore (as I ſay) when ſhe had been thus advanced by the Goſpellers, and ſaw all in quiet by meanes that her enemies were conquered, ſending the Duke captive to the Tower before (which was the 25. of July) ſhee followed not long after, being brought up the third day of Auguſt to London, with the great reioycing of many men, but with a greater fear of moe, and yet with flattery, peradventure moſt great, of fained hearts.

The La. Jane and the Lord Gilford priſoners in the Tower.
The Duke of Northumberland condemned to dye.
The Duke of Northumberland revoketh his religion.

Thus comming up to London, her firſt lodging ſhe took at the Tower, whereas the foreſaid Lady Jane with her husband the Lord Gilford, a little before her comming, were impriſoned; where they remained waiting her pleaſure almoſt five moneths. But the Duke, within a moneth after his comming to the Tower, being adiudged to death, was brought forth to the Scaffold, and there beheaded. Albeit he having a promiſe, and being put in hope of pardon (yea, though his head were upon the block) if he would recant and heare maſſe, conſented thereto, and denyed in words that true religion, which before time, as well in King Henry the eighths days, as in King Edwards, he had oft evidently declared himſelfe both to favour and further: exhorting alſo the people to returne to the Catholike faith, as he termed it. Whoſe recantation the Papiſts did forthwith publiſh and ſet abroad, reioycing not a little at his converſion, or rather ſubverſion, as then appeared.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded. Sir Jo. Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, confeſſing their faith, were beheaded.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (which Palmer on the other ſide confeſſed his faith that he had learned in the Goſpel, and lamented that he had not lived more Goſpell-like) being put to death; In the meane time Queen Mary entring thus her reigne with the blood of theſe men, beſides hearing Maſſe her ſelf in the Tower, gave a heavie ſhew and ſignification hereby, but eſpecially by the ſudden delivering of Steven Gardiner out of the Tower, that ſhe was not minded to ſtand to that which ſhe ſo deeply had promiſed to the Suffolke men before, concerning the not ſubverting or altering the ſtate of Religion, as in very deed the ſurmiſe of the people was therein nothing deceived.

The true preaching Biſhops diſplaced.

Beſides the premiſſes, other things alſo followed, which every day more and more diſcomforted the people, declaring the Queene to beare no good will to the preſent ſtate of Religion; as not only the releaſing of Gardiner being then made Lord Chancellour of England and Biſhop of Wincheſter, Doctor Poynet being put out; but alſo that Boner was reſtored to his Biſhopricke againe, and Doctor Ridley diſplaced. Item Doctor Day to the Biſhopricke of Chicheſter, J. Scory being put out. Item, Doctor Tonſtall to the Biſhoprick of Duriſme. Item, Doctor Heath to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, and J. Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item Doctor Veſſe to Exceter, and Miles Coverdale put out. Theſe things being marked and perceived, great heavineſſe and diſcomfort grew more and more to all good mens hearts; but contrary, to the wicked, great reioycing. In which diſcord of mindes, and diverſitie of affections, was now to bee ſeene a miſerable face of things in the whole Common-wealth of England. They that could diſſemble took no greet care how the matter went. But ſuch, whoſe conſciences were ioyned with the truth, perceived already coales to be kindled, which after ſhould be the deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian man, as indeed it came to paſſe. In the meane while Queene Mary after theſe beginnings, removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned againſt the tenth day of October next enſuing, whereof more is to be ſaid hereafter.

A Parliament ſummoned.

Yee heard before how divers Biſhops were removed, and other placed in their roomes: amongſt whom was Doctor Ridley Biſhop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Doctor Ridley in the time of Queene Jane had made a Sermon at Pauls Croſſe, ſo commanded by the Councell; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, and diſſwading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might riſe by receiving her to bee their Queene, prophecying as it were before that which after came to paſſe, that ſhee would bring in forraine power to raigne over them; beſides the ſubverting alſo of Chriſtian Religion then already eſtabliſhed; ſhewing moreover that the ſame Mary being in his Dioceſſe, he according to his dutie being then her Ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithſtanding all other points of civility, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe ſo ſtiffe and obſtinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to diſturbe and overturne all that which with ſo great labours had beene confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon Queene Mary was proclaimed; whereupon hee ſpeedily repairing to Freiningham to ſalute the Queene, had ſuch cold welcome there, that being ſpoiled of all his dignitie, hee was ſent backe upon a lame halting horſe to the Tower.

Biſhop Ridley preacheth in Queene Maries time.

Maſter Rogers preacheth.

After him preached alſo Maſter Rogers the next Sunday, intreating very learnedly upon the Goſpell of the ſame day.

This ſo done, Queene Mary ſeeing all things yet not going ſo after her minde as ſhee deſired, deviſed with her Councell to bring to paſſe that thing by other meanes, which as yet by open law ſhe could not well accompliſh, directing forth an Inhibition by proclamation, that no man ſhould preach or read openly in Churches the Word of God, beſides other things alſo in the ſame Proclamation inhibited, the copie whereof here followeth.

An Inhibition of the Queene, for Preaching, Printing, &c.

Auguſt 18.

An Inhibition of the Queene for preaching and printing.

The Queens Highneſſe well remembring what great inconveniences and dangers have growne to this her Highneſſe Realme in times paſt, through the diverſitie of opinions in queſtion of Religion, and hearing alſo that now of late, ſince the beginning of her moſt gracious Reigne, the ſame contentions be againe much revived, through certaine falſe and untrue reports and rumours ſpread by ſome light and evill diſpoſed perſons, hath thought good to doe to underſtand, to all her Highneſſe moſt loving ſubiects, her moſt gracious pleaſure in manner following:

Firſt, her Maieſtie, being preſently by the only goodnes of God ſetled in her iuſt poſſeſſion of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and other

Anno 1553

Queene Mary beginneth to ſet forth her popiſh religion. Religion here grounded upon the Queenes good will.

ther Dominions there unto belonging, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſſed from her infancie hitherto. Which as her Maieſtie is minded to obſerve and maintaine for her ſelfe by Gods grace, during her time, ſo doth her Highneſſe much deſire, and would bee glad the ſame were of all her Subiects quietly and charitably embraced.

Termes of Papiſt and Heretike forbidden.

And yet ſhee doth ſignifie unto all her Maieſties loving Subiects, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition and clemency, her Highneſſe mindeth not to compell any her ſaid Subiects thereunto, untill ſuch time as further order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbidding neverthelesſe all her ſubiects of all degrees, at their perils, to move ſeditions, or ſtirre unquietnes in her people by interpreting the Lawes of this Realme after their braines and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is ſaid) further order may bee taken, and therefore willeth and ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all her ſaid good loving ſubiects to live together in quiet ſort and chriſtian charity, leaving thoſe new found devilliſh termes of Papiſt or Heretike, and ſuch like, and applying their whole care, ſtudie, and travaile to live in the feare of God, exerciſing their converſations in ſuch charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed expreſſe that great hunger and thirſt of Gods glory and holy Word, which by raſh talk and words many have pretended: and in ſo doing they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and live without danger of the Lawes, and maintaine the tranquillitie of the Realme. Whereof as her Highneſſe ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any publike aſſemblies, or otherwiſe, ſhall goe about to ſtirre the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhe mindeth, according to her duety, to ſee the ſame moſt ſeverely reformed and puniſhed according to her Highneſſe lawes.

False ſurmiſes againſt true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

Here was the head of Wincheſter.

Preaching, Printing, Reading, and playing of Enterludes, reſtrained.

And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is alſo well knowne, that ſedition and falſe rumours have been nouriſhed and maintained in this Realme, by the ſubtiltie and malice of ſome evill diſpoſed perſons, which take upon them without ſufficient authoritie to preach and to interpret the Word of God after their owne braine in Churches, and other places both publike and private, and alſo by playing of enterludes, and printing of falſe fond bookes, ballads, rimes, and other lewd treatiſes in the Engliſh tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in queſtion and controverſie, touching the high points and myſteries of Chriſtian Religion; which bookes, ballads, rimes, and treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers ſet out to ſale to her Graces ſubiects, of an evill zeale, for lucre and covetouſnes of vile gaine: Her Highneſſe therfore ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her ſaid Subiects, of whatſoever ſtate, condition, or degree they bee, that none of them preſume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publike or private places, except in Schooles of the Univerſitie, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning Religion, neither, alſo to print any bookes, matter, ballade, rime, enterlude, proceſſe or treatiſe, nor to play any enterlude, except they have her Graces ſpeciall licence in writing for the ſame upon paine to incurre her Highnes indignation and diſpleaſure.

And her Highneſſe alſo further chargeth and commandeth all and every her ſaid Subiects, that none of them of their owne authoritie doe preſume to puniſh, or to riſe againſt any offender in the cauſes aboveſaid, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or his complices or to ceiſe any of their goods, or violently to uſe any ſuch offender by ſtriking, or impriſoning, or threatning the ſame, but wholly to referre the puniſhment of all ſuch offenders unto her Highneſſe and publike authoritie, whereof her Maieſtie mindeth to ſee due puniſhment according to the order of her Highnes Lawes.

Neverthelesſe, as her Highneſſe mindeth not hereby to reſtraine and diſcourage any of her loving Subiects, to give from time to time true information againſt any ſuch offenders in the cauſes aboveſaid, unto her Grace or her Councell, for the puniſhment of every ſuch offender, according to the effect of her Highneſſe Lawes provided in that part: ſo her ſaid Highneſſe exhorteth and ſtraitly chargeth her ſaid ſubiects to obſerve her commandement and pleaſure in every part aforeſaid, as they will avoid her Highnes ſaid indignation and moſt grievous diſpleaſure. The ſeverity and rigour whereof as her Highneſſe ſhall bee moſt ſorry to have cauſe to put in execution: ſo doth ſhe utterly determine not to permit ſuch unlawfull and rebellious doings of her ſubiects, whereof may enſue the danger of her royall eſtate, to remaine unpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſaid Laws touching theſe points to be throughly executed: which extremities ſhe truſteth all her ſaid ſubiects will foreſee, dread, and avoide accordingly: her ſaid Highneſſe ſtraitly charging and commanding all Maiors, Shiriffes Iuſtices of Peace, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and all other publike officers and miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſerving and executing of her ſaid commandements and pleaſure, and to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offend in this part, committing the ſame to the next Goale, there to remaine without baile or maineprize, till upon certificate made to her Highneſſe, or hee privie Councell, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, ſome further order ſhall bee taken for their puniſhment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the Lawes aforeſaid. Yeoven at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of Auguſt in the firſt yeers of our moſt proſperous Reigne.

Maſter Bourne preaching at Pauls Croſſe,

M. Bournes Sermon at Pauls Croſſe. Auguſt 13.

No marvell if Boner were ſo foule fallen away in ſuch a vile dungeon in the Marſhalſey.

ABout this time or not long before, Boner Biſhop of London, being reſtored, appointed Maſter Bourne a Chanon of Pauls to preach at the Croſſe, who afterward was Biſhop of Bathe; he taking occaſion of the Goſpell of that day to ſpeake ſomewhat largely in iuſtifying of Boner being then preſent; which Boner, ſaid he, upon the ſame Text in that place, that day foure yeares had preached before, and was upon the ſame moſt cruelly and uniuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the Marſhalſey, and there kept during the time of King Edward. His words ſounded ſo evill in the eares of the hearers, that they could not keepe ſilence, and began to murmure and to ſtirre in ſuch ſort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other eſtates then preſent, feared much an uproare. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the Preacher, but who it was it could not then be prooved, albeit afterward it was knowne.

In fine the ſtirre was ſuch, that the Preacher pluckt in his head, and durſt no more appeare in that place. The matter of his Sermon tended much to the derogation and diſpraiſe of King Edward, which thing the people in no caſe could abide, Then Maſter Bradford at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and other then being in the Pulpit, ſtood forth and ſpake ſo mildly, chriſtianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeaſed all: and afterward hee and maſter Rogers conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit to the Grammar ſchoole doore, where they left him ſafe, as further in the ſtory of maſter Bradford is declared. But ſhortly after they were both rewarded with long impriſonment, and laſt of all with fire in Smithfield.

Maſter John Bradford appeaſeth the people.

Bradford and Rogers garded the Preacher.

By reaſon of this tumult at Pauls Croſſe, an order was taken by the Lords of the Councell with the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that they, calling the next day following a common Councell of the Citie, ſhould thereby charge every Houſholder to cauſe their children apprentiſes, and other ſervants to keepe their owne Pariſh Churches upon the holy days and not to ſuffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them alſo to ſignifie to the ſaid aſſembly the Queenes determination uttered unto them by her Highneſſe the 12. of Auguſt in the Tower. Which was, that albeit her Graces conſcience is ſtayed in matters of Religion; yet ſhee graciouſly meant not to compell or ſtraine other mens conſciences otherwiſe than God ſhall (as ſhee truſted) put in their hearts a perſwaſion of the truth that ſhee is in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers, &c.

Alſo it was then ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward ſhould forthwith ſend for the Curates of every Pariſh within their liberties, and warne them not only to forbeare to preach themſelves, but alſo not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any opeen or ſolemne reading of Scripture in their Churches, unleſſe the ſaid Preachers were ſeverally licenced by the Queen.

After this Sermon at Pauls Croſſe aforenamed, the next day after it followed that the Queens guard was at the Croſſe with their weapons to guard the Preacher. And when men withdrew themſelvs from the ſermon, order was taken by the Maior, that the Ancients of all companies ſhould be preſent, leſt the Preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmall Auditory.

Auguſt, 1553.

1. of Auguſt, an. 1553.

The 5. of Auguſt, Anno 1553. was one William Rutler committed (by the Councell) to the Marſhalſey, for uttering certaine words againſt M. Bourn Preacher, for his ſermon at Pauls Croſſe on Sunday laſt before.

The 16. of Auguſt was Humfrey Palden committed to the Counter for words againſt the ſaid Bournes ſermon at Pauls Croſſe.

Fiſher.

A letter ſent to the Shiriffes of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fiſher, Parſon of Ammerſham, a Preacher.

Another letter to the Biſhop of Norwich, not to ſuffer any Preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly without ſpeciall licence from the Queen.

The ſame day was M. Bradford, M. Vernon, and M. Beacon, Preachers, committed to the charge of the Lievtenant of the Tower.

The ſame day alſo was Maſter John Rogers Preacher, commanded to keep himſelfe priſoner in his owne houſe at Pauls, without having any conference with any other than thoſe of his owne houſhold.

The 22. of Auguſt there were two letters directed to M. Coverdale Biſhop of Exeter, and M. Hooper Biſhop of Gloceſter, for their undelayed repaire to the Court, and there to attend the Councels pleaſure.

Fiſher.

The ſame day Fiſher Parſon of Ammerſham made his appearance before the Councell, according to their letter the 16 of Auguſt, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his ſermon.

The 24. of Auguſt was one John Melvin, a Scot, and preacher, ſent to Newgate in London by the Councell.

Symonds.

The 26. of Auguſt there was a letter ſent to the Maior of Coventry and his Brethren, for the apprehenſion of one Symonds of Worceſter Preacher, and then Vicar of S. Michaels in Coventrey, and for the ſending of him up to the Councell, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a Commiſſion to them to puniſh all ſuch as had by meanes of his preaching uſed any talke againſt the Queens proceedings.

The 29. of Auguſt M. Hooper Biſhop of Worceſter made his perſonall appearance before the Councell, according to their letters the 22. of Auguſt.

The 31. of Auguſt M. Coverdale Biſhop of Exceter made his appearance before the Councell: according to their letters the 22. of Auguſt.

September. 1553.

The firſt of September M. Hooper and M. Coverdale appeared againe before the Councell, whence M. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and maſter Coverdale commanded to attend the Lords pleaſure.

The 2. of September M. Hugh Saunders, Vicar of S. Michaels in Coventry, was before the Councell for a ſermon, and was commanded to appeare againe upon monday next after.

The 4. of September a letter was directed from the Councell to maſter Hugh Latimer for his appearance before them.

About the 5. day of September the ſame yeer, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his houſe, and found there the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the booke of Common Prayer, both by ſcriptures and Doctors, aſſiſted by Peter Martyr and a few other, as hereafter ye ſhall heare. But whileſt they were in hope to come to diſputations, the Archbiſhop and other were impriſoned, but Peter Martyr was ſuffered to returne whence he came.

Symonds.

The ſame day there was a letter ſent to the Mayor of Coventrey to ſet Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his ſermon, or elſe to ſtay him, and to ſignifie ſo much to the Councell.

The 13. of September M. Hugh Latimer appeared before the Councell, according to their letter the 4. of September, and was committed to the Tower cloſe priſoner, having his ſervant Auſten to attend upon him.

The ſame day the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, appearing before the Councell, was commanded to appeare the next day at afternoone before them in the Star-chamber.

The 14. of September the archbiſhpo of Canterbury, according to their former dayes commandement, made his appearance before the Lords in the Star-chamber. Where, they charging him with treaſon, and ſpreading abroad of ſeditious bils to the diſquieting of the eſtate, they committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remaine till further iuſtice and order at the Queenes pleaſure.

The 15 of September there was a letter ſent to M. Horne Deane of Durham, for his appearance before them, and another was ſent to him the 7. of October next after, for his ſpeedy appearance.

The 16. of September there were letters ſent to the Mayors of Dover and Rie, to ſuffer all French Proteſtants to paſſe out of this Realme except ſuch, whoſe names ſhall be ſignified to them by the French Embaſſador.

October. 1553.

October. Queene Mary crowned. October 10. The Parliament beginneth with a Maſſe.

The firſt day of October Queene Marie was crowned at Weſtminſter, and the tenth day of the ſame moneth of October then following began the Parliament with a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, after the Popiſh manner, celebrated with great pompe in the Palace of Weſtminſter. To the which Maſſe among the other Lords, according to the manner, ſhould come the Biſhops, which yet remained undepoſed, which were the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Doctor Taylor Biſhop of Lincolne, John Harley Biſhop of Hereford. Of the Biſhops. Doctor Taylor, and maſter Harley preſenting themſelves according to their dutie, and taking their place amongſt the Lords, after they ſaw the Maſſe begin, not abiding the ſight thereof, withdrew themſelvs from the company: for the which cauſe the biſhop of Lincolne being examined, and proteſting his faith, was upon the ſame commanded to attend; who not long after at Ankerwike by ſickneſſe departed. Maſter Harley, becauſe he was married, was excluded both from the Parliament and from his Biſhopricke.

Two Biſhops withdrew themſelves from the ſight of the Maſſe.

M. Harley Biſhop of Hereford put out of his Biſhoprick

Maſſe being done, the Queene accompanied with the Eſtates of the Realm was brought into the Parliament houſe, there according to the manner to enter and begin the conſultation. At which Conſultation or Parliament were repealed all Statutes made in the time of King Henrie the eight for Premunire, and Statutes made in King Edward the ſixths time for adminiſtration of Common prayer and the Sacrament in the Engliſh tongue: and further the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland was by this Parliament confirmed. In this meane while many men were forward in erecting of Altars and Maſſes in Churches. And ſuch as would ſticke to the lawes made in King Edwards time, till other ſhould be eſtabliſhed, ſome of them were marked, and ſome preſently apprehended. Among whom Sir James Hales, a Knight of Kent, and Juſtice of the Common place, was one; who notwithſtanding hee had ventured his life in Queene Maries cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to the uninheriting of her by the Kings will, yet for that he did at a Quarter Seſſions give charge upon the Statutes made in the time of King Henry the eight and Edward the ſixth, for the Supremacy & Religion, he was impriſoned in the Marſhalſey, Counter, and Fleet, and ſo cruelly handled and put in feare by talke that the Warden of the Fleet uſed to have in his hearing, of ſuch torments as were in preparing for herettickes (or for what other cauſe God knoweth) that hee ſought to ridde himſelfe out of this life by wounding himſelfe with a knife; and afterward was contented to ſay as they willed him: whereupon he was diſcharged, but after that he never reſted till he had drowned himſelfe in a river, halfe a mile from his houſe in Kent. Of whom more is to be ſeen when you come to his ſtory.

Statutes of Premunire and other repealed.

Altars and Maſſes errected.

Sir James Hales Knight.

The trouble of Judge Hales.

A ſubtle policy.

During the time of this Parliament, the Clergy likewiſe after their wonted manner had a Convocation, with a diſputation alſo, appointed by the Queenes commandement, at Pauls Church in London the ſame time, which was about the 18. of October. In the which Convocation, firſt maſter John Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinitie, made a Sermon ad Clerum, the 16. of October. After the Sermon done, it was aſſigned by the Biſhops, that they of the Clergie houſe, for avoiding confuſion of words ſhould chuſe them a Prolocutor. To the which roome and office by common aſſent was named Doctor Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, and preſented to the Biſhops with an oration of Maſter Pie Deane of Chicheſter, and alſo of Maſter Wimbiſley Archdeadon of London. Which Doct. Weſton being choſen and brought unto the Biſhops, made his gratulatory Oration to the houſe, with the anſwer again of Biſhop Boner.

A Convocation begun.

Oration of M. Pie & Maſter Wimbiſley, of Doctor Weſton and of Biſhop Boner in the Convocation houſe.

After theſe things thus ſped in the Convocation houſe, they proceeded next to the Diſputation appointed, as is aboveſaid, by the Queenes commandement, about the matter of the Sacrament. Which diſputation continued ſixe dayes. Wherein Doctor Weſton was chiefe on the Popes part; who behaved himſelfe outragiouſly in taunting and checking. In concluſion, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary part were driven ſome to flee, ſome to deny, and ſome to dye, though to the moſt mens iudgements that heard the Diſputation they had the upper hand, as here may appeare by the report of the ſaid Diſputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex, as followeth.

The true report of the Diſputation had and begun in the Convocation houſe at London, the 18, of October, Anno 1553.

A diſputation of Religion in Pauls Church in London the 18 of October.

WHereas divers and uncertaine rumours bee ſpread abroad of the Diſputation had in the Convocation houſe; to the intent that all men may know the certaintie of all things therein done and ſaid, as much as the memory of him that was preſent thereat can beare away, he hath thought good, at requeſt throughly to deſcribe what was ſaid therin on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the entrance thereof.

Act of the firſt day.

October 18

Doctor Weſton, Prolocutor, againſt the booke of Catechiſme ſet forth in King Edwards time.

FIrſt upon Wedneſday, being the 18. of October, at afternoone, Maſter Weſton the Prolocutor certified the houſe, that it was the Queenes pleaſure, that the company of the ſame Houſe, being learned men aſſembled, ſhould debate of matters of Religion, and conſtitute Lawes thereof, which her Grace and the Parliament would ratifie. And for that (ſaid he) there is a booke of late ſet forth, called the Catechiſme (which hee ſhewed forth) bearing the name of this honourable Synod, and yet put forth without your conſents as I have learned, being a booke very peſtiferous, and full of hereſies and likewiſe a booke of Common Prayer very abominable (as it pleaſed him to terme it) I thought it therefore beſt firſt to begin with the articles of the Catechiſme, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, to confirme the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo tranſubſtantiation. Wherefore (ſaid he) it ſhall be lawfull on Friday next enſuing for all men freely to ſpeake their conſcience in theſe matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully ſatisfied therein.

Act.

Act of the ſecond day.

October 20.

Two bils exhibited in the Convocation houſe by the Prolocutor.

The Friday comming, being the twentieth of October, when men had thought they ſhould have entred diſputations of the queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibited two ſeverall bils unto the Houſe; the one for the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar; the other concerning the Catechiſme, that it was not of that Houſes agreement ſet forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: requiring all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame, as hee himſelfe had done. Whereunto the whole Houſe did immediately aſſent, except ſix, which were the Deane of Rocheſter, the Deane of Exceter, the Archdeacon of Wincheſter, the Archdeacon of Hereford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And whileſt the reſt were about to ſubſcribe theſe two Articles, John Philpot ſtood up and ſpake firſt concerning the Article of the Catechiſme, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechiſme, in that it beareth the title of the Synod of London laſt before this, although many of them which then were preſent were never made privie thereof in ſetting it forth; for that this Houſe had granted the authoritie to make Eccleſiaſticall Lawes unto certaine perſons to be appointed by the Kings Maieſtie; and whatſoever Eccleſiaſticall Lawes they or the moſt part of them did ſet forth, according to a Statute in that behalfe provided, it might be well ſaid to be done in the Synod of London, although ſuch as bee of his Houſe now had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this point hee thought the ſetter forth thereof nothing to have ſlandered the Houſe, as they by their ſubſcription went about to perſwade the world, ſince they had our Synodall authority unto them committed to make ſuch ſpirituall Lawes as they thought convenient and neceſſarie.

M. Philips, M. Haddon, M. Philpot, M. Cheyney, M. Elmar, and one other refuſed to ſubſcribe to the bils. The booke of the Catechiſme defended by M. John Philpot.

Againſt the article of natural preſence.

And moreover he ſaid, as concerning the article of the naturall preſence in the Sacrament, that it was againſt reaſon and order of learning and alſo very preiudiciall to the truth, that men ſhould be mooved to ſubſcribe before the matter were throughly examined and diſcuſſed. But when hee ſaw that allegation might take no place, being as a man aſtonied at the multitude of ſo many learned men, as there were of purpoſe gathered together to maintaine old traditions more than the truth of Gods holy Word, he made this requeſt unto the Prolocutor, that whereas there were ſo many ancient learned men preſent on that ſide, as in the Realme the like again were not to be found in ſuch number; and that on the other ſide of them that had not ſubſcribed were not paſt five or ſixe, both in age and learning farre inferiour unto them: therefore, that equalitie might be had in this diſputation, he deſired that the Prolocutor would be a meane unto the Lords, that ſome of thoſe that were learned, and ſetters forth of the ſame Catechiſme, might bee brought into the Houſe to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Doctor Ridley and Maſter Rogers, with two or three mee, might be licenced to be preſent at this diſputation, and to bee aſſociate with them.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Prolocutor.

Requeſt to have D. Ridley and M. Rogers at the diſputation.

Anſwer of the Biſhops unto the requeſt.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed unto the Biſhops, who made this anſwer; that it was not in them to call ſuch perſons unto our Houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners. But they ſaid, they would be petitioners in this behalfe unto the Councell, and in caſe any were abſent that ought to bee of the Houſe, they willed them to bee taken in unto them if they liſted. After this they minding to have entred into diſputation, there came a Gentleman as meſſenger from the Lord great Maſter, ſignifying unto the Prolocutor, that the Lord great Maſter, and the Earle of Devonſhire would be preſent at the diſputations, and therefore he deferred the ſame unto munday, at one of the clock at afternoone.

The Act of the third day.

The 3. Seſſion October 23.

Upon Munday the 23. of October, at the time appointed, in the preſence of many Earles, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and divers other of the Court and of the Citie alſo, the Prolocutor made a Proteſtation, that they of the Houſe had appointed this diſputation, not to call the truth into doubt, to the which they had already all ſubſcribed, ſaving five or ſixe, but that thoſe gaineſayers might bee reſolved of their arguments in the which they ſtood, as it ſhall appeare unto you, not doubting but they will alſo condeſcend unto us.

M. Haddon, & M. Elmar refuſed to anſwer except their requeſt were granted.

Then he demanded of maſter Haddon, whether hee would reaſon againſt the queſtions propoſed or no. To whom he made anſwer, that he had certified him before in writing, that he would not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men, as were demanded to be aſſiſtant with them, would not be granted. Maſter Elmar likewiſe was asked who made the Prolocutor the like anſwer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much preiudice already to the truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed: and little or nothing it might availe to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demanded of Maſter Cheyney, whom the Prolocutor ſaid allowed the preſence with them (but he denyed the tranſubſtantiation by the meanes of certaine authorities upon the which he ſtandeth, and deſireth to be reſolved, as you ſhall heare) whether he will propoſe his doubts concerning tranſubſtantiation or no. Yea, quoth he, I would gladly my doubts to be reſolved, which moove me not to believe tranſubſtantiation.

M. Cheyney the archdeacon of Hereford now Biſhop of Gloceſter.

M. Cheyneyes doubts about tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt is out of S. Paul, to the Corinthians, who ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, calleth it oft times bread after the conſecration.

The ſecond is out of Origen, who, ſpeaking of this ſacrament ſaith, that the materiall part thereof goeth downe to the excrements.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who, making mention of the Sacramentall bread and wine after the conſecration, ſaith that they goe not out of their former ſubſtance, forme, and ſhape. Theſe be ſome of my doubts among many other, wherein I require to be anſwered.

Moremans anſwer to Saint Paul.

Then the Prolocutor aſſigned Doctor Moreman to anſwer him, who to S. Paul anſwered him thus; That the Sacrament is called by him bread indeed: but it is thus to be underſtood, that it is the ſacrament of bread, that is, the forme of bread.

M. Cheyney replyeth to Moremans anſwer.

Then Maſter Cheney inferred and alledged, that Heſychius called the Sacrament both bread and fleſh.

Moremans anſwer to Theodoretus.

Yea, quoth Moreman, Heſychius calleth it bread, becauſe it was bread, and not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſing over Origen, hee came to Theodoretus, and ſaid, that men miſtook his authority, by interpreting a generall into a ſpeciall, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting οὐσία, for ſubſtance, which is a ſpeciall ſignification of the word, whereas οὐσία is a generall word, as well to accidents as to ſubſtance; and therefore I anſwer thus unto

Theodoret, that the ſacramentall bread and wine do not go out of their former ſubſtance, form, and ſhape, that is to ſay, not out of their accidentall ſubſtance and ſhape.

M. Elmar argueth againſt D. Moremans anſwer.

After this maſter Cheyney ſate him downe, and by and by maſter Elmar ſtood up as one that could not abide to heare ſo fond an anſwer to ſo grave an authority, and reaſoned upon the authority of Theodoret alledged before by maſter Cheyney, and declared, that Moremans anſwer to Theodoret was no iuſt nor ſufficient anſwer, but an illuſion and a ſubtile evaſion, contrary to Theodorets meaning. For, ſaid hee, if οὐσία ſhould ſignifie an accident in the place alledged, as it is anſwered by maſter Moreman, then were it a word ſuperfluous ſet in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words which ſufficiently doe expound the accidents of the bread, that is, εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which ſignifie in Engliſh, ſhape and forme; and ſo he proved out of the ſame author by divers allegations, that οὐσία in Greeke could not be ſo generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a ſhift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other ſalve for that ſore, affirmeth ſtill, that οὐσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance, muſt needs ſignifie an accidentall ſubſtance properly. To whoſe importunitie, ſince he could have no other anſwer, Elmar as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

Moremans ſhift is overthrowne.

Philpots replication to Moremans ſhift.

After this ſtood up John Philpot, and ſaid, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodoret intreateth of in the place above alledged, and by the ſimilitude which he maketh to prove his purpoſe, by no meanes maſter Moremans interpretation of οὐσία might be taken for an accidentall ſubſtance, as he for a ſhift would interpret it to bee. For the matter which Theodoret intreateth of in that place, is againſt Eutiches an heretike, which denyed two natures of ſubſtance to remaine in Chriſt, being one perſon, and that his humanity after the accompliſhment of the myſterie of our ſalvation, aſcending into heaven, and being ioyned unto the divinitie, was abſorpt, or ſwallowed up of the ſame, ſo that Chriſt ſhould be no more but of one divine ſubſtance onely by his opinion. Againſt which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the ſimilitude of the Sacrament prooveth the contrary againſt the Heretike: that like as in the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, after the conſecration there is the ſubſtance of Chriſts humanitie, with the ſubſtance of bread remaining as it was before, not being abſorpt of the humanitie of Chriſt, but ioyned by the divine operation thereunto; even ſo in the perſon of Chriſt, being now in heaven, of whom this Sacrament is a repreſentation, there be two ſeverall ſubſtances, that is, his divinitie and humanity united in one hypoſtaſie or perſon, which is Chriſt, the humanity not beving abſorpt by the coniunction of the divinity, but remaining in his former ſubſtance.

The place of Theodoret opened.

The argument of Theodoret, a ſimilitude.

The place of Theodoret falſly taken of the Papiſts.

And this ſimilitude, quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, ſhould prove nothing at all, if the very ſubſtance of the Sacramentall bread did not remaine, as it did before. But if Doctor Moremans interpretation might take place for tranſubſtantiation, then ſhould the hereticke have thereby a ſtrong argument by Theodorets authoritie, ſo taken to maintaine his hereſie, and to prove himſelfe a good Chriſtian man, and hee might well ſay thus unto Theodoret: Like as thou Theodoret, if thou wert of Doctor Moremans minde, doeſt ſay, that after the conſecration in the ſacrament, the ſubſtance of the bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiate into the humane body of Chriſt comming thereunto, ſo that in the Sacrament is now but one ſubſtance of the humanity alone, and not the ſubſtance of bread as it was before: even ſo likewiſe may I affirme, and conclude by thine owne ſimilitude, that the humanitie aſcending up by the power of God into heeven, and adioyned unto the deity, was by the might thereof abſorpt and turned into one ſubſtance with the deitie; ſo that now there remaineth but one divine ſubſtance in Chriſt no more than in the ſacramentall ſignes of the Lords Supper, after the conſecration, doth remaine any more than one ſubſtance, according to your beliefe and conſtruction.

The falſe expoſition of D. Moreman upon Theodoretus overthrowne.

In anſwering to this, Doctor Moreman ſtackered, whoſe defect Philpot perceiving, ſpake on this wiſe, Well maſter Moreman, if you have no anſwer at this preſent ready, I pray you deviſe one if you can conveniently, againſt our next meeting here again.

Weſton is offended.

With that his ſaying the Prolocutor was grievouſly offended, telling him that hee ſhould not bragge there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſaid Philpot it is the thing that I only deſire, to bee anſwered directly in this behalfe; and I deſire of you, and of all the houſe at this preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not ableto doe, ſaving Theodoretus authority and ſimilitude upright, as he ought to be taken. None other anſwer then was made to Philpots reaſon, but that he was commanded to ſilence.

Philpots replication anſwered by commanding him to ſilence.

This man called M. Philips, continued Deane of Rocheſter all Q. Maries time, and yet ſtill ſo remaineth.

Then ſtood up the Deane of Rocheſter offering himſelfe to reaſon in the firſt queſtion againſt the naturall preſence, wiſhing that the ſcripture, and the ancient Doctors in this point might be weighed, believed, and followed. And againſt this naturall preſence hee thought the ſaying of Chriſt in ſaint Matthew to make ſufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow ſcripture, who ſaid there of himſelfe, That poore men wee ſhould have alway with us, but him we ſhould not have alwayes: which was ſpoken, quoth he, concerning the naturall preſence of Chriſts body, therefore we ought to beleeve as he hath taught, that Chriſt is not naturally preſent on earth in the ſacrament of the Altar.

Weſtons anſwer to the Deane.

To this was anſwered by the prolocutor, that we ſhould not have Chriſt preſent alwaies to exerciſe almes-deeds upon him, but upon the poore.

The Deanes replication.

But the Deane proſecuted his argument, and ſhewed it out of ſaint Auguſtine further, that the ſame interpretation of the ſcripture alledged, was no ſufficient anſwere, who writeth in the 50. treatiſe of ſaint John on this wiſe, on the ſame ſentence; When as hee ſaid (ſaith ſaint Auguſtine) mee ſhall yee not have alwaies with you; hee ſpake of the preſence of his body. For by his majeſty, by his providence, by his unſpeakable and inviſible grace, that is fulfilled which is ſaid of him; Behold I am with you untill the conſummation of the world. But in the fleſh which the Word tooke upon him, in that which was borne of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Iewes, which was crucified on the Croſſe, which was let downe from the Croſſe, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was manifeſted in the reſurrection, You ſhall not have me alwayes with you. And why? For after a bodily preſence hee was converſant with his Diſciples forty dayes, and they accompanying him, ſeeing and not following him, he aſcended and is not here; for there hee ſitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of his Majeſtie. After another manner wee have Chriſt alwayes by the preſence of his majeſty,

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 5

A notable authority out of S. Auguſtin

but after the preſence of his fleſh it is rightly ſaid, You ſhall not verily have me alwaies with you. For the Church had him in the preſence of his fleſh a few dayes, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and ſeeth him not with eyes.

Watſons anſwer to S. Auguſtine.
Aug. in Ioan. tract. 70.

To this authoritie Doctor Watſon tooke upon him to anſwer, and ſaid, he would anſwer ſaint Auguſtine by ſaint Auguſtine, and having a certaine booke in his hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70. treatiſe upon ſaint John, that after that mortall condition and manner we have not now Chriſt on earth, as he was heretofore before his paſſion.

Philpot againſt Watſon

Againſt whoſe anſwer John Philpot replied and ſaid, that maſter Watſon had not fully anſwered ſaint Auguſtine by ſaint Auguſtine, as hee would ſeeme to have done, for that in the place above mentioned by maſter Deane of Rocheſter, he doth not only teach the mortall ſtate of Chriſts body before his paſſion, but alſo the immortall condition of the ſame after his reſurrection: in the which mortall body ſaint Auguſtine ſeemeth plainly to affirme, that Chriſt is not preſent upon the earth, neither in forme viſibly, neither in corporall ſubſtance inviſibly, as in few lines after the place above alledged, ſaint Auguſtine doth more plainly declare by theſe words, ſaying Now theſe two manners of Chriſts preſence declared, which is by his majeſtie, providence, and grace now preſent in the world, which before his aſcenſion was preſent in fleſh; and being now placed at the right hand of the father, is abſent in the ſame from the world, I thinke (ſaith ſaint Auguſtine) that there remaineth no other queſtion in this matter.

Now, quoth Philpot, if ſaint Auguſtine acknowledged no more preſence of Chriſt to bee now on earth, but only his divine preſence, and touching his humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confeſſe and believe the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is corporally to bee preſent alwaies in the Sacrament of the Altar inviſibly, according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof ſaint Auguſtine maketh no mention at all in all his workes; you ſhall ſeeme to iudge that which ſaint Auguſtine did never comprehend.

Watſon.

Why, quoth Watſon, S. Auguſtine in the place by me alledged, maketh he no mention how ſaint Steven, being in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion?

Philpot.

It is true, ſaid Philpot; but he ſaw Chriſt as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the Father. Further to this Watſon anſwered not.

D. Weſton.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furniſh up an anſwer to ſaint Auguſtine, ſaying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily preſence, but yet preſent for all that in his bodie.

Philpot replyeth to Weſton.

To whom Philpot anſwered, that the Prolocutor did grate much upon this word ſecundum in Saint Auguſtine, which ſignifieth after the manner, or in forme: but hee doth not anſwer to id quod, which is that thing or ſubſtance of Chriſt, in the which Chriſt ſuffered, aroſe, and aſcended into heaven, in the which thing and ſubſtance he is in heaven, and not in earth. as ſaint Auguſtine in the place ſpecified moſt cleerly doth define.

The Deane of Rocheſter.

To this nothing elſe being anſwered, the Deane of Rocheſter proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a booke of Annotations ſundry authorities for the confirmation thereof. To the which Moreman, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct anſwer, but bade him make an argument, ſaying, that maſter Deane had recited many words of Doctors, but he made not one argument.

Moreman.

Then ſaid the Deane, the authorities of the Doctors by me rehearſed, bee ſufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my deſire is to be anſwered of you. But ſtill Moreman cryed, make an argument, to ſhift off the authority which he could not anſwer unto. After this the Deane made this argument out of the inſtitution of the Sacrament; Do this in remembrance of me: and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death untill he come.

Argument.

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: Ergo, the Sacrament is not very Chriſt; for yet he is not come. For theſe words, Untill he come, doe plainly ſignifie the abſence of Chriſts bodie. Then the Prolocutor went about to ſhew that theſe words, Untill he come, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where Donec, Untill, was uſed in like ſence; but directly to the purpoſe he anſwered nothing. In concluſion, the Deane fell to queſtioning with Moreman, whether Chriſt did eate the Paſchall Lambe with his Diſciples, or no? He anſwered, Yea. Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewiſe the ſacrament with them, as he did inſtitute it? Moreman anſwered, Yea. Then he aſked what he did eate, and whether he did eat his owne naturall bodie, as they imagine it to be, or no? Which when Moreman had affirmed; then ſaid the Deane, it is a great abſurditie by you granted, and ſo he ſate downe.

Weſton anſwereth to the argument.
Donec in Scripture.

M. Deanes queſtions.

Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eat his owne body.

Philpot.

Againſt this abſurdity Philpot ſtood up and argued; ſaying, he could prove it by good reaſon deduced out of the ſcripture, that Chriſt eat not his owne naturall body at the inſtitution of the ſacrament, and the reaſon is this.

Argument.

Ba- Receiving of Chriſt body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins with it annexed.

ro- Chriſt eating the ſacrament, had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſin.

co. Ergo, Chriſt in the ſacrament did not eat his own body.

Moreman denieth the ſacrament to have a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins annexed to it.

To this reaſon Moreman anſwered, denying the former part of the argument, that the ſacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins annexed unto it.

Philpot.

Then Philpot ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the ſacrament; Which is given for you, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promiſe, ſo that he drave Philpot to the ſixth of ſaint John, to vouch his ſaying with theſe words; The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.

Harpsfield affirmeth that which his fellow denyed.

Moreman anſwering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield ſtart up to ſupply that which wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have anſwered Philpot, confirmed more ſtrongly his argument, ſaying; Ye miſtake the promiſe which is annexed to the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament: for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to his Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſaid, This is my body which is given for you, and not for Chriſt himſelfe.

Philpot.

You have ſaid well for me, quoth Philpot, for that is mine argument. The promiſe of the body of Chriſt took no effect in Chriſt: Ergo, Chriſt eat not his owne body.

Weſton alſo is contrary to Moreman.

Then the Prolocutor to ſhoulder out the matter, ſaid, the argument was naught. For by the like argument he might goe about to prove, that Chriſt was not baptiſed, becauſe the remiſſion of ſinne, which is annexed unto Baptiſme, took no effect in Chriſt. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Chriſt was baptiſed, ſo he eat the ſacrament; but he tooke on him Baptiſme,

not

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not that he had any need thereof; or that it tooke any effect in him, but as our maſter to give the Church an example to follow him in the miniſtration of the Sacrament, and therby to exhibit unto us himſelfe, and not to give himſelf to himſelfe.

M. Philpots argument not ſoluted.

No more was ſaid in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether hee would argue againſt the naturall preſence, or no? To whom he anſwered, Yea, if he would heare his argument without interruption, and aſſigne one to anſwer him, and not many, which is a confuſion to the Opponent, and ſpecially for him that was of an ill memory. By this time the night was come on; wherefore the Prolocutor brake up the diſputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the firſt that ſhould begin the diſputation the next day after, concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The Convocation continued to the next day.

The Act of the fourth day.

M. Philpot not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his declaration.

ON the Wedneſday the 25. of October, John Philpot as it was before appointed, was ready to have entred the diſputation, minding firſt to have made a certaine Oration, and a true declaration in Latine of the matter of Chriſts preſence which was then in queſtion. Which thing the Prolocutor perceiving, by and by hee forbad Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him alſo that he ſhould make no argument in Latine, but to conclude on his arguments in Engliſh.

D. Weſton contrary to his owne words.

Then ſaid Philpot, this is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this diſputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments ſhould be made in Latine, and thereupon I have drawne and deviſed all mine arguments in Latine. And becauſe you maſter Prolocutor have ſaid heretofore openly in this houſe that I had no learning, I had thought to have ſhewed ſuch learning, as I have in a briefe Oration, and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in controverſie, thinking it ſo moſt convenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe in my declaration than ſhould ſtand with learning, or than I were able to warrant, and iuſtifie by Gods Word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the unlearned ſort being preſent, might take the leſſe offence thereat. But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bad him ſtill forme an argument in Engliſh, or elſe to hold his peace.

Then ſaid Philpot, You have ſore diſappointed me, thus ſuddenly to goe from your former order: but I will accompliſh your commandement, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which aſwell as ſo ſudden a warning will ſerve, I will make in Engliſh. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of preſence I diſallow in the Sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better underſtand to what end and effect mine arguments ſhall tend; not to deny utterly the preſence of Chriſt in his Sacrament, truly miniſtred according to his inſtitution, but only to deny that groſſe and carnall preſence, which you of this houſe have already ſubſcribed unto, to be in the ſacrament of the Altar, contrary to the true and manifeſt meaning of the Scriptures: that by tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramentall bread and wine, Chriſts naturall body ſhould, by yͤ vertue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, bee contained and included under the formes or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of preſence imagined by men I doe deny, quoth Philpot, and againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an end of that he would have ſaid, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commanded to deſcend to his argument. At whoſe uniuſt importunitie Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchaſe him a remedy therfore, he fell down upon his knees before the Earles and Lords which were there preſent, being a great number; whereof ſome were of the Queenes Councell, beſeeching them that hee might have liberty to proſecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the Lords. But the Prolocutor, putting in ure a point of the practiſe of prelates, would not condeſcend thereunto, but ſtill cryed, Hold your peace, or elſe make a ſhort argument. I am about it, quoth Philpot, if you will let mee alone. But firſt, I muſt needs aſke a queſtion of my Reſpondent (who was Doctor Chedſey) concerning a word or twaine of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the Sacrament of the Altar, what hee meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as ſome of the ancient Writers do, terming the Lords ſupper the ſacrament of the altar partly becauſe it is a Sacrament of that lively ſacrifice which Chriſt offered for our ſinnes upon the altar of the Croſſe, and partly becauſe that Chriſts body, crucified for us, was that bloody ſacrifice, which the blood-ſhedding of all the beaſts offered upon the altar in the old Law, did prefigurate and ſignifie unto us: in ſignification whereof the old Writers ſometime doe call the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe thereunto, the Sacrament of the Altar; or whether you take it otherwiſe; as for the ſacrament of the Altar, which is made of lime and ſtone, over the which the ſacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the ſacrament of the maſſe, as it is at this preſent in many places. This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your anſwer ſhall give me occaſion.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament diſtinguiſhed.

The true preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament not denied.

The groſſe preſence of the Papiſts denied

Philpot craveth of the Lords to proſecute his arguments without interruption.

Philpot againe interrupted by the Prolocutor.

Altar diverſly taken.

Then made Doctor Chedſey this anſwer, that in their ſuppoſition they tooke the ſacrament of the Altar, and the ſacrament of the Maſſe, to be all one.

Chedſey.

Then, quoth Philpot, I will ſpeake plaine Engliſh as maſter prolocutor willeth me, and make a ſhort reſolution thereof; that the ſacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the Maſſe, once iuſtly aboliſhed, and now put in full uſe againe, is no ſacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it; and this his ſaying hee offered to proove before the whole houſe, if they liſted to call him thereunto: and likewiſe he offered to vouch the ſame before the Queenes Grace, and her moſt honourable Councell, before the face of ſixe of the beſt learned men of the houſe of the contrary opinion, and refuſed none. And if I ſhall not be able quoth he, to maintain by Gods word that I have ſaid, and confound thoſe ſixe which ſhall take upon them to withſtand me in this point, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the Court gates. This he uttered with great vehemency of ſpirit.

Philpots offer in the Convocation houſe.

At this the prolocutor with divers other were very much offended demanding of him whether he wiſt what he ſaid, or no? Yea, quoth Philpot, I wot well what I ſay, deſiring no man to be offended with his ſaying, for that he ſpake no more than by Gods word hee was able to prove. And praiſed be God, quoth he, that the Queenes Grace hath granted us of this houſe (as our prolocutor hath informed us) that wee may freely utter our conſciences in theſe matters of controverſie in Religion: and therfore I will ſpeake here my conſcience freely, grounded upon Gods holy word, for the truth, albeit ſome of you here preſent miſlike the ſame.

The Prolocutor threatneth Philpot.

Argumentum à loco topico carceris.

Then divers of the houſe, beſide the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for ſpeaking ſo unfaringly againſt the ſacrament of the Maſs: and the Prolocutor ſaid he was mad, and threatned him, that he would ſend him to priſon, if hee would not ceaſe his ſpeaking.

Philpot ſeeing himſelfe thus abuſed, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, caſting his eyes up towards the heaven, and ſaid, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be ſpoken and abidden by: and for very ſorrow and heavineſſe the teares trickled out of his eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a briefe argument.

After this, the Prolocutor being mooved by ſome that were about him, was content that hee ſhould make an argument, ſo that he would bee briefe therein. I will be as briefe, quoth Philpot, as I may conveniently bee in uttering all that I have to ſay. And firſt, I will begin to ground mine arguments upon the authoritie of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after I ſhall confirme the ſame by ancient Doctors of the Church. And I take the occaſion of the firſt argument out of the 28. of Matthew, of the ſaying of the Angel to the three Maries ſeeing Chriſt at the Sepulchre, ſaying; He is riſen, hee is not here: and in ſaint Luke in the 23. Chapter, the Angell asketh them, why they ſought him that liveth among the dead. Likewiſe the Scripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt is riſen, aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is ſpoken of his naturall body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the Sacrament.

Matth, 28.

Luke 23.

Argument of M. Philpot.

I will confirme this yet more effectually, by the ſaying of Chriſt in the 16. of ſaint John; I came (ſaith Chriſt) from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and goe away to my Father. The which comming and going hee meant of his naturall body. Therefore we may affirme thereby, that it is not found in the world.

Iohn 16.

The blind diſtinction of the Papiſts of Viſibly, and Inviſibly.

But I looke here, quoth he, to bee anſwered with a blinde diſtinction of viſibly and inviſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanitie, but inviſibly hee remaineth notwithſtanding in the Sacrament. But that anſwer I prevent my ſelfe, that with more expedition I may deſcend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propoſe, and will proove that no ſuch diſtinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the anſwer which Chriſts diſciples gave unto him, ſpeaking theſe words; Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly and uttereſt forth no proverb. Which words ſaint Cyril interpreting, ſaith; That Chriſt ſpake without any manner of ambiguity and obſcure ſpeech. And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Chriſt ſpake plainly, and without parable, ſaying; I leave the world now and goe away to my Father, then that obſcure, darke, and inperceptible preſence of Chriſts naturall body to remaine in the Sacrament upon earth inviſibly, contrary to the plaine words of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or more parabolicall and unſenſible, than ſo to ſay. Here now will I attend what you will anſwer, and ſo deſcend to the confirmation of all that I have ſaid by ancient Writers.

Cyrillus.

Chedſeyes anſwer to Philpot.

Then Doctor Chedſey reciting his argument in ſuch order as it was made, tooke upon him to anſwer ſeverally to every part thereof on this wiſe. Firſt, to the ſaying of the Angell, That Chriſt is not here; And, why ſeeke yee the living among the dead? He anſwered, that theſe ſayings pertained nothing to the preſence of Chriſts naturall body in the Sacrament, but that they were ſpoken of Chriſts body being in the ſepulchre, when the three Maries thought him to have been in the grave ſtill. And therefore the Angell ſaid, Why doe yee ſeeke him that liveth among the dead? And to the authoritie of the 16. of John, where Chriſt ſaith, Now I leave the world and goe to my Father, hee meant that of his aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did Cyrill, interpreting the ſaying of the diſciples that knew plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into heaven, but that doth not exclude the inviſible preſence of his naturall body in the ſacrament. For S. Chryſoſtome writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the ſame, comparing Helias and Chriſt together, and Helias cloake and Chriſts fleſh: Helias (quoth he) when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his diſciple Heliſæus. But Chriſt, aſcending into heaven tooke his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behinde him. Whereby we may right well gather, that Chriſts fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heaven, and inviſibly abideth ſtill in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Chryſoſt. ad pop. Antioc.

Philpots anſwer to Chedſey.

To this Philpot replyed, and ſaid, You have not directly anſwered to the ſaying of the Angel, Chriſt is riſen, and is not here, becauſe you have omitted that which was the chiefeſt point of all. For (ſaid he) I proceed further, as thus; He is riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father: Ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your anſwer to Cyril, by me alledged, ſufficient. But by and by I will returne to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the ſame, after that I have firſt refelled the authority of Chryſoſtome, which is one of your chief principles that you alledged, to make for your groſſe carnall preſence in the Sacrament; which being well weighed and underſtanded, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

Philpot again interrupted by the Prolocutor.

At that the Prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chiefe pillars in this point ſhould bee overthrowne; and therefore recited the ſaid authority in Latine firſt, and afterward Engliſhed the ſame, willing all that were preſent to note that ſaying of Chryſoſtome, which he thought invincible on their ſide. But I will make it appeare (quoth Philpot) by and by that it doth make little for your purpoſe. And as he was about to declare his minde in that behalfe, the Prolocutor did interrupt him, as hee did almoſt continually. Wherewith Philpot not being content, ſaid; Maſter Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a Sophiſtry Schoole, where he knoweth right wel the manner is, that when the Reſpondent perceiveth, that he is like to be inforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to anſwer, thus he doth what he can with cavillation and interruption to drive him from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was ill taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents; and the Prolocutor ſaid, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoyde that authority, but his owne vaine imagination. Here quoth Philpot, and afterward iudge. For I will do this, as in all other authorities, wherwith you ſhall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to proſecute, anſwering either unto the ſame by ſufficient authorities of Scripture, or elſe by ſome other teſtimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine owne imagination; the which if I doe, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the ſaying of Chryſoſtome, I have two wayes to beate him from your purpoſe; the one out of Scripture, the other of Chryſoſtome himſelfe in the place here by you alledged.

The place of Chryſoſtome of Chriſt taking up his fleſh, and leaving his fleſh, anſwered to by Philpot.

How Chriſt left his fleſh behind him.

Epheſ. 5.

Chryſoſtome expounded by Chryſoſtome.

Galat. 3.

Firſt, where hee ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcending tooke his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behinde him, truth it is: for we all doe confeſſe and beleeve that Chriſt tooke on him our humane nature in the Virgin Maries wombe, and through his paſſion in the ſame hath united us to his fleſh, and thereby are wee become one fleſh with him, ſo that Chryſoſtome might therefore right well ſay, that Chriſt aſcending tooke his fleſh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and alſo left his fleſh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, which are the members of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh; as very aptly S. Paul to the Epheſians in the fifth Chapter doth teſtifie, ſaying; Wee are fleſh of his fleſh and bone of his bones. And if percaſe any man will reply, that hee intreateth there of the Sacrament, ſo that this interpretation cannot ſo aptly be applyed unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chryſoſtome another way by himſelfe. For in that place, a few lines before thoſe words which were here now lately read, are theſe words; That Chriſt, after he aſcended into heaven, left unto us, indued with his Sacraments, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that myſticall fleſh Chriſt leaveth as well to his Church in the ſacrament of Baptiſme, as in the Sacramentall bread and wine. And that ſaint Paul iuſtly doth witneſſe, ſaying; As many of us as are baptiſed in Chriſt have put upon us Chriſt. And thus you may underſtand that ſaint Chryſoſtome maketh nothing for your carnall and groſſe preſence in the ſacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Weſton.

Now in this meane while maſter Pie rounded the Prolocutor in the eare to put Philpot to ſilence, and to appoint ſome other, miſtruſting leſt hee would ſhrewdly ſhake their carnall preſence in concluſion, if he held on long, ſeeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations ſuch a plucke. Then the Prolocutor ſaid to Philpot, that he had reaſoned ſufficiently enough, and that ſome other ſhould now ſupply his roome. Wherewith hee was not well content, ſaying: Why ſir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be propoſed, and I have yet ſcarce overgone my firſt argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient Writer (whereof I have for the ſame purpoſe many) being hitherto ſtill letted by your oft interrupting of me.

A good ſolution for all his arguments.

Well, quoth the Prolocutor, you ſhall ſpeak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, quoth Philpot, that I have ſtuffe enough for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therefore you command me to ſilence. If you will not give place, quoſth the Prolocutor, I will ſend you to priſon. This is not, quoth Philpot, according to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet according to your bragge made at Pauls Croſſe, that men ſhould be anſwered in this diſputation to whatſoever they can ſay, ſince you will not ſuffer me of a dozen arguments to proſecute one.

Then maſter Pie tooke upon him to promiſe that he ſhould be anſwered another day. Philpot ſeeing he might not proceed in his purpoſe, being therewith iuſtly offended, ended, ſaying thus: A ſort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and diſſembled with God and the World, are now gathered together to ſuppreſſe the ſincere truth of Gods holy Word, and to ſet forth every falſe device, which by the Catholicke doctrine of the Scripture yee are not able to maintaine.

Maſter Elmar again ſteppeth forth. ȣσία.

Moreman deſireth a day to imagine ſome crafty ſhift.

Then ſtepped forth maſter Elmar, Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke, whom maſter Moreman tooke upon him to anſwer: Againſt whom maſter Elmar obiected divers and ſundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he tooke the day before in hand, to prove that ȣσία in the ſentence of Theodoret, brought in by maſter Cheyney muſt needs ſignifie ſubſtance, and not accidents. Whoſe reaſons and approbations, becauſe they were all grounded and brought out of the Greeke, I doe paſſe over, for that they want their grace in Engliſh, and alſo their proper underſtanding. But his allegations ſo incumbred M. Moreman, that he deſired a day to overview them, for at that inſtant he was without a convenient anſwer.

Watſon confounded by maſter Haddon.

Maſter Watſon for a bare ſhift putteth the fault in the Printer

Then did the Prolocutor call maſter Haddon Deane of Exceter, and Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke, who proſecuted Theodorets authoritie in confirming maſter Elmars argument. To whom Doctor Watſon tooke upon him to give anſwer; who after long talke was ſo confounded, that he was not able to anſwer to the word Myſterium. But foraſmuch as he ſeemed to doubt therein, maſter Haddon tooke out of his boſome a Latine Author to confirme his ſaying, and ſhewed the ſame to maſter Watſon, asking him whether hee thought that tranſlation to bee true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There may bee a fault in the Printer, quoth Watſon, for I am not remembred of this word. Then did maſter Haddon take out of his boſome a Greeke booke, wherein he ſhewed forth with his finger the ſame words, which maſter Watſon could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, becauſe they were for the moſt part in Greek, about the doulting of the true ſignification of ȣσία.

M. Perne againſt tranſubſtantiation.

D. Weſton praiſeth their learning to flatter them, but he anſwereth not their arguments.

Then ſtept forth maſter Perne, and in argument made declaration of his minde againſt tranſubſtantiation, and confirmed the ſayings and authorities alledged by maſter Elmar and maſter Haddon. To whom the Prolocutor anſwered, ſaying; I much marvell maſter Perne, that you will ſay thus, for ſo much as on Friday laſt you ſubſcribed to the contrary. Which his ſaying maſter Elmar did miſlike, ſaying to the Prolocutor, that he was too blame ſo to reprehend any man, partly for that this houſe, quoth hee, is an houſe of free libertie for every man to ſpeake his conſcience, and partly for that you promiſed yeſterday, that notwithſtanding any man had ſubſcribed, yet he ſhould have free libertie to ſpeake his minde. And for that the night did approach, and the time was ſpent, the Prolocutor, giving them praiſes for their learning, did yet notwithſtanding conclude, that all reaſoning ſet apart, the order of the holy Church muſt be received, and all things muſt be ordered thereby.

The act of the fifth day.

October 27.

Maſter Haddon Deane of Exceter diſputeth againſt M. Watſon, Morgan, and Harpsfiel

On Friday the 27. of October, Doctor Weſton the Prolocutor did firſt propound the matter, ſhewing that the Convocation hath ſpent two dayes in diſputation already about one only Doctor, which was Theodoret, and about one only word which was ȣσία. Yet were they come the third day to anſwer all things that could bee obiected, ſo that they would ſhortly put their arguments. So maſter Haddon Deane of Exceter deſired leave to oppoſe maſter Watſon, which with two other moe, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to anſwer, maſter Haddon demanded this of him, whether any ſubſtance of bread or wine did remaine after the conſecration. Then maſter Watſon asked of him againe, whether hee thought there to be a real preſence of Chriſts body or no? Maſter Haddon ſaid, it was not meet nor order like that he which was appointed to be Reſpondent ſhould be Opponent, and he whoſe dutie was to obiect ſhould anſwer. Yet maſter Watſon a long while would not agree to anſwer, but that thing firſt being granted him, at laſt an order was ſet, and Maſter Haddon had leave to goe forward with his argument.

The words of Theodoretus alledged.

A popiſh diſtinction betweene ſubſtance and eſſence.

Then he proved by Theodorets words a ſubſtance of bread and wine remaine. For theſe are his words; The ſame they were before the ſanctification, which they are after. Maſter Watſon ſaid, that Theodoret meant not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. Whereupon they were driven again unto the diſcuſſing of the Greeke word οὐσία; and maſter Haddon proved it to meane a ſubſtance, both by the Etymology of the word, and by the words of the Doctor. For οὐσία, quoth he, commeth to the Participle ὢν, which deſcendeth to the Verb εἰμὶ, and ſo commeth the Noune οὐσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance.

Then maſter Watſon anſwered that it had not that ſignification only. But maſter Haddon proved that it muſt needs ſo ſignifie in that place. Then he asked Watſon when the bread and wine became ſymboles? Whereunto he anſwered; after the conſecration, and not before. Then gathered maſter Haddon this reaſon out of his Author.

Argument of M. Haddon.

Da- The ſame thing, ſaith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were Symboles, the ſame they remaine ſtill in nature and ſubſtance, after they are Symboles.
ti- Bread and wine they were before:
ſi. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Watſon is driven to a ſhamefull ſhift, to deny the Author when he cannot anſwer.

M. Cheyney.

Then maſter Watſon fell to the denyall of the Author, and ſaid he was a Neſtorian; and he deſired that he might anſwer to maſter Cheyney which ſtood by, for that he was more meet to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed unto the reall preſence. Maſter Cheyney deſired patience of the honourable men to heare him, truſting that hee ſhould ſo open the matter, that the veritie ſhould appeare: proteſting furthermore, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubborne man, but would be conformable to all reaſon: and if they by their learning, which he acknowledged to bee much more than his, could anſwer his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſaid; for he would be no author of ſchiſme, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the Church, which is Chriſts Spouſe. Doctor Weſton liked this well, and commended him highly, ſaying that hee was a well learned and ſober man, and well exerciſed in all good learning, and in the Doctors, and finally, a man meet for his knowledge to diſpute in that place; I pray you heare him, quoth he. Then maſter Cheney deſired ſuch as there were preſent to pray two words with him unto God, and to ſay, Vincat veritas, Let the veritie take place, and have the victory; and all that were preſent cried with a loud voice, Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas.

Maſter Cheyneyes prayer.

Weſton.

Then ſaid Doctor Weſton to him, that it was hypocriticall. Men may better ſay, quoth he, Vicit veritas, Truth hath gotten the victory. Maſter Cheyney ſaid againe, if he would give him leave he would bring it to that point, that hee might well ſay ſo.

M. Cheyney and Watſon diſpute.

Then hee began with maſter Watſon after this ſort: You ſaid that maſter Haddon was unmeet to diſpute, becauſe he granteth not the naturall and reall preſence; but I ſay you are much more unmeet to anſwer, becauſe you take away the ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

M. Haddon challenged for ſubſcribing to the reall preſence.

Maſter Watſon ſaid, he had ſubſcribed to the reall preſence, and ſhould not goe away from that. So ſaid Weſton alſo, and the reſt of the prieſts, in ſo much that for a great while he could have no leave to ſay any more, till the Lords ſpake, and willed that he ſhould be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his ſubſcribing to the reall preſence, farre otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed. So then he went forward, and proſecuted maſter Haddons argument in proving that οὐσία was a ſubſtance, uſing the ſame reaſon that maſter Haddon did before him, and when he had received the ſame anſwer alſo that was made to maſter Haddon, hee ſaid it was but a lewd refuge when they could not anſwer, to deny the Author, and proved the Author to be a Catholike Doctor; and that being proved, hee confirmed that which was ſaid of the nature and ſubſtance further. The ſimilitude of Theodoret is this quoth he; As the tokens of Chriſts body and blood, after the invocation of the Prieſt, doe change their names, and yet continue the ſame ſubſtance; ſo the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion changed his name, and was called immortall, yet had it his former faſhion, figure, and circumſcription, and to ſpeak at one word, the ſame ſubſtance of his body. Therfore ſaid maſter Cheyney, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you deny the ſame ſubſtance to continue, then in the latter part of the ſimilitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion to have the former nature and ſubſtance. But that were a great hereſie; therefore it is alſo a great hereſie to take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine after the ſanctification.

The argument of Theodoret renued by maſter Cheyney.

Then was maſter Watſon inforced to ſay, that the ſubſtance of the body, in the former part of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignifie quantitie, and other accidents of the ſacramentall tokens which be ſeene, and not the very ſubſtance of the ſame; and therefore Theodoret ſaith, Quæ videntur, &c. that is, thoſe things which bee ſeene. For according to Philoſophy, the accidents of things be ſeene, and not the ſubſtances.

M. Cheyney appealed to the Lords.

Then maſter Cheyney appealed to the honourable men, and deſired that they ſhould give no credit to them in ſo ſaying: for if they ſhould ſo think as they would teach, after their Lordſhips had ridden forty miles on horſe backe (as their buſineſſe doth ſometime require) they ſhould not be able to ſay at night, that they ſaw their horſes all the day, but only the colour of their horſes; and by this reaſon Chriſt muſt goe to ſchoole, and learne of Ariſtotle to ſpeake. For when hee ſaw Nathaniel under the figge-tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtood by, he would have ſaid, No Chriſt, thou ſaweſt not him, but the colour of him. After this, Watſon ſaid, What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other ſide? Whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other ſide,

Morgan is called for to help at a pinch.

Then the Prolocutor called for maſter Morgan to helpe, and ſaid, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully doe. For firſt he granted the truth, and then, for feare of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the faith, hee ſpake, αἰνιγματικῶς, that is, covertly, and in a myſtery; and this was lawfull for him to doe: for firſt he granted the truth, and called them the body of Chriſt, and blood of Chriſt. Then afterwards he ſeemed to give ſomewhat to the ſenſes, and to reaſon: but that Theodoret is of the ſame minde that they were of, the words following, quoth he, doe declare. For that which followeth is a cauſe of that which went before, and therefore he ſaith, The immortality, &c. Whereby it doth appeare, that he meant the divine nature, and not the humane. Then was Morgan taken with miſalledging of the text. For the booke had not this word (for.) For the Greeke word did rather ſignifie (truly) and not (for,) ſo that it might manifeſtly appeare, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a ſentence rendring a cauſe of that he had ſaid before.

Morgan is taken with falſe alledging of the text.

Then it was ſaid by Watſon againe; Suppoſe that Theodoret be with you, which is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three yeeres ago; yet is he but one, and what is one againſt the whole conſent of the Church? After this Maſter Cheyney inferred, that not onely Theodoret was of that mind, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remaine, but divers other alſo, and ſpecially Ireneus, who, making mention of this Sacrament, ſaith thus; When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the Word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the body and blood of Chriſt, by the which the ſubſtance of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt. If the thankſgiving do nouriſh our body, then there is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſts body.

Iren. lib. 5. contra Valent.

Watſon.

To the which reaſon both Watſon and Morgan anſwered, that Ex quibus, By the which, in the ſentence of Ireneus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Chriſt: and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

M. Cheyney.

Maſter Cheyney replied, that it was not the body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our bodies. And let it be that Chriſts fleſh nouriſheth to immortality, yet it doth not anſwer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that anſwer which was made to my allegation out of Saint Paul, The bread which we breake, &c. with certaine other like: whereunto you anſwered, that bread wes not taken there in his proper ſignification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the ſerpent, becauſe it had been a ſerpent. After this Maſter Cheyney brought in Heſychius, and uſed the ſame reaſon that he did of burning of Symboles; and he aſked them what was burnt. Maſter Watſon ſaid, we muſt not enquire nor aſk, but if there were any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid maſter Cheyney, whereof came thoſe aſhes? not of ſubſtance? or can any ſubſtance ariſe of accidents?

Harpsfield called in to help Watſon.

Then was maſter Harpsfield called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. Who told a faire tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecillity and weakneſſe of mans reaſon, not able to attaine to godly things. And he ſaid, that it was convenient whatſoever we ſaw, felt, or taſted, not to truſt our ſenſes. And he told a tale out of ſaint Cyprian, how a woman ſaw the Sacrament burning in her coffer, and that which burned there, quoth Harpsfield, burneth here, and becommeth aſhes. But what that was that burnt he could not tell. But M. Cheyney continued ſtill, and forced them with this queſtion, what it was that was burnt? It was either, ſaid he, the ſubſtance of bread, or els the ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt, which were too much abſurdity to grant. At length they anſwered, that it was a miracle, whereat maſter Cheyney ſmiled, and ſaid, that he could then ſay no more.

Here is good ſtuffe, as if it were out of the Legend of lies.

Weſton would know whether they were ſufficiently anſwered when he and his had anſwered no argument.

Then Doctor Weſton aſked of the company there, whether thoſe men were ſufficiently anſwered, or no: Certaine Prieſts cried yea, but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried no, no. Which cry was heard and noiſed almoſt to the end of Pauls. Whereat Doctor Weſton being much moved, anſwered bitterly, that he aſked not the iudgement of the rude multitude; and unlearned people, but of them which were of the houſe. Then aſked he of Maſter Haddon and his fellowes, whether they would anſwer them other three dayes? Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar ſaid no. But the Archdeacon of Wincheſter ſtood up and ſaid, that they ſhould not ſay, but they ſhould be anſwered, and though all other did refuſe to anſwer, yet he would not, but offered to anſwer them all one after another: with whoſe proffer the Prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and ſaid, that he ſhould go to Bedlam; to whom the Archdeacon ſoberly made this anſwer, that he was more worthy to be ſent thither, who uſed himſelf ſo ragingly in that diſputation, without any indifferent equality. Then roſe doctor Weſton up, and ſaid:

M. Philpot.

Marke Weſtons impudencie.

All the company hath ſubſcribed to our Article, ſaving only theſe men which you ſee. What their reaſons are, you have heard. We have anſwered them three dayes, upon promiſe (as it pleaſed him to deſcant, without truth, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer us againe as long, as the order of diſputation doth require, and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them ſo do.

A ſtrong argument of Weſton, where he is not able to anſwer, he would outface.

Then maſter Elmar ſtood up and proved how vaine a man Weſton was; for he affirmed that they never promiſed to diſpute, but only to open and teſtifie to the world their conſciences. For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, and ſaid that they would ſhew good reaſons which moved them, that they could not with their conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly already done, and were able to doe more ſufficiently: therefore, quoth he, it hath been ill called a diſputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to diſpute, nor now meane to anſwer, before our arguments, quoth he, which we have to propound, be ſoluted, according as it was appointed. For by anſwering we ſhould but incumber our ſelves, and profit nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatſoever we ſhall prove, or diſpute to the contrary.

M. Elmars reaſon why they would not anſwer.

The Act of the ſixth day.

ON Munday following, being the 30. of October, the Prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, whether he would anſwer in the queſtions before propounded to their obiections, or no? To whom he made this anſwer, that he would willingly ſo doe, if according to their former determination, they would firſt anſwer ſufficiently to ſome of his arguments, as they had promiſed to doe, whereof he had a dozen, not halfe of the firſt being yet decided: And if they would anſwer fully and ſufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promiſed that he would anſwer to all the obiections that they ſhould bring.

The firſt Act or Seſſion.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſwered by one of them; whereunto maſter Morgan was appointed. Upon Wedneſday laſt, quoth he, I was inforced to ſilence before I had proſecuted halfe mine argument; the ſumme whereof was this (as was gathered by the iuſt context of the Scripture) that the humane body of Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be ſituate upon earth in the Sacrament of the Altar, inviſible after the imagination of man. The argument was denied by Morgan. For the proofe whereof Philpot ſaid, that this was it

Philpot.

wherewith

Anno 1553

wherewith he had to confirme his firſt argument, if they would have ſuffered him the other day, as now he truſted they would.

Argument.

Fe- One ſelfe and ſame nature, quoth he, receiveth not in it ſelfe any thing that is contrary to it ſelfe.

ri- But the body of Chriſt is an humane nature, diſtinct from the Deity, and is a proper of nature it ſelfe.

o. Ergo, it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from it ſelfe.

But bodily to be preſent, and bodily to be abſent, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one preſent time, be things contrary to the nature of an humane body: Ergo, it cannot be ſaid of the humane body of Chriſt, that the ſelfe ſame body is both in heaven, and alſo in earth at one inſtant, either viſibly or inviſibly.

Morgan.

Here is a new evaſion invented by Morgan, who dare not plainly denie Vigilius authority, but under a colour.

Morgan denied the Major, that is, the firſt part of the argument. The which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the ſame out of Scripture.

Philpot ſaid, he could alſo ſo do, and right well deduce the ſame out of S. Paul, who ſaith, that Chriſt is like unto us in all points, except ſin: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in it ſelfe any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Pauls Church, and at Weſtminſter at one inſtant, or to be at London viſibly, and at Lincolne inviſibly at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures (as Didimus and Baſilius affirme) that an inviſible creature, as an Angell, cannot be at one time in divers places: wherefore he concluded that the body of Chriſt might not be in moe places than in one, which is in heaven, and ſo conſequently not to be contained in the Sacrament of the Altar.

One body cannot be at once in divers places.

Weſton.

To this the Prolocutor tooke upon him to anſwer, ſaying, that it was not true that Chriſt was like unto us in all points, as Philpot tooke it, except ſin. For that Chriſt was not conceived by the ſeed of man, as we be.

Chriſt, after his incarnation was in all points like man, ſin onely except.

Whereunto Philpot againe replied, that Chriſts conception was propheſied before by the Angell to be ſupernaturall, but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the Virgins wombe, he became in all points like unto us, except ſin.

Morgan.

Then Morgan inferred that this ſaying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpoſe.

Philpot.

Well, quoth Philpot, I perceive that you do anſwer but by cavillation, yet am I not deſtitute of other Scriptures to confirm my firſt argument, although you refuſe the probation of ſo ancient and catholike a doctor as Vigilius is. S. Peter in the ſermon that he made in the third of the Acts, making mention of Chriſt, ſaith theſe words, Whom heaven muſt receive untill the conſummation of all things, &c. Which words are ſpoken of his humanity. If heaven muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on earth in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Acts 3.

Harpsfield ſteppeth in.

Then Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct anſwer at all, Harpsfield ſtood up, being one of the Biſhop of Londons Chaplaines, and took upon him to anſwer to the ſaying of S. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, ex neceſſitate, that is, of neceſſity force Chriſt to any place, or no.

Philpot.

Philpot ſaid, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of neceſſity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghoſt, which ſound thus; that Chriſts humane body muſt abide in heaven untill the day of judgement, as I rehearſed out of the Chapter before mentioned.

Harpsfield.

Why, quoth Harpsfield, do ye not know that Chriſt is God omnipotent? Yes, ſaid Philpot, I know that right well, neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Chriſts omnipotency what he may do, is not our queſtion, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a ſtone in the wall a man, if he liſt, and alſo that he may make moe worlds, but doth he therefore ſo? It were no good conſequent ſo to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- Only ſo much is to be beleeved of Cods omnipotency, as is in the word expreſſed.

ro- That Chriſts body is both in heaven, and here alſo really in the Sacrament, is not expreſſed in the word.

co. Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the body of Chriſt, being in heaven, is here alſo really in the Sacrament.

If Weſton charge them for priſoning Chriſt in heaven, how may they charge the Papiſts for priſoning Chriſt in a boxe.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, then you will put Chriſt in priſon in heaven. To the which Philpot anſwered, do you reckon heaven to be a priſon? God grant us all to come to that priſon.

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this word Oportet in S. Peter, which ſignifieth in Engliſh muſt, did not import ſo much as I would inferre, of neceſſity, as by other places of Scripture it may appeare, as in the firſt to Timothy, where Paul ſaith, Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe unius uxoris virum, A Biſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife. Here, quoth he, Oportet doth not import ſuch a neceſſity, but that he that never was married may be a Biſhop.

M. Philpot.

To this Philpot ſaid againe, that the places were not like which he went about to compare, and that in comparing of the Scriptures we muſt not conſider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that in ye place by him alledged, S. Paul doth declare of what quality a Biſhop ought to be. But in the other, Saint Peter teacheth us the place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be untill the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. And this compariſon of this word Oportet doth no more anſwer mine argument, than if I ſhould ſay of you now being here, Oportet te hic eſſe, You muſt needs be here, which importeth ſuch a neceſſity for the time, that you can no otherwiſe be but here, and yet you would go about in words to avoid this neceſſity with another Oportet in another ſenſe, as this, Oportet te eſſe virum bonum, You muſt be a good man, where Oportet doth not in very deed conclude any ſuch neceſſity, but that you may be an evill man. Thus you may ſee that your anſwer is not ſufficient, and as it were no anſwer to my argument.

Oportet, how it is taken diverſly in Scripture.

Weſton.

Then the Prolocutor brought in another Oportet, to help this matter (if it might be) ſaying, what ſay you to this, Oportet hæreſes eſſe; muſt hereſies needs be therefore becauſe of this word Oportet?

Philpot.

Yea, truly, quoth Philpot, it cannot otherwiſe be, if you will add that which followeth immediatly upon theſe words of Paul, that is, Vt qui electi ſunt manifeſtentur, that is, That ſuch as be the elect of God may bee manifeſted and knowne.

Weſton.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath been that no hereſies were.

Philpot.

I know no ſuch time quoth Philpot. For ſince the time of Abel and Caine hereſies have beene, and then began they.

Weſton.

Then ſaid the Prolocutor, will you now anſwer Morgan an argument or two?

Philpot.

I will, quoth Philpot, if I may firſt be anſwered to my argument any thing according to truth

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and learning. What, quoth the Prolocutor, you will never be anſwered. How I am anſwered, quoth Philpot, let all men that are here preſent iudge; and eſpecially ſuch as be learned, and with what cavillations you have dallyed with mee.

Firſt, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have anſwered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture that he ſaith. Secondly, to the ſaying of S. Peter in the Acts, ye have anſwered thus, demanding of me whether I would keepe Chriſt in priſon, or no: let men now iudge if this be a ſufficient anſwer, or no.

Morgan.

Then ſtood Morgan up againe, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the univerſall Church, or no?

Philpot.

Yes, quoth he, if it be the true catholike Church. And ſith you ſpeake ſo much of the Church, I would faine that you would declare what the Church is.

Morgan.
Philpot.

The Church, quoth Morgan, is diffuſed and diſperſed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuſe definition, quoth Philpot, for I am yet as uncertaine as I was before what you meane by the Church: but I knowledge no Church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods Word, as S. Paul ſaith, Vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.

Moreman.
Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What, quoth Moreman, was the Scripture before the Church? Yea, quoth Philpot. But I will prove nay, quoth Moreman, and I will begin at Chriſts time. The Church of Chriſt was before any Scripture written. For Matthew was the firſt that wrote the Goſpell, about a dozen yeeres after Chriſt: Ergo, the Church was before the Scripture.

To whom Philpot anſwering, denied his argument. Which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot ſhewed that his argument was Elenchus, or a fallacy, that is, a deceiveable argument. For he tooke the Scripture onely to be that, which is written by men in letters, whereas in very deed, all Prophecie uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the mindes, yea, and inſpired in the mouthes of good men, and of Chriſts Apoſtles by the Spirit of Chriſt: As the ſalutation of the Angell was the Scripture of Chriſt, and the Word of God before it was written. At that Moreman cried, Fie, fie, wondring that the Scripture of God ſhould bee counted Scripture, before it was written, and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that ſaid ſo.

Scripture conſiſteth not only in letters, but is that which is inſpired in the hearts of good men by the holy Ghoſt.

Philpot.

To whom Philpot anſwered, that concerning knowledge in this behalfe, for the triall of the truth about the queſtions in controverſie, he would wiſh himſelf no worſe matched than with Moreman.

Weſton.

At the which ſaying the prolocutor was grievouſly offended, ſaying, that it was arrogantly ſpoken of him, that would compare with ſuch a worſhipfull learned man as Moreman was, being himſelfe a man unlearned, yea a mad man, meeter to be ſent to Bedlem, than to be among ſuch a ſort of learned and grave men as there were, and a man that never would be anſwered, and one that troubled the whole houſe: and therefore he did command him that he ſhould come no more into the houſe, demanding of the houſe, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company anſwered yea. Then ſaid Philpot againe, that he might thinke himſelf happy that was out of that company.

Weſton raileth againſt Philpot to be a mad man.

After this Morgan roſe up, and rounded the Prolocutor in the eare. And then againe the Prolocutor ſpake to Philpot, and ſaid, Leſt you ſhould ſlander the houſe, and ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare your minde, we are content you ſhall come into the houſe as you have done before, ſo that you be apparelled with a long gowne and a tippet as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeake, but when I command you. Then, quoth Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Philpot commanded to come in a long gowne and a tippet, or els to come no more to the Convocation.

December 13.

Thus they reaſoning to and fro, at length about the 13. of December, Q. Mary, to take up the matter, ſendeth her commandement to Boner Biſhop of London, that he ſhould diſſolve and breake up the Convocation. The copie of which commandement here followeth.

The Precept of the Queene to Boner, Biſhop of London, for the diſſolving of the foreſaid Convocation.

Q. Mary breaketh up the Convocation.

MAria, &c. Reverendo in Chriſto Patri & Domino, Domino Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem. Cum præſens Convocatio Cleri Cantuarienſis provinciæ apud Sanctum Paulum London, jam modo tenta & inſtans exiſtit, certis tamen urgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter moventibus, de adviſamento Concilii noſtri ipſam præſentem Convocationem duximus diſſolvendam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd eandem præſentem Convocationem apud ſanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo abſque aliqua dilatione diſſolvatis, diſſolvive faciatis prout convenit, ſignificantes ex parte noſtra univerſis & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec non Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus aliis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunq; dictæ Cantuarienſis Provinciæ quorum intereſt, vel intereſſe poterit, quòd ipſi & eorum quilibet huic mandato noſtro exequendo intendentes ſint & obedientes prout decet. Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſterium 13. die Decembris, Anno regni noſtri primo.

During the time of this diſputation, the twentieth day of November, the Maior of Coventry ſent up unto the Lords of the Councell Baldwine Clarke, J. Careleſſe, Thomas Wilcockes and Richard Eſtelin, for their behaviour upon Alhallow day laſt before. Whereupon Careleſſe and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouſe, and Clarke and Aſtelin to the Marſhalſey.

The ſame day there was a letter directed to Sir Chriſtopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer knights, for the apprehenſion of John Huntingdon Preacher, for making a rime againſt Doctor Stokes and the Sacrament. Who appearing before the Councell the third of December next after, was, upon his humble ſubmiſſion and promiſe to amend as well in doctrine as living, againe ſuffered to depart.

This Lord Courtney was ſonne to the Marqueſſe of Exceter.

In the dayes of King Henry, and alſo King Edward reigning after him, divers Noble men, Biſhops, and other, were caſt into the Tower, ſome charged with treaſon, as Lord Courtney, and the Duke of Northfolke (whoſe ſonne Lord Henry, Earle of Surrey had beene the ſame time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous Gentleman, for what cauſe, or by whom, I have not here to deale: this is certaine, that not many yeeres after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord Semers, and at laſt of the Duke of Northumberland alſo) ſome for the Popes ſupremacy, and ſuſpicious letters tending to ſedition, as Tonſtall Biſhop of Durham, and other for other things, all which continued there priſoners till Queene Maries comming in. Unto whom the ſaid Queene eftſoones granted their pardon, and reſtored them to their former dignities

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Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter made Lord Chancellor of England. The Lord Courtney made Earle of Devonſhire.

ties. Amongſt whom alſo was Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe not only freed out of captivity, but alſo advanced him to be high Chancellour of England. Furthermore, to the Lord Courtney ſhe ſhewed ſuch favour; that ſhe made him Earle of Devonſhire, inſomuch that there was a ſuſpicion amongſt many that ſhe would marrie him, but that proved otherwiſe.

Good Biſhops diſplaced.

Popiſh Prelats intruded by Q. Mary.

The ſame time Boner alſo had been priſoner in the Marſhalſey; whom likewiſe Queen Mary delivered, and reſtored to the Biſhopricke of London againe, diſplacing Doctor Ridley, with divers other good Biſhops mo, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the Archbiſhop of Yorke likewiſe, Poynet from Wincheſter, John Hooper from Worceſter, Barlow from Bathe, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincolne, Ferrar from S. Davids, Coverdale from Exceter, Scorie from Chicheſter, &c. with a great number of Archdeacons, Deanes, and briefly all ſuch beneficed men, which either were married, or would conſtantly adhere to their profeſſion. All which were removed from their livings, and other of the contrary ſect ſet in the ſame, as cardinall Poole, (who was then ſent for) Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Troublefield, &c.

Falſe report.

Cranmer with Peter Martyr and others, offered to defend the cauſe of their doctrine againſt all men.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forſomuch as there was rumour ſpread of him the ſame time at London, that he had recanted, and cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid at Canterbury, for purging of himſelfe he publiſhed abroad a declaration of his truth and conſtancy in that behalfe, proteſting that he neither had ſo done, nor minded ſo to do: adding moreover, that if it would ſo pleaſe the Queen, he with Peter Martyr, and certain other whom he would chuſe, would in open diſputation ſuſtaine the cauſe of the doctrine, taught and ſet forth before in the time of King Edward, againſt all perſons whomſoever. But while he was in expectation to have this diſputation obtained, he with other Biſhops were laid faſt in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realme, and ſo went he to Argentine.

D. Cranmer with Lady Jane arraigned of treaſon in the Guildhall. Archbiſhop Cranmer quit of treaſon.

After this, in the moneth of November the Archbiſhop Cranmer, notwithſtanding he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Kings will in diſinheriting his ſiſter Mary, alledging many grave and pithie reaſons for her legitimation, was in Guildhall of London arraigned and attainted of treaſon, with the Lady Jane, and three of the Duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, which at the intreaty of certaine perſons were had againe to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithſtanding, Cranmer being pardoned of treaſon, ſtood only in the action and caſe of doctrine, which they called hereſie, whereof he was right glad and ioyfull.

Going about of S. Katharine, & S. Nicolas.

This being done in November, the people, and eſpecially the Churchmen, perceiving the Queen ſo eagerly ſet upon her old religion, they likewiſe for their parts, to ſhew themſelves no leſſe forward to ſerve the Queens appetite (as the manner is of the multitude, commonly to frame themſelves after the humour of the Prince and time preſent) began in their Quires to ſet up the pageant of ſaint Katharine, and of ſaint Nicolas, and of their proceſſions in Latine, after all their old ſolemnity with their gay gardeviance, and gray amices.

And when the month of December was come, the Parliament brake up, but firſt of all ſuch ſtatutes were repealed which were made either of Præmunire, or touched any alteration of religion and adminiſtration of Sacraments under King Edward. In the which Parliament alſo communication was moved of the Queens marriage with King Philip the Emperours ſonne.

Cardinall Poole ſent for.

In this meane while cardinall Poole being ſent for by Queene Mary, was by the Emperour requeſted to ſtay with him, to the intent (as ſome think) that his preſence in England ſhould not be a let to the marriage which he intended betweene Philip his ſonne and Queene Mary. For the making whereof he ſent a moſt ample Ambaſſade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took ſuch ſucceſſe, that after they had communed of the matters a few dayes, they knit up the knot.

Marriage between Philip and Mary concluded.

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The 13. of January, 1554. Doctor Crome, for his preaching upon Chriſtmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleet.

The 21. of January, maſter Thomas Wotten Eſquire, was for matters of Religion committed to the Fleet cloſe priſoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evill taken of the people, and of many of the Nobility, who for this, and for Religion, conſpiring among themſelves, made a rebellion, whereof ſir Thomas Wyat Knight was one of the chief beginners: who being in Kent, ſaid (as many elſe perceived) that the Queene and the Councell would by forraigne marriage bring upon this Realme moſt miſerable ſervitude, and eſtabliſh Popiſh Religion. About the 25. of January newes came to London of this ſtirre in Kent, and ſhortly after of the Duke of Suffolke, who was fled into Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire there to gather a power. The Queene therefore cauſed them both with the Carewes of Devonſhire to be proclaimed Traitors, and ſent into Kent againſt Wyat, Thomas Duke of Norfolke, who being about Rocheſter bridge forſaken of them that went with him, returned ſafe to London without any more harme done to him, and without bloodſhed on either party.

January 25.

The Duke of Northfolk ſent againſt Wyat.

The Duke of Suffolk apprehended.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolke, being fled into Warwickſhire, was ſent the Earle of Huntingdon in poſt, who, entring the city of Coventry before the Duke, diſappointed him of his purpoſe. Wherefore the Duke in great diſtreſſe committed himſelfe to the keeping of a ſervant of his named Underwood in Aſtley parke, who like a falſe Traitor bewrayed him. And ſo he was brought up to the Tower of London.

Q. Mary commeth to the Guildhall.

In the meane while ſir Peter Carew hearing of that was done, fled into France, but the other were taken, and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The Queene hearing of Wyats comming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where ſhe made vehement Oration againſt Wyat; the contents, at leaſt the effect, whereof here followeth, as neere as out of her own mouth could be penned.

The Oration of Queene Mary in the Guildhall.

Q. Maries Oration to the Londoners.

I Am come unto you in mine owne perſon, to tell you, that which already you ſee and know, that is, how traiterouſly and rebelliouſly a number of Kentiſhmen have aſſembled themſelves againſt both us and you. Their pretence (as they ſaid at the firſt) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof ye have beene made privie. But ſince we have cauſed certaine of our privie Councell to goe

againe

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Demands pretended to be ſent from Maſter Wyat and his company to Q. Mary.

againe unto them, and to demand the cauſe of this their rebellion, and it appeared then unto our ſaid Councell, that the matter of the marriage ſeemed to be but a Spaniſh cloake to cover their pretenced purpoſe againſt our Religion, for that they arrogantly and traiterouſly demanded to have the governance of our perſon, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our Councellours.

Now loving Subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your Queene, to whom at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme, and Lawes of the ſame (the Spouſall Ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your allegeance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true Inheritor of the Crowne of this Realme of England, I take all Chriſtendome to witneſſe. My father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regall ſtate, which now rightly is deſcended unto me: and to him alwayes yee ſhewed your ſelves moſt faithfull and loving Subjects, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will ſhew your ſelves likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile Traitor to have the order and governance of our perſon, and to occupie our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a Traitor as Wyat is. Who moſt certainly, as he hath abuſed mine ignorant Subjects which be on his ſide, ſo doth he intend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you and ſpoile of your goods. And I ſay to you in the word of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the childe, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a Prince and Governour may as naturally and earneſtly love her Subjects, as the mother doth the childe, then aſſure your ſelves, that I being your Lady and Miſtris, doe as earneſtly and as tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we ſhall give theſe Rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy overthrow.

How he intended the ſpoile of their goods it appeareth, in that he comming to Southwark, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in body, nor in a penny of their goods.

As concerning the Marriage, ye ſhall underſtand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privie Councell, who ſo conſidered and weighed the great commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not onely thought it very honourable, but alſo expedient, both for the wealth of the Realme, and alſo of you our Subjects. And as touching my ſelfe, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for mine owne pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praiſe therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Gods grace I am able ſo to live ſtill. But if as my Progenitors have done before, it may pleaſe God that I might leave ſome fruit of my body behinde mee, to bee your governour, I truſt you would not onely rejoyce thereat, but alſo I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this Marriage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcell of the royall ſtate of this Realme of England, I would never conſent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a Queene I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare to all the Nobility and Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that this marriage ſhall be for the high benefit and commodity of all the whole Realme, then I will abſtaine from marriage while I live.

Q. Mary excuſeth her marriage.

The promiſe of Q. Mary touching her marriage.

And now good Subjects plucke up your hearts, and like true men, ſtand faſt againſt theſe Rebels, both our enemies and yours, and feare them not; for I aſſure you I feare them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my Lord Treaſurer, who ſhall be aſſiſtants with the Mayor for your defence.

Here is to be noted, that at the comming of Q. Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that ſhe was comming with harneſſed men, ſuch a feare came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing leſt they ſhould be there intrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entring in. Furthermore note, that when ſhe had ended her Oration (which ſhe ſeemed to have perfectly conned without booke) Wincheſter ſtanding by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people; O how happy are we, to whom God hath given ſuch a wiſe and learned Prince, &c.

February 3.

M. Wyat in Southwarke.

Two dayes after, which was the third of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Maſter Wyat entred into Southwarke. Who, forſomuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning another way by Kingſtone with his army, came up through the ſtreets to Ludgate, and returning thence, he was reſiſted at Temple-Barre, and there yeelded himſelf to Sir Clement Parſon, and ſo was brought by him to the Court, and with him the reſidue of his army (for before, Sir George Harpar and almoſt halfe of his men ran away from him at Kingſtone bridge) were alſo taken, and about an hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to priſon, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himſelf afterward executed at the Tower hill, and then quartered; whoſe head after being ſet up upon Haihill, was thence ſtolne away, and great ſearch made for the ſame. Of which ſtory ye ſhall heare more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

M. Wyat came to Ludgate.

M. Wyat apprehended at Temple Bar.

M. Wyat executed.

February 22.

The 12. day of February was beheaded the Lady Iane, to whom was ſent Maſter Fecknam, alias Howman, from the Queene, two dayes before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt to Q. Maries religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

The communication had betweene the Lady Iane and Fecknam.

Talk between the Lady Iane and Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you beare out this ſorrow of yours with a conſtant and patient minde.

Iane. You are welcome unto me Sir, if your comming be to give Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heavy caſe (I thank God) I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of Gods favour toward me, than ever he ſhewed me at any time before. And therfore there is no cauſe why either you, or other which beare me good will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoules health.

Lady Iane comfortably taketh her trouble.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent ſent from the Queene and her Councell, to inſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travaile with you much therein.

Iane. Forſooth, I heartily thank the Queenes Highneſſe, which is not unmindfull of her humble ſubiect: and I hope likewiſe that you no leſſe will doe your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Fec. What is then required of a Chriſtian man?

Iane. That he ſhould beleeve in God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Feck. What? is there nothing elſe to be required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to beleeve in him?

Iane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as our ſelfe.

Feck. Why? then faith iuſtifieth not, nor ſaveth not.

Faith onely iuſtifieth.

Iane. Yes verily, faith (as Paul ſaith) onely iuſtifieth.

Feck. Why? S. Paul ſaith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Iane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whom I love not? Faith and love goe both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feck. How ſhall we love our neighbour?

Iane. To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and give drink to the thirſty, and to doe to him as we would do to our ſelves.

Feck. Why? then it is neceſſary unto ſalvation to do good works alſo, and it is not ſufficient only to believe.

Good works neceſſary in a Chriſtian, yet do they not profit to ſalvation.

Iane. I deny that, and I affirm that faith onely ſaveth: but it is meet for a Chriſtian, in token that he followeth his Maſter Chriſt, to do good workes, yet may we not ſay that they profit to our ſalvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable ſervants, and faith onely in Chriſts blood ſaveth us.

Two Sacraments.

Feck. How many Sacraments are there?

Iane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Feck. No, there are ſeven.

Iane. By what Scripture finde you that?

Feck. Well, we will talke of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two Sacraments?

The Sacrament of Baptiſme what it ſignifieth. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper what it ſignifieth.

Iane. By the Sacrament of Baptiſme I am waſhed with water and regenerated by the ſpirit, and that waſhing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper offered unto me, is a ſure ſeale and teſtimony that I am, by the blood of Chriſt, which he ſhed for me on the Croſſe, made partaker of the everlaſting Kingdome.

Feck. Why? what doe you receive in that Sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Chriſt?

What we receive with the Sacrament.

Iane. No ſurely, I doe not ſo beleeve. I think that at the Supper I neither receive fleſh nor blood, but bread and wine: Which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my ſins the body of Chriſt was broken, and his blood ſhed on the Croſſe, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and ſhedding of his blood for our ſins on the Croſſe.

Feck. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſpeake theſe words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? doth he not ſay it is his body?

Rom. 4.

Iane. I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, I am the Vine, I am the Doore, but he is never the more for the doore nor the vine. Doth not S. Paul ſay, He calleth things rhat are not as though they were? God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very naturall body and blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould pluck away my redemption, or els there were two bodies, or two Chriſts. One body was tormented on the Croſſe; and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the Croſſe, or if it were broken upon the Croſſe, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

Feck. Why? is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be borne of a woman without ſeed of man, as to walk upon the ſea having a body, and other ſuch like miracles as he wrought by his power onely?

Chriſt had power to turne the bread into his body, but that is no argument to prove that he did ſo.

Iane. Yes verily; if God would have done at his Supper any miracle, he might have done ſo: but I ſay that then he minded no worke nor miracle, but onely to break his body, and ſhed his blood on the Croſſe for our ſins. But I pray you to anſwer me to this one queſtion: where was Chriſt, when he ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table when he ſaid ſo? he was at that time alive, and ſuffered not till the next day. What took he but bread, what brake he but bread? And what gave he but bread? Look what he took, he brake: and look what he brake, he gave: and look what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himſelfe was alive; and at ſupper before his Diſciples, or els they were deceived.

Fecknam goeth from the Word to the Church.

Feck. You ground your faith upon ſuch Authors as ſay and unſay both with a breath, and not upon the Church; to whom ye ought to give credit.

Faith to be grounded upon the Word, and not upon the Church.

Iane. No, I ground my faith on Gods Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the faith of the Church muſt be tried by Gods Word, and not Gods Word by the Church, either yet my faith. Shall I beleeve the Church becauſe of antiquity? or ſhall I give credit to the Church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lords Supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kindes? Which thing if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our ſalvation. And I ſay that it is an evill church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the ſpouſe of the divell, that altereth the Lords Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church (ſay I) God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of S. Paul when he miniſtred to the Corinthians in both kinds? ſhall I beleeve this church? God forbid.

A note of the falſe Church.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the Church, to avoid an hereſie that ſprang on it.

Gods Word not to be altered for good intents.

Iane. Why? ſhall the Church alter Gods will and ordinance for good intent? How did King Saul? The Lord God defend.

With theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions he would have had her leane to the Church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reaſoned, but theſe were the chiefeſt.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, ſaying, that he was ſorry for her: For I am ſure, quoth he, that we two ſhall never meet.

The words were ſpoken openly.

Iane. True it is (ſaid ſhe) that we ſhall never meet, except God turne your heart. For I am aſſured, unleſſe you repent and turne to God, you are in an evill caſe; and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to ſend you his holy ſpirit: for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open the eyes of your heart.

A letter of the Lady Iane ſent unto her Father.

Lady Janes letter ſent to her father.

Father, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whom my life ſhould rather have been lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yeeld God more hearty thanks for ſhortning my wofull dayes, than if all the world had beene given unto my poſſeſſions with life lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impatient dolors, redoubled manifold wayes, both in bewailing your owne woe, and eſpecially (as I heare) my unfortunate ſtate, yet my deare father (if I may without offence reioyce in my owne miſhaps) me ſeems in this I may account my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltleſſe blood may crie before the Lord, mercy to the innocent. And yet though I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually aſſayed, in taking upon me I ſeemed to conſent, and therein grievouſly offended the Queene and her lawes: yet do I aſſuredly truſt that this my offence towards God is ſo much the leſſe, in that being in ſo royal eſtate as I was, mine inforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the ſtate wherein I preſently ſtand. Whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeeme right wofull, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of miſery to aſpire to that heavenly throne of all ioy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt faith (if it may be lawfull for the daughter ſo to write to the father) the Lord that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at the laſt we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

This parentheſis includeth with a prayer, a privy admonition to her father, that he fall not from his religion.

At what time her father was flouriſhing in freedome and proſperity in the time of K. Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, ſtudent and graduate of the Univerſity of Oxford: who then being Chaplaine to the ſaid Duke, and a ſincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Goſpell according to the doctrine of that time ſet forth and received, ſhortly after that the ſtate of Religion began to alter by Q. Mary, altered alſo in his profeſſion with the time, and of a Proteſtant became a friend and defender of the Popes proceedings. At whoſe ſudden mutation and inconſtant mutability, this Chriſtian Lady being not a little aggrieved, and moſt of all lamenting the dangerous ſtate of his ſoule, in ſliding ſo away for feare from the way of truth, writeth her minde unto him in a ſharp and vehement letter: which (as it appeareth to proceed of an earneſt and zealous heart, ſo) would God it might take ſuch effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own ſouls. The copie of the letter is this as followeth.

February.

Another letter of the Lady Iane to maſter Harding, late Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke her father, and then fallen from the truth of Gods moſt holy Word.

Luke 9.

A ſharp letter or exhortation of the L. Iane to M. Harding

SO oft as I call to minde the dreadfull and fearfull ſaying of God, That he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdome of heaven: and on the other ſide, the comfortable words of our Saviour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſaking themſelves, do follow him: I cannot but marvell at thee, and lament thy caſe, which ſeemed ſometime to be the lively member of Chriſt, but now the deformed imp of the divell; ſomtime the beautifull temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy kenell of Sathan; ſometime the unſpotted Spouſe of Chriſt, but now the unſhamefaſt Paramour of Antichriſt; ſomtime my faithfull brother, but now a ſtranger and Apoſtata; ſometime a ſtout Chriſtian ſouldier, but now a cowardly Runaway. Yea, when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but ſpeake to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou ſeed of Sathan, and not of Iudah, whom the divell hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the deſire of life ſubverted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidell: wherefore haſt thou taken the Teſtament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherfore haſt thou preached ye law and the will of God to others? Wherfore haſt thou inſtructed other to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thy ſelfe doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrink, and ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and Law of the Lord? When thou thy ſelfe preacheſt, not to ſteale, yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from men, but from God, and committing moſt hainous ſacriledge, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right members, thy body and ſoul, and chooſeſt rather to live miſerably with ſhame to the world, than to die, and gloriouſly with honour reigne with Chriſt, in whom even in death is life? Why doeſt thou now ſhew thy ſelf moſt weake, when indeed thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a fort is unknowne before the aſſault, but thou yeeldeſt thy hold before any battery be made.

This man a little before king Edward died, was heard openly in his ſermons in London to exhort the people with great vehemency after this ſort: that if trouble came, they ſhould never ſhrink from the true doctrine of the Goſpell which they had received, but ſhould take it rather for a triall of God to prove them, whether they would abide by it or no. All which to be true they can teſtifie that heard him, and be yet alive: who alſo foreſeeing the plague to come, were then much confirmed by his words.

Oh wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? and wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the cuſtome gathering among the Romiſh Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſadour and meſſenger of his eternall word? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and birth preſerved thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea, and inſpired thee with the ſpirit of knowledge (I cannot ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſſe thee? Dareſt thou deliver up thy ſelfe to another, being not thine owne, but his? How canſt thou having knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and follow the vaine traditions of men: and whereas thou haſt beene a publike profeſſor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the invention of man, the golden calf, the Whore of Babylon, the Romiſh Religion, the abominable Idoll, the moſt wicked Maſſe? Wilt thou torment againe, rent, and teare the moſt precious body of our Saviour Chriſt, with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any ſacrifice unto God for our ſinnes, conſidering that Chriſt offered up himſelfe (as Paul ſaith) upon the Croſſe a lively ſacrifice once for all? Can neither the puniſhment of the Iſraelites, (which for their idolatry they ſo oft received) nor the terrible threatnings of the Prophets, nor the curſes of Gods own mouth, feare thee to honour any other God than him? Doeſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his deare and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, utterly extinguiſhing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praiſe and honour due unto him to the Idols, wich have mouthes and ſpeak not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not: which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

February.

What ſaith the Prophet Baruch, where he recited the Epiſtle of Ieremy written to the captive Iewes? Did he not forewarne them that in Babylon they ſhould ſee gods of gold, ſilver, wood, and ſtone borne upon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a feare before the Heathen? But be not ye afraid of them (ſaith Ieremy) nor do as other do. But when you ſee other worſhip them, ſay you in your hearts; It is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt only to be worſhipped: for as for thoſe gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with ſilver and vaine things, and cannot ſpeak. He ſheweth moreover the abuſe of their dealings, how the prieſts took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a ſcepter, another a ſword in his hand, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend themſelvs, much leſſe any other from either battell or morther, nor yet from gnawing of wormes, nor any other evill thing. Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh Ieremy unto them whereby he proveth them to be but vaine things, and no gods. And at laſt hee concludeth thus

Baruch 6.

thus, Confounded be all they that worſhip them. They were warned by Jeremie, and thou as Jeremie haſt warned other, and art warned thy ſelfe by many Scriptures in many places. God ſaith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worſhip given to him onely. And Chriſt ſaith in the fourth of Luke to Satan which tempted him: even to the ſame Satan, the ſame Belzebub, the ſame Divell, which hath prevailed againſt thee: It is written (ſaith he) thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.

Matth. 4.

These and ſuch like doe prohibit thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable idoll, invented by Romiſh Popes, and the abominable Colledge of crafty Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelfe up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up againe daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. Oh ſinke of ſin! Oh child of perdition! Doeſt thou dreame therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witneſſe of Gods threatned wrath againſt thee? How did Saul? who for that he diſobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was throwne from his worldly and temporall kingdome. Shalt thou then that doeſt deface Gods honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternall and heavenly kingdome? Wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy ſoule, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his Croſſe by offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for feare of death or hope of life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yeelded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt have kept it? Doeſt thou not conſider that the threed of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it againe to breake the ſooner? Doeſt thou not then remember the ſaying of David a notable King, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104. Pſalme, where he ſaith thus: When thou takeſt away thy Spirit (O Lord) from men, they die and are turned againe to their duſt, but when thou letteſt thy breath goe forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the earth. Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his Goſpell: Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it: But whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall finde it. And in the ſame place, Whoſoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forſake himſelfe, and take up his croſſe, and follow me. What croſſe? the croſſe of infamy and ſhame, of miſery and poverty, of affliction and perſecution for his Names ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heavenly ſhowers pierce thy ſtony heart. Let the two edged ſword of Gods holy word ſheere aſunder the ſinewes of worldly reſpects, even to the very marrow of thy carnall heart, that thou mayeſt once againe forſake thy ſelfe, and embrace Chriſt. And like as good ſubjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporall governour, ſo flie not like a white-livered milkſop from the ſtanding wherein thy chiefe Captaine Chriſt hath ſet thee in array of this life. Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, ſuſtine Dominum. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrell is Gods, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

Good intent.

Pſalme 104.

Matth. 10.

Matth. 10.

The Croſſe for Chriſts ſake.

ſalme 16.

But thou wilt ſay; I will not breake unity. What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darknes, the agreement of antichriſt and his adherents? Nay, thou deceiveſt thy ſelfe with the fond imagination of ſuch an unity as is among the enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe prophets in an unity? Were not Joſephs brethren and Jacobs ſons in an unity? Were not the Heathen, as the Amalekites, the Pereſites and Jebuſites in an unity? Were not the Scribes and Phariſies in an unity? Doth not King David teſtifie, Convenerunt in unum adverſus Dominum? Yea, theeves, murderers, conſpirators have their unity. But what unity? Tully ſaith of amity: Amicitia non eſt, niſi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea, friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no unity but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his truth is reſident, there it is verified that he himſelf ſaith: Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium, &c. but to ſet one againſt another, the ſonne againſt the father, and the daughter againſt the mother in law. Deceive not thy ſelfe therefore with the glittering and glorious name of unity; for Antichriſt hath his unity, not yet in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conſpiracy. Thou haſt heard ſome threatnings, ſome curſings, and ſome admonitions out of the Scripture to thoſe that love themſelves above Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharpe and biting words to thoſe that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven? And to the ſame effect writeth Paul, Heb. 6. It is impoſſible (ſaith he) that they which were once lightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted of the good Word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifying to themſelves the Sonne of God afreſh, and making of him a mockingſtocke, ſhould be renewed againe by repentance. And againe, ſaith he: If we ſhall willingly ſinne after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for ſinne, but the terrible expectation of judgement, and fire which ſhall devoure the adverſaries. Thus S. Paul writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doeſt thou not quake and tremble?

Antichriſt alſo hath his unity, which is not to be kept.

The agreement of evill men is no unity, but a conſpiracy.

Matth. 10.

Hebr. 6.

Hebr. 10.

Well, if theſe terrible and thundring threatnings cannot ſtirre thee to cleave unto Chriſt, and forſake the world: yet let the ſweet conſolations and promiſes of the Scriptures, let the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Confeſſours incourage thee to take faſter hold by Chriſt. Hearken what he ſaith: Bleſſed are you when men revile you, and perſecute you for my ſake: rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets that were before you. Heare what Eſay the Prophet ſaith: Feare not the curſe of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies, for wormes and moths ſhall eat them up like cloth and wooll, but my righteouſneſſe ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from generation to generation. What art thou then (ſaith he) that feareſt a mortall man, the childe of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the ſea to rage, and be ſtill, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſts: I ſhall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand. And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples: They ſhall accuſe you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names ſake, and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill; but feare you not (ſaith he) nor care you what you ſhall ſay: for it is the ſpirit of your father that ſpeaketh within you. Even the very haires of your head are all numbred. Lay up treaſure for your

Matth. 5.

Eſay 51.

Luke 12.
Matth. 13.

ſelves

Anno 1554

Matth. 10.

John 15.

ſelves (**ſaith he**) where no theef commeth, nor moth corrupteth. Feare not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoule, but feare him that hath power to deſtroy both ſoule and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but becauſe ye are not of the world, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

Let theſe and ſuch like conſolations taken out of the Scriptures, ſtrengthen you to Godward: Let not the examples of holy men and women goe out of your minde, as Daniel and the reſt of the Prophets, of the three children, of Eleazarus that conſtant father, of the ſeven of the Machabees children, of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other Apoſtles and holy Martyrs in the beginning of the Church. As of good Simeon Archbiſhop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other under Sapores the King of the Perſians and Indians, who contemned all torments deviſed by the Tyrants for their Saviours ſake. Returne, returne againe into Chriſts warre, and as becommeth a faithfull warriour, put on that armour that S. Paul teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian man. And above all things take to you the ſhield of faith, and be you provoked by Chriſts own example to withſtand the divell, to forſake the world, and to become a true and faithfull member of his myſticall body, who ſpared not his own body for our ſins.

Epheſ. 6.

Throw down your ſelfe with the feare of his threatned vengeance for this ſo great and hainous an offence of apoſtaſie: and comfort your ſelfe on the other part with the mercy, blood, and promiſe of him that is ready to turne unto you whenſoever you turne unto him. Diſdain not to come againe with the loſt ſonne, ſeeing you have ſo wandred with him. Be not aſhamed to turne againe with him from the ſwill of ſtrangers, to the delicates of your moſt benigne and loving father, acknowledging that you have ſinned againſt heaven and earth: Againſt heaven, by ſtayning the glorious Name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be evill ſpoken of through you. Againſt earth, by offending ſo many of your weake brethren, to whom you have beene a ſtumbling blocke through your ſodaine ſliding. Be not abaſhed to come home againe with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with ſhedding the teares of your bodily eyes, but alſo powring out the ſtreames of your heart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and mire of your offenſive fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publicane, Lord be mercifull unto me a ſinner. Remember the horrible hiſtory of Iulian of old, and the lamentable caſe of Spyra of late, whoſe caſe (me thinks) ſhould be yet ſo greene in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you ſhould feare the like inconvenience, ſeeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Luke 18.

Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt day be alwayes afore your eyes, remembring the terror that ſuch ſhall be in at that time, with the runnagates and fugitives from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them life, did ſhrink, yea did cleane fall away from him that forſook not them: and contrariwiſe, the ineſtimable ioyes prepared for them, that fearing no perill, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed over all power of darkneſſe, over hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted captaine Chriſt, who now ſtretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiſſe you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the dainties and delicates of his owne precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſhed againe, rather than you ſhould be loſt. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour praiſe, and glory everlaſting, Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, feare not for any pain,
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Iane in the end of the New Teſtament in Greek, the which ſhe ſent unto her ſiſter Lady Katherine, the night before ſhe ſuffered.

A faithfull exhortation of the Lady Iane to the Lady Katherine her ſiſter, to reade Gods word.

I Have here ſent you (good ſiſter Katherine) a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious ſtones. It is the booke (deare ſiſter) of the Law of the Lord. It is his teſtament and laſt will which hee bequeathed unto us wretches: which ſhall leade you to the path of eternall joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind doe purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortall and everlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to live, and learne you to dye. It ſhall winne you more than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of your wofull fathers lands. For, as if God had proſpered him, you ſhould have inherited his lands; ſo if you apply diligently this book, ſeeking to direct your life after it, you ſhall be an inheritor of ſuch riches, as neither the covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither thiefe ſhall ſteale, neither yet the mothes corrupt. Deſire with David, good ſiſter, to underſtand the Law of the Lord God. Live ſtill to dye, that you by death may purchaſe eternall life. And truſt not that the tenderneſſe of your age ſhall lengthen your life; for as ſoone (if God call) goeth the young as the old, and labour alwaies to learn to dye. Defie the world, deny the divell, and deſpiſe the fleſh, and delight your ſelfe only in the Lord. Be penitent for your ſinnes, and yet deſpaire not; bee ſtrong in faith, and yet preſume not; and deſire with S. Paul to be diſſolved and to bee with Chriſt, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when death commeth and ſtealeth upon you as a thiefe in the night, you bee with the evill ſervant found ſleeping, and leſt for lacke of oile, you be found like the five fooliſh women: and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be caſt out from the mariage. Rejoyce in Chriſt, as I doe. Follow the ſteps of your maſter Chriſt, and take up your croſſe: lay your ſinnes on his backe, and alwaies embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoyce as I doe (good ſiſter) that I ſhall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall for looſing of a mortall life, winne an immortall life, the which I pray God grant you, and ſend you of his grace to live in his feare, and to dye in the true Chriſtian faith, from the which (in Gods name) I exhort you that you never ſwarve, neither for hope of life, nor for feare of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your dayes. And if you will cleave unto him, hee will prolong your daies to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter when is pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well, good ſiſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you.

So live to dye that by death you may live.

Here followeth a certaine effectuall prayer made by the Lady Iane in the time of her trouble.

A prayer of the Lady Iane.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, heare me poore and deſolate woman, which flyeth unto thee onely, in all troubles and miſeries. Thou O Lord art the onely defender and deliverer of thoſe that put their truſt in thee: and therefore I being defiled with ſinne, encumbred with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with temptations, and grievouſly tormented with the long impriſonment of this vile maſſe of clay my ſinnefull body: doe come unto thee (O mercifull Saviour) craving thy mercy and helpe; without the which ſo little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly deſpaire of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeeing our life ſtandeth upon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometime with ſome adverſity, whereby wee might both be tried whether we be of thy flocke or no, and alſo know thee and our ſelves the better: yet thou that ſaideſt thou wouldeſt not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, bee mercifull unto me now a miſerable wretch I beſeech thee: which with Solomon doe cry unto thee, humbly deſiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with proſperity, neither too much preſſed downe with adverſity: leſt I being too full, ſhould deny thee my God, or being too low brought ſhould deſpaire, and blaſpheme thee my Lord and Saviour. O mercifull God, conſider my miſery beſt knowne unto thee, and be thou now unto me a ſtrong tower of defence I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great miſery, either elſe give me grace patiently to beare thy heavie hand and ſharpe correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Iſrael out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the ſpace of foure hundred yeeres did oppreſſe them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeeme good to thy fatherly goodneſſe, to deliver me ſorrowfull wretch (for whom thy Sonne Chriſt ſhed his precious bloud on the Croſſe) out of this miſerable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent? for ever? Oh Lord, haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy mercy cleane gone for ever, and thy promiſe come utterly to an end for evermore? Why doeſt thou make ſo long tarrying? ſhall I deſpaire of thy mercy O God? Farre be that from me. I am thy workmanſhip created in Chriſt Ieſus: give me grace therefore to tarry thy leiſure, and patiently to beare thy works; aſſuredly knowing, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliver me, when it ſhall pleaſe thee, nothing doubting or miſtruſting thy goodneſſe towards me: for thou knoweſt better what is good for me than I do: Therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Onely in the meane time arme me I beſeech thee with thy armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my loynes being girded about with verity, having on the breſtplate of righteouſneſſe, and ſhod with the ſhooes prepared by the Goſpell of peace; above all things taking to me the ſhield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the Spirit, which is thy moſt holy Word: praying alwayes with all manner of prayer and ſupplication, that I may referre my ſelfe wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleaſure, and comforting my ſelfe in thoſe troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me: ſeeing ſuch troubles be profitable for me, and ſeeing I am aſſuredly perſwaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doeſt. Heare me O mercifull father for his ſake, whom thou wouldeſt ſhould be a ſacrifice for my ſinnes: to whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory. Amen.

Pſal. 77.

Epheſ. 6.

After theſe things thus declared, it remaineth now, comming to the end of this vertuous Lady, next to inferre the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

These are the words that the Lady Iane ſpake upon the ſcaffold at the houre of her death.

The words and behaviour of the Lady Iane upon the ſcaffold.

First when ſhe mounted upon the ſcaffold, ſhe ſaid to the people ſtanding thereabout: Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. The fact againſt the Queenes Highneſſe was unlawfull, and the conſenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalfe, I do waſh my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Chriſtian people, this day: and therewith ſhe wrung her hands, wherein ſhe had her book. Then ſaid ſhe, I pray you all good Chriſtian people, to beare me witneſſe that I die a true Chriſtian woman, and that I do look to be ſaved by no other meane, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Sonne Jeſus Chriſt: and I confeſſe, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the ſame, loved my ſelfe and the world, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my ſins: and yet I thank God of his goodneſſe, that he hath thus given me a time and reſpite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you aſſiſt me with your prayers. And then kneeling down, ſhe turned her to Fecknam, ſaying: ſhall I ſay this Pſalme? and he ſaid, Yea. Then ſaid ſhe the Pſalme of Miſerere mei Deus in Engliſh, in moſt devout manner throughout to the end, and then ſhe ſtood up, and gave her maiden miſtris Ellen her gloves and handkercher, and her book to maſter Bruges, and then ſhe untied her gown, and the hangman preſſed upon her to help her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two Gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and alſo with her frowes, paaſt and neckerchiefe, giving to her a faire handkercher to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled downe and aſked her forgiveneſſe, whom ſhe forgave moſt willingly. Then he willed her to ſtand upon the ſtraw: which doing, ſhe ſaw the block. Then ſhe ſaid, I pray you diſpatch me quickly. Then ſhe kneeled down, ſaying: Will you take it off before I lay me down? and the Hangman ſaid, no Madam. Then tied ſhe the handkercher about her eys, and feeling for the block ſhe ſaid: What ſhall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the ſtanders by guiding her thereunto, ſhe laid her head down upon the block, and then ſtretched forth her body, and ſaid: Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, and ſo finiſhed her life in the yeere of our Lord God, 1554. the 12. day of February.

Certaine pretty Verſes written by the ſaid Lady Iane with a pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere poſſunt:
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.
Iane Dudley.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus:
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.

Certaine Epitaphs written in commendation of the worthy Lady Iane Gray.

De Iana Graia Ioan. Parkhurſti Carmen.

Miraris Ianam Graio ſermone valere?

Quo

Anno 1554

Gray being her ſirname, ſignifieth in Latine a Grecian.

Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia fuit.

In hiſtoriam Ianæ. I. F.

Tu, quibus iſta legas incertum eſt lector, ocellis.
Ipſe equidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

De Iana, D. Laurentii Humfredi decaſtichon.

Iana jacet ſævo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium Latiis ornavit fœmina muſis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali ſtirpe creata,
Ipſaque Regina nobilitate throno.
Bis Graia eſt, pulchrè Graiis nutrita camœnis,
Et priſco Graiûm ſanguine creta ducum.
Bis Martyr, ſacræ fidei veriſſima teſtis:
Àtque vacans regni crimine, Iana jacet.

February 12. Lady Jane and Lord Gilford Dudley beheaded.

Thus the twelfth day of February (as I ſaid) was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her alſo the Lord Gilford her huſband, one of the Duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, two innocents in compariſon of them that ſate upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly deviſed, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

A wonderfull example upon Morgan the Judge, who gave ſentence againſt Lady Jane.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the Judge Morgan, who gave the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, ſhortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and ſo ended his life.

February 21. Henry Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

And not long after the death of the Lady Jane upon the xxi. of the ſame moneth, was Henry Duke of Suffolk her father alſo beheaded at the Tower Hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time alſo were condemned for this conſpiracy many Gentlemen and Yeomen, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the Countrey. In the number of whom was alſo Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the ſaid Duke, being apprehended not long after in Northwales, and executed for the ſame. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord willing) in another place.

Lord Thomas Gray apprehended and executed.

February 24.

The 24. of the ſame moneth, the yéere of our Lord 1554. Boner Biſhop of London ſent down a commiſſion, directed to all the Curats and Paſtors of his Dioceſſe, for the taking of the names of ſuch as would not come the Lent following to auricular confeſſion, and to the receiving at Eaſter: the copie of which monition here followeth.

A monition of Boner Biſhop of London, ſent downe to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioceſſe, for the certifying of the names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to Confeſſion, and receiving at Eaſter.

A monition of Boner Biſhop of London to all Miniſters of his Dioceſſe

EDmund by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Miniſters of the Church, within the City and Dioceſſe of London, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlaſting. Foraſmuch as by the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes and conſtitutions of this Realme, and the laudable uſage and cuſtome of the whole Catholike Church, by many hundred yeeres agone, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all faithfull people being of lawfull age and diſcretion, are bound once in the yeere at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their owne proper Curate, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, with due preparation and devotion: and foraſmuch alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry evill diſpoſed and undevout perſons, given to cenſuall pleaſures, and carnall appetites, following the luſts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their ſoules, do forbeare to come to confeſſion according to the ſaid uſage, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evill example to the younger ſort, to neglect and contemne the ſame: we minding the reformation hereof for our owne diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given: do will and command you by vertue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandement, ye and every each of you within your cure and charge, do uſe all your diligence and dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commanding all your Pariſhioners, being of lawfull age and diſcretion to come before Eaſter next comming, to confeſſion, according to the ſaid ordinance and uſage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed unto you, and do not receive of you the ſaid Sacrament, certifying us or our Chancellour or Commiſſary thereof before the ſixth day of Aprill next enſuing the date hereof: that ſo we, knowing thereby who did not come to Confeſſion, and receiving the Sacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſors of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall law and uſage: Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid Chancellour or Commiſſary, before the day aforeſaid, whether you have your Altars ſet up, Chalice-booke, Veſtments, and all things neceſſary for Maſſe, and the adminiſtration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, with Proceſſion, and all other divine ſervice prepared and in readineſſe, according to the order of the Catholike Church, and the vertuous and godly example of the Queenes Majeſty: and if ye ſo have not, ye then with the Church-wardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not comming of your Pariſhioners to Church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there unreverently in the time of divine Service, and of all other open faults and miſdemeanours, not omitting thus to do, and certifie as before, as you will anſwer upon your perill for the contrary. Given at London the 23. of February, in the yeere of our Lord, 1554.

Comming to Confeſſion. Receiving the Sacrament of the Altar.

The next moneth following, which was the moneth of March, and the fourth day of the ſaid moneth, there was a letter ſent from the Quéen to Boner Biſhop of London, with certaine articles alſo annexed, to be put in ſpéedy execution, containing as here followeth.

Articles ſent from the Queene to the Biſhop of London, by him and his Officers at her commandement to be put in ſpeedy execution, with her letter to the ſaid Biſhop before prefixed.

A letter of Q. Mary to B. Boner. Cauſes declared. March 3.

RIght reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we gréet you well. And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our moſt deareſt brother King Edward the ſixth, whoſe ſoule God pardon, divers notable crimes, exceſſes, and faults, with ſundry kindes of hereſies, ſimonie, adultery, and other enormities have béen committed withing this our Realme, and other our dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince ỷ beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the Laitie and alſo of the Clergie, and chiefly of the Clergie, have beene given to much inſolency, & ungodly rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evill contentation, and to no little ſlander of other Chriſtian Realmes, and in a manner to the ſubverſion and cleane defacing of this our Realme, and remembring our duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may bee) that all vertue and godly living ſhould be imbraced, flouriſh and increaſe, and therewith alſo, that all vice and ungodly behaviour ſhould bee baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſtwiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that godlineſſe and honeſtie might have the upper hand, underſtanding by very credible report and publike fame, to our no ſmall heavineſſe and diſcomfort, that within your Dioceſſe, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like diſorder and evill behaviour hath been done and uſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe, unleſſe due proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame, which earneſtly in very deed we doe minde and intend to the uttermoſt, all the wayes we can poſſible, truſting of Gods furtherance and helpe in that behalfe: For theſe cauſes and other moſt iuſt conſiderations us moving, we ſend unto you certaine Articles of ſuch ſpeciall matter, as among other things be moſt neceſſary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us deſired, and the reformation aforeſaid: wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpeciall commandement, by theſe our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without feare of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Lawes, as by our doings of that is in the ſaid Articles contained, might any wiſe grieve you whatſoever be threatned in any ſuch caſe. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid officers, to proceed to the execution of the ſaid Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary. Given under our ſignet, at our Palace of Weſtminſter, the third day of March, the firſt yeere of our Reigne.

Articles ſent from the Queene unto the Ordinary, and by him and his officers by her commandement to be put in execution in the whole Dioceſſe.

Articles of Q. Mary.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Henry renued.

First, that every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner of wayes to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſticall lawes, heretofore in the time of King Henry the eighth uſed within this Realm of England, & the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

The Kings authority giveth place to the Popes authority.

Item, that no Biſhop, or any of his Officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any of their Eccleſiaſticall writings, in proceſſe or other extraiudiciall acts, do uſe to put in this clauſe or ſentence, Regia authoritate fulcitus.

The ſupremacie of the King repealed.

Item, that no Biſhop, or any of his Officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, doe hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any perſon to any Eccleſiaſticall promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or ſucceſſion, as of late in few yeeres paſſed hath beene accuſtomed and uſed.

Anno 1554.

Item, that every Biſhop and his Officers with all other perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpeciall diligence and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſticall function, benefice, or office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of hereſie, or other great crime, and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions do not notably decay, or take hinderance by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable leaſes.

For puniſhing of hereſies, as they call them.

Item, that every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, doe diligently travaile for the repreſſing of hereſies and notable crimes, eſpecially in the Clergie, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, that every Biſhop, and all the other perſons aforeſaid, doe likewiſe travaile for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawfull bookes, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtfull devices, ingendring hatred amongſt the people, and diſcord among the ſame. And that Schoolemaſters, Preachers and Teachers do exerciſe and uſe their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or ſetting forth any evill and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers puniſhed and removed.

Againſt prieſts marriage.

Item, that every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their order, and the laudable cuſtome of the Church, have married and uſed women as their wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves: ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid proceſſe, the fruits and profits of the ſaid Benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions.

Proviſion for prieſts which renounce their wives.

Item, that the ſaid Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe wives be dead, than with other whoſe women doe yet remaine alive. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the conſent of their wives or women openly in the preſence of the Biſhop do profeſſe to abſtain; to be uſed more favourably. In which caſe, after the penance effectually done, the Biſhop according to his diſcretion and wiſdome, may upon iuſt conſideration receive, and admit them again to their former adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be deprived, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop or his Officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

Married prieſts divorced both from wife and benefice.

Item, that every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious man, having ſolemnly profeſſed chaſtity, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all ſuch perſons after deprivation of their Benefice or Eccleſiaſticall promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

Proviſion for want of prieſts.

Item, that every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take order and direction with the Pariſhioners of every Benefice, where Prieſts doe want, to repaire to the next Pariſh for divine ſervice, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better proviſion may be made, one Curate to ſerve, Alienis vicibus, in divers Pariſhes, and to allot to the Curate for his labour ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

Proceſſions in Latine.

Item, that all and all manner of proceſſions of the Church be uſed and frequented, and continued after the old order of the Church, in the Latine tongue.

Item,

Anno 1554

Holy dayes and faſting dayes. Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, that all ſuch holy days and faſting days be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter time of King Henry the eighth.

Item, that the laudable and honeſt ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

Item, that children be chriſtned by the prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath beene accuſtomed and uſed.

Orders.

Item, touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Comming to divine ſervice.

Item, that by the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe an uniforme doctrine be ſet forth by homilies, or otherwiſe. for the good inſtruction and teaching of all people: And that the ſaid Biſhop and other perſons aforeſaid, do compell the pariſhioners to come to their ſeverall Churches, and there devoutly to heare divine ſervice, as of reaſon they ought.

Proviſion for Catholike Schoolemaſters.

Item, that they examine all Schoolemaſters and teachers of children, and finding them ſuſpect in any wiſe to remove them, and place Catholike men in their roomes, with a ſpeciall commandement to inſtruct their children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the prieſt at the Maſſe, and ſo helpe the prieſt to Maſſe, as hath been accuſtomed.

Item that the ſaid Biſhop, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the premiſſes, with all kinde of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and keeping under of vice. and unthriftines, as they and every of them may be ſeen to favor the reſtitution of true religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the ſame.

March 4.

A like preſcript alſo with articles, was ſent from the ſaid Queene Mary, to the Lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the yeere abovesaid, which Lord Mayor upon the ſame directed his commandement to the Aldermen, every one ſeverally in his Ward, containing as followeth.

By the Lord Mayor.

A preſcript of the L. Mayor to the Aldermen.

ON the Queene our moſt gracious and moſt benigne Soveraigne Ladies behalfe, wee moſt ſtraitly charge and command you, that yee the ſaid Aldermen, faile not perſonally to call before your owne perſon in ſuch place within your ſaid Ward, as to you ſhall ſeeme moſt convenient and meete, upon Wedneſday next comming, which ſhall be the 7. day of this preſent moneth, at 7. of the clock in the morning of the ſame day, all and every the houſholders both poore and rich of your ſaid Ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own diſcharge, and for the eſchewing of the perils that to you might otherwiſe bee juſtly imputed and laid, doe not onely ſtreightly admoniſh, charge, and command, in the Queen our ſaid Soveraign Ladies name and behalf, all and every the ſaid houſholders, that both in their own perſons, and alſo their wives, children and ſervants, being of the age of xii. yeeres and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Eaſter, now approaching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and catholikely, uſe and behave themſelves like good and faithfull Chriſtian people, in all & every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profeſſion, and religion of his Catholike Church, both according to the lawes and precepts of almighty God, and alſo their bounden duty of obedience towards our Soveraigne Lady the Queene her Lawes and Statutes, and her highneſſe moſt good example and gracious proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to the right wholeſome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late ſet forth and given by the right reverend father in God, the Biſhop of London, our Dioceſan and Ordinary to all the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, within this Dioceſſe: but alſo that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertiſe you of the names and ſurnames of all and every perſon and perſons, that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or underſtand, to tranſgreſſe or offend in any point or article concerning the premiſſes at their uttermoſt perils. That ye immediately after ſuch notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertiſe us thereof, faile ye not thus to doe with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will anſwer to our ſaid moſt dread Soveraigne Lady the Queen for the contrary at your like perill. Given at the Guildhall of the City of London, the fifth day of March in the firſt yeere of the Reign of our ſaid ſovereign Lady and Queen.

Blackwell.

And likewiſe do you give to every of the ſaid houſholders ſtraitly in commandement that they or their wives depart not out of the ſaid City, untill this holy time of Eaſter be paſt.

ABout the ſame yeere and time, when Doctor Boner ſet forth this preſcript or monitory, there came from the Queen another Proclamation againſt ſtrangers and forrainers within this Realm. The purpoſe and intent of which proclamation, becauſe it chiefly and moſt ſpecially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true profeſſors thereof, I thought here to annexe the tenor and manner of the ſame.

A copie of the Queenes Proclamation for the driving out of the Realme ſtrangers and forrainers.

Q. Maries Proclamation for driving out of ſtrangers.

THe Queene our Soveraigne Lady underſtanding that a multitude of evill diſpoſed perſons, being borne out of her Highneſſe Dominions in other ſundry nations, flying from the obeyſance of the Princes and Rulers under whom they bee borne, ſome for hereſie, ſome for murther, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other horrible crimes, bee reſorted into this her Majeſties realme, and here have made their demurre, and yet bee commorant and lingring, partly to eſchew ſuch condigne puniſhment as their ſaid horrible crimes deſerve, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the ſeeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd converſation among the good Subjects of this her ſaid Realme, of purpoſe to infect her good Subjects with the like, inſomuch as (beſides innumerable hereſies, which divers of the ſame being heretikes have preached and taught within her Highneſſe ſaid Realme) it is aſſuredly knowne unto her Majeſty, that not only their ſecret practices have not failed to ſtirre, comfort and aide divers her Highneſſe Subjects to this moſt unnaturall rebellion againſt God and her Grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people eftſoones to rebell: her Majeſty

Cauſes laid againſt ſtrangers.

therefore having (as afore is ſaid) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every ſuch perſon or perſons borne out of her highneſſe dominions, now commorant or reſident within this Realme, of whatſoever Nation or Countrey, being either Preacher, Printer, Bookeſeller, or other Artificer, or of whatſoever calling elſe, not being Denizen or Merchant knowne uſing the trade of Merchandize, or ſervant to ſuch Ambaſſadors as bee Liegers here from the Princes and States joyned in league with herGrace, ſhall within 24. dayes of this Proclamation, avoide the Realm upon paine of moſt grievous puniſhment by impriſonment, and forfeiture and confiſcation of all their goods and moveables, and alſo to be delivered unto their naturall Princes or Rulers, againſt whoſe perſons or lawes they have offended. Giving to all Majors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and all other her miniſters, officers, and good ſubiects, ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon not borne in the Queenes Highneſſe dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall after the time and day limited in the Proclamation, tarry within this Realm, that they ſhall apprehend the ſame perſon or perſons, and commit him or them to Ward, there to remaine without baile or mainprize, till her Graces pleaſure or her Councels be ſignified unto them, for the further ordering of the ſaid perſon or perſons. And that if any of her ſaid officers, after the ſaid 24. dayes, apprehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with diligence immediately certifie her ſaid Councell thereof, to the intent order may forthwith be given for their puniſhment according.

Peter Martyr and Joannes Alaſco baniſhed the realme. Engliſhmen fled out of the realme for religion.

¶ In the mean while, upon the Proclamation before mentioned, not only the ſtrangers in king Edwards time received into the Realm for Religion, among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alaſco Uncle to the king of Poland, but many Engliſhmen fled, ſome to Freezland, ſome to Cleveland, ſome to high Germany, where they were diverſly ſcattered into divers companies and congregations, at Weſel, at Frankford Emden, Markpurgh, Stranſborough, Baſil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places: where by the providence of God they were all ſuſtained, and there entertained with greater favour amonſt ſtrangers abroad, than they could bee in their owne countrey at home, well neere to the number of 800. perſons, ſtudents and others together.

The number of Engliſh exiles well neere 800. perſons, March 15. Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney upon ſuſpition of Sir Thomas Wyats riſing committed to the Tower.

In the ſaid moneth of March, the Lord Courtney Earle of Devonſhire, whom the Queene at her firſt entring delivered out of the Tower, and Ladie Elizabeth alſo the Queenes ſiſter, were both in ſuſpicion to have conſented to Wyats conſpiracy, and for the ſame, this March were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the impriſonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou ſhalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practice in Steven Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, not unworthy to be conſidered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now by the occaſion of maſter Wyat, to picke out ſome matter againſt the Lord Courtney, and ſo in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, deviſed a peſtilent practice of conveyance, as in the ſtory here following may appeare.

A point of practice of Steven Gardiner againſt the Lady Elizabeth.

The ſtory is this. The ſame day that Sir Thomas Wyat dyed, hee deſired the Lievtenant to bring him to the preſence of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lievtenant & the Shirifes kneeling downe upon his knees, beſought the L. Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falſly accuſed both the Lady Elizabeth and him, and ſo being brought from thence unto the Scaffold to ſuffer, there openly in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all ſuſpicion of that commotion. At which confeſſion, Doctor Weſton there ſtanding by, cried to the people, ſaying: Believe him not good people, for he confeſſed otherwiſe before unto the Councell.

Doctor Weſton againſt the Lady Elizabeth.

After the execution done of ſir Thomas Wyat, which was the 11. day of Aprill, word was brought immediately unto the Lord Maior Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how maſter Wyat had cleered the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the words alſo which doctor Weſton ſpake unto the people, whereunto the Lord Maior anſwering: Is this true, quoth he: ſaid Weſton ſo: In ſooth, I never tooke him otherwiſe but for a knave. Upon this the Lord Maior ſitting downe to dinner (who dined the ſame day at the Bridgehouſe) commeth in Sir Martin Bowes with the Recorder newly come from the Parliament houſe, who hearing of the Maior and Shiriffes this report of Wyats confeſſion, both upon the Scaffold and alſo in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrary to this, told the ſame day in the Parliament houſe, which was, that ſir Thomas Wyat ſhould deſire the Lord Courtney to confeſſe the truth, ſo as he had done before.

The Lord Maiors iudgement of Doctor Weſton.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certaine Prentice dwelling in ſaint Laurence Lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a Plaſterer, being one of Queene Maries ſervants, amongſt other talke made mention how ſir Thomas Wyat had cleered the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be no conſenters to his riſing. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what meanes I know not) incontinent upon the ſame, ſir Andrew Judde was ſent by the ſaid biſhop unto the Lord Maior, commanding him to bring the ſaid Prentice to the ſtarre-chamber, which was accuſed of theſe words, that he ſhould ſay that Wyat was conſtrained by the Councell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow when he was come to the ſtar-chamber, the aforeſaid Gardiner letting paſſe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouſly Almighty God had brought the Queenes Maieſty to the Crown, the whole Realm in a manner being againſt her, and that he had brought this to paſſe for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this Realm being overwhelmed with hereſies, ſhe might reduce againe the ſame unto the true Catholike faith. And wher ſhe took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her ſo tenderly, and alſo the Lord Courtny who of long time had been detained in priſon, and by her was ſet at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands, and notwithſtanding all this they had conſpired moſt unnaturally and traiterouſly againſt her with that hainous Traitor Wyat, as by the confeſſion of Wyat (ſaid hee) and the letters ſent to and fro may plainly appeare: Yet there was ſome in the City of London which reported that Wyat was conſtrained by the Councell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, and yet you my Lord Maior quoth he, have not ſeene the ſame puniſhed.

Cut, Prentiſe in London brought before Steven Gardiner.

Steven Gardiners tale in the Star-chamber againſt the Lady Elizabeth.

The party is here, ſaid the Lord Maior. Take him with you, ſaid Gardiner, and puniſh him according to his deſert, and ſaid further, My Lord, take heed to your charge, the City of London is a whirle-poole and ſinke of all evill rumours, there they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all parts of this Realme.

Anno 1554

The L. Shandois falſe report in the Star-chamber againſt Lady Elizabeth and L. Courtney.

There ſtood by the ſame time the Lord Shandois, who being then Lievtenant of the Tower, and now hearing the Biſhop thus ſpeak, to ſooth his tale, came in with theſe words as followeth:

My Lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I ſhall tell you, I being Lievtenant of the Tower when Wyat ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to the Lord Courtney, which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſſe the truth of himſelfe as he had done before, and to ſubmit himſelf unto the Queens Maieſties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the Reader perceiving the proceedings of the Biſhops in the premiſſes and comparing the ſame with the true teſtimony of Wyat himſelfe, and with the teſtimonie of the Sheriffs which were preſent the ſame time when ſir Thomas Wyat aſked the Lord Courtney forgiveneſſe, may the better iudge of the whole caſe and matter for the which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were ſo long in trouble. Of which her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid in the ſtory of her life. In the mean time to let this matter ſtay, let us now paſſe further in our hiſtory.

Q. Mary not favouring the Londoners.

A Parliament holden pretended to be kept at Oxford.

Not long after this, Queene Mary partly fearing the Londoners by occaſion of Wyats conſpiracy, partly perceiving moſt part of the City for Religions ſake not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their diſpleaſure and hinderance ſummoned a Parliament to bee holden at Oxford: as it were to gratifie that City, where both the Vniverſity, Towne, and Countrey had ſhewed themſelves very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring Popiſh religion. For this purpoſe great proviſion was made, as well by the Queenes officers as by the towneſmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the countrey about.

A Parliament holden at Weſtminſter. Mention of the Queens mariage in the Parliament.

But the Queens mind in ſhort ſpace changed, and the ſame Parliament was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill following. Then the Queene, beſide other things, propoſed concerning her mariage to King Philip, and reſtoring of the Popes ſupremacy: as touching her mariage it was agreed upon; but the other requeſt could not as then be obtained.

Boner made Vicegerent & Preſident in the Convocation.

The ſame time when this Parliament was ſummoned, ſhe alſo ſummoned a Convocation of Biſhops, and of the Clergy, writing unto Boner (whom ſhe had made Vicegerent in the ſtead of Cranmer being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new ſtile, differing from the old ſtile of king Henry, and king Edward, as followeth.

The ſtile of Queene Mary altered, writing to Boner for the ſummoning of a Convocation.

Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſor, Reverendo in Chriſto patri Edmundo London. Epiſc. ſalutem. Licet nuper quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis nos ſecuritatem & defenſionem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem & tranquillitatem, &c.

Supremum caput in the Queens ſtile taken away.

Legitime ſuffultus in the Biſhops title taken away.

Where note, good Reader, concerning the altering and changing the Queens ſtile, the latter part therof to be left out of her ſtile, which is: Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum caput, becauſe in this preſent Parliament the ſupremacy being given away from the Crowne of England to the Pope, thereupon this parcell of the title was alſo taken away. Likewiſe the ſaid Boner giving his Certificate upon the ſame, leaves out autoritate illuſtriſſimæ, &c. legitimè ſuffultus: which parcell alſo in the ſame Parliament was reprived and taken away the ſame time.

The dignity of Prieſts extolled by Biſhop Boner.

Boner ſpeaketh for the honour of Prieſthood.

In this aforeſaid Convocation, Boner biſhop of London being Vicegerent and Preſident, as is ſaid, made a certaine exhortation or oration to the Clergy (which was in this Convocation, or much about the ſaid time) wherein he ſeemeth to ſhew a great peece of profound and deep learning, in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable and ſuperangelicall order of Prieſthood, as may appeare by this parcell or fragment of his foreſaid oration, being collected and gathered by ſome that ſtood by: which as it came to our hands, ſo I thought to impart it to the Reader, both for that the author of ſo worthy a worke ſhould not paſſe unknown, and partly alſo, for that the eſtimation of this bleſſed order ſhould loſe nothing of his preeminence, but might be known in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth above Angels and Kings, if it be true that Boner ſaith.

¶ A peece or fragment of the exhortation made by Boner Biſhop of London, to them of the Convocation houſe, copied out by them that ſtood by and heard him.

Boners Oration in praiſe of Prieſthood.

The profound exhortation of B. Boner in the Convocation.

Prieſts compared to the Virgin Mary in three points.

Wherefore it is to be known that Prieſts and Elders be worthy of all men to bee worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they have of God, as in Matthew 16. Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, &c. And whatſoever yee ſhall binde, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome meanes is like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points; As the bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive Chriſt, as it is ſaid: Luke 1. Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum: that is to ſay, Be it unto me according to thy word: ſo the Prieſt by five words doth make the very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her wombe: ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of conſecration; the bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Chriſt in her armes, and laid him in an Oxe-ſtall after his birth; even ſo the Prieſt after the conſecration, doth lift up the body of Chriſt, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe was conceived; ſo the prieſt being ordained and annointed before hee doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders hee could conſecrate nothing: therefore the Lay-man cannot doe that thing, although hee be never ſo holy, and doe ſpeake the ſelfe ſame words of conſecration. Therfore here is to be knowne, that the dignity of Prieſts by ſome meanes paſſeth the dignity of Angels, becauſe there is no power given to any of the Angels to make the body of Chriſt. Wherby the leaſt Prieſt may doe in earth, that which the greateſt and higheſt Angell in heaven cannot do, as ſaint Bernard ſaith: O worſhipfull dignity of Prieſts, in whoſe hands the Son of God is, as in the wombe of the Virgin he was incarnate. S. Auguſtine ſaith, that Angels in the conſecration of the ſacred hoſt doe ſerve him, and the Lord of heaven deſcendeth to him. Whereupon S. Ambroſe upon ſaint Luke ſaith; Doubt thou not the Angels to bee where Chriſt is preſent upon the Altar. Wherfore Prieſts are to be honoured before all Kings of the earth, Princes, and Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an Angell, maker of his Creator, Therfore, &c.

Prieſthood compared and preferred before the ſtate of Angels.

Blaſphemy.

It was declared a little before, how Doctor Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the Lievtenants table, he had certaine talke or conference with Secretary Bourne, maſter Fecknam, and other, concerning the controverſies in religion: the ſumme whereof, as it was penned with his owne hand, hereafter inſueth.

Here followeth the ſumme and effect of the communication betweene Doctor Ridley, and Secretary Bourne, with others, at the Lievtenants table in the Tower.

Sir Thomas Abridges.

Who is an heretike.

MAſter Thomas of Bridges ſaid at his brother Maſter Lievtenants boord, I pray you maſter Doctors, for my learning tell me what an heretike is. Maſter Secretary Bourne ſaid, I will tell you who is an heretike: who ſo ſtubbornly and ſtiffely maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretike. You meane Sir, ſaid I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yea; that is true, ſaid he; and in this we are ſoon agreed. Then ſaid maſter Fecknam, whom they called maſter Deane of Pauls, ſitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by ſaint Auguſtine who is an heretike; Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falſas opiniones gignit vel ſequitur, hereticus eſt, ſaith S. Auguſtine. And then he engliſhed the ſame. Sir, ſaid I, I weene S. Auguſtine addeth the third number, which is vel vanæ gloriæ cauſa. You ſay even true maſter Doctor, ſaid he, and thus farre we did agree all three.

An heretike defined by ſaint Auguſtine.

Fecknam provoking maſter Ridley.

Unity, antiquity, univerſality.

Maſter Fecknam began again to ſay, Who ſo doth not believe what the ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinately maintaine the contrary, hee is Hæreticus: As in the ſacrament of the Altar Matthew doth affirme there to be Chriſts body, Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therfore to hold the contrary is hereſie. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was borne of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and univerſality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretike, as maſter Doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to witneſſe his owne conſcience, ſaid he.

Marry ſir, ſaid maſter Secretary, maſter Fecknam hath ſpoken wel. Theſe be great matters, unity, antiquity, and univerſality. Doe you not think ſo, maſter Doctor, ſaid he to me?

Here, while I ſtrained curteſie, and pretended no willingneſſe to talk, ſaid one of the Commiſſioners, Peradventure maſter Ridley doth agree with maſter Fecknam, and then there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, ſaid I, in ſome things I do and ſhall agree with him, and in ſome things which he hath ſpoken, to be plaine, I do not agree with him at all. Maſters, ſaid I, ye bee (as I underſtand) the Queenes Commiſſioners here, and if yee have commiſſion to examine me in theſe matters, I ſhall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I ſhall pray you either give mee leave to ſpeak my mind freely, or elſe to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſaid maſter Secretary, that doth not favour you: and then every man ſhewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I ſtrained to have licence of them in plaine words to ſpeake my mind, ſome thought they granted me it for vix or ægrè. Well, at the laſt I was content to take it for licenſed, and ſo began to talke.

Biſhop Ridley anſwering to Fecknam.

Truth in Scripture goeth not by number of affirmation, where one is ſufficient.

To maſter Fecknams arguments of the manifold affirmation where no deniall was, I anſwered; where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the Evangeliſts ſpake inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them all. It is as true that John ſaith of Chriſt, Ego ſum oſtium ovium, i. I am the doore of the ſheep, as if all had ſaid it. For it is not in Scripture as in witneſſe of men, where the number is credited more then one, becauſe it is uncertain with what ſpirit he doth ſpeak. And where maſter Fecknam ſpake of ſo many, affirming without any negation, &c. Sir, ſaid I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, ſaid I, if in talke with you, I ſhould ſo utter my mind in words, that ye by the ſame do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if ye would be captious, cavill at my words, and writhe them to another ſenſe, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did meane.

Words in ſcripture muſt be taken with their meaning.

Marry, quoth maſter Secretary, we ſhould els do you plaine injury and wrong.

Maſter Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talke went: Why, quoth he, what circumſtances can ye ſhew me that ſhould move to think of any other ſenſe, than as the words plainly ſay, Hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur, i. This is my body which ſhall be betraied for you?

Hoc eſt corpus meum expounded.

Reaſons why theſe words ought to be taken not literally.

Sir, ſaid I, even the next ſentence that followeth, viz. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, i. Do this in my remembrance. And alſo by what reaſon yee ſay the bread is turned into Chriſts carnall body, by the ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his myſticall body. For as that ſaith of it, Hoc eſt corpus, quod pro vobis tradetur: ſo Paul which ſpake by Chriſts ſpirit, ſaith, Vnus panis & unum corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus, i. We being many are all but one bread, and one body, inaſmuch as we are partakers of one bread.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, ſaid maſter Secretary.

Yea, ſaid I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what ſay ye, quoth maſter Secretary, of the univerſality, antiquity and unity, that maſter Fecknam did ſpeak of?

Unity with verity to be allowed.

Antiquity.

I enſure you, ſaid I, I thinke them matters weightie, and to be conſidered well. As for unity the truth is before God, I doe believe it, and embrace it, ſo it be with verity, and joyned to our head Chriſt, and ſuch one as Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying; Vna Fides, unus Deus, unum Baptiſma, i. One Faith, one God, one Baptiſme. And for antiquity, I am alſo perſwaded that to bee true which Ireneus ſaith, Quod primum verum, i. That which is firſt is true. In our Religion Chriſts faith was firſt truly taught by Chriſt himſelfe, by his Apoſtles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did ſucceed next unto them: and for this controverſie of the ſacrament, I am perſwaded that thoſe old writers, which wrote before the controverſie and the uſurping of the ſea of Rome, do all agree, if they be well underſtanded in this truth.

I am glad to heare ſaid maſter Secretary, that you doe ſo well eſteeme the Doctors of the Church.

Univerſality hath a double underſtanding.

Now as for univerſality, it may have two meanings; one to underſtand that to be univerſall, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to underſtand univerſality for the multitude of our age, or of any other ſingular age.

No,

Anno 1554

No, no, ſaith maſter Secretary, theſe three do alwaies agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt: and here hee and I changed many words. And finally, to be ſhort, in this matter we did not agree.

There was none, quoth maſter Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Caroloſtadius, Oecolampadius, And Caroloſtadius ſaith, Chriſt pointed to his owne body, and not to the Sacrament, and ſaid, Hoc eſt corpus meum. And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius ſaid I) theſe or like words; Nullam ſatis gravem rationem invenire poſſum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia diſſentiam, i. I can find no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the beliefe of our fore-elders.

Melanct. ad Miconium.

Thus when he had ſpoken at length, with many other words mo; ſir, ſaid I, it is certaine that other before theſe have written of this matter: Not by the way only, and obiter, as doe for the moſt all the old Writers, but even ex profeſſo; and their whole books intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

The doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Bertram ſaid the Secretary, what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know, &c. with many queſtions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his book; He proponeth the ſame which is now in controverſie, and anſwereth ſo directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the ſubſtance of bread remaineth ſtill in the ſacrament, and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus..

Marry, quoth he, marke, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum; for no Author maketh any ſuch mention of Bertramus.

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius in Catalago illuſtrium Scriptorum ſpeaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he ſpeaketh, quoth I, of them that were of antiquity. Here, after much talke of Bertram, what Authors have ye, quoth maſter Secretary, to make of the Sacrament a figure?

Doctors that make the Sacrament but a figure.
Tertullianus.
Gelaſius.
Origen.

Sir, quoth I, yee know (I think) that Tertullian in plain words ſpeaketh thus; Hoc eſt corpus meum, id eſt, figura corporis mei, i. This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. And Gelaſius ſaith plainly, that Subſtantia panis manet, i. The ſubſtance of bread remaineth. And Origen ſaith likewiſe, Quod ſanctificatur ſecundum materiam, ingreditur ſtomachum, & vadit in ſeceſſum, i. That which is ſanctified, as touching the matter or ſubſtance, paſſeth away into the draught. This when I had engliſhed, maſter Secretary ſaid to me, you know very well as any man &c. and here, if I would I might have been ſet in a fooliſh Paradiſe of his commendation of my learning, and quod eſſem vir multæ lectionis, i. A man of much reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He ſet me not up ſo high, but I brought my ſelfe as low again; and here was much adoe.

As for Melancthon (quoth I) whom maſter Fecknam ſpake of, I marvell that yee will alledge him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the ſacrament but one materiall ſubſtance; and Melancthon, as I weene, ſaith there are two.

Ye ſay truth, quoth maſter Secretary; Melancthons opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye have heard that the ſacrament was in old time ſo reverenced, that many were then forbidden to bee preſent at the miniſtration thereof; Catechumini, quoth he, and many moe.

Catechumeni and others went out at the miniſtration.

Truth ſir, quoth I, there were ſome called Audientes, ſome Pœnitentes, ſome Catechumeni, and ſome Energumeni, which were commanded to depart.

Now, quoth he, then, And how can yee then make but a figure or a ſigne of the ſacrament, as that booke doth which is ſet forth in my Lord of Canterburies name? I wiſſe, ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the reſt, as though they would have given mee the glory of the writing of that booke; which yet was ſaid of ſome there to containe the moſt haynous hereſie that ever was.

The book of Catechiſme.

Maſter Secretary, quoth I, that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like againe: as for me I enſure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any ſuch like thing; he paſſeth me no leſſe than the learned maſter his young ſcholler.

Now, here every man would have his ſaying, which I paſſe over, not much materiall for to tell. But ſir, quoth I, me thinkes it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that any man doth ſo lightly eſteem the ſacrament, at to make of it a figure. For that (but) maketh is a bare figure without any more profit, which that booke doth often deny, as appeareth to the Reader moſt plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they doe.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth; and as for me, I enſure you I make no leſſe of the ſacrament than thus: I ſay whoſoever receiveth the ſacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.

No, quoth maſter Secretary, ſcripture ſaith not ſo.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the ſame ſound of words, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and ſaint Auguſtine ſaith, in the ſound of words alſo: for Paul ſaith; The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowſhip of the body of Chriſt? And ſaint Auguſtine, Manduca vitam, bibe vitam, i. eat life, drink life.

Then ſaid maſter Pope, what can ye make of it when ye ſay, there is not the real body of Chriſt which I do believe, &c. and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either life or death, when Chriſts body is not there?

The Sacrament may bring life without tranſubſtantiation.

Sir, quoth I, when you heare Gods word truly preached, if you doe believe it, and abide in it, ye ſhall and do receive life withall; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Chriſts body is ſtill in heaven, and not carnall in every Preachers mouth.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you anſwer to this, Quod pro vobis tradetur, which ſhall be given for you: Was the figure of Chriſts body given for us?

No ſir, quoth I, but the very body it ſelfe, whereof the ſacrament is a ſacramentall figure.

How ſay you then, quoth he, to Quod pro vobis tradetur, which ſhall be given for you?

Tertullianus.

Forſooth, quoth I, Tertullianus expoſition maketh it plain, for he ſaith, Corpus eſt figura corporis, i. The body is a figure of the body. Now put to quod pro vobis tradetur, Which ſhall be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pound that yee were of a good opinion. For I enſure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thank you maſter Pope, for your heart and minde, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very foole if I would in this matter diſſent from you, if that in my conſcience the truth did not inforce me ſo to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive I trow) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I would eſteem worldly gain.

Cyprian.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not ſay plainly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus.

factus eſt caro, i. The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the forme, but according to the nature therof, by the omnipotent word is made fleſh

Doctor Ridley falſly reported of, for a Sermon of his at Pauls.

True ſir, ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwer even the ſame which once by chance I preached at Pauls Croſſe in a Sermon, for the which I have beene as unjuſtly and as untruly reported of, as any poore man hath been. For there I ſpeaking of the Sacrament, and inveighing againſt them that eſteemed it no better than a peece of bread: told even the ſame thing of Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catechumeni, Energumeni, that I ſpake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to heare the myſtery; and then I ſaid to thoſe that be Sancti, Cyprian the martyr ſhall tell you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying, Panis eſt corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c. i. Bread is the body, meat, drink, fleſh, becauſe that unto this materiall ſubſtance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then ſuffer, that the materiall ſubſtance of bread doth remaine. M. Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the ſame matter at Pauls Croſſe) heard all this my talke, as red as ſkarlet in his face, and herein anſwered me never one word.

The place of S. Cyprian expounded.

You do know well, quoth maſter Secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not Catholike but erred.

None of all the Doctors holden in all points.

Sir, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in ſome things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origens charge or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the ſacrament.

What, quoth maſter Chomley late chiefe Juſtice, doth not Chriſt ſay plainly, that it is his very fleſh, and his very blood, and we muſt needs eat him, or elſe we can have no life? Sir, quoth I, if you will heare how ſaint Auguſtine expoundeth that place, you ſhall perceive that you are in a wrong boxe. And then I began to tell ſaint Auguſtines minde in his booke de Doctrina Chriſtiana; Yea, yea, quoth maſter Secretary, that is true, ſaint Auguſtine doth take it figuratively indeed.

S. Auguſtine taketh the words of the Sacrament figuratively by Bournes owne confeſſion.

Forty yeeres agoe, quoth maſter Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty yeeres agoe, quoth I, all held that the biſhop of Rome was ſupreme head of the univerſall Church.

What then? was maſter Fecknam beginning to ſay, &c, but maſter Secretary took the tale, and ſaid, that was but a poſitive law.

A poſitive law, quoth I; No ſir, he would not have it ſo: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Chriſts owne word. For his decree ſaith: Nullis Synodicis conſtitutis, neque Conciliis, ſed viva voce Domini prælata eſt Eccleſia Romana omnibus Eccleſiis in toto mundo; dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus, &c. The Church of Rome was advanced above all other Churches in the world, not by any Synodicall conſtitutions, nor yet any Councels, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord ſaid to Peter; Thou art Peter, &c. And in another place he intreateth, Tu es Cephas, id eſt, caput. i. Thou art Cephas, that is to ſay, the head.

Diſt. 21. Quamvis.

Tuſh, it was not counted an article (quoth maſter Secretary) of our faith.

Yes, ſaid I, if yee call that an article of our faith, which is to be beleeved under pain of damnation. For he ſaith, Omninò definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem creaturam ſubeſſe Romano Pontifici, de neceſſitate ſalutis, i. We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is ſubject to the obedience of the Biſhop of Rome upon neceſſity of ſalvation.

And here when we ſpake of laws and decrees maſter Roger Chomley thought himſelfe much wronged, that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupt him: and then he up and told a long tale what lawes were of Kings in England made againſt the Biſhop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergie did fly to him. And here, becauſe, he ſeemed to ſpeak of many things beſide our purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was anſwered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, we departed in peace, and M. Secretary promiſed in the end, that of their talk there ſhould come to me no harme. And after I had made my moane for lack of my bookes, hee ſaid they were all once given him: but ſith I know (ſaid he) who hath them now, write me the names of ſuch as ye would have, and I will ſpeak for you the beſt I can.

Doctor Ridleys bookes given away.

Upon the Articles above mentioned, and inquiſition made upon the ſame, divers miniſters were divorced from their wives. Amongſt whom was one John Draper, and Joane Gold his wife, in the dioceſſe of London, troubled and vexed for the ſame by Boner Biſhop of London, who ſent forth a Commiſſion with a proceſſe to ſequeſter and ſeparate them, injoyning alſo penance to the poore woman.

Miniſters divorced from their wives.

Beſides this John Draper, divers other alſo were divorced the ſame time againſt their wils; and ſome were contented of their owne unconſtant accord, to be ſeparated from their wives: as of Chicheſter one (who, becauſe he ſoone recovered againe, ſhall be here nameleſſe) another named Edmund Alſtone, another Alexander Bull, amongſt whom alſo was Doctor Standiſh, with many other; whoſe names together in the end of this ſtory of Queen Mary, we may peradventure by Gods grace in a generall Catalogue together comprehend.

March, 1554.

The 10. of March a letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of maſter Doctor Cranmer the archbiſhop of Canterbury, M. Doctor Ridley, and M. Latimer, to ſir John Williams, to be conveied by him unto Oxford.

The 26. of March there was a letter directed to ſir Henry Doell, and one Foſter, to attach the bodies of Doctor Taylor Parſon of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to ſend them up to the Councell.

How Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop, Biſhop Ridley, and maſter Latimer, were ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute, with the order and manner, and all other circumſtances unto the ſaid diſputation, and alſo to their condemnation, appertaining.

About the tenth, of Aprill, Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ridley Biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer Biſhop alſo ſometime of Worceſter, were conveyed as priſoners from the Tower to Windſor; and after from thence to the Univerſitie of Oxford, there to diſpute with the Divines and learned men of both the Univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the preſence, ſubſtance, and ſacrifice of the Sacrament. The names of the Univerſity Doctors and Graduates appointed to diſpute againſt them, were theſe; of Oxford, Doctor Weſton Prolocutor, Doctor Treſham, Doctor Cole, Doctor Oglethorpe, Doctor Pie, maſter Harpsfield, maſter Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Doctor Yong Vicechancellour,

Aprill 10. D. Cranmer D. Ridley, and M. Latimer, ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute.

The Univerſity Doctors appointed to diſpute againſt the Archbiſhop and his fellows chancellor, Doctor Glin, Doctor Seaton, Doctor Watſon, Doctor Sedgewicke, Doctor Atkinſon, &c. The articles or queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute were theſe:

Three queſtions.

1 Whether the naturall body of Chriſt be really in the Sacrament, after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, or no?

2 Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of conſecration, any other ſubſtance doe remaine, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt?

3 Whether in the Maſſe be a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and the dead?

Letters ſent downe from Steven Gardiner to Cambridge.

A grace for articles.

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the notes, arguments, & all circumſtances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as neere as we may) that ſhall ſeeme neceſſary to be added: Firſt here is to be underſtood, that upon Saturday the 7. day of April, the heads of the Colledges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters comming downe from Steven Gardiner Lord Chancellor, were read with Articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three Articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before. Whereupon in the ſaid congregation of the aforeſaid Univerſity of Cambridge, there was granted firſt a grace in this form propoſed by the Senior Proctor; Placet vobis ut inſtrumentum fiat, quod horum jam prælectorum articulorum doctrina ſana ſit & catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei conſentiens, & veſtro conſenſu, & ſuffragiis comprobetur? that is, May it pleaſe you to have an inſtrument made, that the doctrine of theſe foreſaid articles may be ſound and catholike, and conſonant with the verity of the right meaning faith, and that the ſame may be approoved by your conſent and voices: Secondly, in the ſaid congregation, another grace was given and granted that Doctor Yong being Vicechancellor, Doctor Glin, Doctor Atkinſon, Doctor Scot, and Maſter Sedgewicke, ſhould goe to Oxford to defend the ſaid Articles againſt Canterbury, London, and Latimer: Alſo to have letters to the Oxford men, ſealed with their common ſeal. Item, another grace granted to maſter Sedgewicke to be actuall Doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foreſaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 11. day of April) were read in the foreſaid congregation houſe, and there ſealed.

A grace for the Cambrigge Doctors to diſpute againſt Cranmer, Ridley, & Latimer.

The comming of the Cambridge men to Oxford.

Whereupon the next day after (the 12. of the ſaid moneth) the foreſaid Doctors, with the full grace of that Univerſity, ſet forward to Oxford: and comming thither the next day after (being Friday, the 13. of April) were lodged all at the Croſſe Inne, with one Wakecline, being ſometime ſervant to Biſhop Boner.

Their welcoming to Oxford.

The Cambridge Doctors repaire to Doctor Weſton.

Anon after their comming, D. Croke preſented them with wine for their welcome; & ſhortly after, two of the Bedles came from ye Vicechancellor of Oxford, and preſented ye Vicechancellor of Cambridge with a diſh of apples and a gallon of wine. After whom, next came maſter Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after conſultation concerning the delivery of their letters & inſtrument of grace (which was in Doctor Seaton & Doctor Watſons keeping) they went all to Lincoln Colledge to D. Weſton ye Prolocutor, and to the Vicechancellor D. Treſham: & there they delivered their letters, & declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an houre after eight they returned to their Inne againe: but firſt they concluded of a Proceſſion, ſermon, & Convocation to be had the morrow following, and that the Doctors of Cambridge ſhould be incorporate in the Univerſity of Oxford; and likewiſe that the Doctors of Oxford ſhould be incorporate in the Univerſity of Cambridge. The ſame day the forenamed priſoners were diſſevered, as was ſaid afore; Doctor Ridley to Alderman Iriſhes houſe, maſter Latimer to another, and Doctor Cranmer remained ſtill in Bocardo.

The three priſoners, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, diſſevered.

Conſultation.

The Doctors in their ſkarlet robes.

On Saturday being the fourteenth of April, at eight of the clock, the foreſaid Vicechancellor of Cambridge with the other Doctors of the ſame Univerſity, repaired to Lincoln Colledge againe, and found the Prolocutor above in a Chappell, with the company of the houſe ſinging Requiem Maſſe, and tarried there untill the end. Then they, conſulting all together in the Maſters lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the Univerſity Church called ſaint Maries: and there, after ſhort conſultation in a Chappell, the Vicechancellor, the Prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, cauſed the Vicechancellor of Cambridge, and the reſt of the Doctors of that Univerſity, to ſend for their ſkarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, ſave that Doctor Seaton & Watſon borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the Regents in the congregation houſe had granted all the Cambridge Doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and ſo they went up, and were admitted immediately, Doctor Oglethorpe preſenting them, and the Proctor reading the ſtatute and giving them their oathes.

Maſſe in pikeſauce, in prickſong I would ſay.

The cauſes of their aſſembly declared.

Cambridge letters read. Three Notaries aſſigned.

Subſcribing to the articles.

That done, they came all into the Quire, and there held the Convocation of the Univerſity. They had Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſung in prick-ſong by the Quire-men of Chriſts Church. But firſt the cauſe of the Convocation was opened in Engliſh, partly by the Vicechancellor, and partly by the Prolocutor, declaring that they were ſent by the Queen, and therefore they were ſent, and cauſed maſter Say the Regiſter openly to read the commiſſion. That done, the Vicechancellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three Notaries, maſter Say for the Convocation, a Bedle of Cambridge for that Univerſitie, and one maſter White for Oxford, ſhould teſtifie of their doing, and then willed the ſaid Notaries to provide parchment, that the whole aſſembly might ſubſcribe to the Articles, ſave thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the Convocation houſe at London and Cambridge; and ſo the Vicechancellor began firſt, after him the reſt of the Oxford men as many as could in the Maſſe time.

Proceſſion in Oxford. The array of the ſolemne Proceſſion.

Another conſultation of the Doctors and Prieſts.

The Maſſe being done, they went in proceſſion: Firſt, the Quire in their ſurplices followed the Croſſe; then the firſt yeer Regents and Proctors; then the Doctors of Law, and their Bedle before them; then the Doctors of Divinity of both Univerſities intermingled, ye Divinity and Art Bedles going before them, the Vicechancellor and Prolocutor going together. After them Bachelors of Divinity, Regentes, & non Regentes, in their array; and laſt of all, ye Bachelors of Law & Art. After whom followed a great company of ſchollers and ſtudents not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the ſtreet to Chriſts Church, and there the Quire ſung a Pſalme, and after that a Collect was read. This done, departed the Commiſſioners, Doctors, and many other to Lincolne Colledge, where they dined with the Maior of the town, one Alderman, foure Bedles, maſter Say and the Cambridge Notary. After dinner they went all again to S. Maries Church; & there after a ſhort conſultation in a Chappel, all the Commiſſioners came into the Quire, & ſate all on ſeats before the altar, to ye number of 33. perſons: And firſt they ſent to the Maior, that he ſhould bring in Doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of ruſty bilmen.

chbiſhop Cranmer brought before the Doctors & high Prieſts at S. Maries Church. The reverend humility and behaviour of the Archbiſhop before them.

Thus the reverend Archbiſhop, when he was brought before the Commiſſioners, reverenced them with much humility, and ſtood with his ſtaffe in his hand, who notwithſtanding, having a ſtoole offered him, refuſed to ſit. Then the Prolocutor ſitting in the middeſt in a ſkarlet gown, began with a ſhort Preface or Oration in praiſe of unity, and eſpecially in the Church of Chriſt; declaring withall his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and alſo how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his Counſellor and a Catholike man, one of the ſame unity, and a member thereof in times paſt, but of late yeeres did ſeparate and cut off himſelfe from it, by teaching and ſetting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every yeere a new faith: and therfore it pleaſed the Queens Grace, to ſend them of the Convocation and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might bee. Then ſhewed he him how they of the Convocation houſe had agreed upon certain Articles, whereunto they willed him to ſubſcribe.

The anſwer of the Archbiſhop to D. Weſton.

The Archbiſhop anſwered to the preface very wittily, modeſtly, and learnedly, ſhewing that he was very glad of an unity, foraſmuch as it was Conſervatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quàm Chriſtianorum, i. The preſerver of all common-wealths, as well of the Heathen as of the Chriſtians; and ſo he dilated the matter with one or two ſtories of the Romanes Commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he ſaid, that hee was very glad to come to an unity, ſo that it were in Chriſt, and agreeable to his holy word.

The articles denyed by the Archbiſhop.

Scarborough warning given to Cranmer to diſpute.

When he had thus ſpoken his full minde, the Prolocutor cauſed the Articles to be read unto him, and aſked if he would grant and ſubſcribe unto them. Then the Biſhop of Canterbury did read them over three or foure times, and touching the firſt Article, he aſked what they meant by by theſe terms, verum & naturale, i. true and naturall. Do you not mean, ſaith he, Corpus organicum, i. a ſenſible body? Some anſwered, Idem quod natum eſt ex Virgine, i. The ſame that was born of the Virgin; and ſo confuſedly, ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another. Then the B. of Canterbury denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he ſaid they were all falſe, and againſt Gods holy word: And therfore he would not agree, he ſaid, in that unity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor, firſt willing him to write his mind of them that night, ſaid moreover that he ſhould diſpute in them, and cauſed a copy of ẏ articles to be delivered him, aſſigning him to anſwer thereunto on Munday next, and ſo charged the Maior with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books hee would occupy, and ſhould have them brought unto him. The Archbiſhop was greatly commended of every body for his modeſty: inſomuch, that ſome Maſters of Art were ſeene to weep for him, which in judgement were contrary to him.

Doctor Ridley brought in. Anſwer of Biſhop Ridley to the Articles.

B. Ridley falſly reported for his Sermon.

Then was D. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read unto him, anſwered without any delay, ſaying, they were all falſe; and ſaid further, that they ſprang out of a bitter and ſowre roote. His anſwers were ſharpe, witty, and very earneſt. Then did they lay to his charge a Sermon that he made when he was biſhop of Rocheſter, wherin (they ſaid) he ſpake with tranſubſtantiation. He denied it utterly, and aſked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would ſay and affirm with them the ſame. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was aſked of one whether he deſired not my lord Chancellor that now is, to ſticke to the Maſſe, and other things? He ſaid, that my Lord would ſay no ſuch things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

B. Ridley appointed to diſpute next day after the Archbiſhop.

Then he was aſked whether he would diſpute or no? He anſwered, ẏ as long as God gave him life, he ſhould not only have his heart, but alſo his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They ſaid he could not, and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that time he ſhould have books. He ſaid it was not reaſon that he might not have his own books, & time alſo to look for his diſputations. Then gave they him the Articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, & ſo did they command the Maior to have him from whence he came.

M. Latimer brought in.

M. Latimer could not finde the Maſſe in all the new Teſtament. What he meaneth by the marrowbones of the Maſſe, reade after in his proteſtation given in writing to the Prolocutor.

Laſt of al came in M. Latimer in like ſort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his ſpectacles hanging by a ſtring at his breſt, and a ſtaffe in his hand, & was ſet in a chaire; for ſo was he ſuffered by the Prolocutor. And after his deniall of the Articles, when he had Wedneſday appointed for diſputation, he alledged age, ſicknes, diſuſe, and lack of books, ſaying, that he was almoſt meet to diſpute as to be a captain of Calice: but he would he ſaid, declare his mind either by writing or by word, and would ſtand to all that they could lay upon his back; complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the new Teſtament there in his hand, which hee ſaid he had read over ſeven times deliberately, and yet could not find the Maſſe in it, neither the marrowbones nor ſinnewes of the ſame. At which words the Commiſſioners were not a little offended; and D. Weſton ſaid, that he would make him grant that it had both marrowbones and ſinnewes in the new Teſtament. To whom M. Latimer ſaid again, That you will never do M. Doctor, and ſo forthwith they put him to ſilence; ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he meant by thoſe terms, he could not be ſuffered: there was a very great preſſe and throng of people, and one of the Bedles ſwouned by reaſon thereof, and was carried into the Veſtry. After this bringing home the Prolocutor firſt, the Cambridge men, viz. Doctor Young Vicechancellor, Seton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon, and Sedgewicke, went to the Croſſe Inne to ſupper. And this was on Saturday being the 14. day of Aprill.

Aprill 14.

On Sunday after, M. Harpsfield preached at S. Maries the Univerſity Church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the Doctors of the Univerſity in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the Sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen Colledge, and there had a great dinner. They ſupped at Lincoln Colledge with the Prolocutor, whither Doctor Cranmer ſent anſwer of his mind upon the Articles in writing.

Aprill 16.

Subſcription.

4. Exceptores argumentor.

Cranmer ſet in the Reſpondents place. D. Cranmer cloſed in by the Maior and Aldermen for running away. Diſputers againſt the Archbiſhop.

On munday, being the 16, of April, M. Say, and M. White, Notaries, went about in ẏ morning to the Colledges, to get ſubſcriptions to the Articles. And about 8. of the clock the Prolocutor with all the Doctors and the Vicechancellor met together at Exceter Colledge, and ſo they went into the ſchools, and when the Vicechancellor, the Prolocutor, and Doctors were placed, and foure appointed to be Exceptores Argumentorum, ſet at a table in the middeſt, and foure Notaries ſitting with them, D. Cranmer came to ẏ Anſwerers place, the Maior and Aldermen ſitting by him, & ſo the diſputation began to be ſet a work by the Prolocutor with a ſhort Præludium. D. Chedſey began to argue firſt, & ere he left, the Prolocutor divers times, Doctor Treſham, Oglethorpe, Marſhall, Vicechancellor, Pye, Cole, & Harpeſfield did interrupt & preſſe him with their Arguments, ſo that every man ſaid ſomewhat, as the

Anno 1554

The Archbiſhop offered drinke.

Prolocutor would ſuffer diſorderly, ſometime in Latin, ſometime in Engliſh, ſo that thrée houres of the time was ſpent, ere the Vicechancellor of Cambridge began; who alſo was interrupted as before. He began with thrée or foure queſtions ſubtilly. Here the Bedles had provided drinke, and offered the Anſwerer; but hee refuſed with thankes. The Prolocutor aſſered him, if he would make water, or otherwiſe eaſe himſelf, he ſhould. Thus the diſputation continued untill almoſt two of the clocke, with this applauſicn Audientium; vicit veritas. Then were all the arguments written by the foure appointed, delivered into the hand of Maſter Say, Regiſter. And as for the priſoner, he was had away by the Maior; And the Doctors dined together at the Univerſity Colledge.

D. Cranmer after diſputation returned againe to Bocardo.

And thus much concerning the generall order and manner of theſe diſputations, with ſuch circumſtances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the diſputation, and in the preparation thereof, as alſo in the time of their diſputing. Now followeth to inferre and declare the orations, arguments, and anſwers, uſed and brought forth in the ſaid diſputations on both parts.

The arguments, reaſons, and allegations uſed in this Diſputation,

Aprill.16.

On Munday, Doctor Weſton, with all the reſidue of the Viſitors, Cenſors, & Opponents, repairing to the Divinity Schoole, each one enſtalled themſelves in their places. Doctor Cranmer with a rout of ruſty bils was brought thither, and ſet in the anſwerers place, with the Maior and Aldermen ſetting by him. Where doctor Weſton Prolocutor, apparelled in a ſkarlet gowne, after the cuſtome of the Univerſity, began the diſputation with this Oration. His words in latine as he ſpake them were theſe.

D. Weſton ſpeaketh truer than he wiſt.

Conveniſtis hodie, fratres, profligaturi de teſtandam illam hæreſin de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento, &c. that is, Ye are aſſembled hither brethren this day, to confound the deteſtable hereſie of the verity of the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, &c. At which words thus pronounced of the Prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there preſent, conſidering & well weighing the words by him uttered, burſt out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the diſputations, he had bewrayed himſelfe and his Religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Chriſts body in the ſacrament a deteſtable hereſie. The reſt of his Oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call theſe queſtions into controverſie: for ſuch as doubted of the words of Chriſt, might well bee thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Doctor Cranmer deſiring licenſe, anſwered in this wiſe.

D. Cranmers anſwer to the Preface.

We are aſſembled, ſaith he, to diſcuſſe theſe doubtfull controverſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye thinke it unlawfull to diſpute. It is indeed no reaſon, ſaith he, that we ſhould diſpute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if theſe queſtions be not called in controverſie, ſurely mine anſwer then is looked for in vain. This was the ſumm and effect of his anſwer; and this done he prepared himſelfe to diſputation.

D. Chedſey.

Then Chedſey the firſt Opponent began in this wiſe to diſpute.

Reverend M. Doctor, theſe thrée concluſions are put forth unto us at this preſent to diſpute upon,

Articles.

1. In the Sacrament of the Altar is the naturall body of Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and alſo his blood preſent really under the formes of bread and wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the Prieſt.

2. There remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3. The lively ſacrifice of the Church is in the Maſſe propitiatory as well for the qnicke as the dead.

These be the concluſions propounded, whereupon this our preſent controverſie doth reſt. Now to the end wee might not doubt how you take the ſame, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I terme it your opinion, in that it diſagréeth from the Catholicke. Wherefore thus I argue.

Argument.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the Scripture.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Cran. I deny the antecedent.

Ched. Chriſt when he inſtituted his laſt ſupper, ſpake to his Diſciples, Take, eat, this is my body which ſhall be giveu for you.

But his true body was given for us:

Ergo, his true body is in the ſacrament.

The right forme of this Argument is thus to be framed.

Argument.

Da- The ſame which was given for us is in the ſacrament.

ri- But his true body was given for us:

i. Ergo, his true body is in the ſacrament.

Anſwer. How Chriſts body is preſent in the Sacrament.

Cran. His true body is truly preſent to them that truly receive him; but ſpiritually. And ſo it is taken after a ſpirituall ſort. For when he ſaid, This is my body, it is all one as if he had ſaid, This is the breaking of my body, This is the ſhedding of my blood. As oft as you ſhall doe this, it ſhall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the ſhedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this ſacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receive the benefit promiſed by receiving the ſame worthily.

Argument of the authority of the Church.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the Church, which ſaith that the true body is in the ſacrament

Ergo, Your opinion therein is falſe.

Anſwer.

Cran. I ſay and agrée with the Church, that the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament effectually, becauſe the paſſion of Chriſt is effectuall.

Ched. Chriſt when he ſpake theſe words, This is my body, ſpake of the ſubſtance, but not of the effect.

Chriſts body effectually, not ſubſtantially in the ſacrament.

Cran. I grant he ſpake of the ſubſtance, and not of the effect after a ſort: and yet it is moſt true that the body of Chriſt is effectually in the ſacrament. But I deny that he is there truly preſent in bread, or that under the bread is his organicall body. And becauſe it ſhould be too teadious (he ſaid) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Doctor Weſton written at large, with anſwers to every one of their thrée propoſitions: which he deſired doctor Weſton ſitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promiſed to doe. But it was not the firſt promiſe that ſuch Papiſts have broken.

Papiſts falſe of promiſe.

The copy of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawne out as followeth.

An explication of Cranmer upon the foreſaid concluſions exhibited in writing.

The contents of Cranmers explication given up in writing.

Cranmer. In the aſſertions of the Church and of Religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, ſo much as may be, are to bee eſchewed, whereof riſeth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we muſt follow, ſo much as we may, the manner of ſpeaking of the ſcripture.

How Chriſt is really preſent.

In the firſt concluſion if ye underſtand by this word (really) re ipſa, i. in very déed and effectually, ſo Chriſt by the grace and efficacy of his paſſion, is in deed and truly preſent to all his true and holy members.

But if ye underſtand by this word (really) Corporaliter, i. Corporally, ſo that by the body of Chriſt is underſtanded a naturall body and organicall; ſo the firſt propoſition doth vary, not only from the uſuall ſpeech and phraſe of ſcripture, but alſo is cleane contrary to the holy word of God, and Chriſtian profeſſion: when as both the Scripture doth teſtifie by theſe words, and alſo the Catholike Church hath profeſſed from the beginning, Chriſt to have left the world, and to ſit at the right hand of yͤ Father till he come to iudgment.

Organicall, is called that which is a perfect body, having all the the members and parts complete belonging unto the ſame.

Anſwer to the ſecond concluſion.

And likewiſe I anſwer to the ſecond queſtion; that is, that it ſwarveth from the accuſtomed manner and ſpeech of Scripture,

Anſwer to the third concluſion.

The third concluſion contumelious againſt Chriſt.

The third concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous words, and differing alſo much from the true ſpeech of the Scripture, ſo as the words thereof ſeeme to import no open ſenſe, is moſt contumelious againſt onr only Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the Croſſe is the only ſacrifice and oblation for the ſins of all mankind.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you have made upon the firſt concluſion, this I underſtand, the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament onely by the way of participation: inſomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Chriſt, ſo that you mean hereby only the effect thereof But our concluſion ſtandeth upon the ſubſtance, and not the efficacy only, which ſhall appeare by the teſtimony both of Scriptures, and of all the Fathers a thouſand yeeres after Chriſt.

Mat. 26.

Mark 14.

Luk. 22.

And firſt to begin with the Scripture, let us conſider what is written in Matt. 26. Marke 14. Luk. 22. and 1 Cor. 11. Matthew ſaith, As they ſate at ſupper, Ieſus took bread, &c. In Marke there is the ſame ſenſe, although not the ſame words, who alſo for one part of the Sacrament ſpeaketh more plainly, Ieſus taking bread, &c, After the ſame ſenſe alſo writeth Luke 22. And when Ieſus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, ſaith the Scripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we have three witneſſes together, that Chriſt ſaid that to be his body which was given for many; and that to bee his blood which ſhould be ſhed for many; whereby is declared the ſubſtance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you ſay, there to be not the ſubſtance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

Subſtance and efficacy both, granted in the Sacrament.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine anſwer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the ſubſtance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the ſubſtance. And forſomuch as all things come not readily to memorie, to a man that ſhall ſpeake extempore, therfore for the more ample, and fuller anſwer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibite.

An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

Another explication for anſwer exhibited in writing by the Archbiſhop

The finall cauſe why the Supper was ordained.

OUr Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himſelfe to dye for our cauſe, that he might redeeme us from eternall death, to forgive us all our ſinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was againſt us; that wee through gratefull oblivion ſhould not forget his death, therefore at the time of his holy Supper did inſtitute a perpetuall memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Chriſtians in bread and wine, according as it is ſaid: Doe this in remembrance of mee. And ſo often as you ſhall eate this bread and drinke this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death till hee come. And this remembrance or ſacrament of his holy paſſion, that is, of his body ſlain, and blood ſhed, hee would all Chriſtians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he ſaid, Take eat, and drink ye all of this. Therefore whoſoever for mans tradition denieth the cup of Chriſts blood to Lay men, they manifeſtly repugne againſt Chriſt, forbidding that which Chriſt commandeth to be done, & be like to thoſe Scribes and Phariſees of whom the Lord ſpake; Yee hypocrites, yee have rejected the commandements of God for your traditions. Well did Eſay propheſie of you, ſaying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cauſe doe they worſhip me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men. The Sacrament and myſticall bread being broken and diſtributed after the inſtitution of Chriſt, and the myſticall wine being likewiſe taken and received, be not only ſacraments of the fleſh of Chriſt wounded for us, and of his blood ſhedding, but alſo be moſt certaine ſacraments for us, and (as a man would ſay) ſeales of Gods promiſes and gifts, and alſo of that holy fellowſhip which wee have with Chriſt and all his members. Moreover, they bee to us memorials of that heavenly food and nouriſhment, wherwith we are nouriſhed unto eternall life, and the thirſt of our boyling conſcience quenched, and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithfull be repleniſhed with unſpeakable ioy, and be corroborated and ſtrengthened unto all works of godlineſſe. We are many (ſaith ſaint Paul) one bread, and one body, all we which doe participate of one bread, and one cup. And Chriſt ſaith: Eat ye, this is my body. And, Drinke ye, this is my blood. And, I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, ſhall alſo live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat Manna in the deſart, and are dead: He that eateth me, ſhall alſo live for ever.

Mat. 25.

Luk. 7.

Sacraments ſeales of Gods promiſes.

1 Cor. 11.

Mat. 26.

Iohn 6.

Bread & wine remain ſtill in the Euchariſt, & be ſeales to us annexed with Gods promiſes.

Thus therefore true bread and true wine remaine ſtill in the Euchariſt, untill they be conſumed of the faithfull, to be ſigns, and as ſeals unto us annexed unto Gods promiſes, making us certaine of Gods gifts towards us. Alſo Chriſt remaineth in them, and they in Chriſt, which eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, as Chriſt himſelfe hath promiſed: They that eat my fleſh and drink my blood abide in me, and I in them. Moreover, he abideth alſo in them which worthily receive the outward ſacrament, neither doth he depart ſo ſoone as the ſacrament is conſumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nouriſhing us ſo long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the ſame. I acknowledge not here the naturall body of Chriſt, which is only ſpirituall, intelligible, and unſenſible, having no diſtinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worſhip, which was borne of the Virgin, which ſuffered for us, which is viſible, palpable, and hath all the forme and ſhape and parts of the true naturall body of man. Chriſt ſpake not theſe words of any uncertaine ſubſtance, but of the certaine ſubſtance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and ſhewed his Diſciples when he ſaid, Eat yee, this is my body: and likewiſe of the cup, when he ſaid, Drink yee, this is my blood: meaning verily of that bread which by nature is uſuall and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacting by the uniting of many graines together made by man, and by mans hand brought to that viſible ſhape, being of round compaſſe, and without all ſenſe or life, which nouriſheth the body, and ſtrengtheneth the heart of man: Of this ſame bread (I ſay) and not of any uncertaine and wandring ſubſtance the old Fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe

Chriſts words are ſpoken not of an uncertain ſubſtance, but of a certain ſubſtanc of bread, which he had in his hands.

Anno 1554

How the Doctors do take the ſpeech of Chriſt. Tropicall, Figurative, Anagogicall, Allegoricall. Bread called by the name of the body.

In the Sacrament is to be conſidered not what it is in nature, but what it ſignifieth in myſtery.

The Sacrament is a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a Sacrament, and a ſeale.

theſe wordes, Eat ye, this is my body. And likewiſe alſo of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine preſſed out of many cluſters of grapes, and maketh mans heart merry, of the very ſame wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake, Drinke ye, this is my blood. And ſo the old Doctors doe call this ſpeaking of Chriſt tropicall, figurative, anagogicall, allegoricall, which they do interpret after this ſort, that although the ſubſtance of bread and wine doe remaine, and bee received of the faithfull yet notwithſtanding Chriſt changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his fleſh, and the wine by the name of his blood, non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante myſterio, i, not that it is ſo in very deed, but ſignified in a myſtery. So that we ſhould conſider, not what they be in their own nature, but what them import to us and ſignifie, and ſhould underſtand the Sacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend not to the viſible nature of the Sacraments, neither have reſpect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to ſee there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine but that lifting up our minds we ſhould looke up to the blood of Chriſt with our faith, ſhould touch him with our minde, and receive him with our inward man, and that, being like Eagles in this life, we would flie up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lambe is reſident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, by whoſe ſtripes we are made whole; by whoſe paſſion we are filled at his table, and whoſe blood we receiving out of his holy ſide, doe live for ever, being made the gueſts of Chriſt, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacy of his whole paſſion, being no leſſe aſſured and certified, that we are fed ſpiritually unto eternall life by Chriſts fleſh crucified, and by his blood ſhed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drinke in this life: and hereof this ſaid myſticall bread on the table of Chriſt, and the myſticall wine, being adminiſtred and received after the inſtitution of Chriſt, be to us a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a Sacrament, and a ſeale.

What is meant by eating the myſticall bread

What the crucified body of Chriſt doth to our ſoules.

And thereof is it that Chriſt ſaith not thus; This is my body, eat ye: but after he had bidden them eat, then he ſaid, This is my body which ſhall be given for you. Which is to meane; as though hee ſhould ſay; In eating of this bread, conſider you that this bread is no common thing but a myſticall matter, neither doe you attend that which is ſet before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Conſider and behold my body crucified for you, that eat and digeſt in your mindes. Chew you upon my paſſion, be fed with my death, this is the true meate, this is the drinke that moiſteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, ſhall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be ſet before your eies are only declarations of me, but I my ſelfe am the eternall food. Wherefore whenſoever at this my table you ſhall behold the ſacraments, have not regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them, which is my ſelfe to be meat for you of eternall life.

The ſacrifice of Chriſts body once ſufficient for all.

Eſay 53.

Heb. 9.

Heb. 9.27.

No ſacrifice now for ſin but one.

Chriſt ſacrificed once for ſin, we ſacrifice daily by thankſgiving, & thankfull words of charity.

The only oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered himſelf to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the croſſe for our redemption) was of ſuch efficacy, that there is no more need of any ſacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the ſacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did ſignifie and promiſe. Whoſoever therfore ſhall fixe the hope of his ſalvation in any other ſacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious againſt the blood of Chriſt. For hee was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and was broken for our iniqnities. All wee like ſheepe have wandred aſtray. Every man hath turned after his owne way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For hee hath entred once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of Goates or Calves, but by his owne blood, finding eternall redemption: And hath entred into heaven, to appeare now in the ſight of God for us, not to offer himſelfe oftentimes (for ſo ſhould he have ſuffered many times) but now hath hee appeared once to put away ſinne, through his owne oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to dye, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: Who offering up one oblation for ſinnes, ſitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath hee made perfect for ever thoſe that be ſanctified. For where is remiſſion of ſinnes, there is now no oblation for ſinne, but this only ſacrifice of Chriſt; whoſoever ſhall ſeeke any other ſacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, maketh the ſacrifice of Chriſt of no volidity, force, or efficacy. For if it be ſufficient to remit ſinnes, what need is there of any other? For the neceſſity of another argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly leane to one ſacrifice of Chriſt and that we to him againe may repay our ſacrifices of thankſgiving, of praiſe, of confeſſing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulnes towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity. For by ſuch ſacrifices we ſhall declare our ſelves neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy ſacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you have out of the teſtimonies of holy Scripture, and of the ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and ſincere uſe of the Lords holy Supper, and the fruit of the true Sacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoever through captious or wreſted interpretations, or by mens traditions, ſhall goe about, otherwiſe than Chriſt ordained them, to altar or tranſubſtantiate, hee ſhall anſwer to Chriſt in the latter day, when he ſhall underſtand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Chriſt, but that out of the ſupper of eternall life he hath eaten and drunken eternall damnation to himſelfe.

West. Becauſe wee will not conſume and ſpend the time in waſte, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter ſhall be read in this place. In the meane ſeaſon let us now fall to the arguments.

Argument.

Ched. The Scriptures in many places do affirme, that Chriſt gave his naturall body, Matthew 26. Marke 14. Luke 22.

Ergo, I do conclude, that the naturall body is in the ſacrament.

Anſwer.

Cran. To your argument I anſwer; If you underſtand by the body, naturall (organicum) that is, having ſuch proportion and members as hee had living here, then I anſwer negatively.

Furthermore. concerning the Evangeliſts, thus I ſay and grant, that Chriſt took bread, and called it his body.

Ched. The text of the ſcripture maketh againſt you; for the circumſtance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but alſo teacheth us what manner of body it is, and ſaith The ſame body which ſhall be given.

Argument.

Ba- That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

ro- But the ſubſtance of bread is not given for us.

co. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is not here contained.

Anſwer. This word (Contained) diſtinguiſhed. The body of Chriſt contained not really, but ſacramentally.

Cran. I underſtand not yet what you meane by this word contained: If ye meane really, then I deny your Maior.

Ched. The Maior is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the Maior, denieth the Scripture. For the ſcripture ſaith, This is my body which ſhall be given for you.

Chriſt ſaith not, this is my body which is here contained, but this is my body which ſhall be given for you.

Cran. I grant, hee ſaid it was his body that ſhould be given, but he ſaid it was not his body which is here contained; but the body (ſaith hee) that ſhall be given for you. As though he ſhould ſay: This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſhedding of my blood. What will ye ſay then? is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the ſhedding of his blood really? if you ſay ſo, I deny it.

Ched. If you aſke what is the thing therein contained: becauſe his Apoſtles ſhould not doubt what body it was that ſhould be given, he ſaith; This is my body which ſhall be given for you, and my blood which ſhall be ſhed for many. Ergo, here is the ſame ſubſtance of the body, which the day after was given, and the ſame blood which was ſhed. And here I urge the ſcripture, which teacheth that it was no phantaſticall, no fained, no ſpirituall body, nor body in faith, but the ſubſtance of the body.

Cran. You muſt proove that it is contained, but Chriſt ſaid not which is contained. He gave bread, and called that his body. I ſtick not in the words of the ſcripture, but in your word, which is fained and imagined of your ſelfe.

Ched. When Chriſt tooke bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave bread. The bread ſacramentally, and his body ſpiritually, and the bread there he called his body.

Ched. This anſwer is againſt the ſcripture, which ſaith, that he gave his body.

Cran. It did ſignifie that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the body as the Capernaites did underſtand it, but the ſelfe ſame body which was given for the ſins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which ſhould be given, and his blood which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other copies I finde this argument to bee be made by Chedſey.

Argument.

Ba- The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was given for us on the Croſſe.
ro- But bread was not given on the Croſſe for us:
co. Ergo, Bread is not given in the ſacrament.

Anſwer.

Cran. I deny the Maior, which is, that the ſame naturall body is given in the ſacrament, which was given on the Croſſe, except you underſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo the argument as utterly naught, as he might well do, the Maior in the ſecond figure being not univerſall.

When maſter Chedſey had put forth his argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Doctor Cranmer anſwered as before is ſhewed, Doctor Oglethorpe, one of thoſe Doctors which the Prolocutor called Cenſores (belike to be Arbiters to order the diſputations) ſaid on this wiſe.

D. Oglethorpe breaketh Priſcians head, and ſpeaketh falſe latine.

D. Ogle. You come in ſtill with one evaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He urgeth the ſcriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gave his very body, You ſay that he gave his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prædicatio? panis eſt corpus.

Cranmer anſwereth to Oglethorpe.

D. Cranmer might have found fault with this argument as well as with his latine, being made in no mood or figure

Cran. You ſhould ſay, Quale corpus. I anſwer to the queſtion: it is the ſame body which was borne of the Virgin, was crucified, aſcended; but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay, Panis eſt corpus, is a figurative ſpeech, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a ſacrament of his body.

Ogle. This word body, being prædicatum, doth ſignifie ſubſtance.

Anno 1554.

But ſubſtantia is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, it is an eſſentiall predication, and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran. Subſtantia may bee predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſſe care for his ſpouſe the Church, than a wiſe houſholder hath for his family in making his wil or teſtament.

Cran. Your reaſon is drawn out of the affaires of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſholder maketh his teſtament after that ſort.

Tropes may be uſed in mens teſtaments, why not?

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it, ſo it be underſtood and perceived? I ſay Chriſt did uſe figurative ſpeech in no place more than in his Sacraments, and ſpecially in this his Supper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth uſe tropes in his teſtament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his teſtament: therefore Chriſt uſeth none here.

Cran. Yes, he may uſe them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath a reſpect that his heires, after his departure, may live in quiet, and without brabling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do uſe tropes:

Therefore (I ſay) he uſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

Aug. de unitate Eccleſiæ.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his book intituled De unitate Eccleſiæ, the tenth Chapter, hath theſe words following.

A place of Auguſtine recited by the Prolocutor.

Quid hoc eſt rogo, cum verba noviſſima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit eſſe mentitum, & illius non judicatur hæres qui fortè ea contempſerat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram Dei, ſi vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba noviſſima, & vnici filii Dei & Domini noſtri Salvatoris, & ituri in cœlum & inde proſpecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non obſervet, & inde venturi ut de omnibus judicet?

That is to ſay.

What a thing is this I pray you? when the laſt words of one lying upon his death bed are heard which is ready to goe to his grave, no man ſaith that he hath made a lye, and he is not accounted his heire, which regardeth not thoſe words. How ſhall we then eſcape Gods wrath, if either not beliveing or not regarding wee ſhall reiect the laſt words both of the only Son of God, and alſo of our Lord and Saviour, both aſcending into heaven, and beholding from thence who deſpiſeth, who obſerveth them not, and ſo ſhall come from thence to iudge all men.

The argument is thus formed,

Argument.

Bar- Whoſoever ſaith that the Teſtator lyeth, is a wicked heire,
ba- But whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſaith that he did lye.
ra. Ergo, Whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt here ſpeak by figures, is a wicked heire.

Anſwer.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary that hee which uſeth to ſpeake by tropes and figures ſhould lye in ſo doing.

Ogle. Your iudgement is diſagreeing with all Churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagree with the Papiſticall Church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logicke.

Cran. Nay, this you ſay through the ignorance of the Doctors.

Weſton. I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What gave he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

Argument.

Weſt. What did he eat?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. He gave bread, therefore he gave not his body.

He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, in deed and in truth.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Diſparata is a ſchoole terme, meaning diverſe ſubſtances, being ſo ſundred in nature, that one can never be ſaid to be the other.

Cole. This argument holdeth à diſparatis: It is bread, Ergo it is not the body; and it is ſuch an argument or reaſon, as cannot be diſſolved.

Cran. The like argument may be made. He is a rock, Ergo, he is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not alike.

Weſt. He gave not his body indeed: Ergo, it was not his body indeed.

The Sacrament ſetting the figure aſide formally is not Chriſts body.

Cran. He gave his death, his paſſion, and the Sacrament of his paſſion. And in very deed, ſetting the figure aſide, formally it is not his body.

Weſt. Why? then the Scripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay, the Scripture is moſt true.

Chryſ. hom. 61.

Weſt. This ſaith Chryſoſtome, Homil. 61. ad Pop. Antioch. Neceſſarium eſt, dilectiſſimi, myſteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem ſit, & quare ſit datum, & quæ rei utilitas, &c.

That is to ſay.

Needfull it is (deare friends) to tell you what the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his fleſh, and of his bones. We that be in the myſterie, let us follow the thing which was ſpoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but alſo that we may become one with that fleſh indeed, that is brought to paſſe by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to ſhew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himſelfe with us, and united his own body with us, that we ſhould be made all as one thing together, as a body ioyned and annexed to the head, for this is a token of moſt ardent and perfect love. And the ſame thing Job alſo inſinuating, ſaid of his ſervants, of whom he was deſired above meaſure, inſomuch that they, ſhewing their great deſire toward him, ſaid, who ſhall give unto us to be filled with his fleſh? Therefore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to induce us into a great love toward him, and to declare his deſire towards us, did not only give himſelfe to be ſeen of them that would, but alſo to be handled and eaten, and ſuffered us to faſten our teeth in his fleſh, and to be united together, and ſo to fill all our deſire. Like Lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the Divell, remembring our head in our minde, and his charity which he ſhewed unto us. For Parents many times give their children to other to be fed, but I do not ſo (ſaith he) but feed you with mine own fleſh, and ſet my ſelf before you, deſiring to make you all iolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to looke for things to come, who here give my ſelfe to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother, I took fleſh and blood for you. Againe, my fleſh and blood by the which I am made your kinſman, I deliver unto you.

Thus much out of Chryſoſtome. Out of which words I make this argument.

D. Weſtons argument without true forme or figure

The ſame fleſh, whereby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is given of Chriſt to us to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh.

Ergo, His true, naturall, and organicall fleſh, is given to us to be eaten.

Cran. I grant the conſequence, and the conſequent.

D. Weſtons argument denied: we are the true body of Chriſt: Ergo; we eat it with our mouth.
A figureleſſe argument.

Weſt. Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eat it through faith.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame fleſh to eat, whereby he became our brother and kinſman.

But he became our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh.

Therefore he gave his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the ſame true, naturall, and organicall fleſh wherein he ſuffered, and yet he feedeth us ſpiritually, and that fleſh is received ſpiritually.

Fallaci a dicto ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame fleſh which he took of the Virgin.

But he took not the true fleſh of the Virgin ſpiritually or in a figure.

Ergo, He gave his true naturall fleſh, not ſpiritually.

Cran. Chriſt gave to us his owne naturall fleſh, the ſame wherein he ſuffered, but feedeth us ſpiritually.

Anſwer.
Chryſoſtome alledged by D. Weſton. Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Mat.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome is againſt you, Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Matth. where he ſaith; Veniat tibi in mentem quo ſis honore honoratus, qua menſa fruaris. Ea namque re nos alimur, quam Angeli, &c.

That is to ſay.

Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou ſitteſt at: for with the ſame thing we are nouriſhed, which the Angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it without great feare, for the brightneſſe which commeth thereof; and we be brought and compact into one heape or maſſe with him, being together one body of Chriſt, and one fleſh with him. Who ſhall ſpeak the powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth all his praiſes? What paſtor hath ever nouriſhed his ſheep with his own members? many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurſes: which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conioyneth and uniteth us to himſelf.

Whereupon I gather this argument.

Another falſe argument, wherein the third figure the Minor is a negative.

Like as mothers nurſe their children with milk, ſo Chriſt nouriſhed us with his body.

But mothers do not nouriſh their infants ſpiritually with their milk:

Therefore Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that be his ſpiritually with his blood.

Anſwer.

Cran. He gave us the wine for his blood.

Argument.

Weſt. If he gave the wine for his blood (as you ſay) then he gave leſſe than mothers do give.

But Chryſoſtome affirmeth that he gave more than mothers give.

Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood.

Chriſt nouriſheth us both with bread and with his body: with bread our bodies, with his body our ſoules.

Cran. You pervert mine anſwer. He gave wine, yet the blood is conſidered therein. As for example: When he giveth Baptiſm, we conſider not the water, but the holy Ghoſt, and remiſſion of ſins. We receive with the mouth the Sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the Sacrament we receive by faith.

Weſt. When Chriſt ſaid, Eat ye, whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?

Cran. He meant that we ſhould receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth.

A groſſe ſaying

Weſt. Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Chryſ. alledged by D. Weſton. Chryſ. in Pſ. 50. Item Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Mat.

Weſt. I prove it out of Chryſoſtome, writing upon the 50. Pſalme.

Erubeſcit fieri nutrix, quæ facta eſt mater. Chriſtus autem non ita ipſe nutritor eſt noſter: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos paſcit, & pro potu ſuum ſanguinem nobis propinavit. Item in 26. Matthæi, Homil. 83. Non enim ſufficit ipſi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: ſed nos ſecum in unam, ut ita dicam, maſſam reducit, neque id fide ſolùm, ſed re ipſa nos corpus ſuum efficit.

That is to ſay.

She that is a mother, ſhameth ſomtime to play the nurſe. But Chriſt our Nurſe doth not ſo play with us. Therefore in ſtead of meat he feedeth us with his owne fleſh, and in ſtead of drinke he feedeth us with his owne blood. Likewiſe, upon the 26. chapter of Matthew, the 83. Homily, he ſaith: for it ſhall not be enough for him to become man, and in the meane while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one maſſe or lump with himſelfe (as I may ſo call it) and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but alſo in very deed.

Cran. I grant, we make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with mouth I deny.

Chryſoſtome alledged by D. Weſton. Hom. 29. in Epiſt. 2 Cor. cap. 13.

Weſt. Chryſoſt. 2 Cor. cap. 13. Hom. 29. hath theſe words. Non vulgarem honorem conſequutum eſt os noſtrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum, i. No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entreth into us both by our eares and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Chriſt, and teare it with our teeth, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. Wherefore I ſay and affime, that the vertue of the Sacrament is much: and therefore Chryſoſtome many times ſpeaketh of Sacraments no otherwiſe, than of Chriſt himſelfe, as I could prove, if I might have liberty to ſpeake, by many places of Chryſoſtome, where he ſpeaketh of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt.

The words of Chryſoſtome expounded.

With the which word of the Sacrament of the body, &c. D. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, ſave onely of the myſticall body which is the Church.

D. Cole denieth the Sacrament to be a Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, but only a Sacrament of the congregation, that is, of the myſticall body of Chriſt.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, offered upon the Croſſe, ſeeing both Chriſt and the ancient Fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chryſoſtome?

Chryſoſtome alledged by D. Cranmer. Chryſ. lib. 3. de ſacerd. cap. 3.

Cran. Chryſoſtome declareth himſelfe, Lib. 3. de ſacerdotio, cap. 3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos benevolentia, qui ſurſum ſedet ad dextram Patris, ſacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum. Fit autem id nullis præſtigiis, ſed apertis & circumſpicientibus circumſtantium omnium oculis.

That is to ſay.

O miracle, O the good will of God towards us, which ſitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in mens hands at the ſacrifice time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are deſirous of him. And that is brought to paſſe by no ſubtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the ſtanders by.

Thus you heare Chriſt is ſeen here in earth every day, is touched, is torne with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any iudgement will ſay or think to be ſpoken without trope or figure.

Weſt. What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he ſpake only of the Sacrament, as though it were his body.

Chryſoſtome alledged by D. Weſton. Chryſ. hom. 34.

But hearken what Chryſoſtome ſaith, Hom. 34. Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in regiis non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regium corpus in throno ſedens omnium præſtantiſſimum eſt: ita quoque in cœlis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominum tibi oſtendo. Animadvertis quonam pacto quod omnium maximum eſt, atque præcipuum in terra, non conſpicaris tantum, ſed tangis, neque ſolum tangis, ſed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam.

That is to ſay.

I ſhew forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greateſt honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the wals, nor the ſumptuous bed, but the body of kings ſitting under the cloth of eſtate, and royall ſeat of Maieſty, is of all things elſe the moſt excellent: ſo is in like manner the Kings body in heaven, which is now ſet before us on earth. I ſhew thee neither Angels nor Archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and maſter of all theſe things. Thou perceiveſt after what ſort thou doeſt not only behold, but toucheſt, and not only toucheſt, but eateſt that which on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thing of all other, and when thou haſt received the ſame, thou goeſt home; wherefore cleanſe thy ſoule from all uncleanneſſe.

Upon this, I conclude that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the earth.

How the body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the earth.

Cran. What? upon the earth? no man ſeeth Chriſt upon the earth: He is ſeen with the eyes of our minde, with faith and ſpirit.

Weſt. I pray you what is it that ſeemeth worthy higheſt honour on the earth? is it the Sacrament, or elſe the body of Chriſt?

Cran. Chryſoſtome ſpeaketh of the Sacrament, and the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the Sacrament.

Weſt. Ergo, Then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Weſt. That thing is ſhewed forth, and is now in the earth (oſtenditur) & (a) (eſt) which is worthy higheſt honour.

But only the body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Ergo, The body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

(a) This word (eſt) is not in Chryſoſtome. This argument of Weſton, ſtanding only upon affirmatives in the ſecond figure, hath no perfect forme in Logick.

Cran. I anſwer, the body of Chriſt to be on the earth, but ſo as in a Sacrament, and as the holy Ghoſt is in the water of Baptiſme.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſaith (oſtendo) I ſhew forth, which noteth a ſubſtance to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be underſtood Sacramentally.

Weſt. He ſaith (oſtendo in terra) I ſhew forth on earth, declaring alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be underſtood figuratively.

Weſt. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cranmer anſwereth to the place of Chryſoſtome, how Chriſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a Sacrament, that is, ſacramentally and figuratively.

Cran. Your maior and concluſion are all one.

Weſt. But the maior is true: Ergo, the concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the earth which is worthy of moſt high honour.

But no figure is worthy of higheſt honour.

Ergo, that which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran. I anſwer that is true ſacramentally.

Weſton falſifieth the words of Chryſoſtome.

Here Weſton crieth to him that he ſhould anſwer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when he went about to do, ſuch was the noiſe and crying out in the Schoole, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the Prolocutor did not well engliſh the words of Chryſoſtome, uſing for oſtenditur in terra, he is ſhewed forth on the earth, eſt in terra, he is on the earth, whereas Chryſoſtome hath not (eſt) nor any ſuch word of being on the earth, but only of ſhewing, as the grace of the holy Ghoſt, in Baptiſmo oſtenditur, i. is ſhewed forth in Baptiſme: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word oſtenditur. Then the Prolocutor, ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people

Unreverend words uſed in the Schoole againſt Doctor Cranmer.

people to cry out at him, filling all the Schoole with hiſſing, clapping of hands, and noiſe, calling him indoctum, imperitum, impudentem, i. unlearned, unſkilfull, impudent. Which impudent and reproachfull words this reverend man moſt patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the ſuffering of ſuch like reproaches. And when the Prolocutor, not yet ſatiſfied with this rude and unſeemely demeanour, did urge and call upon him to anſwer the argument: Then he bade the Notarie repeat his words againe.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high honour, here I ſhew forth to thee in earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Ergo, he ſheweth forth the body of Chriſt here in earth.

The body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth to us here in earth divers waies: as in reading of the Scriptures, ſometimes in hearing Sermons, and alſo in Sacraments, and yet neither the Scriptures, nor Sermons, nor Sacraments are to be worſhipped.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on the earth which may be ſeene, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe things be true of the body of Chriſt?

Cran. The Maior out of Chryſoſtome is true, meaning of the Sacrament. For in the Sacrament the true body of Chriſt, and not the figurative body is ſet forth.

Weſt. Shew me ſomewhat in earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the Sacrament onely.

Weſt. Ergo, the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. So it is.

Iudges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my anſwer be written likewiſe: I affirme, that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth unto us. It is our faith that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſt. Oſtendo tibi, i. I ſhew it to thee, ſaith Chryſoſtome, not to thy faith.

Cran. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

Weſt. Ergo, Chryſoſtome lieth. For he ſpeaking of ſhewing, ſaith: Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo, i. I Chryſoſtome do ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing ſacramentally.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Chriſt is proved to be on earth, not only ſacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vaine argument, and it is moſt vaine: alſo it hath mine anſwer unto it.

Ched. Will you affirm, that it is abſurd which Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

I touch the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid, Dominus meus, Deus meus, my Lord, my God.

Ergo, that which he touched, was the Lord the God.

The argument of Chedſey is not formall.

¶ This argument, as I received it out of the Notaries booke, is not formall; but rather he ſhould conclude in the third figure thus:

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the Sacrament.
ti- Thomas touched the body of Chriſt corporally.
ſi. Ergo, we touch the body of Chriſt corporally in the Sacrament.

God cannot be touched.

Cran. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Ched. This is becauſe of the union: ſo that God is ſaid to be touched, when Chriſt, which is both God and man, is touched.

Tertul. de reſurrectione carnis. Quod ſymbolorum eſt, rei attribuitur.

Tertullian de carnis reſurrectione ſaith, Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quanta huic ſubſtantiæ frivolæ & ſordidæ apud Deum prærogativa ſit. Etſi ſufficeret illi quòd nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci niſi dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeò caro ſalutis cardo eſt, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipſa eſt quæ efficit ut anima alligari poſſit; ſed & caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima conſecretur; ſignatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, ut anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti veſcitur, ut anima de Deo ſaginetur.

That is to ſay.

Let us conſider as concerning the proper form of the Chriſtian man, what great prerogative this vain and foule ſubſtance of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it, that no ſoule could ever get ſalvation, unleſſe it beleeve while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh availeth to ſalvation, by the which fleſh it commeth, that whereas the ſoule ſo is linked unto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the ſoule to be linked: yet the fleſh moreover is waſhed that the ſoule may be cleanſed; the fleſh is anointed that the ſoule may be conſecrated; the fleſh is ſigned, that the ſoule may be defended; the fleſh is ſhadowed by the impoſition of hands, that the ſoule may be illuminated with the ſpirit; the fleſh doth eat the body and blood of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed of God. Whereupon I gather this argument.

Argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is eaten with the mouth.

Phoceus 1 Cor. cap. 11

Phoceus alledged by Chedſey.

Item Phoceus 1. ad Cor. cap. 11. upon theſe words, Reus erit corporis & ſanguinis, &c.

Ὁ ἔνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ ἰούδας, παρῴνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ ἰουδαῖοι, οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσι ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὡς ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράτῳ προσφέροντες στόματι· διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου, δηλοῖ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, i. Quod ait, reus corporis & ſanguinis, iſtud declarat quod ſicuti Iudas ipſum quidem tradidit, Iudæi contumelioſè in ipſum inſaniebant: ſic ipſum inhonorant qui ſanctiſſimum ipſius corpus impuris manibus ſuſcipiunt, & tanquam Iudæi ipſi tenent & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quod crebro mentionem facit corporis & ſanguinis Domini, manifeſtat quòd non ſit ſimplex homo qui ſacrificatur, ſed ipſe Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipſos perterrefaciens.

That is to ſay.

Whereas he ſaith, Is guilty of the body and blood, this he declareth, that like as Iudas betrayed him, and the Iews were fierce and ſpitefull againſt him; ſo do they diſhonour him, which receive his holy body with their impure hands, and as the Iewes did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth that it is not ſimply man that is ſacrificed, but even the Lord himſelf, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Chriſt is touched with the hands.

Cran. You vouch two Authors againſt me upon ſundry things. Firſt, I muſt anſwer Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one meaning.

Anſwer to Tertullianus.

Cran. Unto Tertullian I anſwer (becauſe our diſputation is wandring and uncertaine) that he calleth that ỹ fleſh which is the Sacrament. For although God worke all things in us inviſibly beyond mans reach, yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſeene, and perceived of every ſenſe.

Therefore

Therfore he ſetteth forth Baptiſm, Unction, and laſt of all the Supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to ſignifie his operation in us. The fleſh liveth by the bread, but the ſoule is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

D. Weſton urgeth him with the words of Tertullian.

Weſt. Stick to thoſe words of Tertullian, Corpus veſcitur, ut anima ſaginetur, id eſt, The body eateth, that the ſoule may be fed.

Ched. The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed therewith.

Weſt. Here you ſee two kinds of food, of the ſoule and of the body.

Ched. He ſaith, that not onely the ſoule, but the fleſh is alſo fed.

Cran. The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt, the body with the Sacrament.

Ched. Is the ſoule fed with the body of Chriſt, and not with the Sacrament?

Inwardly we eat the body, outwardly the Sacrament.

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you ſhall perceive that by things externall, an operation internall is underſtood. Inwardly we eat Chriſts body, and outwardly we eat the Sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in Baptiſm the externall element whereby the body is waſhed, is one; the internall thing whereby the ſoule is cleanſed, is another.

Ched. The ſoule is fed by that which the body eateth.

But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt.

Ergo, the body eateth the fleſh of Chriſt.

Cran. We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Chriſts body: Outwardly we eat the Sacrament.

(a) The forme of this argument which he repeateth, ſtood better before: for the forme of this connexion anſwereth to none of the three figures of Syllogiſmes.

Ched. I will repeat the argument.

(a) The fleſh eateth Chriſts body, that the ſoul may be fed therewith.

The ſoule is not fed with the Sacrament, but with Chriſts body.

Ergo, The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Cran. The ſacrament is one thing, the matter of the ſacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the ſacrament. Inwardly we eat the body of Chriſt.

Ched. I prove that we receive that outwardly wherewith the ſoule is fed.

Conſequence. The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, We eat the body of Chriſt outwardly.

Conſequence. The fleſh eateth Chriſt his body.

Ergo, the ſoule is fed therewith.

Anſwer. Cran. The fleſh (I ſay) eateth the ſacrament; it eateth not Chriſts body. For Tertullian ſpeaketh of the ſacrament; and the place hath not (inde) thereof, but (de Deo) of God.

Ched. What ſay you to Phoceus ſaying? They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lords bloud, as Iudas was.

Weſt. That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your ſhift, whereas he ſaith, Non poſſunt ergo ſeparari in mercede, quos opera conjungit, i. They cannot be ſeparated in reward, whom one work joyneth together.

But manducation is the work or labour, Ergo, &c.

The forme of this argument may be thus collected.

Da- One work or labour joyneth body and ſoule together.
ri- Manducation is a work or labour.
i. Ergo, one manducation joyneth together both body and ſoule.

(a) As the body and ſoule are joyned in the work of Baptiſme, ſo are they joyned in the communion of the Lords Supper. For as the fleſh is waſhed with water, that the ſoule may be purged ſpiritually: ſo our body eateth the outward Sacrament, that the ſoule may be fed of God.

(a) To the maior of which argument, thus it may be anſwered, expounding the ſaying of Tertullian, una opera conjungit, ſed non idem operandi modus. Againe, opera here in Tertullian may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

(b) Anſwer to Tertullian de reſurrect.

(b) Cran. Your authority (I ſuppoſe) is taken out of the booke De reſurrectione carnis, i. of the reſurrection of the fleſh: and the meaning therof is this. Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the fleſh ſhall riſe again, becauſe it is joyned together in one work with the ſoule. Through Baptiſme in this world the body is waſhed, and the ſoule is waſhed: the body outwardly, the ſoule inwardly, the work is one. In this work they are joyned. And he ſpeaketh of ſignes.

Weſt. He ſpeaketh of eating in a ſigne.

Ergo, the reward is in a ſigne.

Cran. They are coupled in one work, namely, in the ſacrament.

Weſt. There are two works.

Ergo, There are two rewards.

If the work be in a figure.

Ergo, The reward is in a figure.

Cran. He ſpeaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he ſaith not, Quos una opera conjungit, i. Whom one work joyneth together, but Opera, i. A work: As in Baptiſm the ſoule and the body are joyned in underſtanding.

Weſt. The fleſh and ſoule ſhall have one and the ſelfe ſame reward, becauſe they have one worke.

Cran. Becauſe they be joyned together in one worke.

D. Treſham diſputeth.

Treſ. Foraſmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned, and overthrowne your aſſertion and your anſwers ſufficiently: I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpoſe, and that in few words, againſt a certaine ſequele of your opinion. The ſequele is this; that between us and Chriſt there is no further conjunction, whiles we receive the Euchariſt, than a conjunction of the mind, or a ſpirituall conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Chriſt through faith and love. As for the preſence of Chriſt concerning the ſubſtance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very deed you leave but a ſpirituall union and joyning together of minde. Howbeit you would ſeem to think otherwiſe by your ſubtill anſwers. But I will declare by manifeſt teſtimonies of the Fathers, that this your ſequele, which you account ſo ſure, is farre wide from the truth. And I will begin with S. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned Author. For diſputing againſt the Arrians, octavo de Trinitate, he ſaith that this was their opinion; That the Father and the Son are conjoyned only through unity of will. Whereupon Arrius himſelfe, when Scripture was alledged againſt him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his falſe interpretations. But the catholike Church hath alwayes beleeved and ever maintained, that Chriſt is one with the Father in nature, and not by conſent of will onely. To the proofe whereof, when the Catholikes vouched this teſtimony of John, Pater & Ego unum ſumus, i. The Father and I are one: The Arrians anſwered, that (unum ſumus) was to be underſtood by the aſſent of their wils, and agreement of their minds, not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now adayes, where men doe doubt of the ſacrament. But Hillary going on, and proving the naturall conjunction betweene the Father and the Sonne à fortiori, queſtioneth with his adverſaries after this manner. I demand of them now which will needs have the unity of will onely between the Father and the Son, whether Chriſt be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wils? If (ſaith he) the word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lords table the word made fleſh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who being borne man, hath both taken the nature of our fleſh upon him that is now inſeparable, and hath alſo mingled that nature of his

Hillary.

owne

Coniunction betweene Chriſt and us.

own fleſh unto the nature of eternity under the Sacrament of his fleſh, to be communicated unto us? Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I aſke of you this queſtion, How Chriſt dwelleth now in us? according to faith, or according to nature?

Anſwer to Hilary.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our fleſh upon him, and becauſe he hath communicated his nature unto us.

Bucer contra Abrincenſem alledged by Treſham.

Treſh. Bucer contra Abrincenſem, referreth theſe words only to the Euchariſt, ſaying, Chriſt doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy Supper, and according to the holy Fathers (ſaith he) Chriſt liveth therby in us, not only by faith and love, as abſent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherfore he is not abſent, neither are we ioyned to Chriſt onely by a ſpirituall union (as you ſuppoſe) but alſo by a corporall and carnall union.

Cran. I know that Maſter Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good caſe, which leaneth upon Bucer.

Treſh. I doe not bring Bucer as a Patron of our faith, but becauſe he is a man of your ſort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the Sacrament, and confeſſeth, that by it we are carnally united to Chriſt, whereas you think that we are ioyned by it only through faith and love.

Chriſt communicated and united to us by birth, by unity of the Church, by the communion, by baptiſme, by faith.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt was communicated unto us, not onely by faith, but in very deed alſo when he was borne of the Virgin. We have fellowſhip with Chriſt, when we are united in yͤ unity of the Church, when we are made fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, and ſo we are united in the communion, in baptiſm, and in faith.

Treſh. I pray you what fellowſhip have we with Chriſt, in that he is made man? Are not the Turkes and Iewes therein ioyned with him? For they are men as we are, and are ioyned with him in mans nature, in that he was borne of a woman. I ſpeake now of a more neere unity. We are made one with Chriſt by the communion in a perfect unity.

“We are united to Chriſt by communion, ſo as we are by baptiſme.

Cran. “We are made ſo, I grant: but we are made ſo alſo by Baptiſm; and the unity in Baptiſme is perfect.

Treſh. We are not made one by Baptiſm in a perfect unity, as Hilary there ſpeaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewiſe by Baptiſm: wherefore you underſtand not Hilary. You ſhall heare his words, which are theſe:

Obiection of Hilary.

He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect union, ſaying; As the living Father ſent me, ſo doe I alſo live by the Father. And he that eateth my fleſh, ſhall alſo live through me. And a little after that he writeth thus: This truly is the cauſe of our life, that we have Chriſt dwelling by his fleſh in us that are fleſhly, which alſo by him ſhall live in ſuch ſort as he liveth by his father. Wherefore of theſe words it is manifeſt, that we obtaine this perfect unity by means of the Sacrament, and that Chriſt by it is carnally united unto us.

Anſwer to the place of Hilary.

Cran. Nay, Hilary in that ſame place doth teach, that it is done by Baptiſm: & that doctrine is not to be ſuffered in yͤ Church, which teacheth, that we are not ioyned to Chriſt by Baptiſme.

Weſt. Repeat the argument.

Cran. You muſt firſt make an argument.

Treſh. It is made already, but it ſhall be made againe in this forme.

Argument.

Da- As Chriſt liveth by his Father, ſo they that eat Chriſts fleſh live by the ſame fleſh.

ti- But Chriſt liveth by the Father, not onely by faith and love, but naturally.

ſi. Ergo, We live not through the eating of Chriſts fleſh, by faith and love only, but naturally.

Cran. We live by Chriſt, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed.

Treſh. Nay (b) naturally I prove it thus.

As Chriſt liveth by the Father, ſo live we by his fleſh eaten of us.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father only, by faith and love, but naturally.

Therefore we do not live by eating of Chriſts fleſh onely by faith and love (as you ſuppoſe) but naturally.

(b) The Papiſts by this one word Naturally, confound themſelves. For if the naturall body of Chriſt were eaten, and went naturally into our bodies, then ſhould it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate, and now alſo immortall, our bodies united in nature to his pure and immortall body, naturally ſhould never ſin nor die. Wherefore it remaineth, that the naturall uniting to Chriſts body, commeth not by the bodily eating of the Sacrament, unto our body, but to our ſoule, and ſo ſhall redound at length unto our bodies. If that union of the ſubſtance of fleſh ſhould be granted unto our bodies, then ſhould our bodies never die, nor ſee corruption.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Treſh. This is the opinion of Arrius, that Chriſt is united to his Father by coniunction of minde, and not naturally.

Cran. I ſay not ſo yet, neither doe I thinke ſo. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You ſay, that Chriſt doth not live by his Father onely by faith and love: but I ſay, that Chriſt liveth not at all by his faith.

Weſt. Mark and conſider well this word (by Faith) leſt any occaſion of cavilling be given.

Treſh. Let that word (by Faith) be omitted. Neither did I meane, that Chriſt liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the ſtrength of the argument remaineth in force. For els Hilary doth not confute the Arrians, except there be a greater coniunction betweene us and Chriſt, when he is eaten of us, than only a ſpirituall coniunction. You do only grant an union. As for a carnall or naturall union of the ſubſtance of fleſh, by which we are ioyned more than ſpiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Ieſus give you a better mind, and ſhew you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteouſneſſe.

Weſt. We came hither to diſpute, and not to pray.

Treſ. Is it not lawfull to pray for them yͤ erre?

Weſt. It is not lawfull yet. But proceed.

The ſame argument againe repeated.

Treſ. Againe, I reaſon thus; As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner do we live by the eating of his fleſh.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father onely, in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo, we do not live when we eat the fleſh of Chriſt, onely by faith and unity of will, but naturally.

Anſwer.

Cran. This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture, Chriſt liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himſelf indeed naturally, and that not onely in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, but alſo in Baptiſme. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the fleſh of Chriſt.

Weſt. Anſwer either to the whole argument, or to the parts therof. For this argument is ſtrong, and cannot be diſſolved.

Cran. This is the argument.

The Archbiſhop repeateth the argument.

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner do we live by his fleſh, being eaten of us.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father onely in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo, We eating his fleſh do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

But the maior is falſe; namely, that by the ſame maner we live by Chriſt, as he liveth by his father.

Weſt. (a) Hilary ſaith, After the ſame manner

(a) Chriſt not after his manhood, but after his divine nature, liveth naturally by his Father, which divine nature of his worketh alſo in his manhood an immortality: So our ſpirit and ſoule, receiving the naturall body of Chriſt in the myſteries, by faith doe receive alſo the nature of his body, that is, his pureneſſe, iuſtification, and life: the operation whereof redounding likewiſe unto our bodies, doth make the ſame alſo capable of the ſame glory and immortality. And thus it is true, that as Chriſt liveth naturally by his Father, ſo we live naturally by the body of Chriſt eaten in the myſteries, having reſpect both to the manhood of him and us. For as the fleſh of Chriſt in reſpect of bare fleſh, liveth not naturally by the Father, but for that it is ioyned to his divinity: So our fleſh liveth not naturally by Chriſts body eaten in the Sacrament (for then every wicked man eating the Sacrament ſhould live naturally by him) but for that our fleſh is ioyned to the ſpirit and ſoule, which truly eateth the body of Chriſt by faith: and ſo onely the bodies of the faithfull do live by eating the body of Chriſt naturally, in participating the naturall properties of the body of Chriſt.

upon theſe words, He that eateth my fleſh ſhall live by me: Ergo, Chriſt liveth by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the ſame maner we ſhall live by his fleſh. Here you ſee, that Hilarie ſaith, After the ſame manner.

Cran. After the ſame manner, doth not ſignifie like in all things, but in deed and eternally: for ſo do we live by Chriſt, and Chriſt liveth by his Father. For in other reſpects Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Weſt. He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

Ergo, We live by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; As Chriſt hath eternall life of his Father, ſo have we of him.

Weſt. I ſtick to this word Naturally.

Cran. I mean it touching the truth of nature. For Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Weſt. Hilarie in his eighth book De Trinitate, denieth it when he ſaith: He liveth therefore by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner we ſhall live by his fleſh.

Naturall expounded.

Cran. We ſhall live after the ſame manner, as concerning the nature of the fleſh of Chriſt: for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, ſo ſhall we have of him.

Weſt. Anſwer unto the parts of the argument.

The argument the third time repeated.

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner ſhall we live by his fleſh.

But Chriſt doth not live by his Father onely in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo, We eating of his fleſh, do not live onely by faith and love, but naturally.

Cran. I grant (as I ſaid) we live by Chriſt naturally: but I never heard that Chriſt liveth with his Father in unity of will only.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſeemeth a marvell unto you, heare what Hilary ſaith; Theſe things are recited of us to this end, becauſe the Heretikes, feigning an unity of will onely betweene the Father and the Sonne, did uſe the example of our unity with God, as though we being united to the Sonne, and by the Sonne to the Father onely by obedience and will of Religion, had no propriety of the naturall communion by the Sacrament of the body and blood.

But anſwer to the argument. Chriſt liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri deſcripto.

Cran. Cyrill and Hilary do ſay, that Chriſt is united to us not only by will, but alſo by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and ſo is Chriſt made one with us carnally and corporally, becauſe he tooke our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not ſay only that Chriſt is naturally in us, but that we alſo are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlaſtingnes. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did ioyne it in unity of perſon, and did communicate unto that our nature the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlaſting Word of the Father, had everlaſting life of the Father; even ſo he gave the ſame nature to his fleſh. Likewiſe alſo did he communicate with us the ſame nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we ſhould be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we ſhould be alſo partakers of the nature of everlaſting life.

Naturally expounded, that is, our bodies to participate the nature and properties of Chriſts holy immortall bodie.

Weſt. Hilary, where he ſaith, Chriſt communicated to us his nature, meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the Sacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to us his fleſh by his nativity.

Weſt. We have communicated to him (b) our fleſh when he was borne.

(b) Then had Chriſt a ſinful fleſh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to us his fleſh when he was borne, and that I will ſhew you out of Cyrill upon this place; Et homo factus eſt.

Weſt. Ergo, Chriſt being borne gave us his fleſh.

Cran. In his nativity he made us (c) partakers of his fleſh.

(c) That is, made us partakers of the properties, life, innocency, and reſurrection of his body.

Weſt. Write ſirs.

Cran. Yea, write.

D. Chedſey again diſputeth.

Ched. This place of Hilary is ſo darke, that you were compelled to falſifie it in your book, becauſe you could not draw it to confirme your purpoſe.

Hilar. 8. de Trinit.

If Chriſt have taken verily the fleſh of our body, and the man that was verily borne of the Virgin Mary is Chriſt, and alſo we receive under the true myſterie the fleſh of his body, by meanes whereof wee ſhall bee one (for the Father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in us) how ſhall that be called the unity of will, when the naturall property, brought to paſſe by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of unity: We muſt not ſpeake in the ſenſe of man, or of the world in matters concerning God: neither muſt we perverſly wreſt any ſtrange or wicked ſenſe out of the wholſome meaning of the holy Scripture, through impudent and vile contention. Let us read thoſe things that are written, and let us underſtand thoſe things that we read, and then we ſhall performe the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that naturall and true being of Chriſt in us, except we learne of him, we ſpeak fooliſhly and ungodly that thing that we do ſpeak. For he ſaith, My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his fleſh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the teſtimony of the Lord, and alſo by our faith, it is verily fleſh, and verily blood.

Here you have falſified Hilary, for you have ſet vero ſub myſterio, for verè ſub myſterio, we receive truly under a myſtery. Hilary thrice reporteth verè ſub myſterio, and you interpret it twice verè ſub myſterio, but the third time you have vero for verè.

Thus far was their talk in Engliſh. Seeing maſter Cranmer had twice vere, and but once vero, they had no cauſe to be grieved, but that they were diſpoſed to find a knot in a ruſh.

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copie which I followed had ſub vero myſterio, i. under a true myſtery: although touching the ſenſe it differeth little. God I call to witneſſe, I have alway hated falſifying, and if you had leaſure and luſt to heare falſe citations, I could recite unto you ſix hundred.

Weſt. Here ſhall be ſhewed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Baſil, the other at Paris.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that Doctor Smiths booke hath vero.

Weſt. Here is Doctor Smith; let him anſwer for himſelfe.

M. Smith, M. Doctor, what ſay you for your ſelf? ſpeak if you know it.

¶ Here Doctor Smith, either for the truth in his book alledged, or els aſtoniſhed with Doctor Weſtons haſty calling, ſtaid to anſwer. For he only put off his cap, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your owne book, printed by Wolfe your own Printer, hath vero.

Cran. That book is taken from me, which eaſily might have ended this controverſie. I am ſure the book of Decrees hath vero.

Here D. Cole beginneth to carpe.

Cole. Now you admit the book of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Cran. Touching the ſenſe of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another, is but a ſmall matter.

Weſt.

Anno 1554.

Weſt. No is? Paſtor (as you know) ſignifieth a Biſhop, and Piſtor ſignifieth a Baker. But Paſtor ſhall be Piſtor, a Biſhop ſhall be a Baker by this your change of one letter, if verè and vero do nothing change the ſenſe.

Cran. Let it be ſo that in Piſtor and Paſtor one letter maketh ſome difference: Yet let Piſtor be either a Baker or maker of bread, ye ſee here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſenſe.

D. Yong commeth in with his Socraticall interrogations.

Yong. This Diſputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appeare. I perceive that I muſt goe another way to worke than I had thought. It is a common ſaying; againſt him that denieth principles wee muſt not diſpute. Therefore that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Chriſt than his inſtrumentall body?

Cran. There is no naturall body of Chriſt, but his organicall body.

Yong. Againe, I demand, whether ſenſe and reaſon ought to give place to faith?

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, whether Chriſt be true in all his words?

Cran. Yea, hee is moſt true, and truth it ſelfe.

Yong. Fourthly, Whether Chriſt at his Supper minded to doe that which hee ſpake or no?

Cran. Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo; ſed fecit Diſcipulis Sacramentum, i. In ſaying hee ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the Sacrament to his Diſciples.

D. Yongs ſophiſticall interrogatories.

Yong. Anſwer according to the truth; whether did Chriſt that as God and man which hee ſpake, when he ſaid, This is my body?

Cran. This is a ſophiſticall cavillation: goe plainly to worke. There is ſome deceit in theſe queſtions. You ſeeke ſubtilneſſe, leave your crafty fetches.

Yong. I demand whether Chriſt by theſe words wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the Sacrament.

Yong. But anſwer, whether did he worke any thing?

Cran. He did work in inſtituting the Sacrament.

This Syllogiſme, ſpeaking of a figure, hath no perfect forme nor figure.

Yong. Now I have you; for before you ſaid it was a figurative ſpeech.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, It is not a figurative ſpeech. A lyer ought to have a good memory.

Cran. I underſtood your Sophiſtry before. You by working underſtand converting into the body of Chriſt: but Chriſt wrought the Sacrament, not in converting, but in inſtituting.

Yong. Woe be to them that make Chriſt a deceiver. Did he worke any other thing than he ſpake, or the ſelfe ſame thing?

Cran. He wrought the Sacrament, and by theſe words he ſignified the effect.

Fes- Yong. A figurative ſpeech is no working thing.
ti- But the ſpeech of Chriſt is working:
no. Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. It worketh by inſtituting, not by converting.

Yong. The thing ſignified in the Sacrament, is it not that Sacrament?

Anſwer to D. Yong by S. Auſtin.

Cran. It is. For the thing is miniſtred in a ſigne. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a ſigne. Auguſtine ſeparateth the ſacrament from the thing. The ſacrament (ſaith he) is one, & the thing of the ſacrament another.

Weſt. Stick to this argument.
It is a figurative ſpeech.
Ergo, It worketh nothing.

Yong. But the ſpeech of Chriſt is a working thing.
Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. Oh how many crafts are in this argument? they are meere fallacies, I ſaid not, that the words of Chriſt do work, but Chriſt himſelfe; and he worketh by a figurative ſpeech.

Weſt. If a figure worke, it maketh of bread the body of Chriſt.

Cran. A figurative ſpeech worketh not.

Weſt. A figurative ſpeech, by your owne confeſſion, worketh nothing.
But the ſpeech of Chriſt in the Supper (as you grant) wrought ſomewhat.
Ergo, the ſpeech of Chriſt in the ſupper was not figurative.

The figurative ſpeech worketh not, but Chriſt by the figurative ſpeech worketh the Sacrament.

Cran. I anſwer, theſe are meere Sophiſmes: the ſpeech doth not work, but Chriſt by the ſpeech doth work the ſacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of diſputations.

Yong. Are not theſe words of Scripture, This is my body? The word of Chriſt is of ſtrength; and by the Lords words the heavens were made. He ſaid, This is my body: Ergo, he made it.

Cran. He made the ſacrament, and I deny your argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He ſaid, This is my body. You ſay contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Chriſt, and fall from the faith.

Cran. You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old Writers, and feigne a ſtrange ſenſe.

Amb. de iis qui initiantur, &c. cap. 9.

Yong. Ambroſe, De iis qui initiantur ſacris, cap. 9. ſaith: De totius mundi operibus legiſti, quia ipſe dixit, & facta ſunt, ipſe mandavit & creata ſunt. Sermo Chriſti qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non poteſt ea quæ ſunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus eſt novas res dare, quàm mutare naturas. Sed quid argumentis utimur? ſuis utamur exemplis, incarnationiſque exemplo aſtruamus myſterii veritatem. Nunquid naturæ viſus præceſſit cum Dominus Ieſus ex Maria naſceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare conſuevit; Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit: & hoc quod confitimus corpus ex virgine eſt. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Chriſti corpore, cum præter naturam ſit ipſe Dominus Ieſus partus ex virgine? Vera utique caro Chriſti quæ crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: verè ergo illius Sacramentum eſt. Clamat Dominus Ieſus; Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur, poſt conſecrationem corpus ſignificatur. Ipſe dicit ſanguinem ſuum. Ante conſecrationem aliud dicitur: poſt conſecrationem ſanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc eſt, verum eſt. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod ſermo ſonat, affectus ſentiat.

That is.

Thou haſt read of the works of all the world; that he ſpake the word and they were made; he commanded and they were created. Cannot the word of Chriſt, which made of nothing that which was not, change thoſe things that are into that they were not? For it is no leſſe matter to give new things than to change natures. But what uſe we arguments? let us uſe his owne examples, and let us confirm the verity of the myſtery by example of his incarnation. Did the uſe of nature goe before when the Lord Jeſus was borne of Mary? If you ſeeke the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman ioyned to a man. It is manifeſt therefore, that contrary to the " order of nature, a Virgin

" As Chriſt Jeſus was conceived againſt the order of nature; ſo in the inſtituting of this Sacrament the order of nature is not to bee ſought.

did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What ſeekeſt thou here the order of nature in the body of Chriſt, when againſt the order of nature the Lord Jeſus was conceived of a Virgin? It was the true fleſh of Chriſt which was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the Sacrament of him. The Lord Jeſus himſelfe crieth; This is my body. Before the bleſſing of the heavenly words, it is named another kinde: but after the conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it his blood. Before conſecration it is called another thing: after conſecration it is called blood: and thou ſaiſt, Amen; that is, it is true. That the mouth ſpeaketh let the inward minde confeſſe; that the word ſoundeth, let the heart perceive.

Amb. lib. de ſacram. cap. 4

The ſame Ambroſe in his fourth booke of Sacraments the fourth chap. ſaith thus; Panis iſte panis eſt ante verba Sacramentorum; ubi acceſſerit conſecratio, de pane fit caro Chriſti. Hoc igitur aſtruamus; quomodo poteſt, qui panis eſt, corpus eſſe Chriſti conſecratione? conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cujus ſermonibus? Domini Ieſu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile ſacramentum, jam non ſuis ſermonibus Sacerdos utitur, ſed ſermonibus Chriſti. Ergo ſermo Chriſti hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis ſermo? Nempe is quo facta ſunt omnia. Iuſſit Dominus & factum eſt cœlum; juſſit Dominus & facta eſt terra; juſſit Dominus & facta ſunt maria, &c. Vides ergo quàm operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini, ut inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius eſt, ut ſint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur.

That is to ſay.

The words of Ambroſe in Engliſh.

This bread is bread before the words of the Sacraments; when the conſecration commeth to it, of bread it is made the fleſh of Chriſt. Let us confirme this therefore; how can that which is bread, by conſecration be the body of Chriſt? by what words then is the conſecration made, and by whoſe words? by the words of our Lord Jeſus. For touching all other things that are ſaid, praiſe is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the reſt: When it commeth that the reverend ſacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt uſeth not his own words, but the words of Chriſt: therefore the word of Chriſt maketh this ſacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made: The Lord "commanded, and heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the ſeas were made; the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Doſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in working the word of Chriſt is? If therefore ſo great ſtrength be in the Lords word, that thoſe things ſhould begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of ſtrength to worke, that theſe things which were ſhould be changed into another thing? Ambroſe ſaith that the words are of ſtrength to work.

"But the Lord Jeſus here uſed not ſuch words of commanding in the ſacrament as in the creation: for we read not fiat hoc corpus meum, as we read, fiat lux, &c.

Weſton. You omit thoſe words which follow, which maketh the ſenſe of Ambroſe plain. Read them.

Amb. de ſacram. cap. 5.

"Alloioſis rerum & ſymbolorum.

Yong. Cœlum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem, ipſe dixit & facta ſunt; ipſe mandavit & creata ſunt. Ergo tibi ut reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationem dico tibi quòd jam "corpus Chriſti eſt. That is, Heaven was not, the ſea was not, the earth was not, but heare him that ſaid: he ſpake the word and they were made; hee commanded, and they were created. Therefore to anſwer thee, it was not the body of Chriſt before conſecration, but after the conſecration, I ſay to thee, that now it is the body of Chriſt.

Cran. All theſe things are common. I ſay, that God doth chiefly work in the ſacraments.

Young. How doth he work?

Cran. By his power, as he doth in Baptiſme.

Young. Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, give place to the truth.

Cran. O glorious words, you are too full of words.

Young. Nay, O glorious truth, you make no change at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondſlave of the Divell is made the ſon of God? So it is alſo in the ſacrament of the Supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour.

Young. If he worke in the ſacraments, he worketh in this ſacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his faithfull, not in the ſacraments.

Weſt. In the Supper the words are directed to the bread; in Baptiſme to the ſpirit. He ſaid not, the water is the ſpirit, but of the bread he ſaid, This is my body.

As the Dove is called the ſpirit, ſo the bread is called the body.

Cran. He called the ſpirit a Dove, when the ſpirit deſcended in likeneſſe of a Dove.

Weſt. He doth not call the ſpirit a Dove; but he ſaith, that he deſcended as a Dove. He was ſeene in the likeneſſe of a Dove. As in Baptiſme, the words are directed to him that is baptized, ſo in the Supper the words are directed unto the bread.

John 1.
Auguſt. in John cap. 1.

Cran. Nay it is written, Vpon whomſoever thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcending. He calleth that which deſcended the holy ſpirit. And Auguſtine calleth ỹ Dove the ſpirit. Heare what Auguſtine ſaith in 1. Joh. Quid voluit per Columbam, id eſt, per Spiritum ſanctum? docere, qui miſerat eũm. That is, What meant he by the Dove, that is, by the holy Ghoſt? forſooth to teach who ſent him.

Ambroſe again repeated. de ſacram. cap. 4.

Young. He underſtandeth of the ſpirit deſcending as a Dove: the ſpirit is inviſible. If you minde to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Heare what Ambroſe ſaith, Vides quàm operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis in ſermone Domini, &c. ut ſupra. That is, You ſee what a working power the word of Chriſt hath. Therefore if there bee ſo great power in the Lords word, that thoſe things which were not, begin to be, how much more of ſtrength is it to work, that thoſe things that were ſhould be changed into another thing?

Idem cap. 5.

And in the fifth chapt. Antequam conſecretur, panis eſt: ubi autem verba Chriſti acceſſerint, corpus eſt Chriſti, i. Before it is conſecrated, it is bread: but when the words of Chriſt come to it, it is the body of Chriſt.

But heare what he ſaith more, Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meum; Take ye, eat ye, this is my body. Ante verba Chriſti calix eſt vini & aquæ plenus: ubi verba Chriſti operata fuerint, ibi ſanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem, i. Before the words of Chriſt, the cup is full of wine and water; when the words of Chriſt have wrought, there is made the blood of Chriſt which redeemed the people. What can be more plaine?

Anſwer to Ambroſe.

Cran. Nay, what can be leſſe to the purpoſe? The words are of ſtrength to worke in this ſacrament, as they are in Baptiſme.

Pie. The words of Chriſt (as Ambroſe ſaith) are of ſtrength to worke. What do they worke? Ambroſe ſaith, they make the blood which redeemed the people.

Ergo, the naturall blood is made.

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Cran. The Sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver.

Pie. There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

Cran. The blood is made, that is, the Sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. (Fit) it is made, that is to ſay, (oſtenditur) it is ſhewed forth there. And Ambroſe ſaith, we receive in a ſimilitude. As thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud.

Marke how D. Weſton expoundeth to eat in a ſimilitude.

West. He ſaith, in a ſimilitude, becauſe it is miniſtred under another likeneſſe. And this is the argument:

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

But the naturall blood redeemed the people:

Ergo, There is the naturall blood of Chriſt.

"If this Syllogiſme be in the ſecond figure (as by ſtanding of the termes appeareth) then is it falſe, becauſe it concludeth affirmatively.

You anſwer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but becauſe it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may ſee how falſly you would avoid the Fathers, heare what Ambroſe ſaith in the ſixth book and firſt chapter.

Amb. lib. 6. cap. 1. de ſacramentis.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui ſimilitudinem video, non video ſanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de ſermone Chriſti, qui operatur, ut poſſit mutare & convertere genera inſtituta naturæ. Deinde ubi non tulerunt ſermonem Diſcipuli ejus, ſed audientes, quòd carnem ſuam dedit manducari, & ſanguinem ſuum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit, Verba vitæ æternæ habes, & ego à te quò recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam eſſet horror cruoris, ſed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in ſimilitudinem quidem accipis ſacramentum, ſed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque conſequeris.

Operari. Mutare.

That is to ſay.

Peradventure thou wilt ſay, how be they true? I which ſee the ſimilitude, doe not ſee the truth of the blood. Firſt of all I told thee of the word of Chriſt, which ſo worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the diſciples could not abide the words of Chriſt, but hearing that he gave his fleſh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Onely Peter ſaid, thou haſt the words of eternall life: whether ſhould I go from thee? Leſt therefore mo ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould be a certain horrour of blood, and yet the grace of redemption ſhould remaine: therefore in a ſimilitude thou receiveſt the Sacrament, but indeed thou obtaineſt the grace and power of his nature.

Anſwer to Ambroſe.

Cran. Theſe words of themſelves are plaine enough. And he read this place againe, Thou receiveſt the Sacrament for a ſimilitude. But what is that he ſaith, Thou receiveſt for a ſimilitude? I think he underſtandeth the Sacrament to be the ſimilitude of his blood.

Ched. That you may underſtand that truth diſſenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you ſay of that ſimilitude; heare what Ambroſe ſaith, lib. 4. de Sacrament.

Ambroſ. de Sacrament. lib. 4.

Si operatus eſt ſermo cœleſtis in aliis rebus, non operatur in ſacramentis cœleſtibus? Ergo didiciſti quod è pane corpus fiat Chriſti, & quod vinum & aqua in calicem mittitur, ſed fit ſanguis conſecratione verbi cœleſtis. Sed forte dices, ſpeciem ſanguinis non videri. Sed habet ſimilitudinem. Sicut enim mortis ſimilitudinem ſumpſiſti, ita etiam ſimilitudinem precioſi ſanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror cruoris ſit, & pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didiciſti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus eſt Chriſti.

That is to ſay.

If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not worke in the heavenly Sacraments? Therefore thou haſt learned, that of bread is made the body of Chriſt, and that wine and water is put into that cup, but by conſecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt ſay peradventure, that the likeneſſe of blood is not ſeen. But it hath a ſimilitude. For as thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious blood, ſo that there is no horrour of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou haſt learned, that that which thou receiveſt is the body of Chriſt.

Note, that Ambroſe ſaith, we drink a ſimilitude of Chriſts blood.

Cran. He ſpeaketh of Sacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the Sacraments by the names of the things; for hee uſeth the ſignes for the things ſignified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing ſignified by it. So doth Ambroſe interpret himſelfe, when he ſaith, In cujus typum nos calicem myſticum ſanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animæ noſtræ percepimus, 1 Cor. 11.

Anſwer to the place of Ambroſe. Sacraments be called by the name of the things.

Ambroſ. in 1 Cor. cap.

That is to ſay.

For a type or figure whereof we receive the myſticall cup of his blood, for the ſafegard of our bodies and ſoules.

Ched. A type? he calleth not the blood of Chriſt a type or ſigne: but the blood of Buls and Goats in that reſpect was a type or ſigne.

Cran. This is new learning; you ſhall never read this among the Fathers.

Ched. But Ambroſe ſaith ſo.

Cran. He calleth the bread and the cup a type or ſigne of the blood of Chriſt, and of his benefit.

West. Ambroſe underſtandeth it for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption; not of the blood of Chriſt, but of his paſſion. The cup is the type or ſigne of his death, ſeeing it is his blood.

Cran. He ſaith moſt plainly, that the cup is the type of Chriſts blood.

Ambroſe alledged againſt Ambroſe. Argument.

Da- Ched. As Chriſt is truly and really incarnate, ſo is he truly and really in the Sacrament.
ri- But Chriſt is really and truly incarnate.
i. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny the Major.

Ched. I prove the Major out of Juſtine in his ſecond Apologie, Ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὸ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔχειν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Iuſtin. Apol.

Cran. This place hath beene falſified by Marcus Conſtantius. Juſtine meant nothing elſe but that the bread, which nouriſheth us, is called the body of Chriſt.

Anſwer to the place of Juſtinus.

Ched. To the argument. As Chriſt is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. ut ſupra.

Cran. I deny your Major.

Ched. The words of Juſtine are thus to be interpreted word for word.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Ieſus Chriſtus, Salvator noſter, carnem habuit & ſanguinem pro ſalute noſtra: ſic & cibum illum conſecratum per ſermonem præcationis ab ipſo inſtitutæ, quo ſanguis carneſque noſtræ per communionem nutriuntur, ejuſdem Ieſu, qui caro factus eſt, carnem & ſanguinem eſſe accepimus.

Mutationem.

That is to ſay.

As by the word of God, Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, being made fleſh, had both fleſh and blood for our ſalvation: ſo wee are taught, that the meat "conſecrated by the word of prayer, inſtituted of him, whereby our blood and fleſh are nouriſhed by "communion, is the fleſh & blood of the

"Of thankſgiving. "Mutation.

the ſame Ieſus which was made fleſh.

Anſwer.

Cran. You have tranſlated it well; but I deny your Major. This is the ſenſe of Iuſtine; that that bread is called the body of Chriſt, and yet of that ſanctified meat our bodies are nouriſhed.

Ched. Nay, he ſaith, of that ſanctified meat both our bodies and ſoules are nouriſhed.

αἷμα ϗ σάρκες. i. Blood and fleſh.

Cran. He ſaith not ſo; but he ſaith that it nouriſheth our fleſh and blood: and how can that nouriſh the ſoule, that nouriſheth the fleſh and blood?

Cole. It feedeth the body by the ſoule.

Cran. Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the ſoul and the ſpirit be called the meat of the body?

Irenæus.

West. Heare then what Ireneus ſaith, Eum calicem, qui eſt creatura, ſuum corpus confirmavit, ex quo noſtra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, ex quibus augetur, & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. This, the ſame cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which hee increaſeth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joyned to it the word of God, it is made the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, of which yͤ ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed & conſiſteth.

Argument.

The ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed by the body and blood of Chriſt:

Ergo, Our body is nouriſhed by the body and blood of Chriſt.

Irenæus anſwered by Tertul.

Cran. I deny your argument. He calleth it the fleſh and blood, for the Sacrament of the body and blood, as Tertullian alſo ſaith, Nutritur corpus pane ſymbolico, anima corpore Chriſti. That is, Our fleſh is nouriſhed with ſymbolicall or ſacramentall bread, but our ſoule is nouriſhed with the body of Chriſt.

Irenæus lib.5

West. Look what he ſaith more. Quomodo carnem negant capacem eſſe donationis Dei quæ eſt vita æterna, quæ ſanguine & corpore Chriſti nutritur? Lib.5.poſt duo folia à principio. That is, How do they ſay, that the fleſh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternall life, which is nouriſhed with the blood and body of Chriſt? That is in the 5. book, two leaves from the beginning.

Cran. The body is nouriſhed both with the Sacrament, and with the body of Chriſt: with the Sacrament to a temporall life; with the body of Chriſt to eternall life.

Ched. I cannot but be ſorry when I ſee ſuch a manifeſt lye in your writings. For where you tranſlate Iuſtine on this faſhion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not ſo to be taken in this Sacrament, as common meates and drinkes are wont to be taken of us, but are meats choſen out peculiarly for this, namely, for the giving of thanks; and therefore be called of the Greeks Euchariſtia, that is, thankſgiving, they are called moreover the blood and body of Chriſt (ſo have you tranſlated it:) the words of Iuſtine are thus; We are taught that the meat conſecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our fleſh and bloud is nouriſhed by communion, is the body and bloud of the ſame Ieſus which was made fleſh.

Note that the Archb. here did not tranſlate the words of Iuſtine, but only gather the effect of his meaning.

Cranmer purgeth himſelfe.

Cran. I did not tranſlate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I goe nothing from his meaning.

Harpſ. You remember touching Iuſtine, to whom this Apology was written, namely, to an heathen man. The Heathen thought that the Chriſtians came to the Church to worſhip bread. Iuſtine anſwereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c, as is ſaid afore. Weigh the place well, it is right worthy to be noted; Our fleſh is nouriſhed according to mutation.

In eating the Sacrament no bread is conſidered, but onely the true body of Chriſt. De conſecrat. diſt.2. Quia.

Cran. We ought not to conſider the bare bread; but whoſoever commeth to the ſacrament eateth the true body of Chriſt,

West. You have corrupted Emiſſenus; for in ſtead of cibis ſatiandus, that is, to bee filled with meat, you have ſet cibis ſatiandus ſpiritualibus, that is, to be filled with ſpirituall meats.

Cran. I have not corrupted it; for it is ſo in the decrees.

West. You have corrupted another place of Emiſſenus. For you have omitted theſe words, Mirare cum reverendum altare cibis ſpiritualibus ſatiandus aſcendis: ſacrum Dei tui corpus & ſanguinem fide reſpice, honorem mirare, merito continge, &c. That is, Marvell thou when thou commeſt up to the reverend altar to be filled with ſpirituall meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God, marvell at his honour, worthily touch him.

Cran. This book hath not that.

Cranmer charged with falſe tranſlating.

West. Alſo you have falſified this place by evill tranſlating Honora corpus Dei tui, i. Honour the body of thy God. You have tranſlated it, Honora eum qui eſt Deus tuus, i. Honour him which is thy God. Whereas Emiſſenus hath not (honour him) but (honour the body of thy God.)

Cranmer purgeth himſelfe.

Cran. I have ſo tranſlated him, and yet no leſſe truly, than not without a weighty cauſe; els it ſhould not have been without danger, if I had tranſlated it thus; Honour the body of thy God; becauſe of certaine, that according to the error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

West. Nay, you moſt of all have brought the people into that errour, which ſo long have taught that hee ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for an heretike, becauſe I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppoſe you in the very Articles of your faith.

Argument.

Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

But God the Father hath no right hand:

Ergo, Where is Chriſt now?

The right hand of God what it ſignifieth.

Cran. I am not ſo ignorant a novice in the Articles of my faith, but that I underſtand, that to ſit at the right hand of God, doth ſignifie to be equall in the glory of the Father.

West. Now then take this argument.

Whereſoever Gods authority is, there is Chriſts body.

But Gods authority is in every place,

Ergo, What letteth the body of Chriſt to be in every place?

Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating Duns.

Moreover you have alſo corrupted Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promiſe you.

West. For you have omitted ſecundum apparentiam, i. as it appeareth. Where his words are theſe, Et ſi quæras quare voluit Eccleſia eligere iſtum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ poſſint ſalvari ſecundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c. That is, if you demand why the Church did chuſe this ſo hard an underſtanding of this Article, whereas the words of Scripture may be ſalved after an eaſie and true underſtanding (as appeareth) of this Article, &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

D. Cranmer challenged for ſetting forth the Catechiſm in the name of the Convocation.

West. Alſo you have ſet forth a Catechiſme in the name of the Synod of London, and yet there be 50. which witneſſing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechiſme.

D. Cranmer purgeth himſelfe concerning the Catechiſme.

Cran. I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that title; and aſſoone as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the Councell, it was anſwered me by them, that the booke was ſo entituled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the time of the Convocation.

West. Moreover, you have in Duns tranſlated In Romana Eccleſia, pro Eccleſia Catholica. In the

Anno 1554.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating Tho. Aquinas.

the Church of Rome, for the catholike Church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romiſh Church.

Weſt. Moreover you have depraved S. Thomas, namely, where he hath theſe words, In quantum vero eſt ſacrificium, habet vim ſatisfactivam: Sed in ſatisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Vnde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus miſit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet ad ſatisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit ſatisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ devotionis, & non pro tota pœna. That is, Inaſmuch as it is a ſacrifice, it hath the power of ſatisfaction: But in ſatisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed than the quantity of the oblation. Wherfore the Lord ſaid in Lukes Goſpell, of the widow which offered two mites, that ſhe caſt in more than they all. Therefore although this oblation of the quantity of it ſelfe will ſuffice to ſatisfie for all pain, yet it is made ſatisfactory to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, & not for all the pain.

You have thus turned it, Quod ſacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim ſatisfactivam, &c. That is, That the ſacrifice of the Prieſt hath power of ſatisfaction, &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word (Sacerdotis) of the Prieſt, whereas in the tranſlation of all the new Teſtament you have not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And againe, where S. Thomas hath (pro omni pœna) for all paine, your booke omitteth many things there.

Weſton triumpheth before the victory.

Thus you ſee brethren the truth ſtedfaſt and invincible, you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of heretikes; the truth may be preſſed, but it cannot be oppreſſed: therefore cry altogether; Vincit veritas, i. The truth overcommeth.

This diſordered diſputation ſomtime in Latine, ſomtime in Engliſh, continued almoſt till two of the clock. Which being finiſhed, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. Say, the priſoner was had away by the Maior, and the Doctors dined together at the Univerſity Colledge.

Diſputation at Oxford betweene Doctor Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Biſhop Ridley.

Aprill 17.

D. Smith ſet to diſpute againſt biſhop Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 17. of Aprill, was brought forth Doct. Ridley to diſpute, againſt whom was ſet D. Smith to be principall Opponent. Touching which D. Smith, forſomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, firſt the Reader is to be advertiſed what is to be attributed to his iudgement in Religion, which ſo oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it ſeemeth) upon no firme conſcience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appeare, and alſo by his owne letter ſent a little before in K. Edwards dayes to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certaine preface before his own arguments, or rather as a teſtimony againſt himſelfe, whereby the Reader may underſtand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, againſt whon he now diſputeth ſo buſily. Read I beſeech thee his Epiſtle, and iudge.

The true copy of a certaine Epiſtle of D. Richard Smith, declaring his affection to the ſetting forth of Gods ſincere word.

A letter of D. Smith to D. Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Moſt honourable, I commend me unto your Lordſhip, doing the ſame to underſtand, that I wrote letters to your grace in Ianuary laſt, and the tenth day of February, declaring the cauſes of my ſudden and unadviſed departing from your grace over the ſea; and deſiring your good Lordſhip of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me your ſelf all yͤ wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtain in writing the Kings Maieſties pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and within half a yeere (at the uttermoſt) afterward write de Sacerdotum connubiis, &c. a Latine book that ſhould be a iuſt ſatisfaction for any thing that I have written againſt the ſame. Reliquaq; omnia dogmata veſtra tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam, ut ea citra conſcientiæ læſionem agnoſcam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but becauſe mine abſence out of the realme is diſhonour to the Kings Highneſſe and Realme, and becauſe I muſt needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a yeere longer) write an anſwer to your Graces booke of the Sacrament, and alſo a booke of common places againſt all the doctrine ſet forth by the Kings Maieſty, which I cannot do with a good conſcience. Wherefore I beſeech your Grace help me home, as ſoon as ye may conveniently, for Gods ſake, and ye ſhall never, I truſt in God, repent that fact.

D. Smith purpoſing to write for the marriage of Prieſts.

Ex urbe divi Andreæ 14. Feb.
Rich. Smitheus.

Diſputers againſt Doctor Ridley.

And thus much touching the forenamed Doctor Richard Smith, being ſet here (as is ſaid) to diſpute againſt biſhop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the Archbiſhop, to anſwer in the Divinity Schoole. Againſt whom alſo, beſides D. Smith, diſputed D. Weſton, D. Treſham, D. Oglethorpe, D. Glin, D. Seton, and D. Cole, M. Ward, M. Harpsfield, D. Watſon, M. Pie, M. Harding, M. Curton, M. Fecknam: To all them he anſwered very learnedly. He made a Preface to theſe queſtions, but they would not let him goe forth in it, but cauſed him to make an end of the ſame, and ſaid it was blaſphemy; and ſome ſaid he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpoſe, and ſo they would not ſuffer him to ſay his minde. D. Smith could get nothing at his hand; inſomuch that other did take his arguments and proſecuted them. He ſhewed himſelfe to be learned, and a great Clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The diſputation beginneth.

Weſt. Prolocutor. Good Chriſtian people and brethren, we have begun this day our Schoole, by Gods good ſpeed I truſt, and are entring into a controverſie, wherof no queſtion ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſaid the words. The words are true which he ſpake, yea, truth it ſelf that cannot faile. Let us therefore pray unto God to ſend downe unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errours, and give light, that verity may appeare. Let us alſo aſke leave and liberty of the Church to permit the truth received to be called this day in queſtion, without any preiudice to the ſame. Your parts therefore ſhall be to implore the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to pray for the proſperity of the Queenes Maieſty, and to give us quiet and attentive eares. Now go to your queſtion.

Doct. Smith. This day (right learned Maſter Doctor) three queſtions are propounded, whereof no controverſie among Chriſtians ought to be moved, to wit;

The queſtions

1. Whether the naturall body of Chriſt our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for mans redemption upon the Croſſe, is verily and really in the Sacrament by vertue of Gods word ſpoken by the Prieſt, &c.
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance, &c.
3. Whether in the Maſſe be a ſacrifice propitiatorie, &c.

Touching the which queſtions, although you have publikely and partly profeſſed your iudgement and opinion on Saturday laſt: yet being not ſatisfied with that your anſwer, I will aſſay againe to demand your ſentence in the firſt queſtion; Whether the true body of Chriſt, after the words pronounced, be really in the Euchariſt, or elſe onely the figure. In which matter I ſtand here now to heare your anſwer.

The preface or proteſtation of Doctor Ridley before his diſputation.

The proteſtation of Biſhop Ridley.

I Received of you the other day right worſhipfull Maſter Prolocutor, and ye my reverend Maſters, Commiſſioners from the Quéenes Maieſty and her honourable Councell, thrée propoſitions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare againſt this day, what I thought good to anſwer concerning the ſame.

Now whileſt I weighed with my ſelfe how great a charge of the Lords flocke was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I muſt once render an account to my Lord God (and that how ſoone, he knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandement of the Apoſtle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reaſon of the hope that is in me with méekneſſe and reverence, unto every one that ſhall demand the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips being commiſſioners by publike authority: I determined with my ſelfe to obey your commandement, and ſo openly to declare unto you my mind touching the foreſaid propoſitions. And albeit plainly to confeſſe unto you the truth in theſe things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwiſe in times paſt than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my ſoule, I lie not) I have not altered my iudgement, as now it is, either by conſtraint of any man, or lawes, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but onely for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perſwaded) in his holy Word, and in the reading of the ancient Fathers.

What moved D. Ridley to alter his iudgement from the Church of Rome.

Theſe things I do the rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I meane, if ye think otherwiſe of the matters propounded in theſe propoſitions than I now doe, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howſoever it ſhall be, I will in few words doe that which I think ye all looke I ſhould doe; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my iudgement herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indéed wittingly and willingly ſpeake in any point againſt Gods word, or diſſent in any one iot from the ſame, or from the rules of faith, or Chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred word of God preſcribeth to the Church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for ever ſubmit my ſelfe, and all my doings. And becauſe the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lacke of time, as alſo lacke of bookes: therfore here I proteſt, that I will publikely this day require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine anſwers, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſéeme hereafter more convenient and méet for the purpoſe, through more ſound iudgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of Preface and proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few words, I will come to the anſwering of the propoſitions propounded unto me, and ſo to the moſt briefe explication and confirmation of mine anſwers.

Biſhop Ridley ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Church of Chriſt.

West. Reverend Maſter Doctor, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complaine. What books ſoever you will name, you ſhall have them: and as concerning the iudgment of your anſwers to be had of your ſelfe with farther deliberation; it ſhall (I ſay) be lawfull for you untill Sunday next to adde unto them what you ſhall think good your ſelfe. My minde is, that we ſhould uſe ſhort arguments, leſt we ſhould make an infinite proceſſe of the thing.

This promiſe was not kept.

Rid. There is another thing beſides, which I would gladly obtaine at your hands. I perceive that you have Writers and Notaries here preſent. By all likelihood our diſputations ſhall be publiſhed, I beſéech you for Gods ſake let me have liberty to ſpeak my minde fréely, and without interruption, not becauſe I have determined to protract the time with a ſolemne Preface, but leſt it may appeare that ſome be not ſatisfied. God wot I am no Orator, nor have I learned Rhetorick to ſet colours on the matter.

West. Among this whole company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid. I would chuſe two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

West. Here are two which Maſter Cranmer had yeſterday. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am content with them; I truſt they are honeſt men.

Two Notaries permitted to D Ridley. Theſe two Notaries were Maſter Iuell, ſometime Biſhop of Saliſbury, and Maſter Gilbert Mounſon.

The firſt Propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the Altar, by the vertue of Gods word ſpoken of the Prieſt, the naturall body of Chriſt borne of the virgin Mary, and his naturall bloud is really preſent under the formes of bread and wine.

The firſt propoſition.

The anſwer of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaining to God we may not ſpeake according to the ſenſe of man, nor of the world: Therefore this propoſition or concluſion is framed after another maner of phraſe or kind of ſpéech than the Scripture uſeth. Againe, it is very obſcure and darke, by meanes of ſundry words of doubtfull ſignification. And being taken in the ſenſe which the Schoolemen teach, and at this time the Church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous, and plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlineſſe.

D. Ridleys anſwer to the firſt propoſition.

The propoſition put forth in dark termes.

The explication.

How farre the diverſity and newneſſe of the phraſe in all this firſt propoſition is from the phraſe of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almoſt, it is ſo plain and evident to any that is but meanly exerciſed in holy writ, that I néed not now (eſpecially in this company of learned mend) to ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

First, there is a double ſenſe in the words (by vertue of Gods word) For it is doubtfull what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the Evangeliſts, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Evangeliſts,

The firſt doubt.

geliſts, or in S. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowen to be Gods word, and of ſuch vertue that it ſhould be able to worke ſo great a matter.

2. Doubt in the word Prieſt,

Againe, there is a doubt of theſe words (of the Prieſt) whether no man may be called a Prieſt, but hee which hath authority to make a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

3. Doubt in the word ſacrificing.

It is likewiſe doubted, after what Order the ſacrificing Prieſt ſhall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or elſe after the order of Melchiſedech. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no mo.

West. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lacke time at this preſent, there is time enough hereafter.

D. Weſton interrupteth him in his explication.

West. Theſe are but evaſions or ſtarting holes; you conſume the time in vain.

Rid. I cannot ſtart far from you, I am captive and bound.

West. Fall to it my Maſters.

Smith. That which you have ſpoken may ſuffice at this preſent.

Rid. Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to ſay behind.

West, Goe forward.

4. Doubt in the word really.

5. Doubt in the words (formes of bread and wine.)

Rid. Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word really, whether it be taken as the Logicians terme it, tranſcendenter, that is, moſt generally: and ſo it may ſignifie any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any meanes: after which ſort we alſo grant Chriſts body to bee really in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, (as in diſputation, if occaſion bee given ſhall be declared) or whether it bee taken to ſignifie the very ſame thing, having body, life, and ſoule, which was aſſumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of perſon. In which ſenſe, ſith the body of Chriſt is really in heaven, becauſe of the true manner of his body, it may not be ſaid to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulneſſe in theſe words, under the forms of bread and wine, whether the formes bee there taken to ſignifie the only accidentall and outward ſhewes of bread and wine; or therewithall the ſubſtantiall natures thereof, which are to bee ſeene by their qualities, and perceived by exteriour ſenſes.

The propoſition erroneous after the ſenſe of the Romiſh Church. Tranſubſtantiation not founded in Scripture.

Now the error and falſenes of the propoſition after the ſenſe of the Romiſh Church and ſchoolmen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirme the bread to bee tranſubſtantiated and changed to the fleſh aſſumed of the word of God, and that (as they ſay) by vertue of the words, which they have deviſed by a certain number of words and cannot be found in any of the Evangeliſts, or in Paul, and ſo they gather that Chriſts body is really contained in the ſacrament of the altar. Which poſition is grounded upon the foundation of tranſubſtantiation; which foundation is monſtrous, againſt reaſon, and deſtroyeth the Analogie or proportion of the Sacraments: and therefore this propoſition alſo, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is falſe, erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable hereſie of the Sacramentaries.

The analogie of the Sacrament is the ſimilitude and likeneſſe which they have with the things they repreſent.

West. We loſe time.

Rid. You ſhall have time enough.

West. Fall to reaſoning. You ſhall have ſome other day for this matter.

Rid. I have no more to ſay concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but ſpeake a word or two for my confirmation.

West. Goe to; ſay on.

The confirmation of the foreſaid anſwer.

Confirmation of his anſwer.

Fes- There ought no Doctrine to be eſtabliſhed in the Church of God, which diſſenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many abſurdities that cannot be avoided.

ti- But this Doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

no. Ergo, It ought not to bee eſtabliſhed and maintained in the Church of God.

Argument.

The maior or firſt part of my argument is plain, and the minor or ſecond part is proved thus.

This Doctrine maintaineth a reall, corporall, and carnall preſence of Chriſts fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the word, to be in the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, and that not by vertue and grace only, but alſo by the whole eſſence and ſubſtance of the body and fleſh of Chriſt.

The reall preſence of Chriſts body diſagreeth from the Scriptures.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many abſurdities.

Ergo, the ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, & the ſecond may yet further bee confirmed thus.

D. Weſton againe interrupteth Doctor Ridley.

West. Thus you conſume time, which might be better beſtowed on other matters. Maſter Opponent, I pray you to your arguments.

Smith. I will here reaſon with you upon tranſubſtantiation, which you ſay is contrary to the rule and Analogie of faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the Doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand firſt whether in the ſixth Chapter of John there be any mention made of the Sacrament, or of the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Rid. It is againſt reaſon that I ſhould be impeached to proſecute that which I have to ſpeak in this aſſembly, being not ſo long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.

West. Let him read on.

7. Inconveniences come of the reall preſence.

Rid. Firſt of all this preſence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

Secondly, it varieth from the Articles of the faith.

Thirdly, it deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly perſons; for it caſteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearles unto ſwine.

Fifthly, it forceth men to maintaine many monſtrous miracles without neceſſity and authority of Gods word.

Sixthly, it giveth occaſion to the heretikes which erred concerning the two natures in Chriſt, to defend their hereſies thereby.

Seventhly, it falſifieth the ſayings of the godly Fathers; it falſifieth alſo the Catholike faith of the Church, which the Apoſtles taught, the Martyrs confirmed, and the faithfull (as one of the Fathers ſaith) doe retain and keep untill this day. Wherefore the ſecond part of mine argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.

The 7. inconveniences declared by parts. The firſt inconvenience.

This carnall preſence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, John 16. I tell you the truth. It is profitable to you that I goe away, for if I goe not away, the Comforter ſhall not come unto you. Acts 3. Whom the heavens muſt receive untill the time of reſtoring of all things which God hath ſpoken. Matth. 9. The children of the Bridegroome cannot mourne ſo long as the Bridegroome is with them: But now is the time of mourning. John 16. But I will ſee you againe, and your hearts ſhall rejoyce. John 14. I will come againe and take you to my ſelfe. Matthew 24. If they ſhall ſay unto you, Behold here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, believe them not : for whereſoever the dead carcaſe is, thither the Eagles will reſort.

The reall preſence againſt the Scripture.

2. The reall preſence againſt the articles of the faith.

It varieth from the Articles of the faith; He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father. From whence (and not from any other place, ſaith S. Auguſtine) he ſhall come to iudge both the quick and the dead.

3. It deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lords Supper

It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, which was commanded only to bee uſed and continued untill the Lord himſelf ſhould come. If therefore he be not really preſent in the body of his fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſe: For a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing paſt and abſent. And there is a difference betweene remembrance and preſence, and (as one of the Fathers ſaith) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is preſent.

4. It prophaneth things holy and precious, and ingendreth abſurdities.

It maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly perſons, and conſtraineth men to confeſſe many abſurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murtherers, yea, and (as ſome of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithleſſe Miſe, Rats, and Dogs, alſo may receive the very reall and corporall body of the Lord, wherein the fulneſſe of the ſpirit of light and grace dwelleth; contrary to the manifeſt words of Chriſt in ſixe places and ſentences of the ſixth Chapter of S. John.

Anthropophagi are a kind of brutiſh people that feed on mans fleſh.

It confirmeth alſo and maintaineth that beaſtly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of mans fleſh: for it is a more cruell thing to devoure a quicke man, than to ſlay him.

Pie. He requireth time to ſpeak blaſphemies. Leave your blaſphemies.

Rid. I had little thought to have had ſuch reprochfull words at your hands.

Weſt. All is quiet. Go to the arguments maſter Doctor.

Rid. I have not many things moe to ſay.

Weſt. You utter blaſphemies with a moſt impudent face: leave off (I ſay) and get you to the argument.

5. It maintaineth monſtrous miracles without neceſſity.

Rid. It forceth men to maintaine many monſtrous miracles, without all neceſſity and authority of Gods word. For at the comming of this preſence of the body and fleſh of Chriſt, they thruſt away the ſubſtance of bread, and affirme that the accidents remaine without any ſubiect, and in the ſtead thereof they place Chriſts body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the Sacrament be reſerved ſo long untill it mould, and wormes breed, ſome ſay that the ſubſtance of bread miraculouſly returneth againe, and ſome deny it. Otherſome affirme, that the reall body of Chriſt goeth downe into the ſtomacke of the receivers, and doth there abide ſo long only as they ſhal continue to be good: but another ſort hold, that the body of Chriſt is carried into heaven, ſo ſoon as the forms of bread be bruiſed with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and moſt truly I ſee that fulfilled in theſe men, whereof S. Paul propheſied, 2 Theſſ. 2. Becauſe they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth. This groſſe preſence hath brought forth that fond phantaſie of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandement of the Lord for the diſtributing of the Lords cup to the Laity.

All the reſt that followeth was not read, becauſe the Prolocutor made poſt haſt to the arguments.

By this device of concomitance, the Papiſts imagine as much to be received under one kinde as both.

6. It giveth occaſion to heretikes.

It giveth occaſion to heretikes to maintaine and defend their errours; as to Marcion, which ſaid that Chriſt had but a phantaſticall body; and to Eutiches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Chriſt.

7. It falſifieth the ſayings of the old doctors

Finally, it falſifieth the ſayings of the godly Fathers and the Catholike faith of the Church, which Vigilius a martyr and grave writer ſaith, was taught of the Apoſtles, confirmed with the blood of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithfull, untill his time. By the ſayings of the Fathers, I meane of Iuſtine, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Euſebius, Emiſene, Athanaſius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others moſt ancient Fathers. All thoſe places, as I am ſure I have read making for my purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured that I could ſhew the ſame, if I might have the uſe of mine owne bookes, which I will take to me to doe, even upon the perill of my life, and loſſe of all that I may loſe in this world.

The true preſence of Chriſts body in the Supper not denyed.

But now (my brethren) think not, becauſe I diſallow that preſence which the firſt propoſition maintaineth (as a preſence which I take to bee forged, phantaſticall, and beſides the authority of Gods word, perniciouſly brought into the Church by the Romaniſts) that I therefore goe about to take away the true preſence of Chriſts body in his Supper rightly and duely miniſtred, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plaine by the commentaries of the faithfull Fathers. They that thinke ſo of me, the Lord knoweth how farre they are deceived. And to make the ſame evident unto you, I will in few words declare what true preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper I hold and affirme, with the word of God and the ancient Fathers.

The faith and confeſſion of D Ridley in affirming the true preſence in the ſacrament.

I ſay and confeſſe with the Evangeliſt Luke, and with the Apoſtle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Chriſt in the remembrance of him and of his death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the faithfull untill his comming.

The grace of life and immortality given with the ſacrament to the faithfull.

I ſay and confeſſe the bread which we breake to be the communion and pertaking of Chriſts body, with the ancient and the faithful Fathers.

I ſay and believe that there is not only a ſignification of Chriſts body ſet forth by the Sacrament, but alſo that therwith is given to the godly and faithfull the grace of Chriſts body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

Life eaten. Auguſt.

The Lord felt in grace. Emiſene.

Celeſtiall food received. Athanaſius.

The propertie of naturall communion received. Hilar.

The vertue of Chriſts fleſh. Cyril.

I ſay alſo with Saint Auguſtine, that we eate life, and we drinke life; with Emiſene, that wee feele the Lord to be preſent in grace; with Athanaſius, that we receive Celeſtiall food, which commeth from above; the propertie of naturall communion, with Hilarius; the nature of fleſh and benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the ſame Cyril, the vertue of the very fleſh of Chriſt, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to ſay, life, as hee himſelfe in plaine words expoundeth it.

The myſticall Advent of Chriſt. Baſil.

The ſacrament of his very fleſh. Ambroſe.

The body by grace. Epiphan.

Spirituall fleſh, but not that which was crucified. Hierome.

Grace flowing into a ſacrifice. Chryſoſt.

Grace and inviſible verity. Auguſt.

The power of Gods word feeding the ſoule. Bertram.

I confeſſe alſo with Baſil, that we receive the myſticall Advent and comming of Chriſt, grace, and the vertue of his very nature; the Sacrament of his very fleſh, with Ambroſe; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; ſpirituall fleſh, but not that which was crucified, with Hierome; Grace flowing into a ſacrifice, and the grace of the ſpirit, with Chryſoſtome; grace and inviſible verity, grace and ſociety of the members of Chriſts body, with Auguſtine.

Finally, with Bertram (which was the laſt of all theſe) I confeſſe that Chriſts body is in the

Sacrament

The Proteſtants falſly belied to teach nothing but a figure in the Sacrament.

Sacrament in this reſpect; namely (as he writeth) becauſe there is in it the ſpirit of Chriſt, that is the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the ſoule, but alſo cleanſeth it. Out of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearely appeare unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof ſome go about falſly to ſlander us to the world ſaying, we teach that the godly and the faithfull ſhould receive nothing elſe at the Lords table, but a figure of the body of Chriſt.

The ſecond propoſition.

After the conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, neither any other ſubſtance, than the ſubſtance of God and man.

The anſwer.

Anſwer to the ſecond propoſition.

The ſecond propoſition of tranſubſtantiation denied.

The ſecond concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the word of God, the nature of the Sacrament, and the moſt evident teſtimonies of the godly Fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the firſt, and alſo of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this anſwer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the anſwer of the firſt propoſition.

The firſt argument for the confirmation of this anſwer.

Confirmation of his anſwer.

It is very plaine by the word of God, that Chriſt did give bread unto his Diſciples, and called it his body.

But the ſubſtance of bread is another manner of ſubſtance, than is the ſubſtance of Chriſts body God and man:

Therefore the concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond part of mine argument is plaine, and the firſt is proved thus:

The ſecond argument.

Da- That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gave thankes, and the which he brake, he gave to his Diſciples, and called it his body:

ti- But he took bread, gave thankes on bread, and brake bread:

ſi. Ergo, the firſt part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the Fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Auguſtine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede. Whoſe places I will take upon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this behalfe, if I may be ſuffered to have my bookes, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt:
Ergo, It is bread.

"The rule of Logick is this: A propoſitione de tertio adjacente, ad eam quæ eſt de ſecundo, cum verbo recto ſignificante exiſtentiam, valet conſequentia affirmativè, &c.

" A tertio adjacente ad ſecundum adjacens cum verbi ſubſtantivi pura copula.

The third argument.

The major proved.

Ba- As the bread of the Lords table is Chriſts naturall body, ſo is his myſticall body.

ro- But it is not Chriſts myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation.

co. Ergo, it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond part of my argument is plaine, and the firſt is proved thus: As Chriſt who is the verity, ſpake of the bread, This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you, ſpeaking there of his naturall body: even ſo Paul, moved with the ſame ſpirit of truth, ſaid, Wee though wee bee many, yet are we all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

1 Cor. 10.

The fourth argument.

The argument holdeth A deſtructione antecedentis, ad deſtructionem conſequentis.

We may no more believe bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the body of Chriſt than the wine into his blood.

But the wine is not tranſubſtantiate into his blood:

Ergo, neither is that bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into his body.

¶ The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond part is proved out of the authority of Gods word in Matthew and Marke, I will not drinke of the fruit of the Vine, &c. Now the fruit the Vine was Wine, which Chriſt dranke and gave to his Diſciples to drink. With this ſentence agreeth plainly the place of Chryſoſtome on the 20. Chapt. of Mat. As Cyprian doth alſo, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup.

Mat. 26.
Mark 14.

Chryſoſtome.
Cyprian.

The fifth argument.

This argument holdeth after the ſame rule as did the other before.

Ba- The words of Chriſt ſpoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

ro- But the words ſpoken upon the cup have not vertue to tranſubſtantiate:

co. Ergo, it followeth that the words ſpoken upon the bread have no ſuch vertue.

The ſecond part of the argument is prooved; becauſe they would then tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the new Teſtament: but neither of theſe things can be done, and very abſurd it is to confeſſe the ſame.

The ſixth argument

Da- The circumſtances of the Scripture, the analogie and proportion of the Sacraments, and the teſtimony of the faithfull Fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scripture touching the Sacrament.

ti- But the words of the Lords Supper, the circumſtances of the Scripture, the analogie of the Sacraments, and the ſaying of the Fathers, doe moſt effectually and plainly prove a figurative ſpeech in the words of the Lords Supper.

ſi. Ergo, a figurative ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be received in theſe words, This is my body.

The circumſtances and words of Scripture.

The circumſtances of the Scripture, Do this in the remembrance of me. As oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, yee ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death. Let a man prove himſelfe, and ſo eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread and one body, &c.

The analogie of the Sacraments.

The analogie of the Sacraments is neceſſary: for if the Sacraments had not ſome ſimilitude or likeneſſe of the things whereof they bee Sacraments, they could in no wiſe be Sacraments. And this ſimilitude in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper is taken three manner of wayes.

Analogie or ſimilitude in the Sacrament, three manner of wayes.

1 The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing, as yee ſhall reade in Rabana, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Irene, and moſt plainly in Iſidore out of Bertram.

2 The ſecond in the uniting and ioyning of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

3 The third is a ſimilitude of unlike things: where, like as the bread is turned into one body; ſo wee, by the right uſe of this Sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Chriſt.

The ſayings of the Fathers for the figurative ſpeech.

The ſayings of the Fathers declare it to be a figurative ſpeech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Baſil, Gregory, Nazianzene, Hilary, and moſt plainly of all in Bertram. Moreover, the ſayings and places of all the Fathers, whoſe names I have before recited againſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſition, doe quite overthrow tranſubſtantiation. But of all other moſt evidently and plainly, Irene, Origen, Cyprian, Chryſoſtome to Ceſarius the Monke, Auguſtine againſt Adamantus, Gelaſius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome againe on the 20. of Matthew, Rabane, Damaſcene and Bertram.

Commendation of Bertram

Here right worſhipfull Maſter Prolocutor, and yee the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to underſtand, that I doe not leane to theſe things only, which I have written in my former anſwers and confirmations, but that I have alſo for the proofe of that I have ſpoken, whatſoever Bertram a man learned, of ſound and upright iudgement, and ever counted a Catholike for theſe ſeven hundred yeeres untill this our age, hath written. His Treatiſe whoſoever ſhall read and weigh, conſidering the time of the Writer, his learning, godlineſſe of life, the allegations of the ancient Fathers, and his manifold and moſt grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtleſſe) but much marvell, if he have any feare of God at all, how he can with good conſcience ſpeake againſt him in this matter of the Sacrament. This Bertram was the firſt that pulled me by the eare, and that firſt brought mee from the common errour of the Romiſh Church, and cauſed me to ſearch more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the Writings of the old Eccleſiaſticall Fathers in this matter. And this I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the things I now ſpeake.

D. Ridley firſt brought to the knowledge of the ſacrament by Bertram.

The third propoſition.

The third propoſition touching propitiatory maſſe.

In the Maſſe is the lively ſacrifice of the Church, propitiable and available for the ſins as well of the quick as of the dead.

The anſwer to this propoſition.

Anſwers to the third propoſition.

I anſwer to this third propoſition as I did to the firſt. And moreover I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the words ſeeme to import, it is not only erroneous, but withall ſo much to derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of Chriſt, that I iudge it may and ought moſt worthily to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious blood of our Saviour Chriſt.

The explication.

Explication of the ſame.

Doubts in the third propoſition.

In the primitive Church the newly inſtructed in the faith and the unworthy were put away from the Communion.

Concerning the Romiſh Maſſe which is uſed at this day, or the lively ſacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the ſins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not ſo much as one ſyllable.

There is ambiguity alſo in the name of Maſſe: what it ſignifieth, and whether at this day there be any ſuch indeed as the ancient Fathers uſed; ſeeing that now there be neither Catechiſts nor Pœnitentes to be ſent away.

Againe, touching theſe words (The lively ſacrifice of the Church.) There is doubt whether they are to be underſtood figuratively and ſacramentally, for the ſacrament of the lively ſacrifice (after which ſort wee deny it not to be in the Lords Supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only ſacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the altar of the Croſſe.

The third doubt.

Moreover, in theſe words (as well as) it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport, of a fooliſh and ignorant perſon, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

The fourth doubt.

There is alſo a doubt in the word (Propitiable) whether it ſignifie here that which taketh away ſin, or that which may bee made available for the taking away of ſin; that is to ſay, whether it is to bee taken in the active or in the paſſive ſignification.

The falſneſſe of the third propoſition reproved.

Now the falſeneſſe of the propoſition, after the meaning of the Schoolemen and the Romiſh Church, and impiety in that ſenſe which the words ſeeme to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation and their fond tranſubſtantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Chriſts fleſh (united and knit to the divinity) to lye hid under the accidents, and outward ſhewes of bread and wine. Which is very falſe, as I have ſaid afore: and they, building upon this foundation, doe hold that the ſame body is offered unto God by the Prieſt in his daily maſſings to put away the ſinnes of the quick and the dead, whereas by the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively ſacrifice of the Church offered upon the altar of the Croſſe, which was, is, and ſhall be for ever the propitiation for the ſins of the whole world: and where there is remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſaith the Apoſtle) no more offering for ſin.

But one Sacrifice in the Scripture.

Arguments confirming his Anſwer,

The firſt argument. Heb. 5.

Ce- No ſacrifice ought to be done, but where the Prieſt is meet to offer the ſame.
la- All other Prieſts bee unmeet to offer ſacrifice propitiatory for ſin, ſave only Chriſt.
rent. Ergo, no other Prieſts ought to ſacrifice for ſin, but Chriſt alone.

The ſecond part of my argument is thus prooved,

Argument.

Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be taken, whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.
ri- It is a great honour in Gods Church to ſacrifice for ſinne:
ſon. Ergo, No man ought to ſacrifice for ſin, but only they which are called.

But only Chriſt is called to that honour.

Heb. 7.

Ergo, No other Prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Chriſt alone, it is evident. For there are but two only orders of Prieſthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchiſedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reaſon that it was unprofitable, and weak, and of the order of Melchiſedech there is but one prieſt alone, even Chriſt the Lord, which hath a Prieſthood that cannot paſſe to any other,

An Argument.

Heb. 9. Ab una cauſa veritatis ad præpoſitionem habentem illam cauſam, valet conſequentis

Ba- That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no neceſſity is wherefore it is done.
ro- To offer up any more ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no neceſſity, for Chriſt our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.
co. Ergo, to doe the ſame in the Maſſe it is in vaine.

Another Argument.

Fe- After that eternall redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the ſame.
ri- But Chriſt comming an high Biſhop, &c, found and obtained for us eternall redemption.

o. Ergo,

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o. Ergo, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

Another argument.

Ca- All remiſſion of ſins commeth only by ſhedding of blood.
mes- In the Maſſe there is no ſhedding of blood.
tres. Ergo, in the maſſe there is no remiſſion of ſins: and ſo it followeth alſo that there is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Maſſe the paſſion of Chriſt is not in verity, but in a myſterie repreſenting the ſame: yea, even there where the Lords Supper is duly miniſtred.

Heb. 9.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is hee not offered in verity: for the Apoſtle ſaith, Not that he might offer up himſelf oftentimes (for then muſt he have ſuffered oftentimes ſith the beginning of the world) now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice:

Ergo, in the Maſſe there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: For Chriſt appeared once in the later end of the world, to put ſin to flight by the offering up of himſelfe. And as it is appointed to all men that they ſhall once dye, and then commeth the judgement: even ſo Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſins of many. And unto them that look for him ſhall he appeare againe without ſin unto ſalvation.

Another Argument.

Da- Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the commers thereunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe from offering any moe expiatory and propitiatory ſacrifices.
ri- But in the new Teſtament there is one only ſacrifice now already long ſince offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for ever.
i. Ergo, in the new Teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any moe propitiatory ſacrifices.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the ſame end and purpoſe, out of which alſo may bee gathered other manifeſt arguments for more confirmation thereof.

Heb. 10.

BY the which will (ſaith the Apoſtle) wee are ſanctified, by the offering up of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once for all. And in the ſame place, But this man, after that hee had offered one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath hee made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified, and by himſelfe hath he purged our ſins. I beſeech you to marke theſe words (by himſelfe) the which well weighed will without doubt ceaſe all controverſie.

(By himſelfe.)

The Apoſtle plainly denieth any other ſacrifice to remaine for him that treadeth under his feet the blood of the Teſtament, by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not bee crucified againe, hee will not his death to be had in deriſion.

Coloſſ. 1.

Hee hath reconciled us in the body of his fleſh. Marke I beſeech you, he ſaith not, in the myſtery of his body; but in the body of his fleſh.

1 Iohn 2.

If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins, not for ours only, but for the ſins of the whole world.

I know that all theſe places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of ſubtill ſhifts: the one is by the diſtinction of the bloody and unbloodie ſacrifice, as though our unbloody ſacrifice of the Church were any other than the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, than a commemoration, a ſhewing forth, and a ſacramentall repreſentation of that one only bloody ſacrifice, offered up once for all.

The Popiſh diſtinction betweene bloody and unbloody ſacrifice.

The other is by depraving and wreſting the ſayings of the ancient Fathers unto ſuch a ſtrange kinde of ſenſe, as the Fathers themſelves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is evident by that which Saint Auguſtine writeth in his Epiſtle to Boniface, and in the 83. chapter of his ninth booke againſt Fauſtus the Manichee, beſides many other places; likewiſe by Euſebius, Emiſene, Cyprian, Chryſoſtome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord, that the redemption, once made in verity for the ſalvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceaſing unto the end of the world, that the ſacrifice once offered cannot be conſumed; that the Lords death and paſſion is as effectuall, the vertue of that blood, once ſhed, as freſh at this day for the waſhing away of ſinnes, as it was even the ſame day that it flowed out of the bleſſed ſide of our Saviour: and finally, that the whole ſubſtance of our ſacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lords Supper, conſiſteth in prayers, praiſe, and giving of thankes, and in remembring and ſhewing forth of that ſacrifice once offered upon the altar of the Croſſe; that the ſame might continually be had in reverence by myſtery, which one only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

The Papiſts maintain their ſacrifice propitiatory, by the old Doctors falſly wreſted.

Doctors making againſt the propitiatory ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The whole ſubſtance of the ſacrifice wherein it conſiſteth.

These are the things (right worſhipfull Maſter Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the anſwering of your three foreſaid propoſitions, being deſtitute of all helpe in this ſhortneſſe of time, ſudden warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my firſt proteſtation, moſt humbly deſiring the helpe of the ſame (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And becauſe yee have lately given moſt uniuſt and cruell ſentence againſt me, I doe here appeale (ſo farre forth as I may) to a more indifferent and iuſt cenſure and iudgement of ſome other ſuperiour, competent, and lawfull Iudge, and that according to the approved ſtate of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confeſſe that I am ignorant what that is at this preſent, through the trouble and alteration of the ſtate of the Realme. But if this appeale may not bee granted to mee upon earth, then doe I flye (even as to my onely refuge and alone haven of health) to the ſentence of the eternall Iudge, that is of the almighty God, to whoſe moſt mercifull iuſtice towards us, and moſt iuſt mercifulneſſe, I do wholly commit my ſelfe and all my cauſe, nothing at all deſpairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, to whom, with the everlaſting Father, and the holy Spirit, the ſanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honor and glory, Amen.

B. Ridley appealeth from the uniuſt ſentence of his adverſaries, to ſome other ſuperiour competent Iudge.

B. Ridley for lack of equall indifferency appealeth to almighty God.

Albeit this learned Biſhop was not ſuffered to read all that is above prefixed before the Diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it up to the Prolocutor after the diſputations and ſentence pronounced; I thought here the place not unmeet to annexe the ſame together with the reſt. Now let us heare the arguments and anſwers betweene Doctor Smith and him.

Doctor Smith beginneth to oppoſe.

Smith. You have occaſioned me to goe otherwiſe to worke with you, than I had thought to have done. Me ſeemed you did in your ſuppoſition abuſe the teſtimonies of Scripture concerning the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away his preſence in the Sacrament, as though this were a ſtrong argument to inforce your matter withall.

Smiths argument.

Chriſt did aſcend unto heaven:
Ergo, he is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will goe about to diſprove this reaſon of yours.

Chriſts aſcenſion is no let to his reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceived, whereas you doe ground your ſelfe upon thoſe places.

Anſwer.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrong Argument by Chriſts going up into heaven. But howſoever mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only ſtay upon his aſcenſion, but both upon his aſcenſion and his " abiding there alſo.

" The verity of M. Ridleyes anſwer touching the reall being of Chriſt in earth to bee reſtrained by his aſcending and abiding in heaven, ſtandeth upon the neceſſity, which we call (Neceſſitas conſequentiæ) by this demonſtration.

Da- Every naturall body muſt neceſſarily bee contained in his peculiar and certaine place.
ri- Chriſts body is a naturall body:
i. Ergo, Chriſts body not to be in one certaine place at once contained, it is impoſſible, according to the rule Omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili & de neceſſe æquipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habenti, & modo ſimiliter.

Smith. Chriſts going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his reall preſence in the ſacrament.
Ergo, you are deceived.

Rid. Of Chriſts reall preſence there may bee a double underſtanding: if you take the reall preſence of Chriſt according to the reall and corporall ſubſtance which he took of the Virgin, that preſence being in heaven cannot bee on the earth alſo. But if you mean a reall preſence, ſecundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Chriſti pertinet, i. according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſts body, certes the Aſcenſion and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that preſence. Wherefore Chriſts body after that ſort is here preſent to us in the Lords Supper; by grace I ſay, as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

West. I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whenſoever we ſpeake of Chriſts body, we meane that which he took of the Virgin.

Rid. Chriſts aſcenſion and abiding in heaven cannot ſtand with his preſence.

Argument.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his aſcenſion and continuall abode in heaven unto the day of Doome.
Ergo, his aſcenſion and abiding in heaven, is no let to his reall preſence in the ſacrament.

Anſwer.

Rid. Maſter Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I doe not ſo ſtraightly tye Chriſt up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleaſure. For when he will, hee may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himſelfe. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not poſſible for him to bee both in heaven and earth at one time.

Smith. Mark I pray you my maſters that be here diligently, what he anſwereth. Firſt he ſaith, that the ſitting of Chriſt at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the reall preſence of his body in the ſacrament, and then afterward hee flieth from it againe,

Rid. I would not have you thinke that I do imagine or dreame upon any ſuch manner of ſitting, as theſe men here ſit in the Schoole.

Smith. Ergo, it is lawfull for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the earth, when he will himſelfe.

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawfull indeed.

Smith. Ergo, he aſcending into heaven doth not reſtraine his reall preſence in the ſacrament.

Rid. I do not gainſay, but that it is lawfull for him to appeare on the earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Chriſts abode in heaven is no let for him to appeare on earth when he will: but whether he will, that muſt be proved. Againe, it is one thing to appeare on earth, another ſtill in the Sacrament, and to be preſent the ſame time with his body in heaven, when he is bodily preſent in earth.

Smith. Then your anſwer dependeth upon the will of Chriſt, I perceive: therefore I will ioyn again with you in that ſhort argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally on the earth.

Ergo, notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and continuall ſitting at the right hand of his Father, hee may bee really and corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. If the Notaries ſhould ſo record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be aſhamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally upon the earth.

Ergo, notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. I grant the antecedent, but I deny the conſequence.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent?

Rid. Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certain ancient Fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you uſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

Hee was ſeene on earth after his aſcenſion,
Ergo, &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it my ſelfe.

Chriſt after his aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

Ergo, notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and continuall abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Chriſts continually ſitting in heaven expounded.

Rid. Let us firſt agree about the continuall ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay, I doe not bind Chriſt in heaven ſo ſtraightly. I ſee you goe about to beguile mee with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be diſtinguiſhed. If you meane by his ſitting in heaven, to raigne with his Father, he may be both in heaven and alſo in earth. But if ye underſtand his ſitting to be after a corporall manner of ſitting, ſo is hee alwaies permanent in heaven. For Chriſt to bee corporall here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heaven, is cleane contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Auguſtine ſaith; Corpus Chriſti eſt in cœlo, ſed veritas ejus ubique diffuſa eſt, i. The body of Chriſt is in heaven, but his truth is diſperſed in every place.

Chriſt cannot be both corporally here, and corporally alſo in heaven at one time.

Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporall preſence, then his perpetuall abiding there ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame corporall preſence of him cannot be in the Sacrament.

Smith. Acts 3. We read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the conſumption of the world.

West. I perceive you are come here to this iſſue, whether the body of Chriſt may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Chriſt in very deed is both in earth and in heaven together and at one time, both one and the ſame naturall Chriſt after the verity and ſubſtance of his very body: Ergo, &c.

Rid. I deny the antecedent.

Anno 1554.

Chryſ.hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

Weſt. I prove it by two witneſſes. Firſt, by Chryſoſtome, hom.17. ad Hebræos. Nonnè per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, ſed recordationem facientes mortis ejus. Et una eſt hæc hoſtia, non multæ. Et quomodo una, & non multæ, quæ ſemel oblata eſt in ſancto ſanctorum? Hoc autem ſacrificium exemplar eſt illius; id ipſum ſemper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, craſtina alium, ſed ſemper eundem ipſum. Proinde unum eſt hoc ſacrificium; alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt? Nequaquam, ſed unus ubique eſt Chriſtus; & hic plenus exiſtens, & illic plenus, unum corpus, i. Do we not offer every day? We doe ſo indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many which was offered in the holy place? This ſacrifice is a pattern of that: The ſelf ſame we alwaies offer; Not now as offering one lambe to day, and another to morrow, but alwaies one and the ſame lamb. Wherefore here is but one ſacrifice; for elſe by this meanes, ſeeing there be many ſacrifices in many places, be there many Chriſts? not ſo, but one Chriſt in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only body. Now thus I argue.

Argument.

We offer one thing at all times.

There is one Chriſt in all places, both here complete and there complete.

Ergo, by Chryſoſtome there is one body both in heaven and earth.

Anſwer.

Rid. I remember the place well. Theſe things make nothing againſt me.

Weſt. One Chriſt is in all places, here full and there full.

One Chriſt but not one body, nor after one bodily ſubſtance in all places.

Rid. One Chriſt is in all places; but not one body in all places.

Weſt. One body ſaith Chryſoſtome,

Anſwer to Chryſoſtome.

Rid. But not after the manner of bodily ſubſtance he is in all places, nor by circumſcription of place. For (hic) and (illic) here and there, in Chryſoſtome do aſſigne no place, as Auguſtine ſaith; Surſum eſt Dominus, ſed ubique eſt veritas Domini, i. The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.

Weſt. You cannot ſo eſcape. He ſaith not the verity of Chriſt is one; but one Chriſt is in all places, both here and there.

Rid. One ſacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the unity of him whom the ſacrifice doth ſignifie: not that the ſacrifices bee all one and the ſame.

Weſt. Ergo, by your ſaying it is not Chriſt, but the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

But Chryſoſtome ſaith, one body and one Chriſt is there, and not one ſacrifice.

One Chriſt & one ſacrifice in all places, and how: to wit, Chriſt by verity, the ſacrifice by ſignification.

Rid. I ſay, that both Chriſt and the ſacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by ſpirit, grace, and verity; the ſacrifice by ſignification.

„Ex libro Ridlei ipſius manu deſcripto.

Sacrifice why it is called one.

"Thus I grant with Chryſoſtome, that there is one hoſte or ſacrifice, and not many: and this our hoſte is called one, by reaſon of the unity of that one, which one only all our hoſts doe repreſent. That only hoſt was never other, but that which was once offered on the altar of the croſſe, of which hoſt all our hoſts are but ſacramentall examples.

How one Chriſt is offered in many places at once.

And where you alledge out of Chryſoſtome, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, both here full Chriſt, and there full Chriſt: I grant it to be true, that is, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, in a myſterie and ſacramentally, and that he is full Chriſt in all thoſe places, but not after the corporall ſubſtance of our fleſh which he tooke, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine as Cyril ſpeaketh, Concerning the oblation of Chriſt, whereof Chryſoſtom here ſpeaketh, hee himſelfe doth cleerly ſhew what he meaneth thereby, in ſaying by the way of correction, We alwaies do the ſelfe ſame; Howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his ſacrifice.

Weſt. The ſecond witneſſe is Bernard in a Sermon that hee made of the Supper of the Lord, who ſaith;

Bernard.

Vnde hoc nobis piiſſime Ieſu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes ſuper faciem terræ, nos inquam qui pulvis & cinis ſumus, te præſentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus & integer ſedes ad dextram patris, qui etiam unjus horæ momento, ab ortu ſolis uſque ad occaſum, ab Aquilone uſque ad Auſtrũ præſtò es, unus in multis, idem in diverſis locis? that is to ſay, How commeth this to us, moſt gentle Jeſus, that we ſilly wormes creeping on the face of the earth, that we I ſay, which are but duſt and aſhes, may deſerve to have thee preſent in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together full and whole doſt ſit at the right hand of the Father, and who alſo in the moment of one houre, from the riſing of the Sun to the going down of the ſame, art preſent one and the ſelfe ſame in many and divers places?

The time of Bernard conſidered.

Rid. Theſe words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in ſuch a time, that in this matter he may worthily be ſuſpected. He hath many good and fruitfull ſayings; as alſo in that ſame foreſaid place by you alledged. But yet he followed in ſuch an age, when as the doctrine of the holy Supper was ſore perverted. Notwithſtanding yet I will ſo expound him, rather than reject him, that he ſhall make nothing for you at all. He ſaith, that we have Chriſt in a myſtery, in a ſacrament, under a veile or cover, but hereafter ſhall have him without veile or cover. In the meane time, here now he ſaith, that the verity of Chriſt is every where. The verity of Chriſt is both here and there, and in all places.

Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

Weſt. What do you call verity? He ſaith not the verity of Chriſt, but the verity of the body of Chriſt.

What is the verity of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. The verity of the body of Chriſt is the true faith of the body of Chriſt: after that veritie he is with them which truly believe upon him.

Weſt. Chriſt is one and the ſame in divers places. I urge theſe words (in diverſis locis) in diverſe places, and yet I am not ſatisfied.

Smith. Chriſt was ſeen really and corporally on the earth after his aſcenſion, and continually ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo, the aſcenſion and perpetuall ſitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

To be reſident and not reſident, import contradiction.

Rid. If by perpetuall ſitting you mean the reſidence of his body in heaven, your reaſon containeth manifeſt contradiction.

Smith. Theſe two have no contradiction in them at all, both to ſit continually at his Fathers right hand, and alſo to be ſeen here really in earth after his aſcenſion. Firſt, you will give me that Chriſt ſitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father. For ſo it is written, Acts 5. Heaven muſt needs receive him unto the time of the reſtoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was alſo ſeen of Paul here corporally on earth.

Wherefore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe him, and when it pleaſeth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appeare to whom hee will? and yet notwithſtanding you have not yet proved that he will ſo doe. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in heaven unto the iudgement, yet there may be ſome intermiſſion, that notwithſtanding. But this controverſie, as I ſaid, is amongſt all the ancient Doctors and Writers. And that Chriſt hath been here ſeene, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtfull.

To be here and not here, importeth contradiction in reſpect of ſundry times.

Smith. I will prove that he would appeare in earth.

He ſo would, and alſo did appeare here in earth after his aſcenſion: Ergo, &c.

Rid. He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertaine. So he appeared to Steven, being then corporally ſitting in heaven. For ſpeaking after the true manner of mans body, when he is in heaven, he is not the ſame time in earth: and when he is in earth, he is not the ſame time corporally in heaven.

Chriſts appearing on the earth ſometime, taketh not away his reſidence in heaven.
How Chriſt appeared in earth.

Smith. Chriſt hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time.

Ergo, You are deceived in denying that.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Chriſt here to have been ſeen in earth. Of uncertain things I ſpeak uncertainly.

This argument holdeth rather materiæ, than ratione formæ.

Smith. He was ſeen of Paul, as being borne before his time, after his aſcending up to heaven, 1 Cor. 15.

But his viſion was a corporall viſion:

Ergo, hee was ſeen corporally upon the earth after his aſcending into heaven.

Rid. He was ſeen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, it is a doubt. And of doubtfull things we muſt iudge doubtfully. Howbeit you muſt prove that he was in heaven at the ſame time, when he was corporally on earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Rid. I account this a ſound and firme argument to prove the reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both waies the argument is of like ſtrength. For whether he were ſeen in heaven, or whether he were ſeen on earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certaine it is, he roſe again: for he could not have been ſeen, unleſſe he had riſen again.

Whether Paul ſaw Chriſt in heaven or in earth, all is one to prove his reſurrection.

Petitio Principii.

Smith. Paul ſaw him as he was here converſant on earth, and not out of heaven as you affirme.

Rid. You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you ſhould have proved.

Smith. You make delayes for the nonce.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that heare us be learned: they can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I anſwer well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſeen after ſuch ſort, as that he might be heard.

Argument.

Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or elſe how could he be heard?

Anſwer.

Rid. He that found the meanes for Steven to behold him in heaven, even hee could bring to paſſe well enough, that Paul might heare him out of heaven.

Da- Smith As other ſaw him, ſo Paul ſaw him.
ti- Other did ſee him viſibly and corporally on earth.
ſi. Ergo, Paul ſaw him viſibly and corporally on earth.

Argument.

Anſwer.

Rid. I grant he was ſeen viſibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was ſeen in earth.

Smith. He was ſeen ſo of him as of other:

But he was ſeen of other being on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth:

Ergo, he was ſeen of Paul on earth.

Anno 1554.

Rid. Your controverſie is about (exiſtens in terra) that is, being on earth: if exiſtere, to be, be referred as unto the place, I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on the earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover, I ſay that Chriſt was ſeene of men in earth after his aſcenſion, it is certaine. For he was ſeen of Steven; he was ſeen alſo of Paul. But whether hee deſcended unto the earth, or whether he being in heaven did reveal or manifeſt himſelfe to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that ſome contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherfore wee cannot but iudge uncertainly of thoſe things which be uncertaine.

Egeſippus l.3 cap.3

Smith. We have Egeſippus & Linus againſt you, which teſtifie, that Chriſt appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his aſcenſion, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter overcome with the requeſts and mournings of the people, which deſired him to get him out of the city becauſe of Nero his lying in waite for him, began without company to convey himſelfe away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meet him, and worſhipping him, he ſaid; Maſter, whither walk you? Chriſt anſwered, I am come againe to bee crucified. Linus writing of the paſſion of Peter, hath the ſelf ſame ſtory. Saint Ambroſe hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo Abdias, ſcholler to the Apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his aſcending into heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which theſe men do manifeſtly witneſſe to have beene done?

Linus de paſſione Petri, Ambroſius. Abdias.

Rid. I ſaid before that the Doctors in that matter did varie.

Smith. Doe you thinke this ſtory is not certain, being approved by ſo ancient and probable authority?

Rid. I do ſo think, becauſe I take and eſteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that ſtory to be certain, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such things as be certain, & approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

The credit of Linus ſtory.
" This addition is taken out of the copie of biſhop Ridleys own writing.

Rid. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo great authority; although I am not ignorant that " Euſebius ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the Church. And yet I account not theſe mens reports ſo ſure as the canonicall Scriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared here on yͤ earth after his aſcenſion, that doth not diſprove my ſaying. For I go not about to tye Chriſt up in fetters (as ſome do untruly report of us) but that he may be ſeen upon the earth according to his divine pleaſure, whenſoever it liketh him. But we affirme, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that hee ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporall ſubſtance. And the perpetuall ſitting at the right hand of the Father, may (I grant) bee taken for the ſtability of Chriſts kingdome, and his continuall or everlaſting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven.

Smith. Now whereas you boaſt that your faith is the very faith of the ancient Church; I will ſhew here that it is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtrive againſt the Faith of the old Fathers, I will bring in Chryſoſtome for this point. Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximam hæreditatem, Eliſæus melotem ſuſcepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro pretioſior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat ſurſum Helian, & deorſum Helias. Novi quòd juſtum illum beatum putatis, & velletis quiſque eſſe ut ille. Quid igitur, ſi vobis demon-

Chryſoſtome alledged.
Hom. 2 ad populum Antioch.

demonſtravero quid aliud, quod illo multo majus omnes ſacris myſteriis imbuti recipimus? Helias quidem melotem diſcipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei aſcendens ſuam nobis carnem dimiſit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Chriſtus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipſam habens aſcendit. That is, Eliſeus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beſide. And the ſame was a double Helias: Hee was both Helias above, and Helias beneath. I know well you thinke that juſt man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as hee is. What will you then ſay if I ſhall declare unto you a certaine other thing, which all wee that are inbued with theſe holy myſteries doe receive much more than that? Helias indeed left his mantle to his ſcholler: But the Son of God aſcending did leave here his fleſh unto us. Helias left it, putting off the ſame: But Chriſt both left it to us, and aſcended alſo to heaven, having it with him.

Here, at this anſwer great cartfuls of taunting, ſpitefull, & reproachfull words were caſt upon this good Biſhop.

Rid. I grant that Chriſt did both; that is, both took up his fleſh with him aſcending up, and alſo did leave the ſame behind him with us, but after a divers manner and reſpect. For he took his fleſh with him, after the true and corporall ſubſtance of his body and fleſh: againe, he left the ſame in myſtery to the faithfull in the Supper, to bee received after a ſpirituall communication, and by grace. Neither is the ſame received in the Supper only, but alſo at other times, by hearing the Goſpell, and by faith. For, the (bread) which wee breake, is the communication of the body of Chriſt: And generally, unleſſe ye eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood, yee ſhall have no life in you.

Chryſoſt. De dignitate Sacerdotii, lib. 3 cap. 3.

Smith. Chryſoſtome in his booke de dignitate Sacerdotii, lib. 3, ca. 3. ſaith, O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam! Qui ſurſum ſedet tempore ſacrificii, hominum manibus continetur. Or as other have tranſlated it, O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem! Qui cum patre ſurſum ſedet, in illo ipſo temporis articulo, omnium manibus pertractatur, ac ſe ipſe tradit volentibus ipſum accipere & complecti! i. O miracle, O good will of God! He that ſitteth above at the ſacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men. Or elſe as other have tranſlated it, thus: O miracle, O the gentleneſſe of God! He that ſitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very ſame moment of time, and doth himſelfe deliver himſelfe to them that are deſirous to take him and imbrace him.

Rid. He that ſitteth there is here preſent in myſterie and by grace, and is holden of the godly, ſuch as communicate him, not only ſacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholſomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received; but by the ſacramentall ſignification he is holden of all men.

Seton. Where is then the miracle if he be only preſent through his grace and myſtery only?

The miracle in the ſacrament wherein it conſiſteth.

Rid. Yes, there is a miracle, good ſir, Chriſt is not idle in his ſacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to ſuſtaine the body, becommeth food to the ſoul? He that underſtandeth not that miracle, he underſtandeth not the force of that myſterie. God grant we may every one of us underſtand his truth, and obey the ſame.

Smith. Chryſoſtome calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heaven and at the ſame time is held in the hands of men: not that hee is handled with the hands of men: only in a myſtery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and ſtray far from the truth.

Harpſ. The former part of Chryſoſtome is not to be let ſlip. Let me, before I begin, aſk this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his ſcholler?

Rid. Yes ſurely it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not Elias then leave great grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a farre greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Chriſt doth both in his fleſh

How Chriſt tooke up his body, and left it with us.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Chriſt left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliſeus, albeit he be ſaid to have left his double ſpirit with him: for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcending up here left with us, is the only ſalvation and life of all men which ſhall bee ſaved: which life Chriſt hath here left unto us, to bee received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right adminiſtration of the ſacraments. This vertue and grace Chryſoſtome, after the phraſe and manner of John the Evangeliſt, calleth Chriſts fleſh.

The phraſe of Chryſoſtome conſidered.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You underſtand not the compariſon. The compariſon is in this, that Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him, Chriſt left his fleſh behinde him, and carried it with him alſo.

Compariſon betwen Elias mantle and Chriſts fleſh. Elias took his mantle and left neither mantle, nor ſacrament of his mantle behind him.

Rid. True it is, and I my ſelfe did affirme no leſſe before. Now where you ſeeme to ſpeak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a compariſon between grace & grace, then Chriſt gave the far greater grace, when he did inſert or graft us into his fleſh.

Chriſt took his fleſh, and left a ſacrament of his fleſh, which was more than Elias did: and yet the ſaid Elias afterward caſt down his mantle.

Harpſ. If you will give me leave, I will aſke you this queſtion. If Chryſoſtome would have meant ſo, that Chriſt left his body in the Euchariſt, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have uſed than theſe?

Rid. Theſe things be not of ſo great force as they beare a great ſhew outwardly. He might alſo have uſed groſſer words if hee had liſted to have uttered his minde ſo groſſely: for he was an eloquent man. Now hee ſpeaketh after the manner of other Doctors, which of myſticall matters ſpeak myſtically, and of ſacraments ſacramentally.

Har. The compariſon lieth in this; That which was impoſſible to Elias is poſſible with Chriſt.

Rid. I grant it was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. Elias left his cloake: Chriſt both left his fleſh and tooke it with him.

Harpſ. Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Chriſt both left behind him, and alſo took with him, Except you will ſay the compariſon here made to be nothing.

Rid. He took up his fleſh with him to heaven, & left here the communion of his fleſh in earth.

Harpsfeld anſwered.

Weſt. You underſtand in the firſt place his fleſh for very true fleſh; and in the ſecond place for grace, and communion of his fleſh; and why do you not underſtand it in the ſecond place alſo for his true fleſh? I will make it evident how blockiſh and groſſe your anſwer is.

Quam ſit ſtupida & craſſa reſponſio tua.

Rid. Theſe be taunts and reproaches, not beſeeming; as I think, the modeſty of this ſchoole.

Weſt. Elias left his cloak to his diſciple: but the Sonne of God going up to heaven, left his fleſh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Chriſt likewiſe his fleſh, and yet aſcending he carried the ſame with him too. By which words we make this reaſon.

Chriſt left his fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he took the ſame up with him:

Ergo, he is preſent here with us.

D. Weſton ſpeaketh to the audience in Engliſh.

Here Doctor Weſton crying to the people, ſaid unto them; maſter Doctor anſwereth it after this faſhion:

He carried his fleſh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his fleſh behind. Aſſuredly the anſwer is too unlearned.

Rid. I am glad you ſpeak in Engliſh. Surely, I wiſh that all the whole world might underſtand your reaſons and my anſwers. Reliquit nobis carnem ſuum, i. He left his fleſh. This you underſtand of his fleſh, and underſtand the ſame of grace. He carried his fleſh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his fleſh unto us.

But where were theſe Iudges in king Edwards time?

Weſt. Ye Iudges, what thinke you of this anſwer?

Iudges, It is ridiculous and a very fond anſwer.

Rid. Well, I take your words patiently for Chriſt cauſe.

Weſt. Weſton here citeth a place; Spargimur ſanguine Chriſti. i. We are ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt.

How we are ſprinkled with Chriſts blood.

Rid. Maſter Doctor, it is the ſame blood, but yet ſpiritually received. And indeed all the Prophets were ſprinkled with the ſame blood, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by grace. And whatſoever they be that are not ſprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlaſting ſalvation.

“ This he repeated in Engliſh to the people alſo.

Weſt. “ Here I bring Bernard unto you again, Even from the Weſt unto the eaſt, from the North unto the South, there is one and the ſelf ſame Chriſt in many and divers places.

Anſwer to Bernard.

Rid. The anſwer is ſoone made, that one Chriſt is here and in divers places. For God according to his Maieſtie, and according to his providence, as S. Auſtin ſaith, is every where with the godly, according to his indiviſible and unſpeakable grace. Or elſe, if ye would underſtand Bernard according to the corporall preſence, how monſtrous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Chriſts body to bee, which ſhould reach even from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt.

The Papiſts make Chriſt to have a monſtrous body.

Weſt. Nay, nay you make a monſtrous anſwer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come againe to Maſter Doctors argument, by which you being brought into the briars, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſts preſence on the earth. To the proofe of which matter I will bring nothing elſe, than that which was agreed upon in the Catechiſme of the Synod of London, ſet out not long ago by you.

Here they returned againe to Latin.

Rid. Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did ſet out no Catechiſme.

Biſhop Ridley falſly charged to ſet forth the Catechiſme. D. Weſton in king Edwards dates ſubſcribed.

Weſt. Yes, you made one ſubſcribe to it, when you were a biſhop in your ruffe.

Rid. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Ward. Yes, by rood, you are the very author of that hereſie.

Rid. I put forth no Catechiſme.

Cole. Did you never conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe things which you allowed?

Rid. I grant that I ſaw the booke; but I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I conſented to the booke; I was not the author of it.

Of this Catechiſme read before.

Iudges. “ The Catechiſme is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole Convocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſaid yeſterday, that you made it.

“ The Iudges give an untrue verdict: for D. Cranmer, meaning by the Councel, ſpake no word of Ridley.

Rid. I think ſurely that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſme hath this clauſe; Si viſibiliter in terra, &c. If viſibly on the earth,

Rid. I anſwer, that thoſe Articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Mine owne hand will teſtifie the ſame, and M. Cranmer put his hand to them likewiſe, and gave them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may eaſily be expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and the vertue of his Father.

Ergo, he was not of ſo little ſtrength, that he could not bring to paſſe whatſoever hee would himſelfe.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Rid. I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was the wiſdome of the Father.

Ergo, that he ſpake he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as every man might underſtand: neither was it his mind to ſpeak one thing inſtead of another.

Rid. All this I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very truth: Ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewiſe it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive other.

Argument of the wiſdome and truth of Chriſt.

Weſt. Hilarius in Pſalmum 118. hath theſe words: Vera omnia ſunt, & neque otioſe, neque inutiliter conſtituta Dei verba, ſed extra omnem ambiguitatem ſuperfluæ inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic eſſet, quod non perfectum ac proprium ſit, exiſtimetur, i. All Gods words or ſayings are true, and neither idely placed, or unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderfull fiery, without all doubtfulneſſe of ſuperfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.

Hilar. in Pſal. 118.

Ward. He is the truth of the Father: Ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived: eſpecially I mean when he ſpake at his later end, and his teſtament.

Rid. Chriſt is the very truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what ſcope you drive your reaſon. This is but a far fet compaſſe of words. If that theſe words of Chriſt, This is my body, which you meane, be rightly underſtood, they are moſt true.

Anſwer to M. Wards argument.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Rid. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. Gave he bread made of wheat, and materiall bread?

Rid. I know not whether hee gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and materiall bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by ſcriptures. He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

But he bade not them take materiall bread, but his owne body.

Ergo, he gave not materiall bread, but his own body.

This argument is not formall in the ſecond figure.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bade them take his body ſacramentally in materiall bread: and after that ſort it was both bread which he bade them take, becauſe the ſubſtance was bread, and it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the ſacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying and the comming of the holy Ghoſt, which is alwaies aſſiſtant to thoſe myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtred.

Anſwer.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſaith, By the comming unto of the holy Spirit?

Rid. I have Theophilact for mine author for this manner of ſpeaking. And here I bring him, that yee may underſtand that phraſe not to bee mine, upon Matthew 26. Furthermore, the ſaid Theophilact writing upon theſe words, This is

Theophylact. in Mat. 26.

my body, ſheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is ſanctified on the altar.

Ogle. That place of Theophylact maketh openly againſt you. For hee ſaith in that place, that Chriſt ſaid not, This is the figure of my body, but my body. For, ſaith he, by an unſpeakable operation it is transformed, although it ſeeme to us to be bread.

The words of Theophylact (who ſaid not this is a figure of my body) anſwered.

Rid. It is not a figure, that is to ſay, non tantum eſt figura, i. it is not only a figure of his body.

Weſt. Where have you that word (tantum) only?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and Auguſtine doth ſo ſpeake many times, and other Doctors moe.

Weſt. Here Weſton, repeating the words of Theophylact in Engliſh, ſaid, He ſaith it is no figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophylact ſaith moreover, that the converſion or turning of the bread is made into the Lords fleſh.

(a) This argument is without perfect moode and forme, having the Minor negative in the ſecond figure.

(a) That which Chriſt gave, we do give.
But that which he gave was not a figure of his body:
Ergo, we give no figure, but his body.

¶ As concerning the authority of Theophylactus, what hee thought and might have ſpoken of that author, Doctor Ridley did not then ſpeake, nor could conveniently (as he himſelfe afterward declared, reporting and writing with his owne hand the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the uproares and clamors, which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called upon, that he could not anſwer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylactus, but anſwered ſimply to that which was brought out of that author, on this ſort.

Converſion after what ſort in the ſacrament.

I grant, quoth he, the bread to bee converted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, but not by tranſubſtantiation, but by a ſacramentall converſion or turning. It is transformed, ſaith Theophylactus, in the ſame place, by a myſticall benediction, and by the acceſſion or comming of the holy Ghoſt unto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſaith not, by expulſion or driving away the ſubſtance of bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in his place the corporall ſubſtance of Chriſts fleſh. And where he ſaith; It is not a figure of the body, we ſhould underſtand that ſaying, as he himſelf doth elſewhere adde only, that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Chriſt is preſent in his myſteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian ſaith, doth the divine Maieſty abſent himſelfe from the divine myſteries.

Weſt. You put in only, and and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was faine to deny the author, becauſe the place was ſo plaine againſt him. But marke his words how he ſaith, It is no figure, but his fleſh.

Rid. To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do iniury to the author.

This Harding ſate at the table among the Notaries.

Hard. No other Doctor maketh more againſt you. For the words in Greeke are μεταστοιχειοῦται, which is in Latine, tranſelementatur, that is, turned from one element into another. And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in form of bread, he ſaith,

Theoph. in 6 cap. Ioan.

Quoniam infirmi ſumus, & horremus crudas carnes comedere, maximè hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, ſed caro eſt. That is, Becauſe we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh.

Rid. That word hath not that ſtrength which you ſeeme to give it. You ſtraine it overmuch, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame author hath in another place ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα, That is, We are tranſelemented, or transformed and changed into the body of Chriſt; and ſo by that word, in in ſuch meaning as you ſpeake of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeede into the very body of Chriſt.

The word μεταστοιχεῖσθαι

Theophylact expounded.

Ward. Learned M. Doctor, thus you expound the place, Hoc eſt corpus meum, i. This is my bodie, that is a figure of my body.

Rid. Although I know there bee that ſo expound it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſſe the whole.

Argument in the third figure.

Da- Ward. My ſheep heare my voice, and follow me.
ti- But all the ſheep of Chriſt heare this voice, This is my body, without a figure:
ſi. Ergo, the voice of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Rid. The ſheepe of Chriſt follow the voice of Chriſt, unleſſe they bee ſeduced and deceived through ignorance.

Ward. But the Fathers tooke this place for no figurative ſpeech.

Rid. Yet they doe all number this place among figurative and tropicall ſpeeches.

Ward. Iuſtinus Martyr in his ſecond Apologie hath thus: οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν: οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι᾽ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Iuſtinus Martyr. Apolog. 2

Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi ſumimus; Imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Ieſus Chriſtus, Servator noſter incarnatus, habuit pro ſalute noſtra carnem & ſanguinem: Ita per orationem illius verbi conſecratum hoc alimentum, quo ſanguis & carnes noſtræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejuſdem incarnati carnem & ſanguinem eſſe ſumus edocti.

This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is engliſhed.

¶ For we do not take this for common bread and drinke, but like as Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour incarnate by the word of God, had fleſh and blood for our ſalvation: even ſo we be taught the food wherewith our fleſh and blood is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated by the prayer of his word, to bee the fleſh and blood of the ſame Jeſus incarnate.

Doctor Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it it: Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meates and drinkes bee, but they be ordained purpoſely to give thankes to God, and therefore be called Euchariſtia, and be called the body and blood of Chriſt: and that it is lawfull for none to eat and drinke of them, but ſuch as profeſſe Chriſt, and live according to the ſame; and yet the ſame meate and drinke is changed into our fleſh and blood, and nouriſheth our bodies.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating a place of Iuſtine. Read his anſwer to this before.

Rid. O good Maſter Doctor, goe ſincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is uſed.

Ward. Ward here repeated the place againe out of Iuſtine; We are taught, &c. as above.

Rid. O what upright dealing is this? I have the ſelfe ſame place of Iuſtine here copied out. You know your ſelf which are ſkilfull in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any iuſt cauſe.

Sumptum ex exemplari domini Ridlei deſcripto.

Ward. I ſtand ſtill upon mine argument. What ſay you?

Rid. If you will that I ſhould anſwer to Iuſtine, then you muſt heare. I have but one tongue, I cannot anſwer at once to you all.

Weſt. Chriſt gave us his very and true fleſh to be eaten;

In this argument if the minor be a negative, the forme is falſe: if it be affirmative, æquipollenter, the maior is to be denied.

But hee never gave it to bee eaten but in his laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the altar:

Ergo, there is the very fleſh of Chriſt.

Rid. If you ſpeake of the very true fleſh of Chriſt, after the ſubſtance of his fleſh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then doe deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if you underſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpirituall communication, I then grant the firſt part, and deny the ſecond. For he giveth unto us truly his fleſh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For hee is the very and true meat of the ſoule, wherewith we are fed unto everlaſting life, according to this ſaying; My fleſh is meat indeed, &c.

Ward. Deſiderio deſideravi hoc paſcha manducare vobiſcum, i. I have deſired with my hearty deſire to eat this paſchall with you. What Paſchall I pray you deſired he to eat? If you ſtand in doubt, you have Tertullian, lib. 4. contra Marcionem: Profeſſus itaque ſe concupiſcentia concupiſcere edere paſcha ſuum (indignum enim ut alienum concupiſceret Deus) acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipilis ſuum corpus illum fecit; Hoc eſt corpus meum, dicendo, &c. i. Hee therefore proteſting a great deſire to eate his paſchall, his owne paſchall I ſay (for it was not meet that he ſhould deſire any other than his owne) taking bread and diſtributing it to his Diſciples, made it his body, ſaying, This is my body.

Tertul. contra Marcion. lib. 4.

What ſay you? Did hee underſtand by this Paſchall the Judaicall Lambe, or by that which afterward he gave in his Supper?

Rid. I ſuppoſe that the firſt hee underſtood of the Judaicall Paſſeover, and afterward of the Euchariſt.

Argument.

Ward. Nay then Tertullian is againſt you, which ſaith:

Ba- He deſired to eat his Paſſeover.

ro- But the Judaicall Paſſeover was not his, but ſtrange from Chriſt.

co. Ergo, he meant not of the Judaicall Paſſeover.

Anſwer.

Rid. The Judaicall Paſſeover was not ſtrange from Chriſt, but his owne: inſomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaicall Paſſeover, as of his owne Supper.

Ward. What anſwer you then to Tertullian, the which ſaith, He deſired to eat his own Paſſeover, and not the Jewiſh Paſſeover, which ſtood upon words without fleſh?

Rid. Tertullian may here dally in ſenſe Analogicall. I know that Cyprian hath theſe words; Tunc inſtituit quidem Euchariſtiam, ſed utrumque erat Chriſti. i. He began then to inſtitute the holy Euchariſt, but both were Chriſts.

Analogicall ſenſe is that which hath a high and myſticall underſtanding that lyeth abſtruſe and profound under the externall letter.

August. in Pſal. 96.

Ward. Auguſtine in Pſalme 96. writing upon theſe words, Adorate ſcabellum pedum eius, i. Worſhip his footſtoole, &c. Quæro, inquit, quid ſit ſcabellum pedum ejus? Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra ſcabellum pedum meorum: Fluctuans converto me ad Chriſtum, quia ipſum quæro hic, & invenio quomodo ſine impietate adoretur ſcabellum pedum ejus. Suſcepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra eſt, & de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, & quia in ipſa carne hic ambulavit, & ipſam carnem nobis manducandam ad ſalutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat niſi prius adoraverit. Inventum eſt quo modo tale ſcabellum pedum Domini adoretur, ut non ſolum non peccemus adorando, ſed peccemus non adorando ipſum, &c, i. I aſke (ſaith he) what is the footſtoole of his feet? and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footſtoole of my feet. And ſo in ſearching thereof I turne my ſelfe to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeeke him here in the earth, and finde how, without impiety, the footſtoole of his feet may be worſhipped; for he tooke earth of earth, in that he is fleſh of the earth, and of the fleſh of Mary he tooke fleſh, and becauſe that in the ſame fleſh here he walked, and alſo he gave the ſame fleſh to us to bee eaten unto ſalvation. But no man eateth that fleſh except he have worſhipped before. And ſo it is found, how ſuch a footſtoole of the feet of the Lord is to be worſhipped, ſo that not only we ſin not in worſhipping, but alſo doe ſin in not worſhipping the ſame.

Eſay 66.

Da- Hee gave to us his fleſh to bee eaten, the which he tooke of the earth, in which alſo here he walked, &c.

ti- But hee never gave his fleſh to bee eaten but when he gave it at his Supper, ſaying, This is my body.

ſi. Ergo, in the Euchariſt he gave us his fleſh.

If the minor of this argument (as is ſaid before) be equipollent to affirmative, then it commeth next to the Moode Datiſi.

Rid. You doe alledge the place of Auſten upon the 98. Pſalme, where he ſaith, that Chriſt gave his fleſh to be eaten which he tooke of the earth, and in which here hee walked, inferring hereupon that Chriſt never gave the ſame his fleſh to be eaten, but only in the Euchariſt: I deny your Minor; for he gave it both in the Euchariſt to be eaten and alſo otherwiſe, as well in the word, as alſo upon the croſſe.

How Chriſt gave his fleſh to be eaten, and when.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not only give himſelf to us in a figure, but gave his owne very fleſh indeed and really?

Rid. I never ſaid that Chriſt gave only a figure of his body. For indeed he gave himſelfe in a reall communication, that is he gave his fleſh after a communication of his fleſh.

West. Here Weſton read the place of Auguſtine in engliſh, and afterward ſaid, Yee ſay, Chriſt gave not his body, but a figure of his body.

Chriſt gave himſelf not only in a figure, but indeed by a reall and effectuall communication of his fleſh.

Rid. I ſay not ſo, I ſay he gave his own body verily. But he gave it by a reall, effectuall, and ſpirituall communication.

D. Glin diſputeth.

D. Glin biſhop Ridleyes old friend deſireth him of pardon.

¶ After this, Doctor Glin began to reaſon, who (notwithſtanding Maſter Ridley had alwaies taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious Preface againſt him. This Preface Maſter Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, becauſe it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought that Doctor Glins mind was to ſerve the time. For afterward he came to the houſe wherein Maſter Ridley was kept, and as far as Maſter Ridley could call to remembrance, before Doctor Young and Doctor Oglethorpe hee deſired him to pardon his words. The which Maſter Ridley did even from the very heart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all other, the true and evident knowledge of Gods Evangelicall ſincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the houſe of the heavenly Father.

B. Ridley forgiveth D. Glin

Glin. I ſee that you elude or ſhift away all Scriptures and Fathers, I will goe to worke with you after another ſort.

Chriſt hath here his Church knowen in earth, of which you were once a childe, although now you ſpeake contumeliouſly of the Sacraments.

Rid. This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a ſhifter away of the Scriptures, and of the Doctors. As touching the ſacraments, I never yet ſpake contumeliouſly of them. I grant that Chriſt hath here his Church in earth: but that Church did ever receive and acknowledge the euchariſt to be a ſacrament of the body of Chriſt yet not the body of Chriſt really, but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Glin. Then I aſke this queſtion, whether the Catholike Church hath ever or at any time been Idolatrous?

Rid. The

Anno 1554.

Rid. The Church is the pillar and ſtay of the truth, that never yet hath beene Idolatrous in reſpect of the whole: but peradventure in reſpect of ſome part thereof, which ſometimes may be ſeduced by evill Paſtors, and through ignorance.

Glin. (a) That Church ever hath worſhipped the fleſh of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.

But the Church hath never been idolatrous:

Ergo, it hath alway iudged the fleſh of Chriſt to be in the Euchariſt.

(a) This argument having the minor a negative, neither is formable in the third figure, neither doth it conclude rightly, but ſhould conclude thus: Ergo, to worſhip the fleſh of Chriſt in the Euchariſt is no idolatry.

Rid. And I alſo worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament, but not becauſe he is included in the ſacrament: like as I worſhip Chriſt alſo in the Scriptures, not becauſe he is really included in them. Notwithſtanding I ſay, that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament, but yet ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that reſpect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life.

Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu deſcripto.

Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Chriſt to bee in the Lords Supper, in ſuch ſort as the Church of Chriſt (which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the Holy Ghoſt, and guided by Gods word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But the true Church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſts body in the Lords Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and ſpiritually, as I have often ſhewed, and by a ſacramentall ſignification, but not by the corporall preſence of the body of his fleſh.

Auguſt. contra Fauſt. lib. 20. cap. 13.

Glin. Auſtin contra Fauſtum, lib. 20. cap. 13. Nonnulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere exiſtimabant, &c. i. Some there were which thought us, inſtead of bread and of the cup, to worſhip Ceres and Bacchus.

Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the ſacrament among the Fathers: and Eraſmus, in an Epiſtle to the brethren of low Germany, ſaith, that the worſhipping of the ſacrament was before Auſtin and Cyprian.

Rid. We doe handle the ſignes reverently: but we worſhip the ſacrament as a ſacrament, not as a thing ſignified by the ſacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbole or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, We worſhip bread.

Equivocation of this word Worſhip, diſtinguiſhed.

Rid. There is a deceit in this word (Adoramus.) We worſhip the Symboles, when reverently we handle them. We worſhip Chriſt wherefoever we perceive his benefits. But we underſtand his benefit to be greateſt in the ſacrament.

Glin. So I may fall downe before the bench here, and worſhip Chriſt: and if any man aſke me what I doe, I may anſwer, I worſhip Chriſt.

Rid. We adore and worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt. And if you meane the externall ſacrament, I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhipped as a ſacrament.

We worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt: but we worſhip not the Euchariſt for Chriſt.

Glin. So was the faith of the Primitive Church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the faith of that Church.

Glin. Thinke you that Chriſt hath now his Church?

Rid. I do ſo.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Chriſt, verily, and really in the ſacrament.

Rid. You know your ſelf that the Eaſt Church would not acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, as appeareth in the Councell of Florence.

This Councell of Florence was but of late yeeres in the time of the Councell of Baſil.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their commiſſion ſo to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of yͤ matter, when the Article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not becauſe they did not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

Curtop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Euchariſt: and whereas the holy Fathers, both of the Weſt and Eaſt Church, have written both many things and no leſſe manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet will I bring forth onely Chryſoſtome. The place is in cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Hom. 24.

Chryſ. in ca. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

(a) That which is in the cup, is the ſame that flowed from the ſide of Chriſt.

But true and pure blood did flow from the ſide of Chriſt:

Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup.

(a) The Maior ſhould be thus: Whatſoever did flow from the ſide of Chriſt is in the cup, &c. or els the argument being in the ſecond figure is affirmative, and falſe.

Rid. It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the ſame which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the ſame manner, after which manner it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the blood but by way of a ſacrament.

Againe, I ſay, like as the bread of the ſacrament and of thankſgiving is called the body of Chriſt given for us: ſo the cup of the Lord is called the blood which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But that ſacramentall bread is called the body, becauſe it is the ſacrament of his body: even ſo likewiſe the cup is called the blood alſo which flowed out of Chriſts ſide, becauſe it is the ſacrament of that blood which flowed out of his ſide, inſtituted of the Lord himſelfe for our ſingular commodity: namely, for our ſpirituall nouriſhment, like as Baptiſme is ordained in water to our ſpirituall regeneration.

Cur. The ſacrament of yͤ blood is not the blood.

Rid. The ſacrament of the blood is the blood, and that is attributed to the ſacrament, which is ſpoken of the thing of the ſacrament.

Weſt. Here Weſton repeateth Curtops argument in Engliſh.

(b) That which is in the chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſts ſide.

But there came out very blood:

Ergo, There is blood in the chalice.

(b) This argument concludeth not directly, and being in the ſecond figure affirmative, it is not formall.

Rid. The blood of Chriſt is in the chalice indeed, but not in the reall preſence, but by grace, and in a ſacrament.

Weſt. That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by grace, & in a ſacrament.

Here the people hiſſed at him.

Rid. O my maſters, I take this for no iudgement: I will ſtand to Gods iudgement.

Wat. Good Sir, I have determined to have reſpect of the time, and to abſtain from all thoſe things which may hinder the entrance of our diſceptation: and therefore firſt I aſke this queſtion; when Chriſt ſaid in the ſixth of Iohn, Qui manducat carnem meam, i. He that eateth my fleſh, &c. doth he ſignifie in thoſe words the eating of his true and naturall fleſh, or els of the bread and Symbole?

Rid. I underſtand that place of the very fleſh of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually: And further I ſay, that the ſacrament alſo pertaineth unto the ſpirituall manducation. For without the ſpirit to eat the Sacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For who ſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth his owne condemnation.

Spirituall eating of the fleſh of Chriſt.

Wat. I aſke then whether the Euchariſt be a ſacrament?

Rid. The Euchariſt, taken for a ſigne or ſymbole, is a ſacrament.

Wat. Is it inſtituted of God?

Rid. It is inſtituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what words is it made a ſacrament?

Rid. By the words and deeds which Chriſt ſaid and did, and commanded us to ſay and doe the ſame.

Wat. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the ſacraments of the new Law give grace to them that worthily receive.

The ſacraments give no grace, but are inſtruments.

Rid. True it is, that grace is given by the ſacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward vertue and Chriſt give the grace through the ſacrament.

Sacrament defined.

Wat. What is a ſacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacrament in Auguſtine: but I will take that which ſeemeth moſt fit to this preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is a viſible ſigne of inviſible grace.

Wat. Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers.

Rid. The ſociety or coniunction with Chriſt through the Holy Ghoſt is grace, and by the ſacrament we are made the members of the myſticall body of Chriſt, for that by the ſacrament the part of the body is ingrafted in the head.

Wat. But there is difference betweene the myſticall body, and naturall body.

Rid. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

(a) The Syllogiſme is thus to be formed: The ſacrament of the new Teſtament hath a promiſe of grace annexed. Bread & wine have no promiſe of grace annexed: Ergo, bread & wine is no ſacrament of the new Teſtament.

Wat. (a) The Euchariſt is a ſacrament of the New Teſtament:

Ergo, It hath a promiſe of grace.

But no promiſe of grace is made to bread and wine:

Ergo, Bread and wine be not the ſacraments of the New Teſtament.

(b) No promiſe made to bread and wine, as they be common bread and common wine: but as they be ſanctified and made ſacraments of the Lords body and blood, they are not now called bread nor wine, but have a promiſe annexed to them, or rather (to ſay the truth) annexed to the receivers of them.

Rid. I grant that grace pertaineth to the Euchariſt, according to this ſaying, The bread which we breake is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Chriſt? And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the ſacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation: even ſo he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant alſo that there is no (b) promiſe made to bread and wine. But inaſmuch as they are ſanctified, and made the ſacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promiſe of grace annexed unto them; namely, of ſpirituall partaking of the body of Chriſt to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the ſacrament.

Argument.

Wat. If the ſubſtance of bread and wine doe remaine, then the ſociety betwixt Chriſt and us is promiſed to them that take bread and wine.

But that ſociety is not promiſed to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the fleſh and blood. John 6. Qui manducat, &c.

Ergo, The ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth not.

Sacraments how they have a promiſe of grace annexed, not abſolutely, but inſtrumentally.

Rid. The promiſe undoubtedly is made to the fleſh and blood, but the ſame is to be received in the ſacrament through faith.

Wat. Every ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace annexed unto it.

But bread and wine have not a promiſe of grace annexed unto it.

Ergo, The bread and wine are not ſacraments.

Grace not included in ſacraments: but the receiving of them turneth to grace in them that duly come unto them.

Rid. True it is, every ſacrament hath grace annexed unto it inſtrumentally. But there is divers underſtanding of this word (Habet) hath. For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it; but to thoſe that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in Baptiſme hath grace promiſed, and by that grace the holy ſpirit is given, not that grace is included in water, but that grace commeth by water.

Wat. This promiſe is made to the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and not to the bread and wine.

Ergo, The ſacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Chriſt.

Promiſe made not to the Symboles, but to the thing of the ſacrament. Sacraments only inſtruments of grace. Bread more largely taken in the minor, than in the concluſion.

Rid. There is no promiſe made to him that taketh common bread and common wine: but to him that receiveth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promiſe of grace made, neither is the promiſe given to the Symboles, but to the thing of the ſacrament. But the thing of the ſacrament is the fleſh and blood.

Wat. Every ſacrament of the New Teſtament giveth grace, promiſed of God to thoſe that worthily receive it.

Rid. This ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace, made to thoſe that receive it worthily, becauſe grace is given by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath transfuſed grace into the bread and wine.

Wat. But this promiſe which is made, is not but to thoſe that worthily receive the fleſh and blood; not the bread and wine.

Rid. That propoſition of yours hath a divers underſtanding. There is no promiſe made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to thoſe that worthily receive the ſanctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, like as Origen doth teſtifie.

Wat. Where is that promiſe made?

1 Cor. 12.

Rid. The bread which hee brake, is it not a communication of the body of Chriſt? (And) wee being many are one bread, one body of Chriſt.

Wat. What doth he meane by bread in that place?

Rid. The bread of the Lords Table, the communion of the body of Chriſt.

Chryſ. in 1 Cor. cap. 10

Wat. Hearken what Chryſoſtome ſaith upon that place; Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Chriſti eſt? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid ſignificare voluit, & multam inter hæc convenientiam oſtendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, ſed unitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud unitum eſt Chriſto, ita & nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur. That is, the bread which we breake, is it not the communication of Chriſts body? Wherefore did he not ſay participation? Becauſe hee would ſignifie ſome greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and coniunction betwixt the ſame. For we do not communicate by participation onely and receiving, but alſo by co-uniting. For likewiſe as that body is co-united to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are conioyned and united to him.

Anſwer to Chryſoſtome.

Rid. Let Chryſoſtome have his manner of ſpeaking, and his ſentence. If it be true, I reiect it not. But let it not be preiudiciall to me to name it true bread.

In 1 Cor. cap. 10.

Wat. All (ſaith Chryſoſtome) which ſit together at one boord, doe communicate together of one true body. What doe I call (ſaith he) this communicating? We are all the ſelfe ſame body. What doth bread ſignifie? The body of Chriſt. What be they that receive it? The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body. Chryſoſtome doth interpret this place againſt you. All wee bee one bread, and one myſticall body, which doe participate together one bread of Chriſt.

Bread ſignifieth the body after Chryſoſt. One bread, one myſticall body.

Rid. All we be one myſticall body, which doe communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacie of regeneration or quickening.

Wat. Of what manner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Rid. Of the bread of the Lords Table.

Wat. Is that bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church being one, becauſe one bread is ſet forth upon the table: and ſo of one bread all together do participate which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat. See how abſurdly you ſpeake. Doe you ſay all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Rid. All, I ſay, which at one table together have communicated in the myſteries, might well ſo doe. Albeit the heavenly and celeſtiall bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the ſacramentall bread is a myſterie: the which being one, all we together do participate.

Watſon cavilleth about the word (All.)

Wat. A perverſe anſwer. Which all? Meane you all Chriſtian men?

Rid. I do diſtribute this word (All:) for all were wont together to communicate of one bread divided into parts. All, I ſay, which were one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Wat. What? doe you exclude then from the body of Chriſt all them which did not communicate, being preſent?

Cyprian. de cœna Dom.

Feck. But Cyprian ſaith, Panis quem nulla multitudo conſumit, i. Bread which no multitude doth conſume. Which cannot be underſtood but only of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeake of the true body of Chriſt, and not of materiall bread.

M. Fecknams reaſon.

Feck. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the ſacrament in that tractation De cœna Domini, writing upon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I grant he intreateth there of the ſacrament: but alſo he doth admire ſomething therewithall of the ſpirituall manducation.

Smith. When the Lord ſaith, This is my body, he uſeth no tropicall ſpeech:

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. I deny your antecedent.

August. in Pſal 33. Con. 1.

Smith. I bring here Auguſtine in Pſal. 33. Conc. 1. expounding theſe words, Ferebatur in manibus ſuis, i. Hee was carried in his owne hands, 1 Regum.

Hoc quomodo poſſit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim ſuis nemo portatur, ſed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David ſecundum literam, non invenimus; de Chriſto autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Chriſtus in manibus ſuis cum diceret; Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus ſuis, &c. That is, How may this be underſtood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his owne hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be underſtood of David after the letter, we do not finde; Of Chriſt we finde it. For Chriſt was borne in his owne hands when he ſaith, This is my body, for he carried that ſame body in his owne hands, &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this place after the letter could be underſtood of David, becauſe no man can carry himſelfe in his owne hands. Therefore, ſaith he, this place is to be underſtood of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt carried himſelfe in his owne hands in his Supper, when he gave the Sacrament to his Diſciples, ſaying, This is my body.

The place of Auguſtine anſwered.

Rid. I deny your argument, and I explicate the ſame. Auſtin could not finde after his owne underſtanding how this could be underſtood of David after the letter. Auſtin goeth here from other in this expoſition, but I goe not from him. But let this expoſition of Auſtin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwiſe read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and is alſo otherwiſe to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this expoſition of Auſtin, I ſay yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothing againſt my aſſertion: for Chriſt did beare himſelfe in his own hands, when he gave the ſacrament of his body to be eaten of his Diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, It is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was born in his own hands.

Rid. He was borne literally, and after that letter which was ſpoken of David: but not after the letter of theſe words, Hoc eſt corpus meum.

The place of Auſtin, how Chriſt was carried in his hands ad literam, i. literally.

I grant that S. Auſtin ſaith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himſelfe in his owne hands, but that it is found of Chriſt. But this word, ad literam, literally, you doe not well referre to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did beare it. S. Auguſtines meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnall David, the ſonne of Jeſſe did beare himſelfe in his hands, but of that ſpirituall David that overthrew Goliah the Divell; that is, of Chriſt our Saviour, the ſonne of the Virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bare himſelfe in his own hands after a certaine manner, namely, in carrying the ſacrament of himſelfe. And note that S. Auſtin hath theſe words, quodam modo, after a certaine manner; which manifeſtly declare how the Doctors meaning is to be taken.

Ferebatur quodam modo in manibus ſuis.

Auguſt. i. Chriſt was borne in his owne hands ſacramentally.

Smith. When then was he borne in his owne hands, and after what letter?

Rid. He was borne in the Supper ſacramentally, when he ſaid, This is my body.

Smith. Every man may beare in his owne hands a "figure of his body.

"A figure he may beare, but not a ſacrament.

But Auguſtine denieth that David could carrie himſelfe in his hands.

Ergo, He ſpeaketh of no figure of his body.

Rid. If Auſtin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the ſacrament of his body, then he would never have uſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he did beare himſelfe in his owne hands:

Ergo, He did not beare a figure onely.

Rid. He did beare himſelfe, but in a ſacrament: and Auſtin afterward addeth, quodam modo, that is, ſacramentally.

Quodam modo.

Smi. You underſtand not what Auſtin meant when he ſaid, quodam modo; for he meant that he did beare his very true body in that Supper, not in figure and forme of a body, but in forme and figure of bread.

Ergo, you are holden faſt, neither are you able to eſcape out of this labyrinth.

Doctor Weſton repeated this place againe in Engliſh. Which done, then Doctor Treſham began thus to ſpeake, moved (as it ſeemed to M. Ridley) with great zeale, and deſired that he might be in ſtead of John Baptiſt, in converting the hearts of the Fathers, and in reducing the ſaid Biſhop Ridley again to the mother Church. Now at the firſt, not knowing the perſon, he thought he had been ſome good old man, which had the zeale of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to anſwer him with manſuetude and reverence. But afterward he ſmelled a foxe under a ſheeps clothing.

D. Treſham prayeth for converting Ridley.

GOD Almighty grant that it may bee fulfilled in mee, that was ſpoken by the Prophet Malachi of Iohn Baptiſt, which may turne the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wiſe man ſaith, Sonne, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother. But you diſhonour your father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy Church here on earth, while ye ſet not by it.

Rid. These by-words do pollute your Schoole.

Treſh. If there were an Arrian which had that ſubtill wit that you have, he might ſoone ſhift off the authority of the Scriptures and Fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or elſe hold your peace, I pray you.

The decree of the Laterane Councell alledged for tranſubſtantiation. Of this Councell read before

Treſh. I bring a place here out of the Councell of Laterane, the which Councell repreſenting the univerſall Church, wherein were congregated 300. Biſhops, and 70. Metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of other, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of Gods word, was tranſubſtantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whoſoever ſaith contrary, cannot be a child of the Church, but an Heretike.

Rid. Good ſir, I have heard what you have cited out of the Councell of Laterane, and remember that there was a great multitude of Biſhops and Metropolitans, as you ſaid: but yet you have not numbred how many Abbots, Priors, and Friers were in that Councell, who were to the number of 800.

One of the Scribes carpeth againſt D. Ridley.

One of the Scribes. What, will you deny then the authority of that Councell for the multitude of thoſe Priors?

Of this Innocentius the third read before.

Rid. No ſir, not ſo much for that cauſe, as for that eſpecially, becauſe the doctrine of that Councell agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appeare by the acts of that Councell, which was holden under Innocentius the third, a man (if we beleeve the hiſtories) moſt pernicious to the Church and common-wealth of Chriſt.

Treſh. What, do you not receive the Councell of Laterane? Whereupon he with certaine other cried, Scribite, ſcribite, Write, write.

D. Ridley rejecteth the councel of Lateran. Good men do eat the very true body of Chriſt both ſacramentally and ſpiritually.

Rid. No ſir, I receive not that Councell; Scribite, & reſcribite, Write, and write againe.

Treſh. Evill men doe eat the naturall body of Chriſt.

Ergo, The true and naturall body of Chriſt is on the altar.

Rid. Evill men do eat the very true and naturall body of Chriſt ſacramentally, and no further, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: but good men doe eat the very true body both ſacramentally, and ſpiritually by grace.

Aug. lib. 5. cont. Don. ca. 8.

Treſh. I prove the contrary by S. Auſtin, Lib. 5. contra Donatiſtas cap. 8. Sicut enim Iudas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, ſed malè accipiendo peccavit, &c. Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morſell, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evill, but in receiving it after an evill manner, &c. And a little after, Quia aliquis non ad ſalutem manducat, non ideo non eſt corpus, i. Becauſe ſome do not eat unto ſalvation, it followeth not therefore that it is not his body.

Manducare panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Aug.

Rid. It is the body to them, that is, the ſacrament of the body: and Judas tooke the ſacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Auſtin hath diſtinguiſhed theſe things well in another place, where he ſaith, Panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum: boni autem manducant & panem Domini, & panem Dominum, i. The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evill men eat the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.

This Weſton ſpake in Engliſh

Weſt. Paul ſaith, the body, and you ſay, the ſacrament of the body.

Rid. Paul meaneth ſo indeed.

Wat. You underſtand it evill concerning the ſigne: For the Fathers ſay, that evill men doe eat him which deſcended from heaven.

Anno 1554.

The old Doctors do uſe many times the ſacrament for the matter of the ſacrament.

Rid. They eat him indeed, but ſacramentally. The Fathers uſe many times the ſacrament for the matter of the ſacrament, and all that ſame place maketh againſt you; and ſo here he cited the place.

Theophylact alledged.

Weſt. I bring Theophylact, which ſaith, that Judas did taſte the body of the Lord. Oſtendit Dominus crudelitatem Iudæ, qui cùm argueretur, non intellexit, & guſtavit carnem Domini, &c. i. The Lord did ſhew the cruelty of Judas, which, when he was rebuked, did not underſtand, and taſted the Lords fleſh, &c.

Anſwer.

Rid. This phraſe to Divines is well knowen, and uſed of the Doctors. He taſted the fleſh of the Lord Inſenſibiliter, Inſenſibly, that is, the ſacrament of the Lords fleſh.

Chryſoſtome alledged.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the ſame puniſhment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucifie him.

Chryſoſtome expounded.

Rid. That is, becauſe they defile the Lords body: for evill men do eat the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, but good men eat both the ſacrament and the matter of the ſacrament.

The Councell of Nice alledged.

Wat. You reject the Councell of Laterane, becauſe (you ſay) it agreeth not with Gods word. What ſay you then to the Councell of Nice? The words of the Councell be theſe, Ne humiliter ſpectemus propoſitum panem & potum, ſed exaltata mente fideliter credamus jacere in illa ſacra menſa Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à Sacerdotibus ſacrificatum, i. Let us not looke alow by the ground upon the bread and the drinke ſet before us, but lifting up our minde let us faithfully beleeve, there upon the holy table to lye the Lambe of God taking away the ſinnes of the world, being ſacrificed of the Prieſts.

Rid. That Councell was collected out of ancient Fathers, and is to me of great authority; for it ſaith, Poſitum eſſe panem in altari, & exaltata mente conſiderandum eum qui in cœlis eſt, i. That bread is ſet upon the altar, and having our mindes lifted up, we muſt conſider him which is in heaven. The words of the Councell make for me.

Wat. (Exaltata mente) with a minde exalted: that is, not as bruit beaſts at the racke or manger, having an eye onely upon the thing that is ſet before them. Agnus Dei jacet in menſa, i. the “lambe of God lieth on the table, ſaith the Councell.

“If the Lambe of God do lie really upon the table, then why doth the Councell bid us lift up our mindes, which rather ſhould bid us let downe our mindes to the Altar? The place of the Nicene Councell expounded.

Rid. The Lambe of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a myſtery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lambe of God lieth on the table.

Rid. It is a figurative ſpeech, for in our minde we underſtand him which is in heaven.

Wat. But he lyeth there, the Greeke word is κεῖται.

Rid. He lyeth there, that is, he is there preſent, not corporally, but he lieth there in his operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but his operation lieth not.

Rid. You think very groſly of the ſitting or lying of the celeſtiall Lambe on the table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any ſuch ſitting or lying on the table, as the reaſon of man would judge: but all things are here to be underſtood ſpiritually. For that heavenly Lambe is (as I confeſſe) on the table, but by a ſpirituall preſence, by grace, and not after any corporall ſubſtance of his fleſh taken of the Virgin Marie.

And

Anno 1554

De conſecrat. diſt. 9.

And indeed the ſame Canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is ſet on the table is materiall bread; and therefore it (the Canon I meane) commandeth that we ſhould not creepe on the ground in our cogitation, to theſe things which are ſet before us; as who ſhould ſay, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true ſubſtance) than bread and wine? but rather, ſaith the Canon, lifting up our mindes into heaven, let us conſider with faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, ſitting or lying upon the table. For a lifted up faith, ſaith he, ſeeth him which ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body, ſet by grace on the Lords table, and taking away the ſins of the world. For I think you meane not ſo, as though the Lambe did lie there proſtrate with his members ſpread upon the table.

Another place of the Nicene Councell alledged.

Smith. I bring another place out of the Councell of Nice, Nullus Apoſtolorum dixit, hæc eſt figura corporis Chriſti: Nullus venerabilium Preſbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris ſacrificium figuram, &c. i. None of the Apoſtles ſaid, this is a figure of the body of Chriſt: None of the reverend Elders ſaid, the unbloudy ſacrifice of the altar to be a figure.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. This Canon is not in the Councell of Nice. For I have read over this Councell many times.

Out of Doctor Ridleyes copy. The Councell of Florence alledged.

Then came in another whom M. Ridley knew not, and ſaid, The univerſall Church both of the Greekes and Latines, of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, have agreed in the Councell of Florence uniformely in the doctrine of the ſacrament, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the true and reall body.

Rid. I deny the Greeke and the Eaſt Church to have agreed either in the Councell at Florence, or at any time elſe, with the Romiſh Church in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothing in the Councell of Florence, wherein the Greekes would agree with the Romaniſts; albeit hitherto I confeſſe it was left free for every Church to uſe, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.

Here cried out Doctor Cole, and ſaid, they agreed together concerning Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. Maſter Ridley ſaid that could not be.

One of the Scribes.

Here ſtart up another unknowne to Maſter Ridley, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning Tranſubſtantiation, but the Councell left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to diſturbe the peace and concord of the Church. To whom M. Ridley anſwered againe, ſaying, that he ſaid the truth.

M. Pie diſputeth againſt B. Ridley.

Pie. What ſay you to that Councell, where it is ſaid, that the Prieſt doth offer an unbloudy ſacrifice of the body of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay, it is well ſaid, if it be rightly underſtood.

Pie. But he offereth an unbloudy ſacrifice.

Sacrifice called unbloudy is nothing elſe but a repreſentation of the bloudy ſacrifice of Chriſt.

Rid. It was called unbloudy, and is offered after a certaine manner, and in a myſtery, and as a repreſentation of that bloudy ſacrifice, and he doth not lie which ſaith Chriſt to be offered.

Weſton playeth Goliah with David.

Weſt. I with one argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chryſoſtome, Hom. 24. in 1. ad Cor. and I will teach, not only a figure and ſigne, or grace onely, but the very ſame body, which was here converſant on the earth, to be in the Euchariſt.

We worſhip the ſelf ſame body in ẏ Euchariſt, which the wiſe men did worſhip in the manger.

But that was his naturall and reall body, not ſpirituall:

This argument, after the diſpoſition and termes, as it ſtandeth, is not formall.

Ergo, The reall body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Againe, the ſame Chryſoſtome ſaith, We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a Prieſt.

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſſe, the ſame true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the manger, howbeit we doe it in a myſtery, and in the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, and that in ſpirituall liberty, as ſaith S. Auſt. lib. 3. De doctrina Chriſtiana: not in carnall ſervitude; that is, we doe not worſhip ſervilely the ſignes for the things: for that ſhould be, as he alſo ſaith, a part of a ſervile infirmity. But we behold with the eys of faith him preſent after grace, and ſpiritually ſet upon the table; and we worſhip him which ſitteth above, and is worſhipped of the Angels. For Chriſt is alwaies aſſiſtant to his myſteries, as the ſaid Auguſtine ſaith. And the divine Maieſty, as ſaith Cyprian, doth never abſent it ſelfe from the divine myſteries; but this aſſiſtance and preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſme it is wholly ſpirituall, and by grace, and not by any corporall ſubſtance of the fleſh: even ſo it is here in the Lords Supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly miniſtred.

Weſt. That which the woman did hold in her womb, the ſame thing holdeth the Prieſt.

The ſame thing, but the manner divers

Rid. I grant the Prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after another manner. She did hold the naturall body; the Prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body.

Weſt. Weſton repeated againe his argument out of Chryſoſtome in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the author meant it ſpiritually.

Weſt. Weſton here diſſolving the diſputations, had theſe words: Videtis præfractum hominis animum, glorioſum, vafrum, inconſtantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcuſſas. Itaque clamate, Vicit veritas, i. Here you ſee the ſtubborne, the boaſting, the crafty, the unconſtant mind of this man. Here you ſee this day, that the ſtrength of the truth is without foile. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note; and he began, and they followed, Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory.

D. Weſton bloweth up the triumph.

The diſputation had at Oxford the 18. day of Aprill, 1554. between M. Hugh Latimer Anſwerer, and M. Smith, and other Oppoſers.

M. Hugh Latimer diſputeth. Aprill 18.

After theſe diſputations of Biſhop Ridley ended, next was brought out Maſter Hugh Latimer to diſpute, upon Wedneſday, which was the eighteenth day of Aprill. Which diſputation began at eight of the clock, in ſuch forme as before: but it was moſt in Engliſh. For Maſter Latimer the Anſwerer alledged that he was out of uſe with the Latine, and unfit for that place.

M. Smith of Oriall colledge Opponent to M. Latimer

There replied unto him Maſter Smith of Oriall Colledge, Doctor Cartwright, M. Harpsfield, and divers other had ſnatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He eſcaped no hiſſings and ſcornfull laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and deſired that he might not long tarry. He durſt not drinke for feare of vomiting. The diſputation ended before eleven of the clock. Maſter Latimer was not ſuffered to read that he had (as he ſaid) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the Prolocutor read part thereof, and ſo proceeded unto the diſputation.

M. Latimers writings could not be read.

The Preface of Weſton unto the diſputation following.

Weſtons Preface.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God) to vanquiſh the ſtrength of the arguments, and diſperſed opinions of adverſaries, againſt the truth of the reall preſence of the Lords body in the Sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to anſwer, I do admoniſh that you anſwer in ſhort and few words.

M. Latimer requireth to diſpute in the Engliſh tongue

Latimer. I pray you good Maſter Prolocutor, doe not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not theſe twenty yeeres much uſed the Latine tongue.

Weſt. Take your eaſe, father.

Lat. I thank you ſir, I am well. Let me here proteſt my faith, for I am not able to diſpute; and afterwards do your pleaſure with me.

The proteſtation of M. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Doctor Weſton.

The concluſions whereunto I muſt anſwer, are theſe:

The three concluſions.

1. The firſt is, that in the ſacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the Prieſt, there is really preſent the naturall body of Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kindes of the appearance of bread and wine; and in like manner his bloud.
2. The ſecond is, that after conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.
3. The third is, that in the Maſſe there is the lively ſacrifice of the Church, which is propitiable, as well for the ſinnes of the quicke, as of the dead.

The anſwers of M. Latimer given up in writing concerning the queſtions aforeſaid.

Concerning the firſt concluſion, me thinketh it is ſet forth with certaine new found termes that be obſcure, and doe not ſound according to the ſpeech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howſoever I underſtand it, this I doe anſwer plainly, though not without perill; I anſwer, I ſay, that to the right celebration of the Lords Supper there is no other preſence of Chriſt required, than a ſpirituall preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternall life, if we perſevere. And this ſame preſence may be called moſt fitly a reall preſence, that is, a preſence not feined, but a true and a faithfull preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome ſycophant or ſcorner ſhould ſuppoſe me, with the Anabaptiſts, to make nothing elſe of the ſacrament, but a naked and a bare ſigne. As for that which is feined of many concerning their corporall preſence, I for my part take it but for a Papiſticall invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

The preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, how it is a reall preſence.

Anſwer to the ſecond concluſion.

Concerning the ſecond concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay, that it hath no ſtay or ground in Gods word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſaid, as the Mother and Nurſe of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maſters of the tranſubſtantiation, to take heed leſt they conſpire with the Neſtorians, for I do not ſee how they can avoid it.

Anſwer to the third concluſion.

Heb. 1.

The third concluſion (as I doe underſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtilly to ſow ſedition againſt the offering which Chriſt himſelfe offered for us in his owne proper perſon, according to that pithie place of Paul, Heb. 1. where he ſaith, That Chriſt his owne ſelfe hath made purgation of our ſinnes. And afterward, That he might (ſaith he) be a mercifull and a faithfull biſhop, concerning thoſe things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our ſinnes. So that the expiation or taking away of our ſinnes may be thought rather to depend on this, that Chriſt was an offering Biſhop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelfe: and therefore it is needleſſe that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeak nothing of the wonderfull preſumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifeſt vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitleſſe (if not wholly, yet partly) of the Croſſe of Chriſt; for truly it is no baſe or meane thing to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthily a man may ſay to my lords and maſters the offerers: By what authority doe ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? when? A man cannot (ſaith the Baptiſt) take any thing, except it be given him from above: much leſſe then may any man preſume to uſurpe any honour, before he be thereto called. Againe, If any man ſin (ſaith S. John) we have (ſaith he) not a maſter or offerer at home, which can ſacrifice for us at maſſe; but we have (ſaith he) an Advocate Ieſus Chriſt, which once offered himſelfe long agoe; of which offering the efficacie and effect is perdurable for ever, ſo that it is needleſſe to have ſuch offerers.

The taking away of ſins dependeth rather in the perſon of the offerer, than in the thing offered, but that he that was the offerer was offered himſelfe.

1 John 2.

What meaneth Paul, when he ſaith, They that ſerve at the altar, are partakers of the altar? and ſo addeth; So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall live of the Goſpell. Whereas he ſhould have ſaid, The Lord hath ordained, that they that ſacrifice at maſſe, ſhould live of their ſacrificing, that there might be a living aſſigned to our ſacrificers now, as was before Chriſts comming, to the Jewiſh Prieſts. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be Preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing Prieſthood is changed by Gods ordinance into a preaching Prieſthood, and the ſacrificing Prieſthood ſhould ceaſe utterly, ſaving in as much as all Chriſtian men are ſacrificing Prieſts.

The ſacrificing Prieſthood changed into a preaching Prieſthood

The Supper of the Lord was inſtituted to provoke us to thankſgiving for the offering which the Lord himſelfe did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers ſhould doe there as they doe. Feed (ſaith Peter) as much as ye may the flock of Chriſt: nay rather let us ſacrifice as much as we may for the flocke of Chriſt. If ſo be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, which at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feed is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flocke, how ſhalt thou be taken? truly Catholike enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, how will that be taken? at the leaſt, I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an Heretike. And whence, I pray you, come theſe Papiſticall judgements? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned Paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoone may he learne to ſacrifice and maſſe it.

The finall cauſe why the Lords Supper was chiefly ordained.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

Prepoſterous judgement of Papiſts.

Thus loe, I have taken the more paine to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have ſo done not without great paines, having not any man to helpe me, as I have never before beene debarred to have. O ſir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakeneſſe that I am of.

I have

Anno 1554.

M. Latimer found more audience with Kings and Princes, than with ruſticall Divines.

I have ſpoken in my time before two Kings more than once, two or three houres together, without interruption: but now, that I may ſpeake the truth (by your leave) I could not be ſuffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, without ſnatches, revilings, checkes, rebukes, taunts, ſuch as I have not felt the like, in ſuch an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the foure marrowbones of the Maſſe. The which kinde of ſpeaking I never read to be a ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

I could not be allowed to ſhew what I meant by my metaphor: But ſir, now by your favour I will tell your Maſterſhip what I meane.

The foure marrow-bones of the Maſſe by M. Latimer expounded. Conſecration, Tranſubſtantiation, Oblation, Adoration.

The firſt is the Popiſh conſecration, which hath been called a Gods body making.

The ſecond is Tranſubſtantiation.

The third is Miſſall oblation.

The fourth adoration.

Theſe chief and principall portions, parts and points belonging or incident to the Maſſe, and moſt eſteemed and had in price in the ſame, I call the marrowbones of the Maſſe, which indeed you by force, might, and violence intrude in ſound of words in ſome of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, iniuring and wronging the ſame: but els indeed, plaine out of the Scripture, as I am thorowly perſwaded, although in diſputation I now could nothing do to perſwade the ſame to others, being both unapt to ſtudy, and alſo to make a ſhew of my former ſtudy in ſuch readineſſe as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame.

The iudgment of M. Latimer of D. Weſton.

I have heard much talke of Maſter Doctor Weſton to and fro in my time: but I never knew your perſon to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queenes Maieſties Commiſſioner. I pray God ſend you ſo right iudgement, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to uſe them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counſell againſt the Lord; and alſo that this world hath beene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we muſt obey the Princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For who ſo doth obey them againſt the Lord, they be moſt pernicious to them, and the greateſt adverſaries that they have: for they ſo procure Gods vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

Pride of Doct. Weſton privily touched.

Obedience to Princes hath his limitation.

Knowledge without Chriſt is meere ignorance.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in minde, the truth being taken from them, that they thinke gaine to be godlineſſe; Great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about queſtions and ſtrife of words. I call them men of no learning, becauſe they know not Chriſt, how much elſe ſoever they know. And on this ſort we are wont to call great learned Clerkes, being ignorant of Chriſt, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plaine ignorance, to know any thing without Chriſt: whereas who ſo knoweth Chriſt, the ſame hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to ſeeke. The Apoſtle S. Paul confeſſeth of himſelf to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Ieſus Chriſt crucified. Many men babble many things of Chriſt which yet know not Chriſt; but pretending Chriſt, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from ſuch men, ſaith the Apoſtle S. Paul to Timothy.

Many there be which under pretence of Chriſt darken the glory of Chriſt.

Auguſtine.

It is not out of the way to remember what Saint Auguſtine ſaith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be againſt the Epiſtles of Petilian; Whoſoever (ſaith hee) teacheth any thing neceſſarily to bee believed, which is not contained in the old and New Teſtament, the ſame is accurſed. Oh beware of this curſe if you be wiſe. I am much deceived if Baſilius have not ſuch like words; Whatſoever (ſaith he) is beſides the holy Scripture, if the ſame bee taught as neceſſarily to bee believed, that is ſinne. Oh therefore take heed of this ſinne.

Baſilius.

There be ſome that ſpeak many falſe things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth it ſelfe. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword; Let no man (ſaith he) deceive you with probability and perſwaſions of words. But what meane you, ſaith one, by this talke ſo farre from the matter? Well, I hope, good Maſters, you will ſuffer an old man a little to play the child, and to ſpeak one thing twice. O Lord God, you have changed the moſt holy Communion into a private action; and you deny to the Laity the Lords Cup, contrary to Chriſts commandement: and you doe blemiſh the annunciation of the Lords death till he come: for you have changed the Common prayer, called the divine Service, with the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, from the vulgar and knowne language, into a ſtrange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the doore of your heart, to ſee the things you ſhould ſee herein. I would as faine obey my Soveraigne as any in this Realme: but in theſe things I can never do it with an upright conſcience. God be mercifull unto us. Amen.

The abſurdities of the Papiſts opened in abaſing the Lords Supper.

West. Then refuſe you to diſpute? Will you here then ſubſcribe?

Lat. No, good Maſter, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it pleaſe God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

But God ſaw it good that Weſton never came to his age.

West. Ye ſaid upon Saturday laſt, that ye could not finde the Maſſe, nor the marrow-bones thereof in your book: but we will finde a Maſſe in that book.

Lat. No, good M. Doctor, ye cannot.

West. What finde you then there?

Lat. Forſooth a Communion I finde there.

West. Which Communion, " the firſt or ẏ laſt?

" By this firſt and ſecond communion, he meaneth the two bookes of publike order ſet forth in K. Edwards dayes, the one in the beginning, the other in the later end of his reigne.

Lat. I find no great diverſity in them; they are one ſupper of ẏ Lord: but I like ẏ laſt very well.

West. Then the firſt was naught belike.

La. I do not well remember wherin they differ.

West. Then cake bread and loafe bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the ſupper before; and therefore the Scripture ſaith, Poſtquam cœnatum eſt, i. After they had ſupped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that ſome of them were drunken at this ſupper; and ye know no man can be drunken at your Communion.

D. Weſton cavilleth againſt the name of the Lords Supper

Lat. The firſt was called Cœna Iudaica, i. The Jewiſh Supper, when they did eat the Paſchall Lamb together: the other was called Cœna Dominica, i. The Lords Supper.

Cœna Iudaica.

Cœna Dominica.

West. That is falſe; for Chryſoſtome denieth that. And S. Ambroſe in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios, ſaith, that Myſterium euchariſtiæ inter cœnandum datum, non eſt Cœna Dominica, i. The myſtery of the ſacrament, given as they were at ſupper, is not the Supper of the Lord.

Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. cap. 10

And Gregory Nazianzene ſaith the ſame, Rurſus Paſche ſacra cum Diſcipulis in cœnaculo ac poſt cœnam, dieque unica ante paſſionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, & ante cœnam & poſt reſurrectionem peragimus: that is, Againe hee kept the holy feaſt of Paſſeover with his Diſciples in the dining chamber after the ſupper, and one day before his

Greg. Nazianz.

Paſſion. But we keepe it both in the Churches and houſes of prayer, both before the Supper, and alſo after the reſurrection.

ἀγάπη, i. So were the feaſts called wont to be given to the poore.

And that firſt Supper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is?

Lat. I underſtand no Greeke. Yet I think it meaneth charity.

Weſton. Will you have all things done that Chriſt did then? Why, then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the morrow. And where finde you, I pray you, that a woman ſhould receive the ſacrament?

Weſton oppoſed in his Grammar. δοκιμαζέτω ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν. 1 Cor. 11.

Lat. Will you give mee leave to turne my booke? I finde it in the 11. Chapter to the Corinthians. I trow theſe be his words, Probet autem ſeipſum homo, &c.

I pray you good Maſter, what gender is homo?

Weſt. Marry the common gender,

Cole. It is in the Greeke, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Harpſ. It is ἀνήρ, that is, vir.

Lat. It is in my booke of Eraſmus tranſlation, Probet ſeipſum homo.

Feck. It is Probet ſeipſum indeed, and therfore it importeth the Maſculine gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſaid, Quis tetigit me? Scio quòd aliquis me tetigit, i. Who touched me? I know that ſome man touched me.

Argument.

Weſt. I will be at hoſt with you anon. When Chriſt was at his ſupper, none were with him but his Apoſtles only.

Ergo, He meant no woman, if you will have his inſtitution kept.

The Apoſtles repreſented the whole Church.

Lat. In the twelve Apoſtles was repreſented the whole Church, in which you will grant both men and women to be.

Weſton ſcorned the name of Miniſter.

Weſt. So through the whole hereticall tranſlated Bible ye never make mention of Prieſt, till ye come to the putting of Chriſt to death. Where finde you then that a Prieſt or Miniſter (a Minſtrell I may call him well enough) ſhould doe it of neceſſity?

The name of Miniſter more fit than the name of Prieſt.

Lat. A Miniſter is a more fit name for that office; for yͤ name of a Prieſt importeth a ſacrifice.

Weſt. Well, remember that ye cannot finde that a woman may receive by Scripture. Maſter Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Becauſe I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to diſpute with you: to the end that the ſame may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth unto me. And firſt I aſke this queſtion of you, although the ſame indeed ought not to be called in queſtion: but ſuch is the condition of the Church, that it is alwayes vexed of the wicked ſort. I aſk, I ſay, whether Chriſts body be really in the ſacrament?

M. Latimer modeſtly maketh himſelfe unable to diſpute.

Lat. I truſt I have obtained of M. Prolocutor, that no man ſhall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am ſorry that this worſhipfull audience ſhould be deceived of their expectation for my ſake. I have given up my minde in writing to M. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatſoever ye have given up, it ſhall be regiſtred among the Acts.

Lat. Diſputation requireth a good memory; Aſt abolita eſt mihi memoria. My memory is gone cleane, and marvellouſly weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the priſon.

Weſt. How long have ye been in priſon?

Lat. This three quarters of this yeere.

Weſt. And I was in priſon ſixe yeeres.

Lat. The more pitie, ſir.

Weſt. How long have you bin of this opinion?

Lat. It is not long, ſir, that I have been of this opinion.

Weſt. The time hath been when you ſaid Maſſe full devoutly.

Then they hiſt and clapt their hands at him.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.

Weſt. Where learned you this new fanglenes?

M. Latimer confirmed by D. Cranmers book.

Lat. I have long ſought for the truth in this matter of the ſacrament, and have not beene of this minde paſt ſeven yeeres: and my L. of Canterburies booke hath eſpecially confirmed my judgement herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not feare to anſwer any man in this matter.

Treſh. There are in that booke 600. errours.

Weſt. You were once a Lutheran.

The zeale of M. Latimer ſometimes in Popery againſt the Tygurines.

Lat. No, I was a Papiſt: For I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without tranſubſtantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke againſt Luther, and I oft deſired God that he might live ſo long to make them anſwer.

In that booke the divell doth not diſſwade him ſo much from ſaying Maſſe, as he laboureth to bring him to deſperation for ſaying Maſſe: ſuch temptations many times happen to good men.

Weſt. Luther in his booke De privata Miſſa, ſaid, that the divell reaſoned with him, and perſwaded him that the Maſſe was not good, Fol. 14. Contigit me, &c. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther ſaid Maſſe, and the divell diſſwaded him from it.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend Luthers ſayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himſelfe well enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meet for diſputations. I pray you read mine anſwer, wherein I have declared my faith.

Weſt. Doe you beleeve this, as you have written?

Lat. Yea, ſir.

Weſt. Then have you no faith.

Lat. Then would I be ſorry, ſir.

Here Treſham began to diſpute in Latine.

Treſh. It is written, John 6. Except ye ſhall eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye ſhall have no life in you. Which when the Capernaites and many of Chriſts Diſciples heard, they ſaid, This is a hard ſaying, &c. Now that the truth may the better appeare, here I aſk of you, whether Chriſt ſpeaking theſe words did meane of his fleſh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpirituall eating of the ſame?

Lat. I anſwer (as Auguſtine underſtandeth) yͭ Chriſt meant of yͤ ſpirituall eating of his fleſh.

Treſh. Of what fleſh meant Chriſt, his true fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the Supper by faith, and not corporally.

Treſh. Of what fleſh meant the Capernaites?

Lat. Of his true fleſh alſo; but to be eaten with the mouth.

D. Treſhams argument without forme or mood, concluding affirmatively in the ſecond figure.

Treſ. They (as ye confeſſe) did meane his true fleſh to be eaten with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall prove) did ſpeak of the receiving of his fleſh with the mouth.

Ergo, they both did underſtand it of yͤ eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Lat. I ſay, Chriſt underſtood it not of the bodily mouth; but of the mouth of the ſpirit, minde, and heart.

D. Treſham flyeth to cuſtome.

Treſh. I prove the contrary, that Chriſt underſtandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas cuſtome is a right good miſtreſſe and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe things which he firſt ſpake: Chriſts deeds in his Supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the cuſtome which hath beene ever ſince that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently inferre that Chriſt did underſtand his words, here cited of me out of the ſixth of John, of the eating with the mouth.

The ſacrament given to the mouth, the body to faith.

Lat. He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the ſacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the ſacrament to the mouth, his body to the minde.

Treſh.

Anno 1554.

Treſh. But my reaſon doth conclude, that Chriſt ſpake concerning his fleſh to be receiued with the corporall mouth: for otherwiſe (which God forbid) he had beene a deceiuer, and had been offenſiue to the Capernaites and his Diſciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you doe feigne, it had beene an eaſie matter for him to haue ſaid: "You ſhall not eat my fleſh with your mouth, but the ſacrament of my fleſh; that is to ſay, ye ſhall receiue with your mouth not the thing it ſelfe, but the figure of the thing, and thus he might haue ſatisfied them: but ſo he ſaid not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Chriſt meant the ſelfe ſame thing that the Capernaites did, I meane concerning the thing it ſelfe to be receiued with the mouth, videlicet, that his true fleſh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreouer, foraſmuch as you doe expound for (corpus Chriſti) the body of Chriſt (ſacramentum corporis Chriſti) the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, and hereby doe ſuppoſe that we obtaine but a ſpirituall union, or union of the minde betweene us and Chriſt, plaine it is, that you are deceiued in this thing, and doe erre from the minde of the Fathers: for they affirme by plaine and expreſſe words, that we are corporally and carnally ioyned together. And theſe be the words of Hilary, Si verè igitur carnem corporis noſtri Chriſtus aſſumpſit, & verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit; nos quoque verè ſub myſterio carnem corporis ſui ſumimus, & per hæc unum erimus, quia pater in eo eſt, & ille in nobis: Quomodo voluntatis unitas aſſeritur, cum naturalis per ſacramentum proprietas perfectè ſacramentum ſit unitatis? That is, Therefore if Chriſt did truly take the fleſh of our body upon him, and the ſame man be Chriſt indeed which was borne of Mary; then we alſo doe receiue under a myſtery the fleſh of his bodie indeed, and thereby ſhall become one, becauſe the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a naturall propriety by the ſacrament is a perfect ſacrament of unity?

"And what doth Chriſt els meane by theſe words where he ſaith, My words be ſpirit and life; the fleſh profiteth nothing.

Thus farre hath Hilary. Lo here you ſee how manifeſtly theſe words confound your aſſertion. To be ſhort, I my ſelfe haue heard you preaching at Greenewich before King Henry the eighth, where you did openly affirme, that no Chriſtian man ought to doubt of the true and reall preſence of Chriſts body in the ſacrament, foraſmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his ſide, (videlicet) Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the ſame truth; the word of Scripture hath the ſelfe ſame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this preſent that, whereof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?

M. Latimer charged to preach the contrary doctrine before the king at Greenwich.

Lat. Will you giue me leaue to ſpeak?

Treſh. Speak Latine, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot ſpeake Latine ſo long and ſo largely. M. Prolocutor hath giuen me leaue to ſpeak Engliſh. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhall anſwer the Doctors had not need to be in my caſe, but ſhould haue them in a readineſſe, and know their purpoſe. Melancthon ſaith, if the Doctors had foreſeene that they ſhould haue beene ſo taken in this controuerſie, they would haue written more plainly.

Melancthons iudgement of the old Doctors.

Smith. I will reduce the words of Hilary into the forme of a ſyllogiſme.

Argument.

Da- Such as is the unity of our fleſh with Chriſts fleſh, ſuch (yea greater) is the unity of Chriſt with the Father.

ti- But the unity of Chriſts fleſh with ours is true and ſubſtantiall.

ſi. Ergo, The unity of Chriſt with the Father is true and ſubſtantiall.

Lat. I underſtand you not.

Seaton. I know your learning well enough, and how ſubtill ye be: I will uſe a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De cœna Domini. The old Teſtament doth forbid the drinking of blood; The new Teſtament doth command the drinking and taſting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?

D. Seaton reaſoneth againſt M. Latimer out of Cyprian.

Lat. In theſe words, Bibite ex hoc omnes, i. Drink ye all of this.

Seat. Then we taſte true blood.

Lat. We doe taſte true blood, but ſpiritually; and this is enough.

Seat. Nay, the old and new Teſtament in this doe "differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drink blood.

"By that reaſon the new and old Teſtament ſhould not differ, but ſhould be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in naturall or morall precepts.

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference betweene the drinking of blood in the new Teſtament, and that of the old: for they alſo drank ſpiritually.

Lat. And we drink ſpiritually alſo, but a more precious blood.

Weſt. Auguſtine upon the 45. Pſalme ſaith, Securè bibite ſanguinem quem fudiſtis: That is, Drinke boldly the blood which yee haue powred out.

Ergo, It is blood.

Lat. I neuer denied it, nor euer will I goe from it, but that we drink the very blood of Chriſt indeed, but ſpiritually: for the ſame S. Auguſtine ſaith, Crede, & manducaſti, i. Beleeue, and thou haſt eaten.

Weſt. Nay, Credere, non eſt bibere nec edere. i. To beleeue, is not to drink or eat. You will not ſay, I pledge you, when I ſay, I beleeue in God.

Lat. Is not (manducare) to eat, in your learning put for (credere) to beleeue?

Weſt. I remember my L. Chancellor demanded M. Hooper of theſe queſtions, whether "(edere) to eat, were (credere) to beleeue, and (altare) an altar, were Chriſt in all the Scripture, &c. And he anſwered, yea.

Then ſaid my L. Chancellor, Why then "Habemus altare de quo non licet edere, i. We haue an altar of which it is not lawfull to eat, is as much to ſay, as Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere, i. We haue a Chriſt, in whom we may not beleeue.

"Edere in ſome places is taken for credere: but that in all places it is ſo taken, it followeth not.

"This place of the Hebrews alluded to the old ſacrifice of the Iews, who, in the feaſt of propitiation the tenth day, uſed to carry the fleſh of the ſacrifice out of the tents to be burned on an altar without, becauſe none of them which ſerued in the Tabernacle ſhould eat thereof: onely the bloud was carried by the high Prieſt into the holy place.

Treſh. Beleeue, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpirituall eating.

Lat. It is true, I do allow your ſaying; I take it ſo alſo.

Weſt. We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.

Ergo, it is very blood.

Lat. We drink blood, ſo as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in ſacramentall wine. We drink blood ſacramentally: he gaue us his blood to drink ſpiritually, he went about to ſhew, that as certainly as we drink wine, ſo certainly we drink his blood ſpiritually.

Weſt. Do not you ſeeme to be a Papiſt, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where finde you that (ſacramentaliter) ſacramentally, in Gods book?

La. It is neceſſarily gathered upon Scripture.

Weſt. The old Teſtament doth forbid the taſting of blood, but the new doth command it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.

Weſt. Heare ye people, this is the argument.

That which was forbidden in the old Teſtament, is commanded in the new.

To drinke blood was forbidden in the old Teſtament, and commanded in the new.

Ergo, it is very blood that we drink in the new.

¶ This argument, becauſe the major thereof is not univerſall, is not formall, and may well be retorted againſt Weſton thus.

D. Weſtons argument retorted againſt himſelfe.

Ce- No naturall or morall thing, forbidden materially in the old Teſtament, is commanded in the new.
la- To drink mans naturall blood is forbidden materially in the old Teſtament.
rent. Ergo, to drinke mans naturall blood materially is not commanded in the new.

Anſwer.

Lat. It is commanded ſpiritually to be drunk, I grant it is blood drunk in the new Teſtament, but we receive it ſpiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden ſpiritually in the old Law.

Lat. The ſubſtance of blood is drunk, but not in one manner.

Pie. It doth not require the ſame manner of drinking.

Lat. It is the ſame thing, not the ſame manner. I have no more to ſay.

Chryſoſtome.

Weſt. Here Weſton cited the place of Chryſoſtome, of Iudas treaſon: O Iudæ dementia! Ille cum Iudæis triginta denariis paciſcebatur, ut Chriſtum venderet, & Chriſtus ei ſanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat; i. O the madneſſe of Iudas! He made bargaine with the Iewes for thirty pence to ſell Chriſt, and Chriſt offered him his blood which he ſold.

Lat. I grant he offered to Iudas his blood which he ſold, but in a ſacrament.

D. Cartwright urged to diſpute.

Weſt. Becauſe ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee what worſhipfull men ye hang upon, & one y^t hath bin of your mind ſhall diſpute with you. M. Cartwright, I pray you diſpute.

Cartwright returneth to his old errour againe.

Cart. Reverend father, becauſe it is given me in commandement to diſpute with you, I will doe it gladly. But firſt underſtand ere we goe any further, that I was in the ſame errour that you are in: but I am ſorry for it, and do confeſſe my ſelfe to have erred, I acknowledge mine offence, and I wiſh and deſire God that you may alſo repent with me.

Argument. à pœna legis durum & difficile.

Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath cauſed M. Doctor here to recant? It is pœna legis, the paine of the law which hath brought you backe, and converted you, and many moe; the which letteth many to confeſſe God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can diſſolve it.

Cart. That is not my cauſe, but I will make you this ſhort argument, by which I was converted from mine errours.

Argument. à deſtructione conſequentis, ad deſtructionem antecedentis.

If the true body of Chriſt be not really in the ſacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apoſtles time.

But Chriſt would not ſuffer his Church to erre:

Ergo, it is the true body of Chriſt.

No mention made of any eating, but ſpiritually, in the Church, for the ſpace of 700. yeeres.

Lat. The Popiſh Church hath erred, and doth erre. I thinke for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeven hundred yeeres there was no mention made of any eating but ſpiritually: for before theſe five hundred yeers the Church did ever confeſſe a ſpirituall manducation. But the Romiſh Church begat the errour of tranſubſtantiation. My Lord of Canterburies book handleth that very well, and by him I could anſwer you, if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſſe the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament: and S. Auguſtine alſo upon the 98. Pſalme, upon this place, Adorate ſcabellum pedum, &c. granteth that it is to be worſhipped.

Lat. We do worſhip Chriſt in the heavens, and we do worſhip him in the ſacrament: but the maſſing worſhip is not to be uſed.

Smith. Doe you think that Cyril was of the ancient Church?

Lat. I do think ſo.

Smith. He ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally: Theſe be Cyrils words of the myſticall benediction.

Cyril. in Ioan. lib. 10. cap. 13.

Lat. That (corporally) hath another underſtanding than you do groſly take it.

¶ Cyril ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in us, but he ſaith not that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Chriſt in us, is as our dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not locall or corporall, but ſpirituall and heavenly. Corporally therefore is to be taken here in the ſame ſenſe as S. Paul ſaith the fulneſſe of divinity to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his vertue and power, &c. And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in us alſo.

Smith. Here Smith repeateth theſe words of Cyril, Per communionem corporis Chriſti, habitat in nobis Chriſtus corporaliter, i. By the communicating of the body of Chriſt, Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally.

Lat. The ſolution of this is in my Lord of Canterburies book.

Smith. Cyril was no Papiſt, and yet theſe be his words; Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally: but you ſay he dwelleth in us ſpiritually.

La. I ſay both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally & ſpiritually, according to his meaning: Spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our fleſh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterburies book.

The immodeſt behaviour of this Iacke ſcorner to be noted.

Weſt. Becauſe your learning is let out to farme, and ſhut up in my Lord of Canterburies book, I will recite unto you a place of S. Ambroſe, De apparatione ad Miſſam, where he ſaith, Videmus principem Sacerdotem ad nos venientem, & offerentem ſanguinem, &c. That is, We ſee the chiefe Prieſt comming unto us, and offering blood, &c.

Aug. in Pſal. 38. Chryſoſt. de incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

Likewiſe both Auguſtine in the 38. Pſalme, and Chryſoſtome concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God, tom. 3. ſay, Non ſolum homines, &c.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge mine ignorance, and theſe teſtimonies are more than I can beare away.

Weſt. Then you muſt leave ſome behinde you for lack of carriage.

Chryſoſtome full of figurative ſpeeches and emphaticall locutions.

Lat. But of Chryſoſtome, he hath many figurative ſpeeches, and emphaticall locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he ſaith not, For the quicke and the dead: he taketh the celebration for the ſacrifice.

Chryſoſt. in Act. cap. 9.

Weſt. You ſhall heare Chryſoſtome againe, upon the ninth chapter of the Acts, Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis, &c. He doth not call it a cup of wine.

Lat. Ye have mine anſwer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, Propitiatorium ſacrificium, i. A propitiatory ſacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall heare it to be ſo: and I bring another place of Chryſoſtome out of y^e ſame treatiſe, Non temerè ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum, &c.

Lat. He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himſelfe.

Chryſoſt. ad populum Antioch. hom. 69.

Weſt. Here in another place of Chryſoſtome to the people of Antioch, Hom. 69. and alſo to the Philippians he ſaith, There ſhould be a memory and ſacrifice for the dead.

Lat. I doe ſay that the holy Communion beareth the name of a ſacrifice, becauſe it is a ſacrifice memorative.

Anno 1554

Auguſt. Enchirid. cap. 110.

West. How ſay you to yͤ ſacrifice for the dead?

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, and it booteth not.

West. Auguſtine in his Enchiridion the 110. chapt. ſaith, Non eſt negandum defunctorum animos pietate ſuorum viventium relevari, quum pro illis ſacrificium Mediatoris offertur, i. We muſt not deny that the ſoules of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the ſacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them. Where he proveth the verity of Chriſts body, and praying for the dead. And it is ſaid, that the ſame Auguſtine ſaid Maſſe for his mother.

Auguſtine falſly belyed to ſay Maſſe for his mother.

Lat. But that Maſſe was not like yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appeare in his writings, which are againſt it in every place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be beleeved no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proofe, and agreeth with Gods word.

The blaſphemous mouth of D. Weſton calling the Lords table an oyſter boord.

West. In the ſame place he proveth a propitiatory ſacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oyſter boord.

Lat. It is the Lords table, and no oyſter boord. It may be called an altar, and ſo the Doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory ſacrifice, but only Chriſt. The Doctors might be deceived in ſome points, though not in all things. “ I beleeve them when they ſay well.

“ Doctores legendi ſunt cum venia.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an old man to lie? You ſay, you are of the old Fathers faith where they ſay well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their faith when they ſay well. I referre my ſelfe to my Lord of Canterburies booke wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of Chryſoſtomes faith, nor of S. Auguſtines faith.

Lat. I have ſaid, when they ſay well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith, and further Auguſtine requireth not to be beleeved.

West. Origen, Hom. 13. upon Leviticus.

Lat. I have but one word to ſay, Panis ſacramentalis, the ſacramentall bread is called a propitiation, becauſe it is a ſacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?

Weſton. My vocation is at this time to diſpute; otherwiſe I am a Prieſt, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where have you that authority given you to offer?

Facere for ſacrificare with D. Weſton.

West. Hoc facite, Doe this; for facite in that place is taken for offerte, that is, offer you.

Lat. Is facere nothing but ſacrificare to ſacrifice? Why then no man muſt receive the ſacrament but Prieſts only: for there may none offer but Prieſts.

Ergo, There may none receive but Prieſts.

West. Your argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer himſelf at his ſupper?

Pie. Yea, he offered himſelf for yͤ whole world.

If Chriſt offered himſelfe at the Supper, and the next day upon the Croſſe, then was Chriſt twice offered.

Lat. Then if this word Facite, Doe ye, ſignifie Sacrificate, Sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I ſaid, that none but Prieſts onely ought to receive the ſacrament, to whom it is onely lawfull to ſacrifice: and where finde you that I pray you?

West. Forty yeere agone whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we have to thank God, that hath now ſent the light into the world.

Weſtons railing.

West. The light? Nay light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed ſo often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to ſpoile and rob the Church.

Lat. Theſe things pertaine nothing to me, I muſt not anſwer other mens deeds, but only for mine owne.

D. Weſtons Apes have tailes.

Blaſphemous lies of D. Weſton ſitting in Cathedra peſtilentiæ. Who be theſe, or where be they M. Oblocutor, that will be like the Apoſtles, that will have no Churches? that be runnagates out of Germanie? that get them tankards? that make monethly faiths? that worſhip not Chriſt in all his ſacraments? ſpeak truth, man and ſhame the devill.

West. Well, Maſter Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to your ſelfe, and remember, that without Noahs Arke there is no health. Remember what they have beene that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying Apoſtataes, running out of Germany for feare of the fagot. Remember what they have beene which have ſet forth the ſame in this Realme: A ſort of fling-braines and light heads, which were never conſtant in any one thing, as it was to be ſeene in the turning of the table, where like a ſort of Apes they could not tell which way to turne their tailes, looking one day Weſt, and another day Eaſt, one that way, and another this way. They will bee like (they ſay) to the Apoſtles, they will have no Churches. A hovell is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reverence. They get them a Tankard, and one ſaith, I drinke, and I am thankfull; the more ioy of thee, ſaith another. And in them was it true that Hilary ſaith, Annuas & menſtruas de Deo fides facimus, that is, We make every yeere and every moneth a faith. A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worſhipping of Chriſt in the ſacrament, by whoſe procurement that hereſie was put into the laſt communion booke; ſo much prevailed that one mans authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines or Germaines, or with the Church, or with your ſelfe. Your ſtubbornneſſe commeth of a vaine glory, which is to no purpoſe: for it will doe you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we ſee all, by your owne confeſſion, how little cauſe you have to be ſtubborne, for your learning is in Feoffers hold. The Queenes Grace is mercifull, if ye will turne.

Lat. You ſhall have no hope in me to turne. I pray for the Queene daily even from the bottome of my heart, that ſhe may turne from this religion.

West. Here you all ſee the weakneſſe of hereſie againſt the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old Fathers.

HEre all good Readers may ſee how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I ſuppoſe they have yet neither heard nor ſeene. And give that he had the victory, yet what great marvell was it, diſputing as he did, Non ſine ſuo Theſeo, that is, not without his tipling cup ſtanding at his elbow all the time of his diſputation; not without a privy noting and ſmiling of them that beheld the matter, but eſpecially at that time, when Doctor Ridley diſputing with one of the Opponents, the ſaid Prolocutor tooke the cup, and holding it in his hand, ſaid to the Opponent, Vrge hoc, urge hoc, Nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, ſo I thought here alſo not to leave the ſame unmentioned, ſomwhat alſo to delight the Reader withall, after his tedious wearineſſe in reading the ſtory thereof.

Vrge hoc, quoth Weſton with his beere-pot.

To the Reader.

And thus haſt thou (loving Reader) the whole action and ſtage of this Doctorly diſputation ſhewed forth unto thee againſt theſe three worthy Confeſſors and Martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayeſt behold the diſordered uſage of the Univerſity men, the unmannerly manner of the Schools, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceneſſe and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the cenſures of the Iudges, the railing language of the Oblocutor, with his blaſt of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and alſo Iudge himſelf. And what marvell then if the courage of this victorious Conquerour, having the law in his owne hands, to do and ſay what him liſted, would ſay for himſelfe, Vicit veritas, although he ſaid never a true word, nor made ever a true concluſion almoſt in all that diſputation.

Aprill 19.

It followed furthermore, after diſputation of theſe three dayes being ended, that M. Harpſfield the next day after, which was the nineteenth of April, ſhould diſpute for his Form, to be made Doctor. To the which diſputation the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted among the reſt to utter an argument or two in defence of his cauſe. As in ſequele hereof may appeare.

Diſputation of Maſter Harpsfield Bachelour of Divinity, anſwering for his Forme to be made Doctor.

Harpsfield.

Aprill 19. The iudgement of Maſt. Harpsfield for the beſt way to underſtand the Scriptures. If M. Harpſfield had willed us to ſubmit our ſenſes to the Holy Ghoſt, he had ſaid much better.

I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures: and moſt hard it is too, in the great contention of Religion, to ſhew the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be beſt underſtood. For the often reading of them doth not bring the true underſtanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our owne heads and ſenſes, but to give over our iudgement unto the holy Catholike Church, who hath had of old yeeres the truth, and alwayes delivered the ſame to their poſterity: but if the often reading of Scriptures, and never ſo painfull compating of places ſhould bring the true underſtanding, then divers Heretikes might prevaile ever againſt whole generall Councels. The “Iewes did greatly brag of the knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithſtanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture doe much warne us of the often reading of the ſame, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as Scrutamini, &c. Search the Scriptures: for they do beare witneſſe of me, &c. Lex Domini, &c. The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turne ſoules. And that ſaying of S. Paul, Omnis Scriptura, &c. All Scripture inſpired from above, doth make that a man may be inſtructed to all good workes. Howbeit doth the Law of the Iewes convert their ſoules? are they by reading inſtructed to every good work? The letter of the old Teſtament is the ſame that we have.

“No, but thoſe Iews, ſticking ſo much to the old cuſtome and face of their Church, and not ſeeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the Scriptures were deceived, and ſo be you.

The heretikes alſo have ever had the ſame Scriptures which we have that be Catholikes. But they are ſerved as Tantalus that the Poets ſpeak of, who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is ſaid to be oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt. The ſwifter that men do ſeeke the Scriptures without the Catholike Church, the deeper they fall, and finde hell for their labour. Saint Cyprian never ſwarving from the Catholike Church, ſaith, Hee that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his mother, ſhall not have God to his father. Therefore it is true Divinity, to be wiſe with the Church, where Chriſt ſaith, Niſi manducaveritis, &c. Vnleſſe ye eat my fleſh, and drinke my bloud, ye have no life in you.

If he had meant of onely eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had beene more pleaſant to the Capernaites, neither would they have forſaken him. The fleſh profiteth nothing to them that do ſo take it. For the Capernaites did imagine Chriſt to be given in ſuch ſort as he lived. But Chriſt ſpake high things; not that they ſhould have him as fleſh in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the ſpirit (a) under the formes whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courſes and times of ages, ſo there is no leſſe (b) variety in eating of bodies.

(a) Under the formes, that is, under the properties of bread and wine, and ſo all this is true.

(b) In the materiall eating of mans body there is no variety: for to eat mans fleſh either under accidents, or not accidents, both is againſt the Scripture and againſt nature.

Theſe things which I have recited briefly, Maſter Harpsfield did with many more words ſet out: and hereupon Doctor Weſton diſputed againſt him.

Weſt. Chriſts reall body is not in the ſacrament:

Ergo, You are deceived.

Harpſ. I deny the antecedent.

Weſt. Iohn the 16. Dico veritatem vobis, &c. I ſpeak the truth unto you: It behoveth me that I go away from you. For unleſſe I doe depart that Comforter cannot come, &c.

Upon this I will make this argument.

Argument.

Chriſt is ſo gone away as he did ſend the holy Ghoſt.

But the holy Ghoſt did verily come into the world:

Ergo, Chriſt is verily gone.

Harpſ. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

This anſwer doth not ſatiſfie the argument: for the concluſion ſpeaketh of a bodily abſence, the anſwer ſpeaketh of a ſpirituall remaining.

Weſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith, that theſe words, Ego ero, &c. I will be with you even to the end of the world, are accompliſhed, ſecundum majeſtatem, according to his majeſty: but ſecundum præſentiam carnis non eſt hic, i. by the preſence of his fleſh he is not here. The Church hath him not in fleſh, but by beliefe.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two natures in Chriſt: the divine nature, and humane nature. The divine nature is of ſuch ſort, that it cannot chuſe but be in all places. The humane nature is not ſuch, that of force it muſt be in all places, although it be in diverſe after a divers manner. So where the Doctors do intreat of his preſence by maieſty, they doe commend the maieſty of the divine nature not to hinder us of the (c) naturall preſence here in the ſacrament.

(c) If the naturall preſence is here, then is it falſe that S. Auguſt. ſaith, ſecundum præſentiam carnis non eſt hic.

Weſt. He ſaith further, Me autem non ſemper habebitis, Ye ſhall not have me alwayes with you, is to be underſtood in the fleſh.

Harpſ. The preſence of the fleſh is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in converſation with them, to bee ſeene, talked withall, or in ſuch ſort as a man may give him (d) any thing: after that ſort he is not preſent.

(d) And how can we then give honour to him, to whom we can ſhew no charity, nor give any thing elſe unto? What manner ſoever ye give to the body, if the ſubſtantiall body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it muſt needs be falſe that S. Auguſtine ſaith, Non eſt hic, or elſe Chriſt muſt have two bodies in two places together, preſent here after one manner, and in heaven after another manner.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this of Auguſtine, Non eſt hic, He is not here.

Harpſ. I doe anſwer out of Saint Auguſtine upon Iohn, Tractat. 25. upon theſe words, Non videbitis me, vado ad Patrem, &c. I goe to the Father, ye ſhall not ſee me, that is, Such as I am now. Therefore I doe deny the manner of his preſence.

Weſt. I will overthrow S. Auguſtine with S. Auguſtine; who ſaith this alſo, Quomodo quis poſſit tenere Chriſtum? fidem mitte, & tenuiſti, i. How may a man hold Chriſt? ſend thy faith, and thou holdeſt him.

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our faith we do hold Chriſt.

Harpſ. Indeed no man holdeth Chriſt unleſſe he beleeve in him; but it is another thing to have Chriſt mercifull and favourable unto us, and to have him preſent in the Sacrament.

There S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us.

Weſt. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the Fathers had him in the fleſh, and teacheth that we have him not ſo in the fleſh, as they had him long time, ſaying, Your fathers did hold Chriſt preſent in the fleſh: doe you hold him in your heart? What words can be more plaine? Further he ſaith, He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forſaken us. Hic eſt majeſtate, abiit carne, i. He is here in majeſtie, and gone touching the fleſh.

Harpſ. I doe underſtand Auguſtine thus, that Chriſt is here in his fleſh to them that receive him worthily: to ſuch as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not preſent in the fleſh. I iudge S. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We have him, and have him not: wee have him in receiving him worthily, otherwiſe not.

Note what Harpsfield here holdeth, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent in the ſacrament, but only to them that receive him worthily.

Weſt. Nay, Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ. I will proſecute another argument, Cyril doth ſay, By the majeſty of his divinity hee is ever here, but the Preſence of his fleſh hath he taken away.

Harpſ. The ſenſe of Cyril is thus to be underſtood; The moſt true fleſh of Chriſt is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and ſo they believed. Thus ſaid Cyril: Thus ſaid Auguſtine; and becauſe this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the body to bee in heaven) they do not make againſt the preſence in the ſacrament.

So unleſſe ye can plainly ſhew, that the Fathers do directly ſay he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothing againſt me: for I have ſhewed why the Fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great difference betweene the divine nature, and the humane nature, as I have before ſaid.

If the preſence of his fleſh be taken away as Cyril ſaith, how then can the preſence of his fleſh be in the ſacrament? Vigilius ſaith, his body is taken up, how then doth the ſame body remaine ſtill, unleſſe either ye make him to have two bodies: or elſe make two contradictories true in one propoſition.

Weſt. I will then prove, that he is not in the ſacrament. Vigilius againſt the Heretike Eutiches, upon theſe words, Me autem non ſemper habebitis, ſaith, The Son of God, as touching his humanity, he is gone from us, by his divinity he remaineth with us. And that ſame Vigilius in his fourth book ſaith, He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth, ſpeaking of Chriſt.

Harpſ. I will ſhew you the reaſon of theſe words. The Heretike Eutiches did believe that the divine nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the Croſſe, and believed that Chriſt had no naturall body. To this Vigilius ſaid, that the humane nature was taken up and aſcended, which could not ſo have done, unleſſe he had a body. This he ſaid not, to take away the preſence in the ſacrament.

For what had he to refer this ſentence to the ſacrament? He never did ſo much as dreame of the ſacrament.

Cyrillus.

Weſt. Cyril ſaith, Although hee bee abſent from us in body, yet are wee governed by his ſpirit.

Harpſ. By theſe words he gave us a chéerfulneſſe to aſpire upwards, ſéeking therehence our helpe. For as touching his converſation, he is not ſo in the ſacrament as one méet to bee lived withall. But let him teach us that he is not there to féed us; for after that ſort he is there.

The body of Chriſt is here to feed our bellies, but not to be lived withall.

Weſt. You have ſatisfied me with your anſwers, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholikely. But now to another argument.

" Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth by his body, as he was abſent from heaven when he lived here.

" The argument holdeth è proportione.

But when he did live bodily on earth; the ſame naturall body was out of heaven.

Ergo, now whileſt this naturall body is in heaven, it is not in earth.

Harpſ. I deny the Maior.

Weſt. Fulgentius ad Thraſimundum Regem, libro ſecundo, ſaith, Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat cœlo, cum deſcendit de cœlo. Theſe are Fulgentius words touching his humane ſubſtance. Hee was abſent from heaven, when he deſcended from heaven; and touching the ſame ſubſtance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forſooke, neither heaven nor earth.

After theſe words, not waiting Harpsfield anſwer he offered M. Cranmer to diſpute; who began in this wiſe.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently intreat of the dignity of the ſcriptures, which I doe both commend, and have marvelled thereat within my ſelfe. But whereas you referre the true ſenſe and iudgement of the Scriptures to the Catholike Church as Judge thereof, you are much deceived; ſpecially, for that under the name of the Church you appoint ſuch iudges as have corruptly iudged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the Scriptures. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo little to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and conferring of places; ſeeing the ſcriptures doe ſo much commend the ſame, as well in divers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you your ſelfe have already alledged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtions, it ſéemeth to mee neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive Church. And to ſay the truth, the Schoolemen have ſpoken diverſly of them, and doe not agree thereof among themſelves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to ſhew my iudgement alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to anſwer to me a few queſtions which I ſhall demand of you. Which being done, wee ſhall the better procéed in our diſputation. Moreover, I muſt deſire you to beare alſo with my rudeneſſe in the Latine tongue, which through long diſuſe is not now ſo prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now all other things ſet apart, I minde chiefly to have regard to the truth: My firſt queſtion is this, How Chriſts body is in the Sacrament, according to your minde or determination?

The errour M. Harpsfield reproved, referring the ſenſe of the Scripture rather to the iudgement of the Church than to the diligent reading and conferring of places.

Then anſwered a Doctor, he is there as touching his ſubſtance, but not after the manner of his ſubſtance.

Chriſt preſent in the ſacrament in ſubſtance, but not after the manner of ſubſtance.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch ſort and manner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next queſtion is, Whether hee hath his quantity and qualities, forme, figure, and ſuch like properties.

Harpſ. Are theſe your queſtions, ſaid Maſter Harpsfield? I may likewiſe aske you, when Chriſt paſſed thorow the Virgins wombe, an ruperit necne? When they had thus a while contended, there were divers opinions in this matter.

All the Doctors fell in a buzzing, incertaine what to anſwer: ſome thought one way, ſome another; and thus Maſter Doctors could not agrée.

The Rabbines could not agree among themſelves.

Then Maſter Cranmer ſaid thus; you put off queſtions with queſtions, and not with anſwers, I aske one thing of you, and you anſwer another. Once again I ask, Whether he have thoſe properties which he had on the earth.

Treſh. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body.

Chriſts body without his properties in the ſacrament.

Smith. Stay you M. Treſham. I will anſwer you M. Doctor, with the words of Damaſcene, Transformatur panis, &c. The bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt inquire how, Modus impoſſibilis, The manner is impoſſible.

Then two or thrée others added their anſwers to this queſtion, ſomewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and ſome another.

The Doctors in a doubt.

Cran. Doe you appoint me a body, and can not tell what manner of body? Either hee hath not his quantity, or elſe you are ignorant how to anſwer it.

Harpſ. Theſe are vain queſtions, and it is not meet to ſpend the time on them.

Lanfrancus contra Berengarium.

Weſt. Heare me a while, Lanfrancus ſometime biſhop of Canterbury, doth anſwer in this wiſe unto Berengarius upon ſuch like queſtions; Salubriter credi poſſunt, fideliter quæri non poſſunt, i. They may be well believed, but never faithfully aſked.

Cran. If you think good to anſwer it, ſome of you declare it.

Harpſ. Hee is there as pleaſeth him to bee there.

Cran. I would be beſt contented with that anſwer, if that your appointing of a carnall preſence had not driven me of neceſſity to have inquired for diſputations ſake, how you place him there, ſince you will have a naturall body.

The Papiſts would have Chriſts body in the ſacrament, but they cannot tell how.

When againe he was anſwered of divers at one time, ſome denying it to be quantum, ſome ſaying it to be quantitativum, ſome affirming it to have modum quanti, ſome denying it ſome one thing, ſome another; up ſtart D. Weſton, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, ſaying, It is Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti, i. It is a body, ſaith he, having quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity.

Whereunto maſter Ward, a great Sophiſter, thinking the matter not fully anſwered, did largely declare and diſcourſe his ſentence: how learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I thinke he himſelf neither, ne yet the beſt learned there. For it was ſaid ſince, that farre better learned than he laid as good eare to him as they could, and yet could by no meanes perceive to what end all his talke tended. Indeed he told a formall tale to clout up the matter. He was full of quantum & quantitativum. This that followes was, as it is thought, the effect, yet others thinke no. Howbeit wee will rehearſe the ſumme of his words, as it is thought he ſpake then.

M. Ward in the myſty clouds of Duns his quiddities.

Ward. We muſt conſider, ſaith he, that there are duæ poſitiones two poſitions. The one ſtandeth by the order of parts, with reſpect of the whole. The other in reſpect of that which containeth. Chriſt is in the Sacrament in reſpect of the whole. This propoſition is in one of Ariſtotles Predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did intreat theſe matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the Philoſophicall diſputations in the publike Schooles. This poſition is ſine modo quantitativo, as by an enſample, you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the ſacrament quantum, ſine modo quantitativo.

Ariſtotle muſt helpe to tell us how Chriſt is in the ſacrament.

Chriſt, ſine modo quantitativo in the ſacrament.

Theſe words he amplified very largely, and ſo high he climbed into the heavens with Duns his ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come downe againe without falling. To whom M. Cranmer ſaid; Then thus do I make mine argument.

D. Cranmers argument.

Cran. In heaven his body had quantity, in earth it hath none by your ſaying.

Ergo, he hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth.

Here ſome would have anſwered him, that he had quantity in both, and ſo put off the antecedent; but thus ſaid M. Harpsfield.

Harpſ. I deny your argument, though ſome would not have had him ſay ſo.

Cran. The argument is good. It ſtandeth upon contradictories, which is the moſt ſure hold.

Harpſ. I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran. I thus prove it. Habere modum quantitativum & non habere, ſunt contradictoria.

Sed Chriſtus in cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum, in terra non habet:

Ergo, Duo ſunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; Nam in idem cadere non poſſunt.

Ariſtotle 4. Metaph. Impoſſibile eſt idem ſimul eſſe & non eſſe.

Weſt. I deny the minor.

Harpſ. I anſwer that the maior is not true. For Habere quantum, & non habere, non ſunt contradictoria, niſi ſic conſiderentur ejuſdem ad idem, eodem modo & ſimpliciter.

Weſt. I confirme the ſame: for one body may have modum quantitativum, and not have; and idem corpus was paſſible and impaſſible; one body may have wounds and not wounds.

Cran. This cannot be at one time.

Weſt. The enſample of the Potter doth prove that which I ſay; who, of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith.

Cran. But I ſay againe, that it is ſo, but at divers times: as one peece of meate to be rawe and ſodden cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwiſe, that Chriſt ſhould bee here and in heaven at one time, and ſhould have modum quantitativum, and not have: which cannot bee but by ſuch argument as I have ſhewed you.

Weſt. But I ſay, Chriſts body was paſſible and not paſſible at one (a) inſtant.

(a) Paſſible and impaſſible cannot ſtand together in one ſubiect. Simul & ejuſdem reſpectu & eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam.

Seaton. You may aſke as well other queſtions, how he is in heaven? whether he ſit or ſtand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

Cran. You your ſelfe, by putting a naturall preſence, do force me to queſtion how he is here. Therefore next I do aſk this queſtion; Whether good and evill men doe eate the bodie in the ſacrament?

Harpſ. Yea, they doe ſo, (b) even as the Sun doth ſhine upon kings palaces, and on dung-heapes.

Chriſts body to be paſſible and not impaſſible at the Supper, it appeareth by theſe words, That ſhall bee given for you.

(b) That remaineth yet unproved. Harpsfield ſeemed a little before to note the contrary, where he ſaid, that the fleſh of Chriſt to them that receive him not worthily is not preſent, pag. 87.

Cran. Then doe I inquire how long Chriſt tarrieth in the eater?

Harpſ. Theſe are curious queſtions, unmeet to be aſked.

Cran. I have taken them out of your Schools and Schoolmen, which you your ſelves do moſt uſe: and there alſo do I learn to ask how far he goeth into the body.

Harpſ. We know that the body of Chriſt is received to nouriſh the whole man both body and ſoule: Eo uſque progreditur corpus quouſque (c) ſpecies.

Cran. How long doth he abide in the body?

Seaton. S. Auguſtine ſaith, our fleſh goeth into his fleſh: But after he is once received into the ſtomack, it maketh no matter for us to know how far hee doth pierce, or whether he is conveyed.

(c) Sed ſpecies non progreditur; uſque ad animam: Ergo nec corpus Chriſti non paſcit corpus & animam.

¶ Here M. Treſham and one M. London anſwered that Chriſt being given there under ſuch forme and quantity as pleaſed him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his deſcending into the body.

Harpſ. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; ſaying alwaies that wee ſhould fetch the truth out of the Scripture, and now you your ſelfe bring queſtions out of the Schoolmen, which you have diſallowed in us.

Cran. I ſay as I have ſaid alway, that I am conſtrained to aske theſe queſtions, becauſe of this carnall preſence which you imagine; and yet I know right well, that theſe queſtions bee anſwered out of the Scriptures. As to my laſt queſtion, How long he abideth in the body? &c. the Scripture anſwereth plainly, that Chriſt doth ſo long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

Theſe men would needs have a bodily preſence, yet would they not, or elſe could not bring any reaſon how.

Ba- They

Anno 1554

D. Cranmers argument in the ſecond figure and ſecond moode.

Ba- They which eat the fleſh of Chriſt do dwell in him, and he in them.
ro- But the wicked doe not remaine in him, nor he in them:
co. Ergo, the wicked doe not eat his fleſh, nor drink his blood.

Anſwer inſufficient.

Harpſ. I will anſwer unto you as S. Auguſtine ſaith, not that howſoever a man doe eate, he eateth the body; but he that eateth after a certain manner.

Cran. I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am ſure that evill men do not eat the fleſh, and drink the blood of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the ſixth of John.

Harpſ. In the ſixth of John ſome things are to be referred to the godly, and ſome to the ungodly.

Cran. Whatſoever hee doth intreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men.

Harpſ. If you doe mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not ſo: And if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be ſo taken, I grant.

Evill men doe not eate the body of Chriſt.

Cran. Now to the argument, Hee that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in mee, and I in him. Doth not this prove ſufficiently, that evill men doe not eate that the good doe?

Treſham. You muſt adde, Qui manducat digne, He that eateth worthily.

Cran. I ſpeak of the ſame manner of eating that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

Weſt. Auguſtinus ad fratres in Eremo, Sermon. 28. Eſt quidam manducandi modus, that is, There is a certaine manner of eating. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eate worthily, the other that eate unworthily.

The ſixth Chapter of John is to bee referred partly to the Supper, partly to faith, after the Papiſts.

Harpſ. All things in the ſixth of John are not to be referred to the ſacrament, but to the receiving of Chriſt by faith. The Fathers do agree, that there is not intreatie made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto, Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea eſt, &c.

Cran. There is intreating of Manna both before and after.

Harpſ. I will apply another anſwer. This argument hath a kind of poiſon in it, which muſt be thus bitten away; that Manna and this Sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacy of himſelf, but of God.

Compariſon between eating of Manna, and eating the body of Chriſt.

Cran. But they that did take Manna worthily had fruit thereby: and ſo by your aſſertion, hee that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt worthily, hath his fruit by that.

Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and ſo there ſhould bee no difference betweene Manna and this Sacrament, by your reaſon.

Harpſ. When it is ſaid, that they which did eat Manna are dead, it is to be underſtood, that they did want the vertue of Manna.

If Maſter Harpsfield doe meane of bodily life, they which eate the Sacrament doe dye as well as they which did eate the Manna. If hee meane of ſpirituall life, neither bee they all damned that did eat Manna, nor all ſaved that doe eate the Sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringing death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth ſalvation: but only the ſpirituall believing upon Chriſts bodily paſſion, which only juſtifieth both them and us. And therefore as the effect is ſpirituall, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of in this Chapter; ſo is the cauſe of that effect ſpirituall whereof he meaneth, which is our ſpirituall believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.

Cran. They then which do eat either of them worthily, doe live.

Harpſ. They doe live which doe eate Manna worthily, not by Manna, but by the power of God given by it. The other which doe eate this ſacrament, do live by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſt did not intreat of the cauſe, but the effect which followed: he doth not ſpeake of the cauſe whereof the effect proceedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay the effects are divers, life and death, which do follow the worthy and the unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an addition to it, we muſt uſe both in Manna and in the Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily.

Chriſt ſpake abſolutely of Manna, and of the Supper, ſo that, after that abſolute ſpeaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wiſe eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood.

Aug. in Ioan. tract. 26.

Further, Auguſtine upon John, Tractat. 26. upon theſe words, Qui manducat, &c. ſaith, There is no ſuch reſpects in common meats as in the Lords body. For who that eateth other meats hath ſtill hunger, and needeth to be ſatisfied daily: but hee that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever. But you know wicked men do not ſo.

Ergo, wicked men do not receive.

Harpſ. S. Auguſtine meaneth, that he who eateth Chriſts fleſh, &c. after a certaine manner, ſhould live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner.

Argument in the ſecond figure & ſecond moode.

Ca- Cran. Only they which participate Chriſt be of the myſticall body.
me- But the evill men are not of the myſtical body:
ſtres. Ergo, they do not participate Chriſt.

D. Cranmer commended for his modeſty

Weſt. Your wonderfull gentle behaviour and modeſty (good M. Doctor Cranmer) is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and juſt deſerving, I give you moſt hearty thankes in mine owne name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which ſaying all the Doctors gently put off their caps. Then M. Weſton did oppoſe the Reſpondent on this wiſe.

Tertul. cont. Marcion. Auguſt. ad Dardan.

Weſt. Tertullian doth call the ſacrament the ſigne and figure of the Lord.

S. Auguſtine ad Dardanum ſaith. Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis, i. The Lord did not ſticke to ſay, This is my body, when he gave a ſigne of his body.

Auguſt. de doctrina chriſtiana.

Beſides this, hee giveth rules how to underſtand the Scriptures, ſaying: If the Scriptures ſeeme to command ſome hainous thing, then it is figurative, as by example; Manducare carnem, & bibere ſanguinem eſt tropicus ſermo, i. To eat the fleſh, and drinke the blood, is a tropicall ſpeech.

Anſwer to Tertullian.

Harpſ. Tertullian did write in that place againſt Marcion an Heretike, who denied Chriſt to have a true body, and ſaid, he had only a fantaſticall body. He went about to ſhew that wee had Chriſt both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the ſacrament, yet he would not goe about ſo to confound him, as to ſay, that Chriſt was truly in the ſacrament: For that Heretike would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he ſhewed him, that it was the figure of Chriſt: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

Anſwer to Auguſtine.

To the text of Auguſtine, the Church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the ſacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundry names. For it may bee called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the ſacrament is a figure of Chriſt dwelling in heaven.

Anſwer to Auguſtine. De doctrina chriſtiana.

To the third, That which is brought by Auguſtine for example, about the underſtanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be underſtood, as tending to a generall manner of eating; ſo Manducare carnem, & bibere ſanguinem, i. To eate the fleſh, and drinke the blood, may be a figurative ſpeech to exclude Anthropaphagiam, i. The eating of mans fleſh. The which is, when we eate mans fleſh cut into morſels, as we eat common meat; ſo as we neither have nor eate Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The ſecond queſtion.

Weſt. I underſtand your ſhort and learned anſwer, which doth ſufficiently content me. But now to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The Scripture calleth it bread.

Ergo, it is bread.

Harpſ. In the name of bread all is ſignified which we do eat.

Theodoretus dialog. 1.

A ſingle ſole anſwer to Theodoretus.

Weſt. Theodoretus an ancient writter, in his firſt Dialogue, ſaith, that Chriſt changed not the nature, but called it his body.

Harpſ. He doth there ſpeak de Symbolo, which is Externa ſpecies ſacramenti, i. The outward form of the ſacrament. He meaneth that that doth tarry in his own nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his anſwer Auguſtinum in ſententiis Proſperi.

Theodoretus dial. 2.

Weſt. Theodoret alſo in his ſecond Dialogue of thoſe kindes of bread and wine ſaith, Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in ſua ſubſtantia, i. They go not out of their owne nature, but they tarry in their own ſubſtance.

(a) And how are they turned if they remain in priori ſubſtantia?

Harpſ. They are underſtood to be of the ſame ſubſtance wherein they are (a) turned.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this? Manent in priori ſubſtantia, i. They remaine in their former ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Symbola manent, i. The outward ſignes do tarry.

Symbolum quid.

Weſt. But what is meant here by this word Symbolum?

Harpſ. The outward form or ſhape only of the nature,

Weſt. Then you cannot call them a ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Yes Sir, every thing hath a certaine ſubſtance in his kinde.

Weſt. That is true, but accidents are not ſubſtances in their kind.

Harpſ. Sunt quid in ſuo genere. Of this they contended much.

Chryſoſt. ad Cæſarium Monachum.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ad Cæſarium monachum ſaith, Sicut antequam conſecratur, panis eſt: ſic poſtquam conſecratur, liberatus eſt ab appellatione panis, donatuſque eſt appellatione corporis Domini, cum natura remanet, that is, Like as before it is conſecrated, it is bread: ſo after it is conſecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is indued with the name of the Lords body, whereas the nature doth remaine.

Harpſ. Where reade you this place, I pray you?

D. Weſton compileth his arguments out of Peter Martyrs ſtory.

Weſt. Here in Peter Martyr I find it: I have his book in my hand.

Harpſ. The Author ſhall be of more credit, before that I make ſo much of him, as to frame an anſwer unto it.

Gelaſius.

Weſt. Indeed I know not weil where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſaith, that the nature of bread and wine doe tarry.

Harpſ. What is that Celaſius?

Weſt. A Biſhop of Rome.

Harpſ. Then he allowed the Maſſe.

Weſt. Yea, and oftentimes ſaid it: and Purgatory he alſo allowed, and ſo prayer for the dead, reliques and invocation to ſaints.

Harpſ. Belike then he meant nothing againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Origen in Mat. cap. 15,

Weſt. It doth appeare ſo indeed, But Origen upon Matthew the 15. Chapter ſaith, that the materiall bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privie, and is eaten of Wormes.

Harpſ. Tuſh, tuſh, this place appertaineth unto holy bread.

Weſt. What, doth it appertaine to holy bread?

Harpſ. Yea, unto holy bread.

Weſt. By what meanes can you ſhew how this miraculous worke bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament?

Harpſ. By the Scriptures I prove that, which ſaith, Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body.

Weſt. It doth reioyce all us not a little, that you have ſo well maintained the ſound doctrine of the ſacrament of the Altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the Catholike Church, as an only ſtay of our Religion: by the which means you have proved your ſelfe meet to be authoriſed further towards the practiſing of the Scripture.

And here I doe openly witneſſe, that I doe throughly conſent with you, and have for diſputations ſake only brought theſe arguments againſt you, which you have right learnedly ſatisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this diſputation, ſaying, In'oppoſitum eſt ſacra Theologia, In oppoſitum eſt, &c.

¶ Thus have ye heard in theſe foreſaid diſputations, about the holy Supper of the Lord, the reaſons and arguments of the Doctors, the anſwers and reſolutions of the Biſhops, and the triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the victory, with Vicit veritas, who rather in my minde ſhould have exclaimed, Vicit poteſtas; as it happeneth alwaies, Vbi pars maior vincit meliorem. For elſe if poteſtas had not helped the Prolocutor more than veritas, there had been a ſmall victoria. But ſo it is where iudgements be partiall, and parties be addicted, there all things turne to victory: though it be never ſo meane and ſimple, as in this diſputation might well appeare.

For firſt, of the Opponents part, neither was there almoſt any argument in true moode and figure rightly framed: neither could the anſwerers be permitted to ſay for themſelves: and if they anſwered any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeake. Againe, ſuch diſturbance and confuſion, more like a conſpiration than any diſputation, without all forme and order, was in the Schooles during the time of their anſwering, that neither could the anſwerers have place to utter their mindes, neither would the Opponents be ſatisfied with any reaſons. Concerning the which diſturbance of that miſruled diſputation you ſhall heare what Maſter Ridley himſelf reporteth by his own deſcription, in manner as followeth.

The report and narration of M. Ridley concerning the miſordered diſputation had againſt him and his fellow-priſoners at Oxford.

B. Ridleyes report of the miſorder of this diſputation.

I Never yet, ſince I was borne ſaw, or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuouſly, than the diſputation which was with me in the Schooles at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been poſſible to have found amongſt men recounted to bee of knowledge and learning in this Realme, any ſo brazen faced and ſhameleſſe, ſo diſorderly and vainly to behave themſelves, more like Stage-players in Enterludes to ſet forth a Pageant, than to grave Divines in Schooles to diſpute. The Sorbonicall clamours (which at Paris I have ſeene in times paſt, when Popery moſt reigned) might be worthily thought (in compariſon of this Thraſonicall oſtentation) to have had much modeſty. And no great marvell, ſeeing they which ſhould have beene Moderatours, and overſeers of others, and which ſhould have given good enſample in words and gravity: they themſelves above all other gave worſt enſample, and did, as it were, blow the trumpe to the reſt, to rave, roare, rage, any cry out. By reaſon whereof (good Chriſtian Reader) manifeſtly it may appeare, that they never ſought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But leſt by the innumerable railings and reproachfull taunts, wherewith I was baited on every ſide, our cauſe, yea rather Gods cauſe and his Churches ſhould be evill ſpoken of, and ſlandered to the world through falſe reports, and untrue enſamples given out of our diſputation, and ſo the verity might ſuſtaine ſome dammage, I thought it no leſſe than my duty to write mine anſwers: to the intent that whoſoever is deſirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive as well thoſe things which were chiefly objected, as ſummarily that which was anſwered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good Reader) I confeſſe this to be moſt true, that it is impoſſible to ſet forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuouſly & confuſedly objected of their parts, being ſo many, ſpeaking many times all together ſo thick that one could not well heare another, neither all that was anſwered on my behalfe to them ſo ſundry and divers Opponents.

No verity but glory ſought for in this diſputation.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the diſputations was vainly conſumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hiſſing and clapping of hands, and that in the Engliſh tongue, to procure the peoples favour withall. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, proteſting openly, that ſuch exceſſive and outragious diſorder was unſeemely for thoſe Schools and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and ſtirrers of ſuch things, did nothing elſe but bewray the ſlenderneſſe of their cauſe, and their owne vanities: I was ſo farre off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was inforced to heare ſuch rebukes, checkes, and taunts for my labour, as no perſon of any honeſty without bluſhing could abide to heare the like ſpoken of a moſt vile varlet, againſt a moſt wretched ruffian.

Taunts and revilings uſed in this diſputation

At the firſt beginning of the diſputation, when I ſhould have confirmed mine anſwer to the firſt propoſition in few words, and that (after the manner and law of Schools) afore I could make an end of my firſt probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themſelves cried out, He ſpeaketh blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies. And when I on my knees beſought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchſafe to heare me to the end (whereat the Prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, Let him reade it, let him reade it) yet when I began to reade againe, there followed immediately ſuch ſhouting, ſuch a noiſe and tumult, and confuſion of voices, crying, Blaſphemies, blaſphemies, as I to my remembrance never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſtirred up of Demetrius the Silver-Smith, and other of his occupation, crying out againſt Paul, Great is Diana of the Epheſians, great is Diana of the Epheſians: and except it be a certaine diſputation which the Arrians had againſt the Orthodoxes, and ſuch as were of godly iudgement in Africa, where it is ſaid, that ſuch as the Preſident and Rulers of the diſputation were, ſuch was the end of the diſputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and ſo great were the ſlanders which the Arrians caſt out, that nothing could quietly bee heard. This writeth Victor in the ſecond booke of his hiſtory.

D. Ridley could not be ſuffered to read forth his proteſtation.

The which cries and tumults of them againſt me ſo prevailed, that will I, nill I, I was inforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof let the ſame aſke any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in Poperie, and I am aſſured he will ſay, I ſpeak the leaſt. But to complaine of theſe things further I will ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of this diſputation, hee concludeth with theſe words: And thus was ended this moſt glorious diſputation of the moſt holy Fathers, Sacrificers, Doctors and Maſters, which fought moſt manfully, as yee may ſee, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their countrey and kitchin, for their beautie and bellie, with triumphant applauſes and favour of the whole Univerſity.

After rhe diſputation of M. Latimer ended, which was the 18. day of April; the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the ſaid moneth, the Commiſſioners ſate in Saint Maries Church, as they did the Saturday before, and Doctor Weſton uſed particularly diſſwaſions with every of them, and would not ſuffer them to anſwer in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe or no. And firſt to the Biſhop of Canterbury he ſaid, he was overcome in diſputations: to whom the Biſhop anſwered, that whereas Doctor Weſton ſaid, he hath anſwered and oppoſed, and could neither maintaine his owne errours, nor impugne the verity, all that he ſaid was falſe. For he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was required, unleſſe he would have brawled with them, ſo thick their reaſons came one after another. Ever foure or five did interrupt him, that he could not ſpeake. Maſter Ridley and Maſter Latimer were aſked what they would do: they replyed they would ſtand to that they had ſaid. Then were they all called together, and ſentence read over them, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrons were condemned as heretikes: and in reading of it, they were aſked whether they would turne or no; and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

The three priſoners at Oxford called before the Commiſsioners April 20.

D. Cranmer, biſhop Ridley, & M. Latimer condemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt them, they anſwered againe every one in his turne, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: The Archbiſhop firſt beginning thus:

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

From this your iudgement and ſentence I appeal to the iuſt iudgement of God Almighty, truſting to bee preſent with him in heaven, for whoſe preſence in the Altar I am thus condemned.

Doctor Ridley.

Although I bee not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this ſentence will ſend us ſooner, than wee ſhould by the courſe of nature have come.

Maſter Latimer.

I thanke God moſt heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorifie God by that kinde of death.

Doctor Weſtons anſwer unto Latimer.

Weſton giveth ſentence againſt himſelf.

If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither as I am thus perſwaded.

The Archbiſhop and his fellow-priſoners ſeparated

After the ſentence pronounced, they were ſeparated one from another, videlicet, the Archbiſhop was returned to Bocardo, D. Ridley was carried to the Shiriffes houſe, M. Latimer to the Bailiffes.

On Saturday following, they had a Maſſe with a generall Proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was cauſed to behold the Proceſſion out of Bocardo; Doctor Ridley out of the Shiriffes houſe. Latimer alſo, being brought to ſee it from the Bailiffs houſe, thought that he ſhould have gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine Cooper a Catchpoll, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfox, and ſaw the matter, hee ran as faſt as his old bones would carrie him to one Spenſers ſhop, and would not looke towards it. Laſt of all, Doctor Weſton carried the ſacrament, and foure Doctors carried the Canopy over him.

Immediately after the ſentence was given, Doctor Ridley writeth to the Prolocutor in manner as followeth.

Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

D Ridleyes letter to the Prolocutor.

Papiſts have ſmall conſcience in performing promiſes

MAſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, how you promiſed mee openly in the Schooles, after my proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee how my anſwers were there taken and written of the Notaries whom ye appointed (me fateor neminem recuſare) to write what ſhould bee ſaid, and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation ſhould have ſeemed mee beſt. Yee granted me alſo, at the delivery of my anſwer unto your firſt propoſition, a copie of the ſame: theſe promiſes are not performed. If your ſudden departure be any part of the cauſe thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed: for performance of promiſe is to be looked for at a righteous Iudges hands. Now I ſend you here my anſwers in writing to your ſecond and third propoſitions, and doe deſire and require earneſtly a copie of the ſame, and I ſhal by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be paid for and ſatisfied accordingly. Maſter Prolocutor, in the time of my anſwering in the Schooles, when I would have confirmed my ſayings with authorities and reaſons, yee ſaid then openly, that I ſhould have time and place to ſay and bring whatſoever I could another time, and the ſame your ſaying was then and there confirmed of other of the Commiſſioners: yea, and (I dare ſay) the audience alſo thought then that I ſhould have had another day, to have brought and ſaid what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſuddenly ſentence given before the cauſe was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvell, &c.

Aprill 23.

On Munday next inſuing, after theſe things done and paſt, being the 23. of the ſaid moneth of April, Doctor Weſton Prolocutor tooke his iourney up to London, with the Letters certificatory from the Univerſity unto the Queene, by whom the Archbiſhop of Canterbury directed his letters ſupplicatory unto the Councell. The which letters after the Prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-neere halfe way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the contents thereof, ſent them back again, refuſing to carry them, &c. Likewiſe Biſhop Ridley hearing of the Prolocutors going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he deſireth him to carry his anſwers up to certaine Biſhops in London, the forme of which letters, firſt of D. Ridley, then of the Archbiſhop; and laſtly, another letter of D. Ridley to the Archbiſhop, here in order followeth.

A Letter of biſhop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

MAſter Prolocutor, I deſire you, and in Gods Name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew all mine anſwers, written and ſubſcribed with mine owne hand, unto the higher houſe of the Convocation, and ſpecially to my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of Dureſme, Ely, Worceſter, Norwich, and Chicheſter, and alſo to ſhew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in theſe few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this requeſt unto you by this my writing, know yee that I did take witneſſe of them by whom I did ſend you this writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent, videlicet, the two Bailiffes of Oxford, and of M. Iriſh Alderman, then there called to be a witneſſe.

By me Nicholas Ridley, 13. of April, An. 1554.

The copy of the Archbiſhop of Canterburies Letters to the Councell, ſent by D. Weſton, who refuſed to deliver them.

The Archbiſhop writeth to the Councell.

The Archbiſhop not ſuffered to anſwer fully to any argument.

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth unto your honorable Lordſhips Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beſeeching the ſame to be a meanes for mee unto the Queenes Highneſſe for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what meanes I was brought and trained unto the Will of our late Soveraigne Lord King Edward the ſixth, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignifie unto your Lordſhips, that upon Munday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſt paſt, were open diſputations here in Oxford againſt me, M. Ridley, and M. Latimer, in three matters concerning the ſacrament: Firſt, of the reall preſence, ſecondly, of tranſubſtantiation, and thirdly, of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: upon Munday againſt me, upon Tueſday againſt D. Ridley, and upon Wedneſday againſt Maſter Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not; for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of us knoweth what the other ſaid, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my ſelfe I can report. Doctor Chedſey was appointed to diſpute againſt me, but the diſputation was ſo confuſed, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked without order, and ſuch haſte was made, that no anſwer could be ſuffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument: and in ſuch weighty matters the diſputation muſt needs be ended in one day, which can ſcantly be ended in three moneths. And when we had anſwered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofes, that they might anſwer us, being required by mee thereunto, whereas I my ſelfe have more to ſay than can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in twenty dayes. The meanes to reſolve the truth, had beene to have ſuffered us to anſwer fully to all that they could ſay, and then they againe to anſwer us fully to all that we can ſay. But why they would not anſwer us, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to anſwer us, or elſe for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſte, not to ſeeke the truth, but co condemn us, that it muſt be done in poſt-haſte before the matters could be throughly heard: for in haſte we were all three condemned of hereſie. Thus much I thought good to ſignifie unto your Lordſhips, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the iudgment thereof unto your wiſdomes. And I beſeech your Lordſhips to remember mee a poore priſoner unto the Queens Maieſty, and I ſhall pray, as I doe daily, unto God for the long preſervation of your good Lordſhips in all godlineſſe and felicity. April 23.

Haſte made in condemning the Archbiſhop & his fellowes.

Doctor Ridley to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

B. Ridley writeth to the Archbiſhop.

I Wiſh ye might have ſeen theſe mine anſwers before I had delivered them, that yee might have corrected them. But I truſt in the ſubſtance of the matter we doe agree fully, both led by one ſpirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods word. It is reported, that Sergeant Morgan, the chief Juſtice of the common place, is gone mad. It is ſaid alſo that Juſtice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Doctor Moreman. Item, that maſter Rogers, Doctor Crome, and maſter Bradford ſhall be had to Cambridge, and there be diſputed with, as we were here, and that the Doctors of Oxford ſhall goe likewiſe thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine anſwers, ſend them againe to Auſten, except ye will put any thing to them. I truſt the day of our delivery out of all miſeries, and of our entrance into perpetuall reſt, and unto perpetuall ioy and felicity, draweth nigh: The Lord ſtrengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace. If you have not to write with, you muſt make your man your friend. And this bearer deſerveth to be rewarded; ſo he may and will do you pleaſure. My man is truſty; but it grieveth both him and me, that when I ſend him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to ſee you, as he may to maſter Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promiſe to ſee how my anſwers were written in the Schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his Church, and lighten the eyes of the Magiſtrates, that Gods extreme plagues light not on this Realme of England. Turne, or burne.

This Juſtice Morgan gave ſentence againſt Lady Jane.

Diſputation in Cambridge intended.

Theſe diſputations being thus diſcuſſed and ended, which were at Oxford in the moneth of Aprill, as is aforeſaid: now let us return again to the proſecuting of our ſtory, touching other things likewiſe that happened in other parts of the Realme, in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. And becauſe things that hapned in that time were ſo many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all: to the intent therefore to inſert things left out before, or els to proſecute the ſame more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much) returning againe to the moneth of July the yeer before, viz. 1553. In the which moneth of July I ſhewed before, how the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Guard, and brought to London by the Earle of Arundell, and other Lords and Gentlemen appointed for that purpoſe on ſaint James day, being the 25. day of July, and ſo to the Tower, where he remained. Theſe bee the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

First, the Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Huntington, Lord Ambroſe and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Haſtings, who was delivered again the ſame night, ſir John Gates, ſir Henry Gates, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Thomas Palmer, and D. Sands Chancellor of Cambridge.

The names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

The 26. day, the Lord Marqueſſe of Northhampton, the Biſhop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and ſir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The 27. day, the Lord chiefe Juſtice of England, and the Lord Mountacute chiefe Juſtice of the common place, were committed to the Tower.

Upon the Friday, being the 28 of July, the Duke of Suffolke, and ſir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

The 30. of July, the Lord Ruſſell was committed to the Shiriffe of Londons cuſtody.

The 31 day, the earle of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

Upon the Munday, the laſt of July, the Duke of Suffolke was delivered out of the Tower againe.

The Duke of Suffolke delivered out of the Tower.

Upon Thurſday, the 3. of Auguſt, the Queen entred into the city of London at Algate, and ſo to the Tower, where ſhe remained ſeven dayes, and then removed to Richmond.

Upon Friday, the 4. day, Doctor Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

Upon the Saturday, the 5. day, the Lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and the ſame day D. Boner was delivered out of the Marſhalſey. The ſame day at night D. Cockes was committed to the Marſhalſey, and one maſter Edward Underhill to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day Doctor Tonſtall and Steven Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the Queens privie Councell, and made Lord Chancellor.

Boner ſet at liberty.

Upon Sunday, the 7. day, Henry Dudley Captain of the Guard at Guines, which before had been ſent to the French King by his couſin the Duke of Northumberland, after the diſpatch of his amballage with the French King, returned to Guines, and ſo was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

Upon Munday, the 7. day of Auguſt, Dirige in Latine was ſung within the Tower, by all the Kings Chappel, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter was chiefe miniſter, whereat was preſent the Queen, and moſt part of the Councell.

K. Edwards body buried.

Upon Tueſday, the 8. of Auguſt, the Kings body was brought to Weſtminſter, and there buried, where Doctor Day biſhop of Chicheſter preached. The ſame day a maſſe of Requiem was ſung within the Tower by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had on his Miter, and did all things as in times paſt was done, at which maſſe the Queen was preſent.

Upon Thurſday the Duke of Norfolke came forth of the Tower, with whom the Dutcheſſe of Somerſet was alſo delivered this Thurſday.

Upon Sunday, the 11. of Auguſt, D. Bourne preached at Pauls Croſſe: of the which Sermon reade before, pag. 17.

In the week following, commandement was given throughout the City, that no Prentiſes ſhould come to the ſermon, nor beare any knife or dagger.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 16. day of Auguſt, maſter Bradford, maſter Beacon, and maſter Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom alſo maſter Sampſon ſhould have been committed, and was ſought for the ſame time in M. Elſings houſe in Fleetſtreet, where

M. Bradford with others committed to the Tower.

Maſter Bradford was taken; and becauſe hee was not found, the biſhop of Wincheſter fumed like a Prelate with the meſſenger.

Upon the Friday, being the 18. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marqueſſe of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there the ſame day condemned, the Duke of Northfolke that day being the high Judge.

Upon the Saturday, the 19. of Auguſt, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Gates, ſir Henry Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the Lord Marqueſſe of Wincheſter being high Judge.

Upon which day a letter was ſent unto ſir Henry Tirril, Anthony Browne, and Edmund Browne, Eſquires, praying them to commit to ward all ſuch as ſhall contemne the Queens order of Religion, or ſhall keep themſelves from Church, there to remaine untill they be conformable, and to ſignifie their names to the Councell.

D. Watſon preached at Pauls Croſſe.

Upon Sunday, the 20. of Auguſt, D. Watſon, the biſhop of Wincheſters Chapleine, preached at Pauls Croſſe, at whoſe ſermon was preſent the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and 200, of the Guard with their halberds, leſt the people ſhould have made any ſtir againſt the Preacher.

Upon Munday, the 21. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marqueſſe of Northampton, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, heard a maſſe within the Tower, and after maſſe they all five received the ſacrament in one kinde only, as in the Popiſh time was uſed. On the which day alſo Queene Mary ſet forth a Proclamation, ſignifing to the people, that ſhe could not hide any longer the Religion which ſhe from her infancy had profeſſed, &c. inhibiting in the ſaid Proclamation Printing, and Preaching, the tenor whereof, reade before, page 16.

Execution at the Tower hil.

Upon the Tueſday, being the 22. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Towerhill, as before is ſaid, pag. 16. The ſame day certain noble perſonages heard maſſe within the Tower, and likewiſe after maſſe received the ſacrament in one kinde.

Upon Sunday, the 27. day of Auguſt, Doctor Chedſey preached at Pauls Croſſe, and the ſame day the biſhop of Canterbury, ſir Thomas Smith, and the Deane of Pauls were cited to appeare the weeke following before the Queens Commiſſioners, in the biſhops Conſiſtory within Pauls.

In this meane time it was noiſed abroad by running rumors falſly & craftily deviſed; either to ſtabliſh the credit of the maſſe, or elſe to bring Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury out of credit, that he, to curry favour with Queen Mary, ſhould promiſe to ſay Dirige maſſe after the old cuſtome for King Edward, and that hee had already ſaid maſſe at Canterbury, &c. Wherfore to ſtop the noiſe and ſlanders of thoſe rumours, the ſaid Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the 7. day of September ſet forth a letter, which was alſo printed, in purgation of himſelfe, the copie of which letter here enſueth.

A purgation of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt certaine ſlanders falſly raiſed upon him.

The Archbiſh. of Canterbury purgeth himſelfe againſt falſe rumours.

AS the Divell, Chriſts ancient adverſary, is a lyer, and the father of lyes, even ſo hath hee ſtirred up his ſervants and members to perſecute Chriſt and his true word and religion with lying: which hee ceaſeth not to doe moſt earneſtly at this preſent time. For whereas the Prince of famous memory King Henry the eighth, ſeeing the great abuſes of the Latine Maſſe, reformed ſome things therein in his life time, and after, our late Soveraigne Lord King Edward the ſixth, took the ſame whole away for the manifold and great errours and abuſes of the ſame, and reſtored in the place thereof Chriſts holy Supper, according to Chriſts owne inſtitution, and as the Apoſtles uſed the ſame in the Primitive Church, the Divell goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lords Supper again, and to reſtore his Latine ſatisfactory Maſſe, a thing of his owne invention and device. And to bring the ſame more eaſily to paſſe, ſome have abuſed the name of mee Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, bruting abroad that I have ſet up the Maſſe at Canterbury, and that I offered to ſay Maſſe at the buriall of our late Soveraigne Prince King Edward the ſixth, and that I offered to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes Highneſſe, and at Pauls Church, and I wot not where. And although I have beene well exerciſed theſe twenty yeares to ſuffer and beare evill reports and lyes, and have not beene much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly: yet when untrue reports and lyes turne to the hinderance of Gods truth, they are in no wiſe to bee ſuffered. Wherefore theſe bee to ſignifie unto the world, that it was not I that did ſet up the Maſſe at Canterbury, but it was a falſe, flattering, lying, and diſſembling Monke, which cauſed Maſſe to be ſet up there without mine advice or counſell; *Reddat illi Dominus in die illo.* And as for offering my ſelfe to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes Highneſſe, or in any other place, I never did it, as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I ſhall be ready to prove, againſt all that will ſay the contrary that all that is contained in the holy communion, ſet out by the moſt innocent and godly Prince King Edward the ſixth, in his high Court of Parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Chriſt did both obſerve, and command to be obſerved, and which his Apoſtles and Primitive Church uſed many yeeres; whereas the Maſſe in many things not only hath no foundation of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, nor the Primitive Church, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame, and containeth many horrible abuſes it it. And although many either unlearned or malicious, doe report that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the Queenes Highneſſe will grant thereunto, I with the ſaid M. Peter Martyr, and other foure or five, which I ſhall chuſe, will by Gods grace take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the Church, the miniſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but alſo all the doctrine and religion ſet out by our Soveraigne Lord King Edward the ſixth, to be more pure, and according to Gods word, than any other that hath beene uſed in England theſe 1000. yeeres: ſo that Gods word may be Iudge, and that the reaſons and proofes of both parties may be ſet out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man ſhall ſtart backe from his writing. And where they boaſt of the faith, that hath beene in the Church theſe 1500. yeeres, wee will joyne with them in this point; and that the ſame doctrine and uſage is to bee followed, which was in the Church 1500. yeeres paſt: and wee ſhall prove, that the order of the Church, ſet out at this preſent in this Realme by Act of Parliament, is the ſame that was uſed in the Church 1500 yeeres paſt, and ſo ſhall they be never able to prove theirs.

This Monke was Doctor Thornton, a cruell murtherer of Gods people, of whoſe horrible end ye ſhall reade hereafter, partly alſo in the life of Cranmer

The ſame Thurſday, being the 7. of September,

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ber, Lord Mountacute chiefe Juſtice, and Lord chiefe Baron were delivered out of the Tower.

The 13. of September, the reverend father maſter Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The 14. of September, the Biſhop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The 26. of September, one maſter Gray of Cambridge, called before him one maſter Garth, for that he would not ſuffer a boy of Peterhouſe to help him ſay maſſe in Pembroke hall, which was before any law was eſtabliſhed for that behalf.

Amongſt theſe Pageants ſtood a certain man upon the top of the Eagle upon Pauls ſteeple with a flagge in his hand.

The Queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thurſday, being the 28. of September and upon the Saturday following ſhe rode from the Tower thorow the City of London, where were made many Pageants to receive her, and ſo ſhe was triumphantly brought to Weſtminſter to White-hall.

Vpon the Sunday, being the firſt day of October, the Queens Highneſſe went from White-hall to Weſtminſter Abbey, accompanied with the moſt part of the Nobility of this Realme: namely theſe, The Duke of Norfolk, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Shrewſbury, the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, the Earles of Darby, Bedford, Worceſter, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Oxford, Suſſex, Devonſhire, Pembroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lord Ferris, Lord Cobham, Lord Aburgeiny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scroupe, Lord Rich, Lord Vaus, Lord Howard, Lord Conias Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willowby, with other Nobles, and all the Embaſſadours of divers Countries, the Maior of London with all the Aldermen. Alſo out of the Abbey, to receive her comming, came three ſilver croſſes, and to the number of fourescore, or neere upon, of ſinging men, all in very rich and gorgeous coapes. Amongſt whom were the Deane of Weſtminſter, and divers of her Chapleines, which bare every one ſome enſigne in their hands, and after them followed ten Biſhops mytred all, and their Croyſer ſtaves in their hands, and rich coapes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Weſtminſter hall before the Queene to the Abbey, wher ſhee was crowned by Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellour of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctor Day Biſhop of Chicheſter made a Sermon to the Queens Maieſty, and to the reſt of the Nobility.

Q. Mary crowned.

Doctor Dayes Sermon.

Also there was a generall pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the ſame time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the priſoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and 62. more. Whereof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

Generall pardon at the Queenes Coronation Exempted out of the pardon.

The third of October, the Vicechancellour of Cambridge did challenge one maſter Pierſon, for that he miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his owne Pariſh, and did receive ſtrangers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay Maſſe. Whereupon within two dayes after hee was cleane diſcharged from farther miniſtring in his Cure.

Vpon the Wedneſday following, the Archbiſhop of Yorke was committed to the Tower.

Vpon Thurſday, being the 5. of October, 1554 the Queen rode to the Parliament in her robes, and all the Nobility with her, and when they were ſet in the Parliament Houſe, the Biſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemne Oration, and Sergeant Pollard was choſen ſpeaker of the Parliament. The ſame day the Biſhops of Lincolne, Hereford, and Weſtcheſter, were diſcharged from the Parliament and Convocation.

Q. Mary rideth to the Parliament houſe.

Sergeant Pollard ſpeaker in the Parliament.

Alſo the 10. day of October, the earle of Huntington was delivered out of the Tower.

The Earle of Huntington delivered out of the Tower.

Vpon the Sunday after, being the 15. of October, M. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallowes in Breadſtreet in the morning: where hee declared the abomination of the maſſe, with divers other matters very notably and godly. Whereof more ſhall bee heard (by the Lords leave) hereafter when we come to his ſtory. In which his doing, as he ſhewed himſelf to be Gods faithfull miniſter, ſo is hee ſure not to bee defrauded of Gods faithfull promiſe, who ſaith, Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram Patre meo qui eſt in cœlis, Mat. 10. But about noon of the ſame day hee was ſent for by the biſhop of London, and from thence committed to the Marſhalſey.

M. Saunders for preaching againſt the Maſſe, committed to the Marſhalſey.

Vpon the Sunday following, being the 20. of October, Doctor Weſton preached at Pauls Croſſe. Who in the beginning of his Sermon willed the people to pray for the ſouls departed, on this wiſe: You ſhall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers. He named the Lords Table an oyſter bord. He ſaid that the Catechiſme in Latine, lately ſet out, was abominable hereſie, and likened the ſetters out of the ſame Catechiſme to Julianus Apoſtata, and the book to a Dialogue ſet out by the ſaid Julianus Apoſtata, wherein Chriſt and Pilate were the ſpeakers; with many other things. Which ſermon with all the points thereof, maſter Coverdale the ſame time learnedly confuted by writing, which remaineth yet in my hands to be ſeene.

D. Weſtons Popiſh ſermon at Pauls.

Weſtons ſermon confuted by maſter Coverdale.

In the week following began the diſputations in the Convocation houſe in Pauls Church, whereof ſufficient hath been before declared.

The 26. day of October, the Vicechancellour of Cambridge went to Clarehall, and in the preſence of doctor Walker, diſplaced doctor Madew, and placed maſter Swyborne in the maſterſhip there, by force of the Lord Chancellours letters, for that he was (as they termed it) Vxoratus, that is, married.

The 28. day of October, the Papiſts in the Kings Colledge in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeale) had their whole ſervice again in the Latine tongue, contrary to the law then in force.

Running before the law

The laſt of October, the Vicechancellour of Cambridge did ſharpely reprove and threaten one M. Thrackold, for that he challenged the ſaid Vicechancellour, who had ſuffered maſter Bovell (contrary to the ſtatutes then in force) quietly without puniſhment to depart, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſweare to the ſupremacy of the Queene, and the abrogation of the Biſhop of Rome.

The third day of November, the Vicechancellour ſent for the Curate of the round Pariſh in Cambridge, commanding him not to miniſter any more in the Engliſh tongue, ſaying, hee would have one uniforme order of ſervice throughout the towne, and that in Latine, with maſſe, which was eſtabliſhed the 12. day of this moneth.

The Queenes proceedings maintained in Cambridge before the law

The 6. day of November, maſter Pollard preached at ſaint Michaels, and in his ſermon approved Purgatory.

The 28. day of November, the Archdeacons Officiall viſited in Hynton, where he gave in charge to preſent all ſuch as did diſturbe the Queens proceedings, in letting the Latine ſervice, the ſetting up of their Altars, and ſaying of maſſe, or any part thereof: whereby it was eaſie to ſee how theſe good fellowes meant to proceed, having the law once on their ſide, that thus readily againſt a manifeſt law would attempt the puniſhment of any man.

K. Edwards acts repealed.

The 15. day of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by K. Edward, and for the the ſetting up of the maſſe, for the 20. day of December then next following: the other was that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay maſſe.

The Parliament beginning about the 5. day of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the which parliament were diſſolved as well all Statutes made of Premunirc, in the time of K Henry the eighth, &c. as alſo other lawes and ſtatutes concerning religion and adminiſtration of ſacraments, decreed under King Edward the ſixth, as is partly above touched In the which parliament moreover was appointed the 20. day of December next inſuing the ſame yeer 1553. that all the old form and manner of Church ſervice, uſed in the laſt yeere of King Henry, ſhould now again be reſtored,

On New-yeeres Even being the laſt of December, the Lord Marqueſſe of Northhampton was delivered out of the Tower.

A Prieſt of Canterbury repenting his ſaying Maſſe.

About this time a Prieſt of Canterbury ſaid maſſe on the one day, and the next day after he came into the Pulpit, and deſired all the people to forgive him; for he ſaid he had betrayed Chriſt but not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long ſermon againſt the maſſe.

The day after New-yeeres day, being the ſecond day of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1554. foure Ambaſſadours came into London from the Emperour, and were honourably received. There names were theſe: Le Countie de Egmont, Le Countie de Lalen, Mounſieur Corire, Le Chancellor Nigre.

About this time a great number of new Biſhops, Deanes, &c. were choſen, more than were made at one time ſince the Conqueſt. Their names are theſe:

New Biſhops made.

D. Holyman B. of Briſtow.
D. Coates B. of Weſtcheſter.
D. Hopton Biſhop of Norwich.
D. Bourne Biſhop of Bathe.
D. White Biſhop of Lincolne.
D. Mores B. of Rocheſter.
D. Morgan Biſhop of S. Davies.
D. Poole B. of S. Aſſe.
D. Brookes B. of Gloceſter.
D. Moreman, coadjutor to the Biſhop of Excეter, and after his deceaſe Biſhop of Exceter.
D. Glin Biſhop of Bangor.
Maſter Fecknam Deane of Pauls.
D. Rainolds Deane of Briſtow, with others.

The 12. day of January, the Vicechancellor of Cambridge called a congregation generall, wherein amongſt other things he ſhewed, that the Queen would have there a maſſe of the holy Ghoſt upon the 18. day of February then next following, for that it was her birth day, which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very ſolemnly.

Doctor Crome committed to the Fleet.

Upon the Saturday, being the 13. of January Doctor Crome was committed to the Fleet. Alſo upon the Sunday following, one M. Addington was committed to the tower. Alſo this ſame Sunday knowledge was given in the Court openly by the biſhop of Wincheſter, that the marriage betwéen the Quéens Maieſty and the King of Spain was concluded, and the day following, being Munday, and the 15. of January, the Maior with the Aldermen and certaine Commons were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chancellor to prepare the City ready to receive the ſaid King of Spaine; who declared unto them what a Catholike, mighty, prudent, and wiſe Prince the ſaid King was, with many other commendations of him.

The marriage of Q. Mary.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 20. of January, the Court of the firſt fruits and tenths was diſſolved.

Upon the Thurſday at night following, the 25 day of January, the Lord Marqueſſe of Northhampton was again committed to the Tower, and ſir Edward Warner with him. Who were brought to the Tower by the Maior,

Juſtice Hales committed to the Marſhalſey.

M. Rogers committed to Newgate.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 26. of January, Juſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſey, and the ſame day maſter Rogers was committed to Newgate. Upon this Saturday, Sunday, and Munday following, the Londoners prepared a number of ſouldiers (by the Quéenes commandement) to goe into Kent againſt the Commons: whereof were chiefe Captaines the Duke of Northfolke, the earle of Wormwood, ſir Henry Jerningham, ſir George Haward, and ten other captaines. Which ſouldiers when they came to Rocheſter bridge, where they ſhould have ſet upon their enemies, moſt of them (as it is ſaid) left their own Captaines and came wholly to the Kentiſh men, and ſo the foreſaid Captaines returned to the court both void of men & victory, leaving behind them both ſixe pieces of ordnance, and treaſure.

About yͤ later end of January, yͤ duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his houſe at Shene, & took his voyage into Leiceſter ſhire. After whom was ſent the earle of Huntington to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the ſaid duke traitor by the way as he rode.

Strange ſights ſeen before the comming in of King Philip, and ſubverſion of Religion.

And thus paſſing to the moneth of February, here is to be noted by the way of ſtory, that upon the 15. day of the ſaid moneth, being Thurſday, there were ſéen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoone, ſtrange ſights. There were ſéene two ſunnes both ſhining at once, the one a good pretty way diſtant from the other. At the ſame time was alſo ſéene a Rain-bow turned contrary, and a great deale higher than hath béen accuſtomed. The common ſtanding of the Raine-bow is thus ⌒ but this ſtood thus ‿ with the head downward, and the féet as it were upward. Both theſe ſights were ſéene as well at Weſtminſter, in Cheapſide, on the ſouth ſide of Pauls, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honeſt men. Alſo certaine Aldermen went out of the Guild-Hall to behold the ſight.

The Lady Elizabeth ſent for.

The biſhop of Wincheſter preacheth.

As touching the riſing of maſter Wyat, with ſir William Cobham and others in Kent, and their comming to London in the moneth of February; alſo of the Quéens comming to Guild-Hall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the ſaid Wyat and his company; likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the duke of Suffolke with his brother Lord John Gray; and the next day after of the beheading of Lord Gilford and Lady Jane, which was the 12. day of February, and how the day before which was the 11 of the ſaid moneth, Lord William Haward, and ſir Edward Haſtings were ſent for the Lady Elizabeth; and how the ſame ſunday, ſir Henry Iſeley, maſter Culpepper, and maſter Winter were committed to the Tower, the Biſhop of Wincheſter the ſame day, being the 11. of February, preaching before the Quéene, and perſwading her to uſe no mercy toward theſe Kentiſh men, but ſevere execution, all which was in the moneth of February; becauſe moſt of theſe matters have bin briefly touched before

or

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or elſe may be found in other Chronicles, I will ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: having ſomewhat notwithſtanding to declare touching the arraignment and death of the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke arraigned.

Upon Saturday, being the 17. day of February, the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condemned to dye by his Peeres, the Earle of Arundell was chiefe Iudge for this day.

Upon the Sunday following, which was the 18. day of the ſaid moneth, Seſſions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept upon the Sunday.

Upon the Munday, the 19. of February, the Lord Cobhams three ſons, and foure other men were arraigned at Weſtminſter: of which ſons the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the Bar, and the other foure were condemned.

The Lord John Gray arraigned.

Upon the Tueſday, being the 20. of February the Lord John Gray was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned the ſame day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Upon Wedneſday, the 21. of February, the Lord Thomas Gray, and ſir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower with a number of Horſemen.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton committed to the Tower.

Upon the Thurſday, being the 22. of February, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Upon the Friday, being 23 of February, 1554 the Duke of Suffolke was beheaded at the Tower-Hill, the order of whoſe death here followed.

The godly end and death of the Duke of Suffolke beheaded at Tower-Hill. An. 1554.

February 23.

The order and manner of the Duke of Suffolkes death. D. Weſton the Dukes ghoſtly father againſt the Dukes will.

ON Friday the 23. of February, 1554. about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, the Lord Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolke, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the ſcaffold on the Tower-Hill, with a great company, &c, and in his comming thither, there accompanied him Doctor Weſton as his ghoſtly father, notwithſtanding, as it ſhould ſeeme, againſt the will of the ſaid Duke. For when the Duke went up to the ſcaffold, the ſaid Weſton being on the left hand, preaſed to goe up with him. The Duke with his hand, put him down again off the ſtaires: and Weſton, taking hold of the Duke, forced him downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond time, the Duke again put him down.

Weſton put backe by the Dukes hand.

Then Weſton ſaid that it was the Queenes pleaſure he ſhould ſo doe. Wherewith the Duke caſting his hands abroad, aſcended up the ſcaffold, and pauſed a pretty while after. And then he ſaid: Maſters, I have offended the Queene, and her lawes, and thereby am iuſtly condemned to dye, and am willing to dye, deſiring all men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death may be an enſample to all men, beſeeching you all to beare me witneſſe, that I dye in the faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I doe repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you ſee my breath depart from mee, you will pray to God that he may receive my ſoule. And then he deſired all men to forgive him, ſaying, that the Queen had forgiven him.

The words of the Duke to the people.

The godly faith and confeſſion of the Duke at his death.

Then M. Weſton declared with a loud voice that the Queenes Maieſtie had forgiven him. With that divers of the ſtanders by ſaid with meetly good and audible voice: ſuch forgiveneſſe God ſend thee, meaning D. Weſton. Then the Duke kneeled down upon his knee, and ſaid the Pſalm Miſerere mei Deus unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the Pſalm, he ſaid, In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum, &c. Then he aroſe and ſtood up, and delivered his cap and his ſkarfe unto the executioner.

The Duke prayeth.

Then the ſaid executioner kneeled down, and aſked the Duke forgiveneſſe. And the Duke ſaid God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou doeſt thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, my Lord how ſhall I do for the money that you doe owe me? and the Duke ſaid, alas good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but goe thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and ſaid, Our Father which art in heaven. &c. unto the end. And then he ſaid, Chriſt have mercy upon me, and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and at the firſt chop ſtroke off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

The Duke prepareth him to death.

The end of the Duke of Suffolke.

The ſame day a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came through the City with their halters about their necks. There were in (a) number about 200.

(a) The number of thoſe were 240. which with halters, about their neckes paſſed through the City to Weſtminſter, and had their pardon.

Upon the Saturday, the 24. of February, ſir William Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maſter of the Horſe to be kept. This ſir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeths Gentlemen.

Upon the Sunday, being the 25. of February, ſir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this weeke, all ſuch Prieſts within the Dioceſſe of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might likewiſe be divorced from them. This the biſhop did of his owne power.

Prieſts divorced.

Upon the Tueſday in the ſame weeke, being the 27. of February, certaine Gentlemen of Kent were ſent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were theſe, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret; with theſe Maſter Rudſton alſo and certaine other were condemned, and ſhould have beene executed, but they had their pardon.

Gentlemen ſent into Kent to be executed.

M. Rudſton with certain others pardoned.

As touching the foreſaid maſter Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his firſt caſting under the gallowes, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recanted the truth, and received the ſacrament of the altar (as they terme it) and then they ſaid he ſhould have the Queens pardon: but maſter Mantel, like a worthy Gentleman, refuſed their ſerpentine counſell, and choſe rather to dye, than to have life for diſhonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid M. Mantel, for that he was reported falſly to have fallen from the conſtancy of his profeſſion; to cleere himſelfe thereof, and to reprove the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of his recantation, he wrote this brief Apologie in purgation of himſelfe: the copy whereof you ſhall heare.

The Apologie of M. Mantel the elder.

March 20. The beliefe of M. Mantel the elder.

PErceiving that already certaine falſe reports are raiſed of mee concerning my anſwer in the

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the behalfe of my beliefe, whiles I was priſoner in the Tower of London, and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to bee an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe little ones that believe in Chriſt: I have thought it the duty of a Chriſtian man, as neer as I can (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleaſed the Queenes Majeſty to ſend unto mee Maſter Doctor Bourne, unto whom at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the foure Creeds, that is, the common Creed, the Creed of Nicene, *Quicunque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*

D. Bourn ſent to M. Mantel.

Further, as concerning Confeſſion and Penance, I declare that I could bee content to ſhew unto any learned Miniſter of Chriſts Church any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a man I would moſt willingly heare abſolution pronounced.

M. Mantle opposed in the ſacrament.

Touching the ſacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) I ſaid that I believed Chriſt to be there preſent as the holy Ghoſt meant, when theſe words were written, *Hoc est corpus meum.*

Mat. 5.
Iames 2.

Further, when this would not ſatisfie, I deſired him to conſider, that I was a condemned man to dye by a law, and that it was more meete for mee to ſeeke a readineſſe and preparation to death. And inſomuch as I diſſented not from him in any Article of the Chriſtian faith neceſſary to ſalvation, I deſired him for Gods ſake no more to trouble mee with ſuch matters, as which to believe, is neither ſalvation; nor not to believe, damnation. Hee anſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the Catholike Church, my ſoule was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alledging this Text, *Qui offenderit in minimo, factus eſt reus omnium, i.* Hee that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is guilty of them all. Yea, quoth I, *Verum eſt ex hiſce mandatis, i.* It is true of theſe commandements of God. To this I deſired him to conſider it was not my matter, nor could I in theſe matters keepe diſputation, nor minded ſo to doe; and therefore to take theſe few words for a full anſwer, that I not onely in the matter of the Sacrament, but alſo in all other matters of Religion, believe as the holy Catholike Church of Chriſt (grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles) believeth. But upon this word Church we agreed not; for I tooke exception at the Antichriſtian Popiſh Church.

The Church.

D. Bourn and M. Mantel diſagree in the Maſſe.

Then fell we in talke of the Maſſe, wherein wee agreed not: for I both for the occaſion of Idolatrie, and alſo the cleare ſubverſion of Chriſts inſtitution, thought it naught; and hee *è contra* upon certaine conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, and at certaine other applications of it. But he ſaid that it was not a propitiatory Sacrifice for ſinne (for the death of Chriſt only was the Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then, if yee thinke ſo, (certaine blaſphemous Collects left out) I could bee content (were it not for offending my poore brethren rhat believe in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to heare your Maſſe. See, quoth he how vain glory toucheth you. Not ſo Sir, quoth I, I am not now I thank God, in caſe to be vain glorious.

Bourne maketh the Maſſe a communion.

1 Cor. 10.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yea, ſaith hee, one Prieſt ſaying Maſſe here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a communion. This agreeth ſcarcely with theſe words of Paul, ſaid I, *Non in melius, ſed in deterius convenitis, i.* Yee, come not after a better manner, but after a worſe. Yea, and it is a communion too, ſaid hee, when they come together. Now draweth on the time (quoth hee) that I muſt depart from you to the Court, to ſay Maſſe before the Queen, and muſt ſignifie unto her in what caſe I finde you, and mee thinke I finde you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſaid, I pray you report the beſt: for I truſt you finde mee not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay? are yee content to heare Maſſe, and to receive the Sacrament of the Maſſe? I beſeech you, ſaid I, ſignifie unto her Majeſty, that I am neither obſtinate nor ſtubborne; for time and perſwaſion may alter mee, but as yet my conſcience is ſuch, that I can neither heare Maſſe, nor receive the ſacrament after that ſort. Thus, after certaine requeſts made to the Queenes Majeſty concerning other matters, he departed.

Mantel neither obſtinate nor ſtubborne.

The next day hee came to mee againe, and brought with him Saint Cyprians workes; for ſo I had required him to doe the day before, becauſe I would ſee his Sermon *De Mortalitate*. Hee had in this booke turned and interlined certaine places both concerning the Church and the Sacrament, which he willed me to reade. I read as much as my time would ſerve, and at his next comming I ſaid, that I was wholly of Cyprians minde in the matter of the Sacrament. Doctor Weſton and Doctor Mallet came after to mee, whom I anſwered much after that ſort as I did the other. Doctor Weſton brought in the place of Saint Cyprian, *Panis iſte non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, &c.* I aſked of him how *natura* was taken in the Convocation houſe, in the diſputation upon the place of Theodoret.

To bee ſhort, Doctor Bourne came often unto mee, and I alwaies ſaid unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to diſpute in matters of Religion: but I believed as the holy Catholike Church of Chriſt, grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy Fathers, Saint Cyprian and Saint Auguſtine doe write, and believed; and this anſwer and none other they had of mee in effect, what words ſoever have beene ſpread abroad of mee, that I ſhould be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard Maſſe, nor received the Sacrament during the time of my impriſonment.

M. Mantel conſtant in his Religion.

One time hee willed mee to bee confeſſed. I ſaid, I am content. Wee kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without *Benedicite*, deſiring him not to looke at my hand for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeration of my ſinnes. Therewith hee was called away to the Councell; *& ego liberatus*. Thus much I beare onely for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Chriſtian, from the bottome of my heart I aſk them forgiveneſſe. I truſt God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durſt never deny him before men, leſt hee ſhould deny mee before his heavenly Father.

Thus have I left behinde me written with mine owne hand the effect of all the talke, eſpecially of the worſt that ever I granted unto, to the uttermoſt I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long and too fooliſh ſo to do. Now I beſeech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to paſſe, that I dye ſtedfaſt and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and deteſtation of all Papiſticall and Antichriſtian doctrine; I beſeech him (I ſay) to keepe and defend all his choſen for his names ſake, from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of all his ſatellites. Gods indignation is knowne: hee will trie and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Chriſt before men, leſt he deny you before his heavenly Father. Feare not to loſe your lives for him; for ye ſhall finde them againe. God hold his mercifull hand over this Realme, and avert the plagues imminent from the ſame. God ſave the Queene, and ſend her knowledge in his truth, Amen. Pray, pray, pray

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yee Chriſtians, and comfort your ſelves with the Scriptures.

Written the 2. of March, Ann. 1554. by me Walter Mantel priſoner, whom both God and the world hath forgiven his offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of M. Walter Mantell, who if hee had conſented unto the Queen, what time ſhe ſent D. Bourne unto him, to deny his faith, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and eſcaped with life.

March 3. Sir Gawen Carew, & Maſter Gibbes brought to the Tower.

Upon the Saturday, being the third of March Sir Gawen Carew, and M. Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

March 17.

In London the 17. day of March, every houſeholder was commanded to appeare before the Aldermen of their Ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives, and ſervants ſhould prepare themſelves to ſhrift, and receive the ſacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of them ſhould depart out of the City, untill Eaſter was paſt.

March 18. Lady Elizabeth brought to the Tower.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 18. day of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the Queenes ſiſter, was brought to the Tower.

March 24.

Upon Eaſter Even, being the 24. of March, the Lord Marqueſſe of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham were delivered out of the Tower.

March 25. The Pixe riſen out of the Sepulchre from all the watchmen at Saint Pancraſe Church.

The 25. day (being Eaſter day) in the morning, at S. Pancraſe in cheape, the Crucifixe with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed manner hee put his hand into the Sepulchre, and ſaid very devoutly, Surrexit, non eſt hic, he found his words true, for he was not there indeed: Whereupon being half diſmayed, they conſulted amongſt themſelves whom they thought to be likeſt to doe this thing. In which debatement they remembred one Marſh, which a little before had been put from that Parſonage, becauſe hee was married, to whoſe charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the Maior, they then burthened him to have kept company with his wife, ſince that they were by commandement divorced. Whereto he anſwered, that he thought the Queene had done him wrong to take from him both his living and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very grievouſly, and he and his wife were both committed to ſeverall Counters, notwithſtanding that he had been very ſicke.

M. Marſh burthened with ſuſpition and with his marriage.

April 8. A Cat hanged with a ſhaven crowne, upon the gallowes in Cheapeſide.

The 8. of April, there was a Cat hanged upon a gallowes at the Croſſe in Cheape, apparrelled like a Prieſt ready to ſay Maſſe, with a ſhaven crowne. Her two forefeet were tyed over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put betweene them: whereon aroſe great evill will againſt the City of London. For the Queen and the Biſhops were very angry withall; and therefore the ſame afternoone there was a Proclamation, that whoſoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the Cat, ſhould have xx. nobles, which reward was afterwards increaſed to xx. marks, but none could or would earne it.

The number and occaſion of the gallowſes ſet up in the City of London.

As touching the firſt occaſion of ſetting up this Gallowes in Cheapeſide, here is to be underſtood, that after the Sermon of the Biſhop of Wincheſter (above mentioned) made before the Queene for the ſtreight execution of Wyats ſouldiers, immediately upon the ſame, the 13. of February, were ſet up a great number of gallowſes in divers places of the City; namely, two in Cheapſide, one at Leaden Hall, one at Billingſgate, one at S. Magnus Church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleetſtreet, foure in Southwarke, one at Algate, one at Biſhops gate, one at Alderſgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at S. James Parke corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowſes, to the number of twenty, there remained for terrour of other, from the 13. of February till the 4. of June, and then at the comming in of K. Phillip were taken downe.

M. Wyats words touching the Lady Elizabeth.

The 11. day of April was Sir Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at the Tower hill, where he uttered theſe words touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earle of Devonſhire. Concerning, ſaid he, what I have ſaid of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuſe neither my Lady Elizabeths Grace, nor my Lord of Devonſhire. I cannot accuſe them, neither am I able to ſay, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my riſing. And when Doctor Weſton told him, that his confeſſion was otherwiſe before the Councell, he anſwered: That which I ſaid then, I ſaid; but that which I ſay now, is true.

April 17. Sir James Croft. M. Winter. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton

Upon the Tueſday, being the 17. of Aprill, Sir James Croft, and Maſter Winter, were brought to the Guild-Hall, with whom alſo the ſame time, and to theſame place was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracy with the Duke of Suffolke and the reſt, againſt the Queen: where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaved himſelfe (as well in cleering his owne caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch lawes of the Realm as were then alledged againſt him) that the Queſt, which was charged with this matter could not in conſcience but find him not guilty: for the which, the ſaid 12. perſons of the Queſt, being alſo ſubſtantiall men of the Citie, were bound in the ſumme of 500. pounds a peece to appeare before the Queens Councell at a day appointed, there to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt them for his acquitting. Which Queſt appeared accordingly before the Councell in the Star-chamber upon Wedneſday, being the 25. of April, and ſaint Markes day. From whence, after certain queſtioning, they were committed to priſon: Emanuel Lucar, and maſter Whetſtone were committed to the Tower and the other ten to the Fleet.

The Queſt troubled for Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

April 25.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Maſter Latimer, which was the 20. of this moneth of April, and alſo of their diſputations, becauſe we have ſaid enough before, it ſhall not need now to beſtowe any further rehearſall thereof.

Lord Thomas Gray beheaded April 27.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them, the 27. of April, Lord Thomas Gray, the late Duke of Suffolkes brother, was beheaded at Tower-Hill.

Aprill 28.

Upon the Saturday, being the 28. of Aprill, ſir James Croft, and M. Winter were againe brought to the Guild-Hall, where ſir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and becauſe the day was farreſpent, M. Winter was not arraigned.

William Thomas condemned. May 27.

Upon the Thurſday, being the 17. of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guild-Hall and there the ſame day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawne, and quartered. His accuſation was, for conſpiring the Queens death: which how true it was I have not to ſay. This is certaine, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitfull exhortations.

hortations, Letters, and Sonets in the priſon before his death.

A certaine diſputation intended to be had at Cambridge.

In the moneth of May it was given out, and bruted abroad, that a ſolemne Diſputation ſhould be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in Maſter Ridleyes letter, page 92.) betwéene Maſter Bradford, Maſter Saunders, Maſter Rogers, and other of that ſide, and the Doctors of both the Univerſities on the other ſide, like as had beene in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly Preachers which were in priſon having word thereof, albeit they were deſtitute of their bookes, neither were ignorant of the purpoſe of the adverſaries, and how the cauſe was preiudiced before: alſo how the Diſputations were confuſedly handled at Oxford: nevertheleſſe they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard; and therefore wiſely pondering the matter with themſelves, by a publike conſent directed out of priſon a declaration of their minde by writing, the 8. day of May. Wherein firſt, as touching the Diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould doe noe good, whereas all things were ſo predetermined before; yet nevertheleſſe they would not deny to diſpute, ſo that the diſputation might be either before the Quéene, or before the Councell, or before the Parliament Houſes, or els if they might diſpute by writing: for els if the matter were brought to the Doctors handling in their owne Schooles, they have ſufficient proofe, they ſaid, by the experience of Oxford, what little good will be done at Cambridge; and ſo conſequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withall to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility, either to the will or puniſhment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their Iudges in this behalfe, and ſo ended their proteſtation, the copie and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inſerted.

The Preachers in priſon refuſe not to diſpute before indifferent Iudges.

A copy of a certaine declaration drawne and ſent out of priſon by Maſter Bradford, Maſter Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their diſputation, and doctrine of their Religion, as followeth.

A declaration of the godly Preachers, written and ſent abroad out of priſon.

BEcauſe we heare that it is determined of the Magiſtrates, and ſuch as be in authority, eſpecially of the Clergie, to ſend us ſpéedily out of the priſons of the Kings Bench, the Fléet, the Marſhalſey, & Newgate, where at this preſent we are, and of long time ſome of us have béene, not as rebels, traitors, ſeditious perſons, théeves, or tranſgreſſors of any lawes of this Realme, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandements of the Quéenes Highneſſe, or of any of the Councels (Gods name be praiſed therefore) but alonely for the conſcience we have to God, and his moſt holy word and truth, upon moſt certaine knowledge: becauſe we ſay, we heare that it is determined, we ſhalbe ſent to one of the Univerſities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appointed in that behalfe: in that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe than by writing, except it may be before the Quéenes Highneſſe and her Councell, or before the Parliament Houſes; and therefore perchance it wilbe bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of Gods word, and the conſent of the true and catholike Church of Chriſt, the doctrine we have generally and ſeverally taught, and ſome of us have written and ſet forth, wherethrough the godly and ſimple may be offended, and ſomwhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whileſt we may, by writing to publiſh and notifie the cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe than is aboveſaid, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

A talk of a pretenſed diſputation to be had at Cambridge.

The cauſes why they will not otherwiſe diſpute than before indifferent Iudges.

The matter of diſputation is againſt Gods word.

Firſt, becauſe it is evidently knowne unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the Univerſities in matters of Religion, eſpecially wherein we ſhould diſpute, are directly againſt Gods word, yea, againſt their own determinations in the time of our late Soveraigne Lord and moſt godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is knowne they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our cauſes, before any diſputation had of the ſame.

The ſecond cauſe.

Secondly, becauſe the Prelates and Clergie doe not ſéeke either us or the verity, but our deſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought us (as charity requireth) then would they have called us forth here-abouts before their lawes were ſo made, that frankly and without perill we might have ſpoken our conſciences. Againe, if they had ſought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controverſies before they had béene diſputed; ſo that it eaſily appeareth, that they ſéeke their owne glory and our deſtruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cauſe to refuſe diſputation, as a thing which ſhall not further prevail than to the ſetting forth of their glory, and the ſuppreſſion of the verity.

In the diſputation neither charity nor verity ſought for.

The third cauſe.

The Iudges of the diſputation profeſſed enemies againſt the truth.

Thirdly, becauſe the Cenſors and Iudges (as we heare who they be) are manifeſt enemies to the truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate enemies, before whom pearles are not to be caſt, by the commandement of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, and by his owne example. That they be ſuch, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation houſe in October laſt paſt, do moſt evidently appeare.

The fourth cauſe.

Want of bookes neceſſary for diſputation.

Fourthly, becauſe ſome of us have béene in priſon theſe eight or nine moneths, where we have had no bookes, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for ſtudy, we think we ſhould do evill thus ſuddenly to deſcend into diſputation with them, which may alledge, as they liſt, the Fathers and their teſtimonies, becauſe our memories have not that which we have read, ſo readily, as to reprove, when they ſhall report and wreſt the Authors to their purpoſe, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

The fifth cauſe.

Example of the diſputation at Oxford.

Fifthly, becauſe in diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our arguments, but be ſtopt when we ſhould ſpeake; one ſaying this, another that, the third his minde, &c. As was done to the godly learned Fathers, eſpecially Doctor Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his minde and meaning of the propoſitions, and had oftentimes halfe a dozen at once ſpeaking againſt him, alwayes letting him to proſecute his argument, and to anſwer accordingly: we will not ſpeake of the hiſſing, ſcoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was uſed. If on this ſort, and much worſe they handled theſe Fathers, much more will they be ſhameleſſe bold with us, if we ſhould enter into diſputation with them.

The ſixth cauſe.

Sixthly, becauſe the Notaries, that ſhall receive and write the diſputations, ſhall be of their appointment, and ſuch as either doe not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore muſt write either to pleaſe them, or els they themſelves (the Cenſors and Iudges we mean) at their pleaſure will put to and take from that which is written by the Notaries; who cannot, or muſt not have in their cuſtody that which they write, longer than the diſputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No copie nor ſcroule could any man have by their good will. For the Cenſors & Iudges will have all delivered into their hands.

Notaries not indifferent.

Yea,

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Yea, if any man was ſeene there to write, as the report is, the ſame man was ſent for, and his writings taken from him: ſo muſt the diſputation ſerve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For theſe cauſes we all thinke it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeeke, to promote the kingdome of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſſe (as much as may be) the truth. We will not ſpeak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they ſhould heare, by the report of our enemies, our anſwers and arguments framed (you may be ſure) for their fantaſies, to the ſlandering of the verity.

Exceptions taken againſt the adverſaries.

Conditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

Exhortation to obedience.

Therefore we publiſh, and by this writing notifie unto the whole congregation and Church of England, that for theſe aforeſaid cauſes we will not diſpute with them, otherwiſe than with the pen, unleſſe it be before the Queenes Highneſſe and her Councell, or before the Houſes of the Parliament, as is above ſaid. If they will write, we will anſwer, and by writing confirme and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the teſtimony of the good and moſt ancient Fathers in Chriſts Church, this our faith and every peece therof, which hereafter we in a ſumme doe write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord may know it: and to ſeale up the ſame, we are ready through Gods helpe and grace to give our lives to the halter or fire, or otherwiſe, as God ſhall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt beſeeching all that feare God, to behave themſelves as obedient ſubiects to the Queenes Highneſſe and the ſuperiour powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebell, or once to mutter againſt the Lords annointed; we meane our Soveraigne Lady Queene Mary, into whoſe heart we beſeech the Lord of mercy plentifully to powre the wiſdome & grace of his holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

The confeſſion and faith of the priſoned Preachers.

Firſt, we confeſſe and beleeve all the Canonicall bookes of the old Teſtament, and all the bookes of the New Teſtament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Judge in all controverſies and matters of religion.

The catholike Church.

Secondly, we confeſſe and beleeve, that the Catholike Church which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of theſe bookes in all matters of religion, and therefore is ſhe to be heard accordingly; ſo that thoſe, which will not heare this Church thus following and obeying the word of her Huſband, we account as heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, according to this ſaying, If he will not heare the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen.

The Creed.

Thirdly, we beleeve and confeſſe all the Articles of faith and doctrine ſet forth in the ſymbole of the Apoſtles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the ſymboles of the Councels of Nice, kept An. Dom. 324. of Conſtantinople, An. Dom. 384. of Epheſus, kept An. Dom. 432. of Chalcedon, kept An. Dom. 454. of Toletum, the firſt and fourth. Alſo in the ſymboles of Athanaſius, Ireneus, Tertullian, and of Damaſus, which was about the yeere of our Lord 376. we confeſſe and beleeve (we ſay) the doctrine of the ſymboles generally and particularly; ſo that whoſoever doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to erre from the truth.

Juſtification by faith only in Chriſt.

What faith is.

Righteouſneſſe in man, righteouſneſſe without man.

The doctrine of free iuſtification defended for no curioſity, but for quiet of conſcience.

Fourthly, we beleeve and confeſſe concerning iuſtification, that as it commeth only from Gods mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceived and had of none, which be of yeeres of diſcretion, otherwiſe than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certaine perſwaſion wrought by the holy Ghoſt in the mind and heart of man, wherethrough as the minde is illumined, ſo the heart is ſuppled to ſubmit it ſelfe to the will of God unfainedly, and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent righteouſneſſe, which is to be diſcerned in the Article of Juſtification, from the righteouſneſſe which God indueth us, withall iuſtifying us, although inſeparably they go together. And this we doe not for curioſity or contention ſake, but for conſcience ſake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without diſtinction forgiveneſſe of ſins, and Chriſts iuſtice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteouſneſſe. By this we diſallow Papiſticall doctrine of free-will, of works of ſupererogation, of merits, of the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, and ſatisfaction to God-wards.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

Fifthly, we confeſſe and beleeve concerning the exteriour ſervice of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and therefore in the congregation all things publike ought to be done in ſuch a tongue as may be moſt to edifie, and not in Latine, where the people underſtand not the ſame.

Invocation to God alone.

Sixthly, we confeſſe and beleeve that God only by Chriſt Jeſus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we diſallow invocation or prayer to Saints departed this life.

Purgatory an Maſſes ſuffragatory denied.

Seventhly, we confeſſe and beleeve, that as a man departeth this life, ſo ſhall he be iudged in the laſt day generally, and in the meane ſeaſon is entred either into the ſtate of the bleſſed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either paſt all helpe, or els needs no helpe of any in this life. By reaſon whereof we affirme Purgatory, Maſſes of Scala cœli, Trentals, and ſuch ſuffrages as the Popiſh Church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the doctrine of Antichriſt.

Two ſacraments.

Eighthly, we confeſſe and beleeve the ſacraments of Chriſt, which be Baptiſm and the Lords Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, concerning the ſubſtantiall parts of them: and that they be no longer ſacraments, than they be had in uſe, and uſed to the end for the which they were inſtituted.

The Supper to be miniſtred in both kindes.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

And here we plainly confeſſe, that the mutilation of the Lords Supper, and the ſubſtraction of ẏ one kind from the Lay people, is Antichriſtian. And ſo is the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall bread and wine after the words of conſecration, as they be called.

Againſt adoration of the ſacrament.

Item, the adoration of the ſacrament, with honour due unto God: the reſervation and carrying about of the ſame.

The Maſſe to be no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Item, the Maſſe to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, or a work that pleaſeth God.

Inhibition of Prieſts marriage antichriſtian.

All theſe we confeſſe and beleeve to be Antichriſts doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage, as unlawfull, to any ſtate. And we doubt not by Gods grace, but we ſhall be able to prove all our confeſſions here to be moſt true by the verity of Gods Word, and conſent of the Catholike Church, which followeth and hath followed the governance of Gods Spirit, and the iudgement of his word.

And this through the Lords helpe we will do, either in diſputation by word before the Queens Highneſſe and her Councell, either before the Parliament Houſes, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or els with our pens, whenſoever we ſhall be thereto by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the meane ſeaſon, as obedient ſubiects, we

ſhall

Exhortation againſt rebellion.

ſhall behave our ſelves towards all that be in authority, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would governe them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wiſdome and grace. And ſo we heartily deſire, and humbly pray all men to doe, in no point conſenting to any kinde of rebellion or ſedition againſt our Soveraigne Lady the Queenes Highneſſe: but where they cannot obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility to ſuffer as the will and pleaſures of the higher powers ſhall adiudge: as we are ready through the goodneſſe of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall adiudge us unto, rather than we will conſent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſſe, unleſſe we ſhall be iuſtly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before ſuch Iudges as the Queenes Highneſſe and her Councell, or the Parliament houſes ſhall appoint. For the Univerſities and Clergie have condemned our cauſes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all diſputation of the ſame: and therefore moſt iuſtly we may, and doe appeale from them to be our Iudges in this behalfe, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appeare. The Lord of mercy indue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perſeverance therein unto the end, Amen.

The bigger part againſt the better. Appeale from the Univerſity Doctors, as not indifferent Iudges.

The 8. day of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

The names of the priſoned Preachers ſubſcribing to this declaration

Robert Menaven, alias
Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
Iohn Philpot.
Iohn Bradford.
Iohn Wigorne and
Glouc. Epiſcopus, alias
Iohn Hooper.
Edward Crome.
Iohn Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
I. P.
T. M.

To theſe things aboveſaid, doe I Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, conſent and agree, with theſe mine afflicted brethren being priſoners, mine own hand.

And thus much concerning this preſent declaration ſubſcribed by theſe Preachers, which was on the 8. day of May.

May 19. Lady Elizabeth. Sir Iohn Williams.

Furthermore, the 19. day of the ſaid moneth, the Lady Elizabeth, ſiſter to the Queene, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir Iohn Williams, after Lord Williams of Tame, of whom her Highneſſe was gently and curteouſly intreated: who afterward was had to Woodſtocke, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Beniſield knight, of Oxeborough in Northfolke: who on the other ſide both forgetting her eſtate, and his owne duty (as it is reported) ſhewed himſelfe more hard and ſtreight unto her, than either cauſe was given of her part, or reaſon of his owne part would have led him, if either grace or wiſedome in him might have ſeene before, what danger afterward might have enſued therof. Whereof we have to intreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter in the ſtory and life of Queene Elizabeth.

Sir Henry Beniſield.

July 20. K. Philip arrivety at Southhampton.

Upon the Friday following, being the 20. of Iuly, and Saint Margarets day, the Prince of Spaine landed at Southhampton. The Prince himſelfe was the firſt that landed: who, immediately as he ſet foot upon the land, drew out his ſword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

K. Philip carrieth his ſword naked comming into England. The keyes of Southhampton delivered to K. Philip.

Then met him a little without the Town the Maior of Southhampton with certain Commoners, who delivered the keyes of the Towne unto the Prince, who removed his ſword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and ſo received the keyes of the Maior without any word ſpeaking, or countenance of thankfulneſſe, and after a while delivered the keys to the Maior againe. At the Towne gate met him the Earle of Arundell and the Lord Williams, and ſo he was brought to his lodging.

Anno 1554.

July 25. Marriage betweene K. Philip & Q. Mary.

Upon the Wedneſday following, being S. Iames day, and the 25. of Iuly, Philip Prince of Spaine, and Mary Queene of England were married together ſolemnly in the Cathedrall Church at Wincheſter, by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great number of Noble men of both the Realmes. At the time of this marriage the Emperors Ambaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that in conſideration of that marriage the Emperor had granted and given unto his ſon the kingdome of Naples, &c.

August 1.

Whereupon the firſt day of Auguſt following, there was a Proclamation, that from that time forth the ſtile of all manner of writings ſhould be altered, and this following ſhould be uſed.

Philip and Mary by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicil, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flaunders and Tyrol.

Of this marriage as the Papiſts chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo divers of them after divers ſtudies, to ſhew forth their inward affections, made Interludes and Pageants, ſome drew forth Genealogies, deriving his petigree from Edward the third, and Iohn of Gaunt, ſome made verſes. Amongſt all other, M. White, then biſhop of Lincolne (his Poeticall veine being drunken with ioy of the marriage) ſpued out certaine Verſes: the copie whereof we have here inſerted.

Philippi & Maria Genealogia, qua ambo principes ex Iohanne de Gandavo, Edwardi tertii, Anglia Franciaq; Regis, filio, deſcendiſſe oſtenduntur. Whito Lincolnienſi Authore.

ILle parens regum Gandava ex urbe Iohannes
Somerſetenſem comitem profert Iohannem:
Somerſetenſis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richmundi habuit Comitiſſam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni ſeptimus hujus
Henrico octavo ſolium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſidere nata
Iure tenes ſacram, teneaſque Maria coronam.

Verſes of M. White Biſhop of Lincolne, concerning the marriage of Philip and Mary.

NVbat ut angla anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque ſuum fontem regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hoſtis;
Sed Deus Anglorum provida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timiduſque ad prælia Gallus:
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex,
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo uxorati Patres in dæmone nollent;
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius urſus,
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis noſtræ Catilina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia turba rebellans:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo juncta Maria viro.

Anſwer by the reverend Biſhop of Norwich to the Biſhop of Lincolne.

EXterno nubat Maria ut regina Philippo,
Vt ſint pulſa ſuis ſceptra Britanna locis,
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis;
Anglorum non vult anchora ſola Deus.

Nolunt hunc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias:
Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Cayphæ, turba bicornis,
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus ſunt vincla jugalia curæ,
Quinque cathenati Dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neque tu prorſus Dudlææ animoſe volebas:
Invitum regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiſſimus ille Viatus:
Invitus populus, ſic proceresſque volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hiſpanus Rex ergo commoda ſecum,
Reginæ ſocias cum dedit ille manus?

Another anſwer by the ſaid Author.

HIſpano nubat Maria ut Regina Philippo,
Extirpetur ſtirps ut quoque Nobilium,
Vult pater id veſter diſturbans omnia Dæmon:
Non vult Anglorum ſed Pater Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer:
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, Papicolæque volunt.
Grex mitratorum vult, Cayphæ ipſa propago:
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo patrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos:
Quinque cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus minimè voluit Northumbrius Heros:
Cui ſua perchara eſt patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis ut exulet omnis:
Non Graius, ſed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergo magis clarus quî ſit (rogo) ſanguis avitus,
Quando jugalis ſit junctus uterque thoro?

Other verſes anſwering to Biſhop White, made by I. C.

QVamlibet Anglorum ſtirps ementita Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpana de genetrice fuit:
Vt tamen Hiſpano, confuſi ſanguinis Angla
Nuberet in gentis dedecus atque patris.
Noluit Anglorum priſcæ virtutis amator:
Sed Deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica volet?
Pontifices fati, quaſi Caypha s, omnia dantes
Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.
Elegere pii connubia talia nolle:
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa fuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius octo mariti,
Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta dabant.
Noluit hos jungi thalamos Northumbrius heros.
O conſultores, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit haud æquo confligens Marte Viatus:
Solaque quæ voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infœlicia: quando
Infœlix Maria eſt nupta Philippe tibi.

Other Verſes anſwering likewiſe.

NVbat ut Hiſpano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic àge White mihi, quos voluiſſe vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil.
Velle & nolle Dei eſt: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluiſtis:
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ſcias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates ut vanus & augur,
Et mendax Whitus pſeudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla eſt,
Non Angla eſt, gravida eſt, non gravida eſt, gravis
Parturit atq; parit, ſic vos voluiſtis ovantes, (eſt.
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menſes, mox deſerit idem:
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt: hoc voluit Dominus.

Irrita fruſtrentur ſemper ſic vota malorum,
Perniciem patriæ qui voluere ſuæ.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

After the conſummation of which marriage, they both removed from Wincheſter to ſundry other places, & by eaſie iourneys came to Windſore Caſtle, where he was ſtalled in the order of the Garter, upon Sunday, being the 12. of Auguſt. At which time an Herald tooke downe the Armes of England at Windſore, and in the place of them would have ſet up the Armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to ſet them up againe by certaine Lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water to London, and landed at the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, through which they paſſed both into Southwarke park, and ſo to Southwarke houſe called Suffolk place, where they lay that night, being the 18. of Auguſt.

K. Philip commeth to Windſore.

The armes of England taken downe, and the armes of Spaine ſet up.

King Philip commeth to London.

And the next day, being Saturday, and the 19. of Auguſt, the King and Queenes Maieſties rode from Suffolke place (accompanied with a great number, as well of Noblemen as Gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall, and at London bridge, as he entred at the drawbridge, was a vaine great ſpectacle ſet up, two Images preſenting two Giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding betweene them certain Latine Verſes, which for the vaine oſtentation of flattery, I overpaſſe.

Auguſt 19.

Vain pageants of London.

And as they paſſed over the Bridge, there was a number of ordnance ſhot at the Tower, ſuch as by old mens report the like hath not beene heard or ſeene theſe 100. yeeres.

From London bridge they paſſed the Conduit in Gracious ſtreet, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine Worthies, wherof king Henry the eighth was one. He was painted in harneſſe, having in one hand a ſword, and in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written Verbum Dei, delivering the ſame booke (as it were) to his ſon king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But hereupon was no ſmall matter made: for the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord Chancellor, ſent for the Painter, and not onely called him knave for painting a book in king Henries hand, and ſpecially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but alſo ranke Traitor and Villaine, ſaying to him that he ſhould rather have put the booke into the Queenes hand (who was alſo painted there) for that ſhe had reformed the Church and Religion, with other things according to the pure and ſincere word of God indeed.

Wincheſter cannot abide the book called Verbum Dei.

The Painter ſent for to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Painter anſwered and ſaid, that if he had knowne that had been the matter wherefore his Lordſhip ſent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his Lordſhip.

The Painters anſwer.

The Biſhop anſwered and ſaid, that it was the Queenes Maieſties will and commandement that he ſhould ſend for him: and ſo commanding him to wipe out the booke and Verbum Dei too, he ſent him home. So the Painter departed, but fearing leſt he ſhould leave ſome part either of the book, or of Verbum Dei in king Henries hand; he wiped away a peece of his fingers withall.

Here I paſſe over and cut off other gawdes and pageants of paſtime ſhewed to him in paſſing through London, with the flattering Verſes ſet up in Latine, wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five Worthies of the world, Philip of Macedonia, Philip the Emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine and king of England.

Five Philips.

In another Poetry king Philip was reſembled by an Image repreſenting Orpheus, and all Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſavage
beaſts

beaſts following after Orpheus harpe, and dancing after King Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latine Verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſſe over the matter, having other graver things in hand; and therfore paſſe over alſo the ſight at Pauls Church ſide, of him that came downe upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither ſtaying himſelf with hand nor foot; which ſhortly after coſt him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let paſſe, touching the young flouriſhing Rood, newly ſet up againſt this preſent time to welcome King Philip into Pauls Church. The ſetting up of which Rood was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the beſt.

The erecting up of the Rood at Pauls.

Anno 2. Mariæ, Boner in his royalty, and all his Prebendaries about him in Pauls Quire, the Rood laid along upon the pavement, and alſo the doores of Pauls being ſhut, the Biſhop with other ſaid and ſung divers prayers by the Rood: that being done, they annointed the Rood with oyle in divers places, and after the annointing crept unto it, and kiſſed it.

B. Boners god.
The Rood of Pauls ſet up with Te Deum.

After that they took the ſaid Rood, and weighed him up, and ſet him in his old accuſtomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quire ſang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the bels, not onely for ioy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Salutation to the Rood of Pauls.

Not long after this a merry fellow came into Pauls, and ſpied the Rood with Mary and John new ſet up; whereto, among a great ſort of people, he made low curteſie, and ſaid: Sir, your Maſterſhip is welcome to towne. I had thought to have talked farther with your Maſterſhip, but that ye be here clothed in the Queenes colours. I hope ye be but a Summers bird, in that ye be dreſſed in white and greene.

The Prince thus being in the Church of Pauls, after Doctor Harpsfield had finiſhed his Oration in Latine, ſet forward through Fleetſtreet, and ſo came to Whitehall, where he with the Queene remained foure dayes after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the Lords had leave to depart into their countries, with ſtreight commandement to bring all their harneſſe and artillery into the Tower of London with all ſpeed. Now remained there no Engliſh Lord at the Court but the biſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the Hall doore within the Court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, unleſſe his errand were firſt knowne, which ſeemed ſtrange to Engliſhmen that had not been uſed thereto.

Septemb. 8.

About the 8. day of September Biſhop Boner began his viſitation, who charged ſix men in every Pariſh to inquire (according to their oaths) and to preſent before him the day after S. Mathewes day, being the 23. of September, all ſuch perſons as either had or ſhould offend in any of his Articles, which he had ſet forth to the number of 37. Of the which viſitation of Boner I have ſomwhat more largely to intreat, after that firſt I ſhall overpaſſe a few other things following in courſe of this preſent ſtory.

Septemb. 17

The 17. day of September was a Proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and maſterleſſe men, as well ſtrangers as Engliſhmen, ſhould depart the City within five dayes; and ſtreightly charging all Inholders, Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouſe-keepers, with all other that ſell victuals, that they (after the ſaid five dayes) ſhould not ſell any meat, drinke, or any kinde of victuall to any Servingman whatſoever, unleſſe he brought a teſtimoniall from his Maſter to declare whoſe ſervant he was, and were in continuall houſhold with his ſaid Maſter, upon paine to run in danger of the law if they offend herein.

September 30
The biſhop of Wincheſter preacheth.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 30. day of September, the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellour of England, preached at Pauls Croſſe, at whoſe Sermon were preſent all the Councell that were at the Court: namely, the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, yͤ Earle of Arundell, Lord North, ſir Anthony Browne, M. Rocheſter, M. Walgrave, M. Englefield, Lord Fitzwater, and Secretary Peter, and the Biſhops of London, Dureſme, and Ely, which three ſate under the Biſhops armes. The Goſpell whereof he made his ſermon, is written in the 22. chapter of Mathew. Where the Phariſies came unto Chriſt, and amongſt them one aſked Chriſt, which was the greateſt commandement; Chriſt anſwered, Thou ſhalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c. and thy neighbour as thy ſelfe, in theſe two is comprehended the Law and the Prophets.

A blaſphemous mouth againſt the true Preachers of Gods word.

After his long declaration of theſe words, ſpeaking very much of love and charity, at laſt he had occaſion upon S. James his words to ſpeake of the true teachers and of the falſe teachers; ſaying that all the Preachers almoſt in K. Edwards time, preached nothing but voluptuouſneſſe, and filthy and blaſphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof S. James ſpeaketh; ſaying, that it was full of perverſe zeale, earthly, full of diſcord and diſſention, that the Preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawfull for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to day, he might breake it to morrow at his pleaſure, with many other things which I omit. And when he ſpake of the ſacrament, he ſaid, that all the Church from the beginning have confeſſed Chriſts naturall body to be in heaven, and here to be in the ſacrament, and ſo concluded that matter: and then willed all men to ſay with Joſephs brethren, Peccavimus in fratrem: We have all ſinned againſt our brother, and ſo (ſaid he) have I too. Then he declared what a noble King and Queene we have, ſaying, that if he ſhould goe about to ſhew that the King came hither for no neceſſity or need, and what he had brought with him, it ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſeeing it is evidently knowne, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and poſſeſſion of, affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate a Prince as ever was in England, and if it were not ſo proved, then to take him for a falſe lyar for his ſo ſaying: Exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whileſt we had him, and ſo ſhould we alſo win all ſuch as he hath brought with him, and ſo made an end.

The Church never confeſſed the naturall body of Chriſt ſo to be in the ſacrament, that the ſubſtance of bread was taken away, before the time of Pope Innocent the third, an. 1215.
Wincheſter preacheth in commendation of K. Philip.

Upon the Tueſday following, being the ſecond day of October, twenty carts came from Weſtminſter laden (as it was noiſed) with gold and ſilver, and certaine of the Guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the Kings Treaſurer, and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mayled in little bundles about two foot long, and almoſt half a foot thick, and in every cart were ſixe of thoſe bundles. What it was indeed God knoweth, for it is to us uncertaine.

John Street.

About the ſame time, or a little before, upon Corpus Chriſti day, the Proceſſion being made in Smithfield, where after the manner the Prieſt with his boxe went under the Canopie, by chance there came by the way a certaine ſimple man, named John Street, a Joyner of

Coleman

Anno 1554

The Prieſt worſe feared than hurt. The Prieſt let the Pixe fall for feare.

Coleman ſtreet, who having ſome haſte in his buſineſſe, and finding no other way to paſſe through, by chance went under the Canapy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeeing the man ſo to preſume to come under the Canapy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared than hurt, for feare let his Pixe fall downe. The poore man, being ſtreightwayes apprehended, was had to the Counter, the Prieſt accuſing him unto the Councell, as though he had come to ſlay him, when as the poore man (as himſelfe hath ſince declared unto us) had no ſuch thought ever in his minde. Then from the Counter he was had unto Newgate, where he was caſt into the dungeon, there chained to a poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extremely dealt withall, that being but ſimple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and ſo upon the ſame had to Bedlem. Whereupon the briefe Chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himſelfe in Newgate to be mad: which thing we in writing of this Hiſtorie, by due inquiſition of the party, have found to be contrary.

John Street innocently caſt in the dungeon.

John Street falſly reported of.

October 5.

Men priſoned for bookes.

About the fifth of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers as well houſeholders as ſervants and prentiſes apprehended and taken, and committed to ſundry priſons, for the having and ſelling of certaine bookes which were ſent into England by the Preachers that fled into Germany and other Countreyes; which bookes nipped a great number ſo neere, that within one fortnight there were little leſſe than threeſcore impriſoned for this matter: among whom was Maſter Browne a Goldſmith, Maſter Sparke a Draper, Randall Tirer a Stationer, Maſter Beſton a Merchant, with many other.

October 14.

Upon the Sunday being the xiiii. day of October, the old Biſhop of Dureſme preached in the Shroudes.

Upon S. Lukes day following, being the xviii. of October, the Kings Maieſty came from Weſtminſter to Pauls church along the ſtreets, accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there he was received under a Canapy at the Weſt doore, and ſo came into the Chancell, where he heard Maſſe, which a Spaniſh Biſhop and his own Chappell ſung, and that done, he returned to Weſtminſter to dinner againe.

October 26.

The trouble of the good men which were of M. Throgmortons Queſt

Upon the Friday, being the xxvi. of October, certaine men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of Maſter Throgmortons Queſt, being in number viii. (for the other foure were delivered out of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelves, and ſaid they had offended, like weaklings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but of force for feare ſaid ſo) theſe eight men, I ſay, whereof M. Emanuel Lucas, M. Whetſtone were chief, were called before the Councell of the Starre-chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, even as they ſhould anſwer before God at the day of iudgement. Where Maſter Lucas ſaid openly before all the Lords, that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithfull Subiects, and therefore they humbly beſought the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords, to be meanes to the King and Queenes Maieſties that they might be diſcharged, and ſet at liberty, and ſaid that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelves to their Maieſties, ſaving and reſerving their truth, conſciences, and honeſty. Some of the Lords ſaid, that they were worthy to pay a thouſand pounds a peece, and other ſome ſaid, that maſter Lucas and maſter Whetſtone were worthy to pay a thouſand markes a peece, and the reſt five hundred pounds a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was given by the Lord Chancellor, that they ſhould pay a thouſand markes a peece, and that they ſhould goe to priſon againe, and there remaine, till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

October 30.

Upon Tueſday being the xxx. of October, the Lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and ſet at liberty.

Novemb. 4.

Upon Sunday the fourth of November, five Prieſts did penance at Pauls Croſſe, which were content to put away their wives, and take upon them againe to miniſter. Every of them had a Taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the Preacher did diſple them.

Novemb. 7.

Upon the Wedneſday the vii. of November, the Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Haſtings Maſter of the Horſe, were ſent as Ambaſſadors, I know not whither, but, as it was adiudged, to Cardinall Poole, who lay all that ſommer before at Bruxels: and it was thought they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appointed Biſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinall Poole nominated Archbiſhop of Canterbury

Upon the Friday following the ninth of November, Maſter Barlow late Biſhop of Bathe, and maſter Cardmaker, were brought before the Councell in the Starre-chamber, where after communication they were commanded to the Fleet.

Novemb. 10.

Upon the Saturday being the x. of November, the Sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods which were of maſter Throgmortons Queſt, and to ſeale up their doores, which was done the ſame day. Maſter Whetſtone, maſter Lucas, and maſter Kytely, were iudged to pay 2000. pounds a peece, and the reſt 1000. marks a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted thoſe foure which confeſſed a fault, and ſubmitted themſelves, whoſe names are theſe, maſter Loc, maſter Poynter, maſter Beſwike, and maſter Cater.

B. Boner goeth in his viſitation.

Mention was made a little before of the viſitation of Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, which began (as is ſaid) about the moneth of September: for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certaine Articles to the number of 37. Which Articles partly for the tediouſneſſe of them, partly for that maſter Bale in a certaine treatiſe hath ſufficiently painted out the ſame in their colours, partly alſo becauſe I will not infect this booke with them, I ſlip them over, proceeding in the progreſſe of this Biſhop in his viſitation in the County of Eſſex. Who paſſing through the ſaid County of Eſſex, being attended with divers worſhipfull of the Shire (for ſo they were commanded) arrived at Sterford in Hertfordſhire, where he reſted certaine dayes, ſolacing himſelfe after that painefull peregrination with no ſmall feaſting and banquetting with his attendants aforeſaid, at the houſe of one Parſons his nephew, whoſe wife he commonly called his faire Neece (and faire ſhe was indeed) he tooke there great pleaſure to heare her play upon the Virginals (wherein ſhe excelled) inſomuch that every dinner (ſitting by his ſweet ſide) ſhe roſe and played three ſeverall times at his requeſt of his good and ſpirituall devotion towards her. Theſe certaine dayes thus paſſed in this biſhoplike faſhion, he proceeded in his Popiſh viſitation towards Hadham his owne houſe and pariſh, not paſt two miles from Sterford, being there moſt ſolemnly rung out, as in all other places whereas he paſſed. At length drawing neere unto Hadham,

B. Boners behaviour at Sterford.

Boners behaviour at Hadham.

Boner in a pelting chafe.

when he heard no bels ſtirring there in honor of his holineſſe, he grew into ſome choler, and the neerer he approached, the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bels were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himſelfe. What meaneth (ſaith he) that knave the Clarke that he ringeth not? and the Parſon that he meeteth me not? with ſundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient Prelate, comming to the towne, alighted, calling for the key of the Church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two houres, whereupon he grew from choler to plaine melancholy, ſo as no man willingly would deale with him to qualifie the raging humor ſo farre incorporated in his breaſt. At the laſt, the Church doore being opened, the Biſhop entred, and finding no ſacrament hanged up, nor Rood loft decked after the Popiſh precept (which had commanded about the ſame time a welfavored Rood, and of tall ſtature univerſally in all Churches to be ſet up) curtalled his ſmall devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madneſſe in the uttermoſt degree, ſwearing and raging with an hunting oath or two, and by no beggers, that in his own Church, where he hoped to have ſeen beſt order, he found moſt diſorder, to his honors moſt heavy diſcomfort, as he ſaid, calling the Parſon (whoſe name was Doctor Bricket) knave, and Heretike.

D. Bricket, Parſon of Hadham, called knave of Boner.

Who there humbled himſelfe, and yeelded, as it were, to his fault, ſaying, he was ſorry his Lordſhip was come before that he and his Pariſh looked for him, and therefore could not doe their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for thoſe things lacking, he truſted a ſhort time hereafter ſhould compaſſe that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleaſed his Lordſhip to come to his poore houſe (where his dinner was prepared) he would ſatiſfie him in thoſe things which his Lordſhip thought amiſſe. Yet this ſo reaſonable an anſwer nothing could ſatiſfie nor aſſwage his paſſion unreaſonable. For the Catholike Prelate utterly defied him and his cheere, commanding him out of his ſight, ſaying, as his by-word was, Before God thou art a knave, avant heretike, and therewithall, whether thruſting or ſtriking at him, ſo it was that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Joſſelin Knight (who was then amongſt the reſt, and ſtood next the Biſhop) a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck, even under his eare, as ſome ſay which ſtood by, but, as he himſelfe ſaid, he hit him full upon the eare: whereat he was ſomewhat aſtonied at the ſuddenneſſe of the quarrell for that time.

Sir Thomas Joſſelin ſtriken of Boner.

B. Boner ſtriketh him that ſtandeth next.

At laſt he ſpake and ſaid, What meaneth your Lordſhip? have you beene trained in Will Sommers Schoole, to ſtrike him that ſtandeth next you? The Biſhop ſtill in rage either heard not, or would not heare.

Fecknam excuſeth B. Boner by the Marſhalſey.

Then M. Fecknam Dean of Pauls, ſeeing the Biſhop ſtill in this bitter rage, ſaid, O M. Joſſelin, you muſt beare with my Lord, for truly his long impriſonment in the Marſhalſey, and the miſuſing of him there hath altered him, that in theſe paſſions he is not ruler of himſelfe, nor it booteth any man to give him counſell untill his heat be paſt, and then aſſure your ſelfe M. Joſſelin, my Lord will be ſorry for thoſe abuſes yͤ now he cannot ſee in himſelf.

Sir Thomas Joſſelins Apothegme touching B. Boner.

Whereunto he merrily replied and ſaid, So it ſeemes M. Fecknam, for now that he is come forth of the Marſhalſey, he is ready to go to Bedlem. At which merry conceit ſome laughed & moe ſmiled, becauſe the naile was ſo truly hit upon the head. The Biſhop, nothing abaſhed at his own folly, gave a deaf eare; as no marvell it was that he ſhamed little to ſtrike a ſtranger, which ſpared not the burning of ſo many good men.

After this worthy combate thus finiſhed and atchieved, this martiall prelate preſently taketh him to his horſe againe, notwithſtanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or foure days, and ſo had made proviſion in his owne houſe, and leaving his dinner rode that night with a ſmall company of his houſhold to Ware, where he was not looked for three dayes after, to the great wonder of all the countrey, why he ſo prevented his day aforeſtalled.

At this haſty poſting away of this Biſhop his whole train of attendants there left him. Alſo his Doctors and Chaplaines (a few excepted) tarryed behind, and dined at Doctor Brickets as merily, as he rode toward Ware all chafingly: which dinner was prepared for the Biſhop himſelfe. Now whether the Biſhop were offended at thoſe ſolemnities which he wanted, and was accuſtomed to be ſaluted withall in other places where he iourneyed, ioyning to that that his great God was not exalted above ground over the altar, nor his block almighty ſet ſeemly in the rood loft to entertaine ſtrangers, and thereupon took occaſion to quarrell with Doctor Bricket (whoſe religion perchance he ſomwhat ſuſpected) I have not perfectly to ſay, but ſo it was ſuppoſed of divers the cauſe therof to riſe, which drave the Biſhop ſo haſtily from ſuch a dinner. Teſtified by ſuch as there and then were preſent. Rich. K. &c.

B. Boner driven from a good dinner.

A ſtory of a Rood ſet up in Lancaſhire.

IN this Viſitation of Biſhop Boner above mentioned, ye ſee how the Biſhop tooke on for not ſetting up the Rood, and ringing the bels at Hadham. Ye heard alſo of the precept, which commanded in every pariſh a Rood to be erected both well favoured, and of a tall ſtature. By the occaſion whereof it commeth in minde (and not out of place) to ſtory likewiſe what happened in a certaine Towne in Lancaſhire neere to Lancaſter, called Cockram, where the Pariſhioners and Church-wardens, having the ſame time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their pariſh Church, had made their bargaine and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint ſuch idols, for the framing of their Rood: who, according to his promiſe, made them one, and ſet it up in their Church.

A ſtory of a Rood ſet up in Lancaſhire.

The men of Cockram not pleaſed with their Rood.

This done, he demanded his money: But they, miſliking his workmanſhip, refuſed to pay him, wherupon he arreſted them, and the matter was brought before the Maior of Lancaſter, who was a very meet man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an old favourer of the Goſpell, which is rare in that Country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a Rood, with the appurtenances ready carved and ſet up in their Church, which he according to his promiſe had done, and now demanding his money, they refuſed to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Maior to the Wardens? Yea Sir, ſaid they. And why doe you not pay the poore man his due, quoth he? And it pleaſe you maſter Maior (quoth they) becauſe the Rood we had before was a well favored man, and he promiſed to make us ſuch another: but this that he hath ſet us up now is the worſt favored thing that ever you ſet your eyes on, gaping and grinning in ſuch ſort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come neere him.

The Rood of Cockram driving the children out of the Church.

The Maior thinking that it was good enough for that purpoſe if it had been worſe, my Maſters (quoth he) howſoever the Rood like you, the poore mans labor hath been never the leſſe, and it is pitie that he ſhould have any hindrance or loſſe thereby. Therefore I will

tell

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tell you what you ſhall doe: Pay him the money ye promiſed him, and goe your wayes home, and looke on it, and if it will not ſerve for a god, make no more adoe, but clap a paire of hornes on his head, and ſo he will make an excellent divell. This the Pariſhioners tooke well in worth: the poore man had his money, and diverſe laughed well thereat: but ſo did not the Babyloniſh Prieſts.

The Maior of Lancaſter a good man.

This Mayor above mentioned continued a Proteſtant almoſt 50. yeeres, and was the onely reliever of March, the Martyr (whoſe ſtory followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging while he lay in Lancaſter Caſtle, the ſpace of three quarters of a yeere, before he was had to Cheſter to be burned, &c.

About this time or the moneth next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Boner Biſhop of London, to all Biſhops and Curates within his Dioceſſe, for the aboliſhing of ſuch Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon Church wals before, in King Edwards dayes. The copie of which precept or mandate here we thought good to expreſſe, that the world might ſee the wicked proceedings of their impious zeale, or rather their malicious rage againſt the Lord, and his word, and againſt the edifying of Chriſtian people: whereby it might appeare, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blaſphemouſly they ſpake againſt the holy Scriptures of God, but alſo how ſtudiouſly they ſought by all manner of meanes, to keepe the people ſtill in ignorance.

A mandate of Boner Biſhop of London, to aboliſh the Scriptures and writings painted upon the Church wals.

The Scriptures painted on Church wals razed out

Edmund by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of London, to all and every Parſons, Vicars, Clarkes, and lettered, within the pariſh of Hadham, or within the precinct of our Dioceſſe of London, whereſoever being, ſendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

Note wel theſe cauſes reader, why the Scriptures ſhould be razed out.

Scriptures open a window to vices with Boner.

Becauſe ſome children of iniquity, given up to carnall deſires and novelties, have by many wayes enterpriſed to baniſh the ancient manner and order of the Church, and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſects and hereſies; taking from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many things beſides inſtituted and obſerved of ancient time laudably in the ſame, placing in the roome thereof ſuch things, as in ſuch a place it behoved them not to doe, and alſo have procured as a ſtay to their Hereſies (as they thought) certaine Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the Church wals, all which perſons tend chiefly to this end, that they might uphold the libertie of the fleſh, and marriage of Prieſts, and deſtroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent Sacrament of the Altar, and might extinguiſh and enervate holy dayes, faſting dayes, and other laudable diſcipline of the Catholike Church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly cloſing up the way unto vertue: Wherefore we being moved with a Chriſtian zeale, judging that the premiſes are not to bee longer ſuffered, doe for diſcharge of our duty, commit unto you joyntly and ſeverally, and by the tenour hereof doe ſtreightly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all ſpeed convenient, you doe warne, or cauſe to bee warned, firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily, all and ſingular Church-wardens and Pariſhioners whoſoever within our foreſaid Dioceſſe of London, whereſoever any ſuch Scriptures or paintings have beene attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſh ſuch manner of Scriptures, ſo that by no meanes they be either read or ſeene, and therein to proceed moreover as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the ſaid monition, the ſaid Church-wardens and Pariſhioners ſhall be found remiſſe and negligent, or culpable, then you joyntly and ſeverally ſhall ſee the foreſaid Scriptures to be razed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: citing all and ſingular thoſe Church-wardens and Pariſhioners, (whom we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the tenour hereof) that all and ſingular the Church-wardens and Pariſhioners being ſlacke and negligent, culpable therein, ſhall appeare before us, our Vicar generall and principall Officiall, or our Commiſſary ſpeciall in our Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul at London, in the Conſiſtory there, at the houre appointed for the ſame, the ſixth day next after their citation, if it bee a Court day, or elſe at the next Court day after enſuing, whereas either wee or our Officiall or Commiſſary ſhall ſit: there to ſay and alledge for themſelves ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwiſe puniſhed for their ſuch negligence, ſlackneſſe, and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to doe and receive, as law and reaſon requireth. And what you have done in the premiſſes, doe you certifie us, or our Vicar, principall Officiall, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duely in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certifie us, which hath taken upon him to execute this Mandate: In witneſſe whereof we have ſet our Seales to theſe preſents. Dated in the Biſhops Palace at London the 25. day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1554. and of our tranſlation the 16.

M. Chriſtopherſon ſent to Cambridge with Gardiners injunctions.

About this time the Lord Chancellour ſent Maſter Chriſtopherſon unto the Univerſity of Cambridge, with theſe three Articles, which he injoyned them to obſerve.

The firſt, that every ſchollar ſhould weare his apparell according to his degree in the ſchooles.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciation of the Greeke tongue.

The third, that every Preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the King and Queene in their Sermons.

In Cambridge were 24. places void at one time in one Colledge.

In this Univerſity of Cambridge, and alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of the bringing of theſe things, and eſpecially for the alteration of Religion, many good wits and learned men departed the Univerſities: of whom, ſome of their owne accord gave over, ſome were thruſt out of their fellowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: in ſo much that in Cambridge, in the Colledge of S. John, there were foure and twenty places void together, in whoſe roomes were taken in foure and twenty other, which neither in vertue nor in religion ſeemed to anſwer to them before. And no leſſe miſerable was the ſtate of Oxford, by reaſon of the time, and the ſtreight dealing of the viſitors, that, for ſetting forward their Papiſticall proceedings, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardneſſe of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flouriſh in that Univerſity.

A popiſh exhortation of Doctor Treſham.

And for ſo much as we have entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not paſſe over in ſilence the famous exhortation of Doctor Treſham, who ſupplying the roome of the Subdeane in Chriſts Church, after he had called all the ſtudents of the Colledge together, with great eloquence, and art perſwaſorie began to commend the dignity of the Maſſe unto them, declaring, that there was ſtuffe enough in the Scripture to prove the Maſſe good. Then to allure them to

The great reaſons of Doctor Treſham.

the catholike ſervice of the Church, he uſed theſe reaſons, declaring that there were a goodly company of Copes, that were appointed to Windſore, but he had found the Queene ſo gracious unto him, that they ſhould come to Chriſt Church. Now, if they like honeſt men ſhould come to Church, they ſhould weare them on Holy-dayes. And beſides all this, he would get them the Lady Bell of Bampton, and that ſhould make the ſweeteſt ring in all England. And as for an holy water ſprinkle, he had already the faireſt that was within the Realme. Wherefore he thought that no man would be ſo mad to forgo theſe commodities, &c.

Which things I rehearſe, that it may appeare what want of diſcretion is in the Fathers of Popery, and into what idle follies ſuch men do fall, whom I beſeech the Lord, if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to ſee their own blindneſſe.

" Where note, that the Printer of Q. Maries Statutes doth erre in his ſupputation, which ſaith that this Parliament began the 11. of this moneth, which day was then Sunday.

To proceed now further in the courſe and race of our ſtory where as we left, being before in the moneth of November, it followeth more, that on the " xxii. day of the ſame moneth of November, being Munday, began the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, to the beginning whereof both the King and Queene rode in their Parliament robes, having two ſwords borne before them. The Earle of Pembroke bare his ſword, and the Earle of Weſtmerland bare the Queens. They had two caps of maintenance born before them, whereof the Earle of Arundell bare one, and the Earle of Shrewſbury the other.

Cardinall Poole arriveth in England. Ex Statut. an. 1. & 2. R. Philip. & Mariæ. cap. 8,

Cardinall Poole landed at Dover upon the Wedneſday, being the xxi. day of November, on which day one Act paſſed in the Parliament for his reſtitution in blood, utterly repealing as falſe and moſt ſlandrous, that Act made againſt him in King Henry the eighths time, and on the next day being Thurſday, and the xxii. of November, the King and the Queen came both to yͤ Parliament houſe to give their royall aſſent, and to eſtabliſh this Act againſt his comming.

Upon the Saturday, being the 24. of November, the ſaid Cardinall came by water to London, and ſo to Lambeth houſe, which was ready prepared againſt his comming.

Novemb. 28.

Upon the Wedneſday following, being the 28. of November, there was generall proceſſion in Pauls for ioy that the Queene was conceived and quicke with child, as it was declared in a letter ſent from the Councell to the Biſhop of London.

The ſame day were preſent at this Proceſſion ten Biſhops, with all the Prebendaries of Pauls, and alſo the Lord Maior with the Aldermen, and a great number of Commons of the City in their beſt array. The copie of the Councels letter here followeth, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

A Copie of a Letter ſent from the Councell unto Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, concerning Queene Maries conceiving with child.

The Councels letter to biſhop Boner of the Queenes conceiving with child.

After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordſhip: whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God amongſt other his infinite benefits of late moſt graciouſly powred upon us and this whole Realme, to extend his benediction upon the Queens Maieſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceived and quick of child: Whereby her Maieſty (being our naturall liege Lady, Queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperiall crowne) good hope of certain ſucceſſion in the crown is given unto us, and conſequently the great calamities (which for want of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe have fallen upon us, and our poſterity) ſhall by Gods grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of almighty God, endeavouring our ſelves with earneſt repentance to thank, honour, and ſerve him, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe be not only to advertiſe you of theſe good newes, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your dioceſſe, but alſo to pray and require you, that both your ſelfe do give God thanks with us for this his eſpeciall grace, and alſo give order that thanks may be openly given by ſinging of Te Deum in all the Churches within your ſaid Dioceſſe; and that likewiſe all Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, in their Maſſes, and other divine Services, may continually pray to almighty God ſo to extend his holy hand over her Maieſty, the Kings highneſſe, and this whole Realme, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciouſly thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of your ſelf have had ſpeciall regard without theſe our letters, yet for the earneſt deſire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have alſo written theſe our letters, to put you in remembrance; and ſo bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From Weſtminſter the 27. of November, 1554.

If Q. Mary were quicke with child in the 28. of the moneth of November, and afterward did labour in the moneth of June, then went ſhe almoſt ſeven moneths quick with child.

Te Deum ſung for Queen Maries child.

Your aſſured loving friends,

S. Winton. Cancel.	Iohn Bathon.
Arundell.	R. Rich.
F. Shrewesbury.	Thomas Warthom.
Edward Darby.	Iohn Huddilſtone.
Henry Suſſex.	R. Southwell.

Cardinall Poole commeth to the Parliament.

Alſo the ſame day in the afternoone Cardinall Poole came to the Parliament houſe, which at that preſent was kept in the great chamber of the Court at White-Hall, for that the Queene was then ſick, and could not goe abroad: where the King and Queenes Maieſty ſitting under the cloth of Eſtate, and the Cardinall ſitting on the right hand, with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament being preſent, the biſhop of Wincheſter being L. Chancellor began in this maner.

The words of Wincheſter for receiving of the Cardinall.

Wincheſters words for Cardinall Poole.

My Lords of the upper houſe, and you my Maſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reverend Father in God my Lord Cardinall Poole, come from the Apoſtolike See of Rome, as Ambaſſadour to the King and Queenes Majeſties, upon one of the weightieſt cauſes that ever hapned in this Realme, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your univerſall benefit. The which Ambaſſage their Majeſties pleaſure is to be ſignified unto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankfull wiſe as their highneſſes have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable eare unto him.

When the Lord Chancellor had thus ended his talk, the Cardinall, taking the time then offered, began his Oration, wherein he declared the cauſes of his comming, and what were his deſires and requeſts. In the which meane time the Court gate was kept ſhut untill he had made an end of his Oration. The tenour and words whereof here followeth.

The tenour of Cardinall Pooles Oration, made in the Parliament houſe.

My Lords all, & you that are the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, which

in

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Cardinall Pooles oration in the Parliament houſe.

in effect is nothing elſe but the ſtate and body of the whole realme, as the cauſe of my repaire hither hath béen moſt wiſely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, ſo before that I enter to the particularities of my Commiſſion, I have ſomewhat touching my ſelfe, and to give moſt humble and hearty thankes to the King and Quéenes Maieſties, and after them to you all, which, of a man exiled and baniſhed from this Commonwealth, have reſtored me to be a member of the ſame, and of a man having no place neither here, or elſwhere within this Realme, have admitted me in a place, where to ſpeak and to be heard. This I proteſt unto you all, that though I was exiled my native countrey without iuſt cauſe as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and deſire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my ſervice might have béene received, it was never to ſéeke, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever ſhall.

But leaving the rehearſall thereof, and comming more néere to the matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignifie unto you all, that my principall travell is for the reſtitution of this noble Realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the Sée Apoſtolike, from whence I come, hath a ſpeciall reſpect to this Realm above all other, and not without cauſe, ſéeing that God himſelfe, as it were by providence, hath given this Realme prerogative of Nobility above other: which to make more plaine unto you, it is to be conſidered that this Iland firſt of all Ilands received the light of Chriſts Religion. For as ſtories teſtifie, it was prima provinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.

More for the vantage that was hoped by it, than for any great love.

England, of all Ilands, received firſt the faith of Chriſt.

For the Britanes being firſt inhabitants of this Realme (notwithſtanding the ſubiection of the Emperors and heathen Princes) did receive Chriſts faith from the Apoſtolike Sée univerſally, and not in parts as other Countreyes, nor by one and one, as Clocks increaſe their houres by diſtinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits or forgetfulneſſe of God had deſerved expulſion, and that ſtrangers being infidels had poſſeſſed this land, yet God of his goodneſſe, not leaving where he once loved, ſo illuminated the hearts of the Saxons being heathen men, that they forſooke the darkneſſe of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Chriſts Religion: ſo that within ſmall ſpace Idolatry and Heathen ſuperſtition was utterly abandoned in this Iland.

This was a great prerogative of Nobility, the benefit whereof though it be to be aſcribed to God, yet the meane occaſion of the ſame came from the Church of Rome. In the faith of which Church we have ever ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the world in unity of Religion. And to ſhew further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this Iland towards the Church of Rome, we read that divers Princes in the Saxons time with great travell and expences went perſonally to Rome, as Offa, and Adulphus, which thought it not enough to ſhew themſelves obedient to the ſaid Sée; unleſſe that in their owne perſons they had gone to that ſame place from whence they had received ſo great a grace and benefit.

That the faith of the Britans came firſt from Rome, neither doth it ſtand with the circumſtance of our ſtories: and if it ſo did, yet that faith and doctrine of the Romaniſts was not ſuch then as it is now. Read before.

Of this Offa read before.

In the time of Carolus Magnus who firſt founded the Univerſity of Paris, he ſent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which firſt brought learning to that Univerſity, whereby it ſéemeth that the greateſt part of the world fet the light of Religion from England.

Of Alcuinus read before.

Adrian the fourth being an Engliſhman converted Norway from infidelity, which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this Realme being his native Countrey, gave to Henry the ſecond King of England, the right and ſeigniory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the Sée of Rome.

I will not rehearſe the manifold benefits that this Realme hath received from the Apoſtolike Sée, nor how ready the ſame hath béen to relieve us in all our neceſſities. Nor will I rehearſe the manifold miſeries and calamities that this realme hath ſuffered by ſwerving from that unity. And even as in this realme, ſo in all other Countreyes which refuſing the unity of the catholike faith have followed fantaſticall doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Aſia, and the Empire of Gréece be a ſpectacle unto the world, who, by ſwerving from the unity of the Church of Rome, are brought into captivity and ſubiection of the Turke. All ſtories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, looke upon our Neighbours in Germany, who, by ſwerving from this unity, are miſerably afflicted with diverſity of ſects, and divided into factions.

May rather what riches and treaſures the See of Rome hath ſuckt out of England, it is incredible.

The cauſe of their ſubiection to the Turke cannot be proved to come by ſwerving from the unity of the Church of Rome, for they were never fully ioyned unto it.

And as touching the ſubiection of Aſia and Grecia to the Turkes, read in the ſtory of the Turks before.

What ſhall I rehearſe unto you the tumults and effuſion of blood that hath happened there of late dayes? Or trouble you with the rehearſall of thoſe plagues that have happened ſince this innovation of Religion, whereof you have felt the bitterneſſe, and I have heard the report? Of all which matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the miſery of the time. And ſée how farre forth this fury went. For thoſe that live under the Turk may fréely live after their conſcience, and ſo was it not lawfull here.

And why then doe ye more cruelly than the Turke perſecute other for their conſcience?

If men examine well upon what grounds theſe innovations began, they ſhall well find that the root of this, as of many other miſchiefes, was avarice, and that the luſt and carnall affection of one man confounded all lawes both divine and humane. And notwithſtanding all theſe deviſes and policies practiſed within this realme againſt the Church of Rome, they néeded not to have left you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all Europe to have ayded the Church in that quarrell. Then mark the ſequell: There ſéemed by theſe changes to riſe a great face of riches and gaine, which in proofe came to great miſery and lack. Sée how God then can confound the wiſdome of the wiſe and turne uniuſt policy to méere folly, and that thing which ſéemed to be done for reliefe, was cauſe of plaine ruine and decay. Yet ſée that goodneſſe of God, which at no time failed us, but moſt benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts leaſt ſought and worſe deſerved.

And when all light of true Religion ſéemed utterly extinct, the Churches defaced, the Altars overthrown, the Miniſters corrupted: even like as in a lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even ſo in a few remained the confeſſion of Chriſts faith, namely in the breaſt of the Quéenes excellency, of whom, to ſpeake without adulation, the ſaying of the Prophet may be verified, Ecce quaſi derelicta.

And ſée how miraculouſly God of his goodnes preſerved her highneſſe, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conſpired againſt her, and policies were deviſed to diſinherit her, and armed power prepared to deſtroy her, yet, ſhe being a Virgin helpleſſe, naked and unarmed, prevailed and had the victory of tyrants, which is not to be aſcribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodneſſe and providence of God, to whom the honor is to be given. And therefore it may be ſaid, Da gloriam Deo.

What policy is this to make promiſe to get ſtrength, and to break it as the Queene did?

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For in mans iudgement, on her Graces part was nothing in appearance but deſpaire.

And yet for all theſe practiſes and deviſes of ill men, here you ſee her Grace eſtabliſhed in her eſtate, being your lawfull Queene and Governeſſe, borne among you, whom God hath appointed to reigne over you for the reſtitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and ſects. And to confirme her Grace the more ſtrongly in this enterpriſe, loe how the providence of God hath ioyned her in marriage with a Prince of like religion, who being a King of great might, armor, and force, yet uſeth towards you neither armor nor force, but ſeeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which reſpect great cauſe you have to give thanks to almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch a catholike Governeſſe. It ſhall be therefore your part againe to love, obey, and ſerve them.

The Cardinal here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

And as it was a ſingular favor of God to conioyne them in marriage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them iſſue, for the comfort and ſurety of this common-wealth.

Charles the Emperour compared to David.

Two powers in earth: Eccleſiaſticall, and Imperiall.

Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperor hath travailed moſt in the cauſe of Religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany: yet happily, by ſome ſecret iudgment of God, he hath not atchieved the end. With whom in my iourney hitherwards I had conference touching my legation: whereof when he had underſtanding, he ſhewed a great appearance of moſt earneſt ioy and gladneſſe, ſaying, that it reioyced him no leſſe of the reconcilement of this Realme unto Chriſtian unity, than that his ſonne was placed by marriage in the Kingdome, and moſt glad he was of all, that the occaſion thereof ſhould come by me being an Engliſh man borne, which is (as it were) to call home our ſelves. I can well compare him to David, which though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jeruſalem, but left the finiſhing thereof to Salomon, which was Rex pacificus. So may it be thought, that the appeaſing of controverſies of Religion in Chriſtianity, is not appointed to this Emperor, but rather to his ſonne, who ſhall performe the building that his father hath begun. Which Church cannot be perfectly builded, unleſſe univerſally in all realmes we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the Vicar of God, and to have power from above. For all power is of God, according to the ſaying, Non eſt poteſtas, niſi à Deo. And therefore I conſider that all power being in God, yet, for the conſervation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into the parts here in earth: which is, into the power Imperiall, and Eccleſiaſticall. And theſe two powers, as they be ſeverall and diſtinct, ſo have they two ſeverall effects and operations. For ſecular Princes, to whom the temporall ſword is committed, be miniſters of God to execute vengeance upon tranſgreſſors and evill livers, and to preſerve the well doers and innocents from iniury and violence. Which power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent perſons, the King and Queenes Maieſty here preſent, who have this power committed unto them immediatly from God, without any ſuperiour in that behalfe.

The power of the keyes clarkely declared.

The other power is of miniſtration, which is the power of the keyes, and order in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, which is by the authority of Gods word, and examples of the Apoſtles, and of all old holy Fathers from Chriſt hitherto, attributed and given to the Apoſtolike Sea of Rome, by ſpeciall prerogative. From which Sea I am here deputed Legate and Embaſſador, having ful and ample commiſſion from thence, and have the keyes committed to my hands, I confeſſe to you that I have the keyes, not as mine owne keyes, but as the keyes of him that ſent me, and yet cannot open, not for want of power in me to give, but for certaine impediments in you to receive, which muſt be taken away before my Commiſſion can take effect. This I proteſt before you, my Commiſſion is not of preiudice to any perſon. I come not to deſtroy, but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemne, I come not to compell, but to call againe, I am not come to call any thing in queſtion already done, but my Commiſſion is of grace and clemency, to ſuch as will receive it. For touching all matters that be paſt they ſhall be as things caſt into the Sea of forgetfulneſſe.

The Popes keyes ſent by the Cardinall.

The Popes keyes cannot worke in England before the lock of good lawes be changed.

But the meane, whereby you ſhall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeale thoſe laws and ſtatutes, which be impediments, blocks, and barres to the execution of my commiſſion. For like as I my ſelfe had neither place nor voice to ſpeake here among you, but was in all reſpects a baniſhed man, till ſuch time as ye had repealed thoſe lawes that lay in my way: even ſo cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the Apoſtolike See, untill the abrogation of ſuch lawes, whereby you have diſioyned and diſſevered your ſelves from the unity of Chriſts Church.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Chriſtians and provident men for the weale of your ſoules and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a cauſe, and ſo to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may tend firſt to the glory of God, and next to the conſervation of your Common-wealth, ſurety, and quietneſſe.

The next day after the three eſtates aſſembled againe in the great Chamber of the Court at Weſtminſter: where the King and Queens Maieſties and the Cardinall being preſent, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a ſupplication to their highneſſes, the tenor whereof enſueth.

The Copie of the ſupplication and ſubmiſsion exhibited to the King and Queenes Majeſties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

The ſupplication and ſubmiſſion of the lords and commons, to the King and Queenes maieſties.

O great ſorrow and deep repentance.

VVE the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole body of the Realme of England and Dominions of the ſame, in our owne names particularly, and alſo of the ſaid body univerſally, in this ſupplication directed to your Majeſties, with moſt humble ſute, that it may by your gracious interceſsion and meane, be exhibited to the moſt reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy Father Pope Iulius the third, and the Sea Apoſtolike of Rome, doe declare our ſelves very ſorrie and repentant for the ſchiſme and diſobedience, committed in this Realme and the Dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſaid See Apoſtolike, either by making, agreeing, or executing any lawes, ordinances, or commandements againſt the ſupremacie of the ſaid See, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugne the ſame: offering our ſelves, and promiſing by this our ſupplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſaid repentance, we be, and ſhall be alway ready, under and with the authorities of your Majeſties, to the uttermoſt of our power, to doe that ſhall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the ſaid lawes and ordinances in this preſent Parliament; as well for our ſelves, as for the whole body whom we repreſent.

Whereupon wee moſt humbly beſeech your

Majeſties,

Anno 1554

The Popes abſolution cannot come, but by interceſſion of kings and Queenes.

Majeſties, as perſons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the ſaid See, which neverthele ſſe God by his providence hath made ſubject to your Majeſties, ſo to ſet forth this our moſt humble ſuit, that we may obtaine from the See Apoſtolike, by the ſaid moſt reverend Father, as well particularly as univerſally, abſolution, releaſe and diſcharge from all danger of ſuch cenſures and ſentences, as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen in, and that we may as children repentant, be received into the boſome and unity of Chriſts Church, ſo as this noble Realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the See Apoſtolike, and Pope for the time being, ſerve God and your Majeſties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory, Amen.

The ſupplication given up by the King and Queene to the Cardinall.

The ſupplication being read, the King and Queene delivered the ſame unto the Cardinall, who (perceiving the effect thereof to anſwer his expectation) did receive the ſame moſt gladly from their Majeſties: and after hee had in few words given thankes to God, and declared what great cauſe he had to reioyce above all others, that his comming from Rome into England had taken moſt happy ſucceſſe: He by the Popes authority did give them this abſolution following

An abſolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to
the whole Parliament of England, in the
preſence of the King and Queen.

Abſolution from the Pope given to the Realme of England. Chriſts abſolution not ſufficient, without the Popes be ioyned withall. England brought from Gods bleſſing into the warm ſunne.

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which with his moſt precious blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our ſinnes and iniquities, that hee might purchaſe unto himſelfe a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his Church, hee by his mercy abſolve you. And we by Apoſtolike authority given unto us (by the moſt holy Lord Pope Julius the third, his Vicegerent in earth) do abſolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole Realme and the Dominions thereof, from all hereſie and ſchiſme, and from all and every iudgement, cenſures and paines, for that cauſe incurred, and alſo we do reſtore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters more plainly it ſhall appeare: In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of holy Ghoſt.

Te Deum ſung, but with heavie hearts God knoweth.

When all this was don, they went into the Chappell, and there ſinging Te Deum **with great ſolemnity declared the ioy and gladneſſe that for this reconciliation was pretended,**

The report of this was with great ſpeed ſent unto Rome, as well by the King and Cardinals letters, which hereafter follow, as alſo otherwiſe Whereupon the Pope cauſed there at Rome proceſſions to be made, and thankes to be given to God with great ioy for the converſion of England to his Church, and therefore praiſing the Cardinals diligence, and the devotion of the King and Queen, on Chriſtmas even, by his buls he ſet forth a generall pardon to all ſuch as did truly reioyce for the ſame.

Great ioy at Rome for the converſion of England, and good cauſe why.

A copie of King Philips letter, written with his
own hand to Pope Iulius, touching the reſtoring of the Realm of England.

November 30. King Philips letter to the P. tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh.

Moſt holy Father, I wrote yeſterday unto Don Iohn Maurique, that hee ſhould declare by word of mouth, or elſe write to your holineſſe, in what good ſtate the matter of Religion ſtood in this Realme, and of the ſubmiſſion to your holineſſe as to the chiefe. As this day, which is the feaſt of S. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that ſervice (to whoſe only Godneſſe we muſt impute it, and to your holineſſe who have taken ſo great paine to gaine theſe ſoules) that this Realme with full and generall conſent of all them that repreſent the ſtate, being very penitent for that was paſt, and well bent to that they come to doe, ſubmitted themſelves to your holineſſe, and to that holy See, whom, at the requeſt of the Queene and me, your Legate did abſolve. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Don Iohn ſhall ſignifie unto your holineſſe all that paſſed in this matter, I will write no more thereof, but only that the Queene and I as moſt faithfull and devout children of your holineſſe, have received the greateſt joy and comfort hereof that may be expreſſed with tongue: Conſidering that beſides the ſervice done to God hereby, it hath chanced in the time of your holineſſe, to place as it were in the lap of the holy Catholike Church ſuch a kingdome as this is. And therefore I thinke I cannot be thankfull enough for that is done this day. And I truſt in him, that your holineſſe ſhall alway underſtand, that the holy See hath not had a more obedient ſonne than I, nor more deſirous to preſerve and increaſe the authority of the ſame. God guide and proſper the moſt holy perſonage of your holineſſe as I deſire.

From London the 30. of November, 1554.

Your holineſſe moſt humble
ſonne the King, &c.

Here followeth likewiſe the Cardinals letter
to the ſaid Pope, concerning the
ſame matter.

The Cardinals letter to the Pope for the reclaiming againe of England to his See.

Thoſe things which I wrote unto your holyneſſe of late, of that hope which I truſted would come to paſſe, that in ſhort ſpace this Realme would bee reduced to the unity of the Church, and obedience of the Apoſtolike See, though I did write then not without great cauſe: yet neverthe leſſe I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficultie which the mindes of our Countrimen did ſhew, being ſo long alienated from the See Apoſtolike, and for the old hatred which they had borne ſo many years to that name: but much more I feared, leſt the firſt entry into the cauſe it ſelfe ſhould be put off by ſome other matter or convention comming betwixt.

For the avoiding whereof I made great meanes to the King and Queene, which little needed: for their own godly forwardneſſe, and earneſt deſire to bring the thing to paſſe, far ſurmounted my great and earneſt expectation. This day in the evening being S. Andrewes day (who firſt brought his brother Peter to Chriſt) it is come to paſſe by the providence of God, that this Realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peters ſeate and your holineſſe, by whoſe means it may be conioyned to Chriſt the head, and his body which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in Parliament (the King and Queen being preſent) with ſuch full conſent and great reioycing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration and given the Benediction, with a great ioy and ſhout there was divers times ſaid, Amen, Amen: which doth evidently declare that that holy ſeed, although it hath been long oppreſſed, yet was not utterly quenched in them: which chiefly was declared in the " Nobility. Returning home to my houſe, theſe things I wrote unto your holines upon the ſudden, reioycing that I had ſo luckily brought to paſſe, so weighty a matter by the divine providence, thinking to have ſent my letters by the Kings Poſt, who (as it was ſaid) ſhould have departed ſhortly: but afterwards changing my

" The Popes authority as much welcome to the Nobility of England, as water into the ſhip.

purpoſe, when I had determined to ſend one of mine owne men, I thought good to adde thus much to my letters, for the more ample gratulation and reioycing at that good chance: which thing as it was right great gladneſſe to mee, through the event of the ſame (being it ſelfe very great, and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the whole Church, ſo healthſome to this my country which brought me forth, ſo honorable to the ſame which received me:) ſo likewiſe I tooke no leſſe reioycing of the Princes themſelves, through whoſe vertue and godlineſſe the matter did take ſucceſſe and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the Church (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and our mother) make her account through thoſe her children?

Oh diſſimulation of a flattering Cardinal

Oh notable zeale of godlineſſe. Oh ancient faith, which undoubtedly doth ſo manifeſtly appeare in them both, that who ſo ſeeth them, muſt needs (whether hee will or no) ſay the ſame which the Prophet ſpake of the firſt children of the Church; Iſti ſunt ſemen cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum, That is, theſe are the ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed. This is the Lords planting to glory in.

What ſimilitude is betwixt light and darkneſſe? 2 Cor. 6.

How holily did your holineſſe with all your authority and earneſt affection favour this marriage? which truly ſeemeth to expreſſe a great ſimilitude of the higheſt King, which, being heire of the world, was ſent downe by his father from the Regall ſeat to be ſpouſe and ſon of the Virgin, and by this meanes to comfort all mankinde: for even ſo this King himſelfe, the greateſt heire of all men which are in the earth, leaving his fathers Kingdomes that are moſt great, is come into this little Kingdome, and is become both the ſpouſe, and ſonne of this Virgin, (for he ſo behaveth himſelfe as though he were a ſonne, whereas indeed he is an husband) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, ſhew himſelfe an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Chriſt, and his body, which is the Church.

Cardinal Poole flattereth the King.

Which things ſeeing they are ſo, what may not our mother the Church her ſelfe looke for at his hands, that hath brought this to paſſe, to convert the hearts of the Fathers towards their Sonnes, and the unbeleevers to the wiſedome of the righteous? which vertue truly, doth wonderfully ſhine in him. But the Queene, which at that time, when your holineſſe ſent me Legat unto her, did riſe up as a rod of incenſe ſpringing out of the trees of myrrhe, and as frankincenſe out of the deſert, ſhe I ſay which a little before was forſaken of all men, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhine? what a ſavour of myrrhe and frankincenſe doth ſhe give forth unto her people?

Scripture wel applyed.

which (as the Prophet ſaith of the mother of Chriſt) brought forth before ſhe laboured, before ſhee was delivered brought forth a man child; who ever heard of ſuch a thing? and who hath ſeen the like of this? ſhall the earth bring forth in one day, or ſhall a whole nation be brought forth together? But ſhe now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof wee are in moſt great hope.

How great cauſe is given to us to reioyce? How great cauſe have wee to give thankes to Gods mercy, your holineſſe, and the Emperors Maieſty, which have beene cauſers of ſo happy and ſo godly a marriage, by which we being reconciled are ioyned to God the Father, to Chriſt and to the Church: of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the ioy that I have taken, yet I cannot keepe ſilence of it. And to this my reioycing this alſo was ioyned (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend Archbiſhop of Conſane, your holineſſe Nuncio with the Emperors Maieſtie, brought me marvellous great gladneſſe) that your ſaid holineſſe began to reſtore to the ancient beautie thoſe things, which in the Church of Rome through the corruption of times were deformed, which truly when it ſhall be finiſhed, then indeed may we well cry out with the Prophet, and ſpeak unto your holineſſe with theſe words, Exue te ſtolâ luctus & vexationis, & indue te decore, qui à Deo tibi eſt in gloria ſempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum à Deo ſempiternum, pax juſtitiæ & honor pietatatis. Tum autem dicetur, Circumſpice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente ſole uſque in occidentem verbo ſancto gaudentem. That is, Put off the ſtole of ſorrow and vexation, and put on comlineſſe, which thou haſt of God in everlaſting glory. For thy name ſhall be named of God everlaſting, peace of righteouſneſſe, and honour of godlineſſe; and then it ſhall be ſaid; Looke about and ſee thy ſonnes gathered together from the ſunne riſing, to the going downe of the ſame, reioycing in the holy word.

The Scripture ſpeaking of Sion and Ieruſalem, unaptly applyed to the Pope

There is nothing truly (to ſpeake of thy children gathered together in the Weſt, which prepare themſelves to meet their mother) which they had rather ſee, than her apparelled (that I may uſe the words of the Prophet) in that garment of righteouſnes wherewith God adorned her in times paſt. This one thing remaineth, that your holineſſe ioy, and the ioy of all the univerſall Church may be perfected, which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaſeth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preſerve your holineſſe long to continue in health for the profit of his Church. From London the laſt of November, 1554.

Your moſt humble ſervant Reginald
Poole, Cardinall.

December 2.

A Sermon of Ste. Gardiner preached at Pauls Croſſe.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 2. of December, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord Chancellor of England, preached at Paules Croſſe, at which Sermon was preſent the King and Cardinall Poole. Hee tooke for his Theame this part of the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Romanes the 13. Chapter, This alſo we know the ſeaſon (brethren) that we ſhould now awake out of ſleep, for now is our ſalvation nearer, than when we believed, &c. Some notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by ſundry copies) I have here thought good to ſet forth.

A dreaming ſermon of the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Firſt, he ſhewed how the ſaying of S. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time ſlept in dark ignorance not knowing God: therefore ſaint Paul (quoth he) to ſtirre up their heavie dulneſſe, willed them to wake out of their long ſleepe, becauſe their ſalvation was neerer, than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs he tooke occaſion to declare what difference the Iewiſh ſacraments had from theſe of the Chriſtians, wherein he uſed theſe words:

Even as the ſacrament of the Iewes did declare Chriſt to come, ſo doe our ſacraments declare Chriſt to be already come: but Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come is not all one. For now that he is come the Iewes ſacraments be done away, and ours only remaine, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the Fathers of the old Law: for they had him but in ſignes, but we have him in the Sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleep, who have ſlept or rather dreamed theſe xx. yeers paſt, as ſhall more eaſily appeare by declaring at large ſome of the properties and effects of a ſleep or a dreame. And firſt, as men intending to ſleep, do ſeparate themſelves from compa-

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company, and deſire to be alone: even ſo have we ſeparated our ſelves from the ſea Apoſtolike of Rome: and have beene alone, no Realme in Chriſtendome like us.

Wincheſter very expert (as appeareth) in ghoſtly dreames.

Secondly, as in ſleep men dreame ſometime of killing, ſometime of maiming, ſometime of drowning, or burning, ſometime of ſuch beaſtlyneſſe as I will not name, but will ſpare your eares: ſo have we in this our ſleep not only dreamed of beaſtlineſſe, but we have done it indeed. For in this our ſleepe hath not one brother deſtroyed another? Hath not half our money beene wyped away at one time? And again, thoſe that would defend their conſcience, were ſlain; and others alſo otherwiſe troubled, beſides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I; whereof I report me to your owne conſciences. Further, in a mans ſleep all his ſenſes are ſtopped, ſo that he can neither ſee, ſmell, nor heare: even ſo whereas the ceremonies of the Church were inſtituted to move and ſtir up our ſenſes, they being taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we faſt aſleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly ſleep, he will put out the candle, leſt peradventure it may let his ſleepe, and awake him: ſo of late all ſuch Writers as did hold any thing with the Apoſtolike Sea, were condemned, and forbidden to be read, and Images (which were " Laymens bookes) were caſt down and broken.

Who putteth out the candle but they which extinguiſh Gods word, and forbid the Scriptures that ſhould give us light? " They forbid Laymens books, but you forbid the book of God.

The ſleep hath continued with us theſe twentie yeeres, and we all that while without a head. For when King Henry did firſt take upon him to be head of the Church, it was then no Church at all. After whoſe death, King Edward (having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them liſted) could not be head of the Church, but was only a ſhadow or ſigne of a head: and at length it came to paſſe, that we had no head at all: no, not ſo much as our two Archbiſhops. For on the one ſide, the Queen being a woman could not be head of the Church, and on the other ſide they both were convicted of one crime, and ſo depoſed. Thus while we deſired to have a ſupreme head among us, it came to paſſe, that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North in the time of K. Henry the eighth (I am ſure) the King was determined to have given over the ſupremacy again to the Pope: but the houre was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, leſt ſome would have ſaid, that he did it for feare.

Then belike Chriſt is no head at all to give life to his Church, unleſſe the Popes head alſo be clapt on the Churches ſhoulders.

After this, Maſter Knevet and I were ſent Ambaſſadors unto the Emperour, to deſire him that he would be a meane betweene the Popes Holineſſe and the King, to bring the King to the obedience of the Sea of Rome: but the time was not yet come. For it might have beene ſaid, that it had beene done for a civill policy. Againe, in the beginning of King Edwards reign the matter was moved, but the ſame was not yet: for it would have been ſaid, that the King (being but a child) had beene bought and ſould. Neither in the beginning of the Queens reigne was the houre come; for it would have beene ſaid, that it was done in a time of weakneſſe. Likewiſe when the King firſt came, if it had been done, they might have ſaid it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, " hora eſt, the houre is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the meere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the Popes Holines, Pope Julius the third, ſent unto us this moſt reverend father, Cardinall Poole, an ambaſſador from his ſide. What to do? not to revenge the iniuries done by us againſt his Holineſſe, ſed benedicere maledicentibus, to give his benediction to thoſe that defamed and perſecuted him.

" Imo poteſtas tenebrarum.

Steven Gardiner claweth the Cardinall.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the ſaid benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may alway acknowledge our ſelves offenders againſt his Holineſſe; I doe not exclude my ſelfe forth of the number. I will flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus, that is, weepe with them that weepe, and rejoyce with them which reioyce. And I ſhall deſire you, that we may deferre the matter no longer; for now, hora eſt, the houre is come. The King and Queens Maieſties have already reſtored our holy father the Pope to his ſupremacy, and the three eſtates aſſembled in the Parliament, repreſenting the whole bodie of the Realme, have alſo ſubmitted themſelves to his Holines, and his Succeſſors " for ever. Wherefore let us not any longer ſtay. And even as S. Paul ſaid to the Corinthians, that he was their father, ſo may the Pope ſay, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine firſt from Rome; therefore he may challenge us as his owne. We have all cauſe to reioyce, for his Holineſſe hath ſent hither and prevented us, before we ſought him: ſuch care hath he for us. Therefore let us ſay, Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea, Reioyce in this day which is of the Lords working, that ſuch a noble birth is come, yea, ſuch a holy father (I mean my Lord Cardinall Pool) which can ſpeak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto ſtrangers; who hath a long time been abſent. And let us now awake, which ſo long have ſlept, and in our ſleep have done ſo much naughtines againſt the ſacraments of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, and pulled down the " Altars, which thing Luther himſelf would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their beliefe in Chriſt.

Note how the meaning of S. Pauls words is here applied " For ever, Wincheſter a falſe Prophet. Saint Paul, though he were the father of many Churches in Chriſt Jeſus, yet was he never ſo arrogant to take upon him to be ſupreme head of any Church, but left that ſolely to Chriſt, and laboured to bring all under him.

" So Ezechias pulled down the hill-altars, which Manaſſes afterward did ſet up: yet we commend the doings of Ezechias, and diſprove the fact of the other.

This was the ſumme of his Sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed firſt for the pope, Pope Julius the third, with all his Colledge of Cardinals, the Biſhop of London, with the reſt of that order; then for the King and Queen, and the Nobility of this Realm: and laſt for the commons of the ſame, with the ſouls departed, lying in the paines of Purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Pauls to ring to their evening ſong, whereby the Preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make a ſhort end of his Clerkly Sermon.

About this very time a poſt or meſſenger was ſent from the whole Parliament to the Pope, to deſire him to confirme and eſtabliſh the ſale of Abbey lands and Chauntry lands: for the Lords and the Parliament would grant nothing in the Popes behalf, before their purchaſes were fully confirmed.

December 6. The chapter of Pauls abſolved by the Cardinall.

Upon the Thurſday following, being the 6. day of December, and Saint Nicholas day, all the whole Convocation, both Biſhops and other, were ſent for to Lambeth to the Cardinall, who the ſame day forgave them all their periurations, ſchiſmes, and hereſies, and they all there kneeled down and received his abſolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for their converſion to the Catholike Church made by the Cardinall, they departed.

December 11. The queſt men of M. Throgmorton put to their fine, and delivered.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 12. of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Maſter Throgmortons queſt, were diſcharged, and ſet at liberty upon their fine paid, which was 220. pound a peece; and the other three put up a ſupplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the ſumme that they were appointed to pay; and ſo upon that declaration paying 40. li. a piece, they were delivered out of priſon upon Saint Thomas day before Chriſtmas, being the 21. of December.

Upon

December 22.

Vpon the Saturday following, being the 22. of December, all the whole Parliament had ſtreight commandement, that none of them ſhould depart into their country this Chriſtmas, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which commandement was wonderfull contrary to their expectations. For aſwel many of the Lords as alſo many of the inferiour ſort had ſent for their horſes, and had them brought hither.

December 28.

Vpon the Friday following, being the 28. of December, and Childermas day, the Prince of Piedmont came to the Court at Weſtminſter.

Anno 1555.

January. M. Roſe with 30. perſons taken at a communion in Bowe Church yard.

January 3.

Vpon Newyeeres day at night following, certaine honeſt men and women of the City, to the number of 30. and a Miniſter with them named Maſter Roſe, were taken as they were in a houſe in Bow Church-yard at the Communion, and the ſame night they were all committed to priſon. And on the Thurſday following, being the 3. day of January, M. Roſe was before the B. of Wincheſter being Lord Chancellor, and from thence the ſame day he was committed to the Tower, after certaine communication had betwéen the Biſhop and him.

The Act of ſupremacy paſſed in the Parliament.

A ſtirre between the Spaniards and Engliſhmen at Weſtminſter.

The ſame day the Act of ſupremacie paſt in the Parliament. Alſo the ſame day at night was a great tumult betwéen Spaniards and Engliſhmen at Weſtminſter, whereof was like to have enſued a great miſchief through a Spaniſh Frier which got into the Church and rung Alarum. The occaſion was about two whores which were in the cloyſter at Weſtminſter with a ſort of Spaniards, whereof whileſt ſome plaid the knaves with them, other ſome did kéepe the entry of the Cloyſter with dags in harneſſe. In the meane time certain of the Deanes men came into the Cloyſter, and the Spaniards diſcharged their dags at them, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noiſe of this doing came into the ſtréetes, ſo that the whole towne was up almoſt, but never a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtanding the noiſe of this doing with the Deanes men, and alſo the ringing of the Alarum, made much adoe, and a great number alſo to be ſore affraid.

Ye heard a little before the Councels letter ſent to Biſhop Boner, ſignifying the góod newes of Quéene Mary to be not only conceived, but alſo quick with childe, which was in the moneth of November, the 28. day. Of this childe great talke began at this time to riſe in every mans mouth, with buſie preparation, and much ado, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſéemed in England to carry Spaniſh hearts in Engliſh bodies. In number of whom here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his worthy affection toward his prince and her iſſue, one ſir Richard Southwell, who being the ſame time in the Parliament houſe, when as the Lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, ſuddenly ſtarting up, for fulneſſe of ioy braſt out in theſe words following: Tuſh my maſters, quoth he, what talk ye of theſe matters? I would have you take ſome order for our maſter that is now comming into the world apace, leſt he find us unprovided, &c. By the which words both of him, and alſo by the foreſaid letters of the Councell, and the common talk abroad, it may appeare what an aſſured opinion was then conceived in mens heads of Q. Mary, to be conceived and quick with child. Inſomuch that at the ſame time, and in the ſame Parliament there was eftſóones a bill exhibited, and an Act made upon the ſame, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought góod here to exemplificate, as followeth.

The words of ſir Richard Southwell in the Parliament houſe.

The Words of the Act.

Anno 1555.

Ex ſtat. an. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap.

ALbeit wee the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have firme hope and confidence in the goodneſſe of almighty God, that like as hee hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerved the Queenes Majeſtie from many great imminent perils and dangers; even ſo hee will of his infinite goodneſſe give her Highneſſe ſtrength, the rather by our continuall prayers, to paſſe well the danger of deliverance of childe, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great comforts) to bleſſe her: yet forſomuch as all things of this world bee uncertaine, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant government, during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the ſixth, doe plainly ſee the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils that may enſue in this whole Realme, if foreſight bee not uſed to prevent all evill chances, if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewing hereof, we the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpeciall truſt and confidence that wee have and repoſe in the Kings Majeſty, for and concerning the politike government, order, and adminiſtration of this Realme in the time of the young yeeres of the iſſue or iſſues of her Majeſties body to bee borne, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the Queenes Highneſſe out of this preſent life, during the tender yeeres of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order and manner, as hereafter in this preſent Act his Highneſſe moſt gracious pleaſure is, ſhould bee declared and ſet forth, have made our humble ſuit by the aſſent of the Queenes Highneſſe, that his majeſtie would vouchſafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and governement of the ſaid iſſue or iſſues to bee borne, as is aforeſaid: upon which our ſuite, being of his ſaid Majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his Highneſſe not onely to declare, that like as for the moſt part his Majeſty verily truſteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerved the Queenes Majeſtie, to give this Realme ſo good an hope of certaine ſucceſſion in the blood Royall of the ſame Realme) will aſſiſt her Highneſſe with his graces and benedictions, to ſee the fruit of her body well brought forth, live and able to governe (whereof neither all this Realme, ne all the world beſides, ſhould or could receive more comfort than his Majeſtie ſhould and would) yet if ſuch chance ſhould happen, his Majeſtie at our humble deſires is pleaſed and contented, not onely to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and governement of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy marriage ſhall be borne betweene the Queenes Highneſſe and him; but alſo, during the time of ſuch governement, would by all wayes and meanes, ſtudy, travaile, and imploy himſelfe to advance the weale both publike and private of this Realme and Dominion thereunto belonging, according to the ſaid truſt in his Majeſty repoſed, with no leſſe good will and affection, than if his Highneſſe had beene naturally borne amongſt us. In conſideration whereof, bee it enacted by the King and the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſties, by the aſſent of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, &c. as it is to be ſéene in the Act more at large ratified and confirmed at the ſame Parliament, to the ſame intent and purpoſe.

The iudgment of the Parliament deceived in Gods bleſſing.

Order taken by Parliament for Q. Maries childe.

Truſt diſappointed.

¶ Thus much out of the Act and Statute I thought to rehearſe, to the intent ẏ Reader may underſtand not ſo much how Parliaments may ſometimes be deceived (as by this child of Q. Mary may appeare) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen have to render moſt earneſt thanks unto Almighty God, who ſo mercifully againſt the opinion expectation, and working of our adverſaries, hath helped and delivered us in this caſe, which otherwiſe might have opened ſuch a window to the Spaniards, to have entred and repleniſhed this land, that peradventure by this time Engliſhmen ſhould have enioyed no great quiet in their owne countrey: the Lord therefore make us perpetually mindfull of his benefits, Amen.

Thus we ſee then how man doth purpoſe, but God diſposeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labour, proviſion, and order taken in the Parliament houſe for their young Maſter long looked for, comming ſo ſurely into the world, in the end appeared neither young Maſter, nor young Miſtreſſe, that any man yet to this day can heare of. Furthermore, as the labour of the Lay-ſort was herein deluded; ſo no leſſe ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the Popes Churchmen had with almighty God, who travailed no leſſe with their Proceſſions, Maſſes and Collects, for the happy deliverance of this young Maſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeene.

The prayers of the Papiſts of what little effect they are with God.

A prayer made by Doctor Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, daily to be ſaid for the Queenes deliverance.

A prayer for Queen Mary and her childe, turned out of Latine into Engliſh.

O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the firſt woman, haſt threatned unto all women a common, ſharpe, and inevitable malediction, and hat injoyned them that they ſhould conceive in ſin, and being conceived, ſhould be ſubject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: We beſeech thee for thine exceeding great goodnes and bottomeleſſe mercy, to mitigate the ſtrictneſſe of that law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while, and cheriſh in the boſome of thy favour and mercy our moſt gracious Queene Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life ſhee may overcome the ſorrow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a child, in body beautifull and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward ſhe, forgetting the trouble may with joy laud and praiſe the bountifulneſſe of thy mercy, and together with us, praiſe and bleſſe both thee and thy holy Name world without end. This, O Lord, we deſire thee, we beſeech thee and moſt heartily crave of thee. Heare us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy Church ſay; Where is their God?

A ſolemne prayer made for King Philip and Queene Maries childe, that it may bee a male childe, welfavoured, and witty, &c.

A devout prayer made by the Catholikes for Queen Mary, being great & quick with childe.

O Moſt mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt, bow downe from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched ſinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep ſighs bewailing our ſins and offences, humbly with eyes intent, and hands diſplayed, praying and beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſervant, and our Queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou haſt willed to be conceived with childe: and at the time of her travaile graciouſly with the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preſerve.

It hath ſeemed good in thy ſight mercifull father, by thy ſervant Mary, to worke theſe wonders, that is to ſay, in her hands to vanquiſh and overthrow the ſtout enemy, and to deliver us thy people out of the hands of “Heretikes, Infidels, enimies to thee, and to the Croſſe of thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, that of thy ſervant thou mighteſt ſpeak in far countries. Therefore for theſe wonderfull workes, which thou doſt to thy ſervants, thou art magnified Lord God for ever, and wee thy people bleſſe thee the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and haſt excluded from us the Heretike, the enemy of truth, the perſecutor of thy Church. We know, we know, that we have grievouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forſaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplyed on our head, and our ſinnes be increaſed up to heaven: and we our ſelves having offended, and our Princes and our Prieſts, for theſe our ſinnes, have deſerved an hypocrite to our Prince, our ſinnes have deſerved a tyrant to our Governor, that ſhould bring our life to bitterneſſe. We be not worthy to have ſo gentle and mercifull a Queen, ſo godly a Ruler, and finally, ſo vertuous a Prince: at the very beginning of whoſe reigne, a new light as it were of Gods religion ſeemed to us for to ſpring and riſe. The Jews did bleſſe the widow Judith with one voice, ſaying, Thou art the glory of Ieruſalem, thou art the joy of Iſrael, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou haſt loved chaſtity, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever.

“The Papiſts call the Proteſtants Heretikes and enemies to the Croſſe of Chriſt, even as Achab called Elias the diſturber of Iſrael, when he was only the diſturber himſelfe.

Q. Mary compared of the Papiſts to widow Judith.

And we the Engliſh people with one agreeable conſent doe cry: Thou Mary art the glory of England, our joy, the honour of thy people, for that thou haſt embraced chaſtity; thine heart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever. But bow down, O moſt mercifull father thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt Lord, that againſt Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our King, & againſt thy ſervant Mary by thy providence our Queen the reſtorers and maintainers of thy Teſtament and of the Faith, and moſt conſtant defenders of thy Church: Thou knoweſt, I ſay, that againſt theſe our two governours, the enemies of thy holy “Teſtament, and of the Church thy ſpouſe, be moſt rancke rebels and ſpitefull murmurers, walking after their luſts, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh words of pride, to the end they may ſet up the kingdome of Heretikes and Schiſmatikes. By the power of their hands they “would change thy promiſes, and deſtroy thine inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut up the mouthes of them that praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy Catholike Church and Altar.

Mark how forgetting his prayer, he falleth to the praiſing of Q. Mary.

“The Teſtament ſetteth up only the glory of Chriſt.

“If the changing of Gods promiſes, deſtroying his inheritance, ſtopping the mouths of Gods people, it contentions, warres, and ſchiſmes be tokens of Heretikes, who ſo great Heretikes as the Papiſts?

It is manifeſt and plaine, how many contentions, how many conſpiracies and ſeditions, how great warres, what tumults, how many and how great troubleſome vexations, how many hereſies and ſchiſmes (for theſe be the moſt ready devices, and evident tokens of heretikes) for our ſins doe hang over us, if thy ſervant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge, that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the midſt of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance unto us, ſhew unto us O Lord thy face. Puniſh us for our ſins according to thy will and pleaſure, only now deliver us. We bowing the knees of our heart beſeech thee, that thou wilt not reſerve unto us puniſhment for ever, and we ſhall praiſe thee all the dayes of our life. Heare our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treaſure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the ſpring of lively water. Thou that haſt begun, make in the hand of thy ſervant a perfect worke. Suffer not, we pray thee, the "faithleſſe rebels to ſay of thy ſervant and her councellers, that they have deviſed matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy ſervant an happy and an eaſie travell. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iuſtice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

" Cry up louder you prieſts: peradventure your God is aſleep.

It is well known unto us, how marvellouſly thou diddeſt worke in Sarah of the age of 90. yeeres, and in Elizabeth the barren, and alſo far ſtricken in age: for thy counſell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the ſearcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy ſervant never luſted after man, never gave her ſelfe to wanton company, nor made her ſelf partaker with them that walke in lightneſſe: but ſhe conſented to take an husband with thy feare, and not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſervant tooke an husband not for carnall pleaſure, but only for the deſire and love of poſterity, wherein thy Name might be bleſſed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy ſervants, Philip our King, and Mary our Queene, a male iſſue which may ſit in the ſeat of thy kingdome. Give unto our Queen thy ſervant, a little infant in faſhion and bodie comely and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

The Lord gave a promiſe to Sarah and Elizabeth: ſo did he not to Q. Mary.

Grant the ſame to be in obedience like "Abraham, in hoſpitality like Lot, in chaſtity and brotherly love like Joſeph, in meekneſſe and mildneſſe like Moſes, in ſtrength and valour like Sampſon. Let him be found faithfull as David after thy heart. Let him be wiſe among Kings as the moſt wiſe Salomon. Let him bee like Job, a ſimple and an upright man, fearing God, and eſchewing evill. Let him finally bee garniſhed with the comelines of all vertuous conditions, and in the ſame let him waxe old and live, that he may ſee his childrens children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our Soveraign Lord and Lady, King Philip and Queene Mary, thy bleſſings and long life upon earth. And grant, that of them may come Kings and Queenes, which may ſtedfaſtly continue in faith, love, and holineſſe. And bleſſed be their ſeed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art bleſſed for ever and ever, Amen.

" It is not beſt ſuch one to be granted unto you, for being like Abraham, Joſeph, Moſes, and Salomon, he may chance to ſmell out your corrupt doctrine, and to deteſt your bloody tyranny, &c.

Another prayer for Queene Mary, and her conceived childe.

Another prayer for the ſame.

O Almighty Father, which diddeſt ſanctifie the bleſſed Virgin and Mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Chriſt our Saviour thine only Son; alſo by thy omnipotent power didſt ſafely deliver the Prophet Ionas out of the Whales belly: Defend O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy ſervant Mary our Queene, with childe conceived, and ſo viſit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the childe thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the bleſſed Sacraments of Baptiſme and Confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increaſe of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and ſoul, but that alſo ſhe the mother, through thy ſpeciall grace and mercy, may in time of her travell avoide all exceſſive dolour and paine, and abide perfect and ſure from all perill and danger of death, with long and proſperous life, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Anno 1555. January 10.

It followeth now further in proceſſe of the ſtory, that upon the Tueſday, being the 10. of January, nineteene of the lower houſe of the Parliament with the Speaker, came to the Whitehall to the King, and offered him the governement of the Realm and of the Iſſue, if the Queen ſhould faile, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament within ten dayes after.

January 26. The Popes ſupremacy eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

Upon Wedneſday following, being the 26 of January, the Parliament was cleane diſſolved. In this Parliament amongſt other tidings, the Biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch laws as were made againſt him ſince the twentieth yeer of King Henry the eighth, were repealed, and alſo Cardinall Poole, Biſhop Pates, Lilly, and other were reſtored to their blood. Alſo there was an Act made for ſpeaking of words; that whoſoever ſhould ſpeake any thing againſt the King or Queene, or that might move any ſedition or rebellion, at the firſt time to have one of his eares cut off, or to forfeit an hundred markes; and at the ſecond time to have both his eares cut off, or elſe to forfeit an hundred pound, and whoſoever ſhould write, cipher, or print any of the premiſſes, to have their right hand cut off.

Matters concluded in the Parliament.

Three ſtatutes againſt Heretikes revived.

Alſo in this Parliament three ſtatutes were revived for triall of hereſis: one made in the fifth yeere of Richard the ſecond; another in the ſecond yeer of Henry the fourth; and the third in the ſecond yeer of Henry the fifth. Alſo the doing of M. Roſe, and the other that were with him, was communed of in this Parliament, and upon that occaſion an Act was made, that certaine evill praiers ſhould bee treaſon againſt the Queenes Highneſſe. The prayers of theſe men were thus; God turne the heart of Q. Mary from Idolatrie, or elſe ſhorten her daies. Whereof read the Statute, An. 1. &. 2. Reg. Phil. & Mar. cap. 9

As touching the taking of Maſter Roſe and his fellowes, word was brought thereof to Maſter Hooper being then in the Fleet. Whereupon the ſaid M. Hooper ſendeth anſwer again, with a letter alſo of conſolation ſent to the ſaid priſoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpaſſe.

The anſwer of Maſter Hooper to a letter ſent unto him concerning certaine priſoners taken in Bowe Church-yard.

M. Hoopers anſwer to a certaine letter ſent unto him.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon New-yeeres day at night there were taken a godly company of Chriſtians, whileſt they were praying. I do rejoyce in that men can be ſo well occupied in this perillous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and neceſſities, as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any Magiſtrate with words, or to meane him evill by force or violence. They alſo may rejoyce that in well doing they were taken to the priſon. Wherefore I have thought it good to ſend them this little writing of conſolation; praying God to ſend them patience, charity, and conſtancy in the truth of his moſt holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to ſend his true word into this realm again amongſt us, which the ungodly Biſhops have now baniſhed, Ian. 4. an. 1555.

A letter of conſolation ſent from Maſter Hooper to the godly brethren taken in Bowe Church-yard in prayer, and laid in the Counter in Breadſtreet.

A letter of M. Hooper full of moſt heavenly conſolation.

THe grace, favour, conſolation, and aide of the holy Ghoſt, be with you now and ever. So be it.

Dearly

Dearely beloved in the Lord, ever ſince your impriſonment I have beene marvellouſly moved with great affections and paſſions, as well of mirth and gladneſſe, as of heavineſſe and ſorrow. Of gladneſſe in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of Gods helpe in theſe darke and wicked proceedings of men againſt Gods glory: I have beene ſorry to perceive the malice and wickedneſſe of men to be ſo cruell, divelliſh, and tyrannicall, to perſecute the people of God for ſerving of God, ſaying and hearing of the holy Pſalmes, and the word of eternall life. Theſe cruell doings do declare, that the Papiſts Church is more bloody and tyrannicall, than ever was the ſword of the Ethnicks and Gentiles.

Of this perſe-
ution read be-
ore.

When I heard of your taking, and what yee were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembred how the Chriſtians in the Primitive Church were uſed by the crueltie of unchriſtned Heathens, in the time of Traiane the Emperour, about 77. yeeres after Chriſts aſcenſion into heaven: and how the Chriſtians were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had beene traitors and movers of ſedition. Whereupon the gentle Emperor Traiane required to know the true cauſe of Chriſtian mens trouble. A great learned man called Plinius, wrote unto him, and ſaid, it was becauſe the Chriſtians ſaid certaine Pſalmes before day unto one called Chriſt, whom they worſhipped for God. When Traiane the Emperour underſtood it was for nothing but for conſcience and religion, hee cauſed by his commandements every where, that no man ſhould bee perſecuted for ſerving of God. But the Pope and his Church hath caſt you into priſon, being taken even doing the worke of God, and one of the excellenteſt workes that is required of Chriſtian men: that is to wit, whiles ye were in prayer, and not in ſuch wicked and ſuperſtitious prayers as the Papiſts uſe, but in the ſame prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thankes for that ye have received, and for his ſake yee asked for ſuch things as yee want. O glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whileſt ye were ſo vertuouſly occupied. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake. For if God had ſuffered them that tooke your bodies, then to have taken your life alſo, now had you beene following the Lamb in perpetual ioyes, away from the company and aſſembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you ſuddenly ſo to depart, but reſerveth you, glorioully to ſpeake and maintain his truth to the world.

The Pope
orſe than
raianus the
eathen Em-
erour.

Be ye not carefull what ye ſhall ſay; for God will goe out and in with you, and will be preſent in your hearts, and in your months to ſpeake his wiſdome, although it ſeemeth fooliſhneſſe to the world. He that hath begun this good worke in you, continue you in the ſame unto the end: and pray unto him that ye may feare him only, that hath power to kill both body and ſoule, and to caſt them into hell fire. Be of good comfort. All the haires of your head are numbred, & there is not one of them can periſh, except your heavenly Father ſuffer it to periſh. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Chriſts battel. Doubtleſſe it is a ſingular favour of God and a ſpeciall love of him towards you, to give you this foreward and preheminence, as a ſigne that he truſteth you before others of his people. Wherefore (deare brethren and ſiſters) continually fight this fight of the Lord: Your cauſe is moſt iuſt and godly, ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the fleſh in heaven) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, ſufficiently, and abundantly conteined in the holy Teſtament, ſealed with Chriſts owne blood, How much ye be bound to God who puts you in truſt with ſo holy and iuſt a cauſe?

Mat. 10.

uk. 12.

The firſt onſet
f this perſecu-
on given in
ow Church-
ard.

Remember what lookers on you have to ſee and behold you in your fight, God and all his Angels, who be ready alway to take you up into heaven, if yee bee ſlaine in his ſight. Alſo you have ſtanding at your backes all the multitude of the faithfull, who ſhall take courage, ſtrength, and deſire to follow ſuch noble and valiant Chriſtians as you be. Bee not affraid of your adverſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger than he that is in them, Shrink not although it be paine to you, your paines bee not now ſo great, as hereafter your ioyes ſhall be. Reade the comfortable Chapters to the Romanes 8. 10. 15, Hebrewes 11. 12. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his Names ſake. Reade the ſecond Chapter of S. Lukes Goſpell, and there you ſhall ſee how the Shepheards that watched upon their ſheep all night, as ſoone as they heard that Chriſt was born at Bethlem, by and by went to ſee him. They did not reaſon nor debate with themſelves, who ſhould keep the wolfe from the ſheep in the meane time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their ſheepe unto him, whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let us doe now wee bee called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things ſhall be well. He will helpe the huſband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the ſervants, he will keep the houſe, he will preſerve the goods; yea, rather than it ſhould be undone, he will waſh the diſhes, and rocke the cradle. Caſt therefore all your care upon God for he careth for you.

1 Iohn 4.

Comfort taken out of the Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubts.

All carefulnes to be caſt upon the Lord.

Beſides this, you may perceive by your impriſonment, that your adverſaries weapons againſt you be nothing but fleſh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintaine their wicked religion by Gods word: but for lack of that, they would violently compell ſuch as they cannot by holy Scripture perſwade, becauſe the holy word of God, and all Chriſts doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me, and I will pray for you. And although we be aſſunder after the world, yet in Chriſt (I truſt) for ever ioyning in the ſpirit, and ſo ſhall meet in the palace of the heavenly ioyes, after this ſhort and tranſitory life is ended. Gods peace be with you, Amen. The 14. of Ianuary, 1555.

All the ſtrength of the Popes religion ſtandeth in outward force.

Upon the Friday following, being the 18. of Ianuary, all the Councell went unto the Tower, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſet at liberty all the priſoners of the Tower, or the moſt part of them; namely, the late Duke of Northumberlands ſons, Ambroſe, Robert, and Henry, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Iohn Rogers, ſir Iames Crofts, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, ſir Nicholas Arnall, ſir George Harper, ſir Edward Warner, ſir William Sentlow, ſir Gawen Carew, Maſter Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaugham, with many other.

Ianuary 18 Gentlemen delivered out of the Tower by the Queens pardon.

Upon the Tueſday following, being the 22. of Ianuary, all the Preachers that were in priſon were called before the biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellor, and certaine other, at the Biſhops houſe at S. Mary Overies. From whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enioy the Queens pardon, or els ſtand to that they had taught; they all anſwered, that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtreighter priſon than before they were, with charge that none ſhould ſpeak with them.

Ianuary 22. The preachers called before the B. of Wincheſter at St. Mary Overies.

Amongſt the which number of priſoners, one

James George dyed in priſon, and was buried in the fields.

James George the ſame time died in priſon, being there in bands for religion and righteouſneſſe ſaks: who therefore was exempted to bee buried in the Popiſh Churchyard, and was buried in the field.

January 23.

Upon the Wedneſday following, being the 23. of January, all the biſhops with all the reſt of the Convocation houſe were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repaire every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to intreat the people and their flocke with all gentleneſſe, and to endeavour themſelves to winne the people rather by gentleneſſe than by extremity and rigour, and ſo let them depart.

January 25. Generall Proceſſion for ioy of the Realms converſion.

Upon the Fri day following, being the 25. of January, and the day of the converſion of Saint Paul, there was a generall and ſolemne Proceſſion thorow London, to give God thankes for their converſion to the Catholike Church: wherein (to ſet out their glorious pomp) there were foureſcore and ten Croſſes, 160. Prieſts and Clerks, who had every one of them Copes upon their backs, ſinging very luſtily. There followed alſo for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eight Biſhops, and laſt of all came Boner the biſhop of London, carrying the Popiſh Pixe under a Canopie.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Maior, Aldermen, and all the Livery of every occupation. Moreover, the King alſo himſelfe, and the Cardinall came to Pauls Church the ſame day. From whence after Maſſe they returned to Weſtminſter again. As the King was entred yͤ Church, at the ſteps going up to the Quire, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the King, and offered unto him themſelvs and their ſervices.

After the Proceſſion there was alſo commandement given to make Bonefires at night. Whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtfull talke why all this was done. Some ſaid it was that the Queene, being (as they ſaid) with child, might have a ſafe delivery. Others thought that it was for ioy that the Realm was ioyned again to the Sea of Rome, which opinion, of both, ſeemed moſt true.

January 28 Commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon the perſecuted Preachers for religion.

Upon the Munday following, being the 28. of January, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other biſhops had commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon, and order, according to the lawes, all ſuch Preachers and Heretikes (as they termed them) as were in priſon, and according to this Commiſſion, the ſame day the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the other Biſhops, with certaine of the Councell, ſate in S. Mary Overies Church, and called before them theſe three, M. Hooper, M. Rogers, and Maſter Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the Sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker this day ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

January 29. M. Hooper and M. Rogers condemned.

Upon the Tueſday, being the 29. of January, Hooper, Rogers, Doctor Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, where ſentence of excommunication and iudgement Eccleſiaſticall was pronounced upon M. Hooper and M. Rogers, by the biſhop of Wincheſter who ſate as iudge in Caiphas ſeat, who drave them out of the Church, according to their law and order. Doctor Taylor and Bradford were committed to priſon till the next day.

January 30. Doctor Ferrar D. Taylor and M. Saunders condemned.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 30. of January, Doctor Taylor, Doctor Crome, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and Doctor Ferrar, ſometime biſhop of S. Davids, were before the ſaid Biſhops, where three of them, that is to ſay, Doctor Taylor, maſter Saunders, and M. Bradford were likewiſe excommunicated, and ſentence pronounced upon them, and ſo committed to the Sheriffes. D. Crome deſired two moneths reſpite, and it was granted him; and M. Ferrar was againe committed to priſon till another time. All theſe men ſhewed themſelves to bee learned, as indeed they were no leſſe: but what availeth either learning, reaſon, or truth it ſelfe, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and Preachers above recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitors were ſent abroad likewiſe into all parts of the Realm: by reaſon whereof, a great number of moſt godly and true Chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the Realm, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Northfolk, and Suffolke) were aprehended, brought up to London, caſt into priſon, and afterward (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by fire, or elſe through evill handling died in the priſons, and were buried on dung-hils abroad in the fields, or in ſome backſide of the priſon. Of all which matters, concerning the tragicall handling of theſe bleſſed Martyrs and Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the bloody perſecution of this time, now followeth (the Lord ſo granting) ſeverally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I ſhal firſt recite a generall ſupplication, given up in the name of yͤ Preachers aforeſaid lying in priſon, unto the King & Queene during the time of the Parliament, as followeth.

Vnto the King and Queenes moſt excellent Majeſties, and to their moſt honourable and high Court of Parliament.

A ſupplication of the perſecuted Preachers to the King and Queene.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wiſe cōplaine unto your Majeſties, and to your high Court of Parliament, your poore deſolate and obedient ſubjects, H. F. T. B. P. R. S, &c. That whereas your ſaid ſubjects, living under the Lawes of God, and of this Realme in the dayes of the late moſt noble King Edward the ſixth, did in all things ſhew themſelves true, faithfull, and diligent ſubjects, according to their vocation, as well in the ſincere miniſtring of Gods moſt holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of ſuch vertues and good demeanour, as the lawes of God at all times, and the ſtatutes of the Realme did then allow: Your ſaid ſubjects nevertheleſſe, contrary to all lawes of juſtice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner, not only caſt into priſon (where they have remained now theſe 15. or 16. moneths) but their livings alſo, their houſes and poſſeſſions, their goods and books taken from them, and they ſlandered to be moſt hainous Heretikes, their enemies themſelves being both witneſſes, accuſers, and Iudges, belying, ſlandering, and miſ-reporting your ſaid ſubjects at their pleaſure, whereas your ſaid ſubjects, being ſtreightly kept in priſon, cannot yet be ſuffered to come forth, and make anſwer accordingly.

The long impriſonment of the Chriſtian Preachers. Unorderly proceeding of the adverſaries againſt Gods people.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſties, and this your high Court of Parliament, graciouſly to tender the preſent calamity of your ſaid poore ſubjects, and to call them before your preſence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plaine Engliſh tongue, to anſwer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your Majeſties, unto ſuch articles of controverſie in Religion as their ſaid adverſaries have already condemned them of, as of hainous hereſies: Provided, that all things may be done with ſuch moderation and quiet behaviour, as becommeth ſubjects and children of peace, and that your ſaid ſubjects may have the free uſe of all their owne bookes, and conference together among themſelves.

Request of the Preachers to ſtand to the triall of their doctrine before indifferent Judges.

Anno 1555.

Which thing being granted, your ſaid ſubjects doubt not but it ſhall plainly appeare, that your ſaid ſubjects are true and faithfull Chriſtians, and neither Heretikes, neither teachers of hereſie, nor cut off from the true Catholike univerſall Church of Chriſt: yea, that rather their adverſaries themſelves be unto your Majeſties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the King of Iſrael, and Barieſu to the Proconſull Sergius Paulus. And if your ſaid ſubjects be not able by the teſtimonie of Chriſt, his Prophets, Apoſtles, and godly Fathers of his Church, to prove, that the doctrine of the Church, Homilies, and Service taught and ſet forth in the time of our late moſt godly Prince and King, Edward the ſixth, is the true doctrine of Chriſts Catholike Church, and moſt agreeable to the Articles of the Chriſtian faith; your ſaid ſubjects offer themſelves then to to the moſt heavie puniſhment, that it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſtie to appoint.

Acts 13.

Wherefore for the tender mercy of God in Chriſt (which you looke for at the day of Iudgement) your ſaid poore ſubjects in bonds moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſties, and this your high Court of Parliament, benignely and graciouſly to heare and grant this their petition, tending ſo greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his Church, to the honour of your Majeſties, to the commendation and maintenance of juſtice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your ſaid ſubjects, according to their bounden dutie, ſhall not ceaſe to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preſervation of your moſt excellent Majeſties long to endure.

The end of the tenth Booke.

HERE BEGINNETH THE Eleventh Booke, wherein is diſcourſed the bloody murthering of Gods Saints, with the particular Proceſſes and Names of ſuch good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this time of Queene Mary were put to death.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdome of M. John Rogers.

Febꝛuary 4. The life and ſtoꝛy of M. John Rogers.

The fourth day of Febꝛuary ſuffered the conſtant Martyꝛ of God M. John Rogers, concerning whoſe life, examinations, and ſuffering, here followeth in oꝛder ſet foꝛth. And firſt touching his life and bꝛinging up.

M. Rogers Chapleine to the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerpe.

John Rogers bꝛought up in the Univerſity of Cambꝛidge, where he pꝛofitably travailed in good learning, at the length was choſen and called by the Merchants Adventurers to bee their Chapleine at Antwerpe in Bꝛabant, whom he ſerved to their good contentation many yeeres. It chanced him there to fall in company with that woꝛthy Servant and Martyꝛ of God William Tindall, and with Miles Coverdale, which both foꝛ the hatred they bare to Popiſh ſuperſtition and Idolatry, and love to true Religion, had foꝛſaken their native Countrey. In conferring with them the Scriptures hee came to great knowledge in the Goſpell of God, inſomuch that he caſt off the heavie yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himſelf with them two in that painfull and moſt pꝛofitable labour of tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſh tongue, which is intituled, The tranſlation of Thomas Matthew. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawfull vowes may unlawfully be bꝛoken, and that matrimony is both honeſt and honourable among all men, ioyned himſelfe in lawfull matrimonie, and ſo went to Wittenberge in Saxony, where hee with much ſoberneſſe of living did not onely greatly increaſe in all good and godly learning, but alſo ſo much pꝛofited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was oꝛderly committed to his cure.

M. Rogers bꝛought to the Goſpel by M. W. Tindall, & M. Coverdale.

Of M. Rogers doing in this tranſlation reade afoꝛe.

M. Rogers goeth to Wittenberge.

In which miniſtry he diligently and faithfully ſerved many yeeres, untill ſuch time as it pleaſed God, by the faithfull travell of his choſen and deare ſervant King Edward the ſixth, utterly to baniſh all Popery foꝛth of England, and to receive in true Religion, ſetting Gods Goſpell at liberty. He then being oꝛderly called, having both a conſcience and a ready good will to help foꝛward the woꝛke of the Loꝛd in his native countrey, left ſuch honeſt and certaine conditions as hee had in Saxony, and came into England to pꝛeach the Goſpel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a ſpace diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then Biſhop of London, gave him a Pꝛebend in the Cathedꝛall Church of Pauls; and the Deane and the Chapter choſe him to be the Reader of the Divinity leſſon there, wherein he diligently travelled, untill ſuch time as Q. Mary obtaining the Crowne, baniſhed the Goſpell and true Religion, and bꝛought in the Antichꝛiſt of Rome, with his Idolatry and Superſtition.

M. Rogers returneth from Saxony into England in King Edwards time.

M. Rogers reader and Pꝛebendary in Pauls.

After the Queen was come to the Tower of London, he being oꝛderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at Pauls Croſſe, confirming ſuch true doctrine as he and other had there taught in King Edwards daies, exhoꝛting the people conſtantly to remaine in the ſame, and to beware of all peſtilent Popery, Idolatry, and Superſtition. The Councel being then overmatched with popiſh and bloodie Biſhops, called him to account foꝛ his Sermon: To whom he made a ſtout, wittie and godly anſwer, and yet in ſuch ſoꝛt handled himſelfe, that at that time hee was cleerly diſmiſſed. But after that Pꝛoclamation was ſet foꝛth by the Queene to pꝛohibite true pꝛeaching, hee was called againe befoꝛe the Councell; foꝛ the Biſhops thirſted after his blood. The Councell quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, & in concluſion commanded him as pꝛiſoner to keep his own houſe, and ſo he did: although by

M. Rogers called to account foꝛ his ſermon at Pauls croſſe.

M. Rogers againe called befoꝛe the Councell, and commanded to keep his houſe.

he might eaſily have eſcaped their cruell hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did ſée the recovery of Religion in England, for that preſent deſperate: he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to ſéeke meanes to ſuccour them. But all theſe things ſet apart, after he was called to anſwer in Chriſts cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutly ſtood in defence of the ſame, and for the tryall of that truth, was content to hazzard his life.

M. Rogers ſent to Newgate.

Thus he remained in his own houſe as priſoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of Boner Biſhop of London, who could not abide ſuch honeſt neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own houſe to the priſon called Newgate, where he was lodged among théeves and murderers for a great ſpace: during which time, what buſineſſe he had with the adverſaries of Chriſt, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further then he himſelf did leave in writing, which God would not to be loſt, but to remaine for a perpetuall teſtimony in the cauſe of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by his owne writing.

The examination and anſwer of Iohn Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the reſt of the Councell, the 22. of Ianuary, Anno 1555.

The Lord Chancellor.

Examination and anſwer of M. Iohn Rogers.

First the Lord Chancellor ſaid unto me thus: Sir, ye have heard the ſtate of the Realme in which it ſtandeth now.

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have béen kept in cloſe priſon; and except there have béen ſome generall thing ſaid at the table when I was at dinner or ſupper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any ſpeciall thing might be grounded.

L. Chan. Then ſaid the Lord Chancellor; Generall things, generall things, mockingly: Yee have heard of my Lord Cardinals comming, and that the Parliament hath received his bleſſing, not one reſiſting unto it, but one man which did ſpeak againſt it. Such an unity, and ſuch a miracle hath not béen ſéene. And all they, of which there are eight ſcore in one houſe, ſaid one that was by (whoſe name I know not) have with one aſſent and " conſent received pardon of their offences, for the ſchiſme that wee have had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be head of the Catholike Church. How ſay ye? are ye content to unite and knit your ſelf to the faith of the Catholike Church with us, in the ſtate in which it is now in England? Will ye doe that?

" Full ſore againſt their wils, if they could otherwiſe have choſen.

Rog. The Catholike Church I never did nor will diſſent from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I ſpeak of the ſtate of the Catholike Church, in that wiſe in which we ſtand now in England, having received the Pope to be ſupreme head.

Rog. I know none other head but Chriſt of his Catholike Church, neither will I acknowledge the Biſhop of Rome to have any more authority than any other Biſhop hath by the word of God, and by the Doctrine of the old and pure Catholike Church 400. yéeres after Chriſt.

No head of the Catholike Church but Chriſt.

L. Chan. Why didſt thou then acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be ſupreme head of the Church, if Chriſt be the only head?

The ſupremacy of K. Henry the eighth, how it is to be taken

Rog. I never granted him to have any ſupremacy in ſpirituall things, as are the forgiveneſſe of ſins, giving of the holy Ghoſt, authority to be a Iudge above the word of God.

Anno 1555.

Tonſtal biſhop of Duriſme. N. biſhop of Worceſter.

L. Chan. " Yea, ſaid he, and Tonſtall Biſhop of Duriſme, and N. Biſhop of Worceſter, if thou hadſt ſaid ſo in his dayes (and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadſt not béen alive now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, & would have told how he was ſaid and meant to be ſupreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made ſuch a buſines, that I was conſtrained to let it paſſe. There lyeth alſo no great weight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The L. Chancellor alſo ſaid to the L. William Haward, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Chriſt to be ſupreme head and the B. of Rome alſo: and when I was ready to have anſwered that there could not bee two heads of one Church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reaſon, the L. Chancellor ſaid; What ſaiſt thou? make us a direct anſwer whether thou wilt bee one of this Catholike Church or not, with us in that ſtate in which we are now?

The meaning why K. Henry was tituled ſupreme head.

Rog. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye your ſelves do think in your hearts that he is ſupreme head in forgiving of ſin, &c. (as is before ſaid) ſéeing you, and all the biſhops of the realme have now 20. yéeres long preached, and ſome of you alſo written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath ſo long agone condeſcended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

The biſhops contrary to their former doings and writings.

L. Chan. Tuſh, that Parliament was with moſt great cruelty conſtrained to aboliſh and put away the primacy from the Biſhop of Rome.

Rog. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to perſwade mens conſciences. For it ſhould appeare by your doings now, that the cruelty then uſed hath not perſwaded your conſciences. How would you then have our conſciences perſwaded with crueltie?

L. Chan. I talk to thée of no cruelty, but that they were ſo often and ſo cruelly called upon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this Parliament it was ſo uniformely received, as is aforeſaid.

Rog. Here my Lord Paget told mee more plainly, what my Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I anſwered: My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the firſt Parliament was of leſſe authority, becauſe but few condeſcended unto it? and this laſt Parliament of great authority, becauſe more condeſcended unto it? It goeth not my Lord, by the more or leſſer part, but by the wiſer, truer, and godlier part: and I would have ſaid more, but the Lord Chancellor interrupted me with his queſtion, willing mee once again to anſwer him. For, ſaid he, we have moe to ſpeake with than thou, which muſt come in after thee. And ſo there were indéed ten perſons mo out of Newgate, beſides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a Citizen of London, which granted unto them, & nine were contrary: which all came to priſon again, and refuſed the Cardinals bleſſing, and the authority of his holy fathers Church, ſaving that one of theſe nine was not aſked the queſtion, otherwiſe than thus, whether he would be an honeſt man as his father was before him, and he anſwering yea, he was ſo diſcharged by the friendſhip of my L. William Haward, as I have underſtood. He bade me tell him what I would doe; whether I would enter into the one Church with the whole Realme as it is now or not? No ſaid I, I will firſt ſée it proved by the ſcriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c. And I ſhall take upon me

Truth goeth not by number nor by the greater part.

10. Priſoners out of Newgate to be convented before Gardiner. Nine of theſe priſoners refuſed the Popes authority, the tenth yeelded.

plainly

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plainly to ſet out the matter,ſo that the contrary ſhall be proved to be true, and let any man that will confer with me by writing.

Ste. Gardiner refuſed to have the truth to be tried by learning.

L.Chan. Nay,that ſhall not be permitted thee: Thou ſhal never have ſo much proferred thee as thou haſt now,if thou refuſe it and will not now condeſcend and agree to the Catholike Church. Here are two things, Mercy and Iuſtice: If thou refuſe the Queenes mercy now, then ſhalt thou have iuſtice miniſtred unto thee.

The Biſhops neither will ſtand by their aſſertion, nor yet will ſuffer other men ſo to do.

Rog. I never offended, nor was diſobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuſe her mercy. But if this ſhall be denied me to confer by writing,and to try out the truth,then it is not well,but too far out of the way. Ye your ſelves (all the biſhops of the Realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the Biſhop of Rome,when I was a young man twenty yeeres paſt: and will ye now without collation have me to ſay and do the contrary? I cannot be ſo perſwaded.

A fair pretence to excuſe your ignorance.

L.Chan. If thou wilt not receive the Biſhop of Rome to bee ſupreme head of the Catholike Church, then thou ſhalt never have her mercy thou mayeſt be ſure. And as touching conferring and tryall, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to uſe any conferring and tryall with thee. For S.Paul teacheth me, that I ſhould ſhun and eſchew an Heretike after one or two monitions, knowing that ſuch an one is overthrown, and is faulty, inſomuch as he is condemned by his own iudgement.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an Heretike: prove yee that firſt, and then alledge the foreſaid text. But ſtill the L. Chancellor played on one ſtring, ſaying.

Gardiner will compell to that which he cannot teach to be true.

L.Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with us, &c. tell us that, or elſe thou ſhalt never have ſo much proferred thee againe as thou haſt now.

Rog. I will find it firſt in the Scripture, and ſee it tried thereby, before I receive him to be ſupreme head.

Wor. Why? Do ye not know what is in your Creed: Credo Eccleſiam ſanctam Catholicam, I believe the holy Catholike Church.

The Popes Church proved not to be Catholike.

Rog. I find not the Biſhop of Rome there. For (Catholike) ſignifieth not the Romiſh Church: It ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching Churches of all times, and all ages. But how ſhould the Biſhop of Romes Church be one of them,which teacheth ſo many doctrines that are plainly and directly againſt the word of God? Can that Biſhop be the true head of the Catholike Church that doth ſo? that is not poſſible.

L.Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let mee heare one.

Rog. I remembred my ſelfe, that amongſt ſo many I were beſt to ſhew one, and ſaid, I will ſhew you one.

L.Chan. Let me heare that, let mee heare that.

Latin Service.

Rog. The Biſhop of Rome and his Church, ſay,read,and ſing, all that they doe in their congregations, in Latine, which is directly and plainly againſt the firſt to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter.

L.Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is againſt the word of God. Let me ſee you prove that, how prove you that?

Speaking in a ſtrange tongue againſt Saint Paul.

" Imperfection.

Rog. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginning of the chapter, Qui loquitur lingua, &c. to ſpeak with tongue,ſaid I, is to ſpeake with a ſtrange tongue, as Latine or Greek, &c. and ſo to ſpeak, is not to ſpeak unto men, but to God. But yee ſpeake in Latine, which is a ſtrange tongue, wherefore ye ſpeake not unto men, but unto God" (meaning God only at the moſt.) This he granted, that they ſpake not unto men, but unto God.

L.Chan. Well,then it is in vain unto men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one man ſpeaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L.Chan. Nay, I will prove then,that he ſpeaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the winde.

1.Cor. 14. To ſpeake to God only. To ſpeak both to God & man. To ſpeake neither to God nor man,but the winde.

Rog I was willing to have declared how and after what ſort theſe two texts doe agree (for they muſt agree, they be both the ſayings of the holy Ghoſt, ſpoken by the Apoſtle Paul) as to wit, to ſpeak not to men, but unto God, and to ſpeake into the winde: and ſo to have gone forward with the proofe of my matter begun, but here aroſe a noiſe and a confuſion. Then ſaid the L. Chancellor.

L.Chan. To ſpeake unto God, and not unto God, were unpoſſible.

Rog. I will prove them poſſible.

L.Haward. No,ſaid my L.William Haward to my L. Chancellor: now will I beare you witnes that he is out of the way. For he granted firſt, that they which ſpeake in a ſtrange ſpeech ſpeake unto God:and now he ſaith the contrary, that they ſpeak neither to God nor to man.

Rog. I have not granted or ſaid (turning me to my Lord Haward) as you report. I have alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you,you underſtand not the matter.

Secretary Bourne.

L.Haw. I underſtand ſo much, that that is not poſſible. This is a point of Sophiſtry, quoth Secretary Bourne.

A city in Suaven.

L.Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord Haward, that when hee was in high Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and uſed their Service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latine,and part into Dutch.

Worceſt. Yea, and at Wittenberge too.

M. Rogers could not be heard to ſpeak.

Rog. Yea (but I could not be heard for the noiſe) in an Univerſity, where men for the moſt part underſtand the Latine, and yet not all in Latine. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have anſwered my Lord,and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talk and noiſe to be too noiſome, I was fain to think this in my heart, ſuffering them in the mean while to talke one of them one thing, and another another. Alas,neither will theſe men heare me if I ſpeake, neither yet will they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy,but let them alone,and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpoſe well enough.

L.Chan. No, no, thou canſt prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it muſt have a lively expoſitor.

Rog. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me goe forward with my purpoſe.

Wor. All Heretikes have alledged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we muſt have a lively expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all Heretikes have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not confeſſe ẏ they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am ſure of that.

Confuſed talk without order.

Rog. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them,and in all councels they were diſputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in theſe dayes,and ſo have come again to my purpoſe, but it was unpoſſible: for one aſked one thing, another ſaid another, ſo that I was faine to hold my peace, and let them talke. And even when I would have taken hold on my proofe, the Lord Chancellor bade to priſon with me againe; and away, away, ſaid he, we have more to talke withall: if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then up I ſtood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Sir Richard Southwell ſpeaketh.

Then ſir Richard Southwell, who ſtood by in a window ſaid to me, Thou wilt not burn in this geare when it commeth to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I truſt to my Lord God yes, lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

The Biſhop of Ely ſpeaketh.

B. of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queens Maieſties pleaſure and meaning and ſet it out with large words, ſaying, that ſhe took them that would not receive the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rogers. I ſaid, I would not refuſe her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: And that I beſought her Grace and all their Honours to be good to me, reſerving my conſcience.

Divers ſpeake at once.

Divers ſpeake at once. No, quoth they then, a great ſort of them, and ſpecially Secretary Bourne, A, married Prieſt, and have not offended the law?

Rogers. I ſaid, I had not broken the Queenes law, nor yet any point of the law of the realme therein. For I married where it was lawfull.

Divers ſpeake at once.
Lawfulneſſe of Prieſts mariage.
M. Rogers brought eight children with him into England.

Divers at once. Where was that, ſaid they? thinking that to be unlawfull in all places.

Rogers. In Dutchland: And if yee had not here in England made an open law that prieſts might have had wives, I would never have come home againe; for I brought a Wife and eight children with mee: which thing yee might be ſure that I would not have done, if the lawes of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come too ſoone with ſuch a ſort: I ſhould finde a ſower comming of it, and ſome one thing, and ſome another. And one ſaid (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a Catholike man or countrey, that ever granted that a Prieſt might have a wife.

Rogers. I ſaid, The Catholike Church never denied mariage to Prieſts, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the ſergeant which brought me thither having me by the arme.

Wor. Then the Biſhop of Worceſter turned his face towards me, and ſaid that I wiſt not where that Church was or is.

M. Rogers had away to priſon.

Rogers. I ſaid yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the ſergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpoken unto me, and of all that I anſwered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect anſwer to all the former objections, as alſo a due proofe of that which I had taken in hand: but at this preſent I was informed that I ſhould to morrow come to further anſwer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would moſt gladly have done, deſiring here the heartie and unfained helpe of the prayers of all Chriſts true members, the true impes of the true unfained Catholike Church, that the Lord God of all conſolation will now bee my comfort, aide, ſtrength, buckler and ſhield: as alſo of all my brethren that are in the ſame caſe and diſtreſſe, that I and they all may diſpiſe all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadfull dart of death, and ſtick like true ſouldiers to our deare and loving Captain Chriſt, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and alſo the only true head of the Church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that all the biſhops of Rome cannot do) and that we do not traiterouſly run out of his tents, or rather out of the plain field from him, in the moſt ieopardy of the battell, but that we may perſevere in the fight (if he wil not otherwiſe deliver us) till we be moſt cruelly ſlain of his enemies. For this I moſt heartily, and at this preſent, with weeping tears moſt inſtantly and earneſtly deſire and beſeech you all to pray: And alſo if I dye, to be good to my poore and moſt honeſt wife, being a poore ſtranger, and all my little ſouls, hers and my children. Whom, with all the whole faithfull and true Catholike congregation of Chriſt, the Lord of life and death ſave, keep, and defend in all the troubles and aſſaults of this vain world, and bring at the laſt to everlaſting ſalvation the true and ſure inheritance of all croſſed Chriſtians, Amen, Amen.

M. Rogers carefull prayer for his wife and children.

The 27. day of Ianuary at night.

The ſecond confeſſion of Iohn Rogers, made, and that ſhould have been made (if it might have been heard) the 28. and 29. day of Ianuary, 1555.

The 2. examination of Maſter Rogers.

FIrſt being aſked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one Church with the Biſhops and whole Realme, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the Realme was converted to the Catholike Church of Rome) and ſo receive the mercy before profered me, ariſing againe with the whole Realme out of the ſchiſme and errour in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors: I anſwered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I underſtand that it was a mercy of the Antichriſtian Church of Rome, which I utterly refuſed, and that the riſing, which he ſpake of, was a very fall into error and falſe doctrine. Alſo that I had and would be able, by Gods grace, to proove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholike, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the Fathers that lived 400. yeeres after Chriſts death. He anſwered, that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard againſt the determination of the whole Realme. Should, quoth he, when a Parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private perſon have authority to diſcuſſe, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

Wincheſters mercy, what it meaneth.

To riſe to the Pope is to fall from Chriſt.

Whatſoever is once concluded in a Parliament ought not to be reformed afterward by doctrine, nor the word of God, by the biſhops of Wincheſters divinity.

I anſwered ſhortly, that all the lawes of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but, that they all muſt bee diſcuſſed and iudged thereby, and obey thereto: and neither my conſcience, nor any Chriſtian mans, could be ſatisfied with ſuch laws as diſagreed from that word: and ſo was willing to have ſaid much more, but the Lord Chancellor began a long tale to verie ſmall purpoſe, concerning mine anſwer, to have defaced me, that there was nothing in me wherefore I ſhould be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory. I alſo granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could expreſſe, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by Gods aſſiſtance and ſtrength, to be able by writing to performe my word, neither was I (I thanked God) ſo utterly ignorant as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendred therfore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which ſide pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poore

The biſhop of Wincheſter iudgeth M. Rogers by his owne diſeaſe.

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pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then ſaid he, that I at the firſt daſh condemned the Queene and the whole Realme to be of the Church of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithall. I anſwered that the Queenes Maieſty (God ſave her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counſell. He ſaid, the Queen went before him, and it was her owne motion. I ſaid without faile, I neither could, nor would I ever beleeve it.

D. Aldriſe witneſſeth with the B. of Wincheſter.

Then ſaid Doctor Aldriſe the Biſhop of Carliſle, that they the Biſhops would beare him witneſſe. Yea, quoth I, that I beleeve well, and with that the people laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doores ſhut, and would let none in, but the Biſhops adherents and ſervants in a manner, yea, and the firſt day the thouſand man came not in. Then Maſter Comptroller and Secretary Bourne would have ſtood up alſo to beare witneſſe, and did.

I ſaid it was no great matter: and to ſay the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themſelves: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowing that they were too ſtrong and mighty of power, and that they ſhould be beleeved before me, yea, and before our Saviour Chriſt, and all his Prophets and Apoſtles too, in theſe dayes.

The opinion of M. Rogers touching the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, required.

Then after many words he aſked me what I thought concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, and ſtood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow-biſhops (of which there were a great ſort, new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleeved in the Sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the croſſe, really and ſubſtantially.

I anſwered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therfore ſuſpected of my Brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithſtanding, even as the moſt part of your doctrine in other points is falſe, and the defence thereof onely by force and cruelty: ſo in this matter I thinke it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot underſtand (really and ſubſtantially) to ſignifie otherwiſe than corporally: but corporally Chriſt is onely in heaven, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your Sacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his charity after this ſort: My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me moſt cruelly: For ye have put me in priſon without law, and kept me there now almoſt a yeere and a halfe. For I was almoſt halfe a yeere in my houſe, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and ſpake with no man. And now have I beene a full yeere in Newgate at great coſts and charges, having a wife and ten children to find, and I had never a penny of my livings: which was againſt the Law.

Acts 3.

Cruelty ſhewed without a cauſe.

M. Rogers a yeare and a halfe in durance.

He anſwered, that Doctor Ridley which had given them me, was an uſurper, and therefore I was the uniuſt poſſeſſor of them.

Was the King then an uſurper, quoth I, which gave Doctor Ridley the Biſhoprick?

Yea, quoth he, and began to ſet out the wrongs that the King had done to the Biſhop of London, and to himſelfe alſo. But yet I doe miſuſe my termes, quoth he, to call the King uſurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very ſorry for it in heart. I might have ſaid more concerning that matter, but I did not.

Ste. Gardiner calleth King Edward an uſurper.

I aſked him wherefore he put me in priſon. He ſaid, becauſe I preached againſt the Queene.

I anſwered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to ſtand to the triall of the Law, that no man ſhould be able to diſprove it, and thereupon would ſet my life. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Croſſe, after the Queene came to the Tower; but therein was nothing ſaid againſt the Queene, I take witneſſe of all the audience, which was not ſmall. I alledged alſo that he had after examination let me go at liberty after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didſt read thy lectures after, quoth he, againſt the commandement of the Councell.

M. Rogers impriſoned againſt all law and right.

That did I not, quoth I, let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now againſt the Law of God and man handled me, and never ſent for me, never conferred with me, never ſpoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a ſword to cut off my necke, if I will not condeſcend to your minde. This charity doth all the world underſtand.

I might and would have added, if I could have beene ſuffered to ſpeake, that it had beene time enough to take away mens livings, and therto to have impriſoned them, after that they had offended lawes: For they be good Citizens that break not lawes, and worthy of praiſe and not of puniſhment. But their purpoſe is to keep men in priſon, untill they may catch them in their laws, and ſo kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deviſed law was caſt into the Lions den. Item, I might have declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at liberty, ſending my wife to him with a ſupplication, being great with child, and with her eight honeſt women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a twelve moneth, whiles I was yet in my houſe.

M. Rogers puniſhed before any law was broken.

Item, I wrote two ſupplications to him out of Newgate, and ſent my wife many times to him. M. Goſnold alſo that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and ſo did divers other worthy men alſo take paines in the matter. Theſe things declare my Lord Chancellors antichriſtian charity, which is, that he hath and doth ſeeke my blood, and the deſtruction of my poore wife and my ten children.

M. Goſnold laboured for M. Rogers.

This is a ſhort ſumme of the words which were ſpoken on the 28. day of January at afternoone, after that M. Hooper had been the firſt, and M. Cardmaker the ſecond in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in his cauſe, till we be ſmitten down together, if the Lords will be ſo to permit it. For there ſhall not a haire of our heads periſh againſt his will, but with his will. Whereunto the ſame Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: Sweet, mighty, and mercifull Lord Jeſus, the ſonne of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true Chriſtian ſay and pray.

Then the clocke being, as I gheſſed, about foure, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, that he and the Church muſt yet uſe charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Chriſtians doe well underſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the foxe doth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the lambs) and gave me reſpite till to morrow, to ſee whether I would remember my ſelfe well to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholike Church (for ſo he calleth his Antichriſtian falſe Church) againe, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

Great mercy of Wincheſter no leſſe than the Foxe hath to the chickens, or the wolfe to ſucke the bloud of lambes.

I ſaid that I was never out of the true catholike Church, nor would be: but into his Church would I, by Gods grace, never come.

Well,

The Popes Church is the Church of Antichriſt.

Well, quoth he, then is our Church falſe and Antichriſtian.

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the Sacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my hands abroad.

Then ſaid one, that I was a player. To whom I anſwered not; for I paſſed not upon his mock.

M. Rogers warned to appeare the next day.

Come againe, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, whenſoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the Sheriffes to the Counter in Southwark, M. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being preſent, ſo that we had much to doe to goe in the ſtreets.

Thus much was done the 28. day of January.

M. Rogers and M. Hooper brought againe before the Chancellor.

THe ſecond day, which was the 29. of January, we were ſent for in the morning about 9. of the clocke, and by the Sheriffes fetched from the Counter in Southwark to the Church again, as to wit, to S. Mary Overies, where we were the day before in the afternoone, as is ſaid. And when M. Hooper was condemned, as I underſtood afterward, then ſent they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid unto me:

Gardiners words to M. Rogers.

Rogers, quoth he, here thou waſt yeſterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thy ſelfe this night, whether thou wouldeſt come to the holy catholike Church of Chriſt againe or not. Tell us now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſorry, and wilt returne againe and take mercy.

Anſwer of M. Rogers to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembred my ſelfe right well, what you yeſterday ſaid to me, and deſire you to give me leave to declare my minde, what I have to ſay thereunto; and that done I ſhall anſwer you to your demanded queſtion.

M. Rogers not ſuffered here to defend himſelfe by writing.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the Scripture and authority of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt Church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not onely of the primacy, but alſo of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye anſwered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private perſon; and that the Parliament was above the authority of all private perſons, and therfore the ſentence thereof might not be found faulty and valureleſſe by me being but a private perſon. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhew examples, that one man hath come into a generall Councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an Act or Article, ſome one man comming in afterward, hath by the word of God declared ſo pithily, that the Councell had erred in decreeing the ſaid Article, that he cauſed the whole Councell to change and alter their Act or Article before determined. And of theſe examples, ſaid I, I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the authority of S. Auguſtine; that when he diſputed with an heretike, he would neither himſelfe, nor yet have the heretike to leane unto the determination of two former Councels, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretike that diſputed againſt him: but ſaid that he would have the Scriptures to be their iudge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Whole Councels turned by private perſons.

Contra Maxent. l. 3. c. 14.

Item, I could ſhew, ſaid I, the authority of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, which ſaith, that unto a ſimple Lay man that bringeth the word of God with him there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole Councell gathered together. By theſe things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to ſay my minde, and to be heard againſt a whole Parliament, bringing the word of God for me and the authority of the old Church 400. yeeres after Chriſt, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without reſpect of feare and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; ſpecially ſeeing the like had beene permitted in that old Church, even in generall Councels, yea and that in one of the chiefeſt Councels that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late generall Councels of the Biſhops of Rome ought to be compared. For, ſaid I, if Henry the eighth were alive, and ſhould call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alledged the example of the Act of making the Queene a baſtard, and of making himſelfe the Superiour head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive) then will ye (pointing to my Lord Chancellor) and ye and ye, and ſo ye all (pointing to the reſt of the Biſhops) ſay, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meet that it be ſo enacted.

Extrav. de Appel. cap. Significaſti.

A caſe put to the B. of Wincheſter.

This was Sir Anthony Browne.

M. Rogers not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Here my Lord Chancellor would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more; but bade me ſit down mockingly, ſaying, that I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their inſtructer.

My Lord, quoth I, I ſtand and ſit not: ſhall I not be ſuffered to ſpeak for my life?

Mark here the ſpirit of this Prelate.

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate, quoth he? and with that he ſtood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud faſhion, for hee perceived that I was in a way to have touched them ſomewhat, which he thought to hinder by daſhing me out of my tale, and ſo he did. For I could never be ſuffered to come to my tale againe, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that caſe, being Gods cauſe, I told him he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeak.

Lord Chan. See what a ſpirit this fellow hath, ſaid he, finding fault at mine accuſtomed earneſtneſſe, and hearty manner of ſpeaking.

The godly ſpirit of M. Rogers.

Rogers. I have a true ſpirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God, and would further have ſaid, that I was never the worſe, but the better, to be earneſt in a iuſt and true cauſe and in my Maſter Chriſts matters; but I ought not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenance thereof by cruell perſecutions uſed by the Biſhops of the ſaid Church (of which the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the reſt of his fellow Biſhops that are now in England, are the chiefe members:) Of Lawes I meane, quoth I, and not all men and women which are in the Popes Church. Likewiſe when I was ſaid to have denied their Sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintaine his kingdome thereby, than for the true reverence of Chriſts inſtitution; more for his owne and his Popiſh generations ſake, than for Religion or Gods ſake) I told him after what order I did ſpeake of it (for the manner of his ſpeaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had in the 28. of January) wherewith he was not contented, but he aſked the audience whether I had not ſimply denied the Sacrament. They would have ſaid, and did, what he luſted, for the moſt of them were of his owne ſervants at that day: the 29. of January I

The Church of Rome to the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the lawes and doctrine now uſed in Rome.

How the biſhop of Wincheſter ſeeketh for blood.

meane,

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meane. At the laſt I ſaid, I will never deny that I ſaid, that is, that your doctrine of the Sacrament is falſe; but yet I tell you after what order I ſaid it.

To be ſhort, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles; firſt, that I affirmed the Romiſh Catholike Church to be the Church of Antichriſt; and that I denied the reality of their Sacrament. He cauſed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the Laity, and ſo he gave me over into the Sherifs hands, which were much better than his.

The copie of which his condemnation here I thought good to put down in Engliſh, to the intent that the ſame, being here once expreſſed, may ſerve for all other ſentences condemnatory thorow the whole ſtory to be referred unto.

The ſentence condemnatorie againſt Maſter Rogers.

The ſentence definitive againſt Maſter Rogers.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We Steven by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of Wincheſter, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by authority and vertue of our office, againſt thee John Rogers Prieſt, aliàs called Matthew, before us perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of hereſie, having heard, ſeen, and underſtood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merits of the cauſe, all things being obſerved, which by us in this behalfe in order of Law ought to be obſerved, ſitting in our judgement ſeat, the name of Chriſt being firſt called upon, and having God onely before our eyes, becauſe by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confeſſion judicially made before us, we doe finde that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended divers errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy Church, as namely theſe; That the catholike Church of Rome is the Church of Antichriſt: Item, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not ſubſtantially nor really the naturall body and blood of Chriſt.

His Articles.

The which aforeſaid hereſies and damnable opinions being contrary to the Law of God, and determination of the univerſall and Apoſtolicall Church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubbornely, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, and alſo defended before us, as well in this judgement, as alſo otherwiſe, and with the like obſtinacie, ſtubbornneſſe, malice and blindneſſe of heart, both wittingly and willingly haſt affirmed, that thou wilt beleeve, maintaine and hold, affirme and declare the ſame: We therefore S. Wincheſter Biſhop, Ordinary, and Dioceſan afore ſaid, by the conſent and aſſent as well of our reverend Brethren the Lord Biſhops here preſent and aſſiſtant, as alſo by the counſell and judgment of divers worſhipfull Lawyers and Profeſſors of Divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalfe, do declare and pronounce thee the ſaid John Rogers, otherwiſe called Matthew, through thy demerits, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies, and wilfulneſſes (which thou manifold wayes haſt incurred by thine owne wicked and ſtubborne obſtinacie) to have beene and to be guilty of the deteſtable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou haſt before us ſundry times ſpoken, maintained, and wittingly and ſtubbornly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable doctrine in thy ſundry confeſſions, aſſertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet ſtill doſt maintaine, affirme and beleeve the ſame, and that thou haſt beene and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalfe: We therefore, I ſay, albeit following the example of Chriſt, Which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live; we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that we could, and all wholeſome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe unto the true faith and unity of the univerſall catholike Church, notwithſtanding have found thee obſtinate and ſtiffe-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, and refuſing to return againe unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother Church, and as the child of wickedneſſe and darkneſſe ſo to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not underſtand the voice of thy ſhepheard, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeeke after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: we therefore Steven the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked ſhouldeſt now become more wicked, and infect the Lords flock with thine hereſie (which we are greatly afraid of) with ſorrow of mind and bitterneſſe of heart doe judge thee, and definitively condemne thee the ſaid John Rogers, otherwiſe called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother Church, and that thou haſt been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon. Alſo we pronounce and declare thee being an heretike to be caſt out from the Church, and left unto the judgment of the ſecular power, and now preſently ſo do leave thee as an obſtinate heretike, and a perſon wrapped in the ſentence of the great curſe, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithſtanding in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, may ſo be moderated, that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſſe too much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſalvation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terror, and converſion of the heretikes, to the unity of the catholike faith) by this our ſentence definitive which we here lay upon and againſt thee, and doe with ſorrow of heart promulgate in this forme aforeſaid.

Theſe murderers pretend ſorrow of heart, and yet they will not ceaſe from murdering.

After this ſentence being read, he ſent us (M. Hooper I meane, and me) to the Clink, there to remaine till night: and when it was darke, they carried us, M. Hooper going before with the one Sheriffe, and I comming after with the other, with bils and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us thorow the Biſhops houſe, and ſo thorow S. Mary Overies Church-yard, and ſo into Southwark, and over the Bridge on proceſſion to Newgate through the City. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curſe, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accurſed, or to give us any thing: for all that ſo did, ſhould be partakers of the ſame great curſe.

M. Rogers and M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

A vengeable thing to be in the Popes curſe.

Well my Lord, quoth I, here I ſtand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witneſſe, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any falſe doctrine; and there-

M. Rogers words to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

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therefore have I a good conſcience before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a Iudge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I ſhalbe found there a true member of the true catholike Church of Chriſt, and everlaſtingly ſaved. And as for your falſe Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it theſe twenty yeeres, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that, quoth he?

M. Rogers requeſt, to have his wife come to him while he lived, could not be granted.

That my poore wife, being a ſtranger, may come and ſpeak with me ſo long as I live. For ſhe hath ten children that are hers and mine, and ſomwhat I would counſell her, what were beſt for her to do.

No, quoth he, ſhe is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been theſe 18. yeeres.

Should I grant her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not: ſhe ſhall be ſo neverthelеſſe.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, ſaid I. You make your ſelfe highly diſpleaſed with the matrimony of Prieſts, but you maintaine open whoredome: as in Wales, quoth I, where every Prieſt hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy Father ſuffereth all the Prieſts in Dutchland and in France to do the like. Thereto he anſwered not, but looked as it were a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

Other good matter there is beſide penned by Maſter Rogers in the priſon, which he thought and would have anſwered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be ſeen by his own ſetting down.

Hitherto, dearely beloved, ye have heard what was ſaid: now heare what I purpoſed the night before to have ſaid, if I could have beene permitted. Two things I purpoſed to have touched. The one, how it was lawfull for a private man to reaſon and write againſt a wicked Act of Parliament, or ungodly Councell, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to prove that proſperity was not alwayes a token of Gods love.

And this I purpoſed to ſpeake of, becauſe the Lord Chancellor boaſted of himſelf, that he was delivered forth of Priſon as it were by miracle, and preſerved of God to reſtore true Religion, and to puniſh me and ſuch other, whom he termed heretikes. Concerning theſe two points, in this matter I purpoſed to have proceeded. It is not unknowne to you, that King Henry the eighth in his time made his daughter the Queene that now is, a baſtard: he aboliſhed the authority of the Biſhop of Rome: he pulled downe Abbeyes: and all this he did by the conſent of Parliament.

King Edward the ſixth in his time made lawfull the marriage of Prieſts, turned the Service into Engliſh, aboliſhed the idolatrous Maſſe, with all like ſuperſtitious trumpery, ſet up the holy Communion, and all by conſent of Parliament.

The Queene that now is hath repealed the Act that made her Baſtard, hath brought in the Biſhop of Rome, and ſet him in his old authority, beginneth to ſet up Abbeyes againe, hath made the marriage of Prieſts unlawfull, hath turned the Engliſh Service into Latine again, hath ſet up the Maſſe againe, with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy Communion: and all this is done by conſent of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament, made in King Henries time and in King Edwards, had their foundation upon Gods word, whereupon all poſitive law ought to be grounded; then theſe which are ſtabliſhed in the Queenes time, being cleane contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods word, ſo are they wicked, and therefore to be both ſpoken and written againſt of all men, as well of private as of publike perſons.

If your Acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, becauſe ye only beare the ſwinge, deviſe, and decree what ye liſt, all other men are forced to follow) be good, and according to Gods word, then the former Acts were naught, which thing ye ſeeme to ſay, in utterly taking of them away, and ſetting up of the contrary: if the former were naught, why then did ye conſent unto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and adviſed writing, as it appeareth, and will doe to the worlds end, in your Booke De vera obedientia, where you prove the Queene a Baſtard, and the Biſhop of Rome to be an uſurper, and to have no authority in the Realme of England.

Ye muſt needs confeſſe, that the moſt part of your Acts of Parliament in theſe later dayes have beene according to the fantaſies of a few. King Henry in his time eſtabliſhed by Parliament in a manner what he liſted, and many things that might well have been amended.

In King Edwards dayes the Dukes of Somerſet and Northumberland bare a great ſtroke in things, and did not all things ſincerely. Even ſo, ſince the Queene that now is came to the government of the Realme, all things are ordered by your device, and head, and the whole Parliament houſe is led as you liſt; by reaſon whereof they are compelled to condeſcend to things both contrary to Gods manifeſt word, and alſo contrary to their owne conſciences: ſo great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purpoſes to paſſe, and to eſtabliſh your Antichriſtian kingdome (which, I truſt, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will ſpeedily blow over) ye have called three Parliaments in one yeere and an halfe, that, what ye could not compaſſe by ſubtill perſwaſion, ye might bring to paſſe by tyrannicall threatning: for if ye had not uſed cruell force in your doings, ye had never brought to paſſe ſuch things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and aboliſhing of Gods true Religion, and to the caſting away and deſtruction of your naturall countrey, ſo much as in you lieth.

And as it is moſt true that Acts of Parliament have in theſe later dayes been ruled by the fantaſies of a few, and the whole Parliament houſe, contrary to their mindes, was compelled to conſent to ſuch things as a few have conceived: So it muſt needs be granted, that the Papiſts at all times were moſt ready to apply themſelves to the preſent world, and like men pleaſers to follow the fantaſies of ſuch as were in authority, and turne with the ſtate, which way ſoever it turned. Yea, if the ſtate ſhould change ten times in one yeere, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and ſo follow the cry, and rather utterly forſake God, and be of no Religion, than that they would forgoe luſt or living, for God or for Religion.

King Henry by Parliament, according to Gods word, put downe the Pope: the Clergie conſented, and all men openly by oath refuſed his uſurped ſupremacie, knowing by Gods word Chriſt to be head of the Church, and every King in his Realm to have under and next unto Chriſt the chiefe Soveraignty.

King

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King Edward alſo by Parliament, according to Gods word, ſet the marriage of Prieſts at liberty, aboliſhed the Popiſh and Idolatrous Maſſe, changed the Latine ſervice, and ſet up the holy Communion: the whole Clergie conſented hereunto; many of them ſet it forth by their preaching; and all they by practiſing confirmed the ſame.

Notwithſtanding now when the ſtate is altered, and the lawes changed, the Papiſticall Clergie, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly ſhame, neither yet regarding their conſciences, oaths, or honeſty, like wavering weather-cocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots foreheads, ſing a new ſong, and cry with an impudent mouth; Come againe, come againe to the catholike Church, meaning the Antichriſtian Church of Rome, which is the Synagogue of Satan, and the very ſink of all ſuperſtition, hereſie, and idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man thinke theſe Parliaments to be, which ſcantly can ſtand a yeere in ſtrength? Or what credit is to be given to theſe law-makers, which are not aſhamed to eſtabliſh contrary Lawes, and to condemne that for evill, which before (the thing in it ſelfe and the circumſtances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are ſo ready, contrary to all right, to change and turne for the pleaſure of man, that at length I feare, God will uſe you like changelings, and both turne you forth of his kingdome, and out of your owne countrey.

Ye charge the Goſpell-Preachers with the undoing of this Realme: nay it is the turning Papiſts, which have not onely ſet a ſale their countrey like traytors, but alſo troubled the ſimple people, ſo that they cannot tell what they may beleeve. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be new doctrine in King Edwards dayes, now they cry againſt it, as it were moſt abominable hereſie. This fault I truſt ye ſhall never finde at our hands.

Therefore to conclude that which I purpoſed, forſomuch as the Acts of Parliament of theſe later times are one contrary to another, and thoſe which yee now have eſtabliſhed in your time are contrary to Gods moſt manifeſt word, as is the uſurped ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, the idolatrous Maſſe, the Latine Service, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage (which S. Paul calleth the doctrine of divels) with many ſuch other: I ſay, it is not only lawfull for any private man, which bringeth Gods word for him, and the authority of the primitive and beſt Church, to ſpeake and write againſt ſuch unlawfull lawes, but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conſcience to doe it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of the Acts, where it appeareth that the high Prieſts, the Elders, Scribes, and Phariſees, decreed in their Councell, and gave the ſame commandement to the Apoſtles, that they ſhould not preach in the name of Chriſt, as ye have alſo forbidden us; notwithſtanding when they were charged therewithall, they anſwered, Obedire oportet Deo magis quàm hominibus: that is, We ought more to obey God than man: even ſo we may, and do anſwer you. God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked lawes cannot ſo tongue-tie us, but we will ſpeake the truth.

The Apoſtles were beaten for their boldneſſe, and they rejoyced that they ſuffered for Chriſts cauſe. Ye have alſo provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when yee have done that which Gods hand and councell hath determined that ye ſhall doe, be it life or death, I truſt that God will ſo aſſiſt us by his holy ſpirit and grace, that we ſhall patiently ſuffer it, and praiſe God for it: and whatſoever become of me and others, which now ſuffer for ſpeaking and profeſſing of the truth, yet be ye ſure, that Gods word will prevaile and have the upper hand, when your bloody lawes and wicked decrees, for want of ſure foundation, ſhall fall in the duſt: and that which I have ſpoken of your Acts of Parliament, the ſame may bee ſaid of the generall Councels of theſe later dayes, which have beene within theſe five hundred yeeres, where the Antichriſt of Rome by reaſon of his uſurped authority ruled the roaſt, and decreed ſuch things as made for his gaine, not regarding Gods glory: and therefore are they to be ſpoken, written, and cryed out againſt of all ſuch as feare God and love his truth.

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But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore in that you ſeeme ſo infeſt againſt them, it is neither any juſt or publike cauſe, but it is your owne private hate that maketh you to report ſo evill of their governance. And ye may now ſay what ye liſt of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what ſhall be ſaid of you when your fall ſhall follow, ye ſhall then heare. And I muſt ſay my conſcience to you: I feare me, ye have and will with your governance bring England out of Gods bleſſing into a warm ſun. I pray God you do not.

I am an Engliſh man borne, and, God knoweth, doe naturally wiſh well to my Countrey. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the

things

therefore have I a good conſcience before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a Iudge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I ſhalbe found there a true member of the true catholike Church of Chriſt, and everlaſtingly ſaved. And as for your falſe Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it theſe twenty yeeres, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that, quoth he?

M. Rogers requeſt, to have his wife come to him while he lived, could not be granted.

That my poore wife, being a ſtranger, may come and ſpeak with me ſo long as I live. For ſhe hath ten children that are hers and mine, and ſomwhat I would counſell her, what were beſt for her to do.

No, quoth he, ſhe is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been theſe 18. yeeres.

Should I grant her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not: ſhe ſhall be ſo nevertheleſſe.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, ſaid I. You make your ſelfe highly diſpleaſed with the matrimony of Prieſts, but you maintaine open whoredome: as in Wales, quoth I, where every Prieſt hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy Father ſuffereth all the Prieſts in Dutchland and in France to do the like. Thereto he anſwered not, but looked as it were a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

Other good matter there is beſide penned by Maſter Rogers in the priſon, which he thought and would have anſwered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be ſeen by his own ſetting down.

Hitherto, dearely beloved, ye have heard what was ſaid: now heare what I purpoſed the night before to have ſaid, if I could have beene permitted. Two things I purpoſed to have touched. The one, how it was lawfull for a private man to reaſon and write againſt a wicked Act of Parliament, or ungodly Councell, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to prove that proſperity was not alwayes a token of Gods love.

And this I purpoſed to ſpeake of, becauſe the Lord Chancellor boaſted of himſelf, that he was delivered forth of Priſon as it were by miracle, and preſerved of God to reſtore true Religion, and to puniſh me and ſuch other, whom he termed heretikes. Concerning theſe two points, in this matter I purpoſed to have proceeded. It is not unknowne to you, that King Henry the eighth in his time made his daughter the Queene that now is, a baſtard: he aboliſhed the authority of the Biſhop of Rome: he pulled downe Abbeyes: and all this he did by the conſent of Parliament.

King Edward the ſixth in his time made lawfull the marriage of Prieſts, turned the Service into Engliſh, aboliſhed the idolatrous Maſſe, with all like ſuperſtitious trumpery, ſet up the holy Communion, and all by conſent of Parliament.

The Queene that now is hath repealed the Act that made her Baſtard, hath brought in the Biſhop of Rome, and ſet him in his old authority, beginneth to ſet up Abbeyes againe, hath made the marriage of Prieſts unlawfull, hath turned the Engliſh Service into Latine again, hath ſet up the Maſſe againe, with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy Communion: and all this is done by conſent of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament, made in King Henries time and in King Edwards, had their foundation upon Gods word, whereupon all poſitive law ought to be grounded; then theſe which are ſtabliſhed in the Queenes time, being cleane contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods word, ſo are they wicked, and therefore to be both ſpoken and written againſt of all men, as well of private as of publike perſons.

If your Acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, becauſe ye only beare the ſwinge; deviſe, and decree what ye liſt, all other men are forced to follow) be good, and according to Gods word, then the former Acts were naught, which thing ye ſeeme to ſay, in utterly taking of them away, and ſetting up of the contrary: if the former were naught, why then did ye conſent unto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and adviſed writing, as it appeareth, and will doe to the worlds end, in your Booke De vera obedientia, where you prove the Queene a Baſtard, and the Biſhop of Rome to be an uſurper, and to have no authority in the Realme of England.

Ye muſt needs confeſſe, that the moſt part of your Acts of Parliament in theſe later dayes have beene according to the fantaſies of a few. King Henry in his time eſtabliſhed by Parliament in a manner what he liſted, and many things that might well have been amended.

In King Edwards dayes the Dukes of Somerſet and Northumberland bare a great ſtroke in things, and did not all things ſincerely. Even ſo, ſince the Queene that now is came to the government of the Realme, all things are ordered by your device, and head, and the whole Parliament houſe is led as you liſt; by reaſon whereof they are compelled to condeſcend to things both contrary to Gods manifeſt word, and alſo contrary to their owne conſciences: ſo great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purpoſes to paſſe, and to eſtabliſh your Antichriſtian kingdome (which, I truſt, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will ſpeedily blow over) ye have called three Parliaments in one yeere and an halfe, that, what ye could not compaſſe by ſubtill perſwaſion, ye might bring to paſſe by tyrannicall threatning: for if ye had not uſed cruell force in your doings, ye had never brought to paſſe ſuch things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and aboliſhing of Gods true Religion, and to the caſting away and deſtruction of your naturall countrey, ſo much as in you lieth.

And as it is moſt true that Acts of Parliament have in theſe later dayes been ruled by the fantaſies of a few, and the whole Parliament houſe, contrary to their mindes, was compelled to conſent to ſuch things as a few have conceived: So it muſt needs be granted, that the Papiſts at all times were moſt ready to apply themſelves to the preſent world, and like men pleaſers to follow the fantaſies of ſuch as were in authority, and turne with the ſtate, which way ſoever it turned. Yea, if the ſtate ſhould change ten times in one yeere, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and ſo follow the cry, and rather utterly forſake God, and be of no Religion, than that they would forgoe luſt or living, for God or for Religion.

King Henry by Parliament, according to Gods word, put downe the Pope: the Clergie conſented, and all men openly by oath refuſed his uſurped ſupremacie, knowing by Gods word Chriſt to be head of the Church, and every King in his Realm to have under and next unto Chriſt the chiefe Soveraignty.

King Edward alſo by Parliament, according to Gods word, ſet the marriage of Prieſts at liberty, aboliſhed the Popiſh and Idolatrous Maſſe, changed the Latine ſervice, and ſet up the holy Communion: the whole Clergie conſented hereunto; many of them ſet it forth by their preaching; and all they by practiſing confirmed the ſame.

Notwithſtanding now when the ſtate is altered, and the lawes changed, the Papiſticall Clergie, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly ſhame, neither yet regarding their conſciences, oaths, or honeſty, like wavering weather-cocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots foreheads, ſing a new ſong, and cry with an impudent mouth; Come againe, come againe to the catholike Church, meaning the Antichriſtian Church of Rome, which is the Synagogue of Satan, and the very ſink of all ſuperſtition, hereſie, and idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man thinke theſe Parliaments to be, which ſcantly can ſtand a yeere in ſtrength? Or what credit is to be given to theſe law-makers, which are not aſhamed to eſtabliſh contrary Lawes, and to condemne that for evill, which before (the thing in it ſelfe and the circumſtances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are ſo ready, contrary to all right, to change and turne for the pleaſure of man, that at length I feare, God will uſe you like changelings, and both turne you forth of his kingdome, and out of your owne countrey.

Ye charge the Goſpell-Preachers with the undoing of this Realme: nay it is the turning Papiſts, which have not onely ſet a ſale their countrey like traytors, but alſo troubled the ſimple people, ſo that they cannot tell what they may beleeve. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be new doctrine in King Edwards dayes, now they cry againſt it, as it were moſt abominable hereſie. This fault I truſt ye ſhall never finde at our hands.

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But what ſhall be ſaid of you when your fall ſhall follow, ye ſhall then heare. And I muſt ſay my conſcience to you: I feare me, ye have and will with your governance bring England out of Gods bleſſing into a warm ſun. I pray God you do not.

I am an Engliſh man borne, and, God knoweth, doe naturally wiſh well to my Countrey. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand ſhould come to paſſe, have indeed followed. I pray God I may faile of my gheſſing in this behalfe: but truly that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the Realm, and with the ſhedding of innocent blood.

And as touching your reioycing, as though God had ſet you aloft to puniſh us by miracle (for ſo you report and brag openly of your ſelfe) and to miniſter Juſtice, if we will not receive your holy Fathers mercy, and thereby to declare your Church to be true, and ours falſe, to that I anſwer thus: Gods works be wonderfull, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by mans wiſedome, nor by the wit of the moſt wiſe and prudent. Yea, they are ſooneſt deceived, and do moſt eaſily iudge amiſſe of Gods wonderfull works, that are moſt worldly-wiſe. God hath made all the wiſedome of this world fooliſhneſſe, firſt to the Corinthians the firſt, and the ſecond Chapter.

Dedit dilectam animam ſuam in manus inimicorum ejus. Hierem. xii.

That is,

He hath put his beloved and deare heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.

This thing doth God, which thing all wiſe men accompt to be the moſt fooliſh and unwiſe part that can be. Will the wiſe of the world, trow ye, put their moſt dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies hands, to kill, ſlay, burne? &c. that is unto them a madneſſe above all madneſſe. And yet doth God uſe this order, and this is an high and ſingular wiſedome in his ſight, which the world taketh to be moſt extreme madneſſe.

Can the world ſhew a cauſe why he ſuffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Aſcalon, or why he put that moſt holy man John Baptiſt into the hands of Herod his ſonne to be beheaded, and that in priſon ſecretly without open iudgement moſt tyrannouſly? Why he ſuffered his beloved Apoſtle James to be beheaded of another Herod, Acts 12? Why he ſuffered his beloved ſeed of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, to be foure hundred yeeres in thraldome and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the ſtock of Juda and Beniamin his beloved children and church to come under the power, ſword, and tyranny of Nebuchadonoſor? No verily, but his true catholike Church knoweth divers cauſes thereof, which are now too long to rehearſe, and which I would right gladly ſhew, if I had time.

But this I am right ſure of, that it was not becauſe that the foreſaid godly men were in hereſies, and ſubiect to falſe gods ſervices, and idolatry, and that their adverſaries were men of God, and beloved of God. The contrary was true: John Baptiſt was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and ſo forth of the reſt: and John Baptiſt, the innocent children, James, the children of Iſrael in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholike members and people of God: and their adverſaries, into whoſe hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleaſure, were Idolaters, and the people of the divell: but they would be called the chiefe members of God, and reioyced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Iſraelites had but a falſe god, and a falſe religion, ſeeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the Herods and Pharaoh I meane) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evill, had beene Gods people, God would never have ſuffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary, and have let John Baptiſt kill Herod, and the Iſraelites Pharaoh, and Nebuchadonoſor. Even the like is now to be ſeene in us, and in our moſt cruell adverſaries.

They are not therefore the catholike Church, becauſe our mercifull God hath at this preſent given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretikes, becauſe we ſuffer puniſhment at their hands, as the Lord Chancellor by his reioycing ſeemeth to gather: the contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true Catholike Church, becauſe we ſuffer for the ſame doctrine which John Baptiſt, James, the Iſraelites, yea Chriſt, and the Apoſtles did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adverſaries doctrine, namely, that the rotten Antichriſtian head of Rome ſhould be the head of Chriſts Church: but they have manifeſtly taught the contrary, ſpecially Paul, in the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the ſecond chapter: John in the Apocalyps: Daniel 11. which thing, if I might have life and bookes, I would ſo (by Gods grace) ſet forth, that all the world ſhould ſee it: and that our adverſaries, with their Antichriſtian head, are the members of the divels church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like caſe, as the above mentioned holy men, though they in their dayes were counted to be heretikes, ſeditious, and diſturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptiſt it was ſaid, Joh, 1. Wherefore baptizeſt thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that Prophet? &c. As who ſay, Thou haſt no ſuch authority to begin a new ceremony in the Church. For we be in ordinary poſſeſſion of the Church: and of us thou haſt received no ſuch power: we abide by our circumciſion: and the like could I declare of James, and of all the Apoſtles and Prophets, and of our Saviour Chriſt himſelfe, that were all condemned as heretikes, and blaſphemers of God, and diſturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas, Acts the ſixteenth, heard like words of the Philippians; Theſe men trouble our City, ſeeing they are Jewes, and preach inſtitutions which are not lawfull for us to receive, ſeeing we be Romans. And in the ſeventeenth. In Athens, the wiſe men of this world, and ſuch as gave their endeavour, to wiſedome, ſaid by S. Paul; Quid vult ſpermologus hic dicere? that is, What will this prater (as my Lord Chancellor ſaid to me, Shall we ſuffer this fellow to prate, when I would faine have ſaid that thing that I have here written) trifler, newes-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatſoever men will have him for gaine and advantage, that will for a peece of bread ſay what ye will have him, &c. And another ſaid in the ſame place, He ſeemeth to be a preacher of new divels, &c. And Acts 21. the Jewes ſay by Paul, laying hands on him, helpe O ye Iſraelites, ſay they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where againſt the people (meaning the Jewes) and the law and this place (meaning Jeruſalem) and yet was never a word of theſe true. And Acts 22. the ſame Jewes ſaid of Paul: Out of the earth with that man, or away with him. For it is not lawfull for him to live, or he is not worthy to live. And how many moe of theſe examples are to be found in the Bible? Although I ſay theſe men were in their dayes taken for heretikes of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well knowne, yea and very ſhortly after their deaths this was knowne, yea, and even in their lives alſo unto the true Catholike Church, that they were not onely the chiefe and ſpeciall members of the true catholike Church, but alſo the founders and builders thereof (notwithſtanding the ſiniſter iudgment that the wiſe and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them) and in their conſciences they were alwayes aſſuredly certified of the ſame. Even the ſame ſhall the world finde true in us, ſhortly after our deaths, as alſo there be at this houre (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we our ſelves alſo are by Gods grace aſſuredly certified in our conſciences, that we are no heretikes, but members of the true catholike Church, and that our adverſaries the Biſhops and Popiſh Clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satans Church, and their Antichriſtian head of Rome with them.

But here they will cry out; Loe theſe men will be ſtill like John Baptiſt, the Apoſtles, and Prophets, &c.

I anſwer, We make not our ſelves like unto them, in the ſingular vertues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The ſimilitude and likenes of them and us conſiſteth not in all things, but onely in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the ſuffering of perſecution and infamie for the ſame.

We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able ſufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have profered to prove the ſame, as is now often ſaid. And for this cauſe we ſuffer the like reproach, ſhame, and rebuke of the world, and the like perſecution, loſing of our lives and goods, forſaking (as our Maſter Chriſt commandeth) father, mother, ſiſter, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being aſſured of a ioyfull reſurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, our onely and ſufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Prieſt, and Sacrifice, which hath pleaſed the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath againſt our ſins, and made us without ſpot or wrinkle in his ſight by imputation, although we, of and in our ſelves, are beſpotted, and be-blotted with many filthy ſinnes, which if the great mercy granted in Chriſt did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his meaſureleſſe unſpeakable mercy aud love to ſave us, they would have brought us to everlaſting damnation, and death perpetuall, Herein, and in no other, doe we affirme our ſelves to be like unto our head Chriſt, and all his Apoſtles, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints. And herein ought all Chriſtian men to be like them, and herein are all true Chriſtian men and women like them every one, according to the meaſure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diverſity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now conſider, that if it be Gods good will and pleaſure to give his owne beloved heart, that is his beloved Church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chaſten, try and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfained acknowledging of their owne naturall ſtubbornneſſe, diſobedience towards God and his commandements as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their naturall inclination, readineſſe, and deſire to love creatures, to ſeeke their owne luſts, pleaſures, and things forbidden of God, to obtaine a true and earneſt repentance, and ſorrowfulneſſe therefore, and to make them to ſigh and cry for the forgiveneſſe of the ſame, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortifie and kill the ſaid evill deſires and luſts; yea, and often falling into groſſe outward ſins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to riſe againe alſo thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other cauſes: let us alſo conſider what he hereafter doth with the ſaid enemies, into whoſe hands he hath given his tenderly beloved dearelings to be chaſtened and tried. Forſooth, whereas he but chaſteneth his dearelings, and croſſeth them for a ſmall while, according to his good pleaſure, as all fathers doe with their children, Heb. 12. Proverbs 3. he utterly deſtroyeth, yea and everlaſtingly damneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he wan by killing James, and perſecuting Peter, and Chriſts tender dearelings, and beloved ſpouſe and wife, his Church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death miniſtred unto him by men or Angels, or any worthy creatures, but thoſe ſmall, and yet moſt vile vermine, lice, and wormes muſt conſume and kill his beaſtly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadonoſor, for all their pride and moſt mighty power, muſt at the length let Gods dearelings goe freely away out of their land, yea out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that Gods congregation might have true mercy miniſtred unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of theſe our dayes, that is to ſay, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that moſt horrible and cruell death, God aroſe and awoke out of his ſleepe, and deſtroyed thoſe enemies of his flocke with a mighty hand, and ſtretched out arme. Pharaoh did with moſt great and intolerable labors and burdens oppreſſe and bring under the poore Iſraelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noiſe abroad, that the King was mercifull unto them, to ſuffer them to live in the land, and to ſet them aworke, that they might get them their livings. If he ſhould thruſt them out of his land, whither ſhould they go, like a ſort of vagabonds and runnagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and ſo did his flattering falſe Courtiers ſpread his vaine praiſe abroad. Have not we the like examples now adayes? O that I had now time to write certaine things pertaining to our Wincheſters mercy! How mercifull he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not ſpeak of, neither yet unto the Duke of Suffolks moſt innocent daughter, and to her as innocent huſband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deſerved a pardon by all true mercifull mens iudgements. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his Plagues, and his moſt flouriſhing land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly deſtroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly Biſhop of Wincheſter and his moſt bloody brethren ſhall eſcape? Or that England ſhall for their offences, and ſpecially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilfull following of them, not abide a great brunt? yes undoubtedly.

Gods iuſtice upon his enemies and perſecutors.

Wincheſters mercy.

If God looke not mercifully upon England, the ſeeds of utter deſtruction are ſowne in it already by theſe hypocriticall tyrants, and Antichriſtian Prelates, Popiſh Papiſts, and double traytors to their naturall Countrey. And yet they ſpeake of mercy, of bleſſing, of the catholike Church, of unity, of power, and ſtrengthening of the Realme. This double diſſimulation will ſhew it ſelfe one day when the plague commeth, which will undoubtedly light upon thoſe crowne-ſhorne captaines, and that ſhortly, whatſoever the godly and the poore Realme ſuffer in the meane while by

Gods good ſufferance and will.

Spite of Nebuchadonoſors beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miſerable Iewes muſt come home againe, and have their city and temple builded up againe by Zorobabel, Eſdras, and Nehemias, &c. And the whole Kingdome of Babylon muſt goe to ruine, and be taken in of ſtrangers, the Perſians and the Medes. So ſhall the diſperſed Engliſh flock of Chriſt be brought againe into their former eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edwards dayes, and our bloody Babylonicall Biſhops; and the whole crowne-ſhorne company brought to utter ſhame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and deſtruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not ſuffer for ever their abominable lying falſe doctrine, their hypocriſie, blood-thirſt, whoredome, idleneſſe, their peſtilent life, pampered in all kind of pleaſure, their thraſonicall boaſting pride, their malicious, envious, and poyſoned ſtomacks, which they beare towards his poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Peter truly warneth, that If judgement beginneth at the houſe of God, what ſhall bee the end of them that beleeve not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinnefull appeare? Some ſhall have their puniſhment here in this world and in the world to come; and they that do eſcape in this world, ſhall not eſcape everlaſting damnation. This ſhall be your ſawce, O ye wicked Papiſts, make ye merry here as long as ye may.

February.

M. Rogers warned to prepare for death.

M. Rogers degraded.

M. Rogers could not be ſuffered of Boner to ſpeak to his wife before his burning.

M. Rogers brought to Smithfield.

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had beene long and ſtraightly impriſoned, lodged in Newgate amongſt theeves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjuſtly and moſt cruelly by wicked Wincheſter condemned: the fourth of February, in the yeere of our Lord 1555. being munday in the morning, he was warned ſuddenly, by the keepers wife of Newgate, to prepare himſelfe to the fire: who then being ſound aſleepe, ſcarce with much ſhogging could be awaked. At length being raiſed and waked, and bid to make haſte, then, ſaid he, if it be ſo, I need not to tie my points: and ſo was had downe, firſt to Boner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Boner but one petition. And Boner aſking what that ſhould be: nothing (ſaid he) but that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then ſaid he, you declare your charity what it is: and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Maſter Cheſter, and Maſter Woodrofe, then Sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he ſhewed moſt conſtant patience, not uſing many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people conſtantly to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not onely content patiently to ſuffer and beare all ſuch bitterneſſe and cruelty as had been ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſigne up his life, and to give his fleſh to the conſuming fire, for the teſtimony of the ſame.

The copie of M. Rogers examinations by Gods providence preſerved.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings and martyrdome: firſt, this godly M. Rogers was committed to priſon, as is aboveſaid, and there continued a yeere and halfe. In priſon he was merry, and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which elſe had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of Gods providence. Ye heard a little above how M. Rogers craved of Boner, going to his burning, that he might ſpeake a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What theſe words were, which he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likely it may be ſuppoſed that his purpoſe was, amongſt other things, to ſignifie unto her of the book written of his examinations and anſwers, which he had privily hid in a ſecret corner of the priſon where he lay. But where mans power lacketh, ſee how Gods providence worketh. For notwithſtanding that during the time of his impriſonment, ſtrait ſearch there was to take away his letters and writings; yet after his death his wife, and one of her ſonnes called Daniel, comming into the place where he lay, to ſeek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away; it chanced her ſonne aforenamed, caſting his eye aſide to ſpie a black thing, (for it had a blacke cover, belike becauſe it ſhould not be knowne) lying in a blinde corner under a paire of ſtaires. Who, willing his mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing theſe his examinations and anſwers, with other matter above ſpecified. In the later end whereof, this alſo was contained; which becauſe it concerneth a Propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the Church, I thought to place the ſame his words, as they be there written, which are theſe: If God look not mercifully upon England, the ſeeds of utter deſtruction are ſowne in it already by theſe hypocriticall tyrants, and Antichriſtian Prelates, Popiſh Papiſts, and double traitors to their naturall Countrey. And yet they ſpeake of mercy, of bleſſing, of the catholike Church, of unity, of power, and ſtrengthning of the Realm. This double diſſimulation will ſhew it ſelfe one day when the plague commeth, which undoubtedly will light upon thoſe crowne-ſhorne captains, and that ſhortly, whatſoever the godly and the poore Realme ſuffer in the meane while by Gods ſufferance and will.

M. Rogers ſeemeth to propheſie here of England, and that truly.

He meaneth here of the returne of the Exiles into England.

Spite of Nebuchadonoſors beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miſerable Iewes muſt come home againe, and have their City and Temple builded up againe by Zorobabel, Eſdras, and Nehemias, &c. And the whole Kingdome of Babylon muſt go to ruine and be taken of ſtrangers, the Perſians and Medes. So ſhall the diſperſed Engliſh flock of Chriſt be brought againe into their former eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edwards dayes; and our bloody Babylonicall Biſhops, and the whole crowne-ſhorne company brought to utter ſhame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and deſtruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not ſuffer for ever their abominable lying falſe doctrine, their hypocriſie, blood-thirſt, whoredome, idleneſſe, their peſtilent like pampered in all kinde of pleaſure, their thraſonicall boaſting pride, their malicious, envious, and poyſoned ſtomacks, which they beare towards his poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Peter truly warneth, that If judgement beginneth in the houſe of God, what ſhall bee the end of them that beleeve not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant bee ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinnefull appeare? Some ſhall have their puniſhment here in this world and in the world to come; and they that doe eſcape in this world, ſhall not eſcape everlaſting damnation. This ſhall be your ſawce, O ye wicked Papiſts, make ye merry as long as ye may.

1 Pet. 4.

M. Rogers propheſieth of the returne of the Goſpell.

Furthermore, amongſt other words and ſayings, which may ſeeme Prophetically to be ſpoken of him, this alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to be marked, that he ſpake, being then in priſon, to the Printer of this preſent Booke, who then alſo was laid up for like cauſe of Religion: Thou, ſaid he, ſhalt live to ſee the alteration of this Religion, and the Goſpell to be freely preached againe: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumſpect in diſplacing the Papiſts, and putting good Miniſters into Churches, or elſe their end will be worſe than ours. And for lack of good Miniſters to furniſh Churches, his device was (M. Hooper alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for every ten Churches ſome one good and learned ſuperintendent ſhould be appointed, which ſhould have under him faithfull Readers, ſuch as might well be got, ſo that Popiſh Prieſts ſhould cleane be put out, and the Biſhop once a yeere to overſee the profiting of the Pariſhes; and if the Miniſter did not his duty, as well in profiting himſelfe in his booke, and his Pariſhioners in good inſtructions, ſo that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: And the Biſhop to do the like with the ſuperintendent: This was his counſell and requeſt: Shewing moreover, and proteſting in his commendations to his brethren by the Printer aforeſaid, that if they would not ſo doe, their end, he ſaid, would be worſe than theirs.

M. Rogers counſell in placing good Miniſters.

A note touching Prieſts caps.

Over and beſides divers other things touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward the ſixth, there was a controverſie among the Biſhops and Clergy, for wearing of Prieſts caps, and other attyre belonging to that order. M. Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwiſe than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have ſuch an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed withall, that the Papiſts, for a difference betwixt them and others, ſhould be conſtrained to weare upon their ſleeves a chalice with an hoaſt upon it. Whereunto if they would conſent, he would agree to the other, otherwiſe he would not, he ſaid, conſent to the ſetting forth of the ſame, nor ever weare the cap, as indeed he never did.

Proviſion by M. Rogers for the priſoners.

To proceed now further in deſcribing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained priſoner in Newgate, he was to the priſoners beneficiall and liberall; for whom he had thus deviſed, that he with his fellowes ſhould have but one meale a day, they paying notwithſtanding for the charges of the whole; the other meale ſhould be given to them that lacked on the other ſide of the priſon. But Alexander their keeper, a ſtrait man, and a right Alexander, a Copperſmith indeed, of whoſe doings more ſhall be ſaid God willing hereafter, would in no caſe ſuffer that. The Sunday before he ſuffered, he drunk to M. Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would ſtick to a man, than he would ſtick to him, preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it happened otherwiſe: for M. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and ſuch acts of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

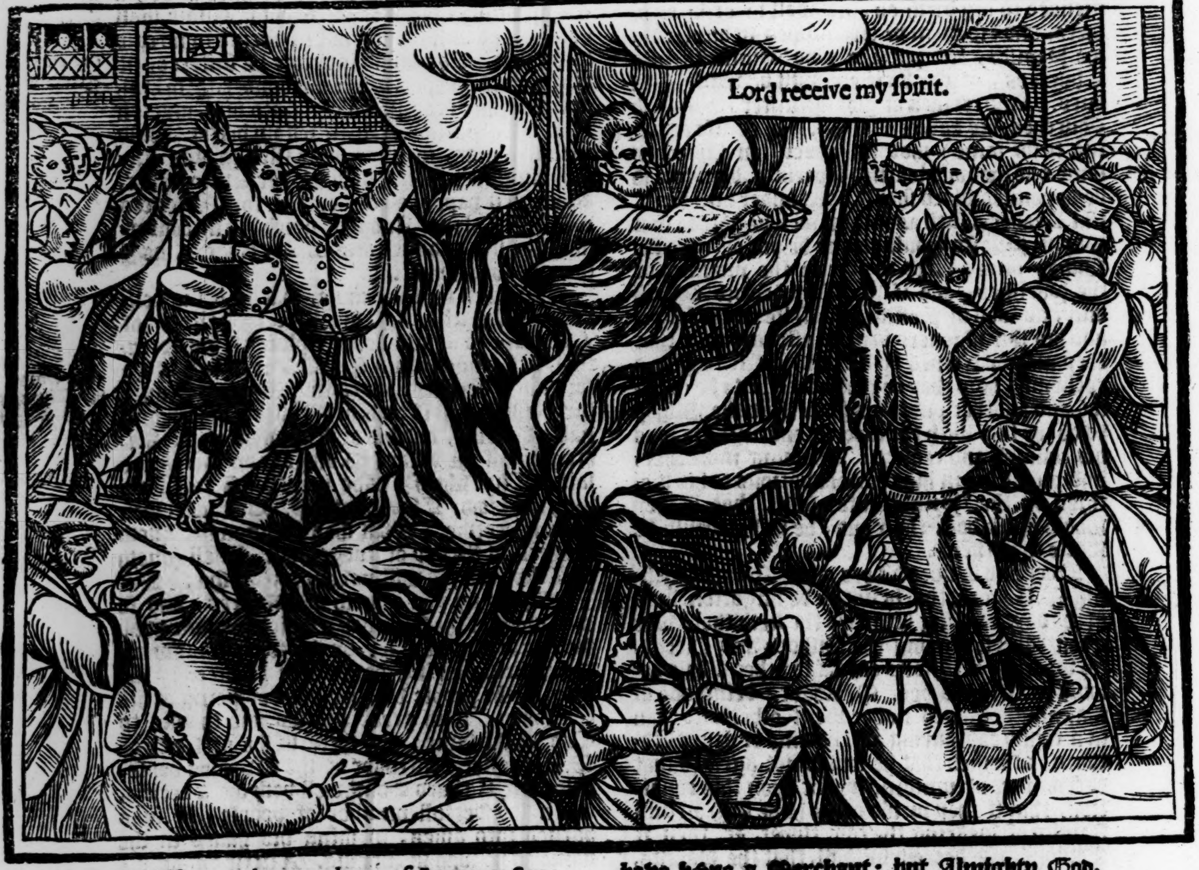
Alexander Andrew, Goaler of Newgate, compared to Alexander the Copperſmith.

The words of M. Woodroofe to M. Rogers.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriffs, ſhould be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution, firſt came to him M. Woodroofe one of the foreſaid Sheriffes, and calling M. Rogers unto him, aſked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evill opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. M. Rogers anſwered and ſaid: That which I have preached I will ſeale with my blood. Then, quoth M. Woodroofe, thou art an heretike. That ſhall be knowne, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well (quoth M. Woodroofe) I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth M. Rogers, and ſo was brought the ſame day, which was munday the fourth of February, by the Sheriffs toward Smithfield, ſaying the Pſalme *Miſerere* by the way, all the people wonderfully reioycing at his conſtancy, with great praiſes and thanks to God for the ſame: and there in the preſence of M. Rocheſter, controller of the Queenes houſehold, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffs, and a wonderfull number of people, he was burned into aſhes, waſhing his hands in the flame as he was in burning. A little before his burning at the ſtake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted; but he utterly refuſed it. He was the firſt *Protomartyr* of all the bleſſed company that ſuffered in Queene Maries time, that gave the firſt adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being xi. in number, x. able to go, and one ſucking on her breaſt, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this ſorrowfull ſight of his owne fleſh and blood could nothing move him, but that he conſtantly and cheerfully tooke his death with wonderfull patience, in the defence and quarrell of Chriſts Goſpell.

M. Rogers refuſeth his pardon.

The burning of Maſter John Rogers, Vicar of S. Pulchers, and Reader of S. Pauls in London.


Lord receive my ſpirit.

The hiſtory and martyrdome of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of the Goſpell, at Coventry, Anno 1555. February 8.

Anno 1555

AFter that Quéene Mary, by publike Proclamation in the firſt yéere of her Reigne, had inhibited the ſyncere preaching of Gods holy word, as is before declared, divers godly Miniſters of the word which had the cure and charge of ſouls committed to them, did notwithſtanding, according to their bounden duty, féed their flock faithfully, not as Preachers authorized by publike authority (as the godly order of the Realme was in the happy dayes of bleſſed King Edward) but as the private Paſtors of particular flockes, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worſhipfull parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places méet for that purpoſe, as namely, in the Schoole of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there uſed) he was choſen to go to the Kings Colledge in Cambridge, where he continued ſchollar of the Colledge thrée whole yéeres, and there profited in knowledge & learning very much for that time: ſhortly after that, he did forſake the Univerſity, and went to his parents, upon whoſe advice he minded to become a Merchant, for yͤ his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him up wealthily, and ſo he comming up to London was bound prentice with a Merchant, named Sir William Cheſter (who afterward chanced to be Sheriffe of London the ſame yéer that Saunders was burned at Coventry.) Thus by the minde of his friends Laurence ſhould néeds have béene a Merchant; but Almighty God, which hath his ſecret working in all things, ſaw better for his ſervant, as it fell out in the end: for although that Saunders was bound by faſt Indenture to play the Merchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could finde no liking in that vocation: ſo that when his other fellowes were buſily occupied about that kinde of trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelfe into ſome privy corner, and there fall into his ſolitary lamentations, as one not liking with that kinde and trade of life.

The ſtory of Laurence Saunders, a martyr.

Schollers are taken out of Eaton Colledge into the Kings Colledge at Cambridge.

M. Saunders firſt bound prentice with M. Cheſter.

It happened that his Maſter, being a good man, and hearing his prentice thus in his ſecret prayers inwardly to mourne by himſelfe, called him unto him, to know what the cauſe was of that his ſolitarineſſe and lamentation: who then perceiving his minde nothing to fantaſie that kinde of life, (for ſo Saunders declared unto him) and perceiving alſo his whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of his book, and ſpirituall contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his Indenture ſo ſet him free, and thus Laurence Saunders being raviſhed with the love of learning, and eſpecially with the reading of Gods word, tarried not long time in the traffike of Merchandize, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge againe to his ſtudy, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latine, the ſtudy of the Gréek tongue, wherein he profited in ſmall time very much: Therewith alſo he ioyned the ſtudy of the Hebrew. Then gave he himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of the holy Scripture, to furniſh himſelfe to the office of a Preacher.

M. Saunders appointed to the trade of Merchandiſe, could not away with that kind of life.

M. Saunders from merchandiſe returneth to his ſtudy.

In ſtudy he was diligent and painfull, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exerciſed conſcience, he prayed often & with great fervor, and in

Anno 1555

in his prayers as alſo at other times, he had his part of ſpirituall exerciſes, which his hearty ſighing to God declared. In which when any ſpeciall aſſault did come, by prayer he felt preſent reliefe: then was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exerciſes were ſpeciall teachings, ſo in the end they proved ſingular conſolations: wherein he became ſo expert, that within ſhort ſpace he was able to comfort others which were in any affliction, by the conſolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the Univerſity, till he proceeded maſter of Art, and a long ſpace after.

In the beginning of King Edwards reigne, when Gods true Religion was begun to be reſtored, after licence obtained, hee began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the Colledge at Fothringa, where by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to Gods true knowledge, and ſtopped the mouth of the adverſaries. He married about that time, and in the married eſtate led a life unblameable before all men. The College of Fothringa being diſſolved, he was placed to be reader in the minſter at Lichfield: where he ſo behaved himſelfe in teaching and living, that the very adverſaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godlineſſe. After a certaine ſpace, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leiceſter ſhire, called Churchlangton, whereupon he keeping reſidence taught diligently, and kept a liberall houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the City of London, named Alhallowes in Breadſtreet. Then minded he to give over his Cure in the countrey: and therfore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the countrey, cleerely to diſcharge himſelfe thereof. And even at that time began the broyle about the claime that Queene Mary made to the Crowne, by reaſon whereof he could not accompliſh his purpoſe.

M. Saunders Reader in the Colledge of Fothringa.

Saunders after Reader at Lichfield.

The conſtant purpoſe of M. Saunders.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (ſuch I meane as were for the Queen) he preached at Northampton, nothing medling with the State, but boldly uttered his conſcience againſt Popiſh doctrine and Antichriſts damnable errors, which were like to ſpring up againe in England, as a iuſt plague for the little love which the Engliſh Nation did beare to the bleſſed word of God, which had been ſo plentifully offered unto them. The Queenes men, which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for his ſermon, and for it kept him among them as priſoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, which were chiefe doers for the Queene among them, partly becauſe there was no Law broken by his preaching, they diſmiſſed him. He, ſeeing the dreadfull dayes at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeale, preached with diligence at both thoſe benefices, as time could ſerve him, ſeeing he could reſigne neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papiſt.

Thus paſſed he to and fro preaching, untill that Proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At which time he was at his benefice in the Countrey, where he (notwithſtanding the Proclamation aforeſaid) taught diligently Gods truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them againſt falſe doctrine, untill he was not onely commanded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving ſuch fearefull menacings, counſelled him to flie out of the realme, which he refuſed to do. But ſeeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to viſit the flocke, of which he had there the charge.

M. Saunders refuſeth to flie the Realme.

On ſaturday, the 14. of October, as he was comming nigh to the City of London, ſir John Mordant, a Counſellor to Queene Mary, did overtake him, and aſked him whither he went. I have (ſaid Saunders) a Cure in London, and now I goe to inſtruct my people according to my duty. If you will follow my counſell, quoth maſter Mordant, let them alone, and come not at them. To this Saunders anſwered: how ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick, and deſire conſolation, if any want good counſell and need inſtruction, or if any ſhould ſlip into error and receive falſe doctrine? Did you not, quoth Mordant preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in Breadſtreet in London? Yes verily, ſaid Saunders, that ſame is my Cure. I heard you my ſelf, quoth maſter Mordant: and will you preach now there againe? If it pleaſe you, ſaid Saunders, to morrow you may heare me again in that ſame place, where I will confirme by the authority of Gods word, all that I ſaid then, and whatſoever before that time I taught them.

M. Mordant diſſwadeth Laurence Saunders from preaching

I would counſell you (quoth the other) not to preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawfull authority, then muſt I obey, ſaid Saunders. Nay (quoth he) I will not forbid you, but I doe give you counſell. And thus entred they both the city, and departed each from other. M. Mordant, of an uncharitable minde, went to give warning to Boner Biſhop of London, that Saunders would preach in his Cure the next day. Saunders reſorted to his lodging, with a minde bent to doe his duty. Where becauſe he ſeemed to be ſomewhat troubled, one which was there about him, aſked him how he did. In very deed (ſaith he) I am in priſon, till I be in priſon: meaning that his minde was unquiet untill he had preached, and that then he ſhould have quietnes of minde, though he were put in priſon.

M. Saunders in priſon, till he was in priſon.

The next day, which was ſunday in the forenoone, he made a ſermon in his Pariſh, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I have coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make your ſelves a chaſte virgin unto Chriſt. But I feare leſt it come to paſſe, that as the Serpent beguiled Eve; even ſo your wits ſhould be corrupt from the ſingleneſſe which ye had towards Chriſt. He recited a ſumme of that true Chriſtian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receive of him free iuſtification through faith in his blood. The Papiſticall doctrine he compared to the ſerpents deceiving: and leſt they ſhould be deceived by it, he made a compariſon betweene the voice of God, and the voice of the Popiſh ſerpent; deſcending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly ſee the difference that is betweene the order of the Church ſervice ſet forth by King Edward in the Engliſh tongue, and comparing it with the Popiſh ſervice then uſed in the Latine tongue.

M. Saunders Sermon at Alhallowes. 2 Cor. 11.

The firſt he ſaid was good, becauſe it was according to the word of God, Corinth. 14. and the order of the Primitive Church. The other he ſaid was evill, and though in that evill be intermingled ſome good Latine words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deale of poyſon, to make them drink up all. This was the ſumme of his ſermon.

In the afternoone he was ready in his Church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the Biſhop of London interrupted him by ſending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the paine of diſobedience

M. Saunders apprehended by B. Boner at his Sermon.

and contumacie, forthwith to come to the Biſhop his Maſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Prieſts; ſo was Laurence Saunders brought before this Biſhop in his Palace of London, who had in his company the aforenamed Sir John Mordant and ſome of his Chaplaines. The Biſhop laid no more to Laurence Saunders charge but treaſon for breaking the Queenes Proclamation, hereſie and ſedition for his Sermon.

Sir John Mordant accuſer of Laurence Saunders.

The treaſon and ſedition his charity was content to let ſlip, untill another time. But an heretike he would now prove him, and all thoſe, he ſaid, which did teach and beleeve that the adminiſtration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are moſt pure, which doe come moſt nigh to the order of the primitive Church. For the Church was then but in her infancie, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furniſhed with ceremonies. And for this cauſe Chriſt himſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles, did in many things beare with the rudeneſſe of that Church. To this Laurence Saunders anſwered with the authority of S. Auguſtine, That Ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive Church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeneſſe of the Church Papiſticall, becauſe it had ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly unſavoury and unprofitable.

Preaching of Gods word, made treaſon with Biſhop Boner.

Ceremonies invented onely for weake infirmity.

After much talke had concerning this matter, the biſhop willed him to write what he beleeved of Tranſubſtantiation. Laurence Saunders did ſo, ſaying; My Lord, ye doe ſeeke my blood, and ye ſhall have it: I pray God that ye may be ſo baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-ſucking, and become a better man. This writing the Biſhop kept for his purpoſe, even to cut the writers throat, as ſhall appear hereafter. The Biſhop, when he had his will, ſent Laurence Saunders to the Lord Chancellor, as Annas ſent Chriſt to Caiphas: and like favour found Saunders as Chriſt his Maſter did before him. But the Chancellor being not at home, Saunders was conſtrained to tarry for him by the ſpace of foure houres, in the utter chamber, where he found a Chaplaine of the Biſhops very merrily diſpoſed, with certaine Gentlemen playing at the Tables, with divers others of the ſame family or houſe occupied there in the ſame exerciſe.

B. Boner ſeeketh the blood of M. Saunders.

M. Saunders ſent from Annas to Caiphas.

All this time Saunders ſtood very modeſtly and ſoberly at the ſcreene or cupboord, bare headed, ſir John Mordant his guide or leader walking up and down by him: who (as I ſaid before) was then one of the Councell. At the laſt the Biſhop returned from the Court, whom, as ſoone as he was entred, a great many ſuters met and received: ſo that before he could get out of one houſe into another, half an houre was paſſed. At the laſt he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went thorow into another chamber: where in the meane way Saunders leader gave him a writing, containing the cauſe, or rather the accuſation of the ſaid Saunders, which when he had peruſed, where is the man, ſaid the Biſhop? Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, firſt moſt lowly and meekly kneeled downe, and made curteſie before the table where the Biſhop did ſit; unto whom the Biſhop ſpake on this wiſe:

How happeneth it, ſaid he, that, notwithſtanding the Queens Proclamation to the contrary, you have enterpriſed to preach?

Wincheſters talk with M. Saunders.

Anno 1555.

Saunders denied not that he did preach: ſaying, that forſomuch as he ſaw the perillous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admoniſhed, and warned by Ezechiel the Prophet) exhort his flock and pariſhioners to perſevere and ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the doctrine which they had learned, ſaying alſo, That he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the Apoſtle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or ſtirred him thereunto, than his own conſcience.

M. Saunders anſwer to Ste. Wincheſter.

A goodly conſcience ſurely, ſaid the Biſhop. This your conſcience could make our Queene a baſtard, or miſbegotten: Would it not, I pray you?

Wincheſter.

Then ſaid Saunders, We, ſaid he, doe not declare or ſay, that the Queene is baſe, or miſbegotten, neither goe about any ſuch matter. But for that let them care whoſe writings are yet in the hands of men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great reproach and ſhame of the Author: privily taunting the biſhop himſelf, which had before (to get the favour of Henry the viii.) written and ſet forth in print a book of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queene Mary to be a baſtard. Now maſter Saunders going forwards in his purpoſe, ſaid: We do only profeſſe and teach the ſyncerity and purity of the word; the which albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithſtanding I doe not doubt, but that our blood hereafter ſhall manifeſt the ſame. The Biſhop being in this ſort pretily nipped and touched, ſaid: Carry away this frenzie foole to priſon. Unto whom M. Saunders anſwered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at the laſt a place of reſt and quietneſſe, whereas he might pray for the Biſhops converſion.

M. Saunders.

A privy nip to Wincheſter.

Wincheſters booke de vera obedientia.

Note how Wincheſter confuteth M. Saunders.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in priſon, in the ſame bed, reported that he heard him ſay, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted, inſomuch as not onely in ſpirit, but alſo in body, he received a certaine taſte of that holy communion of Saints, whileſt a moſt pleaſant refreſhing did iſſue from every part and member of the body unto the ſeat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebbe and flow to and fro unto all the parts againe.

A notable example of the Lord comforting his ſervants in their troubles.

This Saunders continued in priſon a whole yeere and three moneths. In all which ſpace he ſent divers letters to divers men; as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; and other to his wife, and alſo to others, certifying them both of the publike calamity of the time, and alſo of his private afflictions, and of ſundry his conflicts with his adverſaries: as in writing to his friend he ſpeaketh of Weſton conferring with him in priſon, whereof ye ſhall heare anon (by the leave of the Lord) as followeth in the ſtory. In the meane time the Chancellor, after this little talk with maſter Saunders (as is aforeſaid) ſent him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, &c. For the Caiphas (Wincheſter I meane) did nothing but bait him with ſome of his curriſh eloquence, and ſo committed him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, where he was kept priſoner one whole yeere & a quarter. But of his cauſe & eſtate, thou ſhalt now ſee what L. Saunders himſelfe did write.

M. Saunders in priſon a yeere and 3. moneths

A parcell of a letter of Laurence Saunders ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as an anſwer to certaine things wherewith he had before charged him.

Touching the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, foraſmuch as at that time ir was permitted by the Proclamation to uſe, according to our conſciences,

A fragment of M. Saunders letter.

Anno 1555.

He meaneth the Proclamation, of which mention is made before.

Satis peccavit qui reſiſtere non potuit.

ſciences, ſuch ſervice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conſcience, and the ſame ſervice then uſed. The act which I did (he meaneth publike teaching of Gods word in his owne Pariſh, called Alhallowes in Bread-ſtreete in the City of London) was ſuch as being indifferently weighed, ſounded to no breaking of the Proclamation, or at the leaſt no wilfull breaking of it, foraſmuch as I cauſed no bell to bee rung, neither occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But bee it that I did breake the Proclamation, this long time of continuance in priſon may bee thought to bee more than a ſufficient puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

Act. 24.

Touching the charging of mee with my Religion, I ſay with Saint Paul; this I confeſſe, that after the way which they call Hereſie, ſo worſhip I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein ſtudie I to have alway a cleere conſcience towards God and towards men: ſo that God I call to witneſſe, I have a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded upon vaine fantaſie, but upon the infallible verity of Gods word, with the witneſſing of his choſen Church agreeable unto the ſame.

A good teſtimony of a good conſcience.

John 10.

It is an eaſie thing for them, which take Chriſt for their true Paſtor, and bee the very ſheepe of his paſture, to diſcerne the voice of their true ſhepheard, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and ſtrangers: foraſmuch as Chriſt ſaith; My ſheepe heare my voice: yea, and thereby they ſhall have the gift to know the right voice of the true ſhepheard, and ſo to follow him, and to avoide the contrary, as hee alſo ſaith; The ſheepe follow the ſhepheard, for they know his voice: A ſtranger they will not follow, but will flye from him; for they know not the voice of a ſtranger. Such inward inſpiration doth the Holy Ghoſt put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwiſe unable to underſtand the true way of their ſalvation. And albeit that the Wolfe (as Chriſt ſaith) commeth in ſheepes cloathing, yet he ſaith; By their fruits yee ſhall know them. For there bee certaine fruits whereby the Wolfe is bewrayed, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe, in ſundry ſorts of devout holineſſe in outward ſhew, he ſeemeth never ſo ſimple a ſheep. That the Romiſh Religion is ravening and wolviſh, it is apparent in three principall points:

Mat. 7.

How the wolfe is knowne from the true Shepheard.

The inconvenience of the Romiſh religion in 3. points.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt, and his office of ſalvation.

Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and ſervice in ſpirit and truth, appointed in his preſcript commandements, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, againſt the which Chriſt with the Prophet Eſay doth ſpeak ſharply; This people honoureth we with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worſhip mee in vaine, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place; Ye caſt aſide the commandement of God, to maintain your own traditions.

Eſay 26.

Mat. 25.

Wherefore I in conſcience weighing the Romiſh Religion, and by indifferent diſcuſſing thereof, finding the foundation unſtedfaſt, and the building thereupon but vaine: and on the other ſide having my conſcience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and the conſent of his true Church, I neither may, nor doe intend by Gods gracious aſſiſtance, to be pulled one jot from the ſame; no, though an Angell out of heaven ſhould preach another Goſpell than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lacke either of ſuch deepe knowledge and profound judgement, or of expedite uttering of that I doe know and judge, as is required in an excellent Clerke, I ſhall not bee able ſufficiently to anſwer, for the convincing of the gaine-ſayer; yet nevertheleſſe this my proteſtation ſhall be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the grounds and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cannot “ *explicita fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can diſcuſſe all that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſſe all that can be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the doctrine of this moſt true Religion, whereunto I am profeſſed: yet doe I binde my ſelfe, as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my *fidem* “ *implicitam*; that is, by faith in generality (as they call it) to wrap my beliefe in the credit of the ſame, that no authority of that Romiſh Religion repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any meanes remove me from the ſame, though it may hap that our adverſaries will labour to beguile us with inticing words, and ſeek to ſpoile us through Philoſophy and deceitfull vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt, &c.

“ Explicita fides, is when a man hath to anſwer to every point of his faith by ſufficient ground and learning.

“ Implicita fides is when a man without inſtruction in himſelf, groundeth only upon the faith of the Church, not able to render any reaſon of that which he beleeveth.

And thus much of M. Sanders letter, ſo much as remained thereof. The reſidue, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adioyne thereunto. Notwithſtanding, by this already expreſſed, it is ſufficient to underſtand how good was the cauſe and ſtate of this bleſſed child of God, being priſoner for Chriſts cauſe. For the defence whereof he wholly beſtowed and reſigned himſelf, in ſuch ſort, as he forbade his wife to ſue for his delivery: and when others of his friends had by ſuite almoſt obtained it, hee diſcouraged them, ſo that they did not follow their ſuite, as by his letter following may appeare.

A Letter of M. Sanders to his wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Chriſt our Lord. Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine owne ſoule and body, ſo do I daily in my hearty prayer wiſh unto you; for I doe daily, twice at the leaſt, in this ſort remember you. And I doe not doubt (deare wife) but that both I and you, as we be written in the booke of life, ſo we ſhall together enioy the ſame everlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our deare Father, in his Sonne our Chriſt. And for this preſent life, let us wholly appoint our ſelves to the will of our good God, to glorifie him either by life or by death; and even that ſame mercifull Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaſeth him. Amen. I am merry, I thanke my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe, and then receive the crowne which is laid up in ſtore for me, and all the true Souldiers of Chriſt. Wherefore wife, let us, in the Name of our God, fight luſtily to overcome the fleſh, the divell, and the world. What our harneſſe and weapons bee in this kinde of fight, looke in the ſixth chapter unto the Epheſians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuite for me in any wiſe. Thanke you know whom, for her moſt ſweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my iourney whither I am paſſing. God ſend us all good ſpeed, and a ioyful meeting. I have too few ſuch friends to further me in that iourney, which is indeed the greateſt friendſhip. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

A priſoner in the Lord, L. Sanders.

1 Tim. 4.

M. Sanders would have no ſuite made for him.

This his conſtancy is ſufficiently commen-

ded

Antichriſt and death two enemies.

ded, and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and Death. To neither of theſe did he give place: but by ſuffering their malice got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with Antichriſt and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his owne hand writing. It was with Doctor Weſton, a man, whom though I ſhould praiſe, yet would all good and godly men worthily diſpraiſe. Of this the ſaid Laurence Sanders thus writeth in a letter which hee ſent to one of his friends, which wrote to him to know what Doctor Weſton did at the Marſhalſey: wherunto he thus anſwereth.

This Doctor Weſton and M. Grimoald died both about the Coronation of Q. Elizabeth.

M. Weſton came to confer with maſter Grimoald. What hee hath concluded with him I know not: I wiſh it may be to Gods glory, Amen, Amen. M. Weſton of his gentleneſſe viſited me, and offered me friendſhip in his worldly wily ſort, &c. I had not ſo much good manners, as to take it at his hand: for I ſaid, that I was well enough, and ready cheerefully to abide the extremity, to keep there by a good conſcience. Yee be not aſleep in ſin, ſaid he. I would awake (quoth I) and do not forget Vigilate & Orate, i. Watch and Pray. What Church was there, thirty yeeres paſt? What Church was there quoth I, in Helias time? Ioane of Kent, ſaid he, was of your Church. No. quoth I, we did condemn her as an heretike.

The church goeth not alwaies by number.

Who was of your Church, ſaid he, thirty yeers paſt? Such (quoth I) as that Romiſh Antichriſt, and his rabble have reputed and condemned as Heretikes: Wickliffe, ſaid he, Thorpe, Oldcaſtle, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many moe, as ſtories do tell.

Winchesters Booke De vera obedientia.

The Biſhop of Rome hath, ſaid he, long time played a part in your railing Sermons: but now be ye ſure he muſt play another manner of part. The more pity, quoth I, and yet ſome comfort it is to ſee how that the beſt learned, wiſeſt, and holieſt of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewiſe in your ſermons and writings, though now to pleaſe the world, you doe turne with the Weather-cocke. Did you ever, ſaid he, heare me preach againſt the Biſhop of Rome? No (quoth I) for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have beene no wiſer than other, &c. with more about the ſacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bleſſe it.

What a bleſſed taſte Maſter Sanders had of Chriſts comforts.

What bleſſed taſte this good man had of Gods holy ſpirit, by divers and ſundry his letters may right well appeare to him that is diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame: whereof certaine we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to expreſſe; firſt beginning with that which he wrote out of the Marſhalſey to D. Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, priſoners for the like cauſe of Chriſt in Oxford.

To the Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, and
Maſter Latimer, being priſoned in
Oxford.

M. Sanders writeth to Doctor Cranmer, Ridley, &c.

In my moſt humble wiſe I ſalute you moſt reverend fathers in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. Immortall thanks and everlaſting praiſes be given unto that our Father of mercies, Which hath made us meete to bee partakers of the inheritance of Saints in light, which hath delivered us from the power of darkneſſe, and hath tranſlated us into the Kingdome of his beloved Sonne, by whom wee have redemption through his blood, &c. O moſt happy eſtate, that in an unſpeakable wiſe our life is hid with Chriſt in God: But whenſoever Chriſt which is our life ſhall ſhew himſelfe, then ſhall we alſo appeare with him in glory. In the meane ſeaſon as our ſight is but in a glaſſe, even in a darke ſpeaking, ſo wee walke in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith although for want of outward appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vaine, yet the choſen of God doe know the effect thereof, to bring a more ſubſtantiall taſte and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſedneſſe, than reaſon can reach or ſenſes receive. By this faith we have in our poſſeſſion all good things, yea, even them which the eye hath not ſeene, and the eare hath not heard, neither hath entred the heart of man, &c. Then if hereby we do enioy all good things, it followeth that we muſt needs poſſeſſe, have and enioy you moſt reverend fathers, who be no ſmall part of our ioy and good things given us of God.

Coloſſ. 1.
Coloſſ. 3.
1 Cor. 13.
Anno 1555.
Eſay 54.
1 Cor. 2.

We heretofore have had the fruition of you by bodily preſence to our inexplicable benefit, praiſed be that our gracious God therfore. And now in ſprit we have the experience of unſpeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods, for that in this ſo glorious ſort ye become a towne ſet upon a hill, a candle upon a candleſtick, a ſpectacle unto the world, both to the Angels and unto men. So that as we to our great comfort do feele, you alſo may aſſuredly ſay with S. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, doe chance unto the great fartherance of the Goſpel; ſo that our bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt, not only throughout all the iudgement hall, but in all whole Europe, inſomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being incouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly ſpeak the word without feare. And herein as you have with S. Paul greatly to reioyce, ſo we reioyce with you, and we doe indeed with you give thankes for this worthy excellent favour of our God towards you, that Chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea, and hereafter ſhall bee magnified in your bodies, whether it bee through life or death. Of which thing truly wee are aſſured in our prayers for you, and miniſtring of the ſpirit. And although for our owne parts, Chriſt is unto you life, and death advantage, and that your deſire is (as indeed it were better for you) to bee looſed, and to bee with Chriſt, yet for the Church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſarie, that ye ſhould abide in the fleſh. Yea, that mercifull God, even for his Chriſts ſake, grant that yee may abide and continue for the furtherance of the Church, and reioycing of faith, that the reioycing thereof may be the more abundant through Chriſt by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

Mat. 5.
2 Cor. 4.
Phil. 1.
Phil. 2.
Phil. 1.

But if it ſeeme better otherwiſe unto the divine wiſdome, that by ſpeedy death he hath appointed you to glorifie him, the Lords will bee done. Yea, even as we doe reioyce both on your behalfes, and alſo on our owne, that God is magnified by life, and ſhould be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; ſo we ſhall no leſſe reioyce to have the ſame wrought by death. We ſhall give thanks for this honor given unto you, reioycing that ye are accounted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt, and that it is given to you of God, not only that ye ſhould believe in him, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake. And herein we ſhall have to reioyce in the behalfe of the Church of Chriſt, whoſe faith may be the faſter fixed upon Gods verity being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. O thanks bee to God for this his unſpeakable gift.

And now moſt reverend Fathers, that you may underſtand the truth of us, and our eſtate how we ſtand in the Lord, I do aſſure your Reverences, partly by ẏ I perceive by ſuch of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I moſt

unworthy

Anno 1555.

The conſtant minde of a Chriſtian ſouldier.

unworthy wretch have of Gods good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others) you may be aſſured (I ſay) by Gods grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of our conſtant continuance in the cheerfull confeſſion of Gods everlaſting verity. For even as wee have received the word of truth, even the Goſpel of our ſalvation, wherein we believing are ſealed with the holy ſpirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritance (the which ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath ſent the ſpirit of his Sonne into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father) ſo after ſuch portion as God meaſureth unto us, we with the whole Church of Chriſt, and with you reverend Fathers, receiving the ſame ſpirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have ſpoken: We alſo believe, and therefore ſpeake. For the which we in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even ſuch a ſight as we have ſeene in you, and have heard of you, are in no wiſe affraid of our adverſaries.

Epheſ. 1.
Rom. 8.
Gal. 4.
Cor. 4.
Pſal. 116.
Phil. 1.

And foraſmuch as we have ſuch an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we goe not out of kinde, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintaine the faith of the Goſpell, knowing moſt certainly, that though wee have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellencie of this power might be Gods, and not ours; yet ſhall we not be daſhed in peeces: For the Lord will put his hand under us. When wee are troubled on every ſide, yet are wee not without ſhift: When we are in poverty, we are not utterly without ſome thing: When we ſuffer perſecution, we are not forſaken therein: When we are caſt down, yet we ſhall not periſh: but to communicate with our ſweet Saviour Chriſt in bearing the croſſe, it is appointed unto us, that even with him alſo we ſhall be glorified: For it is a true ſaying; If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo live with him: If we be patient, we ſhall alſo raigne with him: If we deny him, he ſhall alſo deny us. Wherefore be we of good cheere, alwaies bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the life of Ieſus might appeare alſo in our body: For wee know, that he which raiſed up the Lord Ieſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo by the meanes of Ieſus, and ſhall joyne us to himſelfe together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation which is momentany and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternall weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene. For the things which are ſeene, are temporall; but the things which are not ſeene, are eternall.

Cor. 4.
Cor. 4.
Tim. 2.
Cor. 4.

We teſtifie unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw theſe waters with ioy out of the Wels of the Saviour. And I truſt we ſhall continually with you bleſſe the Lord, and give thanks to the Lord out of the Wels of Iſrael; we truſt to be merry together at that great Supper of the Lamb, whoſe Spouſe we are by faith, and there to ſing that ſong of everlaſting Halelujah. Amen. Yea, come Lord Ieſus. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you, Amen.

Eſay 12.
Pſal. 48.

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be ſeen how this worthy Warriour prepared himſelfe to the appointed fight, and to keep his ſtanding in Chriſts campe.

Laurence Sanders to his wife.

M. Sanders letter to his wife.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt Ieſus, our only comfort in all extreeme aſſaults, Amen.

Faine would this fleſh make ſtrange of that which the ſpirit doth embrace. Oh Lord, how loth is this loytering ſluggard to paſſe forth in Gods path? It fantaſieth forſooth much feare of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the reine of Gods moſt ſweet promiſe, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventurers there were of fainting by the way. But bleſſed, and everlaſtingly bleſſed be that heavenly Father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient Saviour, hath vouchſafed to ſhine in our hearts, that hee giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Ieſus Chriſt: and having this treaſure in our earthen veſſels, that the excellency of the power might be Gods, and not ours, wee are (according to his good will) troubled on every ſide, yet are wee not without ſhift; wee are in povertie, but yet not without that is ſufficient; wee ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein; we are caſt downe, nevertheleſſe wee periſh not; we beare in the body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the life of Ieſus might alſo appeare in our body. Wherefore by the grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be wearied, neither be diſmaied by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we ſhall reioyce, inaſmuch as wee are partakers of Chriſts paſſion, that when he doth appeare, wee may bee merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation, which is momentany and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternall weight of glory unto us, while we looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene. They that ſowe in teares, ſhall reape in joy. For hee that goeth on his way weeping and ſcattering his good ſeed, ſhall doubtleſſe come againe with joy, and bring his whole ſheaves with him. Then, then ſhall the Lord wipe away all teares from our eyes. Then, then ſhall bee brought to paſſe that ſaying which is written; Death is ſwallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thankes be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

2 Cor. 4.
2 Cor. 4.
2 Cor. 4.
Pſal. 126.
1 Cor. 15.

In the mean ſeaſon it remaineth for us to follow Saint Peters bidding; Let them (ſaith he) that are troubled, according to the will of God, commit their ſoules to him with well doing, as a faithfull Creator and Maker. He is our Maker, we are his handy-worke and creatures, whom now when he hath made, he doth not leave and forſake, as the Shipwright doth the ſhip, leaving it at all adventures to be toſſed in the tempeſt, but hee comforteth us his creatures, and in him we live, move and have our being: Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Chriſt repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himſelfe as a peculiar people by the blood of his Sonne, hee hath put on a moſt tender good will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by ſuch promiſes hee hath plighted ſuch faith, that though it were poſſible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be that his faithful believers ſhould be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to caſt our care on him, and ſaith, that aſſuredly he careth for us. And what though for a ſeaſon he doth ſuffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempeſts of temptation, and ſeemeth as in much anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let not us for all that leave off to put our truſt in him, but let us with godly Iob conclude in our ſelves and ſay; Even though he kil me, yet will I put my truſt in him. Let us with the bleſſed Abraham in hope, even contrary to hope, by beliefe leane unto that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he ſuffereth us to be afflicted,

1 Peter 4.
Act. 17.
Gods promiſe firme and ſure.
Eſay 49.
1 Pet. 5.
Iob 13.
Truſt upon Gods promiſe.

Pſalm. 103.

flicted, yet will he not be alwaies chiding, neither keepeth hee his anger for ever: for hee knoweth whereof we bee made; he remembreth that we are but duſt. Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in compariſon of the earth, ſo great is his mercy towards them which feare him. Look how wide the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo far hath he ſet our ſinnes from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his owne children, even ſo is the Lord mercifull unto them that feare him. Oh what great cauſe of reioycing have we in our moſt gracious God? we cannot but burſt forth into the prayſing of ſuch a bountifull benefactour, and ſay with the ſame Pſalmiſt; Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name. Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and forget not all his benefits.

Sanders godly bequeſt to his wife.

Experience of the comforts of Chriſt in priſon.

Deare wife, riches I have none to leave behinde me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner. But that treaſure of taſting how ſweet Chriſt is unto hungry conſciences, (whereof, I thanke my Chriſt, I doe feele part, and would feele more) that I bequeath unto you, and to the reſt of my beloved in Chriſt, to retain the ſame in ſenſe of heart alwaies. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I truſt I ſhall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the divels in hell. I utterly refuſe my ſelfe, and reſign my ſelfe unto my Chriſt, in whom I know I ſhall be ſtrong, as he ſeeth needfull. Pray, pray, pray.

Laurence Sanders.

M. Sanders wife not ſuffered to ſpeake with him in priſon.

As the ſaid Maſter Sanders was in priſon, ſtreight charge was given to the Keeper that no perſon ſhould ſpeake with him. His wife yet came to the priſon gate with her young child in her armes, to viſit her husband. The Keeper, though for his charge he durſt not ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet did hee take the little babe out of her armes, and brought him unto his father, Laurence Sanders ſeeing him, reioyced greatly, ſaying, that he reioyced more to have ſuch a boy, than he ſhould if two thouſand pound were given him. And unto the ſtanders by, which praiſed the goodlineſſe of the child, he ſaid: What man fearing God, would not loſe this life preſent, rather than by prolonging it here, he ſhould adiudge this boy to be a baſtard, his wife a whore and himſelf a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe his life yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawfull and holy?

I doe, good Reader, recite this ſaying, not only to let thee ſee what he thought of Prieſts marriage: but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learne to beare in their boſome true affections: naturall, but yet ſeaſoned with the true ſalt of the ſpirit, unfainedly and throughly mortified to doe the naturall workes and offices of married couples and parents, ſo long as with their doing they may keep Chriſt with a free confeſſing faith in a conſcience unſoile: otherwiſe both they and their owne lives are ſo to be forſaken, as Chriſt required them to be denied, and given in his cauſe.

M. Sanders brought to examination.

And now to come to the examination of this good man, after that the Biſhops had kept him one whole yeere and a quarter in priſon, at the length they called him, as they did the reſt of his fellowes, openly to be examined. Of the which his firſt examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

The examination of Laurence Sanders.

Praiſed be our gracious God who preſerveth his from evill, and doth give them grace to avoide all ſuch offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his Church. Amen.

Anno 1555.

The firſt examination of M. Sanders.

Being convented before the Queens moſt honourable Councell, ſundry Biſhops being preſent, the L. Chancellor began to ſpeake in ſuch forme as followeth:

L. Chan. It is not unknowne that you have been a priſoner, for ſuch abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine as hath beene ſowne by you: and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeek for it. Wherefore if now you will ſhew your ſelfe conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. Wee muſt ſay that wee have fallen in manner all: but now we be riſen againe, and returned to the Catholike Church; you muſt riſe with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct anſwer.

Sand. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it pleaſe your honours to give me leave to anſwer with deliberation.

Chan. Leave off your painting and pride of ſpeech: for ſuch is the faſhion of you all, to pleaſe your ſelves in your glorious words. Anſwer yea or nay.

Sand. My Lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me. My learning I confeſſe to be but ſmall: and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithſtanding, it ſtandeth me in hand to anſwer to your demand circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extreme perils are like to fall upon me: the loſing of a good conſcience, or the loſing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enioy them without the hurt of my conſcience.

M. Sanders ſtandeth upon his conſcience.

Chan. Conſcience? you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, (a) dividing your ſelves by ſingularity from the Church.

(a) Of this dividing ſpeaketh S. Paul 2 Cor. 6. & Ier. 50. Come out and divide your ſelves from them, &c.

Sand. The Lord is the knower of all mens conſciences. And where your Lordſhip layeth to my charge this dividing my ſelfe from the Church (as you doe meane, and is now among you concluded upon, as I do underſtand) I doe aſſure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have beene brought up ſince I was fourteene yeeres old: being taught that the power of the Biſhop of Rome is but uſurped, with many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here preſent, as a thing agreed upon by the Catholike Church and publike authority.

Argument. Conſcience ought never to ſtand upon things uncertaine. Time and authority be things of themſelves alwayes uncertaine: Ergo, conſcience ought never to ſtand upon time and authority.

Chan. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received by conſent and authority all your hereſies of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Sand. My Lord, it is leſſe offence to cut off an arme, hand, or ioynt of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he doe lacke an arme, hand, or ioynt, and ſo he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole ſort of you have agreed to cut off the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the Church againe.

Si non inſanit ſatis ſua ſponte, inſtigat.

B. of Lond. And if it like your Lordſhip, I have his hand againſt the bleſſed ſacrament. How ſay you to that?

Sanders. What I have written, that I have written, and farther I will not accuſe my ſelfe. Nothing have you to burden mee withall, for breaking of your lawes ſince they were in force.

Chan. Well, you be obſtinate, and refuſe liberty.

A lawfull requeſt, but it could not be heard.

Sand. My Lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuch a price: but I beſeech your honours to be means to the Queenes Maieſty for ſuch a pardon for us, that wee may live and keepe our conſciences unclogged, and we ſhall live as moſt obedient

ſubiects

Anno 1555

ſubiects. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for my ſelf, that by Gods grace I will abide the moſt extremity that man may do againſt me, rather than to doe againſt my conſcience.

To live as the Scripture leadeth us, is not to live as we liſt.

The Papiſts deſire the pope, the proteſtants Chriſt only to be their head: Now which of theſe two be moſt like the Donatiſts?

Chan. Ah Sirra, you will live as you liſt. The Donatiſts did deſire to live in ſingularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth: no more be you, and that ſhall you underſtand within theſe ſeven dayes; and therefore away with him.

Sand. Welcome be it, whatſoever the will of God ſhall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The ſpirit of God reſt upon all your honours, Amen. This is the ſumme and form of my firſt examination, Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the Officers led him out of the place, and ſo ſtayed untill the reſt of his fellowes were likewiſe handled, that they might have them altogether to priſon. Laurence Saunders ſtanding among the Officers, ſeeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and ſpake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they did deſerve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to riſe again, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger faith, to confeſſe him to the end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, ſin, death, and the divell: ſo ſhould they retain the Lords favour and bleſſing.

M. Sanders freely preacheth Chriſt.

The ſecond examination here lacketh.

The copies of his other examinations and excommunication came to the hands of ſuch as do keep them ſtill in ſecret. But in them as he defended Chriſts cauſe ſtoutly; ſo warned he the Phariſaicall Biſhops and Papiſts of their hypocriſie and tyranny freely, and cleered himſelf of their uniuſt quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the ſecular power, he was brought by the Sheriffe of London to the priſon called the Counter, in his owne Pariſh in Breadſtreet: whereat he reioyced greatly, both becauſe hee found there a fellow priſoner, M. Cardmaker, with whom he had chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Pariſhioners; as by his letter hereafter ſhall be declared.

M. Sanders delivered to the ſecular power.

M. Sanders degraded by B. Boner.

The fourth day of February, the Biſhop of London did come to the priſon where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, Laurence Sanders ſaid to him, I thank God I am none of your Church.

M. Sanders carried to Coventry.

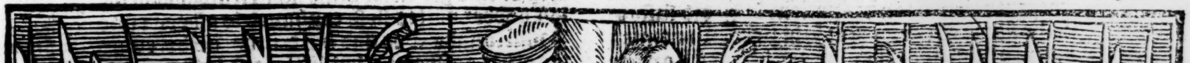
The day following in the morning, the Sheriff of London delivered him to certaine of the Queens Guard, which were appointed to carry him to the City of Coventry, there to be burned. The firſt night they came to S. Albons, where Maſter Grimoald (a man who had more ſtore of good gifts, than of great conſtancy) did ſpeake with him.

After Maſter Sanders had given him a leſſon meet for his lightneſſe, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if hee would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his ſhrugging and ſhrinking ſhewing what he was, ſaid; Of that cup which is in your hand I will pledge you: but of that other which you meane, I will not promiſe you. Well, ſaid Maſter Sanders, my deare Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweet Saviour? Yes, I hope.

A good Shoomaker of Coventry.

After they were come to Coventry, the ſame night a poore Shoomaker, which was wont to ſerve him of ſhooes, came to him after this manner, and ſaid; O my good Maſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoomaker, quoth Maſter Sanders, and I pray thee

The burning of Maſter Laurence Sanders at Coventry.


Welcome life.

to pray for me: for I am the unmeeteſt man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and deare Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame night he was put into the common Goale among other priſoners, where he ſlept little, but ſpent the night in prayer, and inſtructing of others.

M. Sanders put to the common Goale in Coventry.

February 8. M. Sanders brought to the place of execution.

The next day, which was the eighth of February, hee was led to the place of execution in the Park without the City, going in an old gowne and a ſhirt, bare-footed, and oft times fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer, appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to maſter Sanders, that he was one of them which marred the Queenes Realm with falſe doctrine and hereſie: wherefore thou haſt deſerved death, quoth he, but yet if thou wilt revoke thine hereſies, the Queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Maſter Sanders anſwered; it is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of Gods truth that have hurt the Queenes Realme, but it is your ſelfe, and ſuch as you are, which have alwaies reſiſted Gods holy word; it is you which have and do marre the Queenes Realme. I do hold no hereſies; but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this Tormentor cryed, Away with him. And away from him went M. Sanders with a merry courage towards the fire. Hee fell to the ground, and prayed: he roſe up again, and took the ſtake to which he ſhould be chained, in his armes, and kiſſed it, ſaying: Welcome the croſſe of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting life: and being faſtned to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetly he ſlept in the Lord.

Achab accuſeth Elias for troubling Iſrael.

A compariſon between Laurence Sanders & S. Laurence.

And thus have ye the full hiſtory of Laurence Sanders, whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the old Martyrs of Chriſts Church; both for the fervent zeale of the truth and Goſpell of Chriſt, and the moſt conſtant patience in his ſuffering, as alſo for the cruell torments that he in his patient body did ſuſtain in the flame of fire. For ſo his cruell enemies handled him, that they burned him with greene wood, and other ſmothering rather than burning fewell, which put him to much more paine, but that the grace and moſt plentifull conſolation of Chriſt, which never forſaketh his ſervants, and gave ſtrength to S. Laurence, gave alſo patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work againſt: which well appeared by his quiet ſtanding, and ſweet ſleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

Strength to ſtand in Chriſt commeth not of our ſelves, but it is the gift of God.

And to the intent to give the Reader to underſtand the better, what the grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſervants; and againe, how feeble and weak man is of himſelf without this grace given from above, though he ſeeme otherwiſe never ſo ſtout in himſelfe: here therefore have we added to the foreſaid ſtorie of Laurence Sanders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was betweene him and Doctor Pendleton, by the example whereof, ſuch as ſtand, may learne to underſtand to take heed with due feare, and not to bragge; to leane to the grace of the Lord, and not to preſume in themſelves.

A certaine communication betweene Laurence Sanders and Doctor Pendleton, in the beginning of Queene Maries time.

Talk between M. Sanders and Doctor Pendleton.

D. Pendleton a ſtout preacher of the Goſpell in King Edwards time.

AT the change of Religion in this Realme, and the beginning of Queen Maries reign, Doctor Pendleton and Maſter Sanders, men knowne to the world, not only to be learned, but alſo earneſt preachers of Gods word in the time of bleſſed King Edward, met together in the countrey, where by occaſion they were at that time, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon. Whereunto Maſter Sanders, whether through very frailty of his weake fleſh, that was loth to taſte the bitter cup, though his ſpirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the miſtruſt of his owne ſtrength, that hee might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the ſaid cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like; ſeemed ſo fearfull and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewd himſelf in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heeles, and to flye the land, rather than to ſticke to his profeſſion and abide by his tacle: ſo as Doctor Pendleton (who on the contrary ſide appeared not ſo big of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeale the ſame with his blood) took upon him to comfort M. Sanders all that he might, admoniſhing him, as he could do it very well, not to forſake cowardly his flock when he had moſt need to defend them from the Wolfe; neither having put his hand to Gods plough, to ſtart now aſide and give it over, nor yet (that is worſt of all) having once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either himſelf, or ſuffer others by his example to returne to their vomit againe.

M. Sanders timerous in Chriſts cauſe at the firſt beginning.

After which and ſuch like perſwaſions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What man, quoth he, there is a great deal more cauſe in me to be affraid than in you, foraſmuch as you ſee, I carry a greater maſſe of fleſh upon my backe than you doe, and being ſo laden with a heavier lumpe of this vile carkaſe, ought therefore of nature to be more fraile than you: and yet, ſaid he, I will ſee the uttermoſt drop of this greaſe of mine molten away, and the laſt gobbet of this fleſh conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake God and his truth. Whereunto the other anſwering but little, and wiſhing that almighty God would give him more ſtrength than he preſently felt in himſelf, acknowledging his own weaknes, conſented notwithſtanding, though it were ſomewhat faintly, to ioyne with him in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, and ſo to go up to London, and ſet forth the ſame: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

The ſtout brags of D. Pendleton at the firſt beginning.

God giveth ſtrength where feebleneſſe is confeſſed.

Now when they were come to London, Lord, what a great change was there betweene theſe two perſons! The poore feeble faint-hearted Sanders, by the goodneſſe of almighty God, taking heart of grace to him, ſeeking the ſame in humility, boldly and ſtoutly confirmed his flocke out of the Pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating downe Antichriſt, and luſtily preaching Chriſt his Maſter, for the which hee afterward ſuffered moſt willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other ſide, Pendleton the proud (who as it appeared by the ſequele, had beene more ſtout in words than conſtant in deedes, and a greater bragger than a good Warriour) followed Peter ſo iuſtly in crackes, howſoever he did in repentance (which god only knoweth) that he came not ſo ſoon to London but he changed his tippet, and plaied the Apoſtata, preaching in ſtead of ſound doctrine nothing almoſt but errours and lies, advancing Antichriſt, and overthrowing poore Chriſt with all his maine: ſo his former boldnes come to nothing, unleſſe it were a contrary key, becomming of a faithfull paſtor a falſe runnagate, and of a true preacher a ſworn enemy to Gods everlaſting Teſtament, to the

Example how feeble man is of himſelf, without the Lord ſupport him.

great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without Gods greater mercy, of his own ſoul. Wherein are ſpecially to bee conſidered the deepe and marvellous iudgements of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom it pleaſeth him, when he ſeeth his time, and moſt commonly ſuch as appeare moſt feeble: even ſo contrariwiſe, throweth hee down other ſome, ſeem they never ſo ſtout, ſtand they never ſo much in their owne conceits. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heed hee fall not, and let us pray continually to almighty God though we have faith, that he will help and increaſe our faith, that in him it may be made ſtrong, which of it ſelf is ſo weak, that it is ſoone overthrown.

He that ſtandeth let him take heed he fall not. Rom. 13.

This bleſſed man of God induring long time in priſon, did not paſſe all this time in unfruitfull idleneſſe, but ſtill from time to time did viſit his friends (as is ſaid) and eſpecially his wife, with many letters full of godly inſtruction and conſolation. All which letters it ſhall not bee greatly needfull here to inſert, partly becauſe they are to be found in the book of letters, partly becauſe we intend alſo (if God will) to proſecute the ſame more at large. In the meane time it ſhall not be out of place here preſently to comprehend certain of them as in order followeth.

M. Sanders diligent in writing letters out of priſon.

Read the book of letters of the Martyrs.

A Letter ſent to M. Farrar Biſhop of S. Davids, Doctor Taylor, Maſter Bradford, and M. Philpot.

A letter of M. Saunders ſent to Biſhop Ferrar, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and maſter Philpot.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, &c. Good fathers, and deare brethren, be thankfull unto our moſt gracious God, which hath preſerved us, and ſhall (I doubt not) from blaſpheming his bleſſed Name: yea, not only that, but alſo *Ex ore Iufantium & Lactantium perficiet laudem, &c. i.* Out of the mouths of very Babes and Sucklings ſhall be ſet forth his praiſe. They offer us (forſooth) our liberty and pardon, ſo that wee will riſe with them unto that faith which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, muſt be anſwered in haſte. They will not admit any needfull circumſtances, but all (as heretofore) moſt deteſtable and abominable. Riſe with them we muſt unto the unity. And pardon (ſay I) of me muſt not ſo dearely purchaſed. A pardon I deſire, to live with an unclogged conſcience. The Donatiſts (ſay they) ſought for ſuch ſingularity, but they were not meete to live in a commonwealth, no more be you, as you ſhall ſhortly underſtand. Wherefore away with him; yea, the time was named within this ſevennight. There be 12. houres in the day. Death ſhall be welcome (ſay I) as being looked for long ſince, and yet doe juſtice ye were beſt, for Abels blood cryed, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God ſave your Honours. Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah, *Puer ſum, neſcio loqui i.* I am a child, I cannot ſpeak. My brother P. ſhall ſhew you more herein. By him ſend mee word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backſide about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot ſtart out, we have ſuch out-walkers, but then will they be at dinner.

Pſal. 8.

Iohn 11.

Yours as you know, L. Sanders.

A Letter which Laurence Sanders did write to his wife, and others of the faithfull, after his condemnation to the fire, written the laſt of Ianuary, An. 1555. out of the Counter in Breadſtreet.

A comfortable letter of maſter Sanders to his wife and other of the faithfull flock

THe grace of Chriſt, with the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of the faith and a good conſcience, confirm and keep you for ever veſſels to Gods glory, Amen.

Oh, what worthy thankes can be given to our gracious God for his unmeaſurable mercies plentifully powred upon us? And I moſt unworthy wretch cannot but powre forth at this preſent, even from the bottome of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindneſſe towards ſo gracious a good God and loving Father. I beſeech you all, as for my other many ſins, ſo ſpecially for that ſin of my unthankfulneſſe, crave pardon for me in your earneſt prayers, commending me to Gods great mercies in Chriſt.

To number theſe mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the ſea, the ſands on the ſhore, the ſtarres in the ſkie. O my deare wife, and ye the reſt of my friends, reioyce with me, I ſay reioyce with thankſgiving for this my preſent promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifie my God, not only in my life, by my ſlow mouth and uncircumciſed lips, bearing witneſſe unto his truth, and alſo by my blood to ſeale the ſame, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true Church: And as yet I teſtifie unto you, that the comfort of my ſweet Chriſt doth drive from my fantaſie the feare of death. But if my deare husband Chriſt doth for my tryall leave me alone a little to my ſelf, alas, I know in what caſe I ſhall bee then: but if for my proofe hee doe ſo, yet I am ſure he will not be long or far from me. Though he ſtand behind the wall and hide himſelfe (as Salomon ſaith in his myſticall Ballet) yet will he peep in by a creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Ioſeph: though he ſpeak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage to his beſt beloved brother Beniamin: yet can he not contain himſelfe from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our neckes, and ſweetly kiſſing us. Such, ſuch a brother is our Chriſt unto all. Wherefore haſten to goe unto him as Iacob did with his ſons and family, leaving their countrey and acquaintance. Yea, this our Ioſeph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the Infidell ſhall miniſter unto us chariots, wherein at eaſe we may bee carried to come unto him: as wee have experience how our very adverſaries doe helpe us unto our everlaſting bliſſe by their ſpeedy diſpatch; yea, and how all things have beene helpings hereunto; bleſſed bee our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lye in the way. Feare rather the everlaſting fire: feare the ſerpent which hath that deadly ſting, of which by bodily death they ſhal be brought to taſte which are not grafted in Chriſt, wanting faith and a good conſcience, and ſo are not acquainted with Chriſt the killer of death. But oh my deare wife and friends, we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkneſſe, and hath tranſlated us into the Kingdome of his deare Sonne, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new; even our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his wiſedome, holineſſe, righteouſnes, and redemption, we, I ſay, have to triumph againſt the terrible ſpitefull Serpent the divell, ſinne, hell, death, and damnation. For Chriſt our brazen Serpent hath pulled away the ſting of this Serpent, ſo that now we may boldly, in beholding it ſpoiled of his ſting triumph, and with our Chriſt and all his elect ſay; Death, where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (Vs) the victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

The ſweet comfort of Chriſt taketh away the feare of death from Sanders. Cant. 22.

Ioſephs handling of his brethren applyed to Chriſt

Chriſt a ſweet brother unto us

The ſting of death pluckt out. 1 Cor. 15.

Wherefore be merry my deare wife and all my deare fellow heires of the everlaſting Kingdome, alwaies remember the Lord. Reioyce in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the ſlaughter, that wee may be unto our heavenly father a fat offering, and an acceptable ſacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let theſe few words be a witneſſe of commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith: and namely unto my flock, among whom I am reſident by Gods providence, but as a priſoner.

To this his flock the pariſh of Alhallowes in Breadſtreet he wrote alſo a fruitfull letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romiſh religion, and conſtantly to ſtick to the truth which they had confeſſed.

And although I am not ſo among them, as I have beene to preach to them out of a Pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my impriſonment and captivity which now I ſuffer among them for Chriſts Goſpell ſake, bidding them to beware of the Romiſh Antichriſtian religion and kingdome, requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Chriſt, which is ſhortly to bee ſealed with the blood of their Paſtor: who though hee bee unworthy of ſuch a miniſtery, yet Chriſt their high paſtour is to be regarded, whoſe truth hath beene taught them by me, is witneſſed by my chaines, and ſhall be by my death, through the power of that high Paſtor. Bee not carefull good wife, caſt your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I doe you and our Samuel; whom, even at the ſtake, I will offer as my ſelf unto God. Fare ye well all in Chriſt, in hope to be joyned with you in joy everlaſting. This hope is put up in my boſome, Amen, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

Another Letter to Miſtris Lucie Harrington, a godly Gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.

Another comfortable letter of maſter Sanders.

YOur moſt gentle commendations, whereof this meſſenger made remembrance unto mee, was for two cauſes very comfortable: Firſt, for that thereby I underſtood of the ſtate of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thankes unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will daily ſay, Amen. And further, I was refreſhed by the expreſſing of your mindfull friendſhip towards mee farre unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occaſion of much rejoycing in our ſo gracious a God and mercifull Father, who as he hath in his unmeaſurable mercy by faith handfaſted us his choſen children unto his deare Sonne our Chriſt, as the ſpirituall ſpouſe of ſuch an heavenly Husband: ſo he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readineſſe to doe good one to another: ſo that firſt to the glory of our God and his Chriſt, then to our owne joying in the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and laſt of all to the ſtopping of the mouthes and confuſion of our adverſaries, wee beare the badge as the right ſpouſe of our Chriſt, which himſelfe noted in this ſaying; Herein ſhall all men know that yee bee my Diſciples, if yee love one another. Then farther by this bond of mutuall love is ſet forth the fatherly providence of God toward us his children; that though it bee hee that careth for us, in whom wee live, move, and bee, who feedeth all fleſh with bodily ſuſtenance, yet hath hee appointed us in theſe preſent neceſſities to ſtand in his ſtead one unto another. Wherein is not only ſet forth our dignity, but alſo that unſpeakable accord and unity among us the many members of his myſticall body. And though that either for lacke of ability, or elſe through diſtance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another doe faile: yet wonderfull is the working of Gods children through the ſpirit of prayer as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Chriſt their celeſtiall head by his ſpirit, to be meaſured ſeverally as may ſerve to the maintenance of the whole body.

The true badge of Chriſt. John 13.

Thus doth our faithfull prayer, which we make one for another, diſtribute and ſcatter Gods bountifull bleſſings both ghoſtly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arme may not reach forth ſuch Gods riches. According hereunto I well perceive and underſtand your readineſſe to do good unto all, and eſpecially I have experience of your ready good will towards me in your hearty deſire to ſtretch out your helping hand to relieve my lacke; and of your helpe to be extended to me in the other ſpirituall ſort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as alſo therein aſſure you of my helpe, being all that I may do, and yet the ſame not ſo much as I would do.

John 15. Prayer diſtributeth Gods bleſſings from one to another.

My need concerning bodily neceſſaries is as yet furniſhed by Gods proviſion, ſo that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make mee worthy to be his witneſſe at this preſent, in giving this corruptible body to burne for the teſtimony of his truth, it is enough for me to ſay to you that I have a poore wife and child whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know for my ſake you will tender when I am departed hence, &c.

Another Letter to Miſtreſſe Lucie Harrington.

Another letter of M. Sanders.

GRace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter bringeth with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb, and even then chiefly, when there is moſt eager purpoſe of ſpeaking, ſilence doth ſuppreſſe, and cauſeth the party ſo affected unperfectly to expreſſe that hee goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feele I ſometimes in my ſelf, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our moſt gracious God and heavenly father, beſtowed upon us in the merits of Chriſt our Saviour, who may by conceit of mind comprehend, paſſing indeed all underſtanding: much leſſe may the ſame by any meanes bee expreſly uttered. And as ſuch heavenly bleſſings which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, ſo is it hard to utter, when the faithfull are ſet on fire by love, their readineſſe to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas) we carry this treaſure in earthen veſſels. Many times faith is feeble, and then love loſeth her fervour. Pray we therefore, Lord increaſe our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortall thanks be given unto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed upon us the firſt fruits of his ſpirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And (as S. Paul ſaith) ſeeing we have the ſame ſpirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have ſpoken: wee alſo believe, and therefore we ſpeak. Yea, God knoweth, this ſpirit putteth in us a mind to ſpeak, but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moſes to ſay; O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed and of uncircumciſed lips: and with Jeremy, O Lord, I cannot ſpeake.

2. Cor. 4. Faith many times in us is feeble.

Rom. 8. 2 Cor. 4.

Exod. 8. Ier. 1.

Albeit that this infancy reſtraineth the opening of ſuch abundance of heart in my tender chriſtian dutie to be declared towards you, yet I beſeech you, let this be ſetled in your underſtanding; that as S. Paul expreſſeth unto his Corinthians that they were in his heart either to live or to dye, with many other ſuch ſayings

uttered

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uttered unto them and the Galathians, expreſſing his vehement affection towards them: ſo in ſome part I would be like affected towards all Gods children, and eſpecially towards you whom I know in Chriſt, and to whom I will not ſay how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendſhip and tender good will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompence you, which may worthily with the more countervaile the ſame, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankfull duty in us. And becauſe of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make my ſelfe thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my ſaid poore wife I mean, to be unto her a mother and miſtreſſe to rule and direct her by your diſcreet counſell. I know ſhee conceiveth of you the ſame that I doe, and is thankfull unto God with me for ſuch a friend; and therfore I beſeech you even for Chriſts ſake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thankes be to God, neither I, neither ſhe have any ſuch extreeme neede: if we had, I would be as bold with you as mine owne mother, I beſeech you give my hearty ſalutations unto Maſter Fitz-williams, and my good Lady, with thanks alſo for my poore wife and child, the Lord recompence them.

M. Saunders commendeth the care of his wife to miſtreſſe Harrington.

L. Sanders.

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little childe, the ſame is lively ſet forth in another letter which he did write to his wife: wherein he admoniſhed her that ſhee ſhould not reſort much to the priſon where he was, for danger of trouble that might inſue, the tenour of whoſe letter here followeth.

Another letter to his wife, with a certain remembrance to Maſter Harrington, and Maſter Hurland.

Another letter of M. Sanders to his wife.

GRace and comfort, &c. Wife, you ſhall doe beſt not to come often unto the grate where the Porter may ſee you. Put not your ſelfe in danger where it needs not: you ſhall, I thinke, ſhortly come farre enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conſcience: which (deare wife) I truſt you do not ſlacke to make reckoning and account upon, by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of Gods moſt holy word, being the ſuſtenance of the ſoul, and alſo by giving your ſelfe to humble prayer: for theſe two things be the very meanes how to be made members of our Chriſt, meet to inherit his kingdome.

Doe this, deare wife, in earneſt, and not leaving off, and ſo we two ſhall with our Chriſt and all his choſen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlaſting immortality, whereas here will nothing elſe bee found but extreme miſery, even of them which moſt greedily ſeeke this worldly wealth: and ſo, if wee two continue Gods children graffed in our Chriſt, the ſame Gods bleſſing which wee receive ſhall alſo ſettle upon our Samuel. Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leave the poore Infant (to our ſeeming) at all adventures, yet ſhall hee have our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſaid, and he cannot lye; I will be thy God, ſaith he and the God of thy ſeed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderneſſe deſtitute of all helpe, being called of God to doe his will, either to dye for the confeſſion of Chriſt, either any work of obedience: that God which heard the cry of the little poore infant of Agar Sarahs hand-maiden, and did ſuccour it, will do the like to the child of you or any other fearing him, and putting your truſt in him.

And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times let us call for it and wee ſhall have the increaſe both of it, and alſo of any other good grace needfull for us: and be merry in God, in whom alſo I am very merry and joyfull. O Lord, what great cauſe of rejoycing have wee, to thinke upon that Kingdome, which he voucheth ſafe for his Chriſts ſake freely to give us, forſaking our ſelves and following him? Deare wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our croſſe and follow him; and then as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhall we reigne with him everlaſtingly, Shortly, Amen.

Care of children in time of neceſſity ought to be left to God, who will not ſee them forſaken.

What it is to follow Chriſt.

Another letter to his wife, to M. Robert Harrington and maſter Hurland, &c.

Another letter of M. Sanders to his wife and other friends.

GRace and comfort, &c. Deare wife, rejoyce in our gracious God, and his and our Chriſt; and give thankes moſt humbly and heartily to him for this daies worke, that in any part I moſt unworthy wretch ſhould be made worthy to beare witneſſe unto his everlaſting verity, which Antichriſt with his, by maine force (I perceive) and by moſt impudent pride and boaſting will goe about to ſuppreſſe. Remember God alway my deare wife, and ſo ſhall Gods bleſſing light upon you and our Samuel. O remember alway my words for Chriſts ſake, be merry, and grudge not againſt God, and pray, pray. We be all merry here thankes be unto our God, who in his Chriſt hath given us great cauſe to bee merry, by whom he hath prepared for us ſuch a kingdome, and doth and will give unto us ſome little taſte therof, even in this life, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to take it. Bleſſed (ſaith our Chriſt) be they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſnes, for ſuch ſhall be ſatiſfied. Let us goe, yea, let us run to ſeeke ſuch treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to finde ſuch riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My deare friends and brethren, Maſter Harrington and Maſter Hurland, pray, pray, Spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma, that is, The ſpirit is ready, but the fleſh is weake. When I look upon my ſelfe, Quid ego ſtupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, niſi illud Petri, Exi a me Domine, quia homo peccator ſum? i. Being aſtoniſhed and confounded, what have I elſe to ſay but thoſe words of Peter, Lord goe from me, for I am a ſinfull man? But then feele I that ſweet comfort, Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen ſemitis meis, & hæc mea eſt conſolatio in humilitate mea, i. The word of the Lord is a lanterne unto my feet, and a light unto my pathes; and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then ware I bold with the ſame Peter to ſay, Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitæ æternæ habes, i. Lord to whom ſhall we goe? thou haſt the words of everlaſting life. This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battailes, which the roote of unfaithfulneſſe, the which I feele in me, will moſt eagerly give unto my conſcience, when we come once to the combate. We be (I weene) within the ſound of the trumpe of our enemies. Play ye that be abroad the part of Moſes, Orantes in omni loco, ſuſtollentes puras manus, i. Praying in all places, lifting up pure hands, and Gods pleople ſhall prevaile: yea, our blood ſhall bee their perdition who doe moſt triumphantly ſpill it, and wee then being in the hands of our God, ſhall ſhine in his kingdome, and ſhall ſtand in great ſtedfaſtnes againſt them which have dealt extremely with us: And when theſe our enemies ſhall thus ſee us, they ſhall be vexed with horrible feare, and ſhall wonder at

Mat. 26.

Luke 5.

Pſal. 119.

Iohn 6.

1 Tim. 2.

Wiſd. 5.

the haſtineſſe of the ſudden health; and ſhall ſay with themſelves, having inward ſorrow and mourning for very anguiſh of minde: Theſe are they whom we ſometime had in deriſion and jeſted upon: wee fooles thought their lives to bee very madneſſe, and their end to be without honour, but loe how they are accounted among the children of God, The bleſſing of God be with you all, &c.

Wiſd. 5.

Laurence Sanders.

To his wife a little before his burning.

A letter of Laurence Sanders to his wife.

He writeth for a ſhirt wherein he ſhould be burned.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Deare wife, be merry in the mercies of our Chriſt, and ye alſo my deare friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We bee ſhortly to bee diſpatched hence unto our good Chriſt, Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you ſent me my ſhirt, which you know whereunto it is conſecrated. Let it be ſowed downe on both ſides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, looke upon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or elſe I ſhall not be able to abide thy countenance; ſuch is my filthines. He will doe ſo, and therefore I will not be affraid what ſin, death, hell, and damnation can do againſt me. O wife, alwaies remember the Lord. God bleſſe you, yea, he will bleſſe thee, good wife, and thy poore boy alſo: only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray.

Another letter to M. Robert and Iohn Glover, written the ſame morning that he was burnt.

GRace and conſolation in our ſweet Saviour Chriſt. Oh my deare brethren whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you alſo in the Lord, be merry and reioyce for mee, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I my ſelfe indeed am moſt unworthy of, but my deare Chriſt is worthy, who hath purchaſed the ſame for mee with ſo dear a price. Make haſt my dear brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry, eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis, i. with that joy which no man ſhall take from us. O wretched ſinner that I am, not thankfull unto this my father, who hath vouchſafed mee worthy to be a veſſell unto his honour. But O Lord now accept my thankes, though they proceed out of a not enough circumciſed heart. Salute my good ſiſters your wives, and good ſiſters feare the Lord, Salute all other that love us in the truth. Gods bleſſing bee with you alwaies. Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt ſacrifice. O my Chriſt help, or elſe I periſh.

Laurence Sanders.

After theſe godly letters of M. Sanders diverſly diſperſed and ſent abroad to divers of the faithfull congregation of Chriſt, as is afore to be ſeen, now in the latter end we will adioyne two other letters not written by M. Sanders the Martyr, but by Maſter Ed. Sanders the Iuſtice his brother, ſent to this our Sanders in priſon, although containing no great matter worthy to be knowne, yet to this intent that the Reader may ſee in theſe two brethren ſo ioyned in nature, and ſo divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly ſaying; Brother ſhall be againſt brother, &c. as by the contents of theſe two letters following may appeare.

Mat. 10.

A Letter of Iuſtice Sanders to his brother Laurence.

A letter of Iuſtice Sanders to Laurence Sanders his brother.

AFter my moſt hearty commendations, theſe beene to aſcertaine you, that I have ſpoken with Maſter Baſſet, who hath ſhewed me, that foure pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the Prebendary at Yorke, the which you ſhall have, although as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reaſon of your deprivation before it was due. As concerning your conſcience in religion, I beſeech God it may be lightned by the holy Ghoſt, and that you may alſo have the grace of the holy Ghoſt to follow the counſell of Saint Paul to Timoth. 2. Rectè tractare verbum veritatis, that is, To handle rightly the word of truth. Wherein you diſſenting from many holy and catholike men, eſpecially in the ſacrament, it maketh mee in my conſcience to condemne yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to reade Peter Martyr, and other ſuch &c. Yet have I had great deſire to ſee Theophylact and divers others of this ſort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit bee to be given to the writings of our ancient Fathers before us) and ſurely the ſentences and iudgements of two or three of them have more confirmed my conſcience, than 300 of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans can or ſhould doe. Thus in haſte willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert, if you ſhall neede towards your finding, if you ſhall require it of me, you ſhall unfainedly finde my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſend us all things good for us. Scribled this Thurſday by your brother and petitioner to God.

Iuſtice ſaith, Audi alteram partem.

Ed. Sanders.

Another letter of Iuſtice Sanders to his brother, wherein he ſeeketh to winne him to Poperie.

Greeting with proteſtation.

AS nature and brotherly love with godly charity requireth, I ſend you by theſe letters (quantum licet) moſt hearty commendation, being ſorry for your fault and your diſobedient handling of your ſelfe towards my Lord Chancellor, who, I aſſure you, mindeth your good and preſervation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you have not had with you of late ſome learned men to talke with you by my Lord Chancellors appointment, and how you can frame your ſelfe to reforme your errour in the opinion of the moſt bleſſed and our moſt comfortable ſacrament of the altar. Wherein I aſſure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this preſent, uſing to my great comfort hearing of Maſſe, and ſomewhat before the ſacring time, the meditation of S. Bernard, ſet forth in the third leafe of this preſent booke. The accuſtomable uſing whereof I am fully profeſſed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confeſſion of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c. or Latimer, &c. for that the antiquity, the univerſality of the open Church, and the conſent of all Saints and Doctors doe confirme the ſame, aſcertaining you, that I have been earneſtly moved in mine owne conſcience theſe ten or twelve days paſt, and alſo betweene God and my ſelfe, to move you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſiring you, and as you tender my naturall, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would reade over this book this holy time, at my requeſt, although you have already ſeen it, and let me know wherein you cannot ſatisfie your owne conſcience. Thus fare you well for this time.

He meaneth peradventure when the ſanctus is ſinging, for then the Organs pipe merrily, and that may give ſome comfort. The meditations of S. Bernard ſent by Iuſtice Sanders to his brother.

By yours, from Serjeants Inne,
Ed. Sanders.

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The life and martyrdome of Maſter Iohn Hooper Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, burnt for the defence of the Goſpell at Gloceſter, An. 1555.

Febr. 9.

The ſtory, life, & martyrdome of M. Iohn Hooper martyr.

JOhn Hooper Student and Graduate in the Univerſity of Oxford, after the ſtudy of the Sciences, wherein hee had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods ſecret vocation was ſtirred with fervent deſire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading and ſearching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joyned with earneſt prayer: ſo neither wanted unto him the grace of the holy Ghoſt to ſatiſfie his deſire, and to open unto him the light of true Divinity.

Thus M. Hooper growing more and more, by Gods grace, in ripeneſſe of ſpirituall underſtanding, and ſhewing withall ſome ſparckles of his fervent ſpirit, being then about the begining of the ſix Articles, in the time of King Henry the eighth, fell eftſoones into diſpleaſure and hatred of certain Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtirre coales againſt him, whereby, and eſpecially by the procurement of Doctor Smith, he was compelled to voide the Univerſity, and ſo removing from thence, was retained in the houſe of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his Steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no caſe did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the perſon and conditions of the man, found the meanes to ſend him in a meſſage to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, writing his letter privily to the Biſhop, by conference of learning to doe ſome good upon him, but in any caſe requiring him to ſend home his ſervant to him againe.

M. Hooper ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter after long conference with maſter Hooper, foure or five dayes together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to M. Arundels requeſt, hee ſent home his ſervant againe, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breſt a grudging ſtomack againſt M. Hooper ſtill.

M. Hooper forced to avoid the houſe of ſir Thomas Arundell.

M. Hooper flieth out of England.

It followed not long after this, as malice is alwaies working miſchiefe, that intelligence was given to maſter Hooper to provide for himſelfe, for danger that was working againſt him. Whereupon maſter Hooper leaving maſter Arundels houſe, and borrowing an horſe of a certaine friend (whoſe life he had ſaved a little before from the gallowes) tooke his journey to the Sea ſide to goe to France, ſending backe the horſe againe by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Maſter Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in ſhort time returned into England againe, and was retained of maſter Sentlow, till the time that he was againe moleſted and laid for: whereby hee was compelled (under the pretence of being Captain of a ſhip going to Ireland) to take the ſeas, and ſo eſcaped he (although not without extreme perill of drowning) through France to the higher parts of Germany. Where he, entring acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Baſil, and eſpecially at Zurick of Maſter Bullinger, being his ſingular friend. Where alſo hee married his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applyed very ſtudiouſly the Hebrew tongue.

Great friendſhip between M. Bullinger & M. Hooper.

At length, when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloudy time of the ſixe Articles, and to give us King Edward to reigne over this Realm, with ſome peace and reſt unto the Goſpell, amongſt many other Engliſh exiles, which then repaired homeward, maſter Hooper alſo, moved in conſcience, thought not to abſent himſelfe, but ſeeing ſuch a time and occaſion, offered to help forward the Lords worke, to the uttermoſt of his ability. And ſo comming to Maſter Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurick, (as duty required) to give them thankes for their ſingular kindneſſe and humanity toward him manifold waies declared, with like humanity again purpoſed to take his leave of them at his departing, and ſo did. Unto whom M. Bullinger again (who had alwaies a ſpeciall favour to maſter Hooper) ſpake on this wiſe; M. Hooper, ſaid he, although we are ſorry to part with your company for our owne cauſe, yet much greater cauſes we have to rejoyce, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſts true religion, that you ſhall now returne out of long baniſhment into your native countrey again, where not only you may enjoy your owne private liberty, but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſts Church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it ſhall.

M. Bullingers words to maſter Hooper at his departing from Zurich.

Another cauſe moreover why we rejoyce with you and for you, is this, that you ſhall remove not only out of exile into liberty: but you ſhall leave here a barren, a ſowre, and an unpleaſant countrey, rude and ſavage, and ſhall goe into a land flowing with milke and honey, repleniſhed with all pleaſure and fertility. Notwithſtanding with this our rejoycing one feare and care wee have, leſt you being abſent, and ſo farre diſtant from us, or elſe comming to ſuch abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flouriſhing honours, where ye ſhall come peradventure to bee a Biſhop, and where ye ſhall finde ſo many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and welwillers. Nevertheleſſe, howſoever you ſhall forget and ſhake us off, yet this perſwade your ſelfe, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow M. Hooper. And if you will pleaſe not to forget us againe, then I pray you let us heare from you.

The anſwer of M. Hooper to M. Bullinger.

Whereunto M. Hooper anſwering again, firſt gave to maſter Bullinger and the reſt right hearty thankes, for that their ſingular good will, and undeſerved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover that as the principall cauſe of his removing to his countrey was the matter of religion; ſo touching the unpleaſantnes and barrennes of that countrey of theirs, there was no cauſe therein, why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as ſoon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his owne native countrey, if there were nothing elſe in his conſcience that moved him ſo to doe. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends, although, ſaid hee, the remembrance of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had bleſſed his countrey of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of countrey, nor pleaſure of commodities, nor newneſſe of friends ſhould ever induce him to the oblivion of ſuch friends and benefactors, whom hee was ſo intirely bound unto: and therefore you ſhall be ſure, ſaid he from time to time to heare from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the laſt newes of all I ſhall not be able to write: for there, ſaid he, (taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I ſhall take moſt paines, there ſhall you heare of mee to bee burned to aſhes; and that ſhall be the laſt newes, which I ſhall not be able to write unto you, but you ſhall heare of me, &c.

M. Hooper propheſieth of himſelfe.

To this alſo may bee added another like propheticall demonſtration, fore-ſhewing before the manner of his martyrdome wherewith he ſhould glorifie God, which was this: When Maſter Hooper being made Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter ſhould have his armes given him by the Herald, as the manner is here in England, every Biſhop to have his Armes aſſigned unto him (whether by the appointment of M. Hooper, or by the Herald, I have not certainly to ſay) but the Armes which were to him allotted was this: A Lamb in a fiery buſh, and the Sun beams from heaven deſcended down upon the Lamb, rightly denoting, as it ſeemed, the order of his ſuffering, which afterward followed.

A note of maſter Hoopers Armes preſignifying his Martyrdome.

But now to the purpoſe of our ſtory againe. Thus when M. Hooper had taken his farewell of M. Bullenger and his friends in Zurick, hee made his repaire again into England in the reigne of King Edward the ſixth, where he coming to London uſed continually to preach, moſt times twice, at leaſt once every day, and never failed.

M. Hooper returneth againe into England.

In his Sermons, according to his accuſtomed manner, he corrected ſinne, and ſharply inveighed againſt the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the Church: the people in great flockes and companies daily came to heare his voice, as the moſt melodious ſound and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the Proverbe ſaith: Inſomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the Church would be ſo full, that none could enter further than the dores thereof. In his doctrine he was earneſt, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in paines indefatigable.

The notable diligence of M. Hooper in preaching.

Moreover, beſides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, ſo he continued ſtill unto his lives end. For neither could his labour and paine-taking breake him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was ſo pure and good, that no kind of ſlander (although divers went about to reprove it) could faſten any fault upon him. Hee was of body ſtrong, his health whole and ſound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to ſuſtaine whatſoever ſiniſter fortune and adverſity could doe. He was conſtant of judgement, a good Juſtice, ſpare of diet, ſparer of words, and ſpareſt of time. In houſ-keeping very liberall, and ſometime more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all thoſe vertues and qualities required of S. Paul in a good Biſhop, in his Epiſtle to Timothy, I know not one in this good Biſhop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk alwayes a certain ſevere and grave grace, which might peradventure bee wiſhed ſometime to have been a little more popular and vulgarlike in him; but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelf.

The ſingular vertues of maſter Hooper deſcribed.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizen, and to mee not unknowne, which having in himſelfe a certaine conflict of conſcience, came to his dore for counſell, but being abaſhed at his auſtere behaviour durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking remedy of his troubled mind at other mens hands, which hee afterward by the helpe of almighty God did find and obtaine. Therefore in my judgement, ſuch as are appointed and made governours over the flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their life, manners, countenance, and externall behaviour, as neither they ſhew themſelves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor on the other ſide again, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple flock of Chriſt. Neverthelеſſe as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, ſo this diſpoſition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was exceſſive, neither did hee beare that parſonage that was in him, without great conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common ſort ought to be chaſtened, not only with words and diſcipline, but alſo with the grave and ſevere countenance of good men.

Direction how Miniſters and Preachers ought to behave themſelves.

After hee had thus practiſed himſelfe in this popular and common kinde of preaching: at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the Kings Majeſty, and ſoon after made Biſhop of Gloceſter by the Kings commandement. In that office he continued two yeeres and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and ſharpe correcting of ſin) could find no fault with him; and after that hee was made biſhop of Worceſter.

M. Hooper made biſhop of Gloceſter and Worceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unluckie contention concerning the ordering and conſecration of Biſhops, and of their apparell, with ſuch other like trifles, began to diſturbe the good and luckie beginning of the godly Biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion that begun in the Church of England, beſides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they uſed to weare ſuch garments and apparell as the Popiſh Biſhops were wont to doe: Firſt a Chymere, and under that a white Rochet, then a Mathematicall cap with foure Angles, dividing the whole world into foure parts. Theſe trifles, tending more to ſuperſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he bee perſwaded to weare them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the Kings Majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his Highneſſe, either to diſcharge him of the Biſhopricke, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremoniall orders. Whoſe petition the King granted immediately, writing his letter to the Archbiſhop after this tenour.

A popiſh attire

The Kings letters or grant for the diſpenſation of Iohn Hooper elected Biſhop of Gloceſter, written to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Biſhops.

Right reverend father, and right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our Councell, have called and choſen our right welbeloved and well worthy, M. Iohn Hooper, profeſſor of divinity, to be our Biſhop of Gloceſter, as well for his great Knowledge, deepe judgement, and long ſtudy both in the Scriptures and other prophane learning, as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and honeſt life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving ſubjects, which are in his ſaid charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from conſecrating of whom we underſtand you doe ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit and let paſſe certaine rites and ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby yee thinke ye ſhould fall in Premunire of Lawes; we have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures you ſhould run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therefore.

The Kings letter to the Archbiſhop in behalfe of maſter Hooper.

Yeoven under our ſignet at our Caſtle
of Windſor, the 5. of Auguſt, the
4. yeere of our reigne.

Ed. Somerſet.

7

Ed. Somerſet. W. Paget.
W. Wiltſhire. An. Wingfield.
W. North. N. Wooton.

Beſides this letter of the King, alſo the Earle of Warwick (which was afterward Duke of Northumberland) adioyned his letter to the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury to this purpoſe and effect, that M. Hooper might not be burdened with the oath uſed then commonly in the conſecration of Biſhops, which was againſt his conſcience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be ſeene, as followeth.

A letter of the Earle of Warwick to the Archbiſhop in the behalfe of M. Hooper.

After my moſt hearty commendations to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord elect of Glocester, craveth to be borne withall at your hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your graces favour, the rather at this my inſtance: which thing partly, I have taken in hand by the Kings Majeſties own motion. The matter is weighed by his highneſſe, none other but that your grace may facily condeſcend unto. The principall cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid bearer with an oath burdenous to his conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Weſtminſter the 23. of Iuly, 1550.

Your graces moſt aſſured loving friend,

I. Warwick.

Both this grant of the King, and alſo the Earles letters aforeſaid notwithſtanding, the Biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the defence of the aforeſaid ceremonies, ſaying it was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the things, and not in the things themſelves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubborne in ſo light a matter, and that his wilfulneſſe therein was not to be ſuffered.

The Kings requeſt nor the Earles could take effect.

Diſcord about rituall garments of Churchmen. M. Hooper faine to agree to the Biſhops. M. Hooper compelled to preach before the King in Biſhops apparell.

To be ſhort, whileſt both parties thus contended about this matter more than reaſon would, in the meane time occaſion was given, as to the true Chriſtians to lament, ſo to the adverſaries to reioyce. In concluſion, this Theologicall contention came to this end, that the Biſhops having the upper hand, Maſter Hooper was faine to agree to this condition, that ſometimes he ſhould in his Sermon ſhew himſelfe apparelled as the other Biſhops were. Wherfore, appointed to preach before the King, as a new Player in a ſtrange apparell, he cometh forth on the ſtage. His upper garment was a long ſcarlet Chymere downe to the foot, and under that a white linnen Rochet that covered all his ſhoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometricall, that is, a foure-ſquared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtrangeneſſe hereof was that day to that good Preacher, every man may eaſily iudge. But this private contumely and reproach in reſpect of the publike profit of the Church, which he onely ſought, he bare and ſuffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner, they, which tooke upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yeelded their private cauſe whatſoever it was to the publike concord and edifying of the Church: for no man in all the City was one haire the better for that hot contention.

The croſſe maketh peace.

I will name no body, partly for that his oppugners being afterwards ioyned in the moſt ſure bond of friendſhip with him, in one and for one cauſe ſuffered Martyrdome; and partly for that I commonly uſe, according to my accuſtomed manner, to keepe my pen from preſumptuous iudging of any perſon, yet I thought to note the thing for this conſideration, to admoniſh the Reader hereby how wholſome and neceſſary the croſſe of Chriſt is ſometime in the Church of Chriſt, as by the ſequele hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a civill governance and common wealth, nothing is more occaſion of warre, than overmuch peace: ſo in the Church and among Churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietneſſe, ſo nothing more ceaſeth private contentions oftentimes riſing amongſt them, than the publike croſſe of perſecution.

The falls and infirmities of holy Saints and Martyrs left for our conſolation.

Furthermore, ſo I perſwaded my ſelfe, the ſame not to be unexpedient, to have extant ſuch examples of holy and bleſſed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publike conſolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foule diſſention betweene Paul and Barnabie; of the fall of Peter, and of Davids murder and adultery: why may or ſhould it not be as well profitable for our poſterity, to heare and know the fals of theſe godly Martyrs, whereby we may the leſſe deſpaire in our infirmity, conſidering the ſame or greater infirmities to reigne in the holy Saints of God, both Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs?

Note how diſcord and reconciliation happeneth many times amongſt good men.

And thus by the way thou haſt heard, good Reader, hitherto the weakeneſſe of theſe good men, plainly and ſimply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may miniſter occaſion to us either of eſchewing the like, or elſe to take heart and comfort in the like fall and fraileneſſe of ours. Now againe on the other part it remaineth to record, after the foreſaid diſcord, the godly reconciliations of theſe good men in time of perſecution, who afterward, being in priſon for the truths ſake, reconciled themſelves againe with moſt godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter ſent by B. Ridley to the ſaid Biſhop of Gloceſter. The copie whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth tranſlated into Engliſh.

To my deare brother and reverend fellow
Elder in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper, grace
and peace.

A letter of reconciliation ſent by D. Ridley to Biſhop Hooper.

My dearely beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeech you, that hitherto ſince your captivity and mine, I have not ſaluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confeſſe, I have received from you (ſuch was your gentleneſſe) two letters at ſundry times: but yet at ſuch time as I could not be ſuffered to write unto you againe; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might ſafely come unto your hands. But now, my deare brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeene, that we throughly agree and wholly conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantiall points of our Religion, againſt the which the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our dayes, howſoever in time paſt by certaine by-matters and circumſtances of Religion, your wiſdome and my ſimplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his owne ſenſe and judgement; now, I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witneſſe, in the bowels of Chriſt I love you in the truth, and for the truths ſake, which abideth in us, and as I am perſwaded ſhall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

1 Cor. 10.

And becauſe the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily conſpireth againſt Chriſt our Saviour, with all poſſible force and power, Exalting high things againſt the knowledge of God; let us joyne hands together

B. Ridley and B. Hooper ioyne hands together.

together in Chriſt, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lyeth, let us ſhake thoſe high altitudes, not with carnall, but with ſpirituall weapons: and withall brother, let us prepare our ſelves to the day of our diſſolution, by the which, after the ſhort time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt we ſhall triumph together with him in eternall glory.

I pray you brother ſalute in my name your reverend fellow priſoner, and venerable father, D. C. by whom ſince the firſt day that I heard of his moſt godly and fatherly conſtancy, in confeſſing the truth of the Goſpell, I have conceived great conſolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightneſſe of that man, his gravity and innocency all England I think hath knowne long ago. Bleſſed be God therefore, which in ſuch abundance of iniquity and decay of all godlineſſe, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, ſuch a witneſſe for the truth of his Goſpell. Miſerable and hard hearted is he, whom the godlineſſe and conſtant confeſſion of ſo worthy, ſo grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confeſſe the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me againe: for I ſtand much in feare, leſt your letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheleſſe know you, that it ſhall be to me great joy to heare of your conſtancy and fortitude in the Lords quarrell. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, ſent unto you my minde touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwiſe perſwaded: I ſee me thinks ſo many perils, whereby I am earneſtly moved to counſell you not to haſten the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially under the title of your owne name. For I feare greatly leſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the reſt of the priſoners, whereby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord my moſt deare brother; and if there be any moe in priſon with you for Chriſts cauſe, I beſeech you, as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I doe moſt humbly and heartily commend my ſelfe and my fellow priſoners and concaptives in the Lord, and yet once againe, and for ever in Chriſt, my moſt deare brother, farewell.

N. Ridley.

M. Hoper, after all theſe tumults and vexations ſuſtained about his inveſting and Prieſtly veſtures, at length entring into his dioceſſe, did there imploy his time which the Lord lent him under King Edwards reigne, with ſuch diligence, as may be a ſpectacle to all Biſhops, which ſhall ever hereafter ſucceed him, not only in that place, but in whatſoever Dioceſſe through the whole realme of England: ſo carefull was he in his Cure, that he left neither paines untaken nor wayes unſought, how to traine up the flock of Chriſt in the true word of ſalvation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotions ſake, to aſpire to Biſhopricks, ſome hunting for them, and ſome purchaſing or buying them, as men uſe to purchaſe Lordſhips, and when they have them are loth to leave them; and thereupon alſo loth to commit that thing by worldly lawes, whereby to loſe them.

The diligent care of B. Hooper in his dioceſſe.

To this ſort of men M. Hoper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gaine, labouring alwayes to ſave and preſerve the ſoules of his flock. Who, being Biſhop of two Dioceſſes, ſo ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No Father in his houſhold, no Gardiner in his garden, nor huſbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his Dioceſſe amongſt his flock, going about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

M. Hooper B. of two Dioceſſes.

That time that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed either in hearing publike cauſes, or elſe in private ſtudy, prayer, and viſiting of ſchooles: with his continuall doctrine he adioyned due and diſcreet correction, not ſo much ſevere to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy ſtate, thought they might do what they liſted. And doubtleſſe he ſpared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poore, to the great ſhame of no ſmall number of men now adayes. Whereof many we ſee ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and rich men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner ſort of poore people, whom Chriſt hath bought as dearely as the other.

M. Hooper a light to all Churchmen.

But now againe we will returne our talk to M. Hoper, all whoſe life in fine was ſuch, that to the Church and all Churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the reſt a perpetuall leſſon and ſermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Biſhop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them which were evill, ſo yet the worſt of them all could not reprove his life in any one iot.

The order and governance of M. Hoopers houſe.

I have now declared his uſage and behaviour abroad in the publike affaires of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no leſſe example of a worthy Prelats life. For although he beſtowed and converted the moſt part of his care upon the publike flocke and congregation of Chriſt, for the which alſo he ſpent his blood: yet nevertheleſſe there lacked no proviſion in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; inſomuch that ye could not diſcerne whether he deſerved more praiſe for his fatherly uſage at home, or for his biſhoplike doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion in one uniforme doctrine and integrity. So that if you entred into the Biſhops Palace, you would ſuppoſe your ſelfe to have entred into ſome Church or Temple. In every corner thereof there was ſome ſmell of vertue, good example, honeſt converſation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to bee ſeene in his houſe any courtly ryoting or idleneſſe: no pomp at all, no diſhoneſt word, no ſwearing could there be heard.

The care of M. Hooper in inſtructing his family.

As for the revenues of both his Biſhopricks, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing ſurmounted thereof, he purſed nothing, but beſtowed it in hoſpitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his houſe in Worceſter, where in his common hall I ſaw a table ſpread with good ſtore of meat, and beſet full of beggers and poore folke: and I aſking his ſervants what this meant, they told me that every day their Lord and Maſters manner was, to have cuſtomably to dinner a certain number of poore folke of the ſaid City by courſe, who were ſerved by foure at a meſſe, with whole and wholeſome meats: and when they were ſerved (being afore examined by him or his deputies of the Lords prayer, the Articles of their faith, and ten Commandements) then he himſelf ſate down to dinner, and not before.

The hoſpitality of M. Hooper.

After this ſort and manner M. Hoper executed the office of a moſt carefull and vigilant Paſtor, by the ſpace of two years & more, ſo long as the

M. Hooper called up to London at Queene Maries comming in.

the ſtate of religion in K. Edwards time did ſafely flouriſh and take place: and would God that all other Biſhops would uſe the like diligence, care, and obſervance in their function. After this, K. Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned Queene of England, Religion being ſubverted and changed, this good Biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a purſevant to be at London, and that for two cauſes:

Two cauſes why M. Hooper was called up.

Firſt, to anſwer to D. Heath then appointed Biſhop of that Dioceſſe, who was before in King Edwards dayes deprived thereof for Papiſtry.

Secondarily, to render account to D. Boner Biſhop of London, for that he in King Edwards time was one of his accuſers, in that he ſhewed himſelfe not conformable to ſuch ordinances as were preſcribed to him by the King and his Councell, openly at Pauls croſſe. And although the ſaid M. Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that ſhould happen towards him (for he was admoniſhed by certaine of his friends to get him away, and ſhift for himſelfe) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried ſtill, ſaying: Once I did flee, and take me to my feet, but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perſwaded to tarry, and to live and die with my ſheep.

M. Hooper refuſed to flie away.

M. Hooper commeth up to London.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the firſt of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforeſaid D. Heath and Boner, he was intecepted, and commanded violently againſt his wil to appeare before the Queene and her Councell, to anſwer to certaine bonds and obligations, wherein they ſaid he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Wincheſter by and by received him very opprobriouſly, and, railing and rating of him, accuſed him of Religion. He againe freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himſelf. But in fine it came to this concluſion, that by them he was commanded to ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cauſe of his impriſonment was only for certaine ſummes of money, for the which he was indebted to the Queene, and not for Religion.) This how falſe and untrue it was, ſhall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

M. Hooper charged to anſwer the queen for bonds of debt.

M. Hooper commanded to ward.

The next yeere, being 1554. the 19. of March, he was called againe to appeare before Wincheſter and other the Queenes Commiſſioners: where, what for the Biſhop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cauſe, he was deprived of his Biſhopricks. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be ſeen by the teſtimony and report of one, which, being preſent at the doing, committed the ſame to writing.

M. Hooper deprived of his Biſhopricks.

A letter or report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers deprivation from his Biſhopricks. Anno 1554. March 19.

A letter reporting the order of M. Hoopers deprivation.

FOrſomuch as a rumor is ſpread abroad of the talk had at my Lord Chancellours, between him with other Commiſſioners there appointed, and Maſter Hooper, cleane contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be riſen of malice, for the diſcrediting of the truth by falſe ſuggeſtions and evill reports, than otherwiſe: I thought it my duty, being preſent thereat my ſelfe, in writing to ſet forth the whole effect of the ſame: partly that the verity thereof may be knowne to the doubtfull people, and partly alſo to advertiſe them, how uncharitably Maſter Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humility uſed himſelfe towards them, deſiring that with patience he might have beene permitted to ſpeake, aſſuring all men, that where I ſtood in a mammering and doubt, which of theſe two Religions to have credited, either that ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, that dead is, or elſe that now maintained by the Queenes Majeſty, their unreverend behaviour towards Maſter Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they with railing and cruell words defended, conſidering that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this, which I have written here, was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true my ſelfe: ſo I appeale to all the hearers conſciences, that there were preſent (ſo they put affection away) for the witneſſe of the ſame.

The Biſhops of Wincheſter, of London, of Dureſme, of Landaffe, of Chicheſter, ſate as Commiſſioners.

Lord Chancellor.

AT Maſter Hoopers comming in; the Lord Chancellor aſked whether he was married.

M. Hooper examined before the commiſſioners.

Hooper. Yea my Lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.

Dureſme. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. That it is not, my Lord, except ye do againſt the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great ſpace: but as well the Commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch out-cries, and laughed, and uſed ſuch geſture as was unſeemly for the place, and for ſuch a matter. The Biſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Day, called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words, and ſcornefull countenance. B. Tonſtall called him beaſt; ſo did Smith, one of the Clerks of the Councell, and divers other that ſtood by. At length the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, that all men might live chaſte that would, and brought in this Text, Caſtraverunt ſe propter regnum cœlorum, That is, there be that have gelded themſelves for the Kingdome of heaven, Math. 19.

Bleſſed be you when they ſhall ſpeak all reviling words againſt you for my names ſake

Maſter Hooper ſaid, that Text proved not that all men could live chaſt, but ſuch only to whom it was given; and read that which goeth before in the Text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and ſcorning, with calling him beaſt, that the Text could not be examined. Then M. Hooper ſaid, that it did appeare by the old Canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto Prieſts, and named the Decrees. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But Biſhop Hooper ſaid, that booke was not it which he named.

Prieſts marriage not forbid by the old Canons.

Then cried out the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſaid; You ſhall not have any other, untill ye be judged by this. And then began ſuch a noiſe, tumult, and ſpeaking together of a great many that favoured not the cauſe, that nothing was done, ne ſpoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwards Judge Morgan began to raile at Maſter Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foule words of his doing at Glouceſter, in puniſhing of men, and ſaid, there was never ſuch a tyrant as he was. After that, D. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter ſaid, that the Councell of Ancyra, which was before the Councell of Nice, was againſt the marriage of Prieſts.

This Morgan ſhortly after fell into a frenzie and madneſſe, and died of the ſame.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the Councels.

Yes my Lord, quoth Maſter Hooper, and my

Lord

The Councell of Nice permitteth prieſts marriage.

Lord of Chicheſter Doctor Day knoweth, that the great Councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no Miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his wife. But ſuch clamours and cries were uſed, that the Councell of Nice was not ſeene.

After this long brutiſh talke, Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme asked M. Hooper, whether he beleeved the corporall preſence in the Sacrament. And M. Hooper ſaid plainly, that there was none ſuch, neither did he beleeve any ſuch thing.

The corporall preſence.

Then would the Biſhop of Dureſme have read out of a booke, for his purpoſe belike (what book it was, I cannot tell:) but there was ſuch a noiſe and confuſed talke on every ſide, that he did not read it. Then asked Wincheſter of M. Hooper, what authority moved him not to beleeve the corporall preſence? He ſaid, the authority of Gods word, and alledged this Text, Quem oportet cœlum ſuſcipere, uſque ad tempus reſtaurationis omnium: i. Whom heaven muſt hold untill the later day.

Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter would have made that Text have ſerved nothing for his purpoſe: and he ſaid, he might be in heaven, and in the Sacrament alſo.

Articles taken againſt maſter Hooper.

Maſter Hooper would have ſaid more to have opened the Text, but all men that ſtood next about the Biſhop, allowed ſo his ſaying with clamors and cries, that maſter Hooper was not permitted to ſay any more againſt the Biſhop. Whereupon they bade the Notaries write that he was married, and ſaid, that he would not goe from his wife, and that he beleeved not the corporall preſence in the Sacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his Biſhopricke.

This is the truth of the matter (as farre as I can truly remember) of the confuſed and troubleſome talk that was betweene them, and, except it were haſty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time. Atque hæc ille hactenus.

The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the Fleet, written with his owne hand the ſeventh of Ianuary 1554.

M. Hoopers report of his impriſonment in the Fleet.

The firſt of September, 1553. I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the priſon: and within ſixe dayes after I paid for my liberty five pounds ſterling to the Warden for fees: who, immediately upon the paiment thereof, complained unto Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo was I committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a yeere, in the Tower chamber of the Fleet, and uſed very extremely. Then by the meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeake with any of my friends: but as ſoone as dinner and ſupper was done, to repaire to my chamber againe. Notwithſtanding whileſt I came down thus to dinner and ſupper, the Warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

This good gentlewoman is thought to be miſtreſſe Wilkinſon.

Babington Warden of the Fleet, a wicked tyrant to Gods people.

After one quarter of a yeere and ſomewhat more, Babington the Warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked Maſſe: and thereupon the Warden reſorted to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and obtained to put me into the Wards where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of ſtraw and a rotten covering, with a ticke and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, untill by Gods meanes good people ſent me bedding to lie in. Of the one ſide of which priſon is the ſink and filth of the houſe, and on the other ſide the towne ditch, ſo that the ſtinch of the houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes.

The barbarous cruelty of the Warden of the Fleet.

During which time I have been ſick; and the doores, bars, haſps, and chaines being all cloſed, and made faſt upon me, I have mourned, called and cryed for helpe. But the Warden when hee hath known me many times ready to dye, and when the poore men of the Wards have called to helpe me, hath commanded the doores to be kept faſt, and charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying; Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongſt many other times, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553. as many can witneſſe.

I paid alwaies like a Baron to the ſaid Warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was 20. ſhillings a weeke, beſides my mans table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my Biſhoprick, and ſince that time I have payed him as the beſt Gentleman doth in his houſe; yet hath hee uſed mee worſe, and more vilely than the verieſt ſlave that ever came to the hall Commons.

W. Downton M. Hoopers man.

The ſaid Warden hath alſo impriſoned my man William Downton, and ſtripped him out of his clothes to ſearch for letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gave me their almes to relieve me in priſon; and to undoe them alſo, the Warden delivered the ſame bill unto the ſaid Steven Gardiner, Gods enemy and mine.

M. Hooper 18 moneths in priſon. Q. Mary indebted to M. Hooper.

I have ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteen moneths, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the Queene owing me by iuſt account 80. pounds or more. She hath put me in priſon, and giveth nothing to finde me, neither is there ſuffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman, ſo that I ſee no remedy (ſaving Gods helpe) but I ſhall bee caſt away in priſon before I come to iudgement. But I commit my iuſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be done, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himſelfe of this matter.

Another examination of M. Hooper.

M. Hooper againe convented before the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The xxii. of Ianuary following, 1555. Babington the Warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring M. Hooper before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with other Biſhops and Commiſſioners at the ſaid Wincheſters houſe at Saint Mary Overies, whereas in effect thus much was done.

Gardiner exhorteth M. Hooper to returne to the Popes church.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter in the name of himſelfe and the reſt, moved maſter Hooper earneſtly to forſake the evill and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the dayes of King Edward the ſixth, and to returne to the unity of the Catholike Church, and to acknowledge the Popes Holineſſe to be head of the ſame Church, according to the determination of the whole Parliament, promiſing, that as he himſelf, with other his brethren, had received the Popes bleſſing, and the Queenes mercy; even ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the Popes holineſſe.

The Pope not worthy to be a member of Chriſts church.

M. Hooper anſwered, that foraſmuch as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Chriſts Church, much leſſe to be head thereof, wherefore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped iuriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the Church, whereof they call him head, to bee the Catholike Church

Anno 1555

Church of Chriſt: for the Church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flieth the ſtrangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point, to me unknowne, I have offended the Queenes Maieſty, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to her mercy, if mercy may be had with ſafety of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

Q. Mary will ſhew no mercy but to the Popes friends.

Anſwer was made, that the Queene would ſhew no mercy to the Popes enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet againe: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former chamber into another, neere unto the Wardens owne chamber, where he remained vi. daies: and in the meane time, his former chamber was ſearched by D. Martin and others, for writings and bookes, which maſter Hooper was thought to have made, but none was found.

Here followeth another examination of Maſter Hooper.

Another examination of M. Hooper before the B. of Wincheſter and his fellowes.

THe 28. of January, Wincheſter and other the Commiſſioners ſate in iudgement at S. Mary Overies, whereas M. Hooper appeared before them at afternoone againe, and there, after much reaſoning and diſputation to and fro, he was commanded aſide, till M. Rogers (which was then come) had been likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffes of London were commanded, about foure of the clocke, to carry them to the Counter in Southwarke, there to remaine till the morrow at nine a clock, to ſee whether they would relent and come home againe to their catholike Church. So M. Hooper went before with one of the Sheriffes, and maſter Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the Church doore, maſter Hooper looked backe, and ſtayed a little till maſter Rogers drew neere, unto whom he ſaid; Come brother Rogers, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to frie theſe fagots? Yea ſir, ſaid maſter Rogers, by Gods grace. Doubt not, ſaid maſter Hooper, but God will give ſtrength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a preaſe of people in the ſtreets, which reioyced at their conſtancy, that they had much adoe to paſſe.

M. Hoopers words to maſter Rogers.

By the way the Sheriffe ſaid to M. Hooper, I wonder that ye were ſo haſty and quicke with my Lord Chancellor, and did uſe no more patience. He anſwered, maſter Sheriffe, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earneſt in my Maſters cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world onely, but alſo of the world to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Counter, and appointed to ſeverall chambers, with commandement that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

M. Hooper earneſt in his maſters cauſe.

Upon the next day following, the 29. of January, at the houre appointed they were brought againe by the Sheriffs before the ſaid Biſhop and Commiſſioners in the Church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talk, when they perceived that maſter Hooper would by no meanes condeſcend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, maſter Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner intreated, and ſo they delivered both of them to the ſecular power, the two Sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clinke, a priſon not far from the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, and there to remaine till night.

The third and laſt examination of maſter Hooper.

M. Hooper condemned.

When it was dark, maſter Hooper was led by one of the Sheriffes, with many bils and weapons, firſt thorow the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, and ſo over London Bridge, thorow the City to Newgate. And by the way ſome of the Sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the Coſtermongers candles, who uſe to ſit with lights in the ſtreets: either fearing of likelihood that the people would have made ſome attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had ſeen him go to that priſon; or elſe, being burdened with an evill conſcience, they thought darkneſſe to be a moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſineſſe.

Darkneſſe beſt for the Papiſts.

But notwithſtanding this device, the people having ſome foreknowledge of his comming, many of them came forth of their doores with lights, and ſaluted him, praiſing God for his conſtancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen him in the ſame to the end. Maſter Hooper paſſed by, and required the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for him, and ſo went thorow Cheapeſide to the place appointed, and was delivered as cloſe priſoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained ſix dayes, no body being permitted to come to him, or to talk with him, ſaving his keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appointed thereto.

The people reioycing at the conſtancy of maſter Hooper and maſter Rogers.

M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

During this time, Boner Biſhop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedſey, and Harpsfield, &c. reſorted divers times unto him, to aſſay if by any meanes they could perſwade him to relent, and become a member of their Antichriſtian Church. All the wayes they could deviſe, they attempted. For, beſides the diſputations and allegations of teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient writers wreſted to a wrong ſenſe, according to their accuſtomed manner, they uſed alſo all outward gentleneſſe and ſignifications of friendſhip, with many great proffers and promiſes of worldly commodities, not omitting alſo moſt grievous threatnings, if with gentleneſſe they could not prevaile, but they found him alwayes the ſame man, ſtedfaſt and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no meanes reclaime him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſwaſions and offers as they uſed for his converſion, then went they about by falſe rumors and reports of recantations (for it is well known, that they and their ſervants did ſpread it firſt abroad) to bring him and the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, out of credit with the people. So the brute being a little ſpread abroad, and beleeved of ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the Biſhop of London and others, it increaſed more, and at the laſt came to maſter Hoopers eares. Wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people ſhould give ſo light credit unto falſe rumors, having ſo ſimple a ground, as it may appeare by a letter which he wrote upon that occaſion, the copie whereof followeth.

B. Boner and his Chaplains reaſon with M. Hooper in priſon.

Falſe rumors of M. Hoopers recantation.

A letter of Maſter Hooper for the ſtopping of certaine falſe rumors ſpread abroad of his recantation.

THe grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with all them that unfainedly look for the coming of our Saviour Chriſt, Amen.

A purgation of M. Hooper againſt falſe rumors ſpread of his recantation

Deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my fellow priſoners for the cauſe of Gods Goſpell, I do much reioyce and give thanks unto God for your conſtancy and perſeverance in affliction, unto whom I wiſh continuance unto the end. And as I do reioyce in your faith and conſtancy in afflictions that be in priſon; even ſo do I mourne and lament to heare of our deare brethren that yet have not felt ſuch dangers for Gods truth, as we have, and doe feele, and be daily like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper, a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death (being in Newgate priſoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abiure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariſeth of this, that the Biſhop of London and his Chaplaines reſort unto me. Doubtleſſe, if our brethren were as godly as I could wiſh them, they would thinke, that in caſe I did refuſe to talke with them, they might have iuſt occaſion to ſay, that I were unlearned, and durſt not ſpeake with learned men, or elſe proud and diſdained to ſpeake with them. Therefore to avoid iuſt ſuſpicion of both, I have, and doe daily ſpeake with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wiſh all men to do as I do in this point. For I feare not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their comming.

The occaſion of this rumor how it riſeth.

Therefore, ye that may ſend to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and ſuffered great paines and impriſonment, and I thank God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortall man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report ſuch rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of ſuch as know not God truly. But yet the falſe report of weak brethren is a double croſſe. I wiſh you eternall ſalvation in Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continuall prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

Falſe reports a grievous croſſe.

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly will confirme the ſame by Gods grace with my blood. Forth of Newgate the ſecond of February, Anno 1554.

Your brother in Chriſt,
Iohn Hooper.

Upon munday morning the Biſhop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded maſter Hooper, the ſentence of which his degradation here followeth.

Degradatio Hooperi.

The ſentence of degradation againſt maſter Hooper.

IN nomine ✠ patris, ✠ filii, ✠ & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Quoniam per ſententiam definitivam à reverendo in Chriſto patre & Domino Stephano permiſſione divina, Winton. Epiſcopo in & contra te Iohannem Hooper Presbyterum, ſuæ juriſdictionis ratione hæreſis & delicti infra illius diœceſin Winton. notoriè commiſſi exiſtentem, nuper ritè & legitimè prolatam, conſtat ſufficienter & legitimè nobis Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, te præfatum Iohannem Hooper hæreticum manifeſtum & obſtinatum, ac pertinacem fuiſſe & eſſe, ac conſtat ſimiliter tanquam hæreticum hujuſmodi per dictam ſententiam pronunciatum & declaratum fuiſſe, majoriſque excommunicationis ſententia ob id innodatum & involutum ſimiliter eſſe, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum & degradandum, curiæque ſeculari ob demerita tua hujuſmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ ſententiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, & expreſſius liquet & apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus Epiſcopus London. antedictus, quia noſtra & univerſitatis etiam intereſt noſtras hic partes interponere, & vicariam operam mutuamque viciſſitudinem impendere, in cujus etiam diœceſi tu Iohannes Hooper per idem hæreſis crimen tunc & ſæpius, & ante & poſt commiſiſti, iſtis inquam & aliis prædictis attentis, & exequendo omni meliori & efficaciori modo, quo poſſumus, ſententiam prædictam, ſic ut præmittitur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites diœceſis noſtræ London. notoriè conſiſtens, & in hac parte culpabilis & tranſgreſſor etiam notoriè exiſtens, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati Iohannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac juſtitia id poſcente) duximus procedendum fore, ac ſic etiam realiter procedimus, ut deinde juxta juris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam conſuetam, te in Arca Eccleſiæ manere nolentem curiæ ſeculari, ritè & legitimè ac effectualiter tradere poſſumus. Quod ipſum ſic fieri debere, nos per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſive decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in his ſcriptis.

After the ſentence of degradation thus declared, now let us ſee the forme and manner of their degrading, which here alſo followeth. But firſt here is to be noted, that they, degrading this bleſſed Biſhop, did not proceed againſt him as againſt a Biſhop, but as only againſt a Prieſt, as they termed him; for ſuch as he was, theſe Baalamites accounted for no Biſhop.

Here followeth the forme and manner uſed in the degrading of B. Hooper.

The forme and manner of degrading Biſhop Hooper. Alexander Andrew Goaler of Newgate, a cruell enemy to Gods people.

THe fourth day of February, the yeere above mentioned, in the Chappell in Newgate, the Biſhop of London there ſitting with his Notary and certaine other witneſſes, came Alexander Andrew the Goaler, bringing with him maſter Hooper and maſter Rogers, being condemned before by the Chancellor: where the ſaid Biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the foreſaid Wincheſter, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, maſter Hooper and maſter Rogers, after this forme and manner: Firſt, he put upon them all the veſtures and ornaments belonging to a Prieſt, with all other things to the ſame order appertaining, as though (being reveſted) they ſhould ſolemnly execute their office. Thus they being apparelled and reveſted, the Biſhop beginneth to pluck off, firſt the uttermoſt veſture, and ſo by degree and order comming downe to the loweſt veſture, which they had only in taking Bennet and Collet; and ſo being ſtript and depoſed, he deprived them of all order, benefit and priviledge belonging to the Clergie; and conſequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared, the ſaid parties ſo degraded to be given perſonally to the ſecular power, as the Sheriffes being for that yeare, maſter Davy Woodrofe, and maſter William Cheſter: who, receiving firſt the ſaid maſter Rogers at the hands of the Biſhop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he ſuffered. The witneſſes there preſent were maſter Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, Robert Coſin, and Robert Willerton, Canons of Pauls, Thomas Mountague, and George How Clerks, Triſtram Swadocke, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

M. Hooper and M. Rogers degraded together.

Davy Woodroofe, and William Cheſter Sheriffes.

The ſame munday at night, being the 4. of February, his Keeper gave him an inkling that he ſhould be ſent to Glocester to ſuffer death, whereat he reioyced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praiſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend him amongſt the people,

M. Hooper glad that he ſhould ſuffer amongſt his own flock.

over

Anno 1555

over whom he was Paſtor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to performe the ſame to his glory: and immediately he ſent to his ſervants houſe for his boots, ſpurs and cloke, that he might be in a readines to ride when he ſhould be called.

M. Hooper carried to Gloceſter to be burned.

The next day following, about foure of the clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and ſearched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the Sheriffes of London and other their officers forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not farre from S. Dunſtans Church in Fleetſtreet, where ſixe of the Queenes Guard were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloceſter, there to be delivered unto the Sheriffe, who with the Lord Shandoys, M. Wicks, and other Commiſſioners, were appointed to ſee execution done. The which Guard brought him to the Angell, where he brake his faſt with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had uſed to do a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horſe, and leapt cheerfully on horſeback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he ſhould not be known, and ſo took his iourney ioyfully towards Gloceſter, and alwayes by the way the Guard learned of him where he was accuſtomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another Inne.

A woman of Ciceter confirmed by the conſtancy of M. Hooper, which railed at him before.

Upon the Thurſday following, he came to a towne in his Dioceſſe called Ciceter, xv. miles from Gloceſter, about eleven of the clock, and there dined at a womans houſe which had alwayes hated the truth, and ſpoken all evill ſhe could of M. Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cauſe of his comming, ſhewed him all the friendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with teares, confeſſing that ſhe before had often reported, that if he were put to the triall, he would not ſtand to his doctrine.

M. Hooper commeth to Gloceſter.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloceſter about five of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people aſſembled, which cried and lamented his eſtate: inſomuch that one of the Guard rode poſt into the towne, to require aid of the Maior and Sheriffes, fearing leſt he ſhould have beene taken from them. The Officers and their retinue repaired to the Gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keepe their houſes, &c. but there was no man that once gave any ſignification of any ſuch reſcue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingrams houſe in Gloceſter, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleep ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the Guard and others. After his firſt ſleep he continued all that night in prayer untill the morning, and then he deſired that he might goe into the next chamber (for the Guard were alſo in the chamber where he lay) that there being ſolitary he might pray and talk with God: ſo that all the day, ſaving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with ſuch as the Guard licenced to ſpeak with him, he beſtowed in prayer.

The quiet minde of M. Hooper in his troubles.

Amongſt other that ſpake with him, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Knight, was one. Who, ſeeming in times paſt his very friend, was then appointed by the Queenes letters to be one of the Commiſſioners, to ſee execution done upon him. M. Kingſtone being brought into the chamber found him at his prayers: and as ſoone as he ſaw M. Hooper, he burſt forth in teares. M. Hooper at the firſt bluſh knew him not. Then ſaid Maſter Kingſton, Why my Lord, do you not know me an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingſton?

Sir Anthony Kingſton commeth to maſter Hooper.

Yes M. Kingſton, I doe now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do praiſe God for the ſame.

Sir Anthony Kingſtons perſwaſions.

But I am ſorry to ſee you in this caſe; for as I underſtand you be come hither to die. But (alas) conſider that life is ſweet, and death is bitter. Therefore ſeeing life may be had, deſire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

M. Hooper replieth.

Indeed it is true M. Kingſton, I am come hither to end this life, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I will not gainſay the former truth that I have theretofore taught amongſt you in this Dioceſſe, and elſwhere; and I thank you for your friendly counſell, although it be not ſo friendly as I could have wiſhed it. True it is M. Kingſton, that death is bitter, and life is ſweet: but (alas) conſider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more ſweet. Therefore for the deſire and love I have to the one, and the terror and feare of the other; I do not ſo much regard this death, nor eſteem this life, but have ſetled my ſelfe, through the ſtrength of Gods holy Spirit, patiently to paſſe through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, deſiring you and others, in the meane time, to commend me to Gods mercy in your prayers.

Life compared with life, and death with death.

Sir Anthony Kingſton.

Well my Lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint yͧ to call me being a loſt child: and by your good inſtructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

Sir Anthony Kingſton converted by M. Hooper.

M. Hooper.

If you have had the grace ſo to do, I do highly praiſe God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his feare. After theſe and many other words the one took leave of the other, M. Kingſton with bitter tears, M. Hooper with tears alſo trickling down his cheeks. At which departure M. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had ſuſtained in priſon had not cauſed him to utter ſo much ſorrow.

A blinde boy commeth to M. Hooper

The ſame day in the afternoone, a blinde boy, after long interceſſion made to the Guard, obtained licence to be brought unto Maſter Hoopers ſpeech. The ſame boy not long afore had ſuffered impriſonment at Gloceſter for confeſſing of the truth. Maſter Hooper after he had examined him of his faith, and the cauſe of his impriſonment, beheld him ſtedfaſtly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) ſaid unto him: Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what conſideration he beſt knoweth: but he hath given thee another ſight much more precious, for he hath indued thy ſoule with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou loſe not that ſight, for then ſhouldeſt thou be blind both in body and ſoule.

Gods grace upon a blinde boy at Gloceſter.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very Papiſt and a wicked man, which appeared to be ſorry for M. Hoopers trouble, ſaying; Sir I am ſorry to ſee you thus. To ſee me? Why, ſaid he, art thou ſorry? To ſee you, ſaith the other, in this caſe. For I heare ſay you are come hither to die, for the which I am ſorry. Be ſorry for thy ſelf man, ſaid M. Hooper, and lament thine own wickedneſſe: for I am well, I thank God, & death to me for Chriſts ſake is welcome.

M. Hooper committed to the Sheriffes of Gloceſter.

The ſame night he was committed by the Guard, their commiſſion being then expired, unto the cuſtody of the Sheriffs of Gloceſter. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the Maior and Aldermen repaired to M. Hoopers lodging, and at the firſt meeting ſaluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom

The words of M. Hooper to the Maior and the Sheriffes of Gloceſter.

M Hoopers petition to the Sheriffes.

Hooper ſpake on this manner. Maſter Maior, I giue moſt hearty thankes to you, and to the reſt of your brethren, that you haue vouchſafed to take me a priſoner and a condemned man by the hand; whereby to my reioycing it is ſome deale apparent that your old loue and friendſhip towards me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the things I haue taught you in times paſt are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly King that dead is, appointed to be your Biſhop and Paſtor. For the which moſt true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I will not now account it falſhood and hereſie, as many other men do, I am ſent hither (as I am ſure you know) by the Queenes commandement, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my blood. And now Maſter Sheriffes, I underſtand by theſe good men, and my very friends (meaning the Guard) at whoſe hands I haue found ſo much favor and gentleneſſe by the way hitherward, as a priſoner could reaſonably require (for the which alſo I moſt heartily thank them) that I am committed to your cuſtody, as unto them that muſt ſee me brought to morrow to the place of execution. My requeſt therefore to you ſhall be onely, that there may be a quicke fire, ſhortly to make an end; and in the meane time I will be as obedient unto you, as your ſelves would wiſh. If you thinke I doe amiſſe in any thing, hold up your finger, and I haue done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die: for it is well knowne, I might haue had my life with worldly gaine: but as one willing to offer and giue my life for the truth, rather than to conſent to the wicked Papiſticall Religion of the Biſhop of Rome, receiued and ſet forth by the Magiſtrates in England, to Gods high diſpleaſure and diſhonour; and I truſt by Gods grace to morrow to die a faithfull ſeruant of God, and a true obedient ſubiect to the Queene.

The Guard ſpeaketh for M. Hooper.

M. Hooper ſpendeth the night in prayer.

Theſe and ſuch like words in effect uſed Maſter Hooper to the Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding the two Sheriffes went aſide to conſult, and were determined to haue lodged him in the common Goale of the towne called Northgate, if the Guard had not made earneſt interceſſion for him: who declared at large, how quietly, mildly and patiently he had behaued himſelfe in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keepe him well enough, and that they themſelues would rather take paines to watch with him, than that he ſhould be ſent to the common priſon. So it was determined at the length he ſhould ſtill remaine in Robert Ingrams houſe; and the Sheriffes and the Sergeants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that night themſelues. His deſire was that he might go to bed that night betimes, ſaying, that he had many things to remember: and ſo did at fiue of the clock, and ſlept one ſleepe ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the night in prayer. After he gate up in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitary till the houre of execution.

Sir John Bridges, L. Shandoys, Sir Edmund Bridges, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Commiſſioners.

About eight of the clocke came Sir John Bridges Lord Shandoys, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other Commiſſioners appointed to ſee execution done. At nine of the clock Maſter Hooper was willed to prepare himſelf to be in a readineſſe, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the Sheriffes, who were accompanied with bils, gleiues and weapons. When he ſaw the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the Sheriffs on this wiſe; Maſter Sheriffes (ſaid he) I am no traytor, neither needed you to haue made ſuch a buſineſſe to bring me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: for if ye had willed me, I would haue gone alone to the ſtake, and haue troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were aſſembled, being by eſtimation to the number of ſeuen thouſand (for it was market day, and many alſo came to ſee his behauiour towards death) he ſpake unto thoſe that were about him, ſaying; Alas, why be theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peraduenture they think to heare ſomething of me now, as they haue in times paſt, but alas ſpeech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well knowne unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God. Becauſe I will not now account the ſame to be hereſie and untruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me.

M. Hooper for preaching true doctrine put to death.

M. Hooper forbidden to ſpeak to the people.

His cheerfull going to death.

So he went forward led betweene the two Sheriffs (as it were a Lamb to the place of ſlaughter) in a gown of his hoſts, his hat upon his head, and a ſtaffe in his hand to ſtay himſelfe withall. For the griefe of the Sciatica, which he had taken in priſon, cauſed him ſomewhat to halt. All the way, being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeake, he could not be perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would ſomtimes lift up his eyes towards heauen, and looke very cheerfully upon ſuch as he knew: and he was neuer knowne, during the time of his being amongſt them, to looke with ſo cheerfull and ruddie a countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appointed where he ſhould die, ſmilingly he beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was neere unto the great Elme tree ouer againſt the Colledge of Prieſts, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houſes, and the boughs of the tree were repleniſhed with people; and in the chamber ouer the Colledge gate ſtood the Prieſts of the Colledge. Then kneeled he down (foraſmuch as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake unto the people) to prayer, and beckned ſixe or ſeuen times unto one whom he knew well, to heare the ſaid Prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (powring teares upon his ſhoulders and in his boſome) who gaue attentiue eares unto the ſame: the which prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued the ſpace of halfe an houre. Now after he was ſomwhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laid before him upon a ſtoole, with his pardon (or at the leaſtwiſe it was fained to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the ſight whereof he cried, If you loue my ſoule, away with it, if you loue my ſoule, away with it. The boxe being taken away, the Lord Shandoys ſaid, Seeing there is no remedy, diſpatch him quickly. M. Hooper ſaid, Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhip will giue me leaue to make an end of my prayers.

M. Hooper brought to the place of martyrdome.

M. Hooper refuſeth the Queens pardon.

Then ſaid the Lord Shandoys to Sir Edmund Bridges his ſonne, which gaue eare before to M. Hoopers prayer at his requeſt: Edmund, take heed that he doe nothing elſe but pray: if he do, tell me, and I ſhall quickly diſpatch him. Whiles this talk was, there ſtepped one or two uncalled, which heard him ſpeak theſe words following.

M. Hoopers prayer.

Lord, ſaid he, I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am ſwill and a ſinke of ſinne, but thou art a gracious God and a mercifull Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon mee moſt miſerable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine ineſtimable goodneſſe. Thou art aſcended into heaven, receive me hell to be partaker of thy joyes, where thou ſitteſt is equall glory with thy Father. For well knoweſt thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to ſuffer, and why the wicked do perſecute this thy poore ſervant; not for my ſinnes and tranſgreſſions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy bloud, and to the deniall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did pleaſe thee by thy holy Spirit to inſtruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poore wretch might (being thereto called) I have ſet forth to thy glory. And well ſeeſt thou, my Lord and God, what terrible paines and cruell torments be prepared for thy creature: ſuch, Lord, as without thy ſtrength none is able to beare, or patiently to paſſe. But all things, that are impoſſible with man, are poſſible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen me of thy goodneſſe, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or els aſſwage the terror of the paines, as ſhall ſeeme moſt to thy glory.

M. Hooper undreſſeth himſelfe to the fire.

As ſoone as the Maior had eſpied theſe men which made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be ſuffered to heare any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himſelfe to the ſtake, and put off his Hoſts gowne, and delivered it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to ſee it reſtored unto the owner, and put off the reſt of his geere, unto his doublet and hoſe, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffes would not permit that (ſuch was their greedineſſe) unto whoſe pleaſures (good man) he very obediently ſubmitted himſelfe; and his doublet, hoſe, and waſtcoat were taken off. Then being in his ſhirt, he took a point from his hoſe himſelfe, and truſſed his ſhirt betweene his legges, where he had a pound of gun-powder in a bladder, and under each arme the like quantity delivered him by the Guard. So deſiring the people to ſay the Lords prayer with him and to pray for him (who performed it with tears, during the time of his paines) he went up to the ſtake. Now when he was at the ſtake, three Irons, made to binde him to the ſtake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legges. But he refuſing them, ſaid, Ye haue no need thus to trouble your ſelves. For I doubt not, but God will give ſtrength ſufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailty and weakneſſe of the fleſh, but having aſſured confidence in Gods ſtrength, I am content ye do as ye ſhall think good.

M. Hooper bound to the ſtake.

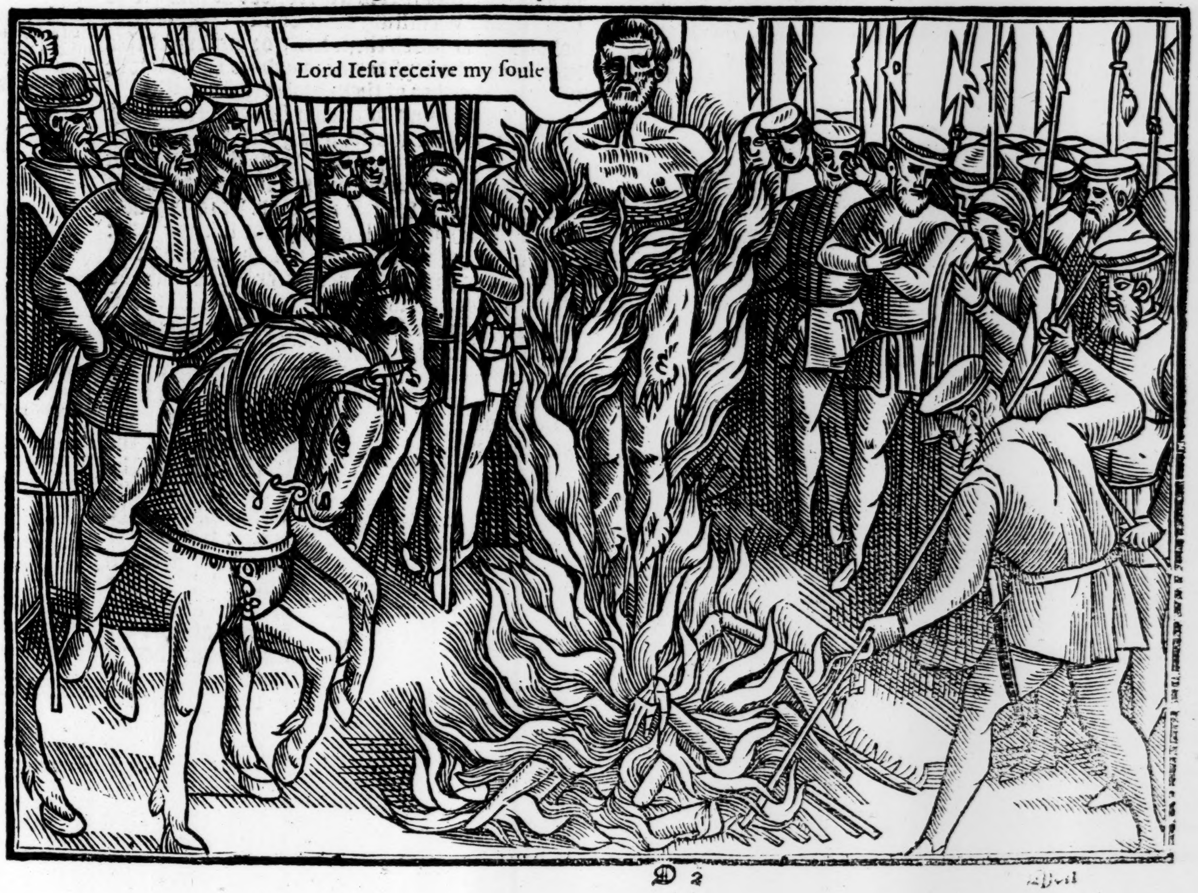
So the hoope of iron prepared for his middle, was brought, which being made ſomewhat too ſhort (for his belly was ſwolne with impriſonment) he ſhrank and put in his belly with his hand, untill it was faſtened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoopes of iron, he utterly refuſed them, and would have none, ſaying, I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.

The weeping of the people at M. Hoopers burning.

He forgiveth his executioner

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well ſeene (for he was both tall, and ſtood alſo on an high ſtoole) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be ſeene but weeping and ſorrowfull people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himſelfe. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aſke him forgiveneſſe. Of whom he aſked why he ſhould forgive him, ſaying, that he knew never any offence he had committed againſt him. O Sir (ſaid the man) I am appointed to make the fire. Therein (ſaid Maſter Hooper) thou doeſt nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy ſinnes, and doe thine office, I pray thee.

The burning of M. Iohn Hooper, at Gloceſter. Anno 1555. February 9.


Lord Ieſu receive my ſoule

Then the reeds were caſt up, and he received two bundles of them in his owne hands, imbraced them, kiſſed them, and put under either arme one of them, and ſhewed with his hand, how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, and pointed to place where any did lack.

Fire put to M. Hooper.

Anon commandement was given that the fire ſhould be ſet to, and ſo was. But becauſe there were put to no fewer greene fagots than two horſes could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while alſo before it tooke the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full ſtrength in that place (it was alſo a lowring & a cold morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in a maner no more but toucht by the fire.

A new fire made to Maſter Hooper.

Within a ſpace after, a few dry fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots (for there were no more reeds) and that burned at the neather parts, but had ſmall power above, becauſe of the wind, ſaving that it did burne his haire, and ſcorch his ſkin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the firſt flame, he prayed, ſaying mildly and not very lowd, (but as one without paines) O Ieſus the ſon of David have mercy upon me, and receive my ſoule. After the ſecond was ſpent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he ſaid with an indifferent lowd voice; For Gods love (good people) let me have more fire. And all this while his neather parts did burne: for the fagots were ſo few, that the flame did not burne ſtrongly at his upper parts.

M. Hooper called for more fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gun-powder brake, which did him ſmall good, they were ſo placed, and the wind had ſuch power. In the which fire he prayed with ſomewhat a lowd voice; Lord Ieſus have mercy upon me; Lord Ieſus have mercy upon me: Lord Ieſus receive my ſpirit. And theſe were the laſt words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue ſwolne, that he could not ſpeake, yet his lips went till they were ſhrunk to the gummes: and he knocked his breaſt with his hands, untill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers ends, untill by renewing of the fire his ſtrength was gone, and his hand did cleave faſt in knocking to the iron upon his breaſt. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yeelded up his ſpirit.

The laſt words of M. Hooper.

The bleſſed Martyr long tormented in the fire.

In clariſſimi Doctrina & Pietate viri Iohannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conradi Geſneri carmen.

AVreus Hoperus flammis invictus & igni,
Atque ſuum Chriſtum confeſſus ad ultima vitæ
Momenta, integritate ſua præclarus, & ardens
Exterius flammis, divinus Martyr: at intus
Eximio fidei fervore accenſus, ad aſtra
Spiritus aſcendit, cœleſti luce beatus.
In terris cinereſque manent, & fama coruſca,
Flammæ inſtar lucens, lucebit dum ſtabit orbis,
Vtcunque immanes Boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flatibus adverſis tam clarum abrumpere lumen
Nitantur fruſtra. Nam, quæ Deus ipſe ſecundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta ſed ultro
Et commenta ruunt, vaſtaque voragine ſidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot ſpiratis Ieſu
Doctrinam Chriſti, diſcrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, & voſmet rebus ſervare ſecundis
Diſcite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora; nec auris
Audiit ulla, oculus vel vidit, ſed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier unquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus ſervet ſua bona beatis.

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The patient end of this holy Martyr.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Even as a Lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any ſide: but having his neather parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed: and he now reigneth as a bleſſed Martyr, in the ioyes of heaven prepared for the faithfull in Chriſt, before the foundations of the world: for whoſe conſtancy all Chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A letter which M. Hooper did write out of priſon to certaine of his friends.

A letter exhortatory of Maſter Hooper to certaine of his friends.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the Parliament had concluded upon concerning Religion, ſuppreſſing the truth, and ſetting forth the untruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremity to forſweare themſelves, and to take again, for the head of the Church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will uſe force and extremity, which have beene the arguments to defend the Pope and Popery, ſince this authority firſt began in the world. But now is the time of triall, to ſee whether we feare more God or man. It was an eaſie thing to hold with Chriſt whiles the Prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true triall who be his.

The Popes religion ſtandeth only by force and extremity.

Wherefore in the name and in the vertue, ſtrength, and power of his holy Spirit, prepare your ſelves in any caſe to adverſity & conſtancy. Let us not run away when it is moſt time to fight. Remember none ſhalbe crownd, but ſuch as fight manfully: & he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. Ye muſt now turn all your cogitations from the perill you ſee, and mark the felicity that followeth the perill; either victory in this world of your enemies, or els a ſurrender of this life to inherit the everlaſting Kingdome. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or miſery of this world; for the conſideration and too earneſt love or feare of either of them draweth from God.

Neither the felicity nor the miſery of this world to be looked upon.

Wherfore think with your ſelves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good: but yet none otherwiſe than it ſtandeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet ſo farre forth, as by keeping of it we loſe not God. It is good abiding and tarrying ſtill among our friends here: but yet ſo, that we tarry not therewithall in Gods diſpleaſure, and hereafter dwell with the divels in fire everlaſting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, ſo that God, being above all things we have, be not loſt.

Adverſity compared with adverſity.

Of adverſity iudge the ſame. Impriſonment is painfull, but yet liberty upon evill conditions is more painfull. The priſons ſtink: but yet not ſo much as ſweet houſes, whereas the feare and true honor of God lacketh. I muſt be alone and ſolitary. It is better ſo to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loſſe of goods is great: but loſſe of Gods grace and favour is greater. I am a poore ſimple creature, and cannot tell how to anſwer before ſuch a great ſort of noble learned and wiſe men: it is better to make anſwer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to ſtand naked in the ſight of all heaven and earth before the iuſt God at the latter day. I ſhall die then by the hands of the cruell man: he is bleſſed that loſeth his life full of miſeries, and findeth the life of eternall ioyes. It is paine and griefe to depart from goods and friends: but yet not ſo much, as to depart from grace and heaven it ſelfe. Wherefore there is neither felicity

Antitheſis betwen ioyes and paines in this world and in the world to come.

nor

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nor adverſity of this world, that can appeare to be great, if it be weighed with the ioyes or pains in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you; doe the ſame for me, for Gods ſake. For my part (I thanke the heavenly Father) I have made mine accompts, and appointed my ſelfe unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, ſo I will by his grace. For Gods ſake, as ſoone as ye can, ſend my poore wife and children ſome letter from you, and my letter alſo which I ſent of late to D. As it was told me, ſhe never had letter from me ſithence the comming of M. S. unto her, the more to blame the meſſengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wiſe woman. If my meaning had been accompliſhed, ſhe ſhould have had neceſſary things: but what I meant, God can performe, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Iewell now and daintily kept, never ſo daintily: for neither mine owne man, nor any of the ſervants of the houſe may come to me, but my keeper alone: a ſimple rude man, God knoweth, but I am nothing carefull thereof. Fare you well. The 21. of Ianuary 1555.

M. Hoopers care and commendation of his wife.

Yours bounden, Iohn Hooper.

Amongſt many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembred in the hiſtory of Maſter Hooper, this alſo is not to be forgotten which happned betweene him, and a bragging Frier, a little after the beginning of his impriſonment: the ſtory whereof here followeth.

A Frier came from France to England with great vaunt, aſking who was the greateſt heretike in all England, thinking belike to doe ſome great act upon him. To whom anſwer was made; that Maſter Hooper had then the greateſt name to be the chiefeſt ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The Frier comming to him, aſked why he was committed to priſon. He ſaid for debt. Nay, ſaid he, it was for hereſie, which when the other had denied. What ſaiſt thou, quoth he, to Hoc eſt corpus meum? M. Hooper, being partly moved at the ſudden queſtion, deſired that he might aſk of him againe another queſtion, which was this: What remained after the conſecration in the Sacrament, any bread or no? No bread at all, ſaith he. And when ye break it, what do ye break; whether bread or the body, ſaid M. Hooper? No bread, ſaid the Frier, but the body onely. If ye do ſo, ſaid M. Hooper, ye do great iniury, not only to the body of Chriſt, but alſo ye break the Scriptures, which ſay; Ye ſhall not breake of him one bone, &c. With that the Frier, having nothing belike to anſwer, recoyled backe, and with his circles and croſſes began to uſe exorciſme againſt Maſter Hooper, as though, &c.

Talk between M. Hooper and a Frier in the priſon.

If the material body of Chriſt be broken in the ſacrament, then is the commandement of Gods word broken.

This and more wrote M. Hooper to Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon in a letter, which letter was read unto her by Iohn Kelke.

Compariſon between M. Hooper and Polycarpus.

A compariſon betweene M. Hooper and Polycarpus.

When I ſee and behold the great patience of theſe bleſſed Martyrs in our dayes, in their ſufferings ſo quietly and conſtantly abiding the torments that are miniſtred unto them of Princes for Gods cauſe: me thinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old Martyrs of the Primitive Church. In the number of whom, if compariſon be to be made betweene Saint and Saint, Martyr and Martyr: with whom might I match this bleſſed Martyr Iohn Hooper better, through the whole Catalogue of the old Martyrs, than with Polycarpus the ancient Biſhop of Smyrna, of whom Euſebius maketh mention in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory? For as both agreed together in one kinde of puniſhment, being both put to the fire, ſo which of them ſhewed more patience and conſtancy in the time of their ſuffering, it is hard to be ſaid. And though Polycarpus being ſet in the flame (as the ſtory ſaith) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was ſtriken down with weapon, and ſo diſpatched: yet Hooper by no leſſe miracle, armed with patience and fervent ſpirit of Gods comfort, ſo quietly deſpiſed the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarpus in the fire flaming round about him.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarpus when he ſhould have beene tied to the ſtake, he required to ſtand untied, ſaying theſe words: Sinite me, qui namque ignem ferre poſſe dedit, dabit etiam ut ſine veſtra clavorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam. That is, Let me alone I pray you, for he that gave me ſtrength to come to this fire, will alſo give me patience to abide in the ſame without your tying. So likewiſe Hooper, with the like ſpirit, when he ſhould have been tied with three chaines to the ſtake, requiring them to have no ſuch miſtruſt of him, was tied but with one; who if he had not been tied at all, yet (no doubt) would have no leſſe anſwered to that great patience of Polycarpus.

Of this Polycarpus read before.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, ſo the life of them both was ſuch, as might ſeeme not farre diſcrepant. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeale fervent, in life unſpotted, in manners and converſation inculpable, Biſhops and alſo Martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching ſo pithy and fruitfull, that as they both were ioyned together in one Spirit, ſo might they be ioyned in one name together of πολύκαρπος, to wit, much fruitfull; to which name alſo ὄπωρος is not much unlike. In this the martyrdome of M. Hooper may ſeeme in ſuffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdome of Polycarpus, for that he was both longer in priſon, and there alſo ſo cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old Martyrs ever ſuffered the like. To this alſo add how he was degraded by Boner, with ſuch contumelies and reproaches, as I think in Polycarpus time was not uſed to any.

M. Hooper compared to Polycarpus in life.

πολύκαρπος. ὄπωρος.

The cruell handling of M. Hooper.

And as we have hitherto compared theſe two good Martyrs together, ſo now if we ſhould compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we ſhould finde no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adverſaries of M. Hooper ſeemed to be more cruell and unmercifull. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet miniſtred to him a quick diſpatch, moved belike by ſome compaſſion not to have him ſtand in the torment: where the tormentors of M. Hooper ſuffered him without all compaſſion to ſtand three quarters of an houre in the fire. And as touching the chiefe doers and authors of his Martyrdome, what Conſull or Proconſull was there to be conferred with the Chancellor here, which brought this Martyr to burning? Let this ſuffice.

The enemies of M. Hooper and of Polycarpus compared together.

This good Biſhop and ſervant of God, being in priſon, wrote divers Books and Treatiſes, to the number of xxiiii. whereof ſome he wrote to the Parliament in Latine, and one to the Biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day: beſides he wrote of the Sacraments, of the Lords Prayer, and of the ten Commandements, with divers others.

Books and Treatiſes written by M. Hooper.

Here follow certaine of M.Hoopers letters.

More of his letters ye ſhall read in the book of letters of the martyrs.

As you have heard the whole ſtory of the life and martyrdome of this good man declared; ſo now let us conſequently adioyne ſome part of his letters, written in the time of his impriſonment, moſt fruitfull and worthy to be read, eſpecially in theſe dangerous dayes, of all true Chriſtians, which by true mortification ſeeke to ſerve and follow the Lord thorow all tempeſts and ſtormes of this malignant world, as by the reading and peruſing of the ſaid letters, you ſhall better feele and underſtand.

A letter of M.Hooper to certaine godly Profeſſors and lovers of the truth, inſtructing them how to behave themſelves in that wofull alteration and change of religion.

A letter of M.Hooper.

The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you my deare brethren, and with all thoſe that unfainedly love and imbrace his holy Goſpell. Amen.

The favourers of Gods word ſecluded out of the parliament both in the higher houſe and lower, againſt all right and reaſon.

It is told me, that the wicked Idol the Maſſe is eſtabliſhed againe by a law, and paſſed in the Parliament houſe. Learne the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the Act to ſuch as ſpeake againſt it: alſo whether there be any compulſion to conſtraine men to be at it. The ſtatute throughly known, ſuch as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themſelves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtleſſe there hath not beene ſeen before our time ſuch a Parliament as this is, that as many as were ſuſpected to be favourers of Gods word, ſhould be baniſhed out of both houſes. But we muſt give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his bleſſed ſervant K. Edward the ſixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor diſhonour it with idolatry; but that we may have ſtrength and patience rather to die ten times, than to deny him once. Bleſſed ſhall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to ſhed our blood for his names ſake: and bleſſed then ſhall we think the Parents which brought us into this world, that we ſhould from this mortality be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandement of S. Paul, that ſaith, If ye then be riſen againe with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God. We ſhall neither depart from the vaine tranſitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortall life, with ſo great paines as others do.

Coloſ. 3.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his bleſſed will, and the glorious ioy prepared for us in time to come, and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his bleſſed will, and alſo the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be uſed in this troubleſome time for your conſolation, than many times to have aſſemblies together of ſuch men and women as be of your religion in Chriſt, and there to take and renew amongſt your ſelves the truth of your religion, to ſee what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and conferre the dreames and falſe lies of the Preachers, that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by ſuch talk and familiar reſorting together, ye ſhall the better find out all their lyes that now go about to deceive you, and alſo both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requiſite, that the members of Chriſt comfort one another, make prayers together, conferre one with another; ſo ſhall ye be the ſtronger, and Gods ſpirit ſhall not be abſent from you, but in the middeſt of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all godly things, patient in adverſity, and ſtrong in perſecution.

He exhorteth the brethren to reſort and conferre among themſelves together.

Conference among brethren comfortable.

Ye ſee how the Congregation of the wicked by helping one another, make their wicked Religion and themſelves ſtrong againſt Gods truth and his people. If ye may have ſome learned man, that can out of the Scriptures ſpeake unto you of faith, and true honoring of God, alſo that can ſhew you the deſcent of Chriſts Church from the beginning of it untill this day, that ye may perceive by the life of our forefathers theſe two things: the one, that Chriſts words, which ſaid that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the world, be true: the other, that none of all his, before our time, eſcaped trouble; then ſhall ye perceive that it is but a folly for one that profeſſeth Chriſt truly, to looke for the love of the world.

John 16.

Thus ſhall ye learne to beare trouble, and to exerciſe your Religion, and feele indeed that Chriſts words be true, In the world ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And when ye ſhall feele your Religion in deed, ſay, We be no better than your forefathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy ſouldiers for this warre: and pray to God when ye come together, that he will uſe and order you and your doings in theſe three ends, which ye muſt take heed to: the firſt, that ye glorifie God; the next, that ye edifie the Church and Congregation; the third, that ye profit your owne ſoules.

Three things to be taken heed to.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet ſo bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not beare the name of Chriſt, without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perillous both for body and ſoule. Therefore of us Chriſt ſaid, Thinke ye when the ſonne of man commeth, he ſhall finde faith upon the earth? He ſaid not, Think ye he ſhall finde any man or woman chriſtened, and in name a Chriſtian: but he ſpake of the faith that ſaveth the Chriſtian man in Chriſt: and doubtleſſe the ſcarcity of faith is now more (and will, I feare, increaſe) than it was in the time of the greateſt tyrants that ever were; and no marvell why. Read the ſixth chapter of S. Johns Revelation, and ye ſhall perceive amongſt other things, that at the opening of the fourth Seale came out a pale horſe, and he that ſate upon him was called death, and hell followed him. This horſe is the time wherein Hypocrites and Diſſemblers entred into the Church under the pretence of true Religion, as Monks, Friers, Nunnes, Maſſing Prieſts, with ſuch others, that have killed more ſoules with hereſie and ſuperſtition, than all the tyrants that ever were killed bodies by fire, ſword, or baniſhment, as it appeareth by his name that ſitteth upon the horſe, who is called death: for all ſoules that love Chriſt, and truſt to theſe hypocrites, live to the Divell in everlaſting paine, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horſe which is hell.

Luke 18.

Faith more ſcarce now than in the old time under tyrants.

The pale horſe in the Apocalypſe, chap. 6. what it meaneth.

Moe ſoules ſlaine by Monks and Friers, &c. than bodies by tyrants.

Theſe pretenſed and pale hypocrites have ſtirred the earth-quakes, that is to wit, the Princes of the world, againſt Chriſts Church, and have alſo darkened the Sunne, and made the Moone bloody, and have cauſed the Starres to fall from Heaven, that is to ſay, have darkened with myſts, and daily do darken (as ye heare by their Sermons) the cleere Sun of Gods moſt pure word: the Moone which be Gods true Preachers, which fetch only light at the Sun of Gods word,

The 6. chapter of the Apocalyps opened.

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word, are turned into blood, priſons, and chains, that their light cannot ſhine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to paſſe, that the Stars, that is to ſay, Chriſtian people fall from heaven, that is to wit, from Gods moſt true word to hypocriſie, moſt diviliſh ſuperſtition and idolatry. Let ſome learned man ſhew you all the Articles of your beliefe and monument of Chriſtian faith, from the time of Chriſt hitherto, and ye ſhall perceive that there was never mention of ſuch Articles as theſe hypocrites teach. God bleſſe you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleet by your brother
in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

To Maſter Farrar Biſhop of S, Davies, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, priſoners in the Kings Bench in Southwark.

Another letter of M. Hooper.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertiſed by divers, as well ſuch as love the truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I ſhall be carried ſhortly to Cambridge, there to diſpute for the faith, and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that wee have and doe profeſſe. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not onely to goe to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer, by Gods help, death it ſelfe in the maintenance thereof. Weſton and his complices have obtained forth the commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he will put it in execution. Wherefore, deare brethren, I do advertiſe you of the thing before for divers cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth neer and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtifie before Gods enemies Gods truth. The next, that yee ſhould prepare your ſelvs the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what waies I think our ſelves were beſt to uſe in this matter, and alſo to heare of every one of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhall be Cenſors and Judges over us breath and thirſt for our blood, and whether we, by Gods help, evercome after the word of God, or by force and ſubtilty of our adverſaries be overcome, this will be the concluſion; our adverſaries will ſay, they overcome, and ye perceive how they report of thoſe great learned men and godly perſonages at Oxford.

Commiſſion given out for M. Hooper and other to diſpute at Cambridge.

The counſell of M. Hooper, how and upon what cautions to diſpute with the adverſaries

Wherefore I mind never to anſwer them, except I have bookes preſent, becauſe they uſe not only falſe allegation of the Doctors, but alſo a peece of the Doctors againſt the whole courſe of the Doctors mind. The next, that we may have ſworn Notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adverſaries will have the overſight of all things and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worſe than it was. Then if we ſee that two or three, or more will ſpeake together, or with ſcoffs and taunts illude and mock us: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeale, to be heard before the Queen and the whole Councell, and that would much ſet forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that bee indurate ſhould bee anſwered fully to their ſhame (I doubt not) although to our ſmart and blood ſhedding. For of this I am aſſured, that the Commiſſioners appointed to heare us and iudge us, meane nothing leſſe than to heare the cauſe indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cauſe, and be at a point already to give ſentence againſt us: ſo that if it were poſſible with Saint Stephen to ſpeake ſo that they could not reſiſt us, or to uſe ſuch ſilence and patience as Chriſt did, they will proceed to revenging.

Wherefore, my deare brethren, in the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to morrow; for ſhortly we ſhal be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeale, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witneſſe thereof, of ſuch as be preſent, and require for indifferency of hearing and iudgement, to bee heard either before the Queen and the Councell, or elſe before all the Parliament, as they were uſed in King Edwards dayes. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to anſwer. We have been priſoners now three quarters of a yeer, and have lacked our books, and our memories by cloſe keeping, and ingratitude of their parts, be not ſo preſent and quick as theirs be. I truſt God will bee with us, yea, I doubt not but hee will, and teach us to do all things in his cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our adverſaries, that ſhall be our Judges, may have their purpoſe, wee ſhall diſpute one day, be condemned the next day and ſuffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us (as far as I know) and ſo one of the Convocation houſe ſaid this week to Doctor Weſton. To whom Weſton made this anſwer; It forceth not (quoth he) for a law, we have commiſſion to proceed with them, when they bee diſpatched, let their friends ſue the law.

Note how the Papiſts proceed againſt all order and law.

Now how ſoon a man may have ſuch a a commiſſion at my Lord Chancellors hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an inditement for Chriſt at Caiphas hand. Beſides that the Biſhops having the Queen ſo upon their ſides, may doe all things both without the advice, and alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the Lords of the temporalitie: who at this preſent have found out the marke that the Biſhops ſhot at, and doubtleſſe be not pleaſed with their doings. I pray you helpe, that our brother Sanders and the reſt in the Marſhalſey may underſtand theſe things, and ſend me your anſwer betime. Iudas non dormit; nec ſcimus diem deque horam. Judas ſleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the houre. Dominus Ieſus Chriſtus ſuo ſancto numine nos omnes conſoletur & adjuvet. Amen. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt with his holy ſpirit comfort and ſtrengthen us all. Amen. May 6. An. 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death in
Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

An exhortation to patience, ſent to his godly wife Anne Hooper: whereby all the true members of Chriſt may take comfort and courage, to ſuffer trouble and affliction for the profeſſion of his holy Goſpell.

Mat. 18.
An effectuall letter of maſter Hooper ſent to his wife

OUr Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (dearely beloved, and my godly wife) in S. Matthewes Goſpel ſaid to his Diſciples, That it was neceſſary ſcandals ſhould come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of thoſe that ſhould periſh and be loſt for ever in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaved. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people ſhould contemne and neglect whatſoever true doctrine or godly ways ſhould be ſhewed unto them, or els receive and uſe it as they thought good to ſerve their pleaſures, without any profit to their ſouls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by Gods word or not; but would think it ſufficient to be counted to have the name of a Chriſtian man, with ſuch workes and fruits of his profeſſion and Chriſtianity, as his fathers and elders, after their cuſtoms

Mat. 24.

Rom. 1. 24.
1 Theſ. 2.

Errour taken for truth, and perſecution for Gods ſervice.

Iohn 8. 9.

ſtome and manner, eſteme and take to be good fruits and faithfull works, and will not try them by the word of God at all. Theſe men, by the iuſt iudgement of God, bee delivered unto the craft and ſubtilty of the divell, that they may be kept by one ſcandalous ſtumbling block or other, that they never come unto Chriſt, who came to ſave thoſe that were loſt; as ye may ſee how God delivereth wicked men up unto their owne luſts, to doe one miſchiefe after another, careleſſe, untill they come into a reprobate minde, that forgetteth it ſelf, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, becauſe they cloſe their eyes, and will not ſee the light of Gods word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they preferre their own vanities before the truth of Gods word. Where ſuch corrupt mindes be, there is alſo corrupt election and choiſe of Gods honour: ſo that the mind of man taketh falſhood for truth, ſuperſtition for true religion, death for life, damnation for ſalvation, hell for heaven, and perſecution of Chriſts members for Gods ſervice and honour. And as theſe men wilfully and voluntarily reiect the word of God; even ſo God moſt iuſtly delivereth them into the blindneſſe of minde and hardneſſe of heart, that they cannot underſtand, nor yet conſent to any thing that God would have preached, and ſet forth to his glory, after his owne will and word: therefore they hate it mortally, and of all things moſt deteſt Gods holy word. And as the Divell hath entred into their hearts, that they themſelves cannot nor will not come to Chriſt, to be inſtructed by his holy word: even ſo can they not abide any other man to be a Chriſtian man, and to leade his life after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute him, robbe him, impriſon him, yea, and kill him, whether he be man or woman, if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are theſe wicked men blinded, that they paſſe of no law, whether it be Gods or mans, but perſecute ſuch as never offended, yea, doe evill to thoſe that daily have prayed for them, and wiſh them Gods grace.

No reſpect of nature with the perſecuting adverſaries.

Mat. 18.

Gen. 21.
Gal. 4.

Luk. 21.
Patience in troubles, only the Chriſtian mans remedy.

In their Pharaonical and blind fury they have no reſpect to nature. For the brother perſecuteth the brother, the father the ſonne; and moſt deare friends, in divelliſh ſlander and offence, are become moſt mortall enemies. And no marvell; for when they have choſen ſundry maſters, the one the Divell, the other God, the one ſhall agree with the other, as God and the Divel agree betweene themſelves. For this cauſe (that the more part of the world doth chuſe to ſerve the divel under cloaked hypocriſie of Gods title) Chriſt ſaid, It is expedient and neceſſarie that ſcandals ſhould come, and many meanes bee deviſed to keep the little babes of Chriſt from the heavenly Father. But Chriſt ſaith, Woe be unto him by whom the offence commeth: Yet is there no remedy, man being of ſuch corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evill ſhall be deceived, and perſecute the good, and the good ſhall underſtand the truth, and ſuffer perſecution for it untill the worlds end. For as he that was borne after the fleſh, perſecuted in times paſt him that was borne after the ſpirit, even ſo it is now. Therefore forſomuch as we live in this life amongſt ſo many great perils and dangers, we muſt be wel aſſured by Gods word how to beare them, and how patiently to take them as they be ſent to us from God. We muſt alſo aſſure our ſelves, that there is no other remedy for Chriſtians in the time of trouble, than Chriſt himſelf hath appointed us. In S. Luke he giveth us this commandement, Yee ſhall poſſeſſe your lives in patience, ſaith he. In the which words hee giveth us both commandement what to do, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles. He ſheweth alſo what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and when troubles happen hee biddeth us be patient; and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecutors, becauſe God hath ſuch care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midſt of all troubles the very haires of our head, ſo that one of them ſhall not fall away without the will and pleaſure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair therfore tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the father. And ſeeing he hath ſuch care for the haires of our head, how much more doth he care for our life it ſelf? Wherefore let Gods adverſaries doe what they luſt, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their crueltie hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can bee no harme, no loſſe, neither deſtruction unto us, but rather gain wealth and felicity. For all troubles and adverſitie that chance to ſuch as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gaine and advantage.

Rom. 8.

Prayer neceſſary.
Iames 1.
1 Cor. 8. 1.

That the ſpirit of man may feel theſe conſolations, the giver of them the heavenly Father muſt bee prayed unto for the merits of Chriſts paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, untill it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with Gods ſpirit, to beare patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man ſeeth on every ſide ſorrow and heavines, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuch things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poore of that he hath, and alſo to take from him his life: except the man weigh theſe brittle and uncertain treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body with the life in Chriſts blood, and ſo for the love and certainty of the heavenly ioyes contemne all things preſent, doubtleſſe he ſhall never bee able to beare the loſſe of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

Coloſſ. 3.
A leſſon how to beare trouble.

Therefore S. Paul giveth a godly and neceſſary leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitory life, and therein ſheweth how a man may beſt beare the iniquities and troubles of this world; If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt (ſaith he) ſeek the things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Wherefore the Chriſtian mans faith muſt be alwaies upon the reſurrection of Chriſt when he is in trouble; and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not only ſee continual and perpetuall ioy and conſolation, but alſo the victory and triumph over all perſecution, trouble, ſin, death, hell, the divell, and all other tyrants and perſecutors of Chriſt and of Chriſts people, the teares and weepings of the faithfull dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortall in ioy, their ſoules for ever prayſing the Lord, and coniunction and ſociety everlaſting with the bleſſed company of Gods elect in perpetuall ioy. But the words of Saint Paul in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doe little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruell world.

Two things commanded by S. Paul writing to the Coloſſians.
The firſt is, to ſee and know what things are above, and what things are beneath, and to diſcerne rightly betweene them.

In this firſt part S. Paul commandeth us, to thinke or ſet our affections on things that are above. When he biddeth us ſeek the things that are above, he requireth that our mindes never ceaſe from prayer and ſtudy in Gods word, untill we ſee, know, and underſtand the vanities of this world, the ſhortneſſe and miſery of this life, and the treaſures of the world to come, the immortality thereof, the ioyes of that life, and ſo never ceaſe ſeeking, untill ſuch time as we know certainly and be perſwaded what a bleſſed man he is, that ſeeketh the one and findeth it, & careth not

not for the other though he loſe it: and in ſeeking, to have right iudgement betweene the life preſent and the life to come, we ſhall find how little the paines, impriſonment, ſlanders, lies and death it ſelfe is in this world, in reſpect of paines everlaſting, the priſon infernall, and dungeon of hell, the ſentence of Gods iuſt iudgement, and everlaſting death.

The ſecond is to ſet our affection upon them that are above, and not upon the other. And this leſſon is harder than the other.

When a man hath, by ſeeking the word of God, found out what the things above be: then muſt he (as S. Paul ſaith) ſet his affections upon them. And this commandement is more hard than the other. For mans knowledge many times ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life preſent, as you may ſee how daily men and women can praiſe and commend, yea, and wiſh for heaven, and to be at reſt there; yet they ſet not their affection upon it: they doe more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaſeth their affection, than the treaſure of all treaſures in heaven, which their own iudgement ſaith is better than all worldly things. Wherfore we muſt ſet our affections upon the things that be above; that is to ſay, when any thing, worſe than heaven upon the earth, offereth it ſelfe to be ours, if we will give our good wils to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to ſee by the iudgement of Gods word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and ſuch things as be for this worldly life without his diſpleaſore. If we cannot, S. Pauls commandement muſt take place, Set your affections on things that are above. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by Gods law, neither our lives bee continued without the denyal of his honor, we muſt ſet our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this ſecond commandement of Saint Paul requireth, that as our mindes iudge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life preſent; ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, and preferre them, and have ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chuſe the beſt and approve it, and yet follow the worſt.

How things of this world may be poſſeſſed and how not.

Scriptures would be muſed upon rather than talked upon.

But theſe things (my godly wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, than words or talke. They be eaſie to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to be uſed and practiſed. Wherefore ſeeing they be Gods gifts, and none of ours, to have as our owne when we would, we muſt ſeeke them at our heavenly Fathers hand, who ſeeth and is privie how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gifts we be by reaſon of ſinne. He did command therefore his Diſciples when he ſhewed them that they ſhould take patiently the ſtate of this preſent life full of troubles and perſecution, to pray that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the Sonne of man. When you find your ſelfe too much oppreſſed (as every man ſhall be ſometime with the feare of Gods iudgement) uſe the 77. Pſalm that beginneth, I will cry unto God with my voice, and he ſhall hearken unto me. In which Pſalme is both godly doctrine and great conſolation unto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Mat.24.
Luke 21.

Pſal.77.
Read alſo M. Hoopers expoſition upon this Pſalme, moſt comfortable for all broken and afflicted hearts.

Uſe alſo in ſuch trouble the 88. Pſalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man, that was brought into extreme anguiſh and miſery, and being vexed with adverſaries and perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himſelf, that he had not only man, but alſo God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly reſorted unto God, as the only port of conſolation, and in the midſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſalvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himſelfe can do this, but the ſpirit of God, that ſtriketh the mans heart with feare, prayeth for the man ſtricken and feared, with unſpeakable groanings. And when you feel your ſelf or know any other oppreſſed after ſuch ſort, be glad for after that God hath made you to know what you be of your ſelf, he will doubtleſſe ſhew you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Chriſt his only Son; and uſe prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be ſought unto for his gifts. Theſe Pſalmes be for the purpoſe, when the minde can take no underſtanding, nor the heart any ioy of Gods promiſes: and therefore were theſe Pſalmes alſo made, 6. 22. 30. 31. 38. 69. from the which you ſhall learn both patience and conſolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Chriſtian mens bee) bee hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is ſafe (as S. Paul ſaith) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appeare, then ſhall our lives bee made open with him in glory. But in the mean time with ſeeking and ſetting our affections upon the things that be above, we muſt patiently ſuffer whatſoever God ſhall ſend unto us in this mortall life. Notwithſtanding, it might fortune ſome would ſay, Who is ſo perfect, that can let all things paſſe as they come, and have no care of them; ſuffer all things and feel nothing; be tempted of the Divell, the world, and the fleſh, and be not troubled? Verily no man living. But this I ſay, that in yͤ ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt things that come may paſſe with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not carried with them from Chriſt, for we bee in him godly. We may ſuffer things, and feel them as mortall men, yet bear them and overcome them as Chriſtian men. Wee may be tempted of the Divell, the fleſh, and the world: but yet although thoſe things pinch, they doe not pierce, and although they work ſin in us, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that bee grafted in him. Hereof may the Chriſtian man learne both conſolation and patience. Conſolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feele paine and loſſe, and in the ſoule heavineſſe and anguiſh of mind: howbeit none of them both ſhall ſeparate him from the love that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learn patience, foraſmuch as his enemies both of the body and ſoul, and the pains alſo they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet when death commeth they ſhall avoid, and give place to ſuch ioyes as be prepared for us in Chriſt: for no paines of the world be perpetual, and whether they ſhall afflict us for all the time of our mortall life, wee know not; for they be ſervants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we muſt take heed we meddle not forcibly nor ſeditiouſly to put away the perſecution appointed unto us by God, but remember Chriſts ſaying, Poſſeſs you your lives by your patience. And in this commandement God requireth in every man and woman this patient obedience. He ſaith not it is ſufficient that other holy Patriarks, Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and Martyrs continued their lives in patience, and patient ſuffering the troubles of this world: but Chriſt ſaith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye ſhall continue your life: not that man hath patience in himſelf, but that he muſt have it for himſelf of God, yͤ only giver of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Now therfore as our profeſſion and religion requireth patience outwardly, without reſiſtance and force; ſo requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he uſe

Rom. 8

What Pſalms are to be uſed in diſtreſſe and tribulation. Read alſo the fourth chap. of Eccleſ.

Coloſſ.3.

Note this well to thy comfort that art afflicted.

Rom.8.
Conſolation, patience.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſervants of God.

Luke.21.

Patience the gift of God only.

vs

us that bee his owne creatures as him liſteth.

We may not alſo murmure againſt God, but ſay alwaies his iudgements bee right and iuſt, and reioyce that it pleaſeth him by troubles to uſe us, as he uſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loved in this world, and have a ſingular care to this commandement, *Gaudete, & exultate,* Be glad, and reioyce: for hee ſheweth great cauſe why; *Your reward* (ſaith he) *is great in heaven.* These promiſes of him that is the truth it ſelf ſhall (by Gods grace) worke both conſolation and patience in the afflicted chriſtian perſon. And when our Saviour Chriſt hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, becauſe God in the end of trouble in Chriſt hath ordained eternall conſolation; he uſeth alſo to take from us all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt, becauſe the wicked world doth curſe and abhorre ſuch poore troubled Chriſtians. Wherefore Chriſt placeth all his honorably, and ſaith, *Even ſo perſecuted they the Prophets that were before you.* We may alſo ſee with whom the afflicted for Chriſts ſake be eſteemed by S. Paul to the Hebrewes, where as the number of the bleſſed and glorious company of Saints appear now to our faith in heaven in ioy: yet in the letter, for the time of this life, in ſuch paines and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore conſider both them and all other things of the world ſince the fal of man, and we ſhall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather loſt for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Chriſt himſelf) until ſuch time as the world had thought verily that both he and all his had been clean deſtroyed and caſt away? as the wiſe man ſaith of the wicked people, *We thought them to be fooles, but they be in peace.*

Mat. 5.

To ſuffer for Chriſt is honourable.

Mat. 5.

Heb. 11.

Wiſd. 5.

Example taken of our meat and drink how things never come to their perfection before they be utterly waſted.

Wee may learne by things that nouriſh and maintaine us, both meat and drinke, what loathſomneſſe and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they worke their perfection in us. From life they be brought to the fire, and cleane altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all to hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as ſmall ground as the teeth can grinde them; and from the mouth into the ſtomacke, and there ſo boiled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that whoſoever ſaw the ſame, would loath and abhor his owne nouriſhment, before it come to his perfection.

Unmortified men be no people for God.

Mat. 10.

Is it then any marvell if ſuch Chriſtians as God delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchin and mill to boile and grind the fleſh of Gods people in, till they atchieve their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meate when it is full digeſted, and not before: So muſt he look for his ſalvation when hee hath paſſed this troublous world, and not before. Rawe fleſh is not meat wholeſome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Chriſt ſaith, that his people muſt be broken, and all to torne in the mill of this world, and ſo ſhall they be moſt fine meale unto the heavenly Father. And it ſhall be a Chriſtian mans part, and the duty of a mind repleniſhed with the ſpirit of God, to marke the order of God in all his things, how hee dealeth with them, and how they ſuffer, and be content to let God doe his will upon them as S. Paul ſaith, *They waite untill the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never bee at reſt, but looke for the time when Gods people ſhall appeare in glory.*

Rom. 8.

Example of Abraham.

Example of Ioſeph.

We muſt therefore patiently ſuffer, and willingly attend upon Gods doings, although they ſeeme cleane contrary, after our iudgement, to our wealth and ſalvation: As Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his ſonne Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of his ſeed. Ioſeph at the laſt came to that which God promiſed him, although in the meane time, after the iudgement of the world, he was never like to be (as God ſaid he ſhould be) Lord over his brethren. When Chriſt would make the blind man to ſee, he put clay upon his eyes, which after the iudgement of man, was a meanes rather to make him double blinde, than to give him his ſight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could worke his deſire, what meanes ſoever hee uſed contrary to mans reaſon: and as touching this world, he uſeth all his after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his people be the firſt; if any ſuffer ſhame, they begin; if any be ſubiect to ſlander, it is thoſe that he loveth; ſo that hee ſheweth no face or favour, nor love almoſt in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their ſore eyes that bee ſorrowfull: yet the patient man ſeeth (as S. Paul ſaith) life hid under theſe miſeries and adverſities, and light under foule clay, and in the mean time he hath the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and believeth Gods promiſes to be his conſolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him, than all the world is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that man in whom Gods ſpirit beareth record that hee is the ſonne of God, whatſoever troubles hee ſuffer in this troubleſome world.

John 9.

1 Pet. 4. Iudgement firſt beginneth with the houſe of God.

Coloſ. 3.

Rom. 8.

Mat. 24.

And to iudge things indifferently (my good wife) the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers time, ſoone after the death and reſurrection of our Saviour Chriſt Ieſus, whereof he ſpake in S. Matthew. Of the which place you and I have taken many times great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the laſt day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuch as love the comming of our Saviour Chriſt to iudgement. Remember therefore that place, and marke it againe, and ye ſhall in this time ſee this great conſolation, and alſo learn much patience. Was there ever ſuch troubles, as Chriſt threatned upon Ieruſalem? was there ſince the beginning of the world ſuch affliction? who was then beſt at eaſe? The Apoſtles that ſuffered in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietneſſe in the promiſes of God. And no marvaile, for Chriſt ſaith, *Lift up your heads: for your redemption is at hand,* that is to ſay, Your eternall reſt approacheth and draweth neere. The world is ſtark blind, and more fooliſh than fooliſhneſſe it ſelfe, and ſo be the people of the world. For when God ſaith, trouble ſhall come, they will have eaſe. And when God ſaith, Be merry, and reioyce in trouble, wee lament and mourne, as though wee were caſt-awaies. But this our fleſh (which is never merry with vertue, nor ſorry with vice, never laugheth with grace nor ever weepeth with ſin) holdeth faſt with the world, and letteth God ſlip. But (my dearly beloved wife) you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the Divell well enough in Chriſt. And that ye may the better have patience in the ſpirit of God, reade againe the 24. chapter of S. Matthew, and mark what difference is betweene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, and the deſtruction of the whole world and you ſhall ſee, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent: but at the later day there ſhall be abſolute iudgement, and ſentence (never to be revoked) of eternall life and eternall death upon all men, and yet towards the

Luke 21.

Fleſh never merry with vertue, nor ſorry with vice.

Mat. 24. Deſtruction of Ieruſalem, and the whole world compared.

end of the world we have nothing ſo much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the mercifull Father lay upon us now impriſonment, (and I ſuppoſe for my part ſhortly death) now ſpoile of goods, loſſe of friends and the greateſt loſſe of all, the knowledge of Gods word. Gods will be done. I wiſh in Chriſt Ieſus our only Mediatour and Saviour, your conſtancy and conſolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Chriſt I doubt not; to whom for his bleſſed and moſt painfull paſſion I commit you. Amen. March. 13. An. 1553.

To a certaine godly woman, inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould behave her ſelfe in the time of her widowhood.

Another letter of M. Hooper.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfainedly love his holy Goſpell. Amen.

I thank you, deare ſiſter, for your moſt loving remembrance: and although I cannot recompence the ſame, yet doe I wiſh with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in theſe perillous dayes, in the which the Lord will try us, I truſt you do increaſe by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God, and that you diligently apply your ſelf to follow the ſame: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to conſider the ſtate of your widowhood, and if God ſhall put in your mind to change it, remember the ſaying of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they liſt, ſo it be in the Lord, that is to ſay, to ſuch an one as is of Chriſts religion. Dearely beloved in Chriſt, remember theſe words, for you ſhall find thereby great ioy and comfort, if you change your ſtate. Whereof I will, when I have better leiſure (as now I have none at all) further advertiſe you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good ſpirit, who ſtabliſh and confirm you in all well doing, and keep you blameles to the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

1 Cor. 7.
To marry in the Lord what it is.

Yours aſſured in Chriſt,
Iohn Hooper.

To all my deare brethren, my relievers and helpers in the City of London.

Another letter of M. Hooper to his friends in London.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I have received from you (dearly beloved in our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt) by the hands of my ſervant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I moſt heartily thanke you, and I praiſe God highly in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to ſhew this kindneſſe towards me, praying him to preſerve you from all famine, ſcarcity, and lacke of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your ſoules, as you preſerve my body from hunger, and other neceſſities which ſhould happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me and ſpoiled me of all that I had, have impriſoned my body, and appointed not one half penny to feed or relieve me with all: but I doe forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God, and from my heart I wiſh their ſalvation, and quietly and patiently beare their iniuries, wiſhing no farther extremity to be uſed towards us. Yet if the contrary ſeeme beſt unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully reſolved my ſelf to ſuffer the uttermoſt that they are able to do againſt mee, yea, death it ſelf by the aid of Chriſt Ieſus, who died the moſt vile death of the Croſſe for us wretches and miſerable ſinners. But of this I am aſſured, that the wicked world, with all his force and power, ſhall not touch one of the haires of our heads without leave and licence of our heavenly father, whoſe will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wils may be ſubiect unto his will, and then although both we and all the world ſee none other thing but death, yet if he think life beſt, we ſhall not dye, no, although the ſword be drawne out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his ſon Iſaac, yet when God perceived that Abraham had ſurrendred his will to Gods will, and was content to kill his ſonne, God then ſaved his ſon.

The Chriſtian charity of Maſter Hooper to his enemies.

M. Hooper fully reſolved to ſuffer.

Dearely beloved, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commandements ſake to ſurrender our goods and our lives to bee at his pleaſure, it maketh no matter whether we keepe goods and life, or loſe them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for Gods cauſe, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preſerved contrary unto Gods commandement. Let us wholly ſuffer God to uſe us and ours after his holy wiſdome, and beware wee neither uſe nor governe our ſelves contrary to his will by our owne wiſdome: for if we doe, our wiſdome will at length prove fooliſhneſſe. It is kept to no good purpoſe, that we keep contrary unto his commandements. It can by no meanes be taken from us that he would ſhould tarry with us. He is no good Chriſtian that ruleth himſelf and his, as worldly meanes ſerveth: for he that ſo doth ſhall have as many changes as chanceth in the world. To day with the world he ſhall like and praiſe the truth of God, to morrow as the world will, ſo will hee like and praiſe the falſhood of man; to day with Chriſt, and to morrow with Antichriſt. Wherefore dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, uſe both your inward ſpirits, and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man (I ſay) not after the manners of men, but after the infallible word of God.

Gods will is to be obeyed in all things.

Difference between the true Chriſtian, and the worldling.

Reſtrain from evill in both; and glorifie your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart ſerve him, and yet outwardly ſerve with the world in external ſervice the thing that is not God, ye deceive your ſelvs; for both the body and the ſoul muſt together concurre in the honour of God, as S. Paul plainly teacheth, 1 Corinth. 6. For if an honeſt wife bee bound to give both heart and body to faith and ſervice in marriage, and if an honeſt wives faith in the heart cannot ſtand with an whoriſh or defiled body outwardly; much leſſe can the true faith of a Chriſtian in the ſervice of Chriſtianity, ſtand with the bodily ſervice of externall idolatry: for the myſterie of marriage is not ſo honourable betweene man and wife, as it is between Chriſt and every Chriſtian man, as ſaint Paul ſaith.

Both inward man and outward man muſt concurre in the honour of God.

Therefore (dear brethren) pray to the heavenly Father, that as he ſpared not the ſoule nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applyed both of them with extreme pain, to work our ſalvation both of body and ſoul; ſo he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and ſoules to be ſervants unto him: for doubtleſſe hee requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be diſcontented with the one and well pleaſed with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; hee divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide our ſelves, and ſay our ſouls ſerve him, whatſoever our bodies do to the contrary for civill order and policie.

Gods enemies can do no more than he giveth them leave.
Mat. 20.

But(alas) I know by my ſelf, what troubleth you,that is,the great danger of the world, that will revenge (ye thinke) your ſervice to God with ſword and fire,with loſſe of goods and lands. But (dear brethren) weigh of the other ſide,that your enemies and Gods enemies ſhall not doe ſo much as they would,but as much as God ſhal ſuffer them, who can trap them in their owne counſels,and deſtroy them in the middeſt of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening tide,that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the Kingdomes of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how ſore and how fervently the Sunne ſhall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterneſſe thereof unto him;who can and will ſo moderate all afflictions, that no man ſhall have more laid upon him, than in Chriſt he ſhall be able to beare. Unto whoſe mercifull tuition and defence I commend both your ſouls and bodies. Septemb. 2. Anno 1554.

Yours with my poore prayer,
Iohn Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whoſe means he had received much comfort in his great neceſſity in the Fleet.

Another letter of M. Hooper to a helper of his.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. I thanke God and you for the great help and conſolation I have received in the time of adverſity by your charitable means,but moſt reioyce that you bee not altered from truth, although falſhood cruelly ſeeketh to diſtaine her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worſe appeareth and more vilely is reiected than falſhood. Leave the outward ſhew, and ſee by the word of God what truth is, and accept truth, and diſlike her not though man call her falſhood. As it is now, ſo hath it been heretofore, the truth reiected and falſhood received. Such as have profeſſed truth, for truth have ſmarted, and the friends of falſhood laughed them to ſcorn. The tryall of both hath beene by contrary ſucceſſe: the one having the commendation of truth by man,but the condemnation of falſhood by God, flouriſhing for a time with endleſſe deſtruction;the other afflicted a little ſeaſon,but ending with immortall ioyes. Wherefore, deare brother, aſke and demand of your book, the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe wofull and wretched daies what you ſhould thinke, and what you ſhould ſtay upon for a certaine truth,and whatſoever you heare taught,try it by your book, whether it be true or falſe. The dayes be dangerous, and full of perill, not only for the world and worldly things,but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to loſe the treaſure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Chriſt daily require help,ſuccour, mercy, wiſedome, grace, and defence, that the wickedneſſe of this world prevaile not againſt us. We began well, God preſerve us untill the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at ſo much charges with me,that I fear you would thinke when I write, I crave. Send me nothing till I ſend to you for it;and ſo tell the good men your partners:and when I need I will be bold with you. Decemb. 3. An. 1554.

Yours with my prayer, Iohn Hooper.

Truth is not to be eſteemed by outward appearance.

To Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon, a woman hearty in Gods cauſe, and comfortable to his afflicted members.

This miſtreſſe Wilkinſon afterward dyed in exile at Frankford.

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit be with you, Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health,and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deale more glad to heare how chriſtianly you avoid Idolatry, and prepare your ſelfe to ſuffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger your ſelfe to God. You doe as you ought to doe in this behalfe, and in ſuffering of tranſitory paines, you ſhall avoide permanent torments in the world to come. Uſe your life, and keep it with as much quietneſſe as you can, ſo that you offend not God. The eaſe that commeth with his diſpleaſure, turneth at length to unſpeakable pains; and the gaines of the world, with the loſſe of his favour,is beggery and wretchedneſſe. Reaſon is to be amended in this cauſe of Religion: For it will chooſe and follow an errour with the multitude if it may be allowed,rather than turn to faith and follow the truth with the people of God. Moſes found the ſame fault in himſelfe, and did amend it, chooſing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to uſe the liberty of the Kings daughter,that accounted him as her ſon. Pray for contentation and peace of the ſpirit,and reioyce in ſuch troubles as ſhall happen unto you for the truths ſake: for in that part Chriſt ſaith,you be happy. Pray alſo for me, I pray you,that I may doe in all things the will of our heavenly Father:to whoſe tuition and defence I commend you.

Gaines with Gods diſpleaſure is beggery.

Heb. 11.

Mat. 5.

To my deare friends in God, Maſter Iohn Hall and his wife.

Another letter exhorting to ſtand faſt in the truth.

THe grace of God be with you,Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendſhip at all times, praying to God to ſhew unto you ſuch favour that whatſoever trouble and adverſity happen,ye go not back from him. Theſe days be dangerous and full of perill, but yet let us comfort our ſelves in calling to remembrance the daies of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles,that many hundreds,yea,many thouſands dyed for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt,both men and women,ſuffering with patience and conſtancy as much cruelty as tyrants could deviſe, and ſo departed out of this miſerable world to the bliſſe everlaſting, whereas now they remaine for ever, looking alwaies for the end of this ſinfull world, when they ſhall receive their bodies againe in immortalitie,and ſee the number of the elect aſſociated with them in full and conſummate ioyes: and as vertuous men ſuffering martyrdom,and tarrying a little while in this world with pains,by and by reſted in ioys everlaſting, and as their pains ended their ſorrowes, and began eaſe; ſo did their conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſſe animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them incouragement and luſt to ſuffer the like,rather than to fall with the world to conſent unto wickedneſſe and idolatry. Wherfore my dear friends,ſeeing God of his part hath illuminated you with the ſame gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts, and all martyrs ſuffered moſt cruell death, thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for ſtrength and perſeverance,that through your own fault ye be not aſhamed nor afraid to confeſſe it. Ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his impes prove it to be falſe. They may kill and perſecute, but never overcome. Bee of good comfort,and feare God more than man. This life is ſhort and miſerable; happy be they that can ſpend it to the glory of God. Pray for me as I doe for you, and commend me to all good men and women. December. 22. Anno 1554.

Heb. 11.
Conſolation taken by the example of ancient martyrs.

Your brother in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

To

To my dearely beloved ſiſter in the Lord, Miſtriſſe Anne Warcop.

Another letter written to one Miſtreſſe Warcop by M. Hooper.

The grace of God be with you Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not your ſelfe too much. It were meet for me rather to beare a paine, than to bee a hinderance to many. I did reioyce at the comming of this bearer, to underſtand of your conſtancy, and how that you bee fully reſolved, by Gods grace, rather to ſuffer extremity, than to goe from the truth of God which you have profeſſed. Hee that gave you grace to begin ſo infallible a truth, will follow you in the ſame unto the end. But my loving ſiſter, as you be travelling this perillous iourney, take this leſſon with you, practiſed by wiſe men: whereof you may reade in the ſecond of S. Matthewes Goſpel. Such as travelled to find Chriſt, followed onely the Starre, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their iourney. But when they entred into Ieruſalem, whereas the ſtarre led them not thither, but unto Bethelem, and there aſked the Citizens the thing that the ſtarre ſhewed before: as long as they tarried in Ieruſalem, and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethelem, but alſo loſt the ſight of the ſtarre that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any caſe whiles we be going in this life to ſeeke Chriſt that is above, to beware wee loſe not the ſtarre of Gods word, that only is the marke that ſheweth us where Chriſt is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Ieruſalem ſtood in the way, & was an impediment, to theſe wiſe men; ſo doth the Synagogue of Antichriſt, that beareth the name of Ieruſalem, which by interpretation in called the viſion of peace, and amongſt the people now is called the Catholike Church, ſtand in the way that Pilgrims muſt go by through this world to Bethelem the houſe of ſaturity and plentifulneſſe, and is an impediment to all Chriſtian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keepe the pilgrimes ſtill in her, that they ſhall not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them indeed, they take away the ſtar of light, which is Gods word, that it cannot be ſeen: as ye may ſee how the celeſtiall ſtarre was hid from the wiſe men, when they aſked of the Phariſes at Ieruſalem, where Chriſt was born. Yee may ſee what great dangers happened unto theſe wiſe men, whiles they were learning of liars, where Chriſt was. Firſt, they were out of their way, and next they loſt their guide and conductor the heavenly ſtar. Chriſt is mounted from us into heaven, and there we ſeeke him (as we ſay) and let us go thitherward by the ſtar of his word, beware we happen not to come into Ieruſalem, the Church of men, and aſk for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and loſe alſo our conductor and guide that only leadeth us ſtraight thither.

The ſureſt way is ever to follow the Star.

Ieruſalem ſignifieth the viſion of peace.

Bethelem ſignifieth the houſe of bread, or of ſaturity.

Chriſt is not to be ſought, nor asked for, but only by the Scriptures.

Example of Iaſon and Phaeton.

The Poets write in fables, that Iaſon, when hee fought with the Dragon in the Iſle of Colchis, was preſerved by the medicines of Medes, and ſo wan the golden Fleece. And they write alſo that Phaeton, whom they feigne to be ſon and heire of the high god Iupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the Sunne round about the world; but as they feigne, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven, and when he went too lowe he burned the earth and the water. Theſe prophane hiſtories doe ſhame us that bee Chriſtian men. Iaſon againſt the poyſon of the Dragon uſed only the medicine of Medea. What a ſhame is it for a Chriſtian man againſt the poyſon of the Divell, hereſie, and ſinne, to uſe any other remedy, than Chriſt and his word? Phaeton for lacke of knowledge, was affraid of every ſigne of the Zodiacke, that the ſun paſſeth by: wherefore he now went too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himſelf in the ſea. Chriſtian men for lacke of knowledge, and for feare of ſuch dangers as Chriſtian men muſt needs paſſe by, go cleane out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Siſter, take heed: you ſhall in your iourney towards heaven meete with many a monſtrous beaſt: have ſalve of Gods word therfore ready. You ſhall meete huſband, children, lovers, and friends, that ſhall, if God be not with them (as God be praiſed he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lets and impediments to your purpoſe. You ſhall meet with ſlander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you ſhall heare and meete with cruell tyranny to doe you all extremities; you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your owne conſcience, and feele your own weakneſſe; you ſhall hear that you be curſed by the ſentence of the Catholike Church, with ſuch like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the ſtar of his word, and you ſhall arrive at the port of eternall ſalvation, by the merits only of Ieſus Chriſt; to whom I commend you and all yours moſt heartily.

Lets in the way to the Kingdome of heaven.

Yours in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶ Unto theſe letters of M. Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annexe alſo another certaine epiſtle, not of M. Hoopers, but written to him by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chiefe Superintendent in the City of Zuricke. Of whoſe ſingular love and tender affection toward M. Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of M. Hoopers life diſcourſed. Now how lovingly he writeth unto him, ye ſhall heare by this preſent letter, as followeth.

To the moſt Reverend Father Maſter Iohn Hooper, Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, and now priſoner for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, my fellow Elder, and moſt deare brother in England.

A letter of M. Bullinger to M. Hooper, tranſlated out of Latine into English.

The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all thoſe which are in bands and captivity for his Name ſake, grace and peace through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſdome, patience, and fortitude of the holy Ghoſt.

I have received from you two letters, my moſt deare brother, the former in the moneth of September of the yeere paſt, the later in the moneth of May of this preſent yeer, both written out of priſon. But I doubting leſt I ſhould make anſwer to you in vaine, whilſt I feared that my letters ſhould never come into your hands, or elſe increaſe and double your ſorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole yeer, to anſwer to my whole libels rather than letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing unto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard that you were caſt in priſon, I did not refrain from continuall prayer, beſeeching our heavenly Father, through our onely Mediator Ieſus Chriſt, to grant unto you and to your fellow priſoners, faith and conſtancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you (my brother) the which we did oftentimes propheſie unto our ſelvs, at your being with us, ſhould come to paſſe, eſpecially when wee did talke

The power of Antichriſt deſcribed in Daniel, chap. 8.

Mat. 10.
John 15, 16.
2 Tim. 3.

The doctrine of the Proteſtants what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Epheſ. 1.
2 Theſ. 2.
Chriſt is ſufficient, & needs not be patched with the Pope.

of the power of Antichriſt, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniel: His power ſhall be mighty, but not in his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make havocke of all things, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy people after his owne will. You know what the Lord warned us of before hand by Matthew, in the 10 chapter, by John, in the 15. chapter, and the 16. and alſo what that choſen veſſell S. Paul hath written in the ſecond of Timothy, and the third chapter. Wherefore I doe nothing doubt (by Gods grace) of your faith and patience, whileſt you know that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for, or come by chance, but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarrell: for what can bee more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papiſts, thoſe worſhippers of Antichriſt, do perſecute? All things touching ſalvation we attribute unto Chriſt alone, and to his holy inſtitutions, as wee have beene taught of him and of his Diſciples: but they would have even the ſame things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt, and to his inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſſe to withſtand than we read that Elias withſtood the Baalites. For if Jeſus be Chriſt, then let them know, that he is the fulnes of his Church, and that perfectly: but if Antichriſt be King and Prieſt, then let them exhibit unto him that honor. How long doe they halt on both ſides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Chriſt? or who ſhall be equall with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be hee whom the Apoſtle calleth the adverſary? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his Church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to uſe theſe diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught, and have taken root in Chriſt, being perſwaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

Revel. 21.

Revel. 14.
Gods wrath upon the beaſt and them that take his mark.

In this time of Antichriſt is the patience & faith of Gods children tried, whereby they ſhall overcome all his tyranny. Read Mat. 24

Go forwards therefore conſtantly to confeſſe Chriſt, and to defie Antichriſt, being mindfull of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; He that overcommeth, ſhall poſſeſſe all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne: but the fearfull, and the unbelieving, and the abominable, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters and all liers, ſhall have their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death. The firſt death is ſoone overcome, although a man muſt burne for the Lords ſake: for they ſay well that doe affirme this our fire to be ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that wee may eaſily overcome by his power the firſt death, the which he himſelfe did taſte and overcome; promiſing withall ſuch ioyes as never ſhall have end, unſpeakable, and paſſing all underſtanding, the which we ſhall poſſeſſe ſo ſoon as ever we do depart hence. For ſo again ſaith the Angell of the Lord; If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the ſame ſhall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lambe: and the ſmoake of their torments ſhall aſcend evermore, and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night which worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and whoſoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of Saints; here are they that keepe the commandements of God, and the faith of Jeſus. To this he addeth by and by; I heard a voice ſaying to me, write; Bleſſed be the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, or ſpeedily, they be bleſſed, John 5. even ſo ſaith the Spirit; for they reſt from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labor ſhall not be fruſtrate, or in vaine.

Therefore ſeeing you have ſuch a large promiſe, be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithfull to the Lord unto the end: conſider that Chriſt the Son of God is your Captaine, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, are your fellow ſouldiers. They that perſecute and trouble us, are men, ſinfull and mortall, whoſe favour a wiſe man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and beſides that our life is fraile, ſhort, brittle, and tranſitory. Happy are wee, if we depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your fellow priſoners, faith and conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt reverend Fathers and holy Confeſſors of Chriſt, D. Cranmer Biſhop of Canterbury, D. Ridley Biſhop of London, and the good old Father Doctor Latimer. Them and all the reſt of the priſoners with you for the Lords cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Miniſters, the which do ſpeak unto you the grace of God, and conſtancy in the truth.

Concerning the ſtate of our Church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankfull to him, and that we doe not only profeſſe the faith with words, but alſo expreſſe the ſame effectually with good workes, to the praiſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth daily in that part of Italy that is neere unto us, and in France.

M. Thomas Lever.

In the meane while the godly ſuſtaine grievous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through torments they goe unto the Lord. I and all my houſhold, with my ſonnes-in law and kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They doe ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancy, being ſorrowfull for you and the reſt of the priſoners. There came to us Engliſhmen Students, both godly and learned. They be received of our Magiſtrate; Ten of them dwel together, the reſt remain here and there with good men. Amongſt other, M. Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may doe any pleaſure to your wife and children, they ſhall have mee wholly at commandement: whereof I will write alſo to your wife, for I underſtand ſhee abideth at Frankford. Bee ſtrong and merry in Chriſt, waiting for his deliverance, when, and in what ſort it ſhall ſeeme good unto him. The Lord Jeſus ſhew pitie upon the Realme of England, and illuminate the ſame with his holy ſpirit, to the glory of his name, and the ſalvation of ſoules. The Lord Jeſus preſerve and deliver you from all evill, with all them that call upon his Name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. The 10. of October. Anno 1554. From Zurich.

You know the hand, H.B.

The Hiſtory of Doctor Rowland Taylor, which ſuffered for the truth of Gods word, under the tyranny of the Romane Biſhop, Anno 1555. The 9. day of February.

Hadley towne commended.

Tho. Bilney.

THe towne of Hadley was one of the firſt that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Maſter Thomas Bilney: by whoſe induſtry the Goſpel of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſſe, and tooke ſuch root there, that a great number in that pariſh became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as wel women

Anno 1555

women as men: ſo that a man might haue found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could haue ſaid a great ſort of S. Pauls Epiſtles by heart, and very well and readily haue giuen a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controuerſie, Their children and ſeruants were alſo brought vp and trained ſo diligently in the right knowledge of Gods word, that the whole town ſeemed rather an vniuerſity of the learned, than a town of Cloth-making or labouring people. And that moſt is to be commended, they were for the more part faithfull followers of Gods word in their liuing.

D. Taylor, a Doctor in both lawes, and a Diuine.

In this town was Doctor Rowland Taylor, Doctor in both the Ciuill and Canon lawes, and a right perfect Diuine, Parſon. Who, at his firſt entring into his Benefice, did not, as the common ſort of beneficed men doe, let out his Benefice to a Farmer, that ſhall gather vp the profits, and ſet in an ignorant vnlearned prieſt to ſerue the Cure, and ſo they haue the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: But contrarily, hee forſooke the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in houſhold, and made his perſonall abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where hee as a good Shepheard, abiding and dwelling among his ſheep, gaue himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of holy Scriptures, moſt faithfully endeauouring himſelf to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gaue vnto Peter ſaying; Peter loveſt thou me: Feed my lambs, Feed my ſheep, feed my ſheep. This loue of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no Sunday nor Holy day paſſed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their ſaluation.

Tho. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A good Shepheard and his conditions. Iohn 20. Feed with word.

Feed with example.

Not only was his word a preaching vnto them but all his life and conuerſation was an example of vnfained Chriſtian life and true holineſſe. He was void of all pride, humble and meeke, as any child: ſo that none were ſo poore, but they might boldly, as vnto their father, reſort vnto him, neither was his lowlineſſe childiſh or fearfull, but as occaſion time and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinfull and euill doers, ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with ſuch earneſt and graue rebukes as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or euill will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiuing his enemies, and neuer ſought to doe euill to any.

Feed with almes.

To the poore that were blind, lame, ſick, bedred, or that had many children, he was a very father, a carefull patron, and diligent prouider; inſomuch that hee cauſed the Pariſhioners to make a generall prouiſion for them: and he himſelfe (beſide the continuall reliefe that they alwaies found at his houſe) gaue an honeſt portion yeerly to the common almes bore. His wife alſo was an honeſt diſcreet, and ſober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought vp in the feare of God and good learning.

Cōmendation of D. Taylors wife and his children.

To conclude, he was a right & liuely image or pattern of all thoſe vertuous qualities deſcribed by S. Paul in a true Biſhop, a good ſalt of the earth, ſauourly biting the corrupt manners of euill men, a light in Gods houſe ſet vpon a candleſtick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good Shepheard among his flock, gouerning and leading them thorow the wilderneſſe of this wicked world, all the daies of the moſt innocent and holy King of bleſſed memory, Edward the ſixth. But after it pleaſed God to take King Edward from this vale of miſery vnto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the papiſts, who euer ſembled and diſſembled, both with King Henry the eighth, and K. Edward his ſon, now ſeeing the time conuenient for their purpoſe vttered their falſe hypocriſie, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſaid two moſt godly Kings: and contrary to that they had all theſe two Kings dayes preached, taught, written and ſworn, they violently ouerthrew the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and perſecuted with ſword and fire all thoſe that would not agree to receiue again the Romane biſhop as ſupreme head of the Vniuerſall Church, and allow all the errors, ſuperſtitions, and idolatries, that before by Gods word were diſproued and iuſtly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true religion.

The Papiſts & their naturall workes.

Foſter a Lawyer, and Iohn Clerk of Hadley, two notorious Papiſts.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichriſt, a certaine petie Gentleman after the ſort of a Lawyer, called Foſter, being a Steward and Keeper of Courts, a man of no great ſkill, but a bitter perſecutor in thoſe dayes, with one Iohn Clerk of Hadley, which Foſter had euer been a ſecret fauourer of all Romiſh idolatry, conſpired with the ſaid Clerk to bring in the Pope and his maumetrie again into Hadley Church. For as yet D. Taylor, as a good ſhepheard, had retained and kept in his Church the godly Church ſeruice and reformation made by K. Edward and moſt faithfully and earneſtly preached againſt the popiſh corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Iohn Auerth a right Popiſh Prieſt.

Therefore the foreſaid Foſter and Clerke hired one Iohn Auerth, Parſon of Aldam, a very money Mammoniſt, a blind leader of the blinde, a popiſh Idolater, and an open Aduouterer and whoremonger, a very fit miniſter for their purpoſe, to come to Hadley, and there to giue the onſet to begin again the popiſh Maſſe.

Mark how vnwilling the people were to receiue the Papacy againe.

To this purpoſe they builded vp with all haſte poſſible the altar, intending to bring in their Maſſe againe, about the Palme Monday. But this their deuice tooke none effect: for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherfore they built it vp againe the ſecond time, and laid diligent watch, leſt any ſhould again break it down.

On the day following came Foſter and Iohn Clerk, bringing with them their popiſh ſacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popiſh pageant, whom they and their men guarded with ſwords and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould diſturbe him in his miſſall ſacrifice.

D. Taylors cuſtome to ſtudy.

When Doctor Taylor, who (according to his cuſtome) ſate at his booke ſtudying the word of God, heard the bels ring, hee aroſe and went into the Church, ſuppoſing ſomething had beene there to be done, according to his paſtorall office: and comming to the Church, he found the Church doores ſhut and faſt barred, ſauing the Chancell doore, which was only latched. Where he entring in, and comming into the Chancell, ſaw a popiſh ſacrificer in his robes, with a broad new ſhauen crown, ready to begin his popiſh ſacrifice, beſet round about with drawne ſwords and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould approach to diſturbe him.

Maſſe brought into Hadley with ſwords and bucklers.

D. Taylor rebuketh the Diuell.

The papiſts call all their trumpery the Queenes proceedings.

For you muſt remember that Antichriſt reigneth by another arm, and not by his own power. Reade Daniel of the king of Faces, the 8. chapter.

Then ſaid Doctor Taylor, Thou Diuell, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this Church of Chriſt to prophane and defile it with this abominable idolatry? With that ſtart vp Foſter, and with an irefull and furious countenance ſaid to Doctor Taylor; Thou Traitor, what dooſt thou here, to let and diſturbe the Queenes proceedings? Doctor Taylor anſwered, I am no Traitor, but I am the ſhepheard that God my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I haue good authority to bee here;

D. Taylor here playeth a right Elias. 3 Reg. 18.

and I command thee thou Popiſh Wolf, in the Name of God to avoid hence, and not to preſume here with ſuch Popiſh Idolatry to poiſon Chriſts flock.

Then ſaid Foſter, Wilt thou traitrouſly Heretike make a commotion, and reſiſt violently the Queens proceedings?

D. Taylor anſwered, I make no commotion, but it is you Papiſts that make commotions and tumults. I reſiſt only with Gods word againſt your popiſh idolatries, which are againſt Gods word, the Queens honour, and tend to the utter ſubverſion of this Realme of England. And further, thou doſt againſt the law, which commandeth, that no Maſſe be ſaid but at a conſecrate altar.

When the Parſon of Aldam heard that, he began to ſhrink back, and would have left his ſaying of Maſſe: then ſtart up John Clerk, and ſaid, Maſter Averth, be not affraid, you have a “ſuper-altare. Goe forth with your buſineſſe man.

“Super altare is a ſtone conſecrated by the Biſhops, commonly of a foot long, which the Papiſts carry in ſtead of an altar, when they maſſe for mony in Gentlemens houſes.

Then Foſter, with his armed men, tooke D. Taylor, and led him with ſtrong hand out of the Church, and the Popiſh Prelate proceeded in his Romiſh Idolatry. D. Taylors wife, who followed her husband into the Church, when ſhe ſaw her husband thus violently thruſt out of his Church, ſhe kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice ſaid; I beſeech God the righteous Judg to avenge this iniury, that this Popiſh Idolater to this day doth to the blood of Chriſt. Then they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their ſacrificer in peeces. Notwithſtanding one or two threw in great ſtones at the windowes, and miſſed very little the Popiſh Maſſer.

The Papiſts arguments wherewith they maintaine their doctrine.

Thus you ſee how without conſent of the people the popiſh Maſſe was again ſet up with battell array, with ſwords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the Papiſts have ever yet uſed. As for reaſon, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the ſame that ſay; The law of unrighteouſneſſe is our ſtrength: Come, let us oppreſſe the righteous without any feare, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haſte poſſible, this Foſter and Clerke made a complaint of D. Taylor, by a letter written to Ste. Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and L. Chancellor.

D. Taylor cited by a letter miſſive.

When the biſhop heard this, hee ſent a letter miſſive to D. Taylor, commanding him within certain dayes to come and to appear before him upon his allegeance, to anſwer ſuch complaints as were made againſt him.

D. Taylors friends would have him to flie.

When Doctor Taylors friends heard of this, they were exceeding ſorry and agrieved in mind: which when foreſeeing to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeeing alſo all truth and juſtice were trodden under foote, and falſhood with cruell tyranny were ſet aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I ſay, came to him and earneſtly counſelled him to depart and flye, alledging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to ſpeak his conſcience and mind, nor yet look for juſtice or favor at the ſaid Chancellors hands, who, as it was well knowne, was moſt fierce and cruell; but muſt needs (if he went up to him) wait for impriſonment and cruell death at his hands.

The valiant courage of Doctor Taylor in Chriſts cauſe.

Then ſaid D. Taylor to his friends, Deare friends, I moſt heartily thank you, for that you have ſo tender a care over mee. And although I know that there is neither juſtice nor truth to be looked for at my adverſaries hands, but rather impriſonment and cruell death: yet know I my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong upon my ſide, that I will by Gods grace go and appear before them, and to their beards reſiſt their falſe doings.

Mat. 10.

Then ſaid his friends, Maſter Doctor, we think it not beſt ſo to doe. You have ſufficiently done your duty, and teſtified the truth both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſting the Parſon of Aldam, with other that came hither to bring in againe the popiſh Maſſe. And foraſmuch as our Saviour Chriſt willeth and biddeth us, that when they perſecute us in one City, we ſhould fly into another: we thinke in flying at this time ye ſhould do beſt, keeping your ſelfe againſt another time, when the Church ſhall have great need of ſuch diligent Teachers, and godly Paſtors.

D. Taylor refuſeth to flye.

Oh (quoth D. Taylor) what will yee have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked daies. Flie you, and doe as your conſcience leadeth you. I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to go to the Biſhop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God ſhall wel hereafter raiſe up teachers of his people, which ſhall with much more diligence and fruit teach them, than I have done. For God will not forſake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a juſt cauſe.

The Papacies kingdome of lyes.

As for me, I believe before God, I ſhall never be able to doe God ſo good ſervice, as I may do now; nor I ſhall ever have ſo glorious a calling as I now have, nor ſo great mercy of God proferred me, as is now at this preſent. For what Chriſtian man would not gladly dye againſt the Pope and his adherents? I know that the Papacy is the kingdome of Antichriſt, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falſhood, ſo that all their doctrine, even from Chriſts Croſſe bee my ſpeed, and ſaint Nicholas, unto the end of their Apocalypſe, is nothing but idolatry, ſuperſtition, errours, hypocriſie and lies.

Wherefore I beſeech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me ſtrength and his holy Spirit, that all mine adverſaries ſhall have ſhame of their doings.

Sir Richard Yeoman, D. Taylors Curate and Martyr of Chriſt.

When his friends ſaw him ſo conſtant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himſelf to his journey, leaving his Cure with a godly old prieſt, named ſir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards for Gods truth was burnt at Norwich.

John Alcocke, of Hadley troubled for Gods truth, & dyed in priſon.

There was alſo in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who after ſir Richard Yeoman was driven away) uſed daily to read a Chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh Letany in Hadley Church. But him they fetcht up to London, and caſt him in priſon in Newgate; where after a yeeres impriſonment he died.

D. Taylors journey. John Hull a faithful ſervant to D. Taylor.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor againe, who being accompanied with a ſervant of his owne, named John Hull, tooke his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counſell and perſwade him very earneſtly to fly, and not to come to the biſhop, and proferred himſelfe to go with him to ſerve him; and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

D. Taylor again adviſed to flie, but he refuſed ſo to do.

But in no wiſe would Doctor Taylor conſent or agree thereunto, but ſaid, Oh John, ſhall I give place to this thy counſell and worldly perſwaſion, and leave my flocke in this danger? Remember the good Shepheard Chriſt, which not alone fed his flocke, but alſo died for his flock. Him muſt I follow, and with Gods grace will do.

There-

Anno 1555.

The firſt meeting between Wincheſter and D. Taylor.

Therefore good John pray for me and if thou ſeeſt me weak at any time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came up to London and ſhortly after D. Taylor preſented himſelf to for Biſhop of Wincheſter Steven Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor of England.

A great abuſe in England and three miſchiefes coming thereof.

For this hath bin one great abuſe in England theſe many yeers, that ſuch offices as have been of moſt importance and weight, have commonly been committed to biſhops and other ſpirituall men, whereby three divelliſh miſchiefes and inconveniences have happened in this Realme, to the great diſhonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Chriſt; the which three be theſe.

The firſt miſchief.

Firſt, they have had ſmall leiſure to attend to their Paſtorall Cures, which thereby have beene utterly neglected and undone.

The ſecond miſchief.

Secondly, it hath alſo puft up many Biſhops and other ſpirituall perſons into ſuch haughtineſſe and pride, that they have thought no noble man in the Realm worthy to be their equall and fellow.

The third miſchiefe.

Thirdly, where they by this means knew the very ſecrets of Princes, they being in ſuch high offices, have cauſed the ſame to bee knowne in Rome, afore the Kings could accompliſh and bring their intents to paſſe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacy beene ſo maintained, and things ordered after their wils and pleaſures, that much miſchief hath happened in this Realme and others, ſometime to the deſtruction of Princes, and ſometime to the utter undoing of many Common-wealths.

Now when Gardiner ſaw D. Taylor, he, according to his common cuſtome, all to reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretike, with many other villanous reproaches; which all D. Taylor heard patiently, and at the laſt ſaid unto him:

D. Taylors patience and magnanimity.

My Lord, quoth he, I am neither Traitor nor Heretike, but a true Subiect, and a faithfull Chriſtian man, and am come, according to your commandement, to know what is the cauſe that your Lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Art thou come, thou Villain? How dareſt thou looke mee in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Steven Gardiners Lordly looks.

The notable anſwer of D. Taylor to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Yes, quoth D. Taylor, I know who you are. Yee are Doctor Steven Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a mortall man I trow. But if I ſhould be affraid of your Lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for ſhame look any Chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing yee have forſaken the truth, denied our Saviour Chriſt and his word and done contrary to your owne oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt, and anſwer to your oath made firſt unto that bleſſed K. Henry the eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto bleſſed King Edward the ſixth his ſon?

Herods oath. Here the Biſhop confeſſeth unlawfull oathes ought not to be kept.

The biſhop anſwered, Tuſh, tuſh, that was Herods oath, unlawfull; and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home againe to our mother the Catholike Church of Rome, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

Doctor Taylor anſwered, Should I forſake the Church of Chriſt, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, to approve thoſe lies, errours, ſuperſtitions, and idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day ſo blaſphemouſly do approve? Nay, God forbid.

The true Church of Chriſt, whereunto all men ought to turn.

Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Chriſt and his word, and thruſt out of the Churches ſuch abominable idolatries as hee maintaineth, and then will Chriſtian men turne unto him. You wrote truly againſt him, and were ſworn againſt him.

I tell thee, quoth the biſhop of Wincheſter, it was Herods oath, unlawfull; and therfore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Chriſt will require lawfull oathes and promiſes.

Then ſaid D. Taylor, But you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtleſſe will require it at your hands, as a lawfull oath made to your Leige and Soveraigne Lord the King, from whoſe obedience no man can aſſoile you, neither the Pope nor any of his.

Gardiner again railing.

I ſee, quoth the biſhop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very foole.

Railing words become not a Magiſtrate. Mat. 5.

My Lord, quoth Doctor Taylor, leave your unſeemely railing at me, which is not ſeemly for ſuch an one in authority as you are. For I am a Chriſtian man, and you know, that he that ſaith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a councell, and he that ſaith, Thou Foole, is in danger of hell fire.

The biſhop anſwered, Ye are falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay, quoth Doctor Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, Os quod mentitur, occidit animam: And againe, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium, i. The mouth that lieth, ſlayeth the ſoul: And againe, Lord God thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak lies. And therfore we abide by the truth of Gods word which ye contrary to your own conſciences deny and forſake.

Marriage obiected to D. Taylor. Marriage defended.

Thou art married (quoth the biſhop.) Yea, (quoth Doctor Taylor) that I thank God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony, and bleſſed be God that ordained matrimony and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, ſhould marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredome.

One Idolater holdeth with another.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Thou haſt reſiſted the Queens proceedings, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the Parſon of Aldam, a very vertuous and devout Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe in Hadley. D. Taylor anſwered, My Lord, I am Parſon of Hadley, and it is againſt all right, conſcience and laws, that any man ſhould come into my charge, and preſume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venome of the Popiſh Idolatrous Maſſe.

The Maſſe.

With that the biſhop waxed very angry, and ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous Heretike indeed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed Sacrament (and put off his cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy Maſſe, which is made a ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead. D. Taylor anſwered, Nay, I blaſpheme not the bleſſed ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reverence it as a true Chriſtian man ought to doe, and confeſſe, that Chriſt ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and paſſion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Chriſt, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our ſacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his mercifull goodneſſe ſhewed to us, in that he gave his Son Chriſt unto the death for us.

The Communion.

The true ſacrifice for the quick and dead what it is.

Thou ſayſt well (quoth the Biſhop.) It is all that thou haſt ſaid, and more too; for it is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then anſwered D. Taylor. Chriſt gave himſelf to die for our redemption upon the Croſſe, whoſe body there offered was the propitiatory ſacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient unto ſalvation, for all them that believe in him. And this ſacrifice did our Saviour Chriſt offer in his own perſon himſelfe once for all, neither can any Prieſt any more

Propitiatory ſacrifice offered never more than once.

Our ſacrifice is only memorative.

offer him, nor wee need any more propitiatorie ſacrifice; and therefore I ſay with Chryſoſtome, and all the Doctors: Our ſacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, a ſacrifice of thankſgiving; and therefore the Fathers called it Euchariſtia: And other ſacrifice hath the Church of God none.

Winchesters ſtrong argument, Carry him to priſon.

It is true, quoth the Biſhop, the Sacrament is called Euchariſtia, a thankſgiving, becauſe we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is alſo a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou ſhalt confeſſe ere thou and I have done. Then called the Biſhop his men, and ſaid, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the Kings Bench, and charge the Keeper hee be ſtreightly kept.

D. Taylors prayer againſt the Pope and his deteſtable enormities.

Then kneeled Doctor Taylor downe, and held up both his hands, and ſaid, Good Lord I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable errours, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praiſed for good King Edward. So they carried him to priſon to the Kings Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two yeeres.

This is the ſumm of that firſt talk, as I ſaw it mentioned in a letter that D. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to ſuffer priſon and bands, beſeeching his friends to pray for him, that he might perſevere conſtant unto the end.

The godly behaviour and converſation of D. Taylor in the priſon.

Being in priſon, Doctor Taylor ſpent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the priſoners, and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Priſons turned into Churches and Churches into dens of theeves.

Within a few daies after, were divers other learned and godly men in ſundry countries of England committed to priſon for religion, ſo that almoſt all the priſons in England were become right Chriſtian Schools and Churches; ſo that there was no greater comfort for Chriſtian hearts, than to come to the priſons to behold their vertuous converſation, and to heare their praiers, preachings, moſt godly exhortations, and conſolations.

Now were placed in Churches blind and ignorant Maſſemongers, with their Latine bablings and Apiſh ceremonies; who like cruell Wolves ſpared not to murther all ſuch, as any thing at all but once whiſpered againſt their Popery. As for the godly Preachers which were in King Edwards time, they were either fled the Realm, or els as the Prophets did in King Achabs daies, they were privily kept in corners. As for as many as the Papiſts could lay hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as Lambes waiting when the Butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

The lamentable diſtreſſe of Gods true worſhippers in thoſe dayes

John Bradford and D. Taylor priſon-fellows in the Kings Bench.

When Doctor Taylor was come into the priſon called the Kings Bench, he found therein the vertuous and vigilant Preacher of Gods word, maſter Bradford: which man for his innocent and godly living, his devout and vertuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time, as even his adverſaries muſt needs confeſſe. Finding this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to faith, ſtrength, and patience, and to perſevere conſtant unto the end. Maſter Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him ſuch a comfortable priſon-fellow; and ſo they both together lauded God, and continued in praier, reading, and exhorting one the other: Inſomuch that Doctor Taylor told his friends that came to viſit him, that God had moſt graciouſly provided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he found ſuch an angell of God, to be in his companie to comfort him.

Anno 1555

Doctor Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Doctor Taylor had lien in priſon a while, he was cited to appeare in the Arches at Bow Church, to anſwer unto ſuch matter as there ſhould be objected againſt him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his Keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctors of the Primitive Church, by both lawes civill and canon, that it is lawfull for Prieſts to marry, and that ſuch as have not the gift of continency are bound in paine of damnation to marry. This did he ſo plainly prove, that the judge could give no ſentence of divorce againſt him, but gave ſentence he ſhould be deprived of his Benefice, becauſe he was married.

D. Taylor defendeth marriage of Prieſts.

D. Taylor deprived of his Benefice becauſe of his marriage.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctor Taylor) and alledged many laws and conſtitutions for himſelfe, but all prevailed not. For he was againe carried into priſon, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley Benefice, it was given or ſould, I wot not whether, to one Maſter Newealle, whoſe great vertues were altogether unlike to Doctor Taylor his predeceſſor, as the poore Pariſhioners full well have found.

Doctor Taylor brought againe before Winchester, and other Biſhops.

The Papiſts rule & reigne.

After a yeere and three quarters, or there about, in the which time the Papiſts got certain old tyrannous lawes, which were put down by King Henry the eighth, and by King Edward, to be again revived by parliament: ſo that now they might, Ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their owne ſuſpition, and charge him with what Articles they luſted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpoſe, burne them: When theſe lawes were once eſtabliſhed, they ſent for Doctor Taylor with certaine other priſoners, which were againe convented before the Chancellor and other Commiſſioners about the 22. of January. The purport and effect of which talke betweene them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelfe in his owne letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the ſaid letter here under, as followeth.

A Letter of Doctor Taylor, containing and reporting the talke had betweene him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commiſſioners the 22. of January.

The pardon is proferred.

WHereas you would have mee to write the talke betweene the King and Queens moſt honourable Councell and mee on Tueſday, the 22. of Ianuary, ſo far as I remember: Firſt, my L. Chancellor ſaid, You among other are at this preſent time ſent for, to enjoy the Kings and Queens Majeſties favour and mercy, if you will now riſe again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this Realme, from the which (God bee praiſed) we are now cleerly delivered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you ſhall have judgement according to your demerits. To this I anſwered, that ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that ever I could receive: for I ſhould ſo fall from my deare Saviour Chriſt to Antichriſt. For I doe believe, that the Religion ſet forth in King Edwards daies, was according to the veine of the holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian

Note this anſwer.

The religion ſet forth in K. Edwards dayes.

Anno 1555

Secretary Bourne cavilleth againſt the Religion ſet forth in K. Edwards dayes.

Chriſtian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I live, by Gods grace.

Then Maſter Secretary Bourne ſaid; Which of the Religions meane yee of in King Edwards dayes? For ye know there were diverſe Bookes of Religion ſet forth in his dayes. There was a Religion ſet forth in a Catechiſme by my Lord of Canterbury. Doe you meane that you will ſtick to that?

A teſtimony of the booke of ſervice ſet out in K. Edwards dayes.

I anſwered, My Lord of Canterbury made a Catechiſme to be tranſlated into Engliſh, which Booke was not of his owne making: yet he ſet it forth in his owne name; and truly that Booke for the time did much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt innocent King Edward (for whom God bee praiſed everlaſtingly) the whole Church-ſervice, with great deliberation, and the advice of the beſt learned men in the Realme, and authoriſed by the whole Parliament, and received and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realme: which booke was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfected, according to the rules of our Chriſtian Religion in every behalfe, that no Chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I meane of that book reformed.

Then my Lord Chancellour ſaid, Diddeſt thou never read the booke that I ſet forth of the Sacrament?

I anſwered, that I had read it.

His right name might be Sir John Clawbacke.

Then hee ſaid, How likeſt thou that booke? With that one of the Councell (whoſe name I know not) ſaid, My Lord, that is a good queſtion: for I am ſure, that booke ſtoppeth all their mouths. Then ſaid I, My Lord, I thinke many things be farre wide from the truth of Gods word in that booke.

Math. 5.

Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art a very varlet. To that I anſwered, That is as ill as Racha or *Fatue*. Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art an ignorant Beetle brow.

D. Taylor learned in Divinity, and alſo in the civill law.

To that I anſwered, I have read over and over againe the holy Scriptures, and S. Auguſtines works through, S. Cyprian, Euſebius, Origene, Gregory Nazianzene, with divers other books through; once therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Beſides theſe, my Lord, I profeſſed the civill Laws, as your Lordſhip did, and I have read over the Canon law alſo.

Gardiners booke de vera obedientia.

Then my Lord ſaid, With a corrupt judgement thou readeſt all things: Touching my profeſſion it is Divinity, in which I have written diverſe bookes. Then ſaid I, My Lord, ye did write one booke, *De vera obedientia*; I would you had beene conſtant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conſcience that I heard of, but in that one booke.

Then my Lord ſaid, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote againſt Bucer in Prieſts mariages: but ſuch books pleaſe not ſuch wretches as thou art, which haſt beene married many yeeres.

Prieſts marriage confirmed by D. Taylor.

To that I anſwered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am ſure of, that your proceedings now at this preſent in this Realme againſt Prieſts marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of Divels, againſt naturall law, civill law, Canon law, generall Councels, Canons of the Apoſtles, ancient Doctors, and Gods lawes.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme, ſaying, You have profeſſed the civill law, as you ſay. Then you know that Iuſtinian writeth that Prieſts ſhould at their taking of orders ſweare, that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apoſtolorum.*

To that I anſwered, That I did not remember any ſuch law of Iuſtinian. But I am ſure, that Iuſtinian writeth in *Titulo de indicta viduitate*, in Cod. that if one would bequeath to his wife in his Teſtament a legacie, under a condition that ſhee ſhould never marry againe, and take an oath of her for accompliſhing the ſame, yet ſhe may marry againe if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid conditions, and oath taken and made againſt marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a Papiſticall vow made to man.

Iuſtinians law approveth marriage, and condemneth oaths made againſt it.

Tonſtall throughly anſwered by the Civill law.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that ſhe ſhall never marry; yet ſhe may marry, and her Patrone ſhall loſe *jus Patronatus*, for his adding of the unnaturall and unlawfull condition againſt matrimony.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſayeſt that Prieſts may be married by Gods law. How proveſt thou that?

Scripture approveth prieſts marriage, but the Pope muſt be heard before the Scripture. Chryſoſtome calleth it an hereſie to ſay that a Prieſt may not be married.

I anſwered, By the plaine words and ſentences of S. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where hee ſpeakes moſt evidently of the marriage of Prieſts, Deacons and Biſhops. And Chryſoſtome writing upon the Epiſtle to Timothy, ſaith, It is an hereſie to ſay that a Biſhop may not be married.

Then ſaid my Lord Chancellor, Thou lieſt of Chryſoſtome. But thou doeſt, as all thy companions doe, belie ever without ſhame both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Diddeſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the Canon law Prieſts may be married? which is moſt untrue, and the contrary is moſt true.

Canon law approveth prieſts marriages.

I anſwered, We read in the decrees, that the foure generall Councels, Nicene, Conſtantinopolitane, Epheſine, Chalcedone, have the ſame authority that the foure Evangeliſts have. And we read in the ſame decrees (which is one of the chiefe books of the Canon law) that the Councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, did allow Prieſts and Biſhops marriages. Therefore by the beſt part of the Canon law, Prieſts may be married.

Wincheſter belyeth the Councell.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou falſifieſt the generall Councell. For there is expreſſe mention in the ſaid decree, that Prieſts ſhould be divorced from their wives, which be married.

Then ſaid I, if thoſe words be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched.

Tonſtall helpeth Wincheſter at need.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme; Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria*, which Euſebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.

To that ſaid I, It is not like that the Pope would leave out any ſuch ſentence, having ſuch authority, and making ſo much for his purpoſe.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch up ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe.

I anſwered, my Lord, I cannot but marvell that you doe call one of the chief Papiſts that ever was, but a patcher.

Gardiner denieth his owne Canoniſt and calleth it a patched law.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Nay I call thee a ſnatcher and a patcher. To make an end, Wilt thou not returne againe with us to the Catholike Church? and with that he roſe.

D. Taylor ſent againe to priſon.

And I ſaid, by Gods grace I will never depart from Chriſts Church. Then I required that I might have ſome of my friends to come to me in priſon: and my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſhalt have judgement within this weeke: and ſo was I delivered againe unto my keeper. My Lord of Dureſme would that I ſhould beleeve as my father and my mother did. I alledged S. Auguſtine that wee ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

And thus much was contained in the foreſaid letter of D. Taylor for that matter.

Beſides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his concerning the cauſes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewiſe here to expreſſe as followeth.

The copie of another letter to his friend touching his aſſertions of the marriage of Prieſts, and other cauſes for the which he was condemned.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter and his fellowes proved to be open heretikes, by Scripture, and by the true definition of hereſie.

1. Tim. 4.

IT is hereſie to defend any doctrine againſt the holy Scripture. Therefore the Lord Chancellor and Biſhops conſenting to his ſentence againſt me, be heretikes. For they have given ſentence againſt the marriage of Prieſts, knowing that S. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, may be married; knowing alſo that, by S. Pauls doctrine, it is the doctrine of divels to inhibit matrimony. And S. Paul willeth every faithfull Miniſter to teach the people ſo, leſt they be deceived by the marked Merchants, 1 Tim. 4.

Biſhops ſinne againſt their own conſcience and that for 9. or 10. cauſes.

These Biſhops are not ignorant, that it is not onely Saint Pauls counſell, and lawfull, but Gods commandement alſo to marry, for ſuch as cannot otherwiſe live chaſte, neither avoid fornication.

1 Cor. 7.

They know that ſuch as do marry do not ſin.

Gen. 2.

They know that God, before ſin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradiſe, betweene two of his principall creatures, man and woman.

Gen. 2.

They know what ſpirit they have, which ſay it is evill to marry (ſeeing God ſaid, It is not good for man to be alone without a wife) having no ſpeciall gift, contrary to the generall commandement and ordinance, diverſe times repeated in the booke of Geneſis, which is, To increaſe and multiply.

Gen. 12. Marriage is no impediment for a good man to walk in the obedience of Gods commandement.

They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the vertuous woman Sara with him, leaving father and mother, and countrey the while, at Gods commandement. For though father and mother, and other friends are deare and neere, yet none are ſo dearely and neerely ioyned together, as man and wife in matrimony, which muſt needs be holy, for that is a figure and ſimilitude of Chriſt and his Church.

Epheſ. 5.
Heb. 13.

They know that S. Paul giveth a great praiſe to matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoſoever have need of that Gods remedy, for mans and womans infirmity.

They know that if there were any ſin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But S. Paul ſaith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

Gen. 18.
Exod. 18.
Gen. 25.
Gen. 31.
2 Reg. 7.
Matth. 1.

They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Jacob, David, &c. to talk with God, neither to the Levites, Biſhops, and Prieſts office in the time of the old Teſtament or the new.

They know that Chriſt would not be conceived, or borne of his bleſſed mother, the virgin Mary, before ſhe was eſpouſed in marriage, his owne ordinance.

They know, by S. Cyprian and S. Auguſtine, that a vow is not an impediment ſufficient to let matrimony or to divorce the ſame.

Chryſoſtome. It is hereſie to deny Prieſts marriage.

They know yͤ S. Chryſoſtome ſaith, it is hereſie to affirm that a biſhop may not have a wife.

Ambroſe 3. Qui integritat.

They know that Ambroſe will have no commandement but counſell only to be given, touching the obſerving of Virginity.

They know that Chriſt with his bleſſed mother and the Apoſtles were at a marriage, and beautified and honoured the ſame with his preſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhort, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of Prieſts, is true: and they know that the Papiſts themſelves doe not obſerve, touching that matter, their owne lawes and canons, and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hot iron, as deteſtable heretikes in this behalfe. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

The ſecond cauſe of Doctor Taylors condemnation. Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iugling words of the Papiſts.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned an heretike is, that I denied Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iugling words of the Papiſts, by the which they doe beleeve and will compell all others to beleeve, that Chriſts naturall body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be ioyned thereunto, ſo that immediatly after the words (called the words of conſecration) there is no more bread and wine in the Sacrament, but the ſubſtance onely of the body and blood of Chriſt together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame being now Chriſt, both God and man, ought to be worſhipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quicke and the dead, as a ſacrifice propitiatory and ſatisfactory for the ſame. This matter was not long debated in words: but becauſe I denied the foreſaid Papiſticall doctrine (yea rather, plaine, moſt wicked idolatry, blaſphemy and hereſie) I was iudged an heretike.

The 3. Article againſt Doctor Taylor.

I did alſo affirme the Pope to be Antichriſt, and Popery Antichriſtianity.

The 4. article againſt Doctor Taylor.

And I confeſſed the doctrine of the Bible to be ſufficient doctrine, touching all and ſingular matters of Chriſtian Religion, and of ſalvation.

The 5. article againſt Doctor Taylor.

I alſo alledged, that the oath againſt the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawfull oath, and ſo was the oath made by us all, touching the Kings or Queenes preheminence. For Chryſoſtome ſaith, that Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and all men in every Realme were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in ſubiection to the Kingly authority, who hath the ſword in his hand, as Gods principall Officer and Governour in every Realme. I deſired the Biſhops to repent for bringing the Realme from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from light to darknes, from verity to vanity.

All men muſt obey Kings.

Thus you know the ſumme of my laſt examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

D. Taylor never afraid of death.

God be praiſed: ſince my condemnation I was never afraid to die; Gods will be done. If I ſhrink from Gods truth, I am ſure of another manner of death than had Iudge Hales. But God be praiſed, even from the bottome of heart, I am unmoveably ſetled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my deare God will performe and finiſh the worke that he hath begun in me, and others. To him be all honour both now and ever through Chriſt our only and whole Saviour, Amen.

And thus much wrote D. Taylor, concerning this matter, to his friend.

You heard in the former anſwers a little before, certaine allegations touched of D. Taylor out of S. Cyprian, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, and Ambroſe, touching the lawfulneſſe of Prieſts marriage. Now ye ſhall heare the places of the ſaid Doctors cited and produced out of their own bookes, as here enſueth.

The places of the Doctors alledged before in Doctor Taylors letter.

Cyprian. l. 1. Epiſt. 11.

THis queſtion was asked of S. Cyprian, what ſhould be done with thoſe religious perſons, that

A Deacon or virgin or any other that hath dedicate himſelfe to virginity, if he cannot live chaſte, by S. Cyprians judgement ought to marry.

that could not keep their chaſtity as they had vowed. He anſwered thus: Thou doeſt ask what we do judge of Virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chaſtly, are afterward found in one bed with a man. Of the which thou ſayſt that one of them was a Deacon. We doe with great ſorrow ſee the great ruine of many perſons, which commeth by the reaſon of ſuch unlawfull and perillous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themſelves unto Chriſt in faith, to live purely and chaſtly, then let them ſo remaine without any fable, and ſtrongly and ſtedfaſtly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or elſe cannot abide; then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiſcence: And let them give to them to the brethren and ſiſters none occaſion of ſlander, &c. *Cyprian in his* 11. *Epiſtle, Lib.* 1.

Aug. de bono conjugali, ad Iulianum.

Certaine men doe affirme, Thoſe men to be advouterers, that doe marry, after that they have vowed chaſtity. But I doe affirme, That thoſe men doe grievouſly ſinne, the which doe ſeparate them, &c. Auguſtine, in his Booke, *De bono conjugali, ad Julianum.*

The Pope and his Biſhops commandeth and counſelleth not to marry, yea and to burn men for marrying.

Chaſtity of the body ought to be deſired of us: which thing I do give for a counſell, and do not command it imperiouſly. For Virginity is a thing that alonely ought to be counſelled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept. *Ambroſe* 32. *Quæſt.* 1. *Cap Integritas.*

A briefe recapitulation out of Doctor Taylors cauſes afore touched, for the Reader more evidently to ſee how the Papiſts doe againſt their own knowledge in forbidding Prieſts marriage.

The Popes Clergy, forbidding Eccleſiaſticall perſons to marrie, doe againſt their conſcience and knowledge, as may well be proved by theſe cauſes hereunder following.

1 Firſt, they know that matrimony in the old Teſtament, De jure inſtitutionis, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

2 Secondly, they know that in the old Teſtament, De facto, both Prieſts, Levites, Prophets, Patriarchs, and all others had their wives.

3 Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted and inſtituted of God for two principall ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of ſin.

4 Fourthly, they know that in the old Teſtament God not onely inſtituted and permitted Matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in theſe words, It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.

5 Fifthly, they know that in the new Teſtament S. Paul permitteth the ſtate of Matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

6 Sixthly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſaid S. Paul not onely permitteth, but alſo expreſly willeth and chargeth men having not the gift, to marry, ſaying, For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife, &c.

7 Seventhly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſaid S. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but alſo commendeth and praiſeth the ſtate of Matrimony, Heb. 13. Calling it honourable, and the bed company to be undefiled, &c.

8 Eighthly, they know that in the new Teſtament Chriſt himſelfe not only was not conceived nor borne of the Virgin before ſhe was eſpouſed in Matrimony, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed mother did beautifie and honour the ſtate of Matrimony with their preſence: yea in the ſame began his firſt miracle

9 Ninthly, they know both by the old Teſtament and new, that marriage is no impediment to walke in the obedience of Gods commandement; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barren wife, the vertuous woman Sara, with him: and alſo to Iſaac, Jacob, Moſes, David, and others, their mariage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, Biſhops, and Prieſts in the time both of the old Teſtament, and of the new. Againe, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and alſo to ſupply the office of Apoſtleſhip.

10 Tenthly, they know both by the old Teſtament and new, that ſinfull fornication and adultery depriveth man of Gods favour and graces of the holy Ghoſt, which graces eſpecially be requiſite in men of the Church.

11 Eleventhly, they know in their own ſecret conſcience, and by experience, that neither they which enioyne this vow of chaſtity, nor they which take it, doe obſerve the vow of chaſtity. Whereupon riſe inconveniences more than can be expreſſed: but the Lord above knoweth all, beſides the ſecret murders peradventure of many a poore infant, &c.

12 Twelfthly, they know by S. Cyprian, Epiſt. 11. and Saint Auguſtine, Lib. de bono conjugali, ad Iulianum, that a vow is no impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony, or to divorce the ſame.

13 Thirteenthly, they know that Chryſoſtome affirmeth it to be an hereſie to ſay, that a Biſhop may not have a wife.

14 Fourteenthly, they know that Saint Ambroſe, 32. q. 1. Integritas, will have no commandement, but counſell onely to be given touching the obſerving of virginity.

15 Fifteenthly, they know that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of 1000. yeeres after Chriſt, marriage was never reſtrained, by any forcible neceſſity of vow, from men of the Church.

16 Sixteenthly, they know that Saint Paul calleth it the doctrine of divels, to forbid meats, and marriage, which God hath left free, with thankſgiving, for neceſſity of man and woman.

After that Doctor Taylor thus with great ſpirit and courage had anſwered for himſelfe, and ſtoutly rebuked his adverſaries for breaking their oath made before to K. Henry and to King Edward his ſonne, and for betraying the Realm into the power of the Romane Biſhop; they perceiving that in no caſe he could be ſtirred to their wils and purpoſe, that is, to turne with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed him thereupon to priſon againe, where he endured till the laſt of January.

D. Taylor the fourth time, with M. Bradford, and M. Saunders, brought before Wincheſter and other Biſhops.

Upon which day and yeere aforeſaid, Doctor Taylor and Maſter Bradford, and Maſter Saunders were again called to appeare before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Norwich, of London, of Saliſbury and of Dureſme, and there were charged again with hereſie and ſchiſme, and therfore a determinate anſwer was required; whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the Romane Biſhop and abiure their errors,

Gardiner. Hopton. Boner. Capon. Tonſtall.

or elſe they would according to their lawes proceed to their condemnation.

The conſtancy of theſe men.

When D. Taylor and his fellowes, M. Bradford and M. Sanders, heard this, they anſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edwards dayes, neither would they ſubmit themſelves to the Romiſh Antichriſt; but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his word and truth.

Sentence of death given upon innocents.

When the Biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and unmoveably fixed in the truth, they read the ſentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they moſt ioyfully gave God thanks, and ſtoutly ſaid unto the Biſhops; We doubt not but God the righteous Iudge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiving againe of Antichriſt, and your tyranny that ye now ſhew againſt the flocke of Chriſt.

D. Taylor condemned.

So was Doctor Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clinke, and the Keepers charged ſtraitly to keepe him: for ye have now another manner of charge (quoth the Lord Chancellor) than they had before: therefore looke ye take heed to it.

D. Taylor removed from the Clink to the Counter by night.

When the Keeper brought him toward the priſon, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he ſaid, God be praiſed (good people) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirme the truth with my blood. So was he beſtowed in the Clink, till it was toward night, and then he was removed to the Counter by the Poultry.

Boner commeth to the Counter to degrade D. Taylor.

Boner perſwading D. Taylor to turne.

D. Taylor refuſeth to turne from Chriſt to Antichriſt.

D. Taylor and Boner ſtriving for putting on the maſſing garments.

When Doctor Taylor had lyen in the ſaid Counter in the Poultry a ſevennight or thereabouts priſoner, the fourth day of February, Anno 1555. Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, with others, came to the ſaid Counter to degrade him, bringing with them ſuch ornaments, as do appertaine to their maſſing mummery. Now being come, he called for the ſaid Doctor Taylor to be brought unto him, the Biſhop being then in the chamber, where the Keeper of the Counter and his wife lay. So D. Taylor was brought downe from the chamber above that, to the ſaid Boner. And at his comming, the Biſhop ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I would you would remember your ſelf, and turne to your mother holy Church; ſo may you doe well enough, and I will ſue for your pardon. Whereunto Maſter Taylor anſwered, I would you and your fellowes would turne to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turne to Antichriſt. Well, quoth the Biſhop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on theſe veſtures. No, quoth Doctor Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not, ſaid the Biſhop? I ſhall make thee, ere I goe. Quoth Doctor Taylor, You ſhall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not doe it for him.

D. Taylor derideth the Popes maſſing toyes.

So he willed another to put them on his back, and when he was throughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his hands to his ſide, walking up and down, and ſaid; How ſay you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? How ſay you my Maſters? If I were in Cheape, ſhould I not have boyes enow to laugh at theſe apiſh toyes, and toying trumpery? ſo the Biſhop ſcraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crowne of his head, and did the reſt of ſuch like divelliſh obſervances.

D. Taylor prayeth againſt the pope and his deteſtable enormities.

Boner afraid of D. Taylor.

At the laſt, when he ſhould have given Doctor Taylor a ſtroke on the breaſt with his Croſier-ſtaffe, the Biſhops Chaplaine ſaid, My Lord ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike againe. Yea by S. Peter will I, quoth Doctor Taylor. The cauſe is Chriſts, and I were no good Chriſtian if I would not fight in my Maſters quarrell. So the biſhop laid his curſe upon him, but ſtruck him not. Then Doctor Taylor ſaid, Though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſſe me. I have the witneſſe of my conſcience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliver us. And in going up to his chamber, he ſtill ſaid, God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you. And when he came up, he told Maſter Bradford (for then both lay in one chamber) that he had made the biſhop of London afraid: for, ſaith he laughingly, his Chaplain gave him counſell not to ſtrike me with his Croſier-ſtaffe, for that I would ſtrike againe; and, by my troth, ſaid he, rubbing his hands, I made him beleeve I would doe ſo indeed.

Keepers of priſon.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his ſonne Thomas reſorted unto him, and were by the gentleneſſe of the Keepers permitted to ſup with him. For this difference was ever found betweene the Keepers of the Biſhops priſons, and the Keepers of the Kings priſons: that the Biſhops Keepers were ever cruell, blaſphemous, and tyrannous like their Maſters: but the Keepers of the Kings priſons ſhewed, for the moſt part, as much favour as they poſſibly might.

So came D. Taylors wife, his ſon, and Iohn Hull his ſervant, to ſup with him: and at their comming in afore ſupper, they kneeled down and prayed, ſaying the Letanie.

D. Taylor bleſſeth his ſon

D. Taylors godly exhortation to his ſon, worthy of all youth to be marked.

After ſupper walking up and downe, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had ſo called him, and given him ſtrength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his ſonne Thomas, My deare ſonne (ſaid he) Almighty God bleſſe thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to be a true ſervant of Chriſt, to learne his word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth all thy life long. And my Sonne, ſee that thou feare God alwayes. Flee from all ſin, and wicked living: be vertuous, ſerve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wiſe ſee thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and ſerve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counſell in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that feare not God, but follow their lewd luſts and vaine appetites. Fly from whoredome, and hate all filthy living, remembring, that I thy father doe die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God ſhall bleſſe thee, love and cheriſh the poore people, and count that thy chiefe riches is, to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forſake her not, but provide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lack nothing: For ſo will God bleſſe thee, and give thee long life upon earth and proſperity: which I pray God to grant thee.

D. Taylor counſelleth his wife.

Then turning to his wife, My deare wife, quoth he, continue ſtedfaſt in the feare and love of God, keep your ſelfe undefiled from their Popiſh Idolatries and ſuperſtitions. I have beene unto you a faithfull yoke-fellow, and ſo have you beene unto me, for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt you not, deare wife, but God will reward it.

Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the wedlocke bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counſell what I thinke moſt expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for you to marry. For doubtleſſe you ſhall never be at a convenient ſtay for your ſelfe and our poore children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore as

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Anno 1555

ſoone as God will provide it, marry with ſome honeſt faithfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honeſt huſband for you, and he will be a mercifull father to you and to my children: whom I pray you, bring up in the feare of God, and in learning, to the uttermoſt of your power, and keep them from this Romiſh idolatry. When he had thus ſaid, they with weeping teares prayed together, and kiſſed one the other: and he gave to his wife a booke of the Church-ſervice, ſet out by King Edward, which in the time of his impriſonment he daily uſed. And unto his ſonne Thomas he gave a Latine booke, containing the notable ſayings of the old Martyrs, gathered out of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria; and in the end of that booke he wrote his Teſtament and laſt Vale, as hereafter followeth.

His laſt token to his wife and his ſonne.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, Parſon of Hadley.

D. Taylors will and Teſtament written in the book which he gave to his ſonne.
Iob 1.2.
Apoc. 14.
Luke 12.

I Say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I beleeve that they are bleſſed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparrowes, and for the haires of our heads. I have ever found him more faithfull and favourable, than is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therefore in him by the means of our deare Saviour Chriſts merits: beleeve, love, feare, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to helpe. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainly live, and never die. I goe before, and you ſhall follow after, to our long home. I goe to the reſt of my children, Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zacharie: I have bequeathed you to the onely Omnipotent.

A pure conſcience fully quieted.

I ſay to my deare friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conſcience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent declared to others thoſe leſſons that I gathered out of Gods Booke, the bleſſed Bible. Therefore if I or an Angell from heaven ſhould preach to you any other Goſpell, than that ye have received, Gods great curſe upon that Preacher.

A grave warning againſt Popery.

Beware for Gods ſake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, leſt God decline from you, and ſo do ye everlaſtingly periſh. For Gods ſake beware of Popery, for though it appeare to have in it unity, yet the ſame is in vanity, and Antichriſtianity, and not in Chriſts faith and verity.

The ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt.

Beware of the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, now after ſuch a light opened ſo plainely and ſimply, truly, throughly and generally to all England.

A godly prayer

The Lord grant all men his good and holy ſpirit, increaſe of his wiſedome, contemning the wicked world, hearty deſire to be with God, and the heavenly company, through Ieſus Chriſt, our onely Mediator, Advocate, Righteouſneſſe, Life, Sanctification, and Hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, Pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in ſure hope, without all doubting of eternall ſalvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Ieſus Chriſt my certaine Saviour, Amen.
The 5. of February. Anno 1555.

The Lord is my light and my ſalvation: whom then ſhall I feare? Pſal. 27.

God is he that juſtifieth: who is he that can condemne? Rom. 8.

In thee, O Lord, have I truſted, let me never be confounded, Pſal. 30.

D. Taylor led from the Counter by night toward Hadley.

On the next morrow, after that D. Taylor had ſupped with his wife in the Counter, as is before expreſſed, which was the fifth day of February, the Sheriffe of London with his Officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and ſo brought forth D. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolſack, an Inne without Algate. Doctor Taylors wife, ſuſpecting that her huſband ſhould that night be carried away, watching all night within S. Butolphs Church-porch beſide Algate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of 13. yeeres of age (whom being left without father or mother, D. Taylor had brought up of almes from three yeeres old) the other named Mary, D. Taylors own daughter.

The laſt meeting and leave-taking with his wife and children.

Now, when the Sheriffe and his company came againſt S. Butolphs Church, Elizabeth cried, ſaying, O my deare Father; Mother, mother, here is my Father led away. Then cried his wife, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? for it was a very darke morning, that the one could not ſee the other. D. Taylor anſwered, Deere wife, I am here, and ſtayed. The Sheriffs men would have led him forth, but the Sheriffe ſaid, Stay a little maſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeak to his wife, and ſo they ſtayed.

This Sheriffe was M. Cheſter.

Then came ſhe to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his armes: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and ſaid the Lords prayer. At which ſight the Sheriffe wept apace, and ſo did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he roſe up and kiſſed his wife, and ſhooke her by the hand, and ſaid: Farewell my deare wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhall ſtirre up a father for my children. And then he kiſſed his daughter Mary and ſaid, God bleſſe thee, and make thee his ſervant: and kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſaid, God bleſſe thee. I pray you all ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto Chriſt and his word, and keep you from idolatry. Then ſaid his wife, God be with thee, deare Rowland, I will with Gods grace meet thee at Hadley.

D. Taylor brought to the ſigne of the Woolſack.

And ſo was he led forth to the Woolſack, and his wife followed him. As ſoone as they came to the Woolſacke, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with foure Yeomen of the Guard and the Sheriffes men. D. Taylor, as ſoone as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himſelfe wholly to prayer. The Sheriffe then, ſeeing D. Taylors wife there, would in no caſe grant her to ſpeake any more with her huſband, but gently deſired her to go to his houſe, and take it as her owne, and promiſed her ſhe ſhould lacke nothing, and ſent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithſtanding ſhe deſired to go to her mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came againe.

The Sheriffes gentleneſſe ſhewed to the woman.

Thus remained D. Taylor in the Woolſack, kept by the Sheriffe and his company, till 11. of the clock. At which time the Sheriffe of Eſſex was ready to receive him: and ſo they ſet him on horſeback within the Inne, the gates being ſhut.

D. Taylor taketh his leave of his ſonne Thomas and John Hull.

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before ſpoken of, ſtood at the railes with Thomas, D. Taylors ſonne. When D. Taylor ſaw them, he called them, ſaying, Come hither my ſonne Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and ſet him on the horſe before his father: and D. Taylor put off his hat, and ſaid to the people that ſtood there looking on him; Good people this is mine own ſonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony; and God be bleſſed for lawfull matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his ſonne, laid his hat upon the childs head, and bleſſed him, and ſo delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand, and ſaid; Farewell John Hull, the faithfulleſt ſervant that ever man had. And ſo they rode forth, the Sheriffe of Eſſex with foure Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriffes men leading him.

A good teſtimony for all ſervants to mark.

Arthur Fayſie.

When they were come almoſt at Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſie, a man of Haley, who before time had beene D. Taylors ſervant, met with them, and he, ſuppoſing him to have beene at liberty, ſaid, Maſter Doctor I am glad to ſee you againe at liberty, and ſame to him, and tooke him by the hand. Soft Sir, quoth the Sheriffe, he is a priſoner: what haſt thou to doe with him? I cry you mercy, ſaid Arthur, I knew not ſo much, and I thought it no offence to talke to a true man. The Sheriffe was very angry with this, and threatned to carry Arthur with him to priſon; notwithſtanding, he bade him get him quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to Burntwood: where they cauſed to be made for D. Taylor a cloſe hood, with two holes for his eyes to looke out at, and a ſlit for his mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any man. Which practice they uſed alſo with others. Their owne conſciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the people ſhould have heard them ſpeake, or have ſeene them, they might have been much more ſtrengthned by their godly exhortations, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Gods word, and to flie the ſuperſtitions and idolatries of the Papacy.

A cloſe hood made for D. Taylor, that no man ſhould know him.

Chriſts adverſaries work all by darkneſſe.

D. Taylor is ioyfull in his way.

All the way D. Taylor was ioyfull and merry, as one that accounted himſelfe going to a moſt pleaſant banquet or bridall. He ſpake many notable things to the Sheriffe and Yeomen of the Guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weepe through his much earneſt calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evill and wicked living. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and reioyce, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, void of all feare, ioyfull in heart, and glad to die. Of theſe Yeomen of the Guard, three uſed D. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes) uſed him very homely, unkindly, and churliſhly.

Homes a notorious adverſary to D. Taylor.

At Chelmesford met them the Sheriffe of Suffolke, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at ſupper, the Sheriffe of Eſſex very earneſtly laboured him to returne to the Popiſh Religion, thinking with faire words to perſwade him, and ſaid, Good Maſter Doctor, we are right ſorry for you, conſidering what the loſſe is of ſuch a one as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great learning and wiſedome, wherefore ye have been in great favor and reputation in times paſt with the Councell and higheſt of this Realm. Beſides this, ye are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to live many yeeres, and without doubt, ye ſhould in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men as well for your vertues as for your learning: and me think it were great pitie you ſhould caſt away your ſelfe willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a painfull and ſhamefull death. Ye ſhould do much better to revoke your opinions, and returne to the Catholike Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes holineſſe to be the ſupreme head of the univerſall Church, and reconcile your ſelf to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye ſhall finde favor at the Queenes hands, I and all theſe your friends will be ſuters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye ſhall obtaine. This counſell I give you, good M. Doctor, of a good heart, and good will toward you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner ſaid all the Yeomen of the Guard: upon that condition, M. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

The Sheriffe of Eſſex laboureth D. Taylor to returne to Papiſme.

The Sheriffes words to D. Taylor.

D. Taylor maketh a ieſt of Death, with a meet anſwer for ſuch Doctors and counſellors.

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he ſtayed a little, as one ſtudying what anſwer he might give. At the laſt thus he anſwered and ſaid, Maſter ſheriffe, and my Maſters all, I heartily thank you for your good will. I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counſels. And to be plaine with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived my ſelfe, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all reioyced. Yea, good Maſter Doctor, quoth the ſheriffe, Gods bleſſing on your heart: hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt word that we heard you ſpeak yet. What? ſhould ye caſt away your ſelfe in vaine? Play a wiſe mans part, and I dare warrant it, ye ſhall finde favor. Thus they reioyced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the laſt: good M. Doctor, quoth the ſheriffe, what meant ye by this, that ye ſaid ye thinke ye have been deceived your ſelfe, and think ye ſhall deceive many one in Hadley? Would ye know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea, quoth the ſheriffe, good M. Doctor tell it us plainly.

Then ſaid Doctor Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I thinke, I ſhall deceive a great many. I am, as you ſee, a man that hath a very great carkaſſe, which I thought ſhould have been buried in Hadley Church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I ſhould have done; but herein I ſee I was deceived: and there are a great number of wormes in Hadley Church-yard: which ſhould have had iolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carkaſſe muſt be burnt to aſhes, and ſo ſhall they loſe their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

Apophthegma of D. Taylor.

When the ſheriffe and his company heard him ſay ſo, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the mans conſtant minde, that thus without all feare made but a ieſt at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean diſappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt wealth and proſperity; namely, that he ſhould ſhortly die, and feed wormes in his grave: which meditation if all our Biſhops, and ſpirituall men had uſed, they had not for a little worldly glory forſaken the word of God and truth, which they in King Edwards dayes had preached and ſet forth, nor yet, to maintaine the Biſhop of Romes authority, have committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

A good meditation.

But let us returne to Doctor Taylor, who at Chelmesford was delivered to the ſheriffe of Suffolke, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he ſuffered. When they were come to Lanham, the ſheriffe ſtayed there two dayes; and thither came to him a great number of Gentlemen and Iuſtices upon great horſes, which all were appointed to aid the ſheriffe. Theſe Gentlemen laboured Doctor Taylor very ſore, to reduce him to the Romiſh Religion, promiſing him his pardon, which, ſaid they, we have here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea a Biſhoprick if he would take it: but all their labor and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his houſe upon the ſand in perill of

Lanham is a towne in Suffolke.

Anno 1555.

falling at every puffe of wind, but upon the ſure and unmoveable rock, Chriſt. Wherefore he abode conſtant and unmoveable unto the end.

After two days, the Sheriffe and his company led D. Taylor towards Hadley, and comming within two mile of Hadley, he deſired to light off his horſe to make water: which done, he leapt, and ſet a friſke or twaine, as men commonly do in dauncing. Why Maſter Doctor, quoth the Sheriffe, how do you now? He anſwered: Well, God be praiſed, good Maſter Sheriffe. Never better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lack not paſt two ſtiles to go over, and I am even at my fathers houſe. But Maſter Sheriffe, ſaid he, ſhall we not go thorow Hadley? Yes, ſaid the Sheriffe, you ſhall go thorow Hadley. Then ſaid he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall yet once ere I die ſee my flock, whom thou Lord knoweſt I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bleſſe them, and keep them ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

D. Taylor reioyceth that he is ſo nigh home

Another Apophthegma of D. Taylor.

D. Taylor deſirous to ſee his flock.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge foot waited a poore man with five ſmall children: who when he ſaw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell downe upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a lowd voice, and ſaid: O deare father and good ſhepheard, Doctor Taylor: God helpe and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me and my poore children. Such witneſſe had the ſervant of God of his vertuous and charitable almes given in his life time. For God would now the poore ſhould teſtifie of his good deeds to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutors and tyrannous adverſaries. For the Sheriffe and other that led him to death, were wonderfully aſtonied at this: and the Sheriffe ſore rebuked the poore man for ſo crying. The ſtreets of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey, who waited to ſee him: whom when they beheld ſo led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried: ſaying one to another; Ah good Lord, there goeth our good ſhepheard from us, that ſo faithfully hath taught us, ſo fatherly hath cared for us, and ſo godly hath governed us. O mercifull God: what ſhall we poore ſcattered lambs do? What ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him, and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were ſore rebuked by the Sheriffe and Catchpoles his men, that led him. And D. Taylor evermore ſaid to the people; I have preached to you Gods word and truth, and am come this day to ſeale it with my blood.

A poore man with five children comforted D. Taylor.

The people lament Doctor Taylor.

D. Taylor confeſſeth the truth, and confirmeth the ſame with his blood.

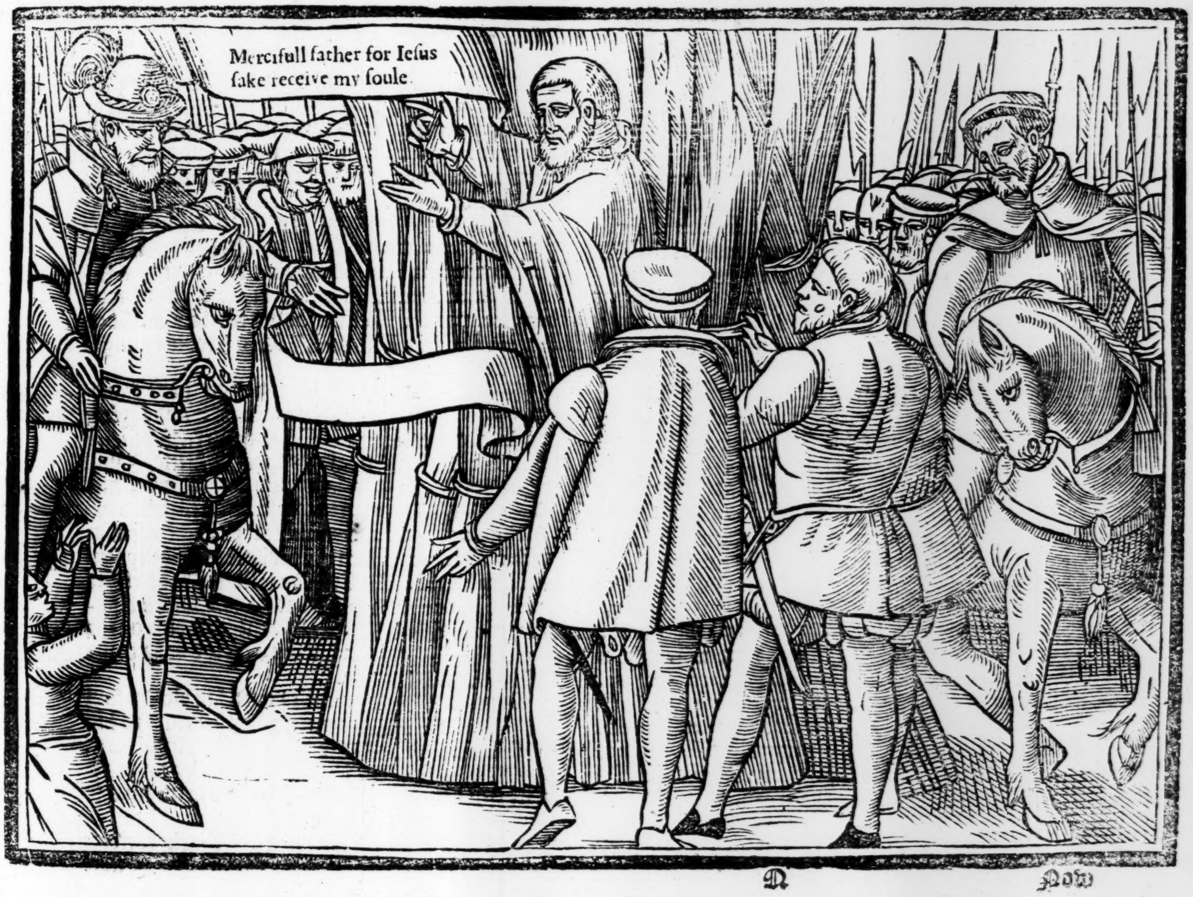
Coming againſt the Almeſhouſes, which he well knew, he caſt to the poore people mony, which remained of that good people had given him in time of his impriſonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his firſt going to priſon, ſo that he was ſuſtained all the time of his impriſonment by the charitable almes of good people that viſited him.

Therfore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the ſame purpoſe, and (as is ſaid) gave it to the poore almeſmen ſtanding at their doores to ſee him. And coming to the laſt of the Almeſhouſes, and not ſeeing the poore that there dwelt, ready at their doores, as the other were, he aſked: Is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here, alive? It was anſwered, Yes, they are there within. Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and ſo rode forth.

D. Taylor lived of almes, and gave almes.

Thus this good father and provider for the poore

The martyrdome of Doctor Taylor, burned at Hadley for the Teſtimony of the Goſpell. February 9. Anno 1555.


Mercifull father for Ieſus ſake receive my ſoule

Note this cuſtome.

now took his leave of thoſe, for whom all his life he had a ſingular care and ſtudie. For this was his cuſtome, once in a fortnight at the leaſt, to call upon Sir Anthony Doyll, and others the rich Cloth-makers, to go with him to the Almeſhouſes, and there to ſee how the poore lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poore men that had many children, or were ſicke. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cauſe, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter unto them. Thus ſhewed he himſelfe in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed, and taught by his deed, what a great treaſure almes is to all ſuch as cheerfully for Chriſts ſake do it.

Aldham Common.

At the laſt, comming to Aldham Common, the place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he aſked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hither? It was anſwered: It is Aldham Common, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to look upon you. Then ſaid he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and ſo light from his horſe, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

D. Taylor is come home.

B. Boners coſt and liberality upon D. Taylor.

Now was his head notted evill favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fooles head; which coſt the good B. Boner had beſtowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people ſaw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weeping teares, and cried, ſaying; God ſave thee good D. Taylor, Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and help thee, The holy Ghoſt comfort thee; with ſuch other like godly wiſhes. Then would he have ſpoken to the people; but the Yeomen of the Guard were ſo buſie about him, that as ſoone as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a tipſtaffe into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeak.

The people with God to help him.

D. Taylor could not be ſuffered to ſpeak to the people.

Then deſired he licence of the Sheriffe to ſpeak; but the Sheriffe denied it to him, and bad him remember his promiſe to the Counſell.

Well, quoth Doctor Taylor, promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, it is unknowne: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Counſell ſent for them, and threatned them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promiſe, that at their deaths they would keep ſilence, and not ſpeak to the people. Wherefore they deſtrons to have the uſe of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promiſed ſilence. For the Papiſts feared much, leſt this mutation of Religion, from truth to lies, from Chriſts ordinances to the Popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quietly have been received as it was, eſpecially this burning of the Preachers: but they, meaſuring others mindes by their owne, feared leſt any tumult or uproare might have beene ſtirred, the people having ſo iuſt a cauſe not to be contented with their doings, or elſe (that they moſt feared) the people ſhould more have beene confirmed by their godly exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt their vaine Popiſh doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witneſſes faith and patience, with ſtout and manly hearts to deſpiſe all torments: neither was there ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſigne of diſobedience towards the Magiſtrates. They ſhed their bloods gladly in the defence of the truth, ſo leaving example unto all men of true & perfect obedience: which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to ſhed their owne blood rather than to depart from Gods truth.

The Goſpellers are not ſeditious as the Papiſts commonly be.

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Soyce pulleth off his boots.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake, ſate downe, and ſeeing one named Soyce, he called him, and ſaid; Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots and take them for thy labour. Thou haſt long looked for them, now take them. Then roſe he up, and put off his clothes unto his ſhort, and gave them away. Which done, he ſaid with a loud voice; Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods holy word, and thoſe leſſons that I have taken out of Gods bleſſed booke, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to ſeale it with my blood. With that word, Homes Yeoman of the Guard aforeſaid, who had uſed Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great ſtroke upon the head with a waſter, and ſaid; Is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou heretike? Then he, ſeeing they would not permit him to ſpeake, kneeled downe and prayed, and a poore woman that was among the people ſtepped in and prayed with him: but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her downe with horſes: notwithſtanding ſhe would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the ſtake, and kiſſed it, and ſet himſelfe into a pitch barrell, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his back upright againſt the ſtake, with his hands foulded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and ſo he continually prayed.

D. Taylor confeſſeth the truth.

Homes a cruell tyrant.

D. Taylor prayeth.

A good woman comming to pray with him could not be ſuffered.

Richard Donningham.

Then they bound him with chaines, and the Sheriffe called one Richard Donningham a butcher, and commanded him to ſet up Fagots: but he refuſed to do it, and ſaid; I am lame Sir, and not able to lift a Fagot. The Sheriffe threatned to ſend him to priſon, notwithſtanding he would not do it.

The tormentors. Warwick a cruell tormentor. This King was alſo one of them which went with his halberd to bring them to death which were burnt at Bury.

Then appointed he one Mulleine of Carſey, a man for his vertues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who, in the commotion time in King Edwards dates loſt one of his eares for his ſeditious talke, amongſt whom alſo was one Robert King a deviſer of Enterludes, who albeit was there preſent, and had doing there with the gun-powder; what he meant and did therein (he himſelf ſaith he did it for the beſt, and for quick diſpatch) the Lord knoweth; which ſhall iudge all, more of this I have not to ſay.

These foure were appointed to ſet up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they moſt diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly caſt a fagot at him, which light upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his viſage. Then ſaid D. Taylor; O friend, I have harme enough, what needed that?

D. Taylor is patient.

Sir John Shelton.

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there ſtanding by, as D. Taylor was ſpeaking, and ſaying the Pſalme *Miſerere* in Engliſh, ſtruck him on the lips: Ye knave, ſaid he, ſpeak Latine, I will make thee. At the laſt they ſet to fire; and D. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and ſaid: Mercifull father of heaven, for Jeſus Chriſt my Saviours ſake, receive my ſoul into thy hands. So ſtood he ſtill without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halberd ſtruck him on the head that the braines fell out, and the dead corps fell down into the fire.

D. Taylors laſt words.

Soyce ſtriketh him downe with an halberd.

Thus rendred the man of God his bleſſed ſoul into the hands of his mercifull father, and to his moſt deare and certaine Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom he moſt entirely loved, faithfully and earneſtly preached, obediently followed in living, and conſtantly glorified in death.

They that were preſent and familiarly converſant

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ſant with this Doctor Taylor, reported of him, that they never did ſee in him any feare of death, but eſpecially and above all the reſt, which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, alwayes ſhewed himſelfe merry and cheerfull in time of his impriſonment, as well before his condemnation, as after; he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of M. John Bradford, who then was in priſon and chamber with him.

The ſame morning, when he was called up by the Sheriffe to go to his burning (about three of the clocke in the morning) being ſuddenly awaked out of his ſound ſleepe, he ſate up in his bed, and putting on his ſhirt, had theſe words, ſpeaking ſomwhat thick after his accuſtomed manner: Ah horſon theeves; ah horſon theeves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour? Afterward being riſen and tying his poynts, he caſt his armes about a balk which was in the chamber betweene M. Bradfords bed and his: and there hanging by the hands, ſaid to Maſter Bradford: O M. Bradford, quoth he, what a notable ſway ſhould I give if I were hanged? meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. Theſe things I thought good here to note; to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this hiſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirit and courage God had given to this godly and bleſſed Martyr.

D. Taylor careleſſe of his death.

An example of ſingular courage in Doctor Taylor.

At what time D. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Bracher, a falſe pretenſed Proteſtant in K. Edwards dayes, and afterward a deadly enemy to the ſame Religion: who was alſo one of them that ſo unmercifully thruſt D. Taylors wife and children out of the doores, as ſhe her ſelfe yet can teſtifie: and notwithſtanding the ſame now ſince became a Proteſtant againe.

This Sir Robert Bracher aforeſaid, coming to Hadley to the buriall of a certaine friend of his and Gods great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came ſomewhat too late to the market (as he ſaid) yet deſirous to utter ſuch Popiſh pelſe and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of peſtilent doctrine, preaching in the ſame town of Hadley againſt Juſtification by faith, of the corporall preſence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confeſſion. Whereof D. Taylor having underſtanding by letters, writeth againe to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife in confutation of the ſaid Popiſh poyſoned Sermon; the copie of which letter we thought not unworthy here in the end of this ſtory to be annexed, as under followeth.

Sir Robert Brachers coming to Hadley. A Popiſh Sermon of Sir Robert Bracher.

A Letter of Doctor Taylor of Hadley, written to his wife.

Deare wife, I pray God be ever with us through Chriſt our only Mediator, Amen.

This cap was a round cap ſent by Miles Coverdale to D. Taylor by his wife. This packer was Sir Rob. Bracher preaching Popiſh doctrine at Hadley.

I thank you for my cap: I am ſomwhat proud of it: for it is one ſtep from the Clergy in theſe dayes. I thank God, my heart is cleane divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can ſerve two Maſters, ſpecially if they agree no better than Chriſt and Antichriſt doe. I am glad that Hadley can ſkill of ſuch packing ware as was brought thither the firſt day of May laſt paſt. Chriſts ſheepe can diſcerne Chriſts voice from the voice of ſtrangers, theeves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer was ſory that he came too late to the funerall market of his faithfull friend. But here I will leave them both to Gods judgment, and ſomthing touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the firſt he called the Scripture (as I heare) full of dark ſentences, but indeed it is called of David, A candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour Chriſt calleth his word, the light which evill doers do flee from and hate, leſt their deeds ſhould be reproved thereby. S. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wiſe not to continue in ignorance or darkneſſe. But all we in the world pertaine to two Princes, either to the father of light and truth, or elſe to the Prince of darkneſſe and lies.

The Scriptures falſly accuſed of the Catholikes to be obſcure and dark.

In theſe dayes Preachers declare evidently of whom they are ſent, and with what ſpirit they ſpeak, and to what Prince they belong. For they cry out againſt Gods lights, ſun, moone, ſtars, torches, lamps, lanternes, creſſets, and candles in Gods book the Bible, provided of Gods great goodneſſe and mercy to avoid all foule darkneſſe, clouds and myſts, or dangerous doubtfull wayes in this our journey to our heavenly father, long home, manſion houſes, and dearely purchaſed heritage. Eſay, Gods faithfull meſſenger, ſaith, Wo be unto them that call ſweet ſowre, good evil, and light darkneſſe. Therefore cometh my people into captivity, becauſe they have no underſtanding. Our Saviour Chriſt pronounceth error and hereſies to remain among the people, ſo long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good conſciences, what they meane, which defame or accuſe Gods bleſſed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkneſſe. Theſe Owles would have all day lights ſcraped out of bookes, hearts, and Churches. O Lord turne their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkneſſe, leſt they go to the Prince of darkneſſe, and be caſt into the pit of utter darkneſſe, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Now touching the packes of wooll, and the packes of cloth, I feare they were as all other wares be, tranſubſtantiate into ſtocks, even his very fineſt packing ſtuffe againſt onely faith juſtifying, and for the corporall preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament, for praying for ſouls departed, and for auricular confeſſion. Abrahams juſtification by faith, by grace, by promiſe, and not by works, is plainly ſet forth both in the Epiſtle to the Romans cap. 4. and to the Galath. cap 3. and Abrahams works of obedience, in offering up his ſonne ſo long after his juſtification, muſt needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree juſtifying before men, and not of juſtification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Chriſt die in vaine.

The Popes pack ware, juſtification by works, corporall preſence, praying for ſoules, auricular confeſſion.

And wheras the 6. chap. of John was alledged, to prove that Chriſt did give his body corporally in his ſupper, even as he had promiſed in the ſaid chap. it is moſt untrue. For only he gave his body ſacramentally, ſpiritually, and effectually in his ſupper to the faithfull Apoſtles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody ſacrifice for the life of the world upon the croſſe once for all. There in his own perſon, in his own naturall body he bare all our ſinnes. By whoſe ſtripes we are healed, as S. Peter proceedeth, 1 Pet. 2. & Eſay 53. Indeed receiving Chriſts ſacrament accordingly as it was inſtituted, we receive Chriſts body & Chriſts blood, even as I ſaid before the Apoſtles did.

Againſt the corporall preſence. Chriſts body given in the ſupper ſpiritually, upon the croſſe corporally.

But the Popiſh Maſſe is another matter. The Maſſe as it is now, is but one of Antichriſts youngeſt daughters, in the which the Divell is rather preſent and received, than our Saviour ye ſecond perſon in Trinity, God and man. O Lord God heavenly father, for Chriſts ſake, we beſeech thee to turn again England to ye right way it was in in K. Edwards time, from this Babylonicall, ſtewiſh, ſpiritual whoredome, conſpiracy, tyranny, deteſtable enormities, falſe doctrine, hereſie, hard-

Againſt the Maſſe. The Maſſe the popes yongeſt daughter. Deſcription of the Popes kingdome.

neſſe of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandements, from this evident and open idolatry, ſacriledge, ſymonie, blaſphemy, ſuperſtition, hypocriſie, tranſubſtantiate Angel of light, and day divell, kingdome of lies, foule vaine ſchiſmes, ſects, ſedition, apoſtaſie, gay ſweet poyſon, honied and ſugered viperous venome, wily wolviſhneſſe, ſatanicall ſubtilty, and abomination in the ſight of God and of all ſuch as put on the true ſpectacles of holy Scripture. I am the more plaine now in this matter, becauſe I feare greatly, that many will be too much ready to goe from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from the Bible, Gods true ſervice and Religion, to Latine lying Legends, portuiſes, maſſe bookes, and ſuperſtition. They ſay their Church cannot erre in any point, when indeed they be not of Gods Church, and therefore they can do nothing but erre, even as they do almoſt in all caſes of true faith.

Chryſoſt. Popiſhly applied.

But to come againe to the packer rather than preacher, he bringeth S. Chryſoſtome, writing *Ad populum Antiochenum*, where he maketh a compariſon betweene Chriſts fleſh and Elias cloke caſt downe to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot; at length he ſaith, that Chriſt, aſcending up to heaven, tooke his fleſh with him, and alſo left his fleſh behind him in earth.

The meaning of Chryſoſtome rightly expounded concerning Elias cloake.

Of this memoriall cloake read before in D. Ridleyes diſputations.

The meaning of it is, he did aſcend with his fleſh, and left a memoriall cloke of the ſame body and fleſh, which he calleth his fleſh, as he in the Sacramentall phraſe calleth Bread his body, becauſe it repreſenteth his body: and as in like manner of Sacramentall ſpeech, a Lambe was called the Paſſeover, the Circumciſion, Gods Covenant. He tooke up his fleſh corporally, and left his fleſh in myſtery and Sacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſaid, that he left his fleſh upon earth, that is, his myſticall body, his faithfull people, whom S. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his fleſh, of his bones, Epheſ. 5. In the 49. chapter of Geneſis, there is no word of Chriſts Sacrament, but there is a prophecy of Chriſts paſſion, wherein his fole was bound, that is, his body. And where he ſpeaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is ſpoken of Chriſt in another place, where he ſaith, *Ego ſolus torcular calcavi*, I alone did tread the wine preſſe, meaning thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered painfull paſſion for the remiſſion of ſins, and for the conſolation of his faithfull ſouldiers.

The place of Geneſis 49.

Chriſts naturall body cannot be divided.

It is not true that the packer ſaid, that Chriſts infinite power may make his body to be in a thouſand places at once, as a loafe to be in a thouſand bellies: for then might Chriſt divide the parts of his body, as a loafe is divided and ſo conſumed, and then might Scripture be falſe, appointing Chriſts body to be but in one place. Acts 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3. The articles of our faith tell us ſufficiently where Chriſts body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever ſhall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or ſhall be eaten ſo with any corporall mouthes, as the Capernaites and the Papiſts moſt erroneouſly and heretically do iudge. If our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt hath no other body naturall than is made of the ſubſtance of bread, and is in a thouſand places at once, as I have often ſaid in Hadley: we are not yet redeemed, neither ſhall our bodies riſe againe, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are ſure that our Saviour Chriſts body is made of none other ſubſtance than of his mother the bleſſed Virgin Maries ſubſtance. We are ſure that he taketh not the nature of Angels, much leſſe of bread. Only he taketh on him yͤ ſeed of Abraham, Heb. 2. In all things like unto us, ſin only except. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Chriſtians, beleeving ſtedfaſtly, as the true catholike faith is, that Chriſt hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rocke Chriſts Church is builded, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevaile againſt it, Matth. 16.

Chriſts body was never in two places at once.

Heb. 2.

Anno 1555.

Auricular confeſſion. Praying for the dead.

I ſpeak nothing now of auricular confeſſion, and praying for ſoules departed, becauſe I doe not heare what authors the packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am that he can bring no authenticall and canonicall warrant for ſuch his packware. He may ſay what he will of Hebricians and Grecians, and fleſh under formes, and not above formes, or above the board. He may coniure and conveigh, paſſe and repaſſe, even what he will in ſuch clouds and myſts. He reproved the Scriptures as full of darkneſſe, and yet is full of darkneſſe himſelf. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Iewry, Turkie, and other ſtrange places, for his round white cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelſe packe is contrary to the plaine ſimplicity of Chriſts ſupper. He glanced at Prieſts marriage. He might againſt that have brought as ancient a Doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrew, for his maſſe and wafer cake, that is D. Divell, 1 Tim. 4.

He meaneth by the place 1 Tim. 4. where S. Paul ſpeaketh of the doctrine of divels, &c.

I marvell that he did not confute and confound S. Paul for the ſentences written above the Altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellowes of Oxford be ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo glorious, and triumphant Clerks, that they can eaſily prove a man an aſſe, and writers in the Bible ignorant, ſimple, full of errors, full of hereſies, and beggarly fooles. Yet they will be called catholikes, faithfull and true Chriſtian people, defenders of the holy mother the Church: but truly they take part with the Prince of darkneſſe, with Antichriſt, with Ieſabel, Apoc. 2. They will not be called Papiſts, Phariſees, Iewes, Turkes, Heretikes, and ſo forth: but whatſoever they will be called, Gods Religion had never more evident adverſaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Chriſt whipt ſuch Merchants out of the Temple, calling them a company of theeves, Mat. 21. God give them grace to repent. God be thanked that the nobility ſomthing of late hath ſpied and ſtopped their tyranny. O unhappy England: O more ungratefull people, ſooner bewitched than the fooliſh Galathians. We have now no excuſe.

Engliſh people likened to the Galathians.

We have undoubtedly ſeene the true trace of the Propheticall, Apoſtolicall, primitive catholike Church. We are warned to beware, leſt we be led out of at way, ſociety, and Rule of Religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what countrey men we be, whether ſpirituall and heavenly, or carnall and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any Countrey, or at any time, ſince the beginning of the world, God be praiſed therfore. If Hadley, being ſo many yeeres perſwaded in ſuch truth, will now willingly and wittingly forſake the ſame, and defile it ſelfe with the cake God, idolatry, and other Antichriſtianity thereunto belonging, let it ſurely looke for many and wonderfull plagues of God ſhortly. Though another have the benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be carefull for my deare Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeak, after the firſt abominable maſſe begun there, I being preſent, no more, I cannot but write now being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit by ſuch a wily wolfe. Gods love, mercy, goodneſſe and favor hath been unſpeakable, in teaching us the right way of ſalvation and iuſtification: let us all have ſome zeale, ſome care how to ſerve him according to his good will written. The God of love and peace be

The cake God.

The carefull zeale of Doctor Taylor for Hadley.

ever

Anno 1555.

ever in Hadley, through Chriſt our onely Advocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

The proceedings of the Pope-catholikes in maintaining their Religion.

After that Steven Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, had got the lawes, and the ſecular arme on his ſide, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reigne and rule as he liſted, and had brought theſe godly Biſhops and reverend Preachers aforeſaid under foot, namely, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Doctor Ridley Biſhop of London, Maſter Latimer, M. Hooper Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, Maſter Rogers, Maſter Saunders, Doctor Taylor, and Maſter Bradford, all which he had now preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned; he ſuppoſed now all had beene cocke ſure, and that Chriſt had beene conquered for ever, ſo that the people, being terrified with example of theſe great learned men condemned, never would, ne durſt once rout againſt their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf, to the maner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintaine their ſect by good learning and truth of Gods word, think by violence of ſword to force whom they can to their beliefe; and that done, afterward make lawes, no man under paine of hereſie to diſpute, or once to call in queſtion any of their proceedings. Even ſo, Steven Gardiner and his fellowes, when they ſee they cannot prevaile by triall of Gods word, & diſcourſe of learning, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeeke for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions againſt Gods word, affirming it to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to be his owne iudge, and therefore that of neceſſity it muſt be iudged by the Popes Church; and ſo having Kings and Queenes on their ſide, they ſeeke not to perſwade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but in ſtead of the law of God, they uſe (as the Proverbe ſaith) τῶ νόμω χείρων, compelling men by death, fire, and ſword (as the Turkes doe) to beleeve that in very deed they thinke not. And indeed after fleſh and blood this ſeemeth to be a ſure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turkes: and therefore thinke they to practiſe the ſame, at leaſt wiſe ſo they doe, upon what example ſoever they do it. And thus condemned they theſe godly learned Preachers and Biſhops aforeſaid, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that all the reſt would ſoone be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine dayes after that Stephen Gardiner had given ſentence againſt Maſter Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the eighth of February, ſix other good men were brought likewiſe before the Biſhops for the ſame cauſe of Religion, to be examined, whoſe names were William Pigot Butcher, Stephen Knight barber, Thomas Tomkins Weaver, Thomas Haukes Gentleman, John Laurence Prieſt, Will. Hunter prentice.

The manner of proceeding like in the Catholikes and the Turks.

νόμος τ̃ χείρων. Proverbs.

February.

Six men condemned before Biſhop Boner for hereſie.

Ste. Gardiner giveth over his murdering office to Biſhop Boner.

Stephen Gardiner ſeeing thus his device diſappointed, and that cruelty in this caſe would not ſerve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly diſcouraged, and from that day medled no more in ſuch kinde of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Boner Biſhop of London: who ſupplied that part right doubtily, as in the farther proceſſe of this hiſtory hereafter evidently and too much may appeare. Thus Biſhop Boner, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Conſiſtory at Pauls, the Lord Maior, and certaine Aldermen ſitting with him, the ſixe perſons afore named, upon the eighth day of February in the yeere aforeſaid, and on the next day being the ninth of February, read the ſentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Boners owne Regiſters: ſuch quicke ſpeed theſe men could make in diſpatching their buſineſſe at once. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the death of theſe condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next moneth of March, I will deferre the proſecuting of their matter, till I come by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their ſuffering.

February 9. Ex Regiſt. Boneri London.

Six men condemned by B. Boner.

In the meane time, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their condemnation, I have not preciſely to ſay, unleſſe peradventure the Sermon of Alphonſus the Spaniſh Frier, and the Kings Confeſſor, did ſome good. For ſo I finde, that when thoſe ſix perſons aforeſaid were caſt upon ſaturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the ſaid Alphonſus a gray Frier preached before the King: in which Sermon he did earneſtly inveigh againſt the Biſhops for burning of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conſcience: but the contrary, that they ſhould live and be converted, with many other things more to the ſame purport. But touching the lingring of theſe mens death, as I have not certainly to affirme, ſo let it paſſe.

February 10. Alphonſus K. Philips Confeſſor preaching againſt the burning of heretikes.

Upon the 14. of February M. Robert Ferrar, Biſhop of Saint Davids, was ſent towards S. Davids, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whoſe martyrdome, forſomuch as it fell not before the moneth of March, we will deferre the hiſtory thereof till we come to the day and time of his ſuffering.

February 14.

Furthermore, this foreſaid 14. day of February, the Lord Chancellor and other his fellow Biſhops cauſed the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romiſh Traytor, to be ſet up over the Mercers Chappell doore in Cheapſide in London, in the forme and ſhape of a Biſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two dayes after his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (being the ſeventeenth of February) his head alſo was ſtriken off: whereupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one M. John Barnes Mercer, dwelling over againſt the ſame Chappell, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellor charged withall, as the doer thereof, and the rather, for that he was a Profeſſor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his ſervants were committed to priſon; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great ſumme of money as well to build it up againe as often as it ſhould be broken downe, as alſo to watch and keepe the ſame. And therefore at this his compelled charges the Image was againe ſet up the ſecond day of March then next enſuing: but (for lacke belike of carefull watching) the fourteenth day of the ſame moneth in the night, the head of that dangerous beaſt, over whom there was ſuch a charge given, was again the ſecond time broken off: which thing was ſo hainouſly taken, that the next day, being the 15. day, there was a Proclamation made in London, that whoſoever would tell who did ſtrike off his head (though he were of counſell and not the principall doer) he ſhould have not only his pardon, but alſo one hundred crownes of gold, with hearty thankes. But it was not knowne who did it.

Tho. Beckets image ſet up at Mercers Chappell.

February 17. M. John Barnes troubled for Beckets Image.

Beckets image againe broken downe.

The 18. of February, Queene Mary at length after long delay made full anſwer to the King of Denmarks letters, who had written before two letters to the ſaid Queene, in the behalfe of Maſter Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under ſureties, and was in great danger, had hee not beene reſcued by

February 18. Q. Mary anſwereth to the K. of Denmarks letters touching M. Coverdal.

the great ſute and letters of the ſaid King of Denmarke.

The matter and copie of which his ſute and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here ſet forth and expreſt, whereby the ſingular love of this good King, towards the truth of Gods word, and the Profeſſors thereof, might the better appeare to the world.

M. Coverdale.

First, this vertuous and godly King Chriſtianus, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had ſome knowledge before (being there in Danmark in K. Henry the eighth his time) and lamenting his dangerous caſe, and partly through the interceſſion of Maſter Machabeus, Superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of (a) kin to M. Coverdales wife, made interceſſion by letters to Q. Mary, deſiring and requeſting the ſaid Miles Coverdale to be ſent unto him. The date of which his letters was about the Calends of May. Anno Dom. 1554. The copie whereof here followeth.

(a) This M. Machabeus & M. Coverdale, married two ſiſters.

Chriſtianus Dei gratia, Daniæ, NorWegiæ, &c. Rex, &c. eadem gratia ſereniſſimæ ac potentiſſimæ Principi D. Mariæ, Angliæ, Galliæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem.

The Epiſtle of the K. of Denmarke to Q. Mary, for the deliverance of M. Coverdale

SEreniſſima Princeps, conſanguinea chariſſima, pro neceſſitudine mutua ac conjunctione, non ſolum regii nominis inter nos, ſed etiam ſanguinis, maxime vero utrinque inter hæc regna noſtra à vetuſtiſſimis uſque temporibus propagata ac ſervata, non modo commerciorum, ſed omnium officiorum viciſſitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinæ excellentis commendatione, verè reverendi viri Iohannis Machabæi, ſacræ Theologiæ Doctoris, & Profeſſoris præſtantiſſimi, ſubditi ac miniſtri noſtri imprimis dilecti, ſupplicibus graviſſimiſque precibus commoti, ad ſerenitatem veſtram has literas daremus. Expoſuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo eveniſſe dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti ſperamus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdalum, nuper diœceſis Exonienſis, piæ laudatiſſimæque memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis veſtræ fratris, conſanguinei itidem noſtri chariſſ. authoritate conſtitutum Epiſcopum, nunc in triſtiſſimas calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, ſed illa fatali temporum ruina incidiſſe. Quæ quidem hic Machabeus noſter quod ei affinitate (& quod gravius eſt) pietatis, eruditionis ac morum ſimilitudine, tanquam frater devinctus ſit, non minus ad ſe pertinere exiſtimat. Itaque noſtram opem implorat, ut quam ipſe gratiam & favorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipſe non minus ſuum putat) accommodemus. Movemur profecto non temere illius viri (cui ſuo merito imprimis benevolumus) commiſeratione, ejuſque maxime teſtimonio de captivi Antiſtitis innocentia atque integritate: de qua quidem eſt, ut eo melius ſperemus, quod multis jam morte mulctatis ſontibus, de ipſo integrum adhuc Deus eſſe voluit. Proinde non dubitavimus ſerenitatem veſtram quanta poſſimus diligentia atque animi propenſione rogare, ut noſtra cauſa captivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eumque ut à ſceleris, ita à pœnæ etiam atrocitate alienum eſſe voluit, & temporum offenſam, qua ipſum quoque affligi veriſimile eſt, nobis noſtræque amicitiæ regiæ & precibus, præſertim hoc primo auditu, benigne condonare, ſaltem eatenus, ut ſi fortè hoc rerum ſtatu gravis ejus præſentia ſit, incolumis ad nos cum ſuis dimittatur. Id nobis ſummi beneficii loco, & ſerenitati veſtræ in florentiſſ. regni auſpiciis (quæ auguſta, fauſta, ac fortunata ſerenitati veſtræ ex animo optamus) ad clementiæ laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam, ut cum amicitiæ noſtræ habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo majore ſtudio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga ſerenitatem veſtram ejuſque univerſum regnum & ſubditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, ut ſerenitati veſtræ ad gloriam ſui nominis, & publicam ſalutem felices omnium rerum ſucceſſus, & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datæ ex arce noſtra Coldingeum, ſeptimo Calendas Maii, Anno 1554.

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Veſter conſanguineus, frater &
amicus, Chriſtianus, Rex.

To theſe letters of the King Quéene Mary anſwering againe, declared that the ſaid Miles Coverdale was in no ſuch captivity for any Religion, but for certaine debt: ſo neither plainly granting, nor expreſly denying his requeſt, but uſing a colourable excuſe for ſhifting off the matter, as appeareth by his ſecond letter ſent to the Quéene, dated the foure and twentieth day of September, as followeth.

Q. Maries ſlender anſwer to the Kings firſt letter.

Chriſtianus Dei gratia Daniæ, NorWegiæ, Gottorum, & Vandalorum Rex: SleſWici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dithmerſiæ Dux; Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt, Sereniſ-principi dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defenſ. &c. Sorori & conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſimæ ſalutem, & omnium rerum optatos & fauſtos ſucceſſus.

REdditæ ſunt nobis literæ ſerenitatis veſtræ, quibus benigne admodum ad deprecationem noſtram, qua pro D. Milonis Coverdali Eccleſiæ Exonienſis nuper nominati Epiſcopi incolumitate uſi ſumus, reſpondetur: ita ut intelligamus, licet alterius cauſæ quam quæ nobis innotuerat, periculum ſuſtineat, tamen ſerenitatem veſtram noſtræ interceſſionis eam rationem habituram eſſe, ut illam ſibi profuiſſe ipſe Coverdalus ſentiat. Cui quidem promiſſioni regiæ cum tantum meritum tribuamus, ut ea freti non dubitaverimus ejus captivi propinquos (nobis imprimis charos) à mœrore ac ſollicitudine ad ſpem atque expectationem certæ ſalutis vocare, facere non potuimus, quin & gratias ſerenitati veſtræ pro tam prompta ac benigna voluntate, non modo hujus beneficii, ſed etiam perpetuæ inter nos ac regna noſtra conſervandæ ac colendæ amicitiæ ageremus, & quantum in nobis eſſet, quod ad amplectanda perſequendaque hæc auſpicata initia pertineret, nihil prætermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Serenitatis veſtræ unquam dubium fuit, quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam ſui nominis & fructum publicæ utilitatis ut magis ac magis effloreſcere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes ærarias, neque aliud gravius delictum D. Coverdal. teneri Serenitas veſtra ſcribat, eſt ſanè ut ipſius cauſa lætemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ejus noſtris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam & accepimus ipſum Epiſcopatu, cujus nomine ærario obſtrictus fuerat, ceſſiſſe, ut inde ſatisfactio peteretur: maximè cum neque diu eo potitus fuiſſe, neque tantum emolumenti inde percepiſſe dicatur. Quinetiam ſiqua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte cauſa reperiri poſſet: tamen ſollicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis ſerenitatis veſtræ tam amice atque officioſe deferentes literæ omnem exemerunt: ut exiſtimemus ſerenitatem veſtram, quoad ejus fieri poſſet, magis honorem noſtrum, quam quid ab eo exigi poſſit, conſideraturam: Itaque ſere-veſtram repetitis precibus

urgere

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vrgere non conſtituimus: ſed potius teſtatum facere, quam accepta nobis Sere. veſt. gratificatio ſit, cujus talem eventum omnino ſperamus, ut ipſe Coverd. coram nobis ſuæ incolumitatis à Sere. veſt. exoratæ beneficium propediem repræſentare poſſit. Illud vero imprimis Seren. veſt. viciſſim perſuaſum eſſe cupimus, nos non ſolum referendæ gratiæ, ſed etiam ſtabiliendæ provehendæque inter nos ac regna utrinque noſtra amicitiæ ac neceſſitudinis mutuæ occaſionem aut facultatem nullam eſſe prætermiſſuros. Deus opt. max. Seren. veſt. diu fœliciter ac beatè incolumem eſſe velit. Datæ ex oppido noſtro Ottonienſi, 24. Sept. An. 1554.

Veſter frater & conſanguineus,
Chriſtianus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ Chriſtierne by the grace of God King of Denmarke, Norway, Gotland and of the Vandales; Duke of Sleſwicke, Holſton, Stormar, and Detmarſh; Earle of Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorſt, &c. To the moſt noble Princeſſe and Lady Mary, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Our moſt dearly beloved ſiſter and couſin, wiſheth proſperity, with good and lucky ſucceſſe of all things.

We have received your Maieſties letter, whereby anſwer is rendered, and that very graciouſly unto our petition, which we made for the ſafeguard of Maſter Coverdale, late called Biſhop of Exon. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cauſe than was ſignified unto us afore, yet your Maieſtie will ſo regard our interceſſion; that Coverdale himſelfe ſhall underſtand it to have done him good. To the which regall promiſe, ſeeing we (as reaſon would we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting unto the ſame, we doubt not, wheras he being in captivity, his friends, whom we ſpecially tender, are therefore in heavineſſe and care, your good promiſe doth call them from ſuch ſorrow, and ſolicitude, to the hope and expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but render thanks unto your Maieſty for ſuch your ready and gracious good will, not only in reſpect of this benefit, but alſo of the conſervation and keeping of perpetuall amity between us and our realms, and ſo, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nouriſhing and continuance of theſe fortunate beginnings might appertaine. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodneſſe, whom we heartily beſeech almighty God ever more and more to proſper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the Common-weale. Wherfore ſeeing your Maieſtie writeth, that M. Coverdale is in danger for certaine accounts of mony, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cauſe on his behalfe to reioyce: and therefore we doubt ſo much the leſſe, that at our requeſt hee ſhall graciouſly have his deliverance given him and be out of danger. For as touching the Biſhoprick, by reaſon whereof he came in debt, we underſtand he yeelded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeeing he is reputed neither to have inioyed it long, neither to have had at any time ſo great commoditie of it. Moreover, though it be poſſible to find ſome perplexity in the account, or happily ſome other cauſe, yet your Maieſties letters, offering ſuch favor and benignity, have taken from us all carefulneſſe and doubt: Inſomuch, that we thinke your Maieſtie, as much as may be, will have more reſpect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your Maieſty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly wee eſteem it, that your Maieſty would gratifie us herein: whereof we plainly hope for an end, that Coverdale himſelfe ſhall ſhortly in our preſence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Maieſty. And of this we deſire your Maieſty to be ſpecially aſſured again, that we will not only omit no occaſion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but alſo to eſtabliſh and amplifie our mutuall love and amity between us and our Realms on either ſide. Almighty God preſerve your Maieſty in proſperous health and felicity. Given at our city of Otton, the 24. of September, An. Dom. 1554.

¶ To theſe letters it was a great while before the Queene would anſwer. At length through great ſute made, the next yeere, the 18. of February, ſhe anſwered again in this wiſe.

¶ *Sereniſs. Principi D. Chriſtiano Dei gratia Daniæ, &c. Regi. Sleſuici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſimo.*

February 18. The anſwer of Q. Mary to the King of Denmarks letter.

Maria Dei gratia Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hieruſalem, & Hiberniæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi Chriſtiano, eadem gratia, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Gothorum & Vandalorum Regi: Sleſvici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, & Ditmerſiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorſt, &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſimo ſalutem, proſperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex Serenitatis veſtræ literis, quas hic nuncius nobis attulit, deſiderium veſtrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Coverdalo ſubdito noſtro excundi è regno noſtro, & ad vos proficiſcendi facultatem: facilè quidem, in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem conceſſimus. Et quanquam ille natus ſubditus noſter nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cuiuſdam pecuniæ quam noſtro ærario ſolvere jure tenebatur, tamen majorem veſtri deſiderii quam noſtri debiti rationem habendam eſſe duximus. Quin inſuper animum & voluntatem gratificandi veſtræ Serenitati pro noſtra mutua amicitia, in qua alia etiam re poſſumus, cum opportunitas feret, libenter oſtendemus. Deus veſtram Serenitatem diutiſsimè ſervet incolumem. Ex Regia noſtra Weſtmonaſterii, 11. Febru. Anno 1555.

M. Coverdale deliuered and ſent to the King of Denmarke.

The ſame moneth, the 19. day, was a certaine intimation ſet forth and printed in the name of Boner, wherein was contained a generall monition, and ſtreight charge given to every man and woman within his Dioceſſe, to prepare themſelvs againſt Lent then neer approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation ſent from pope Julius the third, by Poole his Cardinall & Legate de Latere, and ſo receive alſo the ioyfull benefit of abſolution, being ſent firſt from the Cardinall to Boner, and from him to every of his Archdeacons to be miniſtred to every private perſon within his dioceſſe, that would come the ſaid holy time of Lent to his Paſtor or Curate to bee confeſſed, and to receive of him wholeſome counſell, penance, and abſolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authoriſed by the foreſaid Cardinall, ſo he for the ſame purpoſe had indued with the like Authority all and ſingular Paſtors and Curates within his Dioceſſe, to reconcile and aſſoile from their former hereſie and ſchiſm, and from the cenſures of the Church, ſuch as would reſort unto them. And leſt any ſcruple or doubt, riſing peradventure in their conſciences, ſhould be any ſtay or let in this behalfe, hee hath aſſigned and deputed therefore through his Dioceſſe certain learned men, to whom they might reſort, or els might open their griefes to any of his Archdeacons, or els come

February 19. The effect of biſhop [illegible] intimation [illegible] into his Dioceſſe, to [illegible] the C[illegible] abſolution [illegible] to be reconciled to the Pope in the Lent next following.

to his owne perſon, and ſo ſhould bee reſolved.

And therfoꝛe all manner of doubts and obſtacles ſet aſide, he ſtreightly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confeſſion, and to enioy this benefit of reconciliation, and abſolution, againſt the firſt Sunday next after Eaſter inſuing, and not to fail. Foꝛ the which purpoſe he had ſpecially commanded the Paſtoꝛs and Curates of every Pariſh to certifie up in wꝛiting the names of every man and woman ſo reconciled, and ſo foꝛth. The copie of which intimation here under followeth.

The declaration of the Biſhop of London to be publiſhed to the lay-people of his Dioceſſe, concerning their reconciliation.

EDmund by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, unto all and ſingular the lay-people of his Dioceſſe, doth ſend greeting in our Saviour Ieſus Chꝛiſt.

Whereas this noble Realme of England, dividing it ſelfe from the unity of the Catholike Church, and from the agreement in religion with all other Chꝛiſtian Realms, hath been, beſides many other miſeries and plagues, which Gods indignation hath powꝛed upon it, grievouſly alſo vexed, and ſoꝛe infected with many and ſundꝛy ſoꝛts of ſects of Heretikes, as Arrians, Anabaptiſts, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many other, all which ſects be moſt repugnant, and contrary one againſt another, and all againſt Gods truth, and Chꝛiſts Catholike faith; whereupon hath growne ſuch ſlander to the Realme, ſuch malice and diſagreement among our ſelves, the inhabitants therof, ſuch treaſons, tumults, and inſurrections againſt our Pꝛince, ſuch blaſphemy and diſhonour unto God, as no mans tongue oꝛ pen is able to expꝛeſſe: It hath pleaſed the goodneſſe of God to caſt his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the Popes Holineſſe to ſend his moſt godly meſſenger, the moſt reverend father in God, the Loꝛd Cardinall Poole Legate de Latere, to bꝛing us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bꝛing home unto the fold the loſt ſheep that were gone aſtray: whoſe meſſage, as it hath beene honourably received of the King and Queenes Maieſties, even ſo the Loꝛds ſpirituall and tempoꝛall, and Commons at the laſt Parliament have received it, revoking all laws the which in the time of ſchiſm were pꝛomulgate againſt the authoꝛity of the Popes holineſſe, and reſtoꝛing the ſame and the Church of Rome to al that power which they had in this realm befoꝛe the ſaid ſchiſm, the which reconciliation was alſo moſt gladly and ioyfully imbꝛaced, as well of all the Clergie and Convocation of the pꝛovince of Canterbury, as alſo of many other perſons; and being ſo great and neceſſary to be extended to every perſon of the Realme, it hath pleaſed the ſaid Loꝛd Legates grace to give and impart unto me the ſaid biſhop of London, foꝛ my ſaid Dioceſſe, and to all ſuch as I ſhall appoint in that behalfe, power and authoꝛity to abſolve and reconcile all and every perſon therof as well of the Clergie as of the Laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errours, and (being penitent) will humbly require to bee reſtoꝛed to the unity of the Catholike Church, as by the letters of the ſaid Loꝛd Legates grace ſent unto mee, and from mee ſent unto every of the Archdeacons within my Dioceſſe, moꝛe at large may and doth appeare. And foꝛaſmuch as in mine own perſon, as well foꝛ the multitude of people, as diſtance of places, I cannot miniſter this benefit unto every pꝛivate perſon my ſelfe, and foꝛ that alſo the holy time of lent is now at hand, in which every true chꝛiſtian man ought to come unto his own Paſtoꝛ and Curate, to be of him confeſſed, and to receive at his hand wholſome counſell, penance, and abſolution: theſe are therefoꝛe as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as alſo to ſignifie and declare, that foꝛ that purpoſe, I have by the ſaid authoꝛity choſen, named, and deputed, and ſo by theſe pꝛeſents do chuſe and depute all and ſingular Paſtoꝛs and Curates, having cure of ſouls within my Dioceſſe, and being themſelvs reconciled herein, that they and every of them by authoꝛity hereof, ſhall have full power and authoꝛity to abſolve all ſuch as be lay-perſons of their pariſhes from hereſie and ſchiſm, and from the cenſures of the Church, into which they be faln by occaſion therof alſo, and to reconcile to the Church al ſuch which ſhall declare themſelvs penitent, and deſirous to enioy the benefit of the ſaid reconciliation. And whereas divers Paſtoꝛs and Curates in ſundꝛy Pariſhes peradventure be not able to ſatiſfie the minds, & to appeaſe the conſciences of ſom of their pariſhioners, in caſes that ſhal trouble them, I have therfoꝛe given alſo authoꝛity to every Archdeacon of my Dioceſſe, within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoint certaine of the beſt learned in every Deanery of their Archdeaconry, to ſupply that lack, ſo that every man ſo troubled may repair to any one of them within yͤ ſaid Deanry, whom he ſhal like beſt, to be inſtructed and appeaſed in that behalf. And alſo I have appointed, that if this being done, there ſhall yet remaine any ſcruple in the parties conſcience, and himſelfe not ſatisfied, then the ſaid party ſhall repair unto one of mine Archdeacons oꝛ Chapleines, unto whom his mind ſhall be moſt inclined, oꝛ elſe to repair unto mine own ſelf, to be reſolved in his ſaid ſcruple oꝛ doubt, and to receive and take ſuch oꝛder therin, as to one of the ſaid Archdeacons, oꝛ unto me ſhall therein appear to be moſt expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandement herein to all my Archdeacons, that they moniſh and command every Paſtoꝛ and Curate within their Archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do on the firſt Holiday next then following, at the Maſſe time, when the multitude of people is preſent, declare all theſe things unto their Pariſhioners, and exhoꝛt them that they eſteem this grace accoꝛdingly, and reconcile themſelvs to the Church befoꝛe the firſt Sunday after Eaſter next inſuing: which thing I alſo do command by the tenoꝛ hereof, with intimation that the ſaid time being once paſt, and they not ſo reconciled, every one of them ſhall have pꝛoceſſe made againſt him, accoꝛding to the Canons, as the cauſe ſhall require: foꝛ which purpoſe the Paſtoꝛs and Curates of every pariſh ſhall be commanded by their Archdeacon, to certifie me in wꝛiting of every man and womans name that is not ſo reconciled.

Further, herewith I do ſignifie & declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Iulius the third of that name, like a moſt tender & natural father, hearing of the return & recovery of his pꝛodigal child this Realm of England, hath himſelf made much ioy & gladnes hereat, and alſo all other true Chꝛiſtian realms have done the like. Exhoꝛting you therefoꝛe in our Loꝛd not to be unthankfull your ſelvs, oꝛ negligent in this behalfe, but diligently to ſeek foꝛ it, ioyfully to imbꝛace it, & fruitfully to uſe it, remembꝛing withall the monition & charge which came from me yͤ laſt yeer, concerning your coming to confeſſion in Lent, and receiving yͤ ſacrament at Eaſter: which monition to all effects & purpoſes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and alſo all your

Curates

Anno 1555.

Curates therewith. And becauſe all our duties is, earneſtly and devoutly to pray for the proſperous eſtate of our Soveraignes, the King and the Queene of this Realme, I do finally require & pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Maieſties accordingly; and ſpecially that it may pleaſe almighty God, to ſend unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great ioy, much comfort and ineſtimable profit. Given at London the 19. day of the moneth of February, in the yeer of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1554. and of my tranſlation, the 16.

The form of Abſolution to bee kept by the Paſtors and Curates in private confeſſions, concerning this reconciliation.

The Abſolution of biſhop Boner to be uſed in his Dioceſſe.

OVr Lord Ieſus Chriſt abſolve you, and by the Apoſtolike authority to me granted and committed, I abſolve you from the ſentences of excommunication, and from all other cenſures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reaſon of hereſie, or ſchiſm, or any other ways: and I reſtore you unto the unity of our holy mother the Church, and the communion of all ſacraments, diſpenſing with you for al maner of irregularity; and by the ſame authority I abſolve you from all your ſins; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, Amen

The lamentable hiſtory of M. Iames Hales Iudge.

The hiſtory of Iudge Hales.

IN the hiſtory of M. Hooper mention was touched a little before of Iudge Hales; wherefore ſomething would be ſaid more in this place touching that matter. But becauſe the ſtory of that man and of his end is ſufficiently comprehended in our firſt book of Acts and Monuments, we ſhal not greatly need to ſtand upon rehearſall of every particular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chiefeſt, and leaving the reſt, wee will report ſomewhat of the communication between the Biſhop of Wincheſter and him: declaring withall how falſe and untrue the excuſe is of our adverſaries, which ſo preciſely by the law defend themſelvs, and ſay, that in al their doings they did nothing but by the Law, to beare them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they then to Anne Askew? What law had they, when they had condemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterward to racke her? By what law did they call up Maſter Hooper, and priſon him for the Queenes debt, when the Queene in very deed did owe him fourescore pounds, and kept him a yeere and a half in priſon and gave him never a penny? By what law did B. Boner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a Lad of 15. yeers, when the firſt Iury had quit him, and he at the ſtake revoked all hereſies, and praiſed the ſaid Boner to bee a good man; and alſo having him in priſon, would not ſuffer his father and mother to come to him, to comfort their own child? What law had they to put M. Rogers in priſon, when he did neither preach nor reade Lecture after the time of the Queens inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own houſe half a yeer, being not deprived of any living, yet would not let him have a halfpenny of his owne livings to relieve him, his wife, and eleven children? By what Law was Thomas Tomkins hand burnt, and afterward his body conſumed to aſhes? What good law or honeſty was there to burn the three poor women at Garnſey, with the infant childe falling out of the mothers womb, when as they all before their death recanted their words and opinions, and were never abiured before? So here likewiſe in this caſe, what order or right of law did Steven Gardiner follow in troubling and impriſoning Iudge Hales, when he had done nothing neither againſt Gods law, nor mans law, in proceeding by order of law againſt certaine preſumptuous perſons, which both before the law, and againſt the law then in force, took upon them to ſay their Maſſe? as ye ſhall heare in theſe his anſwers and communication had with Steven Gardiner here under inſuing.

The Catholikes proved to doe againſt the law in Queene Maries time.

The communication betweene the Lord Chancellor and Iudge Hales, being there among other Iudges, to take his oath in Weſtminſter hall. Anno 1553. Octob. 6.

Communication between Iudge Hales & the biſhop of Wincheſter.

MAſter Hales, ye ſhall underſtand, that like as the Queens Highneſſe hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her cauſe of iuſt ſucceſſion, refuſing to ſet your hand to the book among others that were againſt her Grace in that behalf: ſo now, through your own late deſerts againſt certain her Highneſſe doings, yee ſtand not well in her Graces favor: and therfore before ye take any oath, it ſhall be neceſſary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my Lord what is the cauſe?

Chan. Information is given, that ye have indited certain Prieſts in Kent for ſaying Maſſe.

Hales. My Lord, it is not ſo. I indited none; but indeed certaine inditements of like matter were brought before me at the laſt Aſſiſes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have profeſſed the law, againſt which in caſes of Iuſtice I will never, God willing proceed, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my conſcience, and if it were to do again, I would do no leſſe than I did.

Cha. Yea, Maſter Hales, your conſcience is knowne well enough, I know you lacke no conſcience.

Hales. My Lord, you may doe well to ſearch your own conſcience; for mine is better known to my ſelfe than to you: and to be plain, I did as well uſe Iuſtice in your ſaid Maſſe-caſe by my conſcience, as by law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in tryall to the uttermoſt that can be obiected. And if I have therein done any iniury or wrong, let me be iudged by the law; for I will ſeek no better defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

Iuſtice Hales for Iuſtice ſake troubled.

Cha. Why M. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your ſide, yet ye might have had regard to the Queens Highneſſe preſent doings in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeem to bee more than preciſe in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yeeld to the extremitie of ſuch advantage as might be gathered againſt your proceedings in the law, as yee have ſometime taken upon you in place of Iuſtice, and if it were well tried, I believe ye ſhould not be well able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Hales. My Lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in conſcience, and ſuch knowledge of the law as God hath given mee, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have bee not able to counterpoiſe the caſe, my body ſhall be ready to ſerve the turne; for they bee all at the Queenes Highneſſe pleaſure.

Wincheſter quarrelleth with M. Hales religion.

Cha. Ah ſir, yee bee very quicke and ſtout in your anſwers. But as it ſhould ſeem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion againſt the ſervice now uſed, than for any occaſion or zeale of Iuſtice, ſeeing the Queenes Highneſſe doth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing all her faithfull ſubiects to imbrace it accordingly; and where you offer both body and goods in your tryall, there is no ſuch matter required at your hands, and yet ye ſhall not have your owne will neither.

Hales. My Lord, I ſeek not wilfull will, but to ſhew my ſelfe as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the Queens Majeſtie, in whoſe cauſe willingly for Iuſtice ſake, all other reſpects ſet apart, I did of late, as your Lordſhip knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my Religion, I truſt it bee ſuch as pleaſeth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my ſubſtance, if I bee called thereunto. And ſo in lack of mine own power and will, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Chan. Seeing you be at this point M. Hales, I will preſently make an end with you. The Queens Highneſſe ſhall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her Grace ſhall thereupon determine, yee ſhall have knowledge. Untill ſuch time as ye may depart as ye came, without your oath: for as it appeareth, yee are ſcarce worthy the place appointed.

Hales. I thank your Lordſhip: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I deſired to take upon me; whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Queens Highneſſe to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly with due contentation obey the ſame; and ſo he departed from the Barre.

M. Hales committed to the Kings Bench.

Not many daies after this communication or colloquy in Weſtminſter Hall, which was October 6. Anno 1553. M. Hales at the commandement of the biſhop was committed to the Kings Bench, where he remained conſtant untill Lent: then was he removed to the Counter in Bread ſtreet, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that hee had granted unto the biſhops, by their fraudulent aſſaults and perſwaſions; namely, of D. Day biſhop of Chicheſter, and of Iudge Portman (as it is thought) overcome at laſt, I have not to ſay.

This is certain, that ſhortly after, calling himſelfe better to remembrance, he was brought to great repentance and terrour of conſcience. Inſomuch, that for very anguiſh of heart he was ready with his penknife to kill himſelfe there in the priſon, and had (no doubt) ſo done, had not the mercifull providence of the Lord reſcued him miraculouſly as ye ſhall heare.

M. Hales about to kill himſelfe in priſon.

It hapned when ſupper time came that hee ſhould be called down, M. Hales having little mind either to eat or to drink, gate him ſtraightway to bed, where he lay all the night ſobbing and groaning, and took (God knoweth) little reſt or ſleep. At length when morning came, about 6. of the clock he ſent his ſervant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he were thirſty and deſirous to drinke, whether the cauſe were true or feigned it is unknown: but this followed, that his man was ſcarce out of the chamber, when he with his Penknife had wounded himſelfe in divers places of his body, and was purpoſed (no doubt) to have deſtroyed himſelfe, had not the goodneſſe of the Lord given preſent help in time of opportunity. Wherby it is evident for all men to underſtand, how Gods favour was not abſent from the man, although he thought himſelfe utterly forſaken for his deniall, as by the ſequele may well appeare.

Gods merciful providence in reſcuing M. Hales.

For as ſoon as he had ſent his man out of his chamber (ſee what God would have done) even afore the chamber door eftſoones the Butler met him: who being deſired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his Maſter, at the ſame very time when he was working his own deſtruction: wherby M. Hales at that time was ſtopt of his purpoſe, and preſerved, not without Gods manifeſt good will and providence. When Wincheſter had knowledge of it, ſtraightway he taketh occaſion thereby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the Goſpel, which he openly in the Starchamber called the doctrine of deſperation. Maſter Hales being within a while after recovered of thoſe wounds, and delivered out of priſon, getteth himſelfe home unto his houſe: where he, either for the greatneſſe of his ſorrow, or for lack of good counſell, or for that hee would avoid the neceſſity of hearing Maſſe, having all things ſet in an order a good while before that pertaining to his teſtament, caſting himſelf into a ſhallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the moneth of February, or in the moneth of January before, Anno 1555.

Anno 1555.

Wincheſter might rather have ſaid how their cruel dealing worketh deſparation.

Iudge Hales drowned himſelfe.

The unhappy chance of this ſo worthy a Iudge was ſurely the cauſe of great ſorrow and griefe unto all good men, and it gave occaſion beſides unto certaine Divines to ſtand ſomething in doubt with themſelves, whether he were reprobate or ſaved, or no; about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Iudge, the ſame ſhall be his Iudge, and he it is that will lay all things open when the time commeth. This in the mean time is certain and ſure, that the deede of the man in my minde ought in no wiſe to be allowed, which if hee did wittingly, then do I diſcommend the mans reaſon. But if he did it in phrenſie, and as being out of his wit, then do I greatly pity his caſe.

The cauſe of Iudge Hales drowning conſidered.

Yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing Gods judgments be ſecret, and we likewiſe in doubt upon what intent he did thus puniſh himſelfe, neither againe is any man certaine, whether he did repent or no before the laſt breath went out of his body; me thinketh, their opinion is more indifferent herein, which do rather diſallow the example of the deed, than deſpaire of his ſalvation.

Otherwiſe, if we will adjudge all thoſe to hell that have departed the world after this ſort, how many examples have we in the firſt perſecutions of the Church, of thoſe men & women, who being regiſtred in the works of worthy Writers, have notwithſtanding their practice & commendation.

Examples in the time of the firſt perſecution.

For what ſhall I thinke of thoſe young men, who being ſought for to doe ſacrifice to heathen Idols, did caſt down themſelves head-long, and brake their owne neckes, to avoide ſuch horrible pollution of themſelves? What ſhall I ſay of thoſe Virgins of Antioch, who to the end they might not defile themſelves with uncleanneſſe, and with idolatry, through the perſwaſion of their mother, caſting themſelves head-long into a river together with their mother, did fordoes themſelves, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame manner of drowning as this Maſter Hales did? What ſhall I ſay of the other two ſiſters, which for the ſelf ſame quarter did violently throw themſelves head-long into the ſea, as Euſebius doth record? In whom though perchance there was no leſſe confidence to bear out the the paines which ſhould bee miniſtred of the wicked unto them; yet that their good deſire to keep their faith and religion unſpotted was commended and praiſed.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 8.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in another virgin likewiſe, whoſe name is expreſſed in Hierome to be Braſſilia Dyrrachina, who to keepe her Virginitie, feigned her ſelf to be a Witch, and ſo conventing with the yong man which went about to deflowr her, pretended that ſhe would give him an herbe which ſhould preſerve him from all kind of weapons; and ſo to prove it in her ſelfe, laid the herb upon her owne throat, bidding him ſmite, wherby ſhe was ſlaine, and ſo with the loſſe of her life her virginity was ſaved.

Niceph. lib. 4 c. 13. Braſſilia Dyrrachina.

Hereunto

Anno 1555

Hereunto may be ioyned the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who when ſhe was required of Maxentius the Tyrant to bee defiled, and ſaw her huſband more ſlacke than he ought to have beene in ſaving her honeſty, bidding them that were ſent for her to tarry a while till ſhe made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thruſt her ſelfe through the breſt, and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, which biting off his owne tongue ſpit it out into the Harlots face?

These examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuſe, or to maintaine the hainous fact of Maſter Hales, which I would wiſh rather by ſilence might be drowned in oblivion; but yet notwithſtanding as touching the perſon of the man, whatſoever his fact was, becauſe we are not ſure whether he at the laſt breath repented: again, becauſe we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomleſſe depth of the graces and mercies which are in Chriſt Ieſus our Saviour, we will leave therefore the finall iudgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Iudge both of the quicke and the dead.

De Iacobo Haliſio carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit, gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Iunctaque ſincera cum pietate fides:
Tum caro firma tibi fortiſque Haliſe fuiſſet,
Sanctorum prima claſſe ferendus eras.
Inſtituit ſed enim ſua quis ſic tempora vitæ
Sanctorum, ut nullis ſint maculata malis?
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

The hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins, who having firſt his hand burned, after was burned himſelfe by Biſhop Boner, for the conſtant teſtimony of Chriſts true profeſſion.

March 18. The hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins Martyr.

MEntion was made before of ſixe priſoners, brought and examined before Biſhop Boner the 8. of February, whoſe names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Laurence, and Hunter. All which though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet becauſe the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next moneth of March, I did therefore referre the ſtory of them to this preſent moneth of March aforeſaid, wherein now remaineth ſeverally to intreate of the martyrdome of theſe ſixe perſons, as the order and time of their ſufferings ſeverally do require. Of the which ſix aforenamed Martyrs, the firſt was Thomas Tomkins burned in Smithfield, the 16. day of March, Anno 1555.

The godly life and diſpoſition of Thomas Tomkins.

This Thomas Tomkins, a Weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shorditch, and of the Dioceſſe of London, was of ſuch converſation and diſpoſition ſo godly, that if any woman had come to him with her webbe, as ſometime they did, three or foure in a day, he would alwaies begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talke of any matter, hee would likewiſe firſt begin with prayer. And if any had ſought unto him to borrow money, he would ſhew him ſuch money as he had in his purſe, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, ſo far off was he from ſeeking any uſury at their hand, or from ſtreight exaction of his due, that hee would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And theſe were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, teſtified yet to this preſent day by the moſt part of all his neighbours, and almoſt of all his pariſh which knew him, as maſter Skinner, maſter Leeke, and other moe. Of whom moe than halfe a dozen at once came to me, diſcreete and ſubſtantiall men, reporting the ſame unto me, recording moreover as followeth: That Doctor Boner Biſhop of London kept the ſaid Tomkins with him in priſon halfe a yeere. During which time the ſaid Biſhop was ſo rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was ſwelled. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed his beard to be ſhaven, and gave the Barber twelve pence.

Tomkins maketh the Biſhops hay.

Touching which ſhaving of Thomas Tomkins beard, this is more to be added; Biſhop Boner having Tomkins with him priſoner at Fulham in the moneth of July, did ſet him with his other worke-folkes to make hay. And ſeeing him to labour ſo well, the Biſhop ſitting him down, ſaid; Well, I like thee well, for thou laboureſt well: I truſt thou wilt be a good Catholike. My Lord, ſaid he, S. Paul ſaith; Hee that doth not labour, is not worthy to eate. Boner ſaid, Ah, S. Paul is a “great man with thee. And ſo after ſuch other talke, the Biſhop inferring moreover, wiſhed his beard off, ſaying, that ſo he would looke like a Catholike. My Lord, ſaid Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was, I truſt, a good Chriſtian, and ſo I truſt to be my beard being on. But Boner in fine ſent for the Barber, and cauſed his beard to be ſhaven off. The very cauſe was for that Boner had pluckt off a peice of his beard before.

“And ſo ſhould he be with you, if you were a right biſhop.

The notable conſtancy in a true Chriſtian ſouldier.

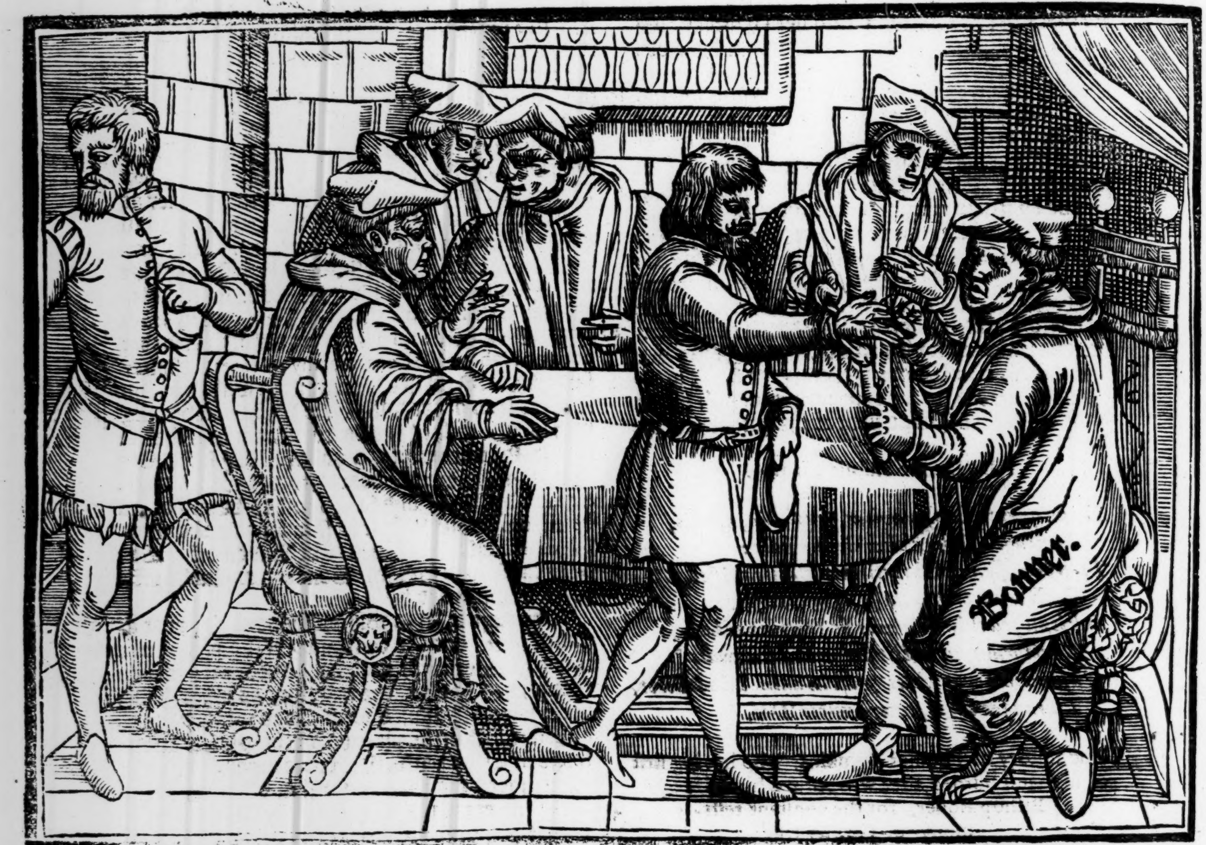
The rage of this Biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but the conſtancy of the party was much greater with patience to beare it: who although hee had not the learning as other have, yet hee was ſo indued with Gods mighty ſpirit, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods truth, that by no meanes he could be removed from the confeſſion of truth, to impiety and errour. Whereupon, Boner the Biſhop being greatly vexed againſt the poore man, when hee ſaw that by no perſwaſions hee could prevail with him, deviſed another practice not ſo ſtrange as cruell, further to try his conſtancy, to the intent, that ſeeing he could not otherwiſe convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet hee might overthrow him by ſome forefeeling and terrour of death. So having with him maſter Harpsfied, maſter Pendleton, Doctor Chedſey, maſter Willerton, and other ſtanding by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who comming before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was wont in defence of his faith, the Biſhop fell from beating to burning. Who, having there a taper or waxe candle of three or foure weeks ſtanding upon the table, thought there to repreſent unto us, as it were, the old Image of King Porſenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola, ſo this Catholike Biſhop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, ſuppoſing that by the ſmart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine, which he had received.

Biſhop Boner playeth King Porſenna in burning the hand of Scævola.

Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe, but there preſently to dye, began to commend himſelfe unto the Lord, ſaying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the ſame Tomkins afterward reported to one Iames Hinſe, that his ſpirit was ſo rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never ſhrunke, till the veines ſhrunk, and the ſinewes braſt, and the water did ſpirt in maſter Harpsfields face: Inſomuch that the ſaid M. Harpsfield, moved with pity, deſired the Biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tryed him enough. This burning was in the Hall at Fulham.

And where the Biſhop thought by that meanes

The burning of *Thomas Tomkins* hand by Biſhop Boner, who not long after burnt alſo his body.



Tomkins compared to Scevola.

to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwiſe: for this Chriſtian Scævola ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and indure that burning, that we have leſſe cauſe hereafter to marvaile at the manfulneſſe of that Romane Scævola: I would to God the other had aſwell followed the example of that Hetruſcan Tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either ſatiſfied with his puniſhment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, ſent him home ſafe unto his people: whereas Boner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, reſted not untill he had conſumed his whole bodie into aſhes, at London in Smithfield.

Boner more cruell than Porſenna the Hetruſcan.

But before we come to his ſuffering, we will firſt intreat of ſome part of his examination and articles, with his anſwers and confeſſion thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Regiſter recorded.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins before Boner biſhop of London

THis faithfull and valiant Souldier of God Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the ſpace (as is ſaid) of halfe a yéere in priſon, about the 8. day of February was brought with certain other before Boner ſitting in his Conſiſtory, to bee examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certaine bill or ſchedule ſubſcribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the ſame moneth laſt before, containing theſe words following.

The confeſſion of Tomkins ſubſcribed with his owne hand.

THomas Tomkins of Shorditch, and of the Dioceſſe of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the ſacrament of the Altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Chriſt being only in heaven, and no where elſe.

Anno 1555.

By me Thomas Tomkins

Tomkins conſtant in his faith.

Whereupon he was aſked, whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to bee of his owne hand. To the which he granted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done the Biſhop went about to perſwade him (with words, rather than with reaſons) to relinquiſh his opinions, and to returne againe to the unity of the Catholike Church, promiſing if he would ſo doe, to remit all that was paſt: But he conſtantly denied ſo to doe. When the Biſhop ſaw he could not ſo convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing Articles and interrogatories, whereunto he ſhould come the next day and anſwer: in the mean time he ſhould deliberate with himſelfe what to doe, and ſo the next day, being the 9. day of March, at eight of the clocke in the morning to be preſent in the ſame place againe, to give his determinate anſwer what he would doe in the premiſſes, and then either to revoke and reclaim himſelf, or els in the afternoon the ſame day to come again and have iuſtice (as he called it) miniſtred unto him: the copie of which Articles here followeth.

Articles objected and miniſtred the 8. day of February againſt Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.

Articles miniſtred againſt T. Tomkins.

THou doeſt believe, that in the ſacrament of the Altar under the formes of bread and wine there is not, by the Omnipotent power of Almighty

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Tranſubſtantiation denied.

mighty God, and his holy word, really, truly and in vere deed, the very true and naturall body of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, as touching the ſubſtance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the Croſſe, ſuffering paſſion and death there for the life of the world.

I do ſo believe.

Subſtance of bread remaineth in the ſacrament.

Thou doeſt believe, that after the conſecration of the bread and wine prepared for the uſe of the ſacrament of the Altar, there doth remaine the ſubſtance of materiall bread and materiall wine, not changed nor altered in ſubſtance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do ſo believe.

The naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament denied.

Thou doeſt believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a falſe beliefe, to think or ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is, after conſecration of the bread and wine, the ſubſtance of Chriſts naturall body and blood, by the omnipotent power of almighty God, and his holy word.

I do ſo believe.

The errour of the fore-elders touching the ſacrament.

Thou doeſt believe, that thy parents, kinsfolkes, friends, and acquaintance, and alſo thy Godfathers and Godmother, and al people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the ſacrament of the Altar there was, after the conſecration, the body and blood of Chriſt, and that there did not remain the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine.

I do ſo believe.

By me Tho. Tomkins.

The ſecond examination of Tho. Tomkins.

The ſecond examination.

The next day, being the 9. of February, at 8. of the clock before noon, the ſaid T. Tomkins (according to the former commandement) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the Biſhop and other his aſſiſtants, where the foreſaid articles were propounded unto him; whereunto he anſwered as followeth:

Anſwer of Tomkins to the articles.

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo believe, as in the ſame is contained.

To the ſecond he ſaid that it was only bread and a participation of Chriſts death and paſſion, and ſo do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he ſaid and did believe, it was a falſe doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did alſo believe the ſame.

After this anſwer, hee did alſo ſubſcribe his name to the ſaid articles. Whereupon, the Biſhop drawing out of his boſome another confeſſion ſubſcribed with Tomkins own hand, and alſo that article that was the firſt day objected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his ſaid opinions; the which he utterly refuſed to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the Biſhop againe in the ſame place at two of the clock in the afternoon.

The Biſhop repeateth again the confeſſion of Thomas Tomkins, written before by the ſaid Biſhop of London, and ſubſcribed by the ſaid Tomkins, the 26. of September, *Anno* 1554. which is this.

The firſt confeſſion of Tomkins offered to B. Boner, and now here again repeated.

I Thomas Tomkins of the Pariſh of Shorditch, in the Dioceſſe of London, having confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund Biſhop of London mine Ordinary, that my beliefe hath beene many yeares paſt, and is at this preſent; that the body of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt is not truly and in very deede in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in heaven, and ſo in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the ſacrament of the Altar.

The Maſſe full of ſuperſtition & idolatry.

And moreover, having likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinary openly many times, that although the Church, called the Catholike Church, hath allowed, and doth allow the Maſſe and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my beliefe hath been many yeeres paſt, and is at this preſent, that the ſaid Maſſe is full of ſuperſtition, plaine idolatry, and unprofitable for my ſoul, and ſo have I called it many times, and take it at this preſent.

Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the vulgar tongue.

Having alſo likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinary, that the ſacrament of Baptiſme ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without any ſuch ceremonies, as cuſtomably are uſed in the Latine Church, and otherwiſe not to be allowed.

Tomkins conſtantly ſtandeth to the truth of the Goſpell.

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my ſaid Ordinary, and talked withall touching all my ſaid confeſſions and declarations, both by the ſaid mine Ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his Chapleines as other, and counſelled by all them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine errour in the premiſſes, which they told mee was plaine hereſie and manifeſt errour; doe teſtifie and declare hereby, that I do and will continually ſtand to my ſaid confeſſion, declaration, and belief, in all the premiſſes and every part thereof, and in no wiſe recant or goe from any part of the ſame. In witneſſe whereof I have ſubſcribed, and paſſed this writing the 26. day of September, the yeere aforeſaid.

By me Tho. Tomkins aforeſaid.

The names of them that ſate upon Thomas Tomkins at this Seſſion, were theſe; Edmund Boner, John Fecknam Deane of Pauls, John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, John Morwen maſter of Art, Thomas Morton Parſon of Fulham, Triſtram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinſaw, James Cline, Clerkes.

The laſt appearance of Thomas Tomkins before Boner and the Commiſſioners.

The laſt appearance and condemnation of T. Tomkins, Martyr.

The ſame day and place, at two of the clock in the afternoon, he was (the laſt time) brought forth before the Biſhops of London, Bathe, and S. Davids, with others; where he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop of Bath to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he anſwered, My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance untill now of late yeeres. And now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.

Sentence read againſt Thomas Tomkins March 16.

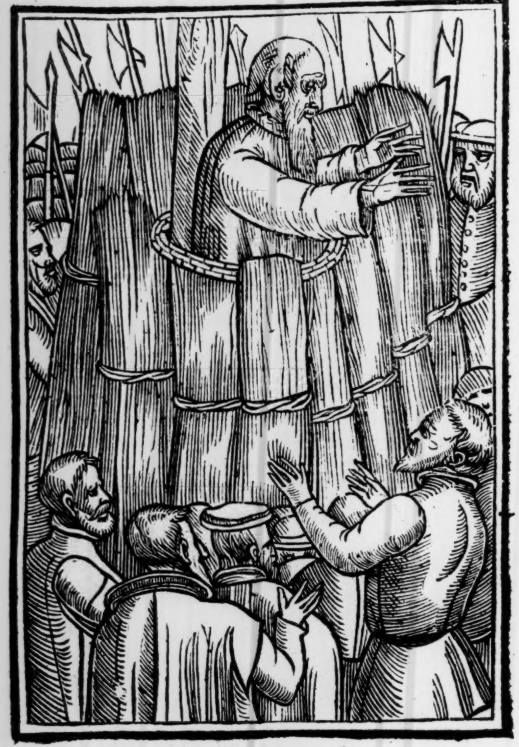
Then Boner cauſed all his Articles and confeſſion to be again openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed manner perſwaded with him to recant, To whom he finally ſaid, My Lord, I cannot ſee but that you would have me forſake the truth, and to fall into errour and hereſie. The Biſhop ſeeing he would not recant, did proceede in his law, and ſo gave ſentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the Sheriff of London, who carried him ſtraight unto Newgate, where he remained moſt joyous and conſtant untill the 16. day of March next after: on which day he was by the ſaid Sheriff conveied into Smithfield, and there ſealed up his faith in the flaming

The martyrdome of Thomas Tomkins in Smithfield. Anno 1555. March 16.

fire, to the glory of Gods holy Name, and confirmation of the weak.

The burning of the bleſſed Martyr, THOMAS TOMKINS.



A notable hiſtory of William Hunter a young man of 19. yeeres, purſued to death by Iuſtice Brown for the Goſpels ſake, worthy of all young men and parents to be read.

Wil. Hunter Prentice and martyr. March 26.

THe 26. day of the ſaid moneth of March, the yeere aforeſaid, followed the martyrdome of William Hunter a right godly young man, of the age of 19. yeeres, and borne of like godly parents: by whom hee was not only inſtructed in true religion and godlineſſe, but alſo confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and ſtrange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherin may appear a ſingular ſpectacle, not onely of a marvellous fortitude in the party ſo young, but alſo in his parents, to behold nature in them ſtriving with religion, and overcome of the ſame. Whereby Chriſtian parents may learn what is to be done not only in their children, but alſo in themſelves, if need at any time do require, or godlineſſe ſhould demand the duty of a Chriſtian man againſt naturall affection. Example whereof in the ſequele of this hiſtory wee have here preſent before our eyes. Which hiſtory, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own brother (who being preſent with his brother William, and never left him till his death, ſent the true report unto us) we have here with like faithfulneſſe placed and recorded the ſame, as followeth.

Wil Hunter prentice in Colmanſtreet with Tho. Taylor.

Wil. Hunter threatned for not receiving a Maſſe.

W. Hunter willed of his maſter to depart.

William Hunter, being aprentice in London in the firſt yeere of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Eaſter next following to receive the communion at a Maſſe, by the Prieſt of the pariſh where he dwelt, called Coleman ſtreete; which becauſe hee refuſed to doe, hee was very much threatned that he ſhould be therfore brought before the biſhop of London. Wherfore William Hunters maſter, one Thomas Taylor, a Silk-weaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhould come in danger becauſe of him, if hee continued in his houſe. For the which cauſes, William Hunter took leave of his ſaid maſter, and thence came to Burntwood where his father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the ſpace of half a quarter of a yeere.

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W. Hunter commeth to his father to Burntwood.

After this it hapned within five or ſix weeks, that William going into the Chappel of Burntwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a deſke, did read therein. In the meane time there came in one father Atwell a Sumner, which hearing William read in the Bible, ſaid to him, What meddleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt, and canſt thou expound the Scriptures?

Father Atwel, a Sumner or Promotor.

Talk between Atwel & Will. Hunter concerning the Bible

To whom William anſwered and ſaid, Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were diſpenſed withall; but I, finding the bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom father Atwell ſaid, It was never merry world ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

The Catholikes cannot abide the Bible.

To the which words William anſwered, ſaying, Father Atwell, ſay not ſo for Gods ſake: for it is Gods booke, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know what things both pleaſe God, and alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſaid father Atwell, Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was ſerved? Wil. anſwered; No, father Atwell, nothing ſo well, as we may now, if that we might have his bleſſed word amongſt us ſtill as we have had. It is true, ſaid father Atwell, if it be as you ſay.

Well, ſaid Wil. Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the bleſſed Bible amongſt us continually. To the which words father Atwell ſaid, I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that miſliketh the Queens laws: and therefore you came from London, I heare ſay. You learned theſe waies at London: but for all that, ſaid father Atwell, you muſt turn another leafe, or elſe you, and a great ſort moe Heretikes will broile for this geare, I warrant you. To the which words William ſaid, God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confeſſe his Name, whatſoever come thereof. Confeſſe his name, quoth old Atwell? no, no, ye will goe to the Divell all of you, and confeſſe his name.

Atwel not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the innocent.

What ſaid Wil? You ſay not well father Atwell. At the which words he went out of the Chappell in a great fury, ſaying; I am not able to reaſon with thee: but I will fetch one ſtraight way which ſhall talke with thee, I warrant thee thou Heretike. And he leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, ſtraight-ways brought one Tho. Wood, who was then Vicar of Southwell, which was at an Alehouſe even over againſt the ſaid Chappell; who, hearing old Atwell ſay, that W. Hunter was reading of the bible in the Chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the bible, took the matter very hainouſly, ſaying; Sirra, who gave thee leave to read in the bible, and to expound it?

The Vicar of Southwell angry with William Hunter for reading in the Bible.

Then William anſwered, I expound not the Scriptures ſir, but read them for my comfort. What meddleſt thou with them at all, ſaid the Vicar? It becometh not thee, nor none ſuch to meddle with the Scriptures. But William anſwered, I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought Maſter Vicar, not to diſcourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to reade the Scriptures for your diſcharge and their owne.

Unto the which the Vicar anſwered, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to doe. I ſee thou art an Heretike by thy words. William ſaid, I am no heretike for ſpeaking the truth.

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The Catholikes in no wiſe will be controlled.

But the Vicar ſaid, It is a merry world when ſuch as thou art ſhall teach us what is the truth. Thou art medling, father Atwell tels me, with the ſixth of John, wherein thou mayſt perceive how Chriſt ſaith; Except that ye eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinke his blood, yee have no life in you. William ſaid, I read the ſixth of John indeed; howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

Then ſaid father Atwel, When you read it I ſaid, that you there might underſtand how that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very naturall body and blood: unto the which you anſwered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed withall.

W. Hunter examined of the ſacrament

Ah, ſaid the Vicar, What ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar? Belieueſt thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is tranſubſtantiated into the very bodie and blood of Chriſt? William anſwered, I learne no ſuch thing in the ſixth of John as you ſpeake of. Why, ſaid the Vicar, doeſt thou not believe in the ſacrament of the Altar? I believe, ſaid William Hunter all that Gods word teacheth. Why, ſaid the Vicar, thou mayeſt learne this which I ſay, plainly in the ſixth of John.

The Catholikes like to the Capernaites.

Then ſaid William, You underſtand Chriſts words much like the carnall Capernaites, which thought, that Chriſt would have given them his fleſh to feede upon: which opinion our Saviour Chriſt corrected, when he ſaid; The words which I ſpeak to you, are ſpirit and life.

Hereſie miſtaken with the Papiſts.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I have found you out: now I ſee that thou art an Heretike indeed, and that thou doeſt not believe in the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid William Hunter, whereas you doubt my beliefe, I would it were tried whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our faith. Yea thou Heretike (ſaid the Vicar) wouldeſt thou have it ſo tried? William Hunter anſwered, that which you call hereſie, I ſerve my Lord God withall.

Then ſaid the Vicar; Canſt thou ſerve God with hereſie? But William anſwered, I would that you and I were even now faſt tyed to a ſtake, to prove whether that you or I would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our faith. But the Vicar anſwered; It ſhall not be ſo tryed. No, quoth William, I think ſo: for if I might, I thinke I know who would ſooneſt recant; for I durſt ſet my foot againſt yours even to the death. That we ſhall ſee quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed, the Vicar threatning William much, how that he would complain of him; with other much communication which they had together.

The Vicar complaineth to Juſtice Brown of W. Hunter.

Juſtice Brown ſendeth for Hunters father

Immediately after, this Vicar of Welde told Maſter Browne of the communication which William Hunter and hee had together. Which when Maſter Browne underſtood, immediately he ſent for Williams father and the Conſtable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled, becauſe Wood the Vicar threatned him. Now when the Conſtable and Williams father were come, and were before maſter Browne, he asked where William Hunter was. His father anſwered, ſaying; If it pleaſe you ſir, I know not where he is become: No, quoth maſter Brown? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth alſo ere I have done with thee. Sir, ſaid Williams father, I know not where he is become, nor where to ſeek for him.

The fruit of the Popes doctrine to ſet the father againſt the ſon.

Then ſaid maſter Brown, Why diddeſt thou not bring him when thou haddeſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will ſend thee to priſon till I ſhal get him. Wherfore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or elſe it is not beſt to look me in the face any more, nor yet to reſt in Burntwood. Well, quoth M. Brown to Williams father, ſee that thou ſeek him forth, and bring him to me.

An unreaſonable requeſt of Juſtice Brown

Williams father anſwered; Sir, would you have me ſeek my ſon to be burned? If thou bring him to me quoth M. Brown, I will deale well enough for that matter; thou ſhalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou ſhalt ſee what I will do for him.

The father pretended to ſeeke the ſon.

Moreover, if thou lackeſt mony, quoth he, thou ſhalt have ſome, and bade the Conſtable M. Salmon to give him a crown, but Williams father took none of him. Howbeit M. Brown would never reſt, till Williams father had promiſed him to ſeek out his ſon. And thus M. Brown ſent the Conſtable home againe, and Williams father, commanding him to ſeek out William Hunter, and then to come againe and bring him to him.

The ſon meeteth with him in the way.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three dayes journey to ſatiſfie M. Brownes expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the high way as he travelled, and firſt he ſeeing his father came to him, and ſpake to him, and told him how that he thought that he ſought for him: and then his father confeſſing it, wept ſore, and ſaid, that M. Browne charged him to ſeek him, and bring him to him; howbeit, ſaid he, I will returne home againe, and ſay I cannot find you. But William ſaid; Father, I will goe home with you, and ſave you harmleſſe, whatſoever commeth of it.

The working of nature between the father and the ſon.

And thus they came home together; but William, as ſoon as he was come home, was taken by the ſaid Conſtable, and laid in the ſtockes till the day. Maſter Brown, hearing that William Hunter was come home, ſent for him to the Conſtable, who brought him immediately to maſter Browne.

W. Hunter brought before Juſtice Brown

Now when William was come, maſter Browne ſaid to him, Ah ſirra, are ye come? and then by and by hee commanded the bible to bee brought and opened it, and then began to reaſon with William on this manner, ſaying; I heare ſay you are a Scripture man, you, and can reaſon much of the ſixth of John, and expound as pleaſeth you. and turned the bible to the ſixth of S. John, and then he laid to his charge what an expoſition he made, when the Vicar and he talked together. And William ſaid, He urged me to ſay ſo much as I did.

Talk between W. Hunter & Juſtice Brown about the ſacrament.

Well, quoth M. Browne, becauſe you can expound that place ſo well; how ſay you to another place, turning to the 22. of S. Luke? and maſter Browne ſaid, Looke here (quoth he) for Chriſt ſaith, that the bread is his body.

Bread broken, but not changed.

To the which William anſwered, the text ſaith, how Chriſt tooke bread, but not that hee changed it into another ſubſtance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text. For elſe he ſhould have had two bodies, which to affirm I ſee no reaſon, ſaid William.

M. Browne in a pelting chafe

At the which anſwer maſter Brown was very angry, and tooke up the bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in ſuch a fury, that William could not well find the place againe whereof they reaſoned.

Then M. Browne ſaid, Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Chriſt call the bread his body plainly, and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the conſecration? Thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lyar.

But William Hunter anſwered; I meane not

How Chriſt called bread his body.

ſo ſir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearch what the mind of Chriſt is in that holy inſtitution, wherin he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, paſſion, reſurrection, and coming again, ſaying; This do in the remembrance of me. And alſo though Chriſt call the bread his body, as he doth alſo ſay, that he is a vine, a dore, &c. yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a dore or vine. Wherfore Chriſt called the bread his body by a figure.

M. Brown in a rage.

At that word maſter Brown ſaid, Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Chriſt a lyar yet ſtill? and was in ſuch a fury with William, and ſo raged, that William could not ſpeak a word, but he croſſed him, and ſcoffed at every word. Wherfore William ſeeing him in ſuch fury, deſired him that he would either heare him quietly, and ſuffer him to anſwer for himſelfe, or elſe ſend him away. To the which maſter Brown anſwered; Indeed I will ſend thee to morrow to my Lord of London, and he ſhall have thee under examination: and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately, and ſent William Hunter with the Conſtable to Boner biſhop of London, who received William.

M. Browne ſendeth up W. Hunter to biſhop Boner.

After that he had read the letter, and the Conſtable returned home againe, the biſhop cauſed William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reaſon with him in this manner: I underſtand William Hunter, quoth hee, by maſter Brownes letter, how that you have had certain communication with the Vicar of Wield, about the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon M. Browne ſent for thee to bring thee to the Catholike faith, from the which, he ſaith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt have no harm for any thing that thou haſt ſaid or done in this matter.

Boners words to W. Hunter.

William anſwered, ſaying; I am not fallen from the Catholike faith of Chriſt (I am ſure) but do believe it, and confeſſe it with al my heart

Talk between W. Hunter and the biſhop about the ſacrament.

Why, quoth the biſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy ſaying, which thou confeſſedſt before maſter Brown, how that Chriſts body is not in the ſacrament of the Altar, the ſame that was borne of the Virgin Mary?

To the which William anſwered, ſaying; My Lord, I underſtand that maſter Browne hath certified you of the talke which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I ſaid to him, the which I will not recant by Gods help. Then ſaid the biſhop, I think thou art aſhamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy ſayings, I will promiſe thee that thou ſhalt not be put to open ſhame: but ſpeake the word here now between me and thee, and I will promiſe thee it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go home again without any hurt.

Boners faire promiſe to W. Hunter.

William anſwered and ſaid, my Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conſcience I will go to my father and dwell with him, or els with my maſter againe, and ſo if no body will diſquiet nor trouble my conſcience, I will keepe my conſcience to my ſelfe.

W. Hunter not ſuffered to have his conſcience free.

Then ſaid the biſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt goe to the Church, and receive, and be ſhriven, and ſo continue a good Catholike Chriſtian. No, quoth William, I will not do ſo for all the good in the world.

Then, quoth the biſhop, if you will not doe ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the biſhop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? No, quoth William, never while I live, God willing.

W. Hunter denieth to recant.

Then the biſhop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the Stocks in his gatehouſe, where he ſate two daies and nights, onely with a cruſt of browne bread and a cup of water.

Anno 1555.

Boner commandeth William Hunter to the ſtocks. W. Hunter two dates and two nights in the ſtocks, with a cruſt of bread and a cup of water.

At the two daies end the biſhop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the cruſt of bread ſtill by him upon the ſtockes, ſaid to his men; Take him out of the ſtockes, and let him breake his faſt with you. Then they let him forth of the ſtockes, but would not ſuffer him to eate with them, but called him Heretike. And he ſaid, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

After breakfaſt the biſhop ſent for William, and demanded whether hee would recant or no. But William made him anſwer, how that hee would never recant that which he had confeſſed before men, as concerning his faith in Chriſt.

Hunter againe refuſeth to recant his faith in Chriſt.

Then the biſhop ſaid that he was no Chriſtian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William anſwered; I was baptized in the faith of the holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God aſſiſting me with his grace.

Then the biſhop ſent him to the convict priſon and commanded the Keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could beare: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William ſaid that he was nineteen yeere old.

W. Hunter laid in the convict priſon with as many irons as he could beare.

Well ſaid the biſhop you will be burned ere you be 20 yeer old, if you will not yeeld your ſelfe better than you have done yet. William anſwered, God ſtrengthen mee in his his truth: and then he parted, the biſhop allowing him a halfe-penny a day to live on in bread or drink,

Hunter allowed a half-penny a day to live on

Thus he continued in priſon three quarters of a yeer. In the which time he had been before the biſhop five times, beſides the time when he was condemned in the Conſiſtory in Pauls the 9. day of February: at the which time I his brother Robert Hunter was preſent, when and where I heard the biſhop condemne him, and five other more.

Theſe 5. were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, and Laurence.

And then the biſhop calling William, asked him if he would recant, and ſo read to him his examination and confeſſion, as is above rehearſed, and then rehearſed how that William confeſſed that he did believe, that he received Chriſts body ſpiritually, when he did receive the communion. Doeſt thou mean, quoth the biſhop, that the bread is Chriſts body ſpiritually?

William anſwered; I mean not ſo, but rather when I receive the holy Communion rightly and worthily, I doe feed upon Chriſt ſpiritually through faith in my ſoule, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Chriſt hath brought unto all faithfull believers through his precious death, paſſion, and reſurrection, and not that the bread is his body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

The bread is Chriſts body neither ſpiritually nor bodily, but in receiving the communion we feed on Chriſt ſpiritually in our ſoule.

Then ſaid the biſhop to William; Doeſt thou not think (holding up his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayeſt ſee the ſquarnes and colour of it, and yet that not to be the ſubſtance, which thou iudgeſt by the accidents?

William anſwered; if you can ſeparate the accidents from the ſubſtance, and ſhew me the ſubſtance without the accidents, I could believe. Then ſaid the biſhop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above mans capacity. Yes, ſaid William, I muſt needs believe that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our queſtion is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy Supper.

The queſtion is not what God can doe, but what hee would have us to believe in his holy Supper.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, I alwaies have found thee at this point, and I ſee no hope in thee to reclaime thee unto the Catholike faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member: and then pro-

nounced

A ſentence pronounced againſt William Hunter.

nounced ſentence upon him, how that he ſhould go from that place to Newgate for a time, and ſo from thence to Burntwood, where, ſaid he, thou ſhalt be burned.

The large offer of B. Boner to W. Hunter.

Then the biſhop called for another, and ſo when he had condemned them al, he called for William Hunter, and perſwaded with him, ſaying, If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the City, and give thee 40. pound in good money to ſet up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee Steward of my houſe, and ſet thee in office; for I like thee well, thou haſt wit enough, and I will preferre thee if thou recant.

W. Hunter refuſeth to come from Chriſt for the love of the world.

But William anſwered, I thank you for your great offers: notwithſtanding my Lord, ſaid he, if you cannot perſwade my conſcience with Scriptures, I cannot finde in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly but loſſe and dung, in reſpect of the love of Chriſt.

Then ſaid the biſhop, if thou dieſt in this mind thou art condemned for ever. William anſwered, God iudgeth righteouſly, and iuſtifieth them whom man condemneth uniuſtly.

W. Hunter ſent down to Burntwood to be burnt.

Thus William and the biſhop departed, William and the reſt to Newgate, where they remained about a moneth, which afterward were ſent down, William to Burntwood, and the others into divers places of the countrey. Now when William was come down to Burntwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Munday after, William remained till the Tueſday after, becauſe they would not put him to death then, for the holineſſe of the day.

His father and mother come to comfort him

In the mean time Williams father and mother came to him, and deſired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his mother ſaid to him, that ſhe was glad that ever ſhe was ſo happy to bear ſuch a child, which could find in his heart to loſe his life for Chriſts names ſake.

His father and mother exhort him to be conſtant.

Then William ſaid to his mother; For my little paine which I ſhall ſuffer, which is but a ſhort braid, Chriſt hath promiſed me, mother (ſaid hee) a crown of ioy: may you not be glad of that, mother? With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, ſaying; I pray God ſtrengthen thee my ſon, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well beſtowed as any child that ever I bare.

Marke here whether Boner did nothing but by the law.

At the which words maſter Higbed took her in his armes, ſaying; I reioyce (and ſo ſaid the others) to ſee you in this minde, and you have a good cauſe to reioyce. And his father and mother both ſaid, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confeſſe Chriſt before men, he likewiſe might ſo continue to the end. Williams father ſaid; I was affraid of nothing, but that my ſon ſhould have been killed in the priſon for hunger and cold, the biſhop was ſo hard to him. But William confeſſed, after a month that his father was charged with his bord that he lacked nothing, but had meat and cloathing enough, yea, even out of the court, both money, meat, cloths, wood and coales, and all things neceſſary.

Thus they continued in their Inne, being the Swan in Burntwood in a Parlor, whither reſorted many people of the countrey to ſee thoſe good men which were there: and many of Williams acquaintance came to him, and reaſoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry.

A notable thing concerning W. Hunters dreame.

Thus paſſing away Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, on Munday at night it hapned that William had a dreame about two of the clock in the morning, which was this: how that hee was at the place where the ſtake was pight, where he ſhould be burned, which (as hee thought in his dream) was at the towns end where the buttes ſtood, which was ſo indeed: and alſo he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the ſtake, and alſo that there was a prieſt at the ſtake, which went about to have him recant.

To whom he ſaid (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, away falſe Prophet, and how that hee exhorted the people to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: which things came to paſſe indeed. It hapned that William made a noiſe to himſelf in his dream, which cauſed M. Higbed and the others to awake him out of his ſleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dreame in order, as is ſaid.

W. Hunter lead to the place of martyrdome.

The Sheriffes ſon giveth comfortable words to W. Hunter.

Now when it was day, the Sheriff M. Brocket called on to ſet forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the Sheriffs ſon to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arme, ſaying; William, be not affraid of theſe men which are here preſent with bows, bils and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you ſhall be burned. To whom William anſwered; I thanke God I am not affraid: for I have caſt my count what it will coſt me already. Then the Sheriffes ſonne could ſpeak no more to him for weeping.

W. Hunters dream verified

His words to his father.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown and ſtepped over the Parlor grounſell, and went forward cheerfully, the Sheriffes ſervant taking him by one arme, and his brother by another, and thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he ſpake to his ſon, weeping and ſaying; God be with thee ſon William: and William ſaid; God be with you good father, and be of good comfort: for I hope we ſhall meet againe when we ſhall be merry. His father ſaid, I hope ſo William, and ſo departed. So William went to the place where the ſtake ſtood even according to his dream, whereas all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broome fagot, and kneeled downe thereon, and read the 51. Pſalm, till he came to theſe words, The ſacrifice of God is a contrite ſpirit, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe.

M. William Tyrill of the Braches carpeth where he hath no cauſe.

W. Hunter refuſeth the Queens pardon.

Then ſaid Maſter Tyrill of the Braches, called William Tyrell, thou lieſt (ſaid he) thou readeſt falſe; for the words are an humble ſpirit. But William ſaid, The tranſlation ſaith a contrite heart. Yea, quoth M. Tyrell, the tranſlation is falſe, ye tranſlate bookes as yee liſt your ſelves, like Heretikes. Well, quoth William, there is no great difference in thoſe words. Then ſaid the Sheriffe, Here is a letter from the Queen. If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt live, if not, thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will not recant, God willing. Then William roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde a Bayliff, and made faſt the chaine about William.

Then ſaid Maſter Browne, here is not wood enough to burne a leg of him. Then, ſaid William; Good people pray for me; and make ſpeed and diſpatch quickly: and pray for mee while ye ſee me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewiſe.

A dogged ſaying of maſter Brown.

Now, quoth M. Brown, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog. To whom William anſwered, Maſter Browne, now you have that which you ſought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the laſt day: howbeit I forgive you. Then, ſaid Maſter Browne, I aſke no forgiveneſſe of thee. Well ſaid William, if God forgive you not, I ſhall require my blood at your hands.

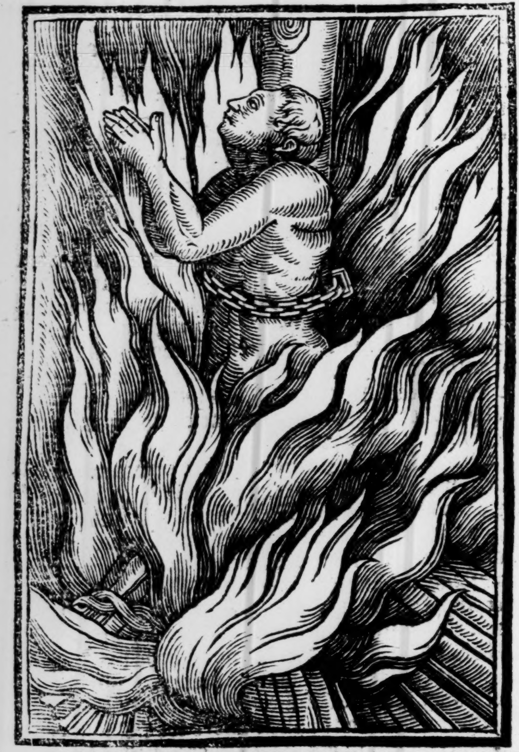
Then ſaid William, Son of God ſhine upon

An extermall ſhew of Chriſts favour upon William Hunter.

The end and martyrdome of William Hunter. Anno 1555. March 26.

me, and immediatly the Sun in the element ſhone out of a darke cloud ſo full in his face, that he was conſtrained to looke another way: whereat the people muſed, becauſe it was ſo dark a little time afore. Then William tooke up a fagot of broom, and embraced it in his armes.

The burning of WILLIAM HUNTER, Martyr.



Williams dreame verified.

Then this Prieſt, which William dreamed of came to his brother Robert with a Popiſh booke to carry to William, that he might recant, which booke his brother would not meddle withall.

Hunters words to a Popiſh prieſt.

Then William ſeeing the Prieſt, and perceiving how he would have ſhewed him the booke, ſaid; away thou falſe Prophet. Beware of them good people, and come away from their abominations, leſt that you be partakers of their plagues. Then, quoth the Prieſt, looke how thou burneſt here, ſo ſhall thou burn in hell. William anſwered, Thou lieſt, thou falſe Prophet; Away thou falſe Prophet, away.

Then was there a Gentleman which ſaid, I pray God have mercy upon his ſoule. The people ſaid; Amen, Amen. Immediately fire was made.

Hunter comforted by his brother Robert.

Then William caſt his Pſalter right into his brothers hand, who ſaid; William, think on the holy paſſion of Chriſt, and bee not affraid of death.

And William anſwered; I am not affraid. Then lift hee up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit, and caſting down his head again into the ſmothering ſmoak, he yeelded up his life for the truth, ſealing it with his blood to the praiſe of God.

Robert Hunter ſet in the Stocks.

Robert Hunter had before M. Browne.

Now by and by after, Maſter Browne commanded one old Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the Stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Hornden on the hill, the ſame day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then M. Brown (when Rob. Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter anſwered; If I do as my brother hath done, I ſhal have as he hath had. Mary, quoth M. Brown, thou mayſt be ſure of it.

Anno 1555.

Robert Hunter by Gods providence delivered.

Then M. Brown ſaid, I marvell that thy brother ſtood ſo to his tackling: and moreover, hee asked Robert, if Williams maſter of London were not at his burning. But Robert ſaid, that he was not there; but maſter Brown bare him in hand that his maſter was there, and how that he did ſee him there, but Robert denied it. Then M. Brown commanded the Conſtable and Robert Hunter to go their wayes home, and ſo had no further talk with them.

Here followeth the hiſtory of Maſter Higbed, and M. Cauſton, two worthy Gentlemen of Eſſex, which for their ſincere confeſſion of their faith under Boner B. of London, were martyred and burned in Eſſex, An. 1555.

March 26. The ſtory of M. Higbed and M. Cauſton, Martyrs.

ALthough the condemnation of M. Higbed, and M. Cauſton followed after the condemning of thoſe other martyrs which were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet becauſe the time of their execution was before the burning of the foreſaid foure martyrs forſomuch that they ſuffered the ſame day that William Hunter did, which was the 26. of March, I thought therefore next after the ſtory of the ſaid William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the ſame.

This Maſter Higbed and maſter Cauſton, two worſhipfull Gentlemen in the Countie of Eſſex, the one at Hornden of the hill, the other of the pariſh of Thundurſt, being zealous and religious in the true ſervice of God; as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, ſo in time of blinde ſuperſtition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lye hid and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignant adverſaries, accuſers, and ſervants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the foreſaid Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, peradventure not without the ſame organ which ſent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reaſon whereof, by commandement they were committed to the Officers of Colcheſter to be ſafely kept, and with them alſo a ſervant of Thomas Cauſton, who in this praiſe of Chriſtian godlineſſe was nothing inferiour to his maſter.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſton detected to Boner.

Biſhop Boner committh himſelfe to Colcheſter.

Boner the foreſaid Biſhop, perceiving theſe two Gentlemen to be of worſhipfull eſtate, and of great eſtimation in that Country, leſt any tumult ſhould thereby ariſe, came thither himſelf, accompanied with Maſter Fecknam and certaine others, thinking to reclaime them to his faction and faſhion: ſo that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatnings, as by large promiſes and flattering, and all faire meaues, to reduce them againe to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother Church.

In fine, when nothing could prevaile to make them aſſent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certaine reſpite to conſult with themſelves what was beſt to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remained ſtill conſtant and unmoveable in their profeſſed doctrine, and ſetting out alſo their confeſſion in writing, the Biſhop ſeeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other priſoners alſo, which about the ſame time in thoſe quarters were apprehended.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſton carried to London.

It was not long after this, but theſe priſoners being at London committed to ſtreight priſon, and there attempted ſundry waies by the biſhop and his Chapleins to revoke their opinions: at

length

Anno 1555.

The firſt dates ſeſſion.

length, when no perſwaſions would ſerve, they were brought forth to open examination at the Conſiſtory in Pauls, the 17. day of February, Anno 1555. Where they were demanded as well by the ſaid biſhop, as alſo by the biſhop of Bathe, and others, whether they would recant their errours and perverſe doctrine (as they termed it) and ſo come to the unity of the Popiſh Church. Which when they refuſed to doe, the Biſhop aſſigned them likewiſe the next day to appeare againe, being the 18. of February.

The ſecond dates ſeſſion.

On the which day, among many other things there ſaid and paſſed, he read unto them ſeverally certaine Articles, and gave them reſpite untill the next day to anſwer unto the ſame, and ſo committed them againe to priſon. The copie of which Articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and miniſtred by Boner Biſhop of London, ſeverally againſt Thomas Cauſton, and Thomas Higbed of Eſſex.

Articles laid by B. Boner to M. Higbed and Cauſton.

First, that thou Thomas Cauſton (or Thomas Higbed) haſt beene and art of the Dioceſſe of London, and alſo of the juriſdiction now of me Edmund Biſhop of London.

Item, that thou waſt in time paſt, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and chriſtened.

Item, that thou hadſt Godfathers and Godmother, according to the ſaid order.

Item, that the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was uſed in the realme of England.

Item, that that faith and religion, which they did profeſſe and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the Church, and of the Chriſtian people: and ſo was it in very deed.

Item, thou comming to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the age of foureteene yeeres, didſt not miſlike nor diſallow that faith, that religion, or promiſe then uſed and approved, and promiſed by the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time diddeſt continue in it, as others (taking themſelves for Chriſtian people) did likewiſe.

Item, that at that time, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the Church, catholike and true, and every where in Chriſtendome then allowed for catholike and true, and to be the profeſſion of Chriſtian men, to beleeve, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of bread and wine, after the conſecration, there was, and is by the omnipotent power and will of almighty God, and his word, without any ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and naturall body and blood of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, which was borne of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the Croſſe, really, truly, and in very deed.

The reall preſence.

Item, that at that time thy father and mother, all thine anceſtors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and friends, and thy ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then ſo beleeve, and think in all the ſame as the ſaid Church did therein beleeve.

Item, that thy ſelfe haſt had no juſt cauſe or lawfull ground to depart or ſwerve from the ſaid religion or faith, nor any occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and beleeve the erroneous opinion or beleefe, that hath been againſt the common order of the Church, brought in by certaine diſordered perſons of late, at the uttermoſt within theſe 30. or 40. yeeres laſt paſt.

Item, that thou doeſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleeve, that D. Robert Barnes, Iohn Frith, Thomas Garrard, Hierome Laſſels, Anne Askew, Iohn Hooper late Biſhop of Glooceſter, ſir Laurence Sanders Prieſt, Iohn Bradford, ſir Iohn Rogers Prieſt, ſir Rowland Taylor Prieſt, ſir Iohn Laurence Prieſt, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have beene heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretikes, and alſo condemned as heretikes, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly: ſpecially in holding and beleeving certaine damnable opinions, againſt the verity of Chriſts body and blood in the ſacrament of the Altar, and all the ſame perſons, ſaving Iohn Bradford, ſir Iohn Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have ſuffered paines of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their ſaid opinions and misbeliefe.

Alſo ſir Edmund Boner Prieſt, before the death of Cromwell, ſeemed to be of that opinion, & was ſworne twice againſt the Pope.

Item, that thou doeſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleeve, that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicolas Ridley, naming himſelfe biſhop of London, Robert Ferrar late Biſhop of S. Davids, and Hugh Latimer ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, have beene, and are at this preſent reputed, accounted, and taken as heretikes and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certaine damnable opinions againſt the verity of Chriſts body and blood in the ſacrament of the Altar.

Verity taken for hereſie of misbelieving heretikes.

Item, that thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſaid perſons, ſo erring and beleeving (or at the leaſtwiſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and beleeving them to be faithfull and catholike people, and their ſaid opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and uttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maintained, and defended at ſundry times.

Item, that thou having heard, knowne, and underſtood all the premiſſes, thus to be as is aforeſaid, haſt not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and every part thereof haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſſing, and breaking the promiſe, faith, religion, order, and cuſtome aforeſaid, and haſt become, and art an heretike and misbeleever in the premiſſes, denying the verity of Chriſts body and bloud in the ſacrament of the Altar, and obſtinately affirming, that the ſubſtance of the materiall bread and wine are there remaining, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, are not there in the ſaid ſacrament really and truly being.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that upon all the ſame, there have and be amongſt the ſad and good people of the City of London and Dioceſſe of the ſame in great multitude, commonly and publikely, a common and publike fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt been, within the ſaid Dioceſſe of London.

¶ Theſe articles being given to them in writing by the Biſhop, the next day following was aſſigned to them to give up and to exhibite their anſwers unto the ſame.

The third dayes Seſſion upon the examination of M. Cauſton, and M. Higbed.

The third Seſſion.

Upon the which day, being the firſt day of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton, and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen, being brought before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory, there exhibited their anſwers to the articles aforeſaid; the tenor of which anſwers here followeth.

The anſwers of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, ſeverally made to the foreſaid Articles objected as before.

The anſwers of the Martyrs to the articles.

To the firſt, they anſwer and confeſſe the ſame to be true.

To the ſecond, they anſwer and beleeve the ſame to be true.

To the third, they anſwer and beleeve the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they anſwer and thinke the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, untill this clauſe (and ſo was it in very deed) they anſwer and beleeve the ſame to be true. And unto that clauſe (and ſo was it in very deed) they anſwer negatively, and beleeve that it was not in very deed.

To the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, they anſwer and beleeve the ſame to be true.

To the ninth, they anſwer and ſay, that they think they have a juſt and lawfull cauſe and ground to ſwerve and go from the ſaid faith and religion, becauſe they have now read more Scripture, than either themſelves, or their parents and kinsfolke, Godfathers or Godmothers have read or ſeen heretofore in that behalfe.

To the tenth, they anſwer, ſay, and beleeve, that the ſaid perſons articulate have been named, taken, and counted for heretikes, and ſo condemned for heretikes: yet about three yeeres paſt, they were taken for good Chriſtian perſons. And forſomuch as theſe Reſpondents did never heare them preach concerning the ſacrament of the Altar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſaid and preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the ſacrament, but that there is remaining the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

To the eleventh, they anſwer and ſay, that howſoever other folkes do repute and take the ſaid perſons articulate, yet theſe Reſpondents themſelves did never, nor yet doe ſo account and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſaid perſons articulate named in this article have preached, that in the ſacrament of the Altar is very materiall wine, and not the ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood under the formes of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and theſe Reſpondents themſelves do ſo believe.

To the twelfth, they anſwer and ſay, that where other folke have diſpraiſed the ſaid perſons articulate, and diſallowed their opinions, theſe Reſpondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the ſaid perſons, and their ſayings.

To the thirteenth, they anſwer and ſay, that they have not broken or condemned any promiſe made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their Baptiſme, and that they are no heretikes nor misbelievers, in that they beleeve that there remaineth onely bread and wine in the ſacrament of the Altar, and that Chriſts naturall body is not there, but in heaven; for they ſay, that the Scriptures ſo teach them.

To the fourteenth, they anſwer and believe, that the premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious, and manifeſt.

After theſe anſwers exhibited and peruſed, then the Biſhop ſpeaking unto them after this ſort, beginneth firſt (as he did ever before) with Thomas Cauſton. Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſodainly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I goe about to ſeeke ſnares to put you away: I have hitherto reſpited you, that you ſhould weigh and conſider with your ſelfe your ſtate and condition, and that you ſhould, while ye have time and ſpace, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the catholike Church. Then the Biſhop, reading their former articles and anſwers to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were againe diſmiſſed and commanded to appeare the Wedneſday next after, at two of the clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive ſentence againſt them: which thing (as it ſeemeth) was yet deferred.

A ſample of catholike charity ſhewed.

Anno 1555

Another examination of M. Cauſton and Maſter Higbed.

Another examination.

The next Friday, being the 8. day of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton was firſt called to examination before the Biſhop, Fecknam and D. Stempe being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foreſaid Articles with his anſwers thereunto, and after certaine exhortations to recant his former profeſſion, and to be conformable to the unity of their Church, they promiſed him (ſo doing) willingly to receive him againe thereunto. To whom he anſwered, You go about to catch us in ſnares and gins. But mark, by what meaſure ye meaſure us, looke you to be meaſured with the ſame againe at Gods hands. The Biſhop ſtill perſwaded with him to recant. To whom he anſwered, No, I will not abiure. He ſaid that the Biſhops that were lately burned be heretikes: but I pray God make me ſuch an heretike as they were.

This Stempe is now Warden of the Colledge in Wincheſter.

M. Cauſton denieth to recant.

The Biſhop then leaving M. Cauſton, calleth for M. Higbed: uſing with him the like perſwaſions that he did with the other: but he anſwered; I will not abiure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, theſe 16. yeeres, and do what ye can, ye ſhall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what meaſure you meaſure us, looke for the ſame againe at Gods hands.

M. Higbed called forth, denieth to abiure.

Then Fecknam aſked him his opinion in the ſacrament of the Altar. To whom he anſwered, I do not beleeve that Chriſt is in the ſacrament as ye will have him, which is of mans making. Both their anſwers thus ſeverally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appeare the next day in the Conſiſtory at Pauls, betweene the houres of one and three of the clock at afternoone.

M. Feckham ſtill buſie with the matter of the ſacrament.

The laſt appearance of M. Cauſton, and M. Higbed before Boner.

At which day and houre, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither: Where the biſhop cauſed M. Thomas Cauſtons articles and anſwers firſt to be read openly, and after perſwaded with him to recant and abiure his hereticall opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their mother the catholike Church, and ſave himſelfe.

M. Cauſton & M. Higbed appeare again before the biſhop.

But M. Thomas Cauſton anſwered againe, and ſaid; No, I will not abiure. For I came not hither for that purpoſe; and therewithall did exhibite in writing unto the Biſhop (as well in his owne name, as alſo in Thomas Higbeds name) a confeſſion of their faith, to the which they would ſtand: and required leave to read the ſame, which (after great ſuit) was obtained, and ſo he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

M. Cauſton & M. Higbed do exhibit a confeſſion of their faith.

The confeſſion and faith of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Biſhop of London, before the Maior and Sheriffes, and in the preſence of all the people there aſſembled. Anno 1555. the 9. of March, and were condemned for the ſame in the ſaid Conſiſtory in Pauls Church, the yeere and day aboveſaid.

1. First, we beleeve and profeſſe in Baptiſme, to forſake the Divell and all his works and pompes, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the ſinfull luſts of the fleſh.

The confeſſion of M. Cauſton. Abrenouncing of the world.

2. We beleeve all the Articles of our Chriſtian faith.

The Articles of the Creed.

Anno 1555

The comman-dements. The Lords Prayer.

3 We beleeve, that we are bound to keepe Gods holy will and commandements, and to walk in the ſame all the dayes of our life.

4 We beleeve, that there is contained in the Lords Prayer all things neceſſary both for body and ſoule, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other Saint or Angell.

The Catho-like Church.

5 We beleeve, that there is a catholike Church, even the communion of Saints, Built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles (as S. Paul ſaith) Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone. For the which Church Chriſt gave himſelfe, to make it to himſelf a glorious congregation without fault in his ſight.

The Church of it ſelf is ſin-full, by impu-tation righte-ous.

6 We beleeve, that this Church of her ſelfe, and by her own merits is ſinfull, and muſt needs ſay; Father forgive us our ſins: but through Chriſt and his merits, ſhe is freely forgiven: For he in his own perſon (ſaith S. Paul) hath purged her ſinnes, and made her faultleſſe in his ſight. Beſides whom, there is no Saviour, ſaith the Prophet: neither is there ſalvation, ſaith S. Peter, in any other name.

Chriſt our only mediatour.

7 We beleeve, as he is our only Saviour, ſo he is our only Mediator. For the Apoſtle Saint Paul ſaith; There is one God, one Mediatour betweene God and man, even the man Ieſus Chriſt. Wherfore ſeeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jeſus Chriſt, therefore there is no Mediator but Jeſus Chriſt.

The condition of the Church, to be perſecu-ted.

8 We beleeve, that this Church of Chriſt is and hath been perſecuted, by the words of Chriſt, ſaying; As they have perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter. For it is not only given unto you to beleeve in Chriſt, ſaith S. Paul, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

The Church only is dire-cted by Gods word, neither adding to nor taking from.

9 We beleeve, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth the word of God truly and ſincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing fro: and alſo doth miniſter the ſacraments according to the Primitive Church.

The true Church for-biddeth none to read the Scriptures.

10 We beleeve, that this Church of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Chriſts commandement, ſaying; Search the Scriptures: for they teſtifie of me. We read alſo out of the Acts, that when S. Paul preached, the audience daily ſearched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Alſo the Prophet David teacheth all men to pray with underſtanding: For how ſhall the unlearned, ſaith S. Paul, ſay Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they underſtand not what is ſaid? And what is more allowed than true faith, which, Saint Paul ſaith, cometh by hearing of the word of God?

God only to be worſhipped af-ter his word.

11 We beleeve, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth, that God ought to be worſhipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men. For in vaine, ſaith Chriſt, ye worſhip me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.

Gods precepts to be followed, and not the conſtitutions of men.

Alſo we are commanded of God by his Prophet, ſaying; Walke not in the traditions and precepts of your elders: but walk, ſaith he, in my precepts: doe that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewiſe ſaith Chriſt, You ſhall forſake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learne, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe than God commanded, in that point we muſt forſake them.

The Lords Supper is not to be changed from the inſti-tution of Chriſt.

12 We beleeve, that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, foraſmuch as Chriſt himſelf, being the wiſdome of the Father, did inſtitute it. For it is written, Curſed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandements, or taketh any thing from them.

The Lords Supper how many waies it is abuſed.

Now we finde by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is ſore abuſed.

First, in that it is given in one kinde, where Chriſt gave it in both.

The 2. abuſe.

Secondly, in that it is made a private Maſſe, where Chriſt made it a Communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles in the name of the whole Church.

The 3. abuſe.

Thirdly, in that it is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Chriſt ordained it for a remembrance of the everlaſting ſacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the Croſſe once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſaith; Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remiſſion of ſinne (ſaith he) there is no more ſacrifice for ſin.

The 4. abuſe.

Fourthly, in that it is worſhipped contrary to the commandement, ſaying; Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with hands.

The 5. abuſe.

Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknowne tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right uſe thereof, how Chriſt died for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification, by whom we be ſet at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promiſe, whereof this ſacrament is a ſure ſeale and witneſſe.

The 6. abuſe.

Beſides this, it is hanged up, and ſhut in a boxe; yea, many times ſo long, that wormes breedeth in it, and ſo it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occaſion to ſpeak unreverently thereof, which otherwiſe would ſpeake reverently.

Therefore they that thus abuſe it, bring up the ſlander, and not we, which pray daily to God to reſtore it to the right uſe, according to Chriſts inſtitution.

Chriſts word Hoc eſt corpus meum not denied, but expounded.

Now concerning Chriſts words, This is my body, we deny them not; but we ſay, that the minde of Chriſt in them muſt be ſearched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the ſpirituall underſtanding of them, which ſhall be moſt to the glory of God: For as the holy Apoſtle ſaith; There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation. Beſides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative ſpeeches: as for example, Chriſt ſaith; This cup is the new Teſtament in my blood. The rocke is Chriſt (ſaith S. Paul.) Whoſoever receiveth a childe in my name (ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) receiveth me.

This phraſe of Scripture ex-pounded by o-ther phraſes.

Which ſentences muſt not be underſtood after the letter, leſt we doe erre, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Chriſts body ſhould have been eaten with their teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Chriſt ſaid; Such a fleſhly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the ſpirit (ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) that quickeneth; the fleſh profiteth nothing: for my words are ſpirit and life.

The words of the ſacrament ought to be ta-ken ſpiritual-ly, and not lite-rally. Chriſt is to be eaten ſpiritu-ally.

Thus we ſee that Chriſts words muſt be underſtood ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy Supper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his iaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, Beleeve (ſaith S. Auguſtine) and thou haſt eaten it: ſo that we muſt bring with us a ſpirituall hunger, and as the Apoſtle ſaith; Try and examine our ſelves, whether our conſcience do teſtifie unto us, that we do truly beleeve in Chriſt, according to the Scriptures; whereof if we be truly certified, being new born from our old converſation in heart, minde, will, and deed, then may we boldly with this marriage garment of our faith come to the feaſt.

In conſideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Chriſt himſelfe; This doe in remembrance of me. And S. Paul; As often (ſaith he) as ye eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall remember the Lords death un-

till

The ſubſtance of bread not changed.

till he come. Here is no change, but bread ſtill. And Saint Luke affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a iuſt promiſe, ſaying; Me you ſhall not have alwayes with you, I leave the world, and goe to my Father: for if I ſhould not depart, the comforter which I will ſend, cannot come unto you. So according to his promiſe he is aſcended as the Evangeliſts teſtifie. Alſo Saint Peter ſaith, That heaven ſhall keepe him untill the laſt day alſo.

Chriſts body but in one place at once.

Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confeſſe and ſay with S. Auguſtine, that Chriſt is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupie but one place: whereunto the Scriptures do agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the women ſought it, as the Angell ſaith: neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Chriſts owne words, ſaying; I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy Supper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

Their proteſtation.

And further, we make here our proteſtation before God (whom we call to record in this matter) that this which we have ſaid, is neither of ſtubbornneſſe, nor wilfull minde, as ſome iudge of us; but even of very conſcience, truly (we truſt) grounded on Gods holy word. For before we tooke this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottome of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and bleſſed word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his power in our weakneſſe, we cannot worthily praiſe him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed conſtant to death in their confeſſion.

When he had thus delivered and read their confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtill perſiſting ſomtime in faire promiſes, ſometime threatning to pronounce iudgement, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their confeſſion and other anſwers? To whom Cauſton ſaid, Yea, we will ſtand to our anſwers written with our hands, and to our beliefe therein contained. After which anſwer the Biſhop began to pronounce ſentence againſt him.

M. Cauſton appealeth to the Cardinall.

Then he ſaid, that it was much raſhneſſe, and without all love and mercy, to give iudgement without anſwering to their confeſſion by the truth of Gods word, whereunto they ſubmitted themſelves moſt willingly. And therefore I, quoth Cauſton (becauſe I cannot have iuſtice at your hand, but that ye will thus raſhly condemne me) do appeale from you to my L. Cardinall.

D. Smith ready to anſwer their confeſſion, but could not be ſuffered.

Then D. Smith ſaid, that he would anſwer their confeſſion. But the Biſhop (not ſuffering him to ſpeak) willed Harpsfield to ſay his mind, for the ſtay of the people; who taking their confeſſion in his hand, neither touched nor anſwered one ſentence thereof.

Sentence pronounced againſt Maſter Cauſton and M. Higbed.

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced ſentence, firſt againſt the ſaid Thomas Cauſton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, cauſed his articles and anſwers likewiſe to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed ſaid; Ye ſpeak blaſphemy againſt Chriſts paſſion, and ye go about to trap us with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinſfolke did beleeve, as you ſay, yet they were deceived in ſo beleeving.

And further, where you ſay, that my Lord, named Cranmer (late Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and others ſpecified in the ſaid articles, be Heretikes; I do wiſh that I were ſuch an Heretike as they were, and be. Then the Biſhop aſked him againe, whether he would turne from his error, and come to the unity of their Church? To whom he ſaid, No; I would ye ſhould recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error.

Well (quoth the Biſhop) if ye will returne, I will gladly receive you.

No, ſaid Higbed, I will not returne as you will have me, to beleeve in the ſacrament of the Altar your God.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed condemned and ſent to Newgate.

Whereupon the Biſhop proceeded, and gave iudgement upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Cauſton. When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the Sheriffes, and ſo by them ſent to Newgate, where they remained by the ſpace of 14. dayes, praiſed be God, not ſo much in afflictions, as in conſolations.

For the increaſe whereof they earneſtly deſired all their good brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt to pray, that God for his Sons ſake would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, ſo that they might perſevere unto the end, to the praiſe of the eternall God, and comfort of all their brethren.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed brought from Newgate into Eſſex.

Theſe 14. dayes (after their condemnation) once expired, they were the 23. day of this moneth of March fetched from Newgate at foure of the clock in the morning, and ſo led through the City unto Algate, where they were delivered unto the Sheriffe of Eſſex, and there being faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeverall appointed places of burning: that is to ſay, Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the hill, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly (both in the County of Eſſex) where they did moſt conſtantly, the 26. day of the ſame moneth, ſeale this their faith with ſhedding of their blood by moſt cruell fire, to the glory of God, and great reioycing of the godly.

The conſtant martyrdome of M. Thomas Cauſton, and M. Higbed, martyrs.

At the burning of which M. Higbed Iuſtice Browne was alſo preſent, as is above ſpecified, and divers Gentlemen in the Shire were commanded to be preſent, for feare belike, leſt they ſhould be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehenſion, examination, confeſſion, condemnation, and burning of theſe two godly and conſtant Martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, with their examination and conſtant martyrdome.

March 28.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, Iohn Laurence, martyrs.

IN the ſtory before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellowes, mention was made of ſix which were examined, and condemned together by Biſhop Boner, the 9. day of February. Of the which ſixe condemned perſons, two, which were Tomkins and William Hunter (as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 26. of February, and the other upon the 26. day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, ſuffered upon the 28. day, and Iohn Laurence the 29. of the ſaid moneth of March.

Touching the which three Martyrs, now ſomthing to ſay of their examinations: It was firſt demanded of them, what their opinion was of the ſacrament of the Altar. Whereunto they ſeverally anſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the ſacrament of the Altar, under formes of bread and wine, there is not the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, but a ſpeciall partaking of the body and blood of Chriſt; the very body and blood of Chriſt being onely in heaven, and no where elſe. This anſwer thus made, the Biſhop cauſed certaine articles to be read unto them, tending to the ſame effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of M. Cauſton. The tenor whereof here followeth.

Anno 1555.

Articles or interrogatories objected by the Biſhop of London to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, the 8. of February. 1555.

Articles objected to William Pygot and his fellowes.

VVHether doe you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that it is a catholike, faithfull, Chriſtian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of bread and wine, there is without any ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed the true and naturall body and blood of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance (though not in outward forme and appearance) which was borne of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the Croſſe, yea, or nay?

Belief of their fore-elders.

Whether doe you think, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that your parents, kinsfolke, friends, and acquaintance, here in this preſent Realme of England, before your birth a great while, and alſo after your birth, profeſſing and beleeving the ſaid doctrine and faith, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, had a true Chriſtian faith, and were faithfull and true Chriſtian people, or no?

Belief of their Godfathers & Godmothers.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that your Godfathers and Godmother, profeſſing and beleeving the ſaid doctrine and faith, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, had a true Chriſtian faith, and were faithfull and true Chriſtian people, or no?

Belief of their young age.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that your owne ſelfe in times paſt, being of the age of 14. yeeres, and above, did thinke and beleeve concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar in all points, as your ſaid parents, kinsfolke, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother did then think and believe them, or no?

Beliefe of the King & Queen, and Nobility.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that our Soveraignes the King and the Queene of this Realme of England, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realme, profeſſing and beleeving the ſaid doctrine and faith, as other Chriſtian Realmes doe, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, have a true Chriſtian faith and beleeve as the catholike and true Church of Chriſt hath alwayes beleeved, preached, and taught, or no?

Beliefe of the pretenſed Catholike Church

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly beleeve, that our Saviour Chriſt and his holy Spirit hath beene, is, and ſhall be with his catholike Church, even to the worlds end, governing and ruling the ſame in all things, eſpecially in the neceſſary points of Chriſtian religion, not ſuffering the ſame to erre, or to be deceived therein?

The reall preſence and tranſubſtantiation.

Whether is it true, that you being ſuſpected or infamed to be culpable and faulty in ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, and againſt the very true preſence of Chriſts naturall body, and the ſubſtance thereof in the ſaid ſacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me againſt you, have not beene a good ſpace in my houſe, having freely meat and drink, and alſo divers times inſtructed and informed, aſwell by one being our Ordinary, as alſo by my Chaplaines and divers other learned men, ſome whereof were Biſhops, ſome Deanes, and ſome Archdeacons, and every one of them learned in Divinity, and minding well unto you, and deſiring the ſafeguard of your ſoule, and that you ſhould follow and beleeve the doctrine of the catholike Church as afore, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, and whether you did not at all times ſince your ſaid coming to me, utterly refuſe to follow and beleeve the ſaid doctrine concerning the ſaid ſacrament?

Whether can you now find in your heart and conſcience to conforme your ſelfe in all points to the ſaid faith and catholike Church concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any diſſimulation, beleeving therein, as our ſaid Soveraignes, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realme, and other Chriſtian Realms: and other perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the ſaid catholike Church have, and do beleeve in that behalfe?

In caſe you ſo cannot, what ground have you to maintaine your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what reliefe have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and ſurnames, and their dwelling places?

Their anſwers to theſe articles were not much diſcrepant from Tomkins, and other like Martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be ſeene.

The anſwers of Stephen Knight, and William Pygot, to the aforeſaid articles.

Anſwers to the articles aforeſaid.

TO the firſt article, they beleeve, that the contents of this article is not agreeable to Scripture.

To the ſecond, they anſwer and beleeve, that their parents and other expreſſed in the ſaid article, ſo beleeving as is contained in the ſame, were deceived.

To the third they anſwer, that they ſo beleeved, but they were deceived therein, as they now beleeve.

To the fourth they ſay, that they have heretofore beleeved as is contained in the ſaid article, but now they do not ſo beleeve.

To the fifth they ſay, that if they ſo beleeve, they are deceived.

To the ſixth, they beleeve the ſame to be true.

To the ſeventh they anſwer, and beleeve the contents of the ſame to be true.

To the eighth they anſwer, that they can no whit conforme themſelves to the faith and doctrine contained and ſpecified in this article, untill it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they ſay, that they have no ground to maintaine their ſaid opinions, but the truth, which (as they ſaid) hath beene perſwaded by learned men, as D. Taylor of Hadly, and ſuch other.

Theſe anſwers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appeare againe the next day, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and in the meane while to bethinke themſelves what they would do.

Another appearance of the ſaid priſoners before Boner.

Another appearance

THe next day in the morning, being the 9. of February, before their open appearance, the Biſhop ſent for William Pygot, and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he perſwaded with them to recant, and deny their former profeſſion.

Who anſwered, that they were not perſwaded in their conſciences to returne and abiure their opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins, and William Hunter aforenamed) brought openly into the Conſiſtory, the 9. day of February aforeſaid, and there had the ſame articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the foreſaid Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his hiſtory) and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe words, I do ſo beleeve.

The

Talk between Boner and John Laurence Prieſt. John Laurence ſometime a Frier.

The Biſhop alſo uſed certaine talk unto John Laurence only. Whereunto he anſwered in this manner; that he was a Prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a Prieſt about 18. yeeres paſt, and that he was ſomtime a blacke Frier profeſſed; that alſo he was aſſured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being againe demanded his opinion upon the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was a remembrance of Chriſts body, and that many have been deceived in beleeving the true body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the Altar, and that all ſuch as do not beleeve as he doth, do erre. And after this talke and other faire words and threatnings, they were all of them commanded to appeare againe at afternoone.

The third and laſt appearance.

The third and laſt appearance.

AT the which houre they came thither againe, and there after the accuſtomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they conſtantly anſwered they would not, but would ſticke to that faith that they had declared and ſubſcribed unto, for that they did beleeve that it was no error which they beleeved; but that the contrary thereof was very hereſie.

Stephen Knight, William Pygot, and John Laurence condemned. John Laurence degraded.

When the Biſhop ſaw that neither his faire flatterings, nor yet his cruell threatenings would prevaile, he gave them ſeverally their iudgements. And becauſe John Laurence had beene one of their annointed Prieſts, he was by the Biſhop there (according to their order) ſolemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may ſee in the hiſtory of M. Hooper afore-paſſed.

Their ſentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the cuſtody of the Sheriffes of London, who ſent them unto Newgate, where they remained with ioy together, untill they were carried down into Eſſex, and there the 28. day of March, the ſaid William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Mauldon, who at the ſtake, kneeling upon the ground, ſaid this prayer which here followeth.

Ste. Knight burned at Mauldon, Wil. Pygot at Braintree. March 28.

The prayer that Stephen Knight ſaid at his death upon his knees, being at the ſtake, at Mauldon.

godly prayer Ste. Knight his martyrdome.

O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe love I leave willingly this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of thy Croſſe, with the loſſe of all earthly things, than to abide the blaſphemy of thy moſt holy Name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy Commandement: Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worſhip a falſe God, and honour thine enemy, I choſe rather the torment of the body, and the loſſe of this life, and have counted all things but vile, duſt, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thouſands of gold and ſilver. Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, which is empty of all ſtrength of it ſelfe. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and able to do nothing that is good: Therefore, O Lord, as of thine accuſtomed goodneſſe and love thou haſt bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine owne cup amongſt thine elect; even ſo give me ſtrength, O Lord, againſt this thine element, which as to my ſight it is moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my minde it may at thy commandement (as an obedient ſervant) be ſweet and pleaſant, that through the ſtrength of thy holy Spirit, I may paſſe through the rage of this fire into thy boſome, according to thy promiſe, and for this mortall receive an immortall, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: Accept this burnt ſacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice, but for thy deare Sonnes ſake my Saviour, for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my ſoule. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive all the world. O ſweet Sonne of God my Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O bleſſed and holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercifull inſpiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlaſting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Amen.

Pſalme 42.

Anno 1555.

Marke the ſpirit of this prayer, & compare it with the prayer of the Papiſts at the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Prieſt.

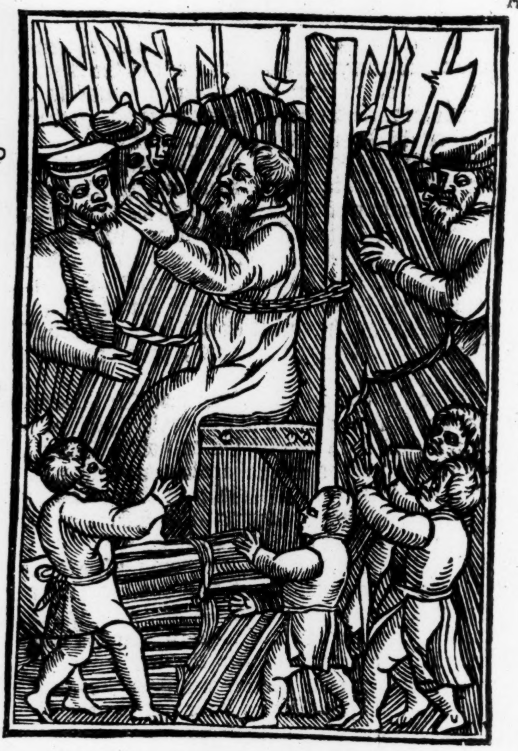
John Laurence Martyr. March 29.

Jo. Laurence lamed with irons in priſon.

THe next day, being the 29. day of this moneth, the ſaid John Laurence was brought to Colcheſter, and there being not able to go (for that as well his legs were ſore worne with heavy irons in priſon, as alſo his body weakned with evill keeping) was borne to the fire in a chaire, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant faith conſumed with fire.

The cruell burning of *Iohn Laurence*, Martyr.

The martyrdome of John Laurence Prieſt, at Colcheſter, Anno 1555.



At the burning of this Laurence, he ſitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could ſpeak, ſaying; Lord ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keepe thy promiſe, Lord ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe: which thing, as it is rare, ſo it is no ſmall manifeſtation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of theſe little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, which from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

The

Anno 1555

The hiſtory of Doctor Robert Farrar, Biſhop of S. Davids in Wales, who moſt conſtantly gave his life for the teſtimony of the truth, March 30. Anno 1555.

The burning of D. Robert Farrar, biſhop of S. Davids, and Martyr.

THe next day after, which was the 30. day of the ſaid moneth of March, followed the worthy and conſtant martyrdome of the Biſhop of S. Davids in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next Biſhop in this Catalogue of Chriſtian Martyrs, that ſuffered after M. Hooper. This aforeſaid Farrar, by the favour and good will of the Lord Protector, was firſt called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a Martyr, not only for the cruell death of the fire, which he ſuffered moſt conſtantly in the dayes of Q. Mary, unto the ſhedding of his blood; but alſo for divers other injuries and moleſtations in K. Edwards time, which he no leſſe firmly than unworthily ſuſtained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerſet. Of theſe his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid againſt him, to the number of 56. and of the malice conceived againſt him by certaine covetous Canons of the Church of Carmarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adverſaries, and what were their names, in their articles againſt him, in order here followeth.

56. Articles againſt biſhop Farrar in K. Edwards time, deviſed by Thomas Young, Conſtantine, and other his adverſaries. Tho. Young ſon in law to Conſtantine.

The principall articles againſt Biſhop Farrar.

1 GEorge Conſtantine, David Walter his ſervant, Thomas Young Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church, who was afterward Archbiſhop of York, Rowland Merick, Doctor of law, who was afterward Biſhop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

THrough the procurement and inſtance of theſe his adverſaries, joyning and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins Prieſt, and Thomas Lee brother in law to the ſaid George Conſtantine, did exhibit to the Kings moſt honourable Councell certaine articles and informations, conceived and deviſed by the perſons before named, to the intent to blemiſh the biſhops credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boaſt) to pull him from his Biſhoprick, and to bring him in a Premunire. The copie of which articles we thought here good to expreſſe, and ſo after them to ſet his anſwers to the ſame.

Articles and informations to the Kings honourable Councell, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins, and Thomas Lee, againſt the bleſſed man of God, Maſter Farrar Biſhop of S. Davids.

Abuſe of the authority to him committed

1 IMprimis, when the ſaid Biſhop firſt came to his Dioceſſe, he appointed his Chancellor by his letters of Commiſſion, omitting the Kings Maieſties ſtile and authority, and grounded his ſaid Commiſſion upon forraigne uſurped lawes the authority; by force of which authority his ſaid Chancellor did viſit certaine Deanries of his ſaid Dioceſſe, and moniſhed the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of S. Davids aforeſaid, againſt a certaine day and place, for like intent and purpoſe, contrary to the Kings Highneſſe lawes and ſtatutes, and in derogation of his Highneſſe Supremacy.

2 Item, that the ſaid Chaunter and Chapter, perceiving the faults of the ſaid Commiſſion, took the ſame from the Regiſter into their cuſtody, refuſing to appeare by vertue thereof, and by ſecret and charitable wayes and meanes did admoniſh the ſaid Biſhop of the unlawfulneſſe and faults of the ſaid Commiſſion, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the ſame; opening alſo unto him the effect of the Statute made in the 28. yeere of our late Soveraigne Lord Henry the 8. Which monitions notwithſtanding, the ſaid Biſhop neglecting the ſame, and continuing in his malicious doing or inexcuſable ignorance, about the 20. day of Auguſt, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord that now is, did conferre unto one John Evans the Vicarage of Pembrin, inſtituting him by authority of the old forraigne uſurped law, making no mention of the Kings Highneſſe authority, in contempt and derogation of the ſame.

3 Item, whereas the Chancellor and Vicar generall to the ſaid Biſhop, did upon a lawfull title, and by the Kings Highneſſe ſupreme authority, admit and inſtitute one John Gough into the Rectory of Haſkard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the Kings name under his Highneſſe ſeale Eccleſiaſticall appointed for that office, with the Teſte of the ſaid Biſhop, and ſubſcription of the ſaid Chancellour, a Mandate to induct accordingly; by vertue whereof the ſaid John Gough was inducted by the Officiall there, into the reall poſſeſſions of the ſame Rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the ſame belonging; whereupon the Regiſter of the ſaid Dioceſſe, at the requeſt of the foreſaid Chancellor did ſignifie the premiſſes, with all the circumſtances, before divers perſons to the forenamed Biſhop: Who notwithſtanding did inſtitute and cauſe to be inducted one Harry Coddard unto the ſame Parſonage, making no mention of the Kings Maieſties authority nor ſupremacy; in contempt and derogation of the ſame his Highneſſe crowne and dignity, and in extolling the forraigne uſurped authority, contrary to the forme of the Statute, &c.

4 Item, the ſaid Biſhop, immediately after the unlawfull Inſtitution and Induction of Goddard aforeſaid, moleſted the ſaid John Gough lawfully inſtituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long ſeaſon, till at length he articled. Among which articles was contained, Item, interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haskard: So taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the Kings Highneſſe regall crowne and dignity, and in derogation of the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme.

5 Item, he hath commonly made his collations and Inſtitutions, as he did his firſt commiſſion, in his own name and authority, without expreſſing the Kings ſupremacy.

6 Item, he hath made under his ſeale one Collation, two Inſtitutions, and three Mandates to induct, in one vacation of one Benefice, three ſeverall perſons, without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby, except good foreſight aſwell of Juſtices of the Peace, as of the friends had of beene, there had inſued much inconvenience amongſt the partakers of the intituled incumbents in that behalfe.

7 Item, the ſaid Biſhop decreeing Caveats to be made in Benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, inſtituted and cauſed to be inducted without triall of any title or due order of law.

8 Item, he directeth his Mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the Archdeacons nor their Officials; contrary to the law

and cuſtome uſed in that behalfe. Notwithſtanding he hath been counſelled to the contrary of men that be learned.

9 Item, having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the law, he ſitteth every day in harveſt, and other times, upon cauſes without aſſiſtance of learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, which is no Notary, to his Scribe, neither obſerving the law, nor yet reaſonable order. And therefore doth no good, but trifleth the time, as may appeare by his acts, if he have them to be ſhewed.

10 Item, he and his Officers, by his knowledge, uſeth to diſpenſe with marriages, to be ſolemnized without banes, contrary to the lawes and ordinances in that behalfe.

11 Item, whereas one Thomas Prichard, a Chapleine of his, ſolemnized matrimony in a private houſe without banes, and that betwixt a Prieſt, and a ſiſter of hers that was appointed to be married with the ſaid Prieſt that day; he alſo being a Parſon, and leaving his Cure unſerved that day being Sunday: and notwithſtanding that one of the Kings Councell in the Marches of Wales informed the ſaid Biſhop of the ſame miſdemeanours, requiring due reformation thereof; he hath done nothing therein, but put the ſame Chaplaine in office, and made him his Commiſſary generall ſince that time, bearing a ſpeciall favour to the reſt of the offenders.

12 Item, whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his houſhold ſervant, was accuſed of one Sage Hugh, to have beene father of her childe, the ſaid Biſhop, without purgation of his ſervant, cauſed him to ſue the parents of the ſaid Sage of infamy, firſt in his principall Conſiſtory, and from thence before a Commiſſary of his, being his houſhold Chapleine, and at the laſt took the matter before himſelfe, ſo railing againſt all his Officers, becauſe they proceeded not after his partiall affection, and againſt the law, that honeſt men of Carmarthen, where he then ſate upon the cauſe, iudged him to be, or at the leaſt to have been diſtract of his wit: and by his partiall handling, the cauſe remaineth unfiniſhed, and the child without father.

13 Item, whereas one Jenkin Ph. accuſed William Chambers, a ſervant of the Biſhops, that found this William in adulterous manner with his wife, by reaſon whereof the Biſhop expelled the wife out of his houſe, the ſaid infamy not purged, the parties have been both againe in the Biſhops houſe and ſervice ſince that time, to the evill example of other.

14 Item, by his unlawfull ſequeſtration of the fruits of the Benefices of Langattocke, and Lamyhangel, by the undiſcreet handling of the ſame, there were raiſed the number of foure hundred people or more, which bickered ſundry times together, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not beene pacified by the diſcreet meanes of Sir Roger Vaughan Knight.

15 Item, by his like unlawfull collation of the Prebend of Lambiſter to one Stephen Greene, a Chapleine of his, by covenant and promiſe to maintaine the ſute, by whoſe crafty and undiſcreet handling of the ſame, there was raiſed in the County of Radner the 19. day of Auguſt laſt paſt, about three or foure hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was ſtayed by John Bradſhaw, Rice ap Olin, and Stephen ap Rice, Juſtices of the ſame County. Who with great danger to themſelves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16 Item, ſuch as he oweth diſpleaſure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, onely for their vexation, laying no matter againſt them; and being diverſe times required the copy of his proceedings againſt them, to the intent they might anſwer accordingly, and be at their lawfull defence; he denieth to all ſuch perſons the copies of his proceedings.

17 Item, he and his Officers wink at the manifeſt and open crimes of his fautors and adherents, to the evill example of the whole Dioceſſe, and abuſeth the cenſures of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, making it an inſtrument of revenging againſt ſuch as they do not favour.

18 Item, having received payment of the Kings Maieſties ſubſidy, due in October, the 4. yeere of his Graces reigne, of the foreſaid Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church of S. Davids, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the Reſidentaries there, before Chriſtmas laſt, he uniuſtly of a prepenſed minde and purpoſe afterward certified them for Recuſants, to their undoing, if they had not been admoniſhed of his cruell purpoſe, and provided lawfull defence for the ſame.

19 Item, the ſaid biſhop celebrating matrimony in his own perſon, diſpenſed contrary to the booke of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy Communion; the parties both being young, and luſty perſons, having no reaſonable cauſe wherefore they ſhould abſtaine. At which celebration the biſhop communicated not himſelfe. And further, the Communion was celebrated by a Chaplein of his, with ſuperſtitious blowings, kneelings, and knockings both of the Chapleine that miniſtred, and of all the company, only one other Prieſt communicating for the manner.

20 Item, where the Officiall of the Archdeacon of Carmarthen, in his viſitation within Carmarthem, found, contrary unto the ſaid ordinance, an Altar ſet up in the body of the Church, for celebration of the Communion, and cauſed the ſaid Altar to be taken away, and a table to be ſet in the middle of the Church; the biſhop after the ſame commanded the Vicar of Carmarthen to ſet the table without the Chancell againe for the miniſtration of the Communion.

Maintenance of ſuperſtition contrary to the Kings ordinance and iniunctions.

21 Item, he being often in Carmarthen, and other places in the Chancell at the time of holy Communion, not onely tarried there himſelfe, neither communicating nor miniſtring bareheaded and uncoyffed, reverently kneeling, but alſo permitteth the people there to continue the Chancell and Quire full, kneeling and knocking their breaſts. Which manner is yet uſed in all the Dioceſſe, without any reformation or gainſay of him or any of his Officers.

22 Item, whereas ſuperſtitious praying upon beades is not only ungodly, but reproved in the Kings Maieſties Iniunctions; the ſaid biſhop meeting many with beads in their hands, never rebuked any of them.

23 Item, the ſaid biſhop being in the Pulpit, and ſeeing corſes there within the Church, with a great number of lights upon them, never ſpake againſt any of them.

24 Item, whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday, or Holy day (onely cauſe of neceſſity excepted) he, having two children himſelf born without danger, cauſed one of them to be baptized on the worke day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is uſed, as it hath beene accuſtomed, in all the Dioceſſe commonly, contrary unto the book of ordinance in that behalfe.

25 Item, from his firſt comming into the Dioceſſe, he hath had and yet hath his only ſtudy, labour, and practice, to ſurvey land, and to looke for mines, &c. neglecting his owne

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bounden duty to apply his booke and preaching.

26 Item, he keepeth no manner of hoſpitality, but hath his ſervants table in one parlour with him, leſt any ſtranger ſhould approach his ſervants being at their meat.

27 Item, he is commonly talking not of godlineſſe, but of worldly matters; as baking, brewing, incloſing, ploughing, mining of Mill ſtones, diſcharging of tenants, and ſuch like, not only at his table, but alſo moſt commonly at other places.

28 Item, he hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their elders have enioyed for their rents theſe hundred yeeres, and more, and occupied with tillage; which he ſaith he will incloſe, and being ſued to of poore men, becauſe of quietneſſe, he anſwered; The Crowes ſhall eat the corne, rather than ye ſhall have any profit thereof.

29 Item, when the Vicars Chorall of Saint Davids, for reliefe of their hoſpitality, had an Iland of his called the Biſhops Ile, for 40. s. rent; he hath ſet it to a Chapleine of his for five pound by yeere. And where, at the ſuit of the ſaid Vicars, it was granted by the Biſhop in the whole Chapter, that the Vicars ſhould have it for yeeres at 40. s. rent, and pay 20. li. entry; he now covetouſly, and againſt his promiſe openly made, denieth the ſame, except the Vicars would give 50. pound.

30 Item, he cauſed the Curate of S. Davids to warne their tenants out of their ſaid lands in the Pulpit, to the great offence of the people, which were wont to have Gods word preached there; and ſo they ſaid to the Curate at that time.

31 Item, to the plowing of a Paſture not above ten dayes worke, in Lent, Anno 1549. he had 32. ploughes in one day, and thoſe ploughes the Prieſt bade in the Church, contrary to the Statute of Gomortha in that behalfe provided, and to the evill example of Gentlemen in that countrey.

32 Item, where the Kings Maieſty of godly remembrance, Henry the eighth, appointed at Brecknocke a Schoolemaſter, Vſher, Reader of Divinity, a Miniſter, and certain Schollers, and for the maintenance thereof appointed xl. and xii. li. of the penſions and revenewes of Brecknock: the Biſhop finding it ſo furniſhed, hath neither Reader nor Miniſter there, covetouſly converting their ſtipends to his own uſe.

33 Item, the Biſhop was twice in one day preſented in the great Court, holden in the Court of Carmarthen, for incloſing and covetous incroching of the Kings high-way.

34 Item, he covetouſly occupieth purchaſing of lands, buying of cattell, merchandiſe, and other things, being indebted a notable ſumme to the Kings Maieſty, as may by his accounts in the Court of tenths and firſt fruits appeare.

35 Item, whereas one Lewis John Tho. Boole, putting from him his lawfull wedded wife, upon Chriſtmas Even laſt paſt, without banes had marriage ſolemnizate with a Concubine of his in a Church within three miles of the Biſhops abode at that time: the Biſhop ſince knowing the premiſſes, hath not onely of a covetous mind entred familiarity with the ſaid Lewis, and bought a peece of land of him, but alſo ever ſince hath (to have his lands good cheape) left both the parties and Prieſt unpuniſhed, uſing him ſo familiarly, that whereas a Sumner cited the parties to appeare among other criminals for the ſame fact; the Biſhop commanded the ſaid Sumner to let him alone, and ſo they all remaine unpuniſhed.

36 Item, whereas the whole Chapter of D. Davids (as it was thought) was in aſſured amity with the Biſhop, they all being his Officers or Chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a Writ of *Quo Warranto* in the Kings Bench, keeping the Writ with him ſecretly, at the leaſt three moneths, not delivering it, but only ten dayes before the day of their appearance, the parties being ſeven dayes iourney diſtant from London.

37 Item, he is a wilfull wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entring upon their lawfull poſſeſſions, ſtirring thereby much contention, and ſo notably knowne, to the offence of the countrey.

Wilfull negligence.

38 Item, whereas the Biſhop aforeſaid was appointed in Auguſt, Anno 1547. and conſecrated in September following, he never came into the Dioceſſe himſelfe, nor ſent or appointed any Officer there before the moneth of Aprill, Anno 1558. to the great diſorder of the Kings Maieſties ſubiects, lack of reformation, and miniſtration of Iuſtice.

39 Item, during his viſitation, the ſaid Biſhop did not indeavor himſelf to ſee reformation, but rode ſurveying of lands, appointing vaine incloſures, and ſuch other things. Which are no part of the office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

40 Item, the viſitation finiſhed, he neither appointed his Officers to examine the Clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be ſtudied in the ſame viſitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinance of this Realme.

41 Item, the Biſhop ſince his coming to the Dioceſſe never miniſtred the Communion, ſaving only at two times, that he ordered certaine Deacons; but in every thing (ſave that he otherwhiles preacheth) ordereth himſelfe like no Miniſter, nor man of his vocation.

42 Item, he hath ſo alienated himſelfe from ſtudy, that he preacheth undiſcreetly, diſcrediting the office, not onely untruly reporting the Scriptures, but alſo preaching the ten Commandements in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of ſtuffe, the pith of his matter was matrimony of Prieſts.

43 Item, the 13. day of September laſt, he ordained certaine Deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bounden to forgive, but him that aſketh forgiveneſſe: and being admoniſhed by a letter better to declare the ſame, becauſe that divers were offended with that doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred ſo to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in theſe parts.

44 Item, ſince the firſt day of Auguſt, Anno 1549. unto the feaſt of Candlemas laſt, he hath preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly upon Saint Stephens day laſt, to a great audience that underſtood no Engliſh, being but a mile from Carmarthen, an Engliſh towne, and the chief of his Dioceſſe.

45 Item, ſince his ordinary viſitation, which was finiſhed in July, Anno 1548. he hath neither preached, nor cauſed to be preached in the townes of Tinby, Pembroke nor Haverford, being Engliſh townes, not much diſtant from the place of his moſt continuance.

46 Item, the Churches appropriate to the Biſhop have no Paraphraſes in Engliſh, and few of them Bibles.

47 Item, the Churches of the Dioceſſe for the moſt part, and the Clergy almoſt every one lack Paraphraſes, notwithſtanding there hath beene theſe two yeeres, and yet be a great number of them to be ſold in the dioceſſe.

48 Item, to declare his folly in riding, he [illegible]

uſeth bridle with white ſtuds and ſnaffle, white Scottiſh ſtirrops, white ſpurs, a Scottiſh pad with a little ſtaffe of three quarters long, which he hath not onely uſed ſuperſtitiouſly theſe foure or five yeeres, in communication oftentimes, boaſting what countreyes he hath compaſſed and meaſured with the ſame ſtaffe.

49 Item, he hath made a vow, that he will never weare a cap; for he ſaith, it is comly wearing of a hat, and ſo cometh in his long gowne and hat, both into the Cathedrall Church, and to the beſt towne of his Dioceſſe, ſitting in that ſort in the Kings great Seſſions, and in his Conſiſtory, making himſelfe a mock to the people.

50 Item, he ſaid that he would goe to the Parliament on foot: And to his friends that diſſwaded him, alledging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he anſwered, I care not for that, it is no ſin.

51 Item, having a ſonne, he went before the Midwife to the Church, preſenting the child to the Prieſt, and giving his name Samuel, with a ſolemne interpretation of the name, appointing alſo two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his ſon a monſter, and himſelfe a laughing ſtock throughout all the countrey.

52 Item, he daily uſeth whiſtling of his child, and ſaith that he underſtood his whiſtle, when he was but three dayes old. And being advertiſed of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he anſwered; They whiſtle their horſes and dogs, and I am contented; they might alſo be contented that I whiſtle my childe and ſo whiſtleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53 Item, in his ordinary viſitation, among other his ſurveyes, he ſurveyed Milford haven, where he eſpied a Seale-fiſh tumbling. And he crept down to the water ſide, and continued there whiſtling by the ſpace of an houre, perſwading the company that laughed faſt at him, that by his whiſtling he made the fiſh to tarry there.

54 Item, ſpeaking of ſcarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetouſneſſe of fiſhers, who in time of plenty took ſo many, that they deſtroyed the breeders.

55 Item, ſpeaking of the alteration of the coyne, he wiſhed that what metall ſoever it were of, the penny ſhould be in weight worth a penny of the ſame metall.

56 For a concluſion, the ſaid Biſhop in all his doings, ſince he came to his Dioceſſe, hath behaved himſelfe moſt unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a miniſter of Iuſtice, an abuſer of the authority to him committed, for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of ſuperſtition, a maintainer of ſuperſtition without any doctrine of reformation, for a liberall and hoſpitall, an unſatiable covetous man: for a diligent overſeer, wilfull and negligent: for an example of godly wiſdome, given wholly to folly: for mercifull, a cruell revenger. And further, for a peace-maker, a ſower of diſcord. And ſo in all his behaviour a diſcreditor and ſlanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope that he ſhould doe any reformation. For hee yet hath neither brought into his Dioceſſe, nor hath belonging unto him any learned Preacher. But ſuch learned Preachers as he found in the Dioceſſe at his entry, he ſo vexeth and diſquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their livings, againſt his quarrellous inventions and uniuſt certificates.

D. Wotton & ſir Iohn Maſon Commiſſioners for the hearing of the Biſhops matter

After theſe wrangling articles and informations were given up, then was the Biſhop called for to anſwer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Doctor Wotton, and ſir Iohn Maſon Knight, who likewiſe received the Biſhops anſwers to the foreſaid articles: the copie and effect of which anſwers hereafter follow.

The anſwer of Robert, Biſhop of S. Davids, to the Articles miniſtred unto him.

TO the firſt Article he ſaith, that after lawfull monition in the Kings Maieſties name and authority, from the ſaid Biſhop (being then at London) given to the Chaunter and Chapter of S. Davids, for viſitation at a certaine day there to be entred; the ſaid Biſhop himſelfe, for ſuch purpoſe coming into the Dioceſſe, knowing alſo that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Church, and late before Commiſſaries in that dioceſſe, had not only by their own evill example and winking at the faults of other, or neglecting to correct the ſame, left there among Prieſts and others, much deteſtable whoredome; but had alſo ſpoyled the Cathedrall Church of Croſſes, Chalices, and Cenſers, with other plate, iewels, and ornaments of the Church, to the value of five hundred marks or more, for their owne private lucre (the Church remaining even yet very vile, and in great decay) and had alſo made further under their Chapter ſeale many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, Sede vacante, without the Kings licence or knowledge: Therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, Bachelour of law, by D. Young and D. Neviſon to him commended, as a man ſufficient in faithfull truth and learning, to be his Chancellour. To whom he granted and ſealed a Commiſſion for that purpoſe, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and forme thereof. But the Kings Maieſties ſtile of Supremacy was fully ſet forth in the ſame Commiſſion. Whether there were any default of formall words in ſetting forth of the Kings authority therein, he is not certaine. For he committed the doing thereof to his Chancellour, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the Biſhop ſaith, that he did never ground the Commiſſion upon any forraigne uſurped lawes or authority: Neither did his ſaid Chancellour by force of ſuch authority viſit any Deanry of the ſaid Dioceſſe, nor gave any monition to the Chaunter and Chapiter there, by force of that Commiſſion, for any like intent or purpoſe, but onely offered in the Kings Maieſties name and authority (to the ſaid Biſhop committed) to enter viſitation of the Chaunter and Chapiter of the Cathedrall Church, at another day to be executed by the Biſhop himſelfe, for reformation of the Chapter Church, and Miniſters there, according to the Kings gracious ordinances and iniunctions in that behalfe. But the aforeſaid Chaunter and Canon of the Church, before the ſight of any Commiſſion, ſtubbornly anſwered the ſaid Chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to viſit them, except he were one of their Chapiter. And further, deſiring to ſee his Commiſſion, he delivered the ſame into their hands, who would not deliver it him againe. And ſo it may appeare that he did nothing by force of that Commiſſion.

2 To the ſecond article he ſaith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any Statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheleſſe, he not knowing any default in the ſaid Commiſſion, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithfull execution of his office of preaching, and viſiting the whole Dioceſſe in his owne perſon, by the Kings Maieſties authority, for the conſervation of Gods peace and yͤ Kings, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to ariſe in other places, did neglect and lay apart the ſtubborne behaviour and ungodly

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doings of the ſaid Chaunter and Canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches towards him and his ſaid Chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing elſe that through their unquietnes ſome tumult might have riſen amongſt the people there, and did alſo make the ſaid Chaunter his Chancellor, and Canon his Commiſſary, according, to their ambitious deſires, to appeaſe their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he ſaith, that he made a collation to ſir John Evans of the Vicarage of Pembrin, what day or time he remembreth not, not by any old forraigne uſurped authority, but by the Kings authority onely, making full mention of the Kings ſtile and authority in the ſame collation.

3. & 4. To the third and fourth he ſaith, that whereas he had granted to George Conſtantine the office of a Regiſter, who brought unto him a Commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, to be ſealed and delivered to the foreſaid Chaunter of Saint Davids, deſiring the ſaid Biſhop to ſeale it, he utterly refuſed ſo to do, becauſe the ſaid George had put therein a clauſe of admitting Clerkes into Benefices: the which authority the ſaid Biſhop would not in any wiſe grant, reſerving the examination and admiſſion of Clerks onely to himſelfe, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the ſaid George and the Chaunter promiſed the ſaid Biſhop by their faith and truth, afore three or foure honeſt witneſſes, not to execute that clauſe of Inſtitution into Benefices, but onely to thoſe Clerks whom the Biſhop did firſt examine and admit, and ſend unto them to be inſtituted and inducted: upon which promiſe the Biſhop ſealed the ſaid Commiſſion. And after that time, the Parſonage of Haskard being void, and by the reaſon of lapſe devolved to the Biſhops gift for that time, he conferred it to one ſir Henry Godherd, with a Collation of Inſtitution by the Kings authority, not extolling any forraigne uſurped authority. In the which Collation or Inſtitution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the Biſhop of Rome, and all forraigne powers and authority, with the full ſtile of his Maieſties Supremacy. And this collation of the Church of Haskard he gave, before he underſtood or knew that his Chancellor had given out the like, and he ſurely thinketh his Collation was the firſt. That notwithſtanding, the ſaid George Conſtantine, and the ſaid Chaunter having a vowſon determined by reaſon of lapſe, admitted and inſtituted one John Gough, to the ſaid Parſonage of Haskard, by vertue of their expired vowſon, and ſealed his Inſtitution with a wrong ſeale (becauſe they had not the right ſeale of office to that purpoſe) contrary to their former earneſt promiſe, and the Biſhops right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given, which thing by them untruly done, the ſaid George Conſtantine nevertheleſſe came to the Biſhops houſe, and there did write with his owne hand the Letters of Induction for the ſaid ſir Henry Godherd Prieſt, compriſing in the ſame the whole ſumme of the Inſtitution or Collation which the ſaid Biſhop had made, and the ſame George did ſeale the ſaid Letters of Induction with his owne hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the Chaunters former wrong doings, but ſo departed for that time. And afterward he came againe, and ſhewed the Biſhop what they had done before concerning the Parſonage aforeſaid. And further, the ſaid Defendant ſaith, that he did not moleſt the ſaid John Gough, but lawfully did call him in the Kings Maieſties name, not for any title of Patronage, but to know whether he were Parſon of Haskard, and how he was thereto admitted, and inſtituted, and inducted, and by what authority he preſumed to preach there, without the Kings Maieſties licence, with other like lawfull demands, whereunto he ſturdily refuſed to give anſwer; and ſaith, that the article contained in his accuſation, ſaying thus: Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haskard, was not miniſtred unto the party in that ſort, ſo farre as he knoweth, but in theſe words or like, Quomodo intravit in Rectoriam, &c.

5. To the fifth he ſaith, that albeit George Conſtantine Regiſter, did wilfully withdraw his bounden ſervice due to the Kings Highneſſe, an to the ſaid Defendant in the Kings name, refuſing to attend either by himſelfe, or his ſufficient Deputy for writing of Records and other inſtruments, yet the ſaid Defendant made his Collations and Inſtitutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by any others, ſave onely the Kings authority, according as he hath declared in his anſwer to the firſt article, expreſſing in them the Kings Supremacy with the Biſhops owne name and ſeale of office, as he ought to doe, according to the proviſion of the Kings Statute in ſuch a caſe.

6. To the ſixth he ſaith, that the Vicarie of Pembrin being void, he, as right Patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans Clerke, with Letters of Inſtitution and Induction; and after when the Kings preſentation came to him for one David Jeinkin Clerke, he deſired fouretéene dayes reſpite at that time, either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his Clerke to give place to the Kings Clerk. Which condition was by ſir Thomas Jones Knight, Doctor M. and the ſaid David Jeinkin received, and an Inſtitution with an Induction was made conditionally to bee put into the hands of ſir Thomas Jones Knight, for ſafe cuſtody of the Kings Clerks behoofe, after the fouretéene dayes to be executed at the hands of the ſaid Defendant, if he failed to ſhew. Within which time the ſaid Defendant did ſhew an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the ſaid Defendants behalfe, and ſo that Inſtitution and Induction was never by the ſaid Defendant put in execution. Nevertheleſſe, the ſaid David Jeinkin (contrary to his promiſe and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the ſaid ſir Thomas Jones Knight) took advantage by the ſaid writing, without knowledge of the ſaid Defendant. After which time the Lord Chancellor, by his letters written to the ſaid Defendant, advertiſed him, to admit one John Appowell Clerke, preſented by vertue of a vowſon which the Lord Chancellor iudged to be good, and ſo to be admitted notwithſtanding his former preſentation, whereby he would not abarre the other mans right. And ſo this Defendant made one Collation, two Inſtitutions, and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further he ſaith, that there was no buſineſſe nor unquietneſſe about the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Vicarage, but this Defendant giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

7. To the ſeventh he ſaith, that as he now remembreth, he never decreed any Caveats to be made in Benefices, neither did inſtitute nor cauſe to be inducted any into Benefices, being knowne to him litigious.

8. To the eighth he ſaith, that becauſe the Arch-

deacons be abſent from their Offices, and have not had faithfull diligent Officials, he hath directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawfull perſons in that behalfe, ſo far as he knoweth.

9. & 10. The ninth and tenth articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the eleventh he ſaith, that whereas ſir Thomas Jones Knight advertiſed him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private houſe, betwixt a certaine Prieſt and a woman, whoſe ſiſter had refuſed the ſame, the ſaid Prichard leaving his owne Cure unſerved on that Sunday, this Defendant did put the ſame Thomas Prichard to penance for ſo doing, marrying them without banes. And whereas he made the ſaid Thomas Aprichard, who is a Bachelour of law, his Commiſſary; it was for the reſpect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to Juſtice. And the ſaid Defendant did never favour nor beare with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confeſſeth that the matrimony was ſolemnized in a private Church, and that the Cure was that day unſerved.

12. To the twelfth he ſaith, that it is ſlanderous and utterly untrue. And that one ſir John Hughes, Prieſt, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his Stepmother) an Harlot at eleven yeeres of age, and after married openly to another man, being Miniſter thereof himſelf. After which doing he tooke her away from her huſband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the ſaid John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the ſaid Biſhop, in open Court at Carmarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the Kings pardon thereof, yet the ſaid Sage confeſſed, that he had to doe with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later crime he denied. Neverthleſſe ſhe proved with childe, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his, the Midwife and others being witneſſes thereof. Yet notwithſtanding, George Conſtantine, as a wicked Bolſterer of the ſaid Prieſt in his naughty doings, with the helpe of the aforeſaid Chaunter, firſt uttered that Meredith Thomas was father of the ſaid childe: which matter was ordered in the Eccleſiaſticall Court according to Juſtice, without any partiall affection of the ſaid Biſhop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13. he ſaith, it is utterly falſe ſo far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14. he ſaith, that by lawfull ſequeſtration in the Kings Maieſties name, he committed the cuſtody of the fruits of Langatnoke & Lannihangell to two honeſt men, for the behoofe of the Kings firſt fruits & tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor miniſter any cauſe of unquietnes in that behalfe.

15. To the 15. he ſaith, that he made a collation, lawfull as he ſuppoſeth, of the Prebend of Lanbiſter, to Stephen Greene his Chapleine, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalfe.

16. To the 16. he ſaith, all is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17. he ſaith, it is all untrue for his owne part, and for his Officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18. he ſaith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certifie the Recuſants juſtly, as he thinketh, becauſe they refuſed wilfully to pay the Kings whole Subſidy of their whole dividents, as it ſtandeth in the Kings booke, pertaining to the Canons reſident.

19. To the 19. he ſaith, that after travell of foureteene miles, being not able faſting to celebrate the communion, in a Chappell within the houſe of ſir Thomas Jones Knight, one of the Kings Maieſties honourable Councell of the Marches of Wales, this Defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the Communion for the cauſes aboveſaid, betwixt M. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the ſaid ſir Thomas Jones, according to the Kings Ordinances. And Thomas Aprichard Prieſt, adminiſtred the holy Communion there without any ſuperſtition, to this Defendants knowledge: and the married perſons not diſpoſed to receive the holy Communion, he could not compell them againſt their conſciences, and ſaith, that he did not diſpenſe with them, as it is contained in the article.

To the ſlanderous and untrue title of maintenance of ſuperſtition, &c. he ſaith, that he did not maintaine any ſuperſtition, contrary to the Kings ordinances and injunctions, but abhorring in his heart all ſuperſtition, hath travelled and doth travell to aboliſh the ſame by true doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the Kings peace, among his people there.

20. TO the 20. he ſaith, that George Conſtantine in the third yeere of the Kings Maieſties reigne, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, raſhly cauſed to be pulled down, without any authority knowne to this Defendant, the Communion Altar in Carmarthen Church, by his owne preſumptuous mind, appointing the uſe thereof in another place of the Church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the biſhop fearing tumult, commanded the Vicar to ſet up ẏ Communion table (for the time) neere to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21. he ſaith, that he hath beene divers times in the Quire of Carmarthen, and hath tarried there in the Communion time, not communicating himſelfe, and that in every Church where he commeth on the Holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the Quire bareheaded, as well at Matins before the Communion, as at Evenſong after without any ſuperſtition: he thinketh it not neceſſary for the Communions ſake to leave kneeling to Chriſt. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneele nor knock to the viſible ſhew, or externall ſhew of the ſacrament. And the Quires of Carmarthen and other places there, are not cloſe at the ſides, ſo that the people may come in and forth at their pleaſure. Moreover the Kings ordinances doe not authoriſe him to rebuke the people for knocking on their breſts, in token of repentance of their ſins; nor for kneeling, in token of ſubmiſſion to God for mercy in Chriſt.

22. To the 22. he ſaith, that in the time of rebellion in Devonſhire and Cornwall, threatning to come into Wales, he teaching the people the true forme of prayer, according to Gods holy word, and declaring the prayer upon Beads to be vaine and ſuperſtitious, yet durſt not for feare of tumult forcibly take from any man his Beads without authority. And touching the not reproving of ſuch as he ſhould meet, wearing Beads, he remembreth not that he hath ſo done, unleſſe it were in the rebellion time, at which time he durſt not rebuke ſuch Offenders.

23. To the 23. he ſaith, that he being in the Pulpit, his face towards the people, did not ſee the lights, if any were ſet up about the corpes behinde his backe, till after that he came down from the Pulpit. But he with George Conſtantine & the aforeſaid Chaunter ſitting in ẏ Church in Carmarthen to heare cauſes, and ſeeing the Vicar with other Prieſts, with ſong and lights bringing a corps up to the Church, called forth-

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with the Vicar and Prieſts, and rebuked them in open Court, as Cormorants and Ravens, flying about the dead carcaſſe for lucre ſake.

24 To the 24. he ſaith, that he cauſed the one child being born with great perill of death to the mother, and it ſelf lying for dead a certain ſpace after, to be chriſtned on the working day: the other child was chriſtned on the working day, becauſe both Father and Mother, and all other people there were in perill of death by reaſon of the ſudden ſweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the reſt of the accuſation, which is, that by that example, it is uſed after the old accuſtomed faſhion, he knoweth no ſuch thing.

To the title of Covetouſneſſe, he ſaith; his doings prove the contrary, as his neighbours know.

25 AND the 25. Article he utterly denieth.

26 To the 26. he ſaith, that his Hall at Aberguily being ruinous, he uſeth for his Hall a great Chamber adjoyning, for himſelfe and his ſervants, and all maner of ſtrangers, and beſides twenty perſons in houſe daily. What other hoſpitality he keepeth, honeſt neighbours can teſtifie.

27 To the 27. he ſaith, that his talk is according to his hearers, that is to ſay reverently and truly of faith, love, and honeſt life, according to the Scriptures to like auditors; and to other unreverent and raſh turmoylers of Scriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honeſt worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not moſt commonly talk of ſuch things as are expreſſed in this article, but when he hath honeſt occaſion ſo to do.

28 The 28. he ſaith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their Lands; but where he is deſtitute of neceſſary proviſion, and would have part of his owne demaine from certaine Freeholders, having it only from yeare to yeare at pleaſure, hee cannot obtaine it without brawling. Wherfore he ſuffereth them to keep it even yet ſtill, againſt right and reaſon. And touching the reſt, that he had rather the crows ſhould eat it, &c. he never ſpake any ſuch word.

29 To the 29. he ſaith, that whereas his predeceſſor biſhop Barloe did let to farme the Iſle of Ramley to one William Brown, after whoſe hands this Defendant received it into his own poſſeſſion, the Vicars of S. Davids being diſpoſſeſſed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Greene for 40. ſhillings the ground, as it was before, and three pounds more for ſeals, connies and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the Vicars Chorall had therein, who did refuſe when this defendant did diligently upon reaſonable conditions offer the ſame unto them: and this defendant made no promiſe unto them, as is conteined in the article.

30 To the 30. he ſaith, hee knoweth not but that he advertiſed his Bayliff to warne the freeholders, and others having his demaine in rent during pleaſure, to leave it at a lawfull day, to this defendants neceſſary uſe, and did not cauſe the Curate to do as is contained in the article to his remembrance.

31 To the 31. he ſaith, that he knoweth not what the Prieſt bade in the Church, nor how many plowes there came, undeſired of this Defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he deſired no mans labor but for his money.

32 To the 32. he ſaith, that he knoweth not any ſuch appointment of Schools and revenewes there, but he found there (after the departing of biſhop Barloe) a Schoolmaſter, an Uſher being a Prieſt, and 20. Scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any peny thereof to his own uſe, albeit he might lawfully have done the ſame.

33 The 33. he ſaith is all untrue, ſo far as he knoweth.

34 To the 34. article he ſaith, he never purchaſed more than three parcels, whereof one was two ſhillings eight pence by the yeare, the ſecond, three ſhillings foure pence, and the third ſix and twenty ſhillings and eight pence, or there about by yeare; the reſt he denieth.

35 To the 35. he ſaith, that he never bought of Lewes John Thomas his Land good cheap, but after forty years purchaſe, not knowing at that time any ſuch thing as is contained in the article againſt the ſaid Lewes John. Neither bade he the Sumner to let him alone, but as ſoon as hee heard any thing of it, commanded the Sumner to cite him, and ſo he was cited in this Defendants houſe, occaſioning him to break his bargaine: to the which Lewes this Defendant ſaid theſe words: If you would give me your land with an houſe full of gold, I cannot, nor will I ſuffer you to keep a Lemman. Then the ſaid Lewes affirming the later woman to be his wife, and the firſt unknown to this Defendant, he cauſed the ſaid Lewes to be called to the Conſiſtory for tryall, where it hangeth yet: And alſo by lawfull proceſſe excommunicated the firſt woman, for that ſhee would not by any meanes appeare in the Court to claim or to confeſſe marriage with the ſaid Lewes, and ſo ſhe ſtandeth this day at the point of ſignificavit.

36 To the 36. he ſaith, that whereas the Chauntor, and R. M. with other Canons there, would not obey the Kings godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a School for poore mens children, a Lecture of Divinitie, ſermons on the Sundays, repairing of their Church and manſion houſes, decent order and miniſtration there, but ſtubbornly counted themſelves (with the Chauntor) to be a body politike, without regard of the biſhop and his lawfull monitions, being himſelf named in their Shire ſtatutes, Decanus & quaſi Decanus, having alſo their Deanes ſtall in the Quire with a Prebend thereunto annexed, and the chiefe place in the Chapter houſe with a key of their Chapter Seale, being alſo by the Kings Maieſties Commiſſion appointed their Ordinary: yet would they not in any wiſe deliver unto him a booke of their ſtatutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, nor ſhew unto him their Records and Monuments, for declaration of the Kings right and his. For which cauſe this Defendant, by writ of Quo warranto, lawfully called them to anſwer, which yet lieth aſleep, to the loſſe of the Kings Maieſties right. The time of deliverie of the ſaid writ, he remembreth not.

37 The 37. he ſaith is all falſe, as farre as he knoweth.

To the title of wilfull negligence; he ſaith that he hath uſed to his power willing diligence.

38 TO the 38. he ſaith, that he being attendant (according to his bounden duty) to ſerve the Kings Highneſſe during the time of the parliament, from the firſt unto the laſt day: then immediately after repaired into his dioceſſe, and he might not truſt R. M. the Chauntor, and George Conſtantine to execute faithfully the juriſdiction, becauſe they had before (through their ſlanderous life and not puniſhing miſdoers) left the Country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And ſaith farther, that one cauſe why hee appointed not an officer, &c. was for that

he lacked his letters of authoritie of Juriſdiction

39. 40 The 39. and 40. he ſaith are untrue.

41 To the 41. he ſaith, that how often he did miniſter the communion he doth not remember, but in all other things ſo farre as he knoweth, he hath ſtudied to order himſelfe according to his vocation, as farre as he beleeveth, he goeth like a Miniſter.

42 To the 42. he ſaith, that he hath not alienated himſelfe from ſtudie, neither preached undiſcreetly, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: (but he hath been very much hindered both from ſtudy and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed perſons.) And that he did ſet forth the doctrine of honeſt marriage, as well of all other men as of Prieſts, even as the Scripture then rehearſed did miniſter occaſion.

43 No the 43. he ſaith, that reciting the words of Luke, If thy brother have offended againſt thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgive him, and if he have offended againſt thee ſeven times in one day, and ſeven times in the day be converted unto thee, ſaying, I am ſorry; forgive him: He ſaid farther theſe words in effect; it appeareth by this place of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him, but wee are bound to pray to God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that hee may forgive him.

44 To the 44. he ſaith, that he hath preached right often at Carmarthen, as well as at other places, and he ſaith that a great number at Aberguily do underſtand Engliſh very well.

45 To the 45. he ſaith, that after he had preached firſt at Brecknocke, Carmarthen, Swanzy, Langharne, Tinby, Pembroch, Hereford, ſaint Davids, Cardigan, with other notable townes, he hath ſince that time preached to a great many other poor Churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroch: but for Hereford he ſtandeth in doubt. And wheras he brought with him at the firſt a learned Preacher, of godly life, the ungodly ſtubborn behaviour of the perſons before named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another learned man to come into his Dioceſſe to preach, George Conſtantine by his diſcouragement adviſed him from this Defendant.

46 To the 46. he ſaith, that in all his Churches appropriated, there is both bible and paraphraſes ſo far as he knoweth: and if the Prieſts there would not ſhew him the lack thereof, yet ſhould the Officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47 To the 47. he ſaith, that George Conſtantine covetouſly ingroſſed into his hands a great number of Paraphraſes; and this defendant hath admoniſhed the clergie to buy, every one, for his diſcharge: and if the ſaid George being Official of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in their office would declare unto him what Churches do lacke Bibles or Paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lyeth.

To the title of Folly, hee ſaith that his deſire is in
true ſimple manner of his words, deeds
and other honeſt behaviour through
Gods grace to ſhew godly
wiſdome.

48 TO the 48. he ſaith, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt uſe of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops, Staffe, and other like neceſſary or convenient things, and ſaith, that he uſed a ſaddle made after the Scottiſh faſhion, with ſtirrops of iron unvarniſhed and like ſpurs: and black bridle without ſtuds, the bit and ſnaffle white as other mens be.

49 To the 49. he ſaith, that when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to bear off rain and ſnow, and in ſummer, to ſhadow him from the ſunne, without any vow of ſuperſtition or offence of the people.

50 To the 50. he ſaith, that all is one to him, to ride or go, as cauſe requireth, and whether he ſaid as is contained in the article or not, hee remembreth not. Howbeit he doth uſe to go a foot.

51 To the 51. hee ſaith, that after lawfull prayer it pleaſeth God to give him a ſon begotten and borne in honeſt mariage; whom he therefore cauſed to bee named Samuel, preſenting him to the miniſter to be received into Chriſts Church, as a poore member of Chriſt: by the holy ſacrament of Baptiſme was this done openly in the Cathedrall Church, with earneſt gravity, and without offending any man; and alſo two wives being before at variance, deſired both to be Godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.

52 To the 52. he ſaith, that he doth uſe with gravity all honeſt loving enterteinment of his childe, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his fathers mouth, to receive wholeſome doctrine of the true feare and love of God, and ſaith that he hath whiſtled to his child, but ſaid not that the child underſtood it, and that he anſwered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article.

53 To the 53. he ſaith, that he was never ſurveyor, but went to ſee Milford Haven for honeſt purpoſe, and not to ſurvey it, and for that he at the ſight of a ſeale whiſtled in his fiſt, ſuch as meant folly might turne it to their purpoſe. And it is not true that he ſtood whiſtling an houre to the ſeale, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any ſuch anſwer made by him to his knowledge.

54 To the 54. he ſaith, that if he did ſay, the deſtroying of the Frie letteth plenty of Fiſh, hee thinketh the ſame not againſt reaſon: but he remembreth not to have ſaid, as is contained in the article.

55 To the 55. he ſaith, that he remembreth not that ever he ſaid as they alledge.

To the ſlandrous, untrue, and ungodly concluſion he ſaith, that George Conſtantine with other his Adverſaries before named, and their adherents, not regarding the feare of God, and their bounden dutie of loving obedience towards God and the King, and his true Miniſters, have too much ſlanderouſly with falſe tongues, contumelious words, and ſpitefull deeds, laboured by all meanes to diſcredit and deface the Kings gracious authority to him committed. Who, ever ſithence he came to the Dioceſſe, hath endeavoured himſelfe to ſhew his faithfull Miniſterie by his true honeſt doings, and to uſe his authority according to his vocation, to Gods glory, and the Kings honor. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of truth, reforming of ſuperſtition, free of hoſpitality, diligent in overſeeing with godly wiſdome, peace, and mercifulfulneſſe, as he truſteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able juſtly to charge his adverſaries with all the faults herein by them moſt unjuſtly and ſlanderouſly againſt him objected. And he doth marvell greatly, that George Conſtantine with other his adherents are not aſhamed maliciouſly to object (for the intent to ſlander him) moleſting of Preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath moleſted none, but hath juſtly brought under ſignificavit, one Morice a Preacher, living lewdly, for his ſtubborn behaviour and malicious contempts, even yet con-

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tinuing in his wilfull contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) iuſtly certified Hugh Raulins, Parſon of Tinby, for his wilfull recuſancy of two other Perſonages, ſhamefully deceiving the Kings Maieſty by colour of commiſſion, as appeareth by the ſame. And as for the railing contemptuous preaching of R. M. and the unlearned arrogant preaching of the Chaunter, he referreth to diſcreet hearers, which were offended therat, as they ſhewed this Defendant. And this Deponent brought into his Dioceſſe both learned Preachers, and learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Conſtantine with his adherents hath wearied away.

After theſe anſwers thus exhibited by the vertuous and godly Biſhop againſt the quarrelling and frivolous Articles of his foreſaid adverſaries, to wit, Hugh Raulins, and Thomas Lee: then came in for witneſſe, upon the ſaid articles and informations, George Conſtantine, and the Chaunter of S. Davids: againſt whom the Biſhop laid firſt exceptions, then alſo exhibited matter iuſtificatory, the tenour and proceſſe whereof here followeth in order to be ſeene, firſt concerning the exceptions, and after the matter iuſtificatory.

Exceptions generall, laid and propoſed on the behalfe of Robert, Biſhop of S. Davids, againſt all and ſingular the pretenſed witneſſes, produced on the behalfe of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee, upon their untrue ſurmiſed Articles by them exhibited unto and before the Kings moſt honourable Counſell, by the device and procurement of the Chaunter, and George Conſtantine, with R. M. Clerke, againſt the ſaid Biſhop.

FIrſt, the ſaid Biſhop ſaith and alledgeth, that by Law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the depoſitions and ſayings of the ſaid witneſſes, or any part thereof, becauſe they are infamous, falſe, periured, and in ſome part of their depoſitions diſcording, partiall, conducted, ſubornate, inſtructed, and for favour of the informers, and their bolſterers, have depoſed of malice more than the articles whereupon they were produced do containe, and beſide, and without the compaſſe of the ſame Articles, and in divers other parts of their depoſitions, they depoſe unum & eundem præmeditatum ſermonem, as by their ſaid depoſitions doth appeare, unto the which the ſaid Biſhop referreth himſelfe as much as it ſhall be expedient for him, and none otherwiſe. And further for other cauſes particularly and ſpecially, as is declared in the booke of exceptions.

Exceptions againſt the unlawfull proceedings of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee, promoters of the foreſaid untrue Articles, in executing of their commiſſion for proofe of the ſame.

ITem, the ſaid Thomas Lee for himſelf and the other promoter did contrary to iuſtice, at the execution of their commiſſion, examine certain of the witneſſes himſelf, in the houſe of his brother in law George Conſtantine, and the ſaid Lee, and David Walter the biſhops mortall enemy, and ſervant to the ſaid George Conſtantine, did write theſe depoſitions upon the Articles at their owne pleaſures, and alſo after the device of the ſaid George Conſtantine and the Chaunter and R. M. the biſhops mortall enemies, and the very deviſers and procurers of the informations, and bolſterers and bearers of the promotors in the ſuit thereof. Theſe are the names of the witneſſes ſo examined, which are already knowen: David ap Sir Richard of Oettus, a periured and an adulterous perſon, ſtanding in the number for two witneſſes, written in two places of the booke. Item, ap Ruddr of Kennarthe, Griffith ap Powel, Guyne of Kennarthe, Lewes David Clerk, David ap Harvey Clerk, Sir Gorghe, alias Morgon, &c.

Item, one Iohn Draper of Carmarthen and an adherent of the foreſaid adverſaries, and enemies to the ſaid Biſhop, did alſo, contrary to the tenour of their Commiſſion examine certaine witneſſes, and had to his Clerke one William Davids, ſervant in Livery unto the foreſaid Griffith Donne, the Biſhops utter enemie: by which ſhamefull partiality they have written more matter, moe words, other termes and ſentences, than ſome of the Deponents have depoſed or could depoſe. Humfrey Toy the fifth Deponent, Rice Goughe the fourteenth Deponent, William ap Ienkins the fiftieth Deponent, Iohn Benguy the lxviii. Deponent, Richard Parſon the xxxix. which are already knowen, what manner of men the Promoters are.

Item, the ſaid Hugh Raulins was not preſent at the Biſhops Sermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting off the Commiſſion for the proofe thereof: for the foreſaid adverſaries did deviſe the ſame, and gave it unto the ſaid Raulins to promote, chooſing him for the ſame purpoſe, knowing him to be a man willing (and ſetting his whole delight) to worke miſchiefe, both with word and deed, who abuſeth his tongue moſt ſhamefully, with moſt unfitting words, ever railing upon the ſaid Biſhop to every man that will heare him, without either reſpect or reverence of the Kings Maieſties authority to the ſaid Biſhop committed. And the ſaid Raulins hath foure or five Benefices about the value of 200. Markes a yeere, and is reſident upon none of them, but ſpendeth his living to the hinderance of other men, going about here and there, wandring to and fro, without either man or boy waiting on him, more like a light perſon, than a man of ſuch livelihood and of his vocation, being a preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd fellow of all that know his behaviour, inſomuch that when a certaine man obiected unto the adverſaries, that it was ill done to put ſo lewd a fellow as Raulins to promote their cauſe: They anſwered and reported his honeſty with theſe words; We know Raulins to bee a very knave, and ſo meet for no purpoſe as he is to ſet forward ſuch a matter: of which report there is a ſufficient witneſſe. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his ſpitefull tongue: for he ſpeaketh as boldly in this ſurmiſed matter to all the Counſell, as though it were true, and much for the Kings profit.

Item, the other Promoter Thomas Lee is a Merchant, who hath ſold his ware and ſpent his money, and now for want of other buſineſſe is become a Promoter of the foreſaid Articles, having his coſts and charges born by the ſaid principall adverſaries, as it is alledged in the Biſhops exceptions, which ſhall be proved if Commiſſion might be awarded for the purpoſe.

And thus much concerning the exceptions againſt his pretenſed accuſers: next followeth the matter iuſtificatory exhibited by the ſaid biſhop, in defence of his own cauſe, as by the effect here appeareth.

Certaine articles miniſtred by Robert, Biſhop of S. Davids, againſt a ſurmiſed information exhibited by Thomas Lee to the Kings majeſty his moſt Honourable Councell, againſt the ſaid Biſhop.

IMprimis, viz. That there ought none advantage to be taken againſt the ſaid Biſhop, of the contents of the ſaid pretenſed information, for the cauſes particularly following. And firſt, whereas it is obiected againſt the ſaid Biſhop, in the firſt, ſecond, and fifth Articles of the ſame information, that he contrary to the Kings Highnes Lawes and Statutes, and in the derogation of his Highneſſe ſupremacy, paſſed a certain commiſſion, inſtitutions, and collations to benefices, in his owne name, making no mention of the Kings Highneſſe authority, whereas of truth the ſaid Biſhop if he had paſſed out the Commiſſion, Inſtitutions, and Collations in his own name, and without the Kings Maieſty his ſtile, as is ſurmiſed (as he did not) yet had he offended neither the Laws nor Statutes of this Realm therin, as doth and may appear evidently in the ſame ſtatutes and lawes, to the which he referreth himſelfe.

Proved by the Statute.

Item, wheras it is deduced in the third article of the ſaid pretenſed information, that the Chauncellor of the ſaid Biſhop did admit and inſtitute J. Gough into the Rectory of Haſkard, and gave a mandate for the induction of the ſaid John, under the Kings Maieſties ſeal Eccleſiaſticall, for the dioceſſe of S. Davids with the Teſte of the ſaid biſhop, and Subſcription of the ſaid Chancellor, which thing ſo deduced, if it be true, yet the ſaid Biſhop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the Chauntor (then his Chancellor unworthy) ſhewed himſelf therin very ignorant of the Kings Statutes of Parliament, wherein it is expreſly provided, that in ſuch caſes the Ordinary ought to paſſe all ſuch inſtitutions and inductions in his owne name, and under his owne ſeal, and not in the Kings Maieſties name, nor under his ſeal. And further of very truth the ſaid Chauncellor in admitting and inſtituting the ſaid Clerk to the ſaid benefice without the knowledge and conſent of the ſaid biſhop, did exceed his Commiſſion, for as much as the ſaid biſhop, at the granting of his Commiſſion of his Chauncellorſhip unto the ſaid Chauntor, had reſtrained him expreſly from the admitting and inſtituting of any Clerke to any benefice within the ſaid Dioceſſe, except the ſame Clerk were firſt examined, found worthy, and admitted by the ſaid Biſhop himſelf to the ſame Benefice.

Proved by the Statutes.

Item, whereas in the fourth article of the ſaid information it is contained, that the ſaid biſhop, after the admitting & inſtituting of the ſaid John Gough, as is aforeſaid, obiected articles againſt him, amongſt the which it was contained in effect

Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskarde.

TRue it is that the ſaid biſhop, without moleſtation of the ſaid Gough, otherwiſe than law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of title of the ſaid fruits and patronage of ye ſaid benefice, in contempt of the kings Maieſties regall Crown and dignity, and without any derogation of the Kings Maieſties laws and ſtatutes of this Realme, did interrogate the ſaid John Gough, how he held the ſaid benefice, being admitted and inſtituted to the ſame without his knowledge or conſent, as he might lawfully doe, and as it is meete every Ordinary ſhould know how paſtors are admitted to any cure within their Dioceſſe.

Act. adduci poſſunt.

Item, touching the contents of the ſixth article of the ſaid information, the ſaid biſhop alledgeth that the Vicarage of Pembrin, in the Dioceſſe of Saint Davids being void, hee as Patrone thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans Clerke, with letters of inſtitution and induction, and after when the Kings preſentation came to him for one David Jenkin Clerk, hee deſired fourteen dayes reſpite, at that day either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the law or els if he ſhewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk: which condition was by ſir Thomas Jones Knight, Doctor Merike, and the ſaid David Jenkins received, and an inſtitution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of ſir Thomas Jones Knight, for ſafe cuſtody for the Kings Clerke his behoofe, after the fourteen dayes to be executed at the hands of the ſaid Biſhop if he failed to ſhew, within which time the ſaid biſhop did ſhew an old ancient record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the ſaid biſhops behalfe, and ſo that inſtitution and induction was never put in execution by the ſaid Biſhop.

Nevertheleſſe the ſaid David Jenkin (contrary to his promiſe and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to Sir Thomas Jones Knight) tooke advantage by the ſaid writing without knowledge of the ſaid Biſhop, after which time the Lord Chauncellor by his letters written to the ſaid Biſhop, advertiſed him to admit one John ap Howell Clerk, preſented by vertue of a vowſon which the Lord Chauncellor iudged to bee good, and ſo to be admitted, notwithſtanding his former preſentation whereby he would not abar the other mans right: And ſo the ſaid Biſhop made one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong therby to his knowledge. And further there was no buſineſſe nor unquietneſſe about the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Vicarage. But the ſaid Biſhop giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

Item, whereas ſir Thomas Jones advertiſed the ſaid Biſhop, that Thomas Prichard Clerke, had celebrated matrimony in a private houſe, betwixt a certain Prieſt and a woman whoſe ſiſter had refuſed the ſame (as it is deduced in the xi. Article of the ſurmiſed articles laid in againſt the ſaid biſhop) the ſaid Prichard leaving his owne Cure unſerved that Sunday, he did put the ſaid Thomas Prichard to penance for ſuch his miſdoings, and the ſaid Prichard did ſuch penance as was inioyned him to do. And whereas the ſaid biſhop made the ſaid Thomas Prichard (who is Bachelor of Law) his commiſſary, it was for the reſpect of his learning in the Law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to iuſtice, and none otherwiſe.

Item, in the fourteenth Article of the ſaid ſurmiſed information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawfull ſequeſtration of the fruits of the benefices of Langatoke and Lanuihangell Cundy, and the undiſcreete handling of the ſaid Biſhop, there were raiſed a great number of people, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the ſaid biſhop upon good and lawfull conſiderations, and ſpecially for that the Kings Maieſty ſhould be truly anſwered of his firſt fruits, and tenths of the ſaid benefices did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) ſequeſter the ſaid fruits in the Kings maieſties name, and by his authority, and committed the cuſtodie thereof for a time unto two honeſt men, to the effect aforeſaid, and none otherwiſe, without any occaſion of tumult or gathering the people through his default or folly.

Item, wheras it is alledged in the nineteenth Article of the information, that the biſhop did celebrate

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lebrate matrimony in his own perſon, without receiving or miniſtring the Communion to the perſons married, it is true, for that the ſaid Biſhop had travelled fourtéene long Welſh miles, and not able to celebrate the holy Communion faſting, and for other reaſonable and lawfull cauſes him moving, did in a Chappell within the houſe of ſir Thomas Jones Knight (one of the Kings honourable Counſell of the Marches of Wales) ſolemnize matrimonie betwixt Maſter Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the ſaid Sir Thomas Jones, without either receiving the holy Communion himſelfe or miniſtring the ſame to the perſons married, being as then not diſpoſed ſo to do it, lawfully and godly, without any ſuperſtitious knockings or bleſſings, or other uncomely geſtures, as is deduced in that Article.

Item, touching the contents of the reſidue of all the ſaid Articles, contained in the ſaid information, the ſaid biſhop, partly for the avoiding of teadiouſneſſe, and partly for that ſome of them be untrue and méere falſe, ſome other generall; obſcure, frivolous, vaine, and of none effect, but of malice and evill will, contrary to truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanſwered unto.

Item, the ſaid biſhop alledgeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath béen biſhop, uſed any ſuperſtitions or Papiſtrie, as it is untruely ſurmiſed, againſt him, but hath and doth to the uttermoſt of his power, wit, and cunning, ſet forth, maintaine, preach and teach the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and ſuch laudable doctrine as hee ought to do by the Kings Lawes, Injunctions, and procéedings, and for ſuch a teacher hee hath béen and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriouſly.

And where the ſaid Chauntor and George perceived their depoſitions to be inſufficient, they required, and had Commiſſion into the country to examine further witneſſes, which they executed very partially, and unlawfully, as is alledged in the biſhops exceptions, above mentioned. And wheras the ſaid Rawlins and Lée were awarded two ſeverall Commiſſions, they by favor of the officers, and for ſparing of coſts, conioyned both in one, and had thrée moneths to make return, as appeareth by the copie of their Commiſſion, which hereafter followeth.

A copie of the Commiſſion awarded downe into the Countrey, for the examination of Witneſſes.

EDwardus ſextus Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defenſor, & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum caput, dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Georgio Harbert militi, Thomæ Iones militi, & Iohanni Wogan militi, ac dilectis ſibi David Vaughhan, & Owino ap Owen armigeris; ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatibus, & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plurimum fidentes, aſſignavimus vos, quatuor, tres, ac duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis quatuor, tribus, vel duobus veſtrum plenam poteſtatem, & authoritatem capiendi & recipiendi depoſitiones & examinationes quorumcunque teſtium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins Clerici, & Thome Leghe, de & ſuper quibuſdam articulis per ipſos Hugonem, & Thomam Leghe concilio noſtro exhibitis & præſentibus incluſis. Nec non depoſitiones & examinationes in ſcriptis redigendas. Et nos de hujuſmodi examinationibus, et depoſitionibus cum ſic per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos veſtrum captæ fuerint, in Cancellariam noſtram in craſtino Aſcenſionis Domini proximé futuræ, ubicunque tunc fuerit ſub ſigillis veſtris, quatuor, trium, vel duorum veſtrum clauſis certificandum, remittentes nobis tunc articulos prædictos una cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmiſſa diligenter intendatis cum effectu. Teſte me ipſo apud Weſtmon. 9. dei Martii. Anno regni noſtri ſexto.

Marten.

DUring all this time of the examination of the witneſſes, the ſaid biſhop was ſtayed at London, upon the allegation of the ſaid adverſaries, which was; that if the ſaid biſhop ſhould depart into his Dioceſſe, he would let them of their proves.

And at the return of their commiſſion, it was ſignified unto the Councell what a great number of witneſſes they had examined, viz. ſixe ſcore and vii. which ſounded very heynous in the councels eares.

And about thrée wéeks after, publication of their witneſſes was granted, and after that, it was a fortnight ere the B. could get a copy written of their depoſitions, becauſe the bo͏ok thereof is ſo huge and monſtrous.

Then the biſhop deſired time, Firſt, to enquire of what condition the perſons were that had witneſſed againſt him, and to make exceptions, and matters to iuſtifie direct contrary, and to have a commiſſion for the proof thereof, which was then granted. And now it is obiected, that the biſhop was appointed ſo to travell with the expedition of his matter, that he ſhould have ſued out his Commiſſion, and have made returne thereof at All-hallowtide laſt paſt, but there was no ſuch decrée put in writing. And it was not poſſible for the biſhop to do it in ſo ſhort a time, theſe cauſes conſidered which he could not avoide, as followeth.

Firſt, it was the later end of July, ere he came home to S. Davids, where he began his viſitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, he was by force of law conſtrained to anſwer at the barre daily, during all the time of the great Seſſions at Carmarthen, in defence of his iuſt cauſe againſt the pretenſed matter of Præmunire, which his adverſaries of méere malice have procured againſt him.

Thirdly, the ſaid adverſaries, to moleſt him further, did privily pack a queſt of ignorant perſons of no reputation, and indited him upon the words of Raulins information, as appeareth by a copie of the inditement, intending thereby to make the matter ſound more hainous, notwithſtanding that the ſame cauſe dependeth before the Kings high Councell undetermined.

Fourthly, he was appointed by the Commiſſioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pound (which was arrerages) into the Court of firſt fruits and tenths, at Bartlemew day then next following, which payment he made accordingly, notwithſtanding that his adverſaries wrought meanes to have made him breake his day; namely, one Edward Harbert Gentleman, who hath a parſonage of his to farm kept back his rent to the very laſt day, becauſe that money ſhould not help to ſerve his turn: and ſo by crafty cavillation detaineth it ſtill in his hand with a yéers rent and an half more: for the ſaid Edward Harbert is an adherent of the ſaid biſhops adverſaries.

Fifthly, the book of their depoſitions is ſo great, that it aſketh a long time to peruſe. And alſo the greateſt part of their witneſſes were utterly unknown of the biſhop and all his: And alſo dwelling in ſo many ſundry places of the Dioceſſe among the mountaines and elſewhere scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, another great Seſſions holden at Carmarthen in the moneth of October laſt, during which time he was attendant there as is aforeſaid. All which cauſes conſidered, being alſo in the time of his ordinary viſitation, which he did execute himſelf, he could not make ready his exceptions in ſhorter time.

The ſaid biſhop diſpatched his man towards London the three and twentieth day of October, who ever ſithence hath been and is attendant in the ſame ſuite, for the obtaining of the Commiſſion, for proof of this matter againſt his adverſaries.

A Copy of a certain letter written by the Biſhop of S. Davids.

MOſt humbly ſheweth unto your honor, your poor Orator Robert, biſhop of S. Davids, that whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young, and Rowland Merick being both Canons of S. Davids, and George Conſtantine Regiſter to the ſaid biſhop) hath exhibited unto your honour againſt him certaine articles in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and alſo their pretenſed weighty articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the ſaid Thomas Lee hath had his Commiſſions into the Countrey: Therefore it may pleaſe your honor of your favourable goodneſſe, to grant unto our ſaid Orator a like commiſſion for the examination of witneſſes, in defence of his truth and honeſtie againſt the ſaid Thomas Lee, George Conſtantine, and the forenamed Rowland Mericke, and all other perſons with their unjuſt articles, atteſtations, and ſayings, which have depoſed againſt him. And in tender conſideration that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden, and ſureties with him, in the ſumme of a thouſand markes, to appear before the Kings Juſtice, in the Seſſions at Carmarthen, in July next comming, to anſwer to a forged matter of Præmunire, by the procurement and counſell of his forenamed adverſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed againſt him to his utter undoing. And furthermore, your Orator being in debt to the Kings Maieſtie, by reaſon of the malicious vexation of his foreſaid adverſaries, cannot (if hee remaine here) ſatisfie the ſame: for whereas there be arrerages to a great ſumme (as well of the Kings money as of his owne rents) he can receive none thereof, his adverſaries have made ſuch ill report to his diſcredit, bearing the people in hand, that he ſhall come no more thither. By reaſon of which bruit, neither his owne tenants will pay their rents and arrerages, nor the Prieſts their arrerages due to the K. Maieſtie, as wel for anno ſecundo & tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In conſideration of all which things, it may pleaſe your honorable goodneſſe to licence your ſaid Orator to depart into the Dioceſſe, for theſe affairs and other. And he is ready at all times at your honourable commandement and pleaſure, to repaire again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jeſus for the perpetuall conſervation of your honour, to his glory.

Another letter written by the Biſhop of S. Davids.

RIght honourable, and my very ſpeciall good Lord, with humble ſervice and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favor towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admoniſhing me to incline unto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and unity; This is further to beſeech your Lordſhip for the Lords ſake not to be grieved, but benignely to heare, & gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing (to other) but a light grief to me, is in very deed a right grievous offence to God, with no little hinderance of his holy word, and diſturbance of the kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occaſion of much inobedience, & diſorder of good life. Wherfore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true zeale that I ought to beare unto Gods word of life, Chriſtian religion, the Kings Maieſties honor, and the godly quiet ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redreſſe to be ſought at his Maieſties hands by the godly wiſedome of his moſt honourable and upright counſell, but with hearty affection to bear it up againſt thoſe high minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the light that their ungodly miſdoings in darknes ſhall either not be ſeen, or at the leaſt may ſeem to appear in colourable appearance of right. Inſomuch that I do not a little marvell at theſe qualities in maſter Chaunter, the Canon, and the Dean of Worceſter, whoſe ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes whereof I make no complaint. But I wonder in my mind and lament in my heart the ſtrang alteration and wilful going backward of mine old faithfull brother George Conſtantine, the which (knowing them all three to have beene in times paſt either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the croſſe of Chriſt, or at the leaſt privie lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Goſpell, to ſting the poor followers therof, ſeeking but their own lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſin for lucres ſake, even yet ſtiffely perſiſting in the ſame (namely) in things manifeſtly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their præmunire, both George and they at my firſt coming, ungently detaining from maſter Ferlee his Commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, would have faced me downe with premunire, becauſe it was written in my owne name according to the ſtatute: yet was I faine, for the zeale of unity, not to ſee their uncourteous deeds, departing with maſter Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office for the amity of George, unto maſter Chaunter his ſonne in law, and to D. Merick the office of Cardigan. But ſeeing afterward their covetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of ſin, and ſpecially of ſhameleſſe whoredome, I was compelled to remove them, ſore againſt their wils: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry times charitable redreſſe of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many faire words, and nothing in deed. Alſo deſiring to have ſight of the booke of ſtatutes of the Church for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtaine it. Deſiring to have a key of the chapter ſeale, as my Lord of Bathe had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it, as pleaſed them to give it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in travers of my right, they would in no wiſe grant it. And thereupon conſidering their ungentleneſſe, I moved the quo warranto, knowing right well, that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantiall grant under the Kings ſeal for their corporation, it muſt therin appeare the biſhop to

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be the head, and ever hath been under the King; for other they never have, nor had, except they would returne to Rome againe, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiving afterward that they had no ſpeciall grant to ſhew, or elſe ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelfe for the reſpect of unity wrote my letters to the Kings Atturney, by reaſon whereof the quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth.

But touching the Certificate, the Kings ſubſidy being due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne till after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demanded afore they did utterly refuſe to pay both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelfe, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to aſk the reſt, and it is committed to me in the Kings roll a whole ſumm in groſſe, to be received of the Canons reſidentiaries for their divident: who becauſe they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Maieſty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make diviſion; and I cannot demand it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſeech your fatherly goodnes, for the Lords ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and friend unto ſuch time as ye find me either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the iudgement of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long and I have moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe; humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſſe proceeding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Ieſus, who ſave and keep you in health, comfort, and honor long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at Aburgnily this ix. of March.

Your Lordſhips to command
during life, R.F.

And thus you have heard the firſt trouble of this bleſſed Martyr of the Lord in King Edwards dayes, with the whole diſcourſe thereof. Which we thought the rather here to expreſſe, to give other good biſhops warning to be more circumſpect, whom they ſhould truſt and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this proceſſe, B. Farrar, partly upon the importunate ſute of his adverſaries, partly upon the ſiniſter and infortunate fall of the good Duke of Somerſet, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but ſmall favor ſhewed, was detained in priſon, till the death of King Edward, and the comming in of Queen Mary and Popiſh Religion, whereby a new trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined for his faith and doctrine. The proceſſe of which his trouble here likewiſe followeth.

The ſecond trouble of B. Farrar, in the time of Queen Mary.

After that the foreſaid Maſter Farrar biſhop of S. Davids had been long detained in cuſtody under ſureties, in the reigne of King Edward, not for any iuſt cauſe of his part deſerved, but by reaſon that he had beene promoted by the Duke of Somerſet, and now after his fall hee found fewer friends to ſupport him againſt ſuch as hunted after his Biſhopricke, at length after the deceaſe of King Edward, by the comming in of Queene Mary, the ſtate of Religion begun to be changed and altered. Whereby a new trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Præmunire but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with Maſter Hooper, M. Rogers, Maſter Bradford, Maſter Saunders, and others aforeſaid, the fourth of February. On the which day he ſhould alſo with them have beene condemned: but becauſe leaſure or liſt did not ſo well then ſerve the biſhop, his condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to priſon againe, where he continued till the fourteenth day of the ſaid moneth of February. What his examinations and anſwers were before the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, ſo much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The anſwer of Robert Farrar Biſhop of Saint Davids, before Wincheſter and others.

The talke of biſhop Farrar before the B. of Wincheſter and other commiſſioners.

At his firſt comming and kneeling before my Lord Chauncellor, the Biſhop of Dureſme, and the Biſhop of Worceſter, who ſate at the Table, and maſter Rocheſter, maſter Southwel, maſter Bourne, and others ſtanding at the Tables end, the Lord Chauncellor ſaid unto him on this ſort:

Wincheſter. Now ſir, have you heard how the world goeth here?

Farrar. If it like your Honor, I know not.

Win. What ſay you? Doe you not know things abroad, notwithſtanding you are a priſoner

Farrar. No my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Lo, what a froward fellow is this?

Farrar. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thing abroad, being a priſoner?

Winch. Have you not heard of the comming in of the Lord Cardinall?

Farrar. I know not my Lord Cardinall; but I heard that a Cardinall was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

Worceſt. I pray your Lordſhip (ſaid the Biſhop of Worceſter) tell him your ſelfe, that hee may know what is done.

B. Farrar charged with the Queenes debt.

Winch. The Queens Maieſtie and the Parliament hath reſtored religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the begining of the reigne of King Henry the eighth. Ye are in the Queens debt, and her Maieſty will bee good unto you, if you will returne to the Catholike Church.

B. Farrar refuſeth the pope.

Farrar. In what ſtate I am concerning my debts to the Queenes Maieſtie, in the Court of Exchequer, my Lord Treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt time that I was before your honor, and the firſt time alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an oath never to conſent nor agree, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have any power or iuriſdiction within this Realme: and further, I neede not rehearſe to your Lordſhip, you know it well enough.

M. Bourne layeth to B. Farrar falſly to have abiured at Oxford.

Bourne. You were once abiured for hereſie (ſaid M. Bourne) in Oxford.

Farrar. That was I not.

Bourne. You were.

Farrar. I was never, it is not true.

Bou. You went from S. Davids to Scotland

Farrar. That did I not.

Bourne. You did.

Farrar. That did I never, but I went from Yorke into Scotland.

Bourne. Ah, ſo ſaid I, you went with Barlow.

Farr. That is true, but never from S. Davids.

Bourne. You carried bookes out of Oxford, to the Archbiſhop of Yorke, L. Lee.

Farrar. That did I not.

Bourne. You did.

Farrar. I did not, but I carried old books from S. Oſwalds to the Biſhop of Yorke.

B. Farrar falſly charged to have ſupplanted his Maſter whom indeed he defended from danger.

Bourne. You ſupplanted your Maſter.

Farrar. That did I never in my life.

Bourne. By my faith you did.

Farrar. Forſooth I did not never in my life, but I did ſhield and ſave my Maſter from danger and that I obtained of King Henry the eighth, for my true ſervice, I thank God therefore.

Bourne. My Lord (ſaith M. Bourn to my Lord Chancellor) he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any.

Farrar. That is not ſo. Whoſoever ſaith ſo, they ſhall never be able to prove it.

Bourn. He hath deceived the Queen in divers ſummes of money.

Farrar. That is utterly untrue, I never deceived King nor Queene of one peny in my life, and you ſhal never be able to prove that you ſay.

Wincheſt. Thou art a falſe knave.

B. Farrar ſtoutly ſtandeth upon his truth.

Farrar. Then Farrar ſtood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled) and ſaid; No my Lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was borne under King Henry the Seventh, I ſerved King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth truly, and have ſerved the Queenes Maieſty that now is truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never falſe, nor ſhall be by the grace of God.

Wincheſt. How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou be reformable?

B. Farrar ſtandeth to his oath made to the King againſt the Pope.

Farrar. My Lord, if it like your Honor, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry the Eighth, and alſo to King Edward, and in that to the Queenes Maieſty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

Dureſm. You have made an other oath before.

Farrar. No my Lord, I never made another oath before.

Dureſme. You made a vow.

Farrar. That did I not.

Vow of chaſtity is not to live without a wife.

Wincheſt. You made a profeſſion to live without a wife.

Farrar. No my Lord if it like your honor, that did I never, I made a profeſſion to live chaſte, not without a wife.

Worceſt, You were ſworne to him that was Maſter of your houſe.

Farrar. That was I never.

Wincheſt. Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, ſeeing that you will not come, wee will bee ſhort with you, and that you ſhall know within this ſevennight.

Wincheſters periury toucht.

Farrar. I am as it pleaſeth your honor to call mee, but I cannot break my oath which your Lordſhip your ſelfe made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conſcience. Then I can never break that oath whileſt I live to dye for it.

Dureſme. Well ſaith he, he ſtandeth upon his oath: call another.

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little bell, and Maſter Farrar ſaid; I pray God ſave the King and Queens Maieſties long to continue in honor to Gods glory, and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole Realme, and I pray God ſave all your honors, and ſo he departed.

B Farrar brought before D. Morgan, pretenſed biſhop of Saint Davids.

After theſe examinations thus ended, Biſhop Farrar ſo remained in priſon uncondemned, till the fourteenth day (as is aforeſaid) of February, and then was ſent downe into Wales, there to receive ſentence of condemnation. Who then upon the ſixe and twentieth of February, in the Church of Carmarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyſon Eſquire, Sheriffe of the Countey of Carmarthen, was there perſonally preſented before Henry Biſhop of Saint Davids, and Conſtantine the publike Notarie: which Henry there, and then diſcharged the ſaid Sheriffe, and received him into his own cuſtodie, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Iones, and thereupon declared unto the ſaid maſter Farrar the great mercy and clemency that the King and Queens highnes pleaſure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the ſaid M. Farrar; that is to ſay, that if he would ſubmit himſelf to the Lawes of this Realme, and conforme himſelfe to the unity of the univerſall Catholike Church, he ſhould be received and pardoned: after that ſeeing the ſaid M. Farrar to giue no anſwer to the premiſſes, the ſaid Biſhop miniſtred unto him theſe Articles following.

Articles deviſed againſt Biſhop Farrar.

Articles obiected againſt B. Farrar.

1 FIrſt, whether he believeth the marriage of Prieſts lawfull by the Lawes of God, and holy Church, or no?

2 Item, whether he believeth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of conſecration duely pronounced by the Prieſt, the very body and blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contained, without the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Unto the which Articles the ſaid Biſhop required the ſaid M. Farrar to anſwer upon his allegeance.

The anſwer of B. Farrar.

To which he ſaid, he would anſwer when he ſaw a lawfull commiſſion, and would make no further anſwer at that time. Whereupon the ſaid biſhop taking no advantage upon the ſame anſwer, committed him to the ſaid Keeper, to be kept in priſon untill a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himſelfe for his further anſwer to the premiſſes.

Another examination of the Biſhop of S. Davids, before Henry Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Davids, George Conſtantine his Regiſter, and others, the laſt of February, An. 1555.

Another examination of B. Farrar.

THis day and place, Morgan the pretenſed biſhop of S. Davids, ſitting as Iudge, miniſtred unto Biſhop Farrar there perſonally preſent before him, certain Articles and Interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and miniſtred unto him, the ſaid Biſhop Farrar refuſed to anſwer, untill he might ſee his lawfull Commiſſion and Authority. Whereupon the foreſaid pretenſed Biſhop of S. Davids, did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacy to bee counted pro confecto, and ſo did pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the ſaid Biſhop to the cuſtody of Owen Iones, untill Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to bee brought againe into the ſame place, betweene one and two.

Another appearance of the ſaid Biſhop Farrar, before Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of Saint Davids.

Another appearance of B. Farrar.

ITem, the day and place appointed, the ſaid biſhop appearing againe before the pretenſed biſhop, humbly ſubmitting himſelf as ready to anſwer to the Articles and Poſitions above mentioned, gently required the copy of the Articles, and a competent terme to be aſſigned unto him, to anſwer for himſelfe: which being granted unto him, and the Thurſday next being aſſigned unto him betweene one and three to anſwer preciſely and fully, ſo he was committed againe to cuſtodie as above.

Another appearance of the ſaid Biſhop.

Another appearance of the ſaid biſhop

ON Thurſday as was appointed, which was the ſeventh of March, the ſaid Biſhop perſonally again appeared, where he exhibited a certaine bill in writing, containing in it his anſwer

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unto certaine Articles obiected and miniſtred unto him before. Then after Henry the pretenſed biſhop of S. Davids offered him againe the ſaid Articles as before: the tenor whereof tended to this effect.

Articles again miniſtred againſt Biſhop Farrar.

Firſt, that he willed him being a Prieſt to abrenounce matrimony.

Secondly, to grant the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, under the formes of bread and wine.

Thirdly, that the Maſſe is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, that generall Councels lawfully congregated never did, nor can erre.

Fifthly, that men are not iuſtified before God by Faith only, but that hope and charity are alſo neceſſarily required to iuſtification.

Sixthly, that the Catholike Church which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controverſies of Religion, and to ordaine things appertaining to publike diſcipline, is viſible, and like unto a city ſet upon a mountain for all men to underſtand.

B. Farrar denieth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

To theſe Articles thus obiected to him, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and pertaine nothing to the Catholike faith. After this, the biſhop above named, delivered unto him the copie of the Articles, aſſigning him Munday next following, to anſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame, either affirmatively, or negatively.

Another appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

Another appearance, or examination of B. Farrar.

UPon the which Munday, being the xi. day of March, he appearing againe before the Biſhop, and the aforeſaid Notarie George Conſtantine, exhibited in a written Paper his mind, and anſwer to the foreſaid Articles, which the biſhop had twice now obiected againſt him before. To the which articles and anſwers, he did ſo ſubſcribe, adding theſe words, as tenens ſe de æquitate & juſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Menevenſem, that the biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday, in the fore noone, to heare his finall and definitive ſentence.

The laſt appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

The laſt appearance and examination of the bleſſed Biſhop M. Farrar.

THe which day and place the ſaid biſhop and true ſervant of God M. Farrar, perſonally there appearing, was demanded of Henry the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Davids, whether hee would renounce and recant his hereſies, ſchiſms, and errours (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would ſubſcribe to the Catholike Articles, otherwiſe than hee had done before.

B. Farrar appealeth from the biſhop of S. Davids to the Cardinall.

After this the ſaid godly biſhop, maſter Farrar, did exhibite a certaine ſchedule written in Engliſh, and remaining in the Acts, appealing withall by expreſſe word of mouth from the Biſhop, as from an incompetent iudge, to Cardinal Poole, &c.

Sentence pronounced againſt biſhop Farrar.

All which notwithſtanding, the ſaid Biſhop proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive ſentence againſt him contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which ſentence he pronounced him as an heretike excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the ſecular power, namely, to the Sheriffe of the Towne of Carmarthen, maſter Leyſon. The tenour of which ſentence, as well of his condemnation, as of his degradation, here followeth.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Biſhop Farrar.

IN Dei nomine. Amen. Nos Henricus permiſſione divina Meneven. Epiſcopus judicialiter, & pro tribunali ſedentes, in quodam inquiſitionis & hæreticæ pravitatis negotio, contra te Robertum Farrar presbyterum, coram nobis in judicio perſonaliter comparentem, & nobis ſuper hæretica pravitate traditum, ac fama, & notorietate facti delatum, ac in ea parte legitimè procedendo auditis, viſis, & intellectis, rimatis, ac matura deliberatione diſcuſſis, & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumſtantiis, ſervatiſque in omnibus per omnia in eodum negotio de jure ſervandis, ac quomodolibet requiſitis, Chriſti nomine invocato, ac ipſum ſolum Deum præ occulis noſtris habentes: Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confeſſata, & ex parte tua coram nobis eodem in negotio ſæpius recognita, aſſerta, & confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confeſſiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales, coram nobis judicialiter factas, errores, hæreſes, & falſas opiniones ſubſcriptas, juri divino, ac Catholicæ universalis & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ determinationi obviantes, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, prædicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe infra diocœſem noſtram Meneven. Viz. Quod licet cuicunque religioſo etiam expreſsè profeſſo & presbytero, poſt ſuſceptam profeſſionem, & poſt ſuſceptum Presbyteratus ordinem, ducere uxorem ac cum eadem tanquam cum uxore legitima converſari. Item ſacras religiones, ab Eccleſia Catholica inſtitutas, cum ſcandalo damnaſſe & reprobaſſe. Item, quod in Euchariſtia, ſive altaris ſacramento una cum corpore & ſanguine Chriſti remanet ſubſtantia panis & vini. Item, quod Miſſa non eſt ſacrificium novi Teſtamenti, propitiatorium pro vivis atque defunctis. Et ſacramentum altaris non eſſe in altari miniſtrandum, elevandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item, quod homo ſola fide juſtificatur. Quos quidem errores, hereſes, & falſas opiniones juri divino ac Catholicæ univerſalis & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ determinationi obviamus, &c.

Here followeth the copie of his degradation.

The ſentence of degradation againſt biſhop Farrar.

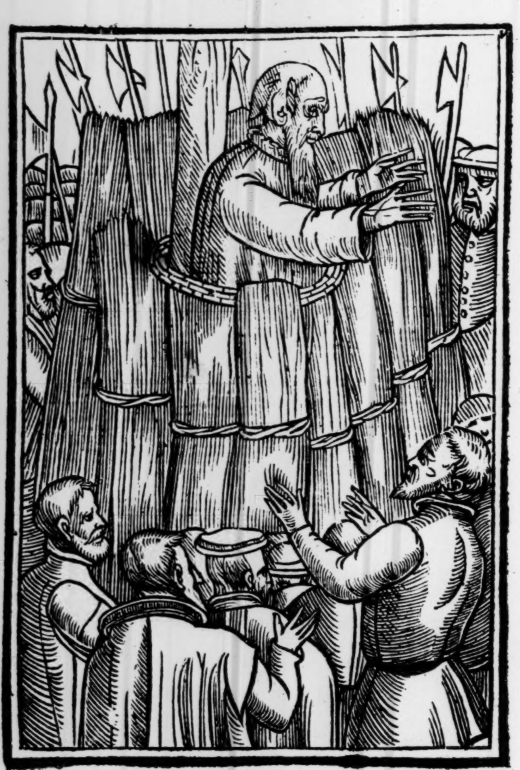
IN Nomine patris, ✠ filii, ✠ & ſpiritus ſancti, ✠ Amen. Quia nos Henricus permiſſione divina Meneven. Epiſc. per viam inquiſitionis in negotio hæreticæ pravitatis, cognoſcentes te Robertum Farrar clericum propter tuam manifeſtam contumaciam & obſtinaciam per nos nunciatum fuiſſe & eſſe in illud deteſtabile crimen heræſis multipliciter incidiſſe & commiſiſſe: quod cum non ſolum grande, ſed etiam damnabile & damnoſum ſit, & adeo enorme, quod exinde non tantum divina majeſtas offenſa, ſed & univerſa Diocœſis Menevenſis commota eſt, & ob hoc indignus officio ſacerdotali & eccleſiaſtico ſis redditus: Idcirco nos autoritate Dei patris omnipotentis, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, & noſtra, te ab omni hujuſmodi officio ſententialiter perpetuo privamus in hiis ſcriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus realiter, & actualiter ſecundum traditionem Canonum deponendum, & degradandum, prout in ordinario & pontificali continetur degradamus, prout ſequitur. In primis amovemus à te, &c.

Biſhop Farrar brought to the place of execution.

Thus this godly Biſhop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the ſecular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen, where he in the Market place in the Southſide of the Market Croſſe, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Paſſion Sunday, moſt conſtantly ſuſtained the torments and paſſion of the fire.

The martyrdome of D. Robert Farrar Biſhop, and Martyr, at Carmarthen. Anno 1555. March 30.

The cruell burning of Maſter Farrar, Martyr.



Touching the which conſtancy of this bleſſed Martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a Knights ſon, comming to M. Farrar a little before his death, ſéemed to lament the painfulnes of the death he had to ſuffer, unto whom the biſhop anſwered again to this effect, ſaying; that if hee ſaw him once to ſtirre in the paines of his burning, hée ſhould then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he ſaid, ſo he right well performed the ſame; for ſo patiently he ſtood; that he never moved, but even as he ſtood, holding up his ſtumps, ſo ſtill he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a ſtaffe daſhed him upon the head, and ſo ſtrooke him downe.

A memorable example of conſtancy in this bleſſed Biſhop and Martyr.

¶ Letters.

As touching the letters of M. Farrar, we do not finde many that he did write. And peradventure in Quéene Maries time his impriſonment was ſo ſtrait, that at no time it was permitted to him to write. Albeit in his other troubles in king Edwards time, certain letters he wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the Earle of Warwicke: which letters although they might be well referred to the firſt edition of this ſtory, yet becauſe in the ſaid letters is contained briefly and in few lines, the whole diſcourſe of his unjuſt vexation at that time wrought by his adverſaries, I thought good not to paſſe them over, but to communicate them unto the Reader, for the better underſtanding both of the innocency of that bleſſed biſhop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conſpired enemies; as in the ſaid letters here following to the indifferent Reader may eaſily appear.

The copie of a certaine letter of the Biſhop of Saint Davids, written belike to the Lord Chancellour Doctor Goodrick Biſhop of Ely.

Anno 1555.

Moſt humbly ſheweth unto your honor, your poore Orator Robert, Biſhop of Saint Davids, that whereas one Thomas Lée (by the procurement of Thomas Young, and Rowland Mericke being both Canons of ſaint Davids, and George Conſtantine Regiſter to the ſaid biſhop) hath exhibited unto your honor againſt him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and alſo their pretenſed weighty articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proofe whereof the ſaid Thomas Lée hath had Commiſſions into the Countrey: Therefore it may pleaſe your honour of your favourable goodnes, to grant unto your ſaid Orator a like commiſſion for the examination of witneſſes, in defence of his truth and honeſty againſt the aforenamed Tho. Lée, George Conſtantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Mericke, and all other perſons with their unjuſt articles, atteſtations, and ſayings, depoſed againſt him. And in tender conſideration that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden, and ſureties with him in the ſumme of a thouſand marks, to appear before the Kings Juſtice, in the Seſſions at Carmarthen, in July next comming, to anſwer to a forged matter of Præmunire, by the procurement and counſell of his forenamed adverſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed againſt him to his utter undoing. And furthermore that your Orator being in debt to the Kings Majeſty, by reaſon of the malicious vexation of the foreſaid adverſaries, cannot (if he remain here) ſatisfie the ſame: for whereas there be arrerages to a great ſumm (as well of the Kings money as of his own rents) he can receive none thereof, his adverſaries have made ſuch ill report to his diſcredit, bearing the people in hand, that he ſhall come no more thither. By reaſon of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents & arrerages, nor the Prieſts their arrerages due to the Kings Majeſtie, as well for anno ſecundo, & tertio, as for quarto, and quinto. In conſideration of all which things, it may pleaſe your honorable goodneſſe to licence your ſaid Orator to depart into the Dioceſſe, for theſe affaires and other. And he ſhall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandement and pleaſure, to repaire again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jeſus for the perpetuall conſervation of your honor, to his glory.

Biſhop Farrar bound with his ſureties in a thouſand marks to appeare in a matter of Præmunire.

Beſides this letter he wrote another likewiſe to the ſaid Lord (who was, as ſéemeth, D. Goodricke L. Chancellor afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cauſe of his trouble, how it roſe againſt him by his adverſaries, as here followeth.

Another letter written by the Biſhop of S. Davids to the Lord Chancellor aforeſaid.

Another letter of Biſhop Farrar to the Lord Chauncellour.

Right honourable, and my very ſpeciall good Lord, with humble ſervice and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favor towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters most lovingly admoniſhing me to incline unto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and unity; This is further to beſéech your Lordſhip for the Lords ſake not to be grieved, but benignely to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to other but a light grief to me, is in very déed a right grievous offence to Godward, with no little hinderance of his holy word, and diſturbance of the Kings godly procéedings, and may be a great occaſion of much inobedience, and diſorder of good life.

Wherefore

Anno 1555.

Wherefore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true zeale that I am to beare unto the word of life, Chriſtian Religion, the Kings Maieſties honor, and the godly quiet ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redreſſe to be ſought at his Maieſties hands by the godly wiſdome of his moſt honourable and upright councel, but with hearty affection to bear it up againſt thoſe high minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, Covetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the light that their ungodly miſdoings in darkneſſe ſhal either not be ſeen, or at the leaſt may have a colourable appearance of right. In ſo much that I do not a little marvell at theſe qualities in Maſter Chaunter, the Canon, and the Deane of Worceſter, whoſe ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only knowne, but expertly proved, and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes, whereof I make no complaint.

The unkinde dealing of George Conſtantine againſt B. Farrar.

But I wonder in my mind and lament in my heart the ſtrange alteration and wilfull going backward of mine old faithfull brother George Conſtantine, the which (knowing them all three to have beene in times paſt either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the croſſe of Chriſt, or at the leaſt privie lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Goſpell, to ſting the poore followers thereof, ſeeking but their owne lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſinne for lucres ſake, even yet ſtiffely perſiſting in the ſame, namely, in things manifeſtly knowne unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

This Farlee was Chancellor to B. Farrar.

This Chaunter was D. Young.

D. Young and D. Mericke, removed by B. Farrer from their offices.

And as for their præmunire, both George and they at my firſt comming, ungently detaining from M. Farlée his commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, would have faced me down with præmunire, becauſe it was written in my owne name according to the ſtatute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to ſée their uncourteous déeds, departing with M. Farlée for the avoiding of their malice and envie, and gave that office for the amity of George, unto M. Chaunter his ſon in law, and to M. Mericke the office of Cardigan. But ſéeing after their covetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of ſin, and eſpecially of ſhameleſſe whoredome, I was compelled to remove them, ſore againſt their wils: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry times charitable redreſſe of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many faire words, and nothing in déed.

The wrongs which B. Farrar received by Thom Yong & D. Mericke.

And deſiring to have ſight of the Book of ſtatutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Deſiring to have a key of the chapter houſe ſeal, as my Lord of Bathe had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as it pleaſed them to give it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverſe of my right, they would in no wiſe grant it. And thereupon conſidering their ungentlenes, I moved the quo warranto, knowing right well, that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantiall grant under the Kings ſeal for their corporation, it muſt therin appear the Biſhop to be the head, and ever hath béen under the King: for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome againe, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiving afterward, that they had no ſpeciall grant to ſhew, or elſe ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelf for the reſpect of unity, wrote my letters to the Kings Atturney, by reaſon whereof the quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth.

But as touching the certificate, the Kings ſubſidy being due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne till after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuſe to pay both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelf, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to aſk the reſt, and it is committed unto mee in the Kings rolle a whole ſumme in groſſe, to be received of the Canons reſidentiaries for their divident: who, becauſe they cannot agrée in dividing, would have the Kings Maieſty to tarry for his money, till they can agrée to make diviſion; and I cannot demand it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſéech your fatherly goodnes, for the Lords ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and friend unto ſuch time as ye find me either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the iudgement of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe; humbly beſéeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſſe procéeding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jeſus, who ſave and keep you in health, comfort, and honor long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at Aburguily this ix of March.

Your Lordſhips to command
during life, R. F.

The hiſtorie of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales about the Moneth of March, for the teſtimonie of Chriſts Goſpel, reported by I. Dane being yet alive, who was almoſt continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.

Rawlins White Martyr, burned at Cardiffe in Wales.

FOr ſo much as we have here paſſed the hiſtorie of Maſter Farrar, burned at the town of Carmarthen in Wales, I thought to adioyne and accompany with the ſame the hiſtory alſo of one Rawlins White, a Fiſher man, which both in the like cauſe, and in the ſame Countrey of Wales, and alſo about the ſame Moneth of March, and year aforeſaid, gave his life like a valiant ſouldier of Jeſus Chriſt to Martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiffe; the proceſſe of whoſe ſtory here followeth expreſſed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling and occupation a Fiſherman, living and continuing in the ſaid trade by the ſpace of twenty yeers at the leaſt, in the towne of Cardiffe, being (as a man of his vocation might bee) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongſt his neighbors. As touching his religion at the firſt, it cannot otherwiſe bee knowne, but that hee was a great partaker of the ſuperſtition and idolatry that then was uſed, I meane in the reigne of King Henry the eighth. But after that God of his mercy had rayſed up the light of his Goſpel, through the bleſſed governement of King Edward the ſixth, here in this Realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to have ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the time had béen concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſſe, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the truth.

[illegible]

But becauſe the good man was altogether unlearned, and withall very ſimple, hee knew no ready way how hee might ſatisfie his great deſire. At length it came in his minde to take a ſpeciall remedy to ſupply his neceſſity, which was this: He had a little boy which was his own Sonne, which childe he ſet to ſchoole to learne to read Engliſh. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father every night after ſupper, ſummer and winter, would have the boy to read a peece of the holy ſcripture, and now and then of ſome other good book. In which kind of vertuous exerciſe the old man had ſuch a delight and pleaſure, that as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed himſelfe in the ſtudy of the Scripture, than in the trade or ſcience which before time he had uſed: ſo that Rawlins within few yeers in the ſaid time of King Edward, through the help of his little Sonne, a ſpeciall miniſter appointed by God (no doubt) for that purpoſe, and through much conference beſides, profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, that hee was able not only to reſolve himſelf touching his own former blindneſſe and ignorance, but was alſo able to admoniſh and inſtruct others: and therfore when occaſion ſerved hee would goe from one place to another viſiting ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doing he became in that Countrey, both a notable and open Profeſſor of the truth, being at all times and in all ſuch places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have ſaid) he uſed as an aſſiſtance to this his good purpoſe. And to this his great induſtry and endeavour in the holy Scripture, God did alſo adde in him a ſingular gift of memory, ſo that by the benefit thereof hee would and could doe that in vouching and rehearſing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory could very hardly accompliſh. Inſomuch that he, upon the alledging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leafe, yea and the very ſentence; ſuch was the wonderfull working of God in this ſimple and unlearned father.

The godly intent of Rawlins in ſetting his ſon to Schoole.

The meanes whereby Rawlins firſt came to knowledge. Rawlins by the means of his young ſon came to the knowledge of the Scripture.

The gift of memory in Rawlins.

Now when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of five yeares, King Edward dyed, upon whoſe deceaſe Queene Mary ſucceeded, and with her all kinde of ſuperſtition and Papiſtry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether uſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before hee was wont) and therefore oftentimes in ſome private place or other he would call his truſty friends together, and with earneſt prayer and great lamentation paſſe away the time, ſo that by his vertuous inſtructions, being without any blemiſh of error, hee converted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly increaſed, had not the cruell ſtorm of perſecution been.

The extremity and force whereof at the laſt ſo purſued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every houre to go to priſon: whereupon many of thoſe, which had received comfort by his inſtructions, did reſort unto him, and by all means poſſible began to perſwade him to ſhift for himſelf, and to diſpoſe his goods by ſome reaſonable order to the uſe of his wife and children, and by that means he ſhould eſcape that danger, which was imminent over his head.

Rawlins exhorted to ſhift for himſelfe.

But Rawlins nothing abaſhed for his owne part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with theſe their fleſhly perſwaſions, thanked them moſt heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good leſſon touching the confeſſing and denyall of Chriſt; advertiſing them, that if hee upon their perſwaſions ſhould preſume to deny his maſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day would deny and utterly condemn him: and therefore (quoth he) I will by his favourable grace confeſſe and beare witneſſe of him before men, that I may find him in everlaſting life.

Rawlins promiſeth to be conſtant to the death.

Notwithſtanding which anſwer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued ſtill in his good purpoſe ſo long, till at the laſt he was taken by the Officers of the towne, as a man ſuſpected of hereſie; upon which apprehenſion he was convented before the biſhop of Landaffe that then was, the ſaid biſhop lying then at his houſe beſides Chepſtow: by whom after divers combates and conflicts with him and his Chaplaines, this good father Rawlins was committed to priſon in Chepſtow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the Biſhops meanes, becauſe he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his Keeper, was not ſo ſevere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo liſted) he might have eſcaped oftentimes.

Rawlins apprehended and convented before the Biſh. of Landaffe named Anthony Kechin.

Rawlins might eſcape and would not

But that notwithſtanding, he continued ſtill, inſomuch that at the laſt he by the aforenamed Biſhop was removed from Chepſtow to the caſtle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the ſpace of one whole year. During which time, this reporter reſorted to him very often, with money and other reliefe from this reporters mother (who was a great favourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe dayes) and other of his friends: which he received not without great thankes and praiſes given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and impriſoned, as ye have heard, to his owne undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poore wife and children: yet was his heart ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtherance of others in the way of ſalvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was perſwading or exhorting ſuch of his familiar friends, as commonly came unto him. Inſomuch that on the Sundaies and other times of leaſure, when his friends came to viſit him, he would paſſe away the time in prayer and exhortations, admoniſhing them alwayes to beware of falſe Prophets which come in ſheeps clothing.

Rawlins a whole yeare in priſon. A godly woman ſtirred up to relieve Rawlins.

Exhortation of Rawlins to his friends.

Now when he had continued in Cardiffe Caſtle by the ſpace of one whole yeer (as I have ſaid) the time of his further tryal was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed Biſhop of Landaffe cauſed him to be brought again from the Caſtle of Cardiffe unto his owne houſe beſides Chepſtowe: and whileſt he continued there, the biſhop aſſayed many waies how to reduce him to ſome conformity. But when all means either by their threatning words, or flattering promiſes were to no purpoſe: the biſhop willed him to adviſe, and be at a full point with himſelf, either to recant his opinions, or elſe to abide the rigor of the law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination. Which day being come, the Biſhop with his Chaplaines went into his Chappell, not without a great number of other by-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings. When the biſhop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The biſhop after great deliberation in addreſſing himſelfe (as it ſeemed, and ſilence forewarned to the reſt that were there preſent) uſed a long kinde of talke to him, declaring the cauſe of his ſending for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold hereticall opinions, and that through his inſtruction many were led into blinde errour. In the end hee exhorted him to conſider his owne eſtate wherein he ſtood: for (ſaid the Biſhop) Rawlins, you have oftentimes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe, and elſewhere beene travelled withall touching your opinions, and that notwithſtanding yee ſeeme altogether obſtinate and wilfull. Now hereupon wee thought good to ſend for you, to ſee if there were any conformity in you:

Rawlins by no meanes could be reduced to returne to Popery.

Rawlins brought before the B. of Landaffe in open judgement.

The words of the Biſhop to Rawlins.

ſo

Anno 1555

ſo that the matter is come to this point, that if you ſhall ſhew your ſelf repentant for that which you have done both againſt God and the Princes law, we are ready to uſe favour towards you; but if by no meanes we can perſwade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to miniſter the law unto you, and therfore adviſe your ſelfe what you will do.

Rawlins anſwereth to the biſhop.

When the Biſhop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins ſpake very boldly to him, and ſaid; My Lord, I thank God I am a Chriſtian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Chriſtian man ought to be: many moe words in like ſort were between the Biſhop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wiſe recant his opinions, the Biſhop told him plainly, that he muſt proceed againſt him by the law, and condemne him as an heretike.

The biſhop of Landaffe proceedeth with prayer in condemnation of Rawlins: which commonly the Popiſh perſecutors are not wont to do.

Proceed in your law a Gods name, ſaid Rawlins; but for an Heretike you ſhall never condemne me while the world ſtandeth. But (ſaid the Biſhop to his company) before we proceed any farther with him, let us pray unto God that he would ſend ſome ſparke of grace upon him, (meaning Rawlins) and it may ſo chance, that God through our prayer will here turne and convert his heart. When Rawlins heard the Biſhop ſay ſo; Ah, my Lord, quoth he, now you deale well, and like a godly Biſhop, and I thank you moſt heartily for your great charity and gentleneſſe. Chriſt ſaith, Whereas two or three be gathered in my Name, I will be in the middeſt of them: and there be moe than two or three of you. Now if it be ſo that your requeſt be godly and lawfull, and that ye pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God will heare you. And therefore my Lord goe to, doe you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both heare my prayer, and performe my deſire.

The biſhop prayeth to his God, and Rawlins to his.

By and by the Biſhop with his company fell to prayer. And Rawlins, turning himſelfe to a pew that ſtood ſomewhat neere him, fell downe upon his knees, covering his face with his hands: and when they had prayed a while, the Biſhop with his company aroſe from prayer. And then alſo aroſe Rawlins, and came before the Biſhop.

Rawlins confirmed in his doctrine.

Then ſaid the Biſhop; Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? wilt thou revoke thy opinions or no? Surely (ſaid Rawlins) my Lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you finde me, and by Gods grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had beene iuſt and lawfull, God would have heard them: but you honour a falſe God, and pray not as ye ſhould pray; and therfore hath not God granted your deſire. But I am one poore ſimple man as you ſee, and God hath heard my complaint, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his owne cauſe.

Popiſh biſhops pray to a falſe God, and therefore are not heard.

The Biſhop when he perceived that this hypocriſie of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the ſentence. Howbeit, upon ſome advice given to him by his Chaplaines that were there preſent, he thought beſt firſt to have a Maſſe, thinking that indeed by ſo doing ſome wonderfull worke ſhould be wrought in Rawlins, and thereupon a Prieſt began a Maſſe.

A Maſſe ſaid for converſion of Rawlins.

In the mean time poore Rawlins betook himſelfe to prayer in a ſecret place there by, untill ſuch time as the Prieſt came to the Sacring, as they terme it, which is a principall point of their Idolatry. When Rawlins heard the ſacring bell ring (as the uſe was) he roſe out of his place, and came to the Quire doore, and there ſtanding a while, turned himſelfe to the people, ſpeaking theſe words; Good people if there be any brethren amongſt you, or at the leaſt, if there bee but one brother amongſt you, the ſame one bear witnes at the day of iudgement, that I bow not to this Idol (meaning the hoſt that the Prieſt held over his head.)

The words of Rawlins to the people at the acring time.

Rawlins ſtill conſtant in the profeſſion of Gods truth.

The Maſſe being ended; Rawlins eftſoones was called for againe. To whom the Biſhop uſed many perſwaſions; but the bleſſed man continued ſo ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the Biſhops talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed the definitive ſentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the Biſhops commandement carried againe to Cardiffe, there to be put into the priſon of the town, called Cockmarell, a very darke, loathſome, and moſt vile priſon.

Sentence read againſt Rawlins.

Rawlins ſent to priſon to Cardiffe caſtle

Rawlins in the meane while paſſed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalms: which kinde of godly exerciſes he alwaies uſed, both at Cardiffe Caſtle, and in all other places.

Now after he had thus continued as priſoner in Cockmarell priſon at Cardiffe (as is aforeſaid) a good ſpace, about three weekes before the day wherein he ſuffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, becauſe they would bee ſooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they ſhould have. Whereupon one Henry Lewes, the Recorder of the towne that then was, ſeeing that they went about to burne him without any warrant by writ, came to them, and told them, that if they did burne him before they had the writ De hereticis comburendis, the wife of the ſaid Rawlins would upon iuſt cauſe, by law call their doings into queſtion.

The officers intending to burne Rawlins without a writ

Immediately upon this advertiſement they ſent to London for the writ above named: vpon the receipt whereof they made ſome ſpeed to the execution of the ſaid Rawlins. Now when the day was come, wherein the good father ſhould performe and accompliſh the laſt act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himſelfe.

The writ awarded for burning of Rawlins

Now, when he perceived his time was no leſſe neer than it was reported unto him, he ſent forthwith to his wife, & willed her by the meſſenger, that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready, and ſend unto him his wedding garment, meaning a ſhirt, which afterward he was burned in. Which requeſt, or rather commandement of his, his wife with great ſorrow and griefe of heart did performe, and early in the morning did ſend it to him, which he received moſt gladly and ioyfully.

Rawlins wedding garment

Now when the houre of his execution was come, this good and conſtant father Rawlins was brought out of priſon, having on his body the long ſhirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, and an old ruſſet coate which he was wont to weare. Beſides this, he had upon his legges an old paire of leather Buſkins which he had uſed long afore. And thus being brought out of priſon (as I have ſaid) hee was accompanied, or rather guarded with a great company of bils and gleaves. Which ſight when he beheld; Alas (quoth he) what meaneth all this? All this needeth not. By Gods grace I will not ſtart away: but I with all my heart and minde give unto God moſt hearty thankes that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy names ſake.

Rawlins going to the place of execution.

So he came to a place in his way where as his poor wife and children ſtood weeping and making great lamentation: the ſudden ſight of whom ſo pierced his heart, that the very teares trickled downe his face. But he ſoone after, as

Rawlins ſomewhat moved at the ſight of his wife & children.

though

Rawlins wreſtleth againſt his fleſh.

though he had miſliked this infirmity of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelfe: Inſomuch, that in ſtriking his breaſt with his hand, he uſed theſe words; Ah fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me for? wouldeſt thou faine prevaile? Well, I tell thee doe what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not by Gods grace have the victory. By this time this poore innocent came to the very altar of his ſacrifice (I meane the place appointed for his death) and there found a ſtake ready ſet up, with ſome wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he beheld, he ſet forward himſelfe very boldly: but in going toward the ſtake he fell down upon his knees and kiſſed the ground, and in riſing againe, the earth a little ſticking on his noſe, he ſaid theſe words; Earth unto earth, and duſt unto duſt: thou art my mother, and unto thee I ſhall returne. Then went he cheerfully and very ioyfully, and ſet his backe cloſe unto the ſtake, and when he had ſtood there a while; he caſt his eye upon this Reporter, and called him unto him, and ſaid: I feele a great fighting betweene the fleſh and the ſpirit, and the fleſh would very faine have his ſwinge; and therefore I pray you, when you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I truſt I ſhall remember my ſelfe.

The agony and fight of this Chriſtian warriour.

Rawlins faſtned to the ſtake

As he was thus ſtanding with his back cloſe unto the ſtake, a Smith came with a great chain of iron: whom when he ſaw, he caſt up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the Smith caſt a chain about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other ſide, Rawlins ſaid unto him; I pray you good friend knock in the chain faſt: for it may be that the fleſh would ſtrive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me ſtrength and patience to abide the extremity.

The cheerfulneſſe of father Rawlins at his death.

Now when the Smith had made him ſure to the ſtake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little ſtraw and reed; wherein the good old man was no leſſe occupied than the beſt: for as farre as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the ſtraw and reed, and lay it about him in places moſt convenient for his ſpeedy diſpatch. Which thing he did with ſuch a cheerfull countenance, and familiar geſture, that all men there preſent were in a manner aſtonied.

A popiſh ſermon preached at Rawlins martyrdome.

Thus when all things were ready, ſo that there lacked nothing but the putting to of the fire, directly over againſt the ſtake in the face of Rawlins, there was a ſtanding erected, whereon ſtept up a Prieſt, addreſſing himſelfe to ſpeak to the people, which were many in number, becauſe it was Market day. When Rawlins perceived him, and conſidered the cauſe of his comming, he reached a little ſtraw unto him, and made two little ſtaies, and ſet them under his elbowes. Then went the Prieſt forward in his Sermon, wherein he ſpake of many things touching the authority of the Church of Rome. In the meane time Rawlins gave ſuch good eare and attention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moved or diſquieted. At the laſt, the prieſt came to the ſacrament of the Altar, and there he began to inveigh againſt Rawlins opinions: in which his invection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a Clerkly interpretation.

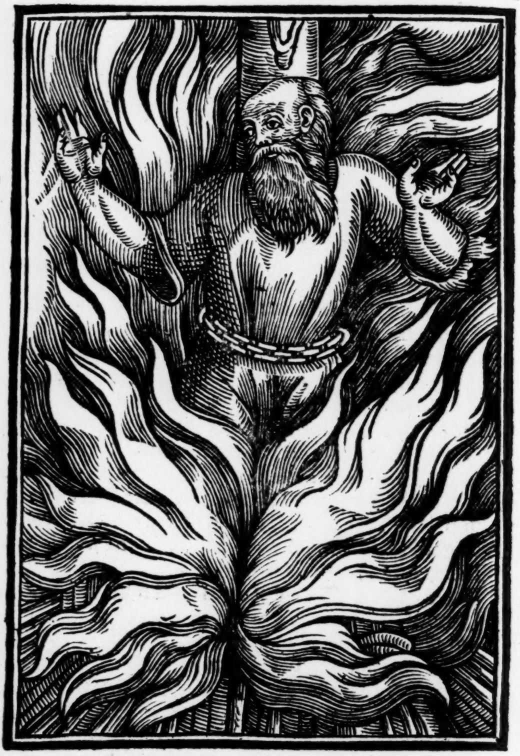
Rawlins words to the falſe prophet.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not onely to preach and teach the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirme it by Scripture, he ſuddenly ſtart up, and beckened his hands to the people, ſaying twice; Come hither good people, and heare not a falſe prophet preaching: and then ſaid unto the Preacher; Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doeſt thou preſume to prove thy falſe doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text that followeth; Did not Chriſt ſay, Doe this in remembrance of me? After which words, the Prieſt being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then ſome that ſtood by cried out; Put fire, ſet to fire: which being ſet to; the ſtraw and reed by and by caſt up both a great and ſodaine flame. In the which flame this good and bleſſed man bathed his hands ſo long, untill ſuch time as the ſinewes ſhrunk, and the fat dropped away, ſaving that once he did as it were wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cried with a loud voice; O Lord receive my ſoule, O Lord receive my ſpirit, untill he could not open his mouth. At the laſt, the extremity of the fire was ſo vehement againſt his legs, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chaine into the fire ſooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be ſaid that he felt any great paine, conſidering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins for the teſtimony of Gods truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crowne of eternall life.

The martyrdome of Rawlins White, a Fiſher-man at Cardiffe. Anno 1555.

The burning of Rawlins White, Martyr.



The conſtant patience of Rawlins at his burning.

A ſodaine alteration of nature marvellous in Rawlins before his death.

It is recorded furthermore of the ſaid good father Rawlins by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and ſtanding at the ſtake, he ſeemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For whereas before he was wont to goe ſtooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a ſad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withall very ſoft in ſpeech and geſture, now he went and ſtretched up himſelf not onely bolt upright, but alſo bare withall a moſt pleaſant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in ſpeech and behaviour. He had (of which thing I ſhould have ſpoken before) about his head a kerchiefe, The haires of his head (ſomewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe) and alſo of his beard, were more inclining to white than to gray, which gave ſuch a ſhew and countenance to his whole perſon.

Anno 1555

The reporter of this ſtory was one Maſter Dane.

perſon, that he ſeemed to be altogether angelicall.

It is alſo ſaid by this reporter, that a little before the fire flaſhed up to his body (as ye have heard) many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand, amongſt whom the reporter of this ſtory held him ſo long by the hand, till the flame of the fire roſe, and forced them to ſunder. In the meane time the Prieſt of whom I ſpake afore, cried out and ſaid, that it was not lawfull for any man to take him by the hand, becauſe he was an heretike, and condemned by the Church. The chief cauſe of his trouble, was his opinion touching the ſacrament of the Altar. He was at that time of his death of the age of threeſcore yeeres, or thereabouts.

The ſumme of the words ſpoken by Queene Mary to certaine of her Counſellers. March 28. An. 1555. touching the reſtitution of Abbey lands.

Before I paſſe over this moneth of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or conſultation of Q. Mary, uſed to certaine of the Councell the 28. day of the ſaid moneth of March, touching the reſtoring againe of the Abbey lands. Who after ſhe had called unto her preſence foure of her privy Councell, the day and moneth aforeſaid (the names of which Councellers were theſe:

The names of the Councellers called before Q. Mary.

1 William Lord Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, high Treaſurer of England.
2 Sir Robert Rocheſter Knight, the Queens Controller.
3 Sir William Peter Knight, Secretary.
4 Sir Francis Inglefield Knight, Maſter of the Wards.

The effect of Q. Maries words touching Abbey lands to be reſtored.

The ſaid Queene Mary inferred theſe words, the principall effect and ſumme whereof here followeth. You are here of our Councell, and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might heare of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my minde, concerning the lands and poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries, as other Churches whatſoever, being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

Firſt, I doe conſider, that the ſaid lands were taken away from the Churches aforeſaid in the time of ſchiſme, and that by unlawfull meanes, ſuch as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the Church. For the which cauſe my conſcience doth not ſuffer me to detaine them; and therefore I here expreſly refuſe either to claime or to retaine the ſaid lands for mine, but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here and before God I doe ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions or inheritances whatſoever, and do renounce the ſame with this minde and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken, as ſhall ſeeme beſt liking to our moſt holy Lord the Pope, or els his Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our Realme.

The Queene maketh a conſcience in keeping Abbey lands.

The Queene ſurrendreth from her ſelfe the poſſeſſion of Abbey lands

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that conſidering the ſtate of my Kingdome, and the dignity thereof, my Crowne Imperiall cannot be honourably maintained and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid: yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſalvation of my ſoule, than by ten Kingdomes; and therefore the ſaid poſſeſſions I utterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and give moſt hearty thanks to almighty God, which hath given me an huſband likewiſe minded, with no leſſe good affection in this behalfe, than I am my ſelfe.

Wherefore I charge and command, that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my minde in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together doe reſort to the moſt reverend Lord Legate, and doe ſignifie to him the premiſſes in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my Kingdome, and of the foreſaid poſſeſſions accordingly, as you your ſelves do underſtand the matter, and can informe him in the ſame.

Promiſes for reſtitution of Abbey lands.

This intimation being given by the Queene, firſt unto the Councellers, and then coming to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a copie thereof in Latine, ſent the ſame to the Pope: which copie drawn in Latine, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus tranſlated into Engliſh, as ye have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be underſtood, that in the moneth before, which was February, and in the 19. day of the ſaid moneth, the Biſhop of Ely, with the Lord Montacute, and ſevenſcore horſe, were ſent as Embaſſadours from the King and Queene unto Rome. For what cauſe, in ſtory it is not expreſſed, but by coniecture it may be well ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of Abbey lands, as by the ſequele thereof may probably appeare.

Ambaſſadors ſent from England to Rome. February 19.

For it was not long after, but the Pope did ſet forth in print a Bull of excommunication for all manner ſuch perſons, without exception, as kept any of the Church or Abbey lands: by vertue of which Bull, the Pope excommunicated as well all ſuch as had any of the Church or Abbey lands, as alſo all ſuch Princes, Biſhops, and Noble men, Juſtices of Peace, and other in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the ſame Bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was never put in practice.

The Popes Bull for reſtitution of Abbey lands.

Wherein againe is to be obſerved another catholike fetch, not unworthy perchance of marking. For where this kinde of Catholikes by rigor and force may over-maſter, they ſpare for no coſt, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and ſtill doth appeare in burning the poore patient Chriſtians, whom becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſt them, and content with patience to receive whatſoever is put unto them, there they play the Lions, and make no end of burning and perſecuting. But where they ſpie themſelves to be over-matched, or feare to receive a foile in preſuming too farre, there they keepe in, and can ſtay the execution of their Lawes and Buls, be they never ſo Apoſtolicall, till they ſpie their time convenient for their purpoſe, as in this caſe is evident for all the world to ſee.

Note the nature of the Papiſts, where they can overcome, they are Lions: where they are over-matched they play the Foxes

For notwithſtanding that the Popes Bull, coming down with full authority for reſtitution of Abbey lands, did ſo thunder out moſt terrible excommunication, not only againſt them which detained any ſuch lands, but alſo againſt all other that did not ſee the Popes commandement to be executed, yet neither Wincheſter, nor any of all the Popes Clergy, would greatly ſtirre in that matter, perceiving the Nobility to be too ſtrong for them to match withall; and therefore were contented to let the caſe fall, or at leaſt to ſtay for a time, while time might better ſerve them.

Here lacked no good will in the biſhops, but time as yet did not ſerve them.

Falſe diſſembling in the Popes Catholike Church.

Yea, and moreover under a crafty pretence, that the Nobility and men of lands at the firſt coming out of the Bull ſhould not be exaſperate too much againſt them, they ſubtilly abuſed the Pulpits, and diſſembled with the people, affirming that the ſaid Popes late Bull, ſet forth in print for reſtitution of Abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other forraign countreyes: where in very deed the meaning of that Bull, was only for England, and no countrey elſe, as both by this intimation of Q. Mary here mentioned, and by many other coniectures, and

alſo

M. Fecknams ballet of Caveat emptor.

alſo by M. Fecknams ballet of Caveat emptor, may appeare. Whereby it is eaſie for all men to underſtand what the purpoſe of thoſe men was to do, if time, which they obſerved, might have ſerved their devotion. But to let this matter paſſe of the Popes Bull, the time now ſerveth to intreat of Pope Julius death, forſomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foreſaid moneth of March.

(a) Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.
The death of Pope Julius the third.
Vide ſcriptum Pauli Vergerii contra hunc archiepiſcop.
Note here what an holy Catholike Church this is

Concerning the deeds and acts of which Pope to make a full declaration, it were not ſo much tedious to the Reader, as horrible to all good eares. (a) Under this Julius flouriſhed the archbiſhop of Beneventanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes à Caſa, Deane of the Popes chamber, and chief Legate to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthy See, ſo farre forgat both honeſty and nature, that he ſhamed not only to play the filthy Sodomite himſelfe, and to boaſt openly of the ſame; but alſo took upon him moſt impudently in Italian Metre, to all mens eares, to ſet forth the praiſe and commendation of that beaſtly iniquity; ſaying, that he himſelfe never uſed other: and this book was printed at Venice by one Trojanus Navus; and yet the Pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquity and ſhameleſſe beaſtlineſſe, even under his noſe in his own chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Chriſt in Chriſtian bookes.

Amongſt other pranks and deeds of this foreſaid Pope, in his Jubilee, and in the Synod of Trent, and in confirming of the Idoll of Lauretane, this is alſo reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in Porke-fleſh and Peacocks. Upon a time when he was admoniſhed of his Phyſitian to abſtaine from all Swines fleſh, for that it was noyſome for his Gout, and yet would not follow his counſell; the Phyſitian afterward gave warning to his Steward or Orderer of his diet, that he ſhould ſet no more Porke-fleſh before him.

A Porkiſh Pope.

Whereupon when the Pope perceived the ſaid Porke-fleſh to be lacking in his accuſtomed ſervice: Where (ſaid he) is my Porke? And when his Steward had anſwered that his Phyſitian had forbidden any Pork to be ſerved; then the Pope burſting out into a great rage, ſaid theſe words; Bring me, ſaid he, my Porke-fleſh, Al diſpetto di Dio, that is to ſay in Engliſh, In the deſpight of God.

Monſtrous blaſphemy in the Pope.

At another time, he ſitting at dinner, pointing to a Peacocke upon his table which he had not touched; Keepe (ſaid he) this cold Peacock for me againſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the garden: for I ſhall have gueſts. So when ſupper came, and amongſt other hot Peacocks, he ſaw not his cold Peacock brought to his table: the Pope, after his wonted manner, moſt horribly blaſpheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals ſitting by, deſired him, ſaying; Let not your Holineſſe, I pray you, be ſo moved with a matter of ſo ſmall weight. Then this Julius the Pope anſwering againe; What, ſaid he, if God was ſo angry for one apple, that he caſt our firſt Parents out of Paradiſe for the ſame, why may not I, being his Vicar, be angry then for a Peacocke, ſince a Peacock is a greater matter than an Apple? Behold here (good Reader) by this Pope, the holineſſe of that blaſphemous See: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here what affection was born unto this Pope here in England, by the Diriges, Hearſes, and Funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all Churches by the Queene and her Councell, as may appeare by ẏ copy of their letters here following.

Pope Julius blaſphemeth God for a Peacock.
O vocem antichriſto dignam.

A Letter from the Biſhop of Wincheſter (being Lord Chancellor) unto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the celebrating of the Popes funerals.

Anno 1555.

Aprill 20. Wincheſters letter to Boner for the Popes funerall.

AFter my hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip. The King and Queenes Majeſty having certaine knowledge of the death of the Popes Holineſſe, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemne obſequies ſaid for him throughout the Realme, as alſo theſe prayers (which I ſend you herein incloſed) uſed at Maſſe times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to ſignifie their pleaſures unto you in this behalfe: that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accompliſhment thereof, by putting the ſame in due execution within your owne Dioceſſe, and ſending word to the reſt of the Biſhops, to doe the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lorſhip will uſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this time, as ſhall be neceſſary, I bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From my houſe at Aſher, the tenth of Aprill, 1555.

Your aſſured friend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Chancel.

Prayers commanded to be uſed in the funerall Maſſes for the Pope, Apoſtolica ſede vacante.

A Collect for the Pope.

SVpplici te Domine humilitate depoſcimus, ut tua immenſa pietas ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ concedat Pontificem illum qui & pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſiduè ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per dominum noſtrum.

Secreta.

TVæ nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gratum Majeſtati tuæ Pontificem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ regimini præeſſe gaudeamus, per dominum noſtrum.

Poſt communionem.

Another prayer for chuſing of the Pope.

PReciosi corporis & ſanguinis tui Domine, ſacramento refectos mirifica tuæ Majeſtatis gratia de illius ſummi Pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, & fidelium mentes, ſpiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per dominum noſtrum.

A woman of S. Magnes impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

Upon this commandement, on Wedneſday in Eaſter weeke there were Hearſes ſet up, and Diriges ſung for the ſaid Julius in divers places. At which time it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnes Church at the Bridge-foot in London, and there ſeeing an Hearſe and other preparation, aſked what it meant: and other that ſtood by, ſaid that it was for the Pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for him. Nay (quoth ſhe) that will I not; for he needeth not my prayers: and ſeeing he could forgive us all our ſins, I am ſure he is cleane himſelfe; therfore I need not to pray for him. She was heard ſpeak theſe words of certaine that ſtood by; which by and by carried her unto the Cage at London Bridge, and bade her coole her ſelfe there.

A ſpectacle for all Chriſtians to behold, and to take heed of the Popes blaſphemous doctrine.

A popiſh parſon preaching to his pariſhioners.

BY many and ſundry ways almighty God hath admoniſhed men of all nations in theſe our later yeeres to embrace, and not violently to repugne againſt the light of his Goſpel: as firſt, by preaching of his word; ſecondly, by the blood of the Martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples ſhewed from time to time upon his adverſaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembred the notable working of Gods hand upon

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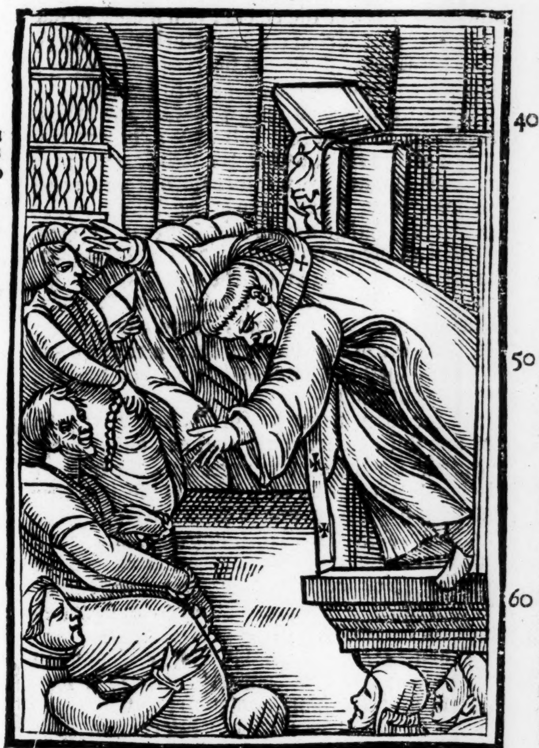
A terrible example of Gods ſevere puniſhment upon Nightingall, parſon of Crondall in Kent.

on a certaine Prieſt in Kent, named Nightingall, Parſon of Crondall beſides Canterbury: who upon Shroveſunday, which was about the third day of the ſaid moneth of March, and yeere of our Lord aforeſaid, reioycing belike not a little at this alteration of Religion, began to make a ſermon to his Pariſhioners, taking his Theame out of the words of S. John; He that ſaith, he hath no ſin, is a lyar, and the truth is not in him, &c. And ſo upon the ſame very impertinently declared to them all ſuch articles as were ſet forth by the Popes authority, and by the commandement of the biſhops of this Realme; ſaying moreover unto the people in this wiſe: Now maſters and neighbours reioyce and be merry; for the prodigall ſonne is come home. For I know that the moſt part of you be as I am; for I know your hearts well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this weeke paſt. I was before my Lord Cardinall Pooles Grace, and he hath made me as cleane from ſin, as I was at the Font-ſtone: and on Thurſday laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thank him for it) the ſame unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo reading the Popes Bull of pardon that was ſent into England, he ſaid, he thanked God that ever he had lived to ſee that day; adding moreover that he beleeved, that by the vertue of that Bull he was cleane from ſin, as that night that he was borne: and immediately upon the ſame fell ſodainly downe out of the Pulpit, and never ſtirred hand nor foot, and ſo lay he. Teſtified by Robert Auſten of Cartham, which both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the whole countrey round about.

Blaſphemy to Chriſts Goſpell puniſhed.

The deſcription of a Popiſh Prieſt, who, when he had taken away the glory and office of Chriſt, fell downe ſuddenly, and died.



The ſudden death of one Nightingall, parſon of Crondall in Kent, who was made by the Cardinals authority chiefe Penitentiary of that Deanry.

Iohn Awcock.

Aprill 2. John Awcock, Martyr.

IN the moneth of Aprill, and the ſecond day of the ſaid moneth, died in priſon John Awcocke, who after was buried in the fields, as the manner of the Papiſts was, to deny their Chriſtian buriall to ſuch as died out of their Popiſh Antichriſtian Church.

Now forſomuch as having paſſed the moneth of March, we are entred into the moneth of Aprill, to ſet down in order out of publike Records what happened in the ſaid moneth, here followeth to be noted: That the firſt day of Aprill, Anno 1555. a letter was ſent to the Sheriffe of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them up to the Councell.

The ſeventh day of the ſaid moneth, another letter was ſent to the ſaid Sheriffe for the apprehenſion of one Harwiche, who went about with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15. of April a letter was directed to ſir Nicolas Hare, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine M. Flower, aliàs Branch, what he meant to weare about his neck written, Deum time, Idolum fuge, and whom elſe he knew to weare the like, praying them alſo to ſpeake to Boner Biſhop of London, ſpeedily to proceed againſt him for his religion according to the laws; and that the Juſtices of Peace of Middleſex ſhould likewiſe proceed againſt him for ſhedding of blood in the Church, according to the Statute, ſo as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the fartheſt by the later end of this weeke, and that his right hand be the day before his execution, or the ſame day ſtriken off.

The 22. of April there was a like letter ſent to the Juſtices of Peace of Middleſex, with a writ for the execution of the ſaid Flower, commanding them to ſee his hand ſtriken off before his burning.

The 29. of Aprill, M. Robert Hornebey, ſervant then to the Lady Elizabeth, was conventted before the Councell for his religion; and ſtanding conſtantly to the truth, notwithſtanding their threats and other perſwaſions, was therfore committed to the Marſhalſea.

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marſh, who ſuffered moſt conſtant martyrdome for the profeſſion of the Goſpell of Chriſt, at Weſtminſter, the 24. day of Aprill, Anno 1555.

Aprill 24. George Marſh Martyr.

THe ſaid George Marſh was borne in the Pariſh of Deane, in the County of Lancaſter, and was well brought up in learning and honeſt trade of living by his parents, who afterwards about the 25. yeere of his age took to wife an honeſt maiden of the countrey, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a Farme, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his wife out of this world, he being moſt deſirous of godly ſtudies (leaving his houſhold and children in good order) went unto the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied, and much increaſed in learning and godly vertues, and was a Miniſter of Gods holy word and ſacraments, and for a while was Curate to Laurence Saunders, as he himſelf reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſetting forth Gods true religion, to the defacing of Antichriſts falſe doctrine, by his godly readings & ſermons, as well there and in the Pariſh of Deane, as elſwhere in Lancaſhire.

G. Marſh, firſt a Farmer.

G. Marſh made Miniſter

D. Cotes bi. of Cheſter, a perſecutor of George Marſh detected.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adverſaries, he was apprehended, and kept in cloſe priſon by George Cotes then Biſhop of Cheſter, in ſtreit priſon in Cheſter, within the precinct of the Biſhops houſe, about the ſpace of foure moneths, being not permitted to have reliefe and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the Porter, to marke who they were that asked for him, and to ſignifie their names unto the Biſhop, as by the particular deſcription of his ſtory, teſtified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appeare in the proceſſe hereunder following.

The handling, intreating, and examination of George Marſh, being ſent firſt by the Earle of Darby to Doctor Cotes, Biſhop of Cheſter.

The examination of George Marſh written with his owne hand.

M. Barton gentleman, and perſecutor.

On the Munday before Palme-ſunday, which was the 12. day of March, it was told me at my mothers houſe, that Roger Wrinſtone, with other of M. Bartons ſervants did make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave ſtreit charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marſh, to finde and bring me to M. Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable Earle of Darby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

G. Marſh advertiſed by his friends to flie.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diverſly affected, my mother, and other my friends advertiſing me to flee, and to avoid the perill, which thing I had intended afore after a weeke then next enſuing, if this in the meane while had not chanced; ſeeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me with his holy ſpirit I never will) it would not only have put them to great ſorrow, heavineſſe, and loſſes, with coſts and charges, to their ſhame and rebuke in this world, but alſo mine owne ſelfe, after troubles and painefull priſonment, unto ſhamefull death.

G. Marſh in a perplexity whether to flie or to tarry.

This conſidered, they adviſed me and counſelled me to depart and flee the countrey, as I had intended to have done, if this had not hapned. To whoſe counſell my weak fleſh would gladly have conſented, but my ſpirit did not fully agree; thinking and ſaying thus to my ſelfe, that if I fled ſo away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaid, that I did not only flee the countrey, and my neereſt and deareſt friends; but much rather from Chriſts holy word, according as theſe yeeres paſt I had with my heart, or at leaſt with mine outward living profeſſed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the ſmall talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counſell and advice, and the cogitations and counſels of mine owne minde, drawne as it were diverſe ways, went from my mothers houſe, ſaying, I would come againe at evening.

G. Marſh conſulteth with God.

In the meane time I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſke and ſeeke counſell of God (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my friends, whoſe godly iudgments and knowledge I much truſted unto. After this, I met with one of my ſaid friends on Deane Moore, about Sun going down: and after we had conſulted together of my buſineſſe, not without hearty prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to doe, but taking my leave with my friend, ſaid; I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and truſt was) would give me ſuch wiſdome and counſell, as ſhould be moſt to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbors and brethren in the world, & obtaining of mine eternall ſalvation by Chriſt in heaven.

Marſhes brethren charged to ſeek him.

This done, I returned to my mothers houſe againe, where had been divers of M. Bartons ſervants ſeeking after me; who, when they could not finde me, ſtreitly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeeke me that night, and to bring me to Smethehils the next day: who being ſo charged, were gone to ſeeke me in Adderton, or elſwhere I know not. Thus intending afore to have beene all night with my mother, but then conſidering that my tarrying there would diſquiet her with her houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill reſt, and conſulting much with my ſelfe of my trouble.

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The marvellous providence of God in reſolving G. Marſh not to flie, but to tarry.

So at my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faithfull friend of mine with letters, which I never read, nor yet looked on, who ſaid this: My friends advice was that I ſhould in no wiſe flee, but abide and boldly confeſſe the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe words I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more, whether it were better to flee or to tarry; but was at a point with my ſelfe, that I would not flee, but go to M. Barton who did ſeek for me, and there preſent my ſelfe, and patiently beare ſuch croſſe as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon my ſhoulders. Whereupon my minde and conſcience afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet eſtate.

G. Marſh took his leave of his friends.

So betimes in the morning I aroſe, and after I had ſaid the Engliſh Letany (as my cuſtome was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friends bed ſide, I prepared my ſelf to go toward Smethehils: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houſes of Harry Widdowes, of my mother in law, of Rafe Peton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardſon, deſiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more before the laſt day; and ſo tooke my leave of them not without teares ſhed on both parts, and came to Smethehils about nine of the clocke, and preſented my ſelf afore M. Barton; who ſhewed me a letter from the Earle of Darby, wherein he was commanded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

G. Marſh of his own voluntary mind offereth himſelfe to his enemies.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marſh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the ſaid Earle or his councell. I made earneſt ſute with other ſpeciall friends, which I had there at the ſame time, to M. Barton, that he would take ſome one of them, or them all bound by recognizance or otherwiſe, for mine appearing before the ſaid Earle or his ſaid councell, that my brother and William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt time of ſeeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

G. Marſh taketh his leave of his mother.

So we went to my mothers, and there I dined and ſhifted part of my clothes; and ſo praying, tooke my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, and both their houſholds, they and I both weeping, and ſo departed from them, and went toward Lathum, and were all night a mile and an halfe on this ſide Lathum. So the next day, which was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayed, and came to Lathum betimes, and tarried there till foure of the clock at afternoone.

George Marſh brought before the Earle of Darby.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinſon to my Lord and his councell, and ſo I was brought into the chamber of preſence, where was preſent ſir William Nores, ſir Pierce Alee, Maſter Shereburne the Parſon of Grapenhall, Maſter More, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and aſked what was my name: I anſwered, Marſh.

Then he aſked, whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed evill ſeed and diſſention amongſt the people. Which thing I denied, deſiring to know mine accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me: but that I could not know.

G. Marſh examined before the Earle of Darby.

Then, ſaid he, he would with his councell examine me themſelves, and aſked me whether I was

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was a Prieſt, I ſaid no. Then he aſked me, what had béen my living? I anſwered, I was a Miniſter, ſerved a Cure, and taught a Schoole. Then ſaid my Lord to his councell, this is a wonderfull thing. Afore he ſaid he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelfe to be one. I anſwered, by the lawes now uſed in this Realme (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they aſked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I anſwered, I received orders of the Biſhop of London and Lincolne.

Then ſaid they one to another, thoſe be of theſe new heretikes, and aſked me what acquaintance I had with them? I anſwered, I never ſaw them but at the time when I received orders.

They aſked me how long I had béen Curate, and whether I had miniſtred with a good conſcience? I anſwered, I had béen Curate but one yéere, and had miniſtred with a good conſcience, I thanked God, and if the lawes of the Realme would have ſuffered me, I would have miniſtred ſtill; and if the lawes at any time hereafter would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter againe.

The blaſphemous mouth of the Parſon of Grapnall.

Whereat they murmured, and the Parſon of Grapnall ſaid, this laſt communion was the moſt divelliſh thing that ever was deviſed. Then they aſked me what my beliefe was.

I anſwered, I beléeved in God the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, according as the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtaments do teach, and according as the foure Symboles or Créeds, that is to wit, the Créed commonly called Apoſtolorum, the Créed of Nice Councell, of Athanaſius, and of Auſten, and Ambroſe do teach.

And after a few words, the Parſon of Grapnall ſaid; But what is thy beliefe in the ſacrament of the Altar?

G. Marſhes beliefe in the ſacrament.

I anſwered, I beléeved, that whoſoever, according to Chriſts inſtitution, did receive the holy ſacrament of Chriſts body and blood, did eat and drink Chriſts body and blood with all the benefits of his death and reſurrection to their eternall ſalvation; for Chriſt (ſaid I) is ever preſent with his ſacrament.

Then aſked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the vertue of the words pronounced by the Prieſt, were changed into the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and that the ſacrament, whether it were received or reſerved, was the very body of Chriſt?

G. Marſh loth to anſwer to the queſtion of tranſubſtantiation.

Whereunto I made anſwer, I knew no further than I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is unperfect, ſaid I; deſiring them not to aſke me ſuch hard and unprofitable queſtions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to ſuck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying, they were no blood-ſuckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Chriſtian.

G. Marſh commanded by the Earle of Darby to write his anſwers.

So after many other queſtions, which I avoided aſwell as I could, remembring the ſaying of Paul, Fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing they doe but ingender ſtrife; my Lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine anſwers to the queſtions of the ſacrament above named; and I wrote as I had anſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct anſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

Then I tooke the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore grieved, after many threatnings, ſaid, I ſhould be put to ſhamefull death like a Traytor, with ſuch other like words; and ſometimes giving me faire words if I would turne and be conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

The Earle of Darby commandeth Marſh into priſon.

In concluſion, after much adoe, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy ſtone houſe, where was little roome; where I lay two nights without any bed, ſaving a few great canvaſſe tent-clothes, and þ done, I had a paire of ſhéets, but no woollen clothes, & ſo continued till Palmeſunday, occupying my ſelf as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and ſtudy; for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my Kéeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drink.

Another examination of George Marſh before the Earle of Darby.

On Palmeſunday at after dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his councell (ſaving ſir William Nores, and ſir Pierce Leé were not then preſent in place) amongſt whom was ſir John Beram, and the Vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me yet once againe of the ſacrament.

Marſh againe examined about the ſacrament.

And after I had communed apart with the Vicar of Preſcot a good ſpace concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his councell with me, ſaying, That anſwer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſſe a perfect knowledge in that matter, untill ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earle was very well pleaſed, ſaying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the Vicar of Preſcot I would be conformable in other things. So after many faire words he commanded I ſhould have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongſt his ſervants, ſo that I would do no harme with my communication amongſt them.

Marſh yet keepeth himſelfe cloſe in the ſacrament.

Marſh troubled in his conſcience for being no more bold touching the ſacrament.

And ſo after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my ſpirit than afore, becauſe I had not with more boldneſſe confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort as mine adverſaries thereby thought they ſhould prevaile againſt me; whereat I was much grieved: For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my ſelfe out of their hands: if by any means, without open denying of Chriſt and his word that could be done.

Marſh prayeth for more boldneſſe.

This conſidered, I cried more earneſtly unto God by prayer, deſiring him to ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirit, with boldneſſe to confeſſe him: and to deliver me from their inticing words, and that I were not ſpoiled through their Philoſophy and deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt.

Marſh againe examined before the biſhops Chaplaines. Talke about the Maſſe. Allegations againſt the Maſſe.

And ſo after a day or two I was ſent for to the Vicar of Preſcot, and the Parſon of Grapnall; where our moſt communication was concerning the Maſſe; and he aſked what offended me in the Maſſe. I anſwered, the whole Maſſe did offend me; firſt becauſe it was in a ſtrange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to S. Pauls doctrine, 1 Corinth. 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes and errors contained therein, contrary to Chriſts Prieſthood and ſacrifice.

Then they aſked me in what place thereof: and I named certaine places; which places they went about with gentle and farre ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying, thoſe places were underſtood farre otherwiſe than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I anſwered, I did underſtand them as they did purport, and as their own bookes do comment and gloſſe upon them.

[illegible]

They ſaid, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the Maſſe ſignifie any thing elſe, than either a ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, or elſe a memo-

Sacrifice of the maſſe expounded by the papiſts, to be nothing elſe but the ſacrifice only of thankſgiving.

riall of a ſacrifice or oblation. So they cauſed a Maſſe book to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the Maſſe was written. Sacrificium laudis. Whereto I anſwered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblaiton of praiſe or thankſgiving; and although it did, yet was not a ſacrifice of praiſe or thankſgiving to be offered for the ſins of the people, for that did Chriſt by his owne paſſion once offered on the Croſſe: where the words of the Maſſe were, that the Prieſt did offer an oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes and offences both of himſelfe, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the ſalvation of the living: and that the commixtion of the body and blood of Chriſt was health both of body and ſoule.

The Vicar anſwered, that was to be underſtood of the commixtion of Chriſts body and blood with his Church or people. So after much exhortation unto me that I ſhould be conformable to the true Catholike Church (which, as they meant was the Romiſh Church) I departed, not conſenting unto them.

The articles of D. Cromes recantation brought to G. Marſh.

So within a day or twain came to me maſter More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Doctor Crome had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certaine witneſſes in the dayes of K. Henry the eighth, and willed me to read them over, and aſked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe unto thoſe articles: and after communication had of one or two of the ſaid articles, I confeſſed plainly I would in no wiſe conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe articles: for then I did againſt mine own conſcience; and ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, which was on Shierthurſday, the ſaid Parſon and Vicar ſent for me againe, ſaying, my Lord would bee at a ſhort point with me: for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe unto foure articles drawn out of the articles aforeſaid, I muſt goe to priſon ſtraight-waies.

Foure Popiſh articles for Marſh to ſubſcribe unto.

1 Maſſe.

The firſt was, whether the Maſſe now uſed in the Church of England was according to Chriſts inſtitution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and ſeene?

2 Tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the Prieſt, did change the bread and wine after the words of conſecration into the body and blood of Chriſt, whether it were received or reſerved?

3 Receiving in one kinde.

Thirdly, whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was ſufficient for them?

4 Confeſſion.

Fourthly, whether confeſſion to the Prieſt now uſed in England were godly and neceſſary?

G. Marſh denieth the articles

Theſe foure queſtions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade my go to my chamber and ſubſcribe my anſwers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half houre I came to them again, and delivered them the queſtions with mine anſwers. The firſt I denied. The ſecond I anſwered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I anſwered, that the lay-people by Chriſts inſtitution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it ſufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confeſſion auricular were a commodious meane to inſtruct the rude people, yet it was not neceſſary nor commanded of God.

G. Marſh exhorted to the Catholike Church.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, ſaying; I was much deceived, underſtanding the Scriptures amiſſe, and much counſelled mee to follow the Catholike Church of Chriſt, and to do as other did. I anſwered, my faith in Chriſt conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature whatſoever he were, deſiring them to ſpeak to my Lord, that during my life and impriſonment my poore friends might be ſuffered to relieve me with neceſſary things according to their powers. And ſo after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the Catholike Church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the Porters ward, not coming forth of my chamber, ſaving at noone and night while I dined and ſupped.

M. Shereburn and M More examiners of G. Marſh.

Upon one of the Eaſter holy daies Maſter Shereburne and maſter More ſent for me, perſwading me much to leave mine opinions; ſaying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evill luck, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now uſed had wondrous good luck and proſperity in all things: with many other worldly reaſons of mans wiſdome, for as for the Scriptures M. Shereburne confeſſed himſelfe ignorant.

Gods truth is not to be eſteemed by proſperity or adverſity.

I anſwered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by proſperity or adverſity: but they earneſtly adviſed mee to refuſe mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly ſhame.

I anſwered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly ſhame, ſaying; My ſoul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly ſhame: neither yet did I it for any vaine praiſe of the world, but in the reverent feare of God.

Then M. More queſtioned with mee of receiving the ſacrament under the one kind. I ſaid, Chriſts inſtitution was plain, that all men ſhould drinke of the cup. Then he told me of the 24. of Luke, and the 20. of the Acts, where was but mention of breaking bread onely: whereof he gathered, that they received the ſacrament but under one kind.

Chriſts breaking of bread, Luke 24 proveth not the receiving under one kinde.

That I denied ſaying, thoſe places either did not ſpeak of the celebration of the Lords ſupper, or els under the name of breaking bread was ſignified and meant the receiving of the ſacrament, both of the body and blood of Chriſt, according to his inſtitution. So after much communication of that matter, M. Shereburn ſaid, It was great pity that I being a welfavoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt my ſelfe away, ſticking ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

George Marſh forſaketh kindred and altogether to ſtick to Chriſt.

I anſwered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his councell, that my life, mother, children, brethren, ſiſters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as deare and ſweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to loſe them as another would, if I might hold them with good conſcience, and without the ignominy of Chriſt; and ſeeing I could not doe that, my truſt was, that God would ſtrengthen mee with his holy ſpirit to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take my ſelfe (ſaid I) for a ſheep appointed to be ſlain, patiently to ſuffer what croſſe ſoever it ſhall pleaſe my merciful Father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them that if I were committed to priſon, my friends might be ſuffered to relieve me, they departed.

Alphonſus book brought to G. Marſh.

M, More after this brought unto me a booke of one Alphonſus a Spaniſh Friar, of all hereſies wherewith the Church of Rome which hee called Chriſts true Church, had beene troubled ſince Chriſts time, willing me to reade and take counſell of that book; and appointed me a place, where this author did write againſt them that ſay, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This author I perceived did vehemently write againſt Luther, Melancthon, Pelican, and

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other Germanes of this our time, in all points defending the blaſphemous abuſes & enormities of the Romiſh Church, condemning as deteſtable hereſies whatſoever was written, taught, or beleeved contrary to the ſame, uſing for his ſtrongeſt and ſureſt arguments, the conſent, agreement, and determination of the Romiſh Church. So within a few dayes M. More came to me again, aſking me how I liked the booke. I ſaid the author of the booke did in all points, being a Papiſt, allow the rites and abuſes of the Romiſh Church; and ſhewed him further, that this author without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctors, did condemne for hereſie the lay-peoples receiving of this ſacrament under both kindes, whereas this author witneſſeth his owne ſelfe, that Chriſts Church nine hundred yeeres after Chriſt uſed the contrary.

Marſhes judgment of Alphonſus booke.

So in concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying, I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholike faith, ſtubborne, and ſtood altogether in mine owne conceit. I anſwered, for my learning, I knowledge my ſelf to know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon Gods holy word onely, and ſuch as I doubted not pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in untill the laſt day, God aſſiſting me, and that I did not ſay or do any thing, either of ſtubbornneſſe, ſelfe-wilfulneſſe, vaine-glory, or any other worldly purpoſe, but with good conſcience, and in the feare of God: and deſired him to ſpeak to my Lord and his councell, that I might find ſome gentleneſſe and mercy at their hands. He made me but ſhort anſwer. Then I ſaid, I commit my cauſe unto God, who hath numbred the haires of my head, and appointed the days of my life, ſaying; I am ſure God which is a righteous Judge, would make inquiſition for my blood, according as he hath promiſed. Then he took his booke from me, and departed.

Marſh carried to Lancaſter Caſtle.

I continued ſtill in ward untill Low-ſunday, and after dinner my Keeper Richard Scot came to me into my chamber, and told me that two yong men were come to carry me to Lancaſter, and ſo delivered me unto them, a great company both of my Lords ſervants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Addertons, and ſomwhat further, counſelling and perſwading like as is aforeſaid.

To whom I made plaine anſwer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſaid that they were ſorry for me, ſaying; If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and ſo they departed, willing my bringers to intreat me honeſtly.

My bringers by the way ſhewed me they were willed and adviſed to binde me, and that they deſired firſt to ſee me: and after they had looked on me ſitting at dinner, they anſwered they would take charge of me being looſe; for they ſaid I ſeemed to be an honeſt man.

The firſt night we were all night at Broughton, and the ſecond day we came to Lancaſter betimes at afternoon, and ſo they kept me all night with them of their gentleneſſe, and on the morrow delivered me to the Jaylor, who brought me into the higheſt priſon, where I do remaine.

G. Marſh cauſed to hold up his hand at Lancaſter amongſt other priſoners.

After that, the ſaid George came to Lancaſter Caſtle, and there being brought with other priſoners unto the Seſſions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The Earle of Darby had this communication with him as here followeth.

Communication betweene George Marſh, and the Earle of Darby.

Talk between G. Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

I Said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the countrey theſe three or foure yeeres paſt, and came home but lately to viſit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the countrey before Eaſter then next, and to have gone out of the Realme. Wherefore I truſted, ſeeing nothing could be laid againſt me, wherein I had offended againſt the lawes of this Realme, his Lordſhip would not with captious queſtions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother, but ſuffer me to avoid peaceably, ſeeing I might have fled out of the countrey, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordſhip.

He ſaid to his councell, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me either in Lancaſhire or above at London, and aſked me into what land I would have gone.

The Earle of Darby chargeth the realme of Denmarke of hereſie.

I anſwered, I would have gone either into Almaine, or elſe into Denmarke. He ſaid to his councell; in Denmark they uſed ſuch hereſie as they have done in England; but as for Almaine, he ſaid the Emperor had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch like words I ſaid unto him, my truſt was, that his Lordſhip being of the honourable Councell of the late K. Edward, conſenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and Religion, under great paine, would not ſo ſoone after conſent to put poore men to ſhamefull death, as he had threatned me, for embracing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

The Earle of Darby, Lord Windſor, and Lord Dacres in K. Edwards time agreed not to the acts of religion.

He anſwered, that he, with the Lord Windſore and Lord Dacres, with one moe, whoſe name I have forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe Acts, and that the nay of them foure would be to be ſeen, as long as the Parliament houſe ſtood. Then my Lord did rehearſe the evill luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke, with others, becauſe they favoured not the true religion; and againe the good hap and proſperity of the Queens Highneſſe, becauſe ſhe favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the divell, and ſaid that the Duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo plainly.

George Marſh to the Reader.

G. Marſh writeth his owne examinations.

FOrſomuch as not onely when I was at Latham, but alſo ſince I departed thence, I heare that there be diverſe and ſundry reports and opinions of the cauſe of mine impriſonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaſter (as by credible perſons I am informed) ſome ſaying it was onely becauſe I would not doe open penance, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lord and his councell concerning the ſacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, and the manner of Chriſts preſence there, ſome becauſe I would not grant it ſufficient and according to Chriſts inſtitution, the lay-people to receive the ſaid ſacrament under the one kinde onely: I thought it good, dearely beloved in Chriſt, and my bounden duty, to certifie you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as neere as I could, to quiet your minde in this behalfe; and therefore I have here written with mine owne hand the certainty of thoſe things, as neere as I cou'd, here above expreſſed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me: howbeit I perceive in ſome things I keepe not the ſame order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and anſwered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in all points, ſaving this, telling the truth as neere as I can, deſiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God would aſſiſt us with his holy ſpirit, that we may with boldneſſe confeſſe his holy

Name; and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodies, that we may ſtand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory world without end, Amen.

And thus you haue heard all the whole trouble which George Marſh ſuſtained both at Latham, and alſo at Lancaſter, teſtified and written with his owne hand, whereto he addeth moreouer, and ſaith:

While I was, ſaith he, in ward at Latham, diuers at ſundry times came unto me. Some ſaid unto me that all my fellowes had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not ſo; for I ſaw diuerſe of them diuerſe times after. Other ſaid, that it was reported amongſt my Lords houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his councell.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaſter, at this Seſſion many came to me to talk with me, ſome of good will towards me, but without knowledge gaue me ſuch like counſell as Peter gaue Chriſt as he went up to Jeruſalem, when he tooke him aſide and began to rebuke him, ſaying; Maſter, fauour thy ſelfe, this thing ſhall not be unto thee. But I anſwered with Chriſts ſharpe anſwer unto Peter againe; who turned about, and ſaid unto Peter, Come after me Satan: and perceiuing that they were an hinderance unto me, and that they ſauoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plaine anſwer, that I neither could, ne would follow their counſell, but that by Gods grace I would both liue and die with a pure conſcience, and according as hitherto I had beleeued and profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and beare with them, though they loue us neuer ſo well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word, but after Chriſts example ſharply to rebuke them for their counſell.

Peters counſel to Chriſt, to ſaue himſelfe.

G. Marſh followeth Chriſts anſwer to Peter.

Some others, yea euen ſtrangers alſo came to me farre unlike to theſe, who after ſober communication had, conſented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous eſtate, giuing me comfortable words, and ſome money too, and reſorted to me oftentimes, for the ſpace of two, three, or foure dayes. There came alſo many Prieſts to me, by two, three, foure, fiue, or ſixe at once, whoſe mouthes it was a thing eaſie enough to ſtop; for the Prieſts (which is much to be lamented) be not alwayes the greateſt Clerks, and beſt learned in the Law of God. At their departing they either conſented with me, or els had nothing to ſay againſt me, ſaying they could finde no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the ſacrament. There came alſo into the priſon to me Maſter Weſtby, Maſter Aſhton of Hill, M. Aſhton of Chaterton, and many moe, both Gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occaſion to utter a great part of my conſcience: for God ſo ſtrengthened me with his ſpirit of boldneſſe, according to my humble requeſt and prayer before (euerlaſting thanks be giuen him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to ſpeake to any that came to me, no not euen to Judges themſelues, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the Barre amongſt the theeues with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as other did, but yet with boldneſſe I ſpake unto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.

Prieſts not alwayes the greateſt Clerks.

George Marſh ſtrengthened in priſon with the boldneſſe of Gods ſpirit.

They alſo ſent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where amongſt other things they laid it ſtreitly to my charge, that I had reported that I knew a whole meſſe of good Gentlemen in Lancaſhire of mine opinion, and ſtreitly charged me, upon paine of allegiance to the Queenes Grace, to ſhew who they were. But I denied that I had ſpoken any ſuch thing (as it was indeed a falſe forged lie of ſome wicked wretches.) After that, they threatned and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the priſon, as they called it, and for my praying and reading ſo loud, that the people in the ſtreets might heare. The truth is, I and my priſon-fellow Warbarton, euery day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and euening prayer, with the Engliſh Letany euery day twice, both before noone and after, with other prayers moe, and alſo read euery day certaine Chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read alſo theſe things with ſo high and loud a voice, that the people without in the ſtreets might heare us, and would oftentimes, namely in the euenings, come and ſit down in our ſights under the windowes and heare us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

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G. Marſh reproued for his loud praying and reading in priſon.

Warbarton fellow-priſoner with Marſh.

All this while George Marſh was not yet brought before the Biſhop, whoſe name was Doctor Cotes, placed the ſame time in the biſhoprick of Cheſter. Of whoſe coming then unto Lancaſter, the ſaid George Marſh reporteth himſelfe as followeth.

How the Biſhop came to Lancaſter, and of his doings there.

THe Biſhop being at Lancaſter, there ſet up and confirmed all blaſphemous Idolatry, as holy water caſting, proceſſion, gadding, mattins mumbling, children confirming, Maſſe hearing, Idols up ſetting, with ſuch Heatheniſh rites forbidden by God; but no Goſpell preaching, which Chriſt, Gods Sonne, ſo earneſtly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to ſend for me and examine me. Which thing he refuſed to do, ſaying he would haue nothing to doe with heretikes ſo haſtily: So haſty in iudgement, and calling men heretikes, are our Biſhops in their Lordly dignities, afore they heare or ſee, what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the expreſſe commandement of Gods word, which ſaith; Condemne no man before thou haſt tried out the truth of the matter, and when thou haſt made inquiſition, then reforme righteouſly. Give no ſentence before thou haſt heard the cauſe, but firſt let men tell out their tale, and he that giveth ſentence in a matter before he heare it, is a foole, and worthy to be confounded.

D. Cotes biſh. of Cheſter. The biſhops coming to Lancaſter, and ſetting up Idolatry.

The biſhop iudgeth Marſh to be an heretike, before he heareth him.

Haſty iudgement of biſhops reproued by Gods word.

And in ſtead of his liberality towards me poore priſoner, he ſent for the Jaylor, and rebuked him becauſe he ſuffered me to fare ſo well, willing him to haue me more ſtreitly kept and dieted: but if his Lordſhip were tabled but one weeke with me, I do think he would iudge our fare but ſlender enough.

The unmercifull ſtreitneſſe of the biſhop toward George Marſh in priſon.

Alſo he and his Chapleines and Chancellour did find fault with the Schoolmaſter and others, for ſpeaking to me as to a moſt heinous heretike, and alſo with the Jaylor for ſuffering them. Such is the mercy that theſe religious fathers ſhew to the friendleſſe and comfortleſſe in their aduerſities. If we may know the tree by the fruits (as Chriſt ſaith) no man can iudge ſuch for any other but for very enemies to Chriſt and his true religion. God lay it neuer to their charges, but forgiue them, and turne their hard hearts, if it be his will.

The Schoolemaſter of Lancaſter rebuked for coming to Marſh in priſon.

Popiſh biſhops declare themſelues by their fruits to be very enemies to Gods word.

But it is no new thing for the Biſhops to perſecute the truth, and the Prophets of the Lord

No new thing for biſhops to be perſecutors.

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Examples of perſecuting biſhops in the old time.

for their conſtancy in preaching of the true faith; for ſo did their Phariſaicall fore-fathers, if ye mark well the hiſtories of the holy Bible. Paſhur was the head Biſhop of the Temple, the ring-leader of falſe prophets, the chiefe heretike taker, that is as much as to ſay, the out-thruſter of true godlineſſe. After that the dignity of Prieſthood was given unto him, he abuſed it. For he taught not, neither reproved by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not only ſtrook, but alſo impriſoned the holy Prophet Jeremy, though he withſtood him not, but preſently looked for the helpe of God, ſtedfaſtly preaching the truth of God.

Biſhop Jaſon.

What miſchiefe the ungracious Biſhop Jaſon wrought among the Jewes, deſtroying all godlineſſe, and ſetting up abominable idolatrous lawes, ye may read in the 4. Chapter of the ſecond of Maccabees. How the execrable and blind Biſhops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never ſpake the truth of God themſelves, unleſſe it were againſt their wils, unwittingly to their utter deſtruction, how (I ſay) they preſſed the truth in Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is ſo well knowne that I need not to rehearſe it.

Biſhop Annas and Caiaphas.

And thus much hitherto concerning the priſonment of George Marſh, and his examinations before the Earle of Darby and his deputies above named. Now proceeding further in the troubleſome perſecution of this bleſſed man, let us likewiſe conſider the later part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the Biſhop of the ſame Dioceſſe, which was Doctor Cotes; the effect whereof being drawne out of his own writing, here briefly is to be ſeene, as followeth.

The troubles and examination of George Marſh under D. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter.

G. Marſh appeareth before the biſhop.

YE heard before how George Marſh being firſt impriſoned at Lathum, and afterward tranſlated unto Lancaſter, was troubled by the Earle. Againe, within few dayes after, the ſaid Marſh was removed from Lancaſter, and comming to Cheſter, was ſent for by Doctor Cotes then Biſhop, to appeare before him in his Hall, no body being preſent but they twaine; and then he aſked him certaine queſtions concerning the ſacrament: who made ſuch anſwers as the Biſhop ſeemed therewith to be content, ſaving that he utterly denied tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of the Maſſe, nor that the lay-people ſhould receive under one kinde only, contrary to Chriſts inſtitution; in which point the Biſhop went about to perſwade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vaine. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to ſubmit himſelfe to the univerſall Church of Rome; and when he ſaw he could not prevaile, he ſent him to priſon againe: and after being there, came to him divers times one Maſſie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the Schoolemaſter, one Henſham the Biſhops Chaplaine, and the Archdeacon, with many moe; who with all probability of words and philoſophy, or worldly wiſdome, and deceitfull vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and lawes of the world, but not after Chriſt (as it were all ſinging one ſong) went about to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwiſe than that Church did; with many ſuch like arguments and perſwaſions of fleſhly wiſdome.

Great labour to make George Marſh to recant.

To whom the ſaid George Marſh anſwered, that he did acknowledge and beleeve (though much evill be withall annexed) one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church, without which there is no ſalvation, and that this Church is but one, becauſe it ever hath, doth, and ſhall confeſſe and beleeve one onely God, and him onely worſhip, and one only Meſſiah, and in him only truſt for ſalvation: which Church alſo is ruled and led by one ſpirit, one word, and one faith, and that this Church is univerſall and catholike, becauſe it ever hath beene ſince the worlds beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the worlds end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, and conditions of men; and that this Church is builded onely upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelfe being the head corner-ſtone, and not upon the Romiſh lawes and decrees, the Biſhop of Rome being the ſupreme head.

The Church Apoſtolike.

The Church how it is one

The nature, condition, and notes of the true Church.

And where they ſaid, the Church did ſtand in ordinary ſucceſſion of Biſhops, being ruled by generall Councels, holy Fathers, and the lawes of holy Church, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fifteene hundred yeeres and more; he made anſwer that the holy Church, which is the body of Chriſt, and therefore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſion of Biſhops, generall Councels, or Romiſh decrees, neither yet was bound to any time, or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, generall Councels, or traditions of Fathers, either had any ſupremacy over Empires and Kingdomes: but that it was a little poore ſilly flock, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſheepe without a Shepheard in the midſt of Wolves, or as a flock of Orphans, and fatherleſſe children; and that this Church was led and ruled by the onely lawes, counſels, and word of Chriſt, he being the ſupreme head of this Church, and aſſiſting, ſuccouring, and defending her from all aſſaults, errors, troubles, and perſecutions wherewith ſhe is ever compaſſed about.

The nature, condition, and notes of the falſe Church.

Confutation of the falſe church falſly defined.

He ſhewed and proved unto them alſo by the flood of Noah, the deſtruction of Sodome, the Iſraelites departing out of Egypt, by the parables of the ſower, of the Kings ſons marriage, of the great ſupper, and by other plaine ſentences of Scripture, that this Church was of none eſtimation, and little in compariſon of the Church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

Examples declaring the true Church. The falſe Church ever greater in number.

He was thruſt at with all violence of craft and ſubtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlaſting thanks be to that mercifull and faithfull Lord, which ſuffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the middeſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth us with his holy ſpirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wiſedome how and what to ſpeak; whereagainſt all his adverſaries were not able to reſiſt.

Another appearance of George Marſh before the Biſhop.

G. Marſh againe brought before the biſhop and his colleagues

NOw, after that the ſaid Biſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his priſoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretike, &c. he cauſed him to bee brought forth into a Chappell, in the cathedrall Church of Cheſter, called our Lady Chappell, before him the ſaid Biſhop, at two of the clock in the afternoone, who was there placed in a chaire for that purpoſe, and Fulk Dutton Maior of the ſaid City, D. Walle, and other Prieſts aſſiſting him, placed not farre from the ſaid Biſhop, but ſomwhat lower, George Wenſlow Chancellor, and one John Cetham Regiſter, ſate directly over againſt the ſaid Biſhop.

The biſhop with his colleagues ſitting upon George Marſh.

Then they cauſed the ſaid George Marſh to

Marſh ſworne to anſwer before the biſhop.

take an oath upon a booke, to anſwer truly unto ſuch articles as ſhould be obiected againſt him. Upon which oath taken, the Chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the Pariſh of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other Pariſhes within the Biſhops Dioceſſe, in the moneths of January, February, or ſome other time of the yeere laſt, proceeding directly againſt the Popes authority and catholike Church of Rome, the bleſſed Maſſe, the ſacrament of the Altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in ſumme he anſwered, that he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake againſt any of the ſaid articles; but ſimply and truly, as occaſion ſerved, and (as it were thereunto forced in conſcience) maintained the truth touching the ſame articles, as (he ſaid) all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the time of the late King Edward the ſixth.

G. Marſh purgeth himſelfe.

The biſhops clergy more able to examine than to diſpute.

Then they examined him ſeverally of every article, and bade him anſwer directly yea or nay, without circumſtance; for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

Then he anſwered them unto every article very modeſtly, according to the doctrine by publike authority received, and taught in this Realme at the death of the ſaid King Edward: whoſe anſwers were every one noted and written by the Regiſter, to the uttermoſt that could make againſt him, which cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his priſon againe.

The laſt and finall appearance of George Marſh before the Biſhop.

The laſt appearance of Marſh before the biſhop.

The Chancellors oration.

VVIthin three weekes after this, or thereabouts, in the ſaid Chappell, and in like ſort as before, the ſaid Biſhop, and others before named, there being aſſembled, the ſaid G. Marſh was brought by the Keeper and others with bils and divers weapons before them; where firſt the ſaid Chancellor, by way of an Oration, declared unto the people preſent the ſaid Biſhops charge and burning charity, who even like as a good ſhepheard doth ſee to his flock, that none of his ſheep have the ſcab or other diſeaſe for infecting other clean ſheep, but will ſave and cure the ſaid ſcabbed ſheepe: ſo his Lordſhip had ſent for the ſaid G. Marſh there preſent, as a ſcabbed ſheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in ſhewing his charitable diſpoſition towards the ſaid Marſh, to reduce him from his naughty hereſies; but all that he could do, would not help: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſaid Marſh would not relent and abiure, to pronounce and give ſentence definitive againſt him. Wherefore he bade the ſaid George Marſh to be now well adviſed what he would do, for it ſtood upon his life: and if he would not at that preſent forſake his hereticall opinions, it would be after the ſentence given too late, though he would never ſo gladly deſire it.

Interrogatories put to G. Marſh.

Then the ſaid Chancellor firſt aſked him whether he were not one of the Biſhops Dioceſſe? To the which he anſwered, that he knew not how large his Dioceſſe was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and aſked, whether he had not lately beene at Deane Pariſh in Lancaſhire, and there abode? And he anſwered, Yea.

Then the Chancellor read all his former anſwers that he made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he aſked him whether he would ſtick to the ſame or no? To the which he anſwered againe, Yea, yea.

How ſay ye then to this, quoth the Chancellor? In your laſt examination, amongſt many other damnable and ſchiſmaticall hereſies, you ſaid, that the Church and Doctrine taught and ſet forth in King Edwards time, was the true Church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true Church, and that the Church of Rome is not the true and Catholike Church.

Anno 1555.

Note here the great hereſie of G. Marſh.

I ſo ſaid indeed, quoth Marſh, and I beleeve it to be true. Here alſo others tooke occaſion to aſke him (for that he denied the Biſhop of Romes authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Biſhops of Rome, were not good men, and he anſwered, Yes, and divers others: but (ſaid he) they claimed no more authority in England, than the Biſhop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I ſtrive not, quoth he, with the place, neither ſpeak I againſt the perſon of the Biſhop, but againſt his doctrine, which in moſt points is repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men: Ergo the Pope is the ſupreme head of all Churches. Neither the place nor perſon of the Pope ſpoken againſt, but only his doctrine.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then, ſaid the Biſhop. In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom George Marſh anſwered and ſaid; Oh my Lord, I pray you iudge not ſo of me: I ſtand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the diſagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the ſacrament. For where Chriſt in the inſtitution thereof did aſwell deliver the cup, as the bread, ſaying; Drinke ye all of this, and Marke reporteth that they did drink of it: in like manner S. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the ſame ſort alſo was it uſed in the Primitive Church by the ſpace of many hundred yeers. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I could be perſwaded in my conſcience by Gods word that it were well done, I could gladly yeeld in this point.

Wherein the doctrine of the Church of Rome erreth.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Non diſputandum eſt cum hæretico, that is, There is no diſputing with an heretike. And therefore when all his anſwers were read, he aſked him whether he would ſtand to the ſame; being as they were, ſaid he, full of hereſie, or elſe forſake them, and come unto the catholike Church.

So ſaith the Turke in his Alcoran, that no man muſt diſpute of his law.

To whom he made this full anſwer, and ſaid, that he held no hereticall opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinde of hereſie, although they moſt untruly ſo did ſlander him. And he deſired all the people preſent to beare him witneſſe (if hereafter any would ſlander him, and ſay that he held any grievous hereſie) that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion, than was by law moſt godly eſtabliſhed, and publikely taught in England at the death of K. Edward the ſixth, and in the ſame pure religion and doctrine he would, by Gods grace, ſtand, live, and die. And here the Chancellor ſpake to one Leach, which ſtood neere unto Marſh, and bade him ſtand farther from him: for his preſence did him no good.

G. Marſh cleereth himſelfe of hereſie.

Leach bid to ſtand from Marſh.

Sentence of condemnation read againſt Marſh.

This being done, the Biſhop tooke a writing out of his boſome, and began to read the ſentence of condemnation: but when the Biſhop had read almoſt halfe thereof, the Chancellor called him, and ſaid; Good my Lord, ſtay, ſtay: for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and ſo the Biſhop ſtayed. Then his popiſh Prieſts and many other of the ignorant people called upon Marſh, with many earneſt words to recant, and amongſt other one Pulleyn a Shoomaker ſaid to him; for ſhame man remember thy ſelf and recant. They bade him kneele down and pray, and they would pray for him: So they

The biſhop ſtayeth in his ſentence.

Anno 1555.

Gods mercy preferred before the queens mercy.

they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the Queens mercy, in time: and he answered, he did gladly desire the ſame, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durſt not deny his Saviour Chriſt, for loſing his mercy everlaſting, and ſo win everlaſting death.

The Biſhop proceedeth in his ſentence.

Another ſtay in reading the ſentence.

Then the biſhop put his ſpectacles againe upon his noſe, and read forward his ſentence, about five or ſix lines, and there againe the Chancellor with a glavering and ſmiling countenance called to the biſhop, and ſaid: Yet good my Lord once again ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken all is paſt, no relenting will then ſerve: and the biſhop (pulling off his ſpectacles) ſaid, I would ſtay, if it would be.

G. Marſh exhorted to recant but could not be turned.

How ſayſt thou, quoth he, wilt thou recant? Many of the Prieſts and ignorant people bade him ſo do, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the ſleeve, and bade him recant, and ſave his life. To whom he anſwered, I would as fain live as you, if in ſo doing I ſhould not deny my maſter Chriſt, and again he ſhould deny me before his father in heaven.

The B. readeth out the ſentence.
A dogged ſaying of the B.
G. Marſh delivered to the Sheriffes.
The ſtrait keeping of Marſh in priſon.

So the biſhop read out his ſentence unto the end, and ſtraight after ſaid unto him. Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dogge. And Marſh anſwered, that notwithſtanding, he would pray for his Lordſhip: and after this the biſhop delivered him unto the Sheriffes of the City. Then his late Keeper bade him farewell good George, with weeping teares, which cauſed the Officers to carry him to a priſon at the North gate, where he was very ſtraitly kept untill the time he went to his death, during which time he had ſmall comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

The brotherly zeale of good men in comforting G. Marſh.

For being in the dungeon or dark priſon, none that would him good, could ſpeak with him, or at the leaſt durſt enterpriſe ſo to doe for feare of accuſation: and ſome of the Citizens which loved him in God for the Goſpels ſake (whereof there were but a few) although they were never acquainted with him, would ſometime in the evening at a hole upon the wall of the City (that went into the ſaid darke priſon(call to him, and aske him how he did. Hee would anſwer them moſt cheerefully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly that he would vouchſafe of his mercy to appoint him to bee a witneſſe of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein hee did moſt reioyce, beſeeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the croſſe, but patiently beare the ſame to his glory, and comfort of his Church: with many other like godly ſayings at ſundry times, as one that moſt deſired to bee with Chriſt. Onse or twice he had money caſt him in at the ſame hole, about ten pence at one time, and two ſhillings at another time: for which he gave God thanks, and uſed the ſame to his neceſſity.

Amry and Couper, Sheriffes of Cheſter.

Marſh led to his martyrdom

The old uſe in Lancaſhire to give money to buy Trentals.

When the time and day appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer, the Sheriffs of the City, whoſe names were Amry and Couper, with their officers and a great number of poor ſimple barbers with ruſty Bills and Pollaxes, went to the Northgate, and there tooke out the ſaid George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly and meekly, with a locke upon his feet. And as hee came upon the way towards the place of execution, ſome folkes proffered him mony, and looked that hee ſhould have gone with a little purſe in his hand, (as the manner of felons was, accuſtomed in that City in times paſt; at their going to execution) to the end to gather money to give unto a Prieſt to ſay Trentals or maſſes for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be ſaved: but Marſh ſaid he would not as then be troubled with medling with money, but willed ſome good man to take the money, if the people were diſpoſed to give any, and to give it unto the priſoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death, with his book in his hand, looking upon the ſame, and many of the people ſaid; this man goeth not unto his death as a thiefe, or as one that deſerveth to dye.

G. Marſh refuſeth to receive mony going to his death.

G. Marſh refuſeth the queens pardon.

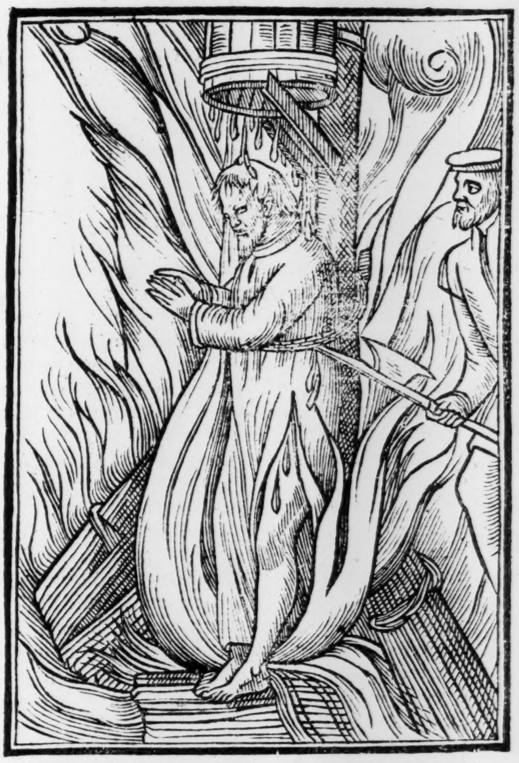
Now when he came to the place of execution without the City, neere unto Spittle boughton, one Cawdrey, being then a deputy Chamberlain of Cheſter, ſhewed Marſh a writing under a great Seale, ſaying; that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marſh anſwered, that he would gladly accept the ſame (and ſaid farther, that he loved the Queene) but foraſmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, hee would not receive it upon that condition.

G. Marſh not ſuffred to ſpeak to the people.

After that, he began to ſpeak to the people, ſhewing the cauſe of his death, and would have exhorted them to ſtick unto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the Sheriffes ſaid: George Marſh, wee muſt have no ſermoning now. To whom hee ſaid, maſter, I cry you mercy: and ſo kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, and then was he chained unto the poſte, having a number of fagots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the ſame over his head: and by reaſon the fire was unſkilfully made, and that the wind did drive the ſame to and fro, he ſuffered great extremity in his death, which notwithſtanding he abode very patiently.

The martyrdome of Geo. Marſh, at Weſtcheſter Anno 1555. April 24.

The cruell burning of George Marſh, Martyr.



Wherein this in him is to be noted, then when as he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his fleſh ſo broyled and puft up, that they which ſtood before him underneath could ſee the chaine wherewith he was faſtned, and therefore ſuppoſed no leſſe but he had been dead, notwithſtanding ſuddenly he ſpread abroad his armes, ſaying. Father of heaven have mercy upon me, and ſo yeelded his ſpirit into the hands of the Lord.

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Upon this, many of the people ſaid that hee was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly. Which thing cauſed the biſhop ſhortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedrall Church, and therin affirmed, that the ſaid Marſh was an heretike, burnt like an heretike, and was a firebrand in hell.

Gods iuſt revenging hand upon a perſecuting Biſhop.

In recompence of this his good and charitable Sermon, within ſhort time after, the iuſt iudgement of God appeared upon the ſaid biſhop; recompenſing him in ſuch wiſe, that not long after he turned up his heeles and dyed. Upon what cauſe his death was gendred, I have not here preciſely to pronounce, becauſe the rumor and voyce of the people is not always to be followed. Notwithſtanding, ſuch a report went in all mens mouths, that he was burned of an harlot. Wherefore whether hee died ſo or no I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon publike ſpeech. Albeit this is certaine, that when he was afterward ſearched, being dead, by ſome of his ſecret friends and certaine Aldermen for ſtopping the rumor of the people, this maidenly prieſt and Biſhop was found not to be free from certain appearance, which declared but ſmall virginity in him, and that the rumor was not raiſed up altogether upon nought amongſt the people. But of this I will ſtay and proceed no further, not becauſe more cannot be ſaid, but becauſe I will not be ſo uncharitable in defacing theſe men, as they are cruell in condemning Gods ſervants to death.

Letters of George Marſh.

This good man wrote divers and ſundry letters out of priſon beſides his examinations, as before ye have heard. Touching the which his examinations, this letter firſt he ſendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

A letter of George Marſh to the Reader, touching the matter of his examination.

A letter of G. Marſh to the reader.

HEre have you, dearly beloved friends in Chriſt, the chiefe and principall articles of Chriſtian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, profeſſed, and taught, and as yet doe believe, profeſſe and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by Gods grace, to continue in the ſame untill the laſt day. I doe want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, cauſes, parts, effects, and contraries or errours of theſe articles, which who-ſo deſireth to know, let them reade over the common places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon, and Eraſmus Sarcerius, whoſe judgement in theſe matters of religion, I do chiefly follow, and leane unto. The Lord give us underſtanding in all things, and deliver us from this preſent evill world, according to his will and pleaſure, and bring us againe out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the mercifull Lord to throw us downe: and deliver us out of the mouth of the Lion, and from all evill doing, and keep us unto his everlaſting and heavenly Kingdome, Amen.

1 Pet. 3.

Though Sathan bee ſuffered as wheat to ſift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Chriſts aide, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirme the faith of our weake brethren, and alwaies ready to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us, and that with meekneſſe and reverence having a good conſcience, and when as they backbite us as evill doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed our good converſation in Chriſt. I thought my ſelfe now of late yeares, for the cares of this life, well ſetled with my loving and faithfull wife and children, and alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſſion of that pleaſant Euphrates, I doe confeſſe it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the beſt to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my deare and beloved wife from me; whoſe death was a painefull croſſe to my fleſh.

Anno 1555.

G. Marſh, Curate to Laurence Saunders.

Alſo I thought my ſelfe now of late well placed under my moſt loving and moſt gentle Maſter Laurence Saunders in the Cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not ſuffer mee long there to continue (although for the ſmall time I was in his Vineyard, I was not an idle workman.) But hee hath provided mee, I perceive it, to taſte of a farre other cup, for by violence hath hee yet once againe driven mee out of that glorious Babylon, that I ſhould not taſte too much of her wonton pleaſures, but with his moſt dearely beloved Diſciples to have my inward rejoycing in the croſſe of his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt: the glory of whoſe Church, I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſound of Bels, and Organs, nor yet in the gliſtering of Miters and Copes, neither in the ſhining of guilt images and lights, (as the blinde Papiſts doe judge it) but in continuall labours and daily afflictions for his names ſake.

The glory of the Church ſtandeth not in outward ſhewes.

God at this preſent here in England hath his fanne in his hand, and after his great harveſt, wherinto theſe yeares paſt hee hath ſent his labourers, is now ſifting the corne from the chaffe and purging his floore, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burne up the chaffe with unquenchable fire.

Take heede and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadduces. I meane the erroneous doctrine of the Papiſts, which with their gloſſes deprave the Scriptures. For as the Apoſtle ſaint Peter doth teach us; There ſhall bee falſe teachers amongſt us, which privily ſhall bring in damnable ſects: And ſaith that many ſhall follow their damnable wayes, by whom the way of truth ſhall be evill ſpoken of, and that through covetouſneſſe they ſhall with fained words make merchandiſe of us; And Chriſt earneſtly warneth us, to beware of falſe Prophets, which come to us in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you ſhall know them. The fruits of the Prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we Chriſtians taught that wee ſhould try the Preachers, and others that come under colour to ſet forth true Religion unto us, according to the ſaying of S. Paul; Try all things, and choſe that which is good. Alſo the Evangeliſt S. Iohn ſaith, Believe not every ſpirit, but prove the ſpirits whether they bee of God or not, for many falſe Prophets, ſaith hee, are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true Prophets from the falſe, try their doctrine by the true touch-ſtone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, Search yee the Scriptures, whether thoſe things which be preached unto you bee even ſo or not; or elſe by the outward converſation of them ye may eaſily be deceived. *Deſunt fortaſsis aliqua.*

A letter exhortatory of George Marſh to the faithfull Profeſſors of Langhton.

A letter of G. Marſh to the men of Langhton.

GRace be unto you, and peace bee multiplyed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langhton, to ſtir up your mindes

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minds & to call to your remembrance the words which have beene told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the holy Ghoſt, Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpoſe of heart yee continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye ſtand faſt, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late Paſtor Maſter Saunders, and other faithfull Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, which now, when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, doe not fall away like ſhrinking children, and forſake the truth, being aſhamed of the Goſpel whereof they have beene preachers, but are willing and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſts myſticall body) to forſake not onely the chiefe and principall delights of this life (I doe mean) their native countries, friends, livings, &c. but alſo to fulfill their miniſtery to the utmoſt, that is to wit, with their painfull impriſonments and bloodſheddings, if need ſhall require, to confirm and ſeal Chriſts Goſpel, whereof they have bin Miniſters; and (as ſaint Paul ſaith) they are ready not only to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to be killed for the name of the Lord Jeſus.

Acts 11
Luke 8
Rom. 1
Acts 21

Whether theſe being that good ſalt of the earth, that is, true Miniſters of Gods word, by whoſe doctrine, being received through faith, men are made ſavourie unto God, and which themſelves loſe not their ſaltneſſe, now when they be proved with the boiſterous ſtorms of adverſity and perſecution; or others being that unſavoury ſalt which hath loſt his ſaltneſſe, that is to wit, thoſe ungodly miniſters, which do fall from the word of God into the dreames and traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

Mat. 5
True ſalt diſcerned from the corrupt and unſavoury ſalt.

Wherfore my dearely beloved, receive yͤ word of God with meekneſſe, that is grafted in you, which is able to ſave your ſouls: And ſee that ye be not forgetfull hearers, deceiving your ſelves with ſophiſtry, but doers of the word; whom Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe man, which buildeth his houſe on a rocke, that when the great raine deſcended, and the floods came and beat upon the houſe, it fell not, becauſe it was grounded upon a rock: this is to wit, that when Sathan, with all his legion of divels, with all their ſubtle ſuggeſtions, and the world with all the mighty Princes thereof, with their crafty counſels, do furiouſly rage againſt us, we faint not, but abide conſtant in the truth, being grounded upon a moſt ſure rock, which is Chriſt, and the doctrine of the Goſpel, againſt which the gates of hell, (that is, the power of Sathan) cannot prevaile.

Iames 2
Mat. 7
Pſalm 2
Mat. 16

And be ye followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles and receive the word in much affliction (as the godly Theſſalonians did:) for the true followers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and alſo frame their lives after it, and be ready to ſuffer all maner of adverſity for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt and all the Apoſtles did, and as all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt doe: for there is none other way into the kingdome of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thing for the kingdome of heavens ſake, and for righteouſnes ſake, we have the prophets, Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Martyrs for an enſample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the Kingdome of heaven at the ſtrait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few doe finde. And unleſſe we will be content to deny our own ſelves, and take up the croſſe of Chriſt, and his ſaints, it is an evident argument, that we ſhall never reigne with him.

1 Theſ. 2
True receivers of the word, who they be.
2 Tim. 3
Acts 14
Mat. 5
Mat. 7
Mark 8
Mortification and bearing of the croſſe, neceſſary for all them that will reigne with Chriſt.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to ſuffer perſecutions and tribulations, it is a ſure token of the righteous judgement of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdome of God, for which we alſo ſuffer. It is verily (ſaith the Apoſtle) a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble us, and reſt to us that be troubled: For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and paines, ſhall have a moſt quiet and joyfull reſt; whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwiſe ſhal be tormented for evermore with intollerable and unſpeakable paines, as Chriſt by the Parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. Theſe ought we to have before our eyes always, that in the time of adverſity and perſecution (wherof all that will be the children of God ſhall bee partakers, and wherwith it hath pleaſed God to put ſome of us in ure already) wee may ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be ſaved. For unleſſe we, like good warriours of Jeſus Chriſt, will endeavour our ſelvs to pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be ſouldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we ſhall not obtaine that crown of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord, that is a righteous Judge, ſhall give to all them that love his comming.

2 Theſ. 1
Luke 16
Heb. 12
1 Tim. 2

Let us therefore receive with meekneſſe the word that is grafted in us, which is able to ſave our ſoules, and ground our ſelves on the ſure rocke Chriſt. For (as the Apoſtle ſaith) other foundation can no man lay, beſides that which is laid already, which is Ieſus Chriſt. If any man build on this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, timber, hay, ſtubble, every mans worke ſhall appeare, for the day ſhall declare it, and it ſhall bee ſhewed in the fire And the fire ſhall try every mans worke what it is. If any mans worke that hee hath builded upon abide, hee ſhall receive a reward: if any mans worke burne, he ſhall ſuffer loſſe; but he ſhall be ſaved himſelf, nevertheleſſe yet as it were through fire.

Iames 1
1 Cor. 3

By fire here doth the Apoſtle underſtand perſecution and trouble, for they which doe truly preach and profeſſe the word of God, which is called the word of the croſſe, ſhall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thruſt out of the company, perſecuted and tryed in the furnace of adverſity, as gold and ſilver are tried in the fire.

Fire in Scripture what it ſignifieth.

By gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, he underſtandeth them that in the midſt of perſecution abide ſtedfaſt in the word. By timber, hay, and ſtubble, are meant ſuch, as in time of perſecution doe fall away from the truth. And when Chriſt, doth purge his floore with the wind of adverſity, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff which ſhall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, doe in time of perſecution ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the truth, the builder (I doe meane the Preacher of the word) ſhall receive a reward, and the work ſhall be preſerved and ſaved; but if ſo be that they go back and ſwerve, when perſecution ariſeth, the builder ſhall ſuffer loſſe, that is to ſay, ſhall loſe his labour and coſt, but yet he ſhall be ſaved, if he, being tryed in the fire of perſecution, doe abide faſt in the faith.

1 Cor. 3
Mat. 5
Luke 6
Mat. 3
Pſalm 1
The place of S. Paul 1 Cor. 3. expounded.

Wherfore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that yee as living ſtones bee builded upon this ſure rocke, and be made a ſpirituall houſe and a holy Prieſthood to offer up ſpirituall ſacrifices acceptable unto God, by Jeſus Chriſt. For we are the true temple of God, and the ſpirit of God dwelleth in us, if ſo be that we continue in the doctrine of the Goſpell. We are alſo an holy and royall Prieſthood, to offer up ſpirituall ſacrifices and oblations, for the ſacrifices of the new Teſtament are ſpirituall and of three maners

1 Pet. 2
2 Cor. 3
1 Pet. 2

The

Three ſorts of Sacrifices of the new Teſtament.
Heb. 13.
Oſee 6.

The firſt is the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, which ſaint Paul doth call the fruits of thoſe lips which confeſſe the name of God.

The ſecond is mercy towards our neighbors, as the Prophet Oſee ſaith; I will have mercy, and not ſacrifice. Read the five and twentieth chapter of Matthew.

Rom. 12.
Epheſ. 3.
Mat. 14.
Exhortation to perſiſt in the word of God & not to abuſe it.
2 Pet. 2.

The third is, when we make our body a quick ſacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, that is, when we mortifie and kill our fleſhly concupiſcences and carnall luſts, and ſo bring our fleſh through the helpe of the ſpirit, under the obedience of Gods holy Law. This is a ſacrifice to God moſt acceptable, which the Apoſtle calleth, Our reaſonable ſerving of God. And let us be ſure, that unleſſe we do now at this preſent take better heed to our ſelves, and uſe thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the Goſpel preached theſe yeares paſt, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unleſſe, I ſay, we keep Chriſt and his holy word dwelling by faith in the houſe and temple of our hearts, the ſame thing that Chriſt threatneth unto the Jewes, ſhall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean ſpirit of ignorance, ſuperſtition, idolatrie, and infidelity and unbeliefe, the mother and head of all vices, which by the grace of God was caſt out of us, bringing with him ſeven other ſpirits worſe than himſelfe, ſhall to our utter deſtruction returne againe unto us: and ſo ſhall we be in worſe caſe than ever wee were before. For if wee, after we have eſcaped from the filthineſſe of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be yet tangled therein again and overcome, then is the later end worſe than the beginning: and it had bin better for us not to have knowne the way of righteouſneſſe, than after we have knowne it, to turn from the holy commandement given unto us.

Prov. 26
Mat. 13
Heb. 6
The place of the Hebr. expounded.

For it is then happened unto us according to the true Proverb, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the ſow that was waſhed to wallowing in the mire. And thus to continue and perſevere in infidelity, and to kicke againſt the manifeſt and known truth, and ſo to dye without repentance, and with a deſpaire of the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt, is to ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not poſſible (ſaith ſaint Paul) that they which were once lightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and have taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, ſhould be renewed againe by repentance: foraſmuch as they have, as concerning themſelves, crucified the ſonne of God again, making a mocking of him. Saint Pauls meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfainedly Gods word, doe continue and abide ſtedfaſt in the known truth.

Mat. 26
Falling from Chriſt.
To crucifie Chriſt anew what it is.
1 Iohn
Heb. 1

If any therfore fall away from Chriſt and his word, it is a plaine token that they were but diſſembling hypocrites for all their faire faces outwardly, and never beleeved truely; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the knowne veritie, and made a mocke of Chriſt: which ſaint Paul doth call here, to crucifie Chriſt anew, becauſe that they turning to their old vomit again, did moſt blaſphemouſly tread the benefits of Chriſts death and paſſion under their feet. They that are ſuch can in no wiſe be renued by repentance: for their repentance is fleſhly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was, which being without godly comfort, breedeth deſperation unto death. Theſe are not of the number of the elect: and as ſaint John doth ſay, They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had beene of us, they would have remained with us unto the end. Alſo the Apoſtle ſaith in another place, If we ſin willingly after wee have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſin, but a fearefull looking for judgement and violent fire, which ſhall devoure the adverſaries.

Rom.
Willfull kicking againſt the open known truth.
Sin unto death.
1 Iohn

They ſin willingly, which of a ſet malice and purpoſe do withhold the truth in unrighteouſnes and lying, kicking againſt the manifeſt and open known truth, which although they doe perfectly know that in all the world there is none other ſacrifice for ſin, but only that omniſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſts death: yet notwithſtanding they will not commit themſelves wholly unto it, but rather deſpiſe it, allowing other ſacrifices for ſin, invented by the imagination of man (as we ſee by daily experience) unto whom if they abide ſtill in their wickedneſſe and ſin, remaineth a moſt horrible and dreadfull judgement. This is that ſin unto death, for which ſaint John would not that a man ſhould pray.

1 Cor. 10
Apoc. 22
Mat. 24
Rom. 1
Iohn 8
Phil. 2
Mat. 3
The fruitleſſe fig tree.
Luke 13.
Mat. 18
Heb. 6

Wherefore my beloved in Chriſt, let us (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto our ſelvs, that now in theſe laſt and perillous times (in the which the divell is come downe, and hath great wrath becauſe hee knoweth his time is but ſhort, and whereof the Prophets, Chriſt and the Apoſtles have ſo much ſpoken, and given us an earneſt forewarning) we withhold not the truth in unrighteouſneſſe, believing, doing, or ſpeaking any thing againſt our knowledge and conſcience, or without faith. For if we ſo do, for whatſoever cauſe it be, it is a wilfull and obſtinate infidelity, and a ſinne unto death: And as our ſaviour Chriſt ſaith, If yee believe not, yee ſhall die in your owne ſinnes. For unleſſe we hold faſt the word of life, both believing it, & alſo bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we ſhall with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that ſhall put it to a better uſe: and we, through our own unthankfullneſſe put from the mercy of God, ſhall never bee able to pay our debts, that is to ſay, we ſhall altogether bee loſt, and undone. For the earth that drinketh in rain that commeth oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dreſſe it, receiveth bleſſing of God: but that ground that beareth thorns and bryars, is reproved and is nigh unto curſing whoſe end is to be burned.

The good ground.
Luke 8
James 1
Mat. 13
The moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hypocrites.

Neverthelesſe dear friends, we truſt to ſee better of you, and things which accompany ſalvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moiſtneſſe of Gods word plenteouſly preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of thoſe forgetfull and hypocritiſh hearers, which although they heare the word, yet the Divell commeth, and catcheth away that which was ſowen in their heart; either having no root in themſelves, endure but a ſeaſon, and as ſoone as tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by & by they are offended; either with the cares of this world and deceitfulneſſe of riches choake the word, and ſo are unfruitfull. Read the parable of the ſower, and among other things note and mark, that the moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the ſeed doth bring forth fruit. Therfore let not us that be Miniſters, or profeſſors, and followers of Gods word, be diſcouraged, though that very few doe give credit, & follow the doctrine of the Goſpel, & be ſaved.

Whoſo-

Anno 1555.

To him that hath ſhall bee given, and how

Whoſoever therfore hath ears to hear, let him heare: for whoſoever hath, to him ſhall be given, and he ſhall have abundance: but whoſoever hath not, from him ſhall be taken away, even that he hath; that is to ſay, they that have a deſire of righteouſneſſe, and of the truth, ſhall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that doe not covet after righteouſneſſe and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they ſeem unto themſelves moſt wiſe. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he ſeeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, uſeth another way. Hee ceaſeth to be beneficiall unto them, and to miniſter unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themſelvs, ſuffering them to live as they liſt themſelves,

Example of Gods dealing with ſtubborn children.

Heb. 6
Mat. 6

But wee truſt to ſee better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye like very Gaderenites, for fear to loſe your worldly ſubſtance or other delights of this life, will not baniſh away Chriſt and his Goſpel from among you; but that yee with all diligence of minde will receive the word of God, taught you by ſuch Miniſters, as now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, are not aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, but are content to ſuffer adverſity with the Goſpel, and therein to ſuffer trouble as evill doers, even unto bonds. And if yee refuſe thus to doe, your owne blood will bee upon your owne heads. And as yee have had plenteous preaching of the Goſpell, more than other have had: ſo ye ſhall be ſure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to bee ſorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at Gods hand, than others, and the Kingdome of God ſhall be taken from you, and bee given to another Nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Act. 14
2 Tim. 1
2 Tim. 2

Act. 18
The more preaching with leſſe following draweth greater vengeance at Gods hand.

Wherefore my dearely beloved in Chriſt, take good heed to your ſelves, and ponder well in your mindes, how fearefull and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And ſee that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labor in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witneſſes of the true iuſtifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And ſee that ye continually give your ſelves unto all manner of good workes: Amongſt the which, the chiefeſt are to be obedient to the Magiſtrates (ſith they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evill) unleſſe they command idolatry and ungodlines, that is to ſay, things contrary unto true religion. For, then ought we to ſay with Peter, Wee ought more to obey God than man. But in any wiſe we muſt beware of tumult, inſurrection, rebellion, or reſiſtance.

James 2
Gal. 5.
Tit. 2

Rom. 13
Acts 5

Epheſ. 6.

The weapon of a Chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the ſword of the ſpirit, which is Gods word and prayer, coupled with humility and due ſubmiſſion, and with readineſſe of heart, rather to die than to doe any ungodlineſſe. Chriſt alſo doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea even the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth oftentimes to reigne for our ſins and diſobedience towards him and his word. Whoſoever then doth reſiſt any power, doth reſiſt the ordinance of God, and ſo purchaſe to himſelf utter deſtruction and undoing.

John 19
Job 35.
Rom. 13.

We muſt alſo by all meanes be promoters of unity, peace and concord. Wee muſt honor and reverence Princes, and all that be in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their profit and commodity.

1 Pet. 2.

Secondly, we muſt obey our parents, or them that be in their roomes, and bee carefull for our houſholds, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with ſpirituall food, which is the word of God.

Epheſ. 6.
1 Tim. 5.

Thirdly, we muſt ſerve our neighbours by all means we can, remembring well the ſaying of Chriſt, Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould doe unto you, doe ye likewiſe unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.

Mat. 7

Fourthly, we muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſary worke of prayer for all eſtates: knowing that God therefore hath ſo much commanded it, and hath made ſo great promiſes unto it, and doth ſo well accept it. After theſe workes, wee muſt learn to know the croſſe, and what affection and mind we muſt beare towards our adverſaries and enemies, whatſoever they be to ſuffer all adverſities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble us: and by thus uſing our ſelves, we ſhall obtain an hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

1 Tim. 2
Praying for all eſtates.
Mat. 5
Forbearing our adverſaries.
Patience in ſuffering adverſity and trouble.
2 Pet. 2.
Act. 20.

And thus I commend you brethren unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are ſanctified; beſeeching you to help maſter Saunders and me your late Paſtors, and all them that bee in bonds for the Goſpels ſake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreaſonable and froward men, and that this our impriſonment and affliction may bee to the glory and profit of our Chriſtian brethren in the world, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodies, whether it bee by death or by life. Amen.

This letter was written the year before in the moneth of June.
Rom. 15.
Coloſ. 4.

Phil. 1

Salute from me all the faithfull brethren: and becauſe I write not ſeverall letters to them, let them either reade or heare theſe my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen. The xxviii. of June, by the unprofitable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and now alſo his priſoner,

George Marſh.

Save your ſelves from thi untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more neede.

Act. 2.

Another letter of the ſaid George Marſh, to certaine of his dearely beloved friends at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire.

GRace bee with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

After ſalutations in Chriſt to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, deſiring and wiſhing unto you, not only in my letters, but alſo in my daily prayers, ſuch conſolation in ſpirit, and taſte of heavenly treaſures, that yee may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, perſevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and perſecutions, even unto the end and glorious comming of Chriſt: theſe ſhall be earneſtly to exhort and beſeech you in Chriſt, as ye have received yͤ Lord Jeſus, even ſo to walk, rooted in him, and not to be affraid of any terror of your adverſaries, be they never ſo many and mighty, and you on the other ſide never ſo few and weak: for the battell is the Lords. And as in times paſt, God was with Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, David, the Maccabees, and other, & fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even ſo hath he promiſed to be with us alſo unto the worlds end, and ſo to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen and help us, that no man ſhall be able to withſtand us. For as I was with Moſes, ſo will I be with thee, ſaith God, and will never leave thee nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whitherſoever thou goeſt. Now if God bee on

Another godly letter of G. Marſh to them of Mancheſter.

Col. 2
Phil. 1
1 Pet. 3.
Mat. 10
Luke 12
Adverſaries not to be feared.
Gods help alwaies ready with his ſervants.

Joſhua 1

our

Rom. 8.

our ſide, who can be againſt us?

Spirituall towardneſſe.
Ephes. 6.
2 Cor. 11, 12.
Acts 21.

In this our ſpiritual warfare is no man overcome, unleſſe he traiterouſly leave and forſake his captain, either cowardly caſt away his weapons, or willingly yeeld himſelfe to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord, deare brethren and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt the crafty aſſaults of the divel.

A Chriſtian mans life is a perpetuall warfare.

Now what weapons yee muſt fight withall, learne of Saint Paul, a champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiant and invincible. For we muſt thinke none other, but that the life of man is a perpetuall warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages doe declare. The valiant Warriour S. Paul being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that ſo many times, and alſo from ſo many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own ſelfe doth witneſſe, is faine to commit himſelfe in the end to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was in great perill and ieopardy of his owne life: yet was God alwaies (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour him, and glorioully delivered him out of all his troubles; ſo that no man that invaded him, could do him any harme, and in the end hee was compelled to ſay; I have finiſhed my courſe, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, which is the beſt of all, moſt heartily deſiring death.

The manifold deliverances of S. Paul be examples for our comfort.
Acts 28.
2 Tim. 4.
Phil. 1.

Rom. 15.

These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a ſure obligation, that if we ſubmit our ſelves to God and his holy word, no man ſhall be able to hurt us, and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death alſo, untill ſuch time as we covet and deſire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battell that is ſet before us, and look unto Jeſus the captain and finiſher of our faith, and after his example, for the rewards ſake that is ſet out unto us, patiently to beare the croſſe, and deſpiſe the ſhame. For all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

Heb. 12.
Perſecution followeth chriſtian godlineſſe
2 Tim. 3.

Chriſt was no ſooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Sonne of God, but Sathan was by and by ready to tempt him: which thing we muſt look for alſo: yea, the more we ſhall increaſe in faith and vertuous living, the more ſtrongly will Sathan aſſault us: whom we muſt learn after the example of Chriſt, to fight againſt, and overcome with the holy and ſacred Scriptures the word of God (which are our heavenly armour) and ſword of the ſpirit. And let the faſting of Chriſt, while he was tempted in the wilderneſſe, be unto us an example of ſober living, not for the ſpace of forty dayes (as the Papiſts doe fondly fancy of their owne braines) but as long as we are in the wildernes of this wretched life, aſſaulted of Sathan, who like a roaring Lyon walketh about, and ceaſeth not, ſeeking our utter deſtruction.

Mat. 3. 4.
Where Chriſt is, Sathan there is alwayes ready.
Ephes. 6.

Matth. 4.
The faſt of Chriſt is to us example of ſober living.
1 Pet. 5.

Neither can the ſervant of God at any time come and ſtand before God, that is, leade a godly life and walk innocently before God, but Sathan commeth alſo among them, that is, he daily accuſeth, findeth fault, vexeth, perſecuteth and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the Divell alwaies to hurt, and do miſchief, unleſſe he be forbidden of God: for unleſſe God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not ſo much as enter into a filthy Hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

Job 1. 2.
When the ſervants of God ſtand before him, Sathan commeth alſo.
Matth. 8.

Let us therefore knowing Sathans deceits, and rancor, walk the more warily, and take unto us the ſhield of Faith, wherewith we may bee able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the helmet of ſalvation, and ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God, and learn to uſe the ſame according to the example of our grand Captaine Chriſt. Let us faſt and pray continually. For this franticke kinde of Divels goeth not out otherwiſe, as Chriſt doth teach us, but by faithfull prayer and faſting, which is true abſtinence and ſoberneſſe of living, if wee uſe the ſame according to the doctrine of the Goſpel and word of God. Faſting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocriſie, that is to ſay, if we uſe it to this intent, that therby this mortall body and diſobedient carkaſe may be tamed and brought under the ſubiection of the ſpirit: and againe, if we faſt to this intent, that we may ſpare wherewith to help and ſuccour our poore needy brethren.

Ephes. 6.
The ſhield of faith.

Anno 1555.
The helmet of ſalvation.
The ſword of the ſpirit.
Mat. 4.
Mat. 17.
Prayer and faſting.
True faſt what it is.
How to faſt without hypocriſie.

This faſt doe the true Chriſtians uſe all the dayes of their life, although among the common ſort of people remaineth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kind of faſting, which God ſo earneſtly reproveth by his Prophet Eſay. For as for true chaſtening of the body and abſtaining from vice, with ſhewing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither underſtand nor hear of it, but ſtill think with the Jewes, that we do God a great pleaſure when we faſt, and that we then faſt, when we abſtaine from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our ſuperſtition much exceed the ſuperſtition of the Jews: for we never read that they ever took it for a faſt, to abſtain from fleſh, and to eate either fiſh or white meat as they call it.

Abuſe of faſting among Chriſtians.
Eſay 58.

The Jewiſh manner of faſting reproved.
The Chriſtians in ſuperſtitious faſting exceed the Jewes.

To faſting and prayer muſt be ioyned almes, and mercy towards the poore and needy: and that our almes may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required:

Mercy to the poore.

First, that we give with a cheerfull and ioyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerfull giver.

2 Cor. 9.
In almes three things required.

Secondly that we give liberally, putting aſide all niggardſhip, knowing that he that ſoweth little, ſhall reap little, and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reap plenteouſly. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The pooreſt caitiffe in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the world can do. The poore widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly pleaſe Chriſt: Inſomuch that he affirmed with an oath, That ſhe of her penury had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their ſuperfluity had caſt in very much. For if there be firſt a willing mind (as S. Paul ſaith) it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.

Mark 12.

2 Cor. 8.

Thirdly, we muſt give without hypocriſie and oſtentation, not ſeeking the praiſe of men, or our owne glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in ſome places make mention of a reward to our almes and other good works, yet ought we not to thinke that wee doe merit or deſerve any thing: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his meere mercy rewardeth in us his owne gifts. For what hath he that giveth almes, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poore man any manner of thing, giveth not of his owne, but of thoſe goods which he hath received of God. What haſt thou, ſaith the Apoſtle, that thou haſt not received? If thou haſt received it, why reioyceſt thou, as though thou hadſt not received it?

Almes without oſtentation

Works of mercy do not merit with God touching our ſalvation any thing.

1 Cor. 4.

This ſentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if wee have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deſerve? or what need we to diſpute and reaſon of our owne merits? it commeth of the free gift of God, that

we

Anno 1555.

Continuall prayer.
Mat. 26.
Heb. 4.
1 Mach. 4.

we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deſerving then? We muſt alſo in this our ſpirituall warfare arme our ſelves with continuall prayer, a very neceſſary, ſtrong, and invincible weapon, and after the example of Chriſt and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our diſtreſſes and anguiſhes. Let us go boldly to the ſeate of grace, where we ſhall be ſure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For now is pride and perſecution encreaſed: now is the time of deſtruction and wrathfull diſpleaſure.

To be faithful in temptation.

Wherfore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the Law of God, and ieopard yee your lives, if need ſhall require, for yͤ teſtament of the fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receive great honor, and an everlaſting name. Remember Abraham: Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteouſneſſe? Ioſeph in time of his trouble kept the commandement, and was made a Lord of Egypt. Phinees was ſo fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlaſting Prieſthood. Ioſhua for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the Captaine of Iſrael. Caleb bare record before the Congregation, and received an inheritance. David alſo in his mercifull kindnes obtained the throne of an everlaſting Kingdome. Elias being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Miſael remained ſtedfaſt in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like maner Daniel being unguilty, was ſaved from the mouth of the Lyons.

Gen. 22.
Gen. 41.
Num. 25.
Ioſhua 1.
Num. 14.
1 Reg. 24.
4 Reg. 2.
Dan. 3.
Dan. 6.

And thus ye may conſider throughout all ages ſince the world began, that whoſoever put their truſt in God were not overcome. Feare not ye then the words of ungodly men: for their glory is but dung and wormes; to day they are ſet up, and to morrow are they gone: for they are turned into earth, and their memoriall commeth to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit our ſelves like men in the Law: for if we doe the things that are commanded us in the Law of the Lord our God, we ſhall obtaine great honor therein.

Pſal. 38.
He exhorteth to zeal & courage
Act. 14.

Beloved in Chriſt, let us not faint be cauſe of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are ſealed unto life everlaſting: for the only way into the Kingdome of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdome of heaven (as God teacheth by his Prophet Eſdras) is like a City builded and ſet upon a broad field, and full of all good things, but the entrance is narrow and ſudden (full of ſorrow and travell, perils and labors:) Like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one ſtraight path between them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man goe there. If this City were now given to an heire, and he never went through the perillous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherfore ſeeing we are in this narrow and ſtraight way, which leadeth unto the moſt ioyfull and pleaſant city of everlaſting life: let us not ſtagger, either turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perillous way, but follow our Captaine Ieſus Chriſt in the narrow and ſtraight way, and be affraid of nothing no not even of death it ſelf: for it is he that muſt lead us to our iourneys end, and open us the door unto everlaſting life.

4 Eſdras 7.
Strait is the way which the elect muſt walk in.
Death is a door to life.

Conſider alſo the courſe of this world, how many there be which for their Maſters ſake, or for a little promotions ſake, would adventure their lives in worldly affaires, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and ours is unſpeakable, great and everlaſting. They ſuffer pains to be made Lords on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea peradventure much leſſe to be made kings in heaven for evermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a little pleaſures ſake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with ſword and weapons, and put themſelves in danger of impriſonment and hanging. So much as vertue is better than vice, and God mightier than the divel, ſo much ought we to excell them in this our ſpirituall battell.

If worldly men ieopard ſo much for earthly things, how much more ought we to ieopard for everlaſting things.

And ſeeing brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſet me, and that moſt worthy Miniſter of Chriſt, Iohn Bradford your countreymen in the forefront of this battell, where (for the time) is moſt danger, I beſeech you all in the bowels of Chriſt to help us, and in all our fellow-ſouldiers ſtanding in like perillous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit our ſelves like men in the Lord, and give ſome example of boldneſſe and conſtancy mingled with patience in the feare of God, that yee and others our brethren, through our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthened to follow us, that ye alſo may leave example to your weak brethren in the world, to follow you, Amen.

Conſider what I ſay; the Lord give us underſtanding in all things. Brethren, the time is ſhort; it remaineth that ye uſe this world as though ye uſed it not: for the faſhion of this world vaniſheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but ſet your affection on heavenly things, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek, and long ſuffering, ſerve and edifie one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of ſtrange doctrine; lay aſide the old converſation of greedy luſts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanneſſe, covetouſneſſe, fooliſh talking, falſe doctrine and drunkenneſſe: reioyce and be thankfull towards God, and ſubmit your ſelves one to another. Ceaſe from ſin, ſpend no more time in vice, bee ſober and apt to pray, be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only marke ye ſhoot at in all your doings. Repent yee of the life that is paſt, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And above all things cleave ye faſt to him, who was delivered to death for our ſins, and roſe again for our iuſtification. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt be all honor and rule for evermore. Amen.

2 Tim. 2.
1 Cor. 7.
1 Iohn 2.
Coloſ. 3.
Doctrine of good works.

Salute from mee in Chriſt all others which love us in the faith, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the Goſpel, that the ſame God (which by his grace hath called us from wicked Papiſtry unto true Chriſtianitie, and now of love proveth our patience by perſecution) will of his mercy & favor in the end gloriouſly deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory, Amen. At Lancaſter the 30. of Auguſt, 1555.

By me an unprofitable ſervant of Chriſt,
George Marſh.

To his well beloved in Chriſt Lenkin Crampton, Iames Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradſhaw, the wife of Richard Bradſhaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them bee theſe delivered from Lancaſter. George Marſh.

The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen.

2 Cor. 13.
Another letter of G. Marſh to certaine of his friends.

After ſalutations in Chriſt and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens and your other remembrances towards mee, beſeeching God that yee may increaſe in faith, feare, love, and all

Epheſ.4. Acts 11. Rom.1. Col.2.

good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Chriſt: theſe be earneſtly to exhort you, yea and to beſeech you in the tender mercy of Chriſt, that with purpoſe of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that yee worſhip and ſerve him in ſpirit, in the Goſpell of his Sonne. For God will not be worſhipped after the commandements and traditions of men, neither yet by any other meanes appointed, preſcribed and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men for the moſt part defile themſelves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Chriſt: yet do ye after the enſample of Toby, Daniel, and his three companions, Mattathias and his three ſons, bee at a point with your ſelves, that ye will not bee defiled with the uncleane meats of the heathen; I doe meane the filthineſſe of Idolatry, and the very Heatheniſh Ceremonies of the Papiſts: but as the true worſhippers, ſerve yee God in ſpirit and verity, according to the ſacred Scriptures: which I would wiſh, and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both Saint Paul and Chriſt command you) to ſearch and reade, with the wholeſome monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhort, comfort and edifie one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miſerable captivity, and great famiſhment of ſoules, for want of the food of Gods word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord, who hath promiſed to be with us even unto the worlds end, and that whenſoever two or three be gathered together in his Name he will be in the midſt of them, will aſſiſt you, and teach you the right meaning of the ſacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promiſed.

Tob.1. Dan.1. 1 Mach.1. Iohn 4. Iohn 5. 1 Tim.5. Mat.28. Mat.18.

Iohn 12. Mat.14. Phil.1.

And though you think your ſelves unable to teach, yet at the commandement of Chriſt now in time of famine, the hungry people being in wilderneſſe farre from any townes, which if they be ſent away faſting, are ſure to faint and periſh by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe five loaves and two fiſhes that yee have, upon that hungry multitude, although you think it nothing among ſo many. And he that increaſed the five loaves and two fiſhes to feed five thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſhal alſo augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceeding great increaſe of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And feare not your adverſaries: for either according to his accuſtomed manner God ſhall blinde their eyes that they ſhall not ſpie you, either get you favor in their ſight, or els graciouſly deliver you out of their hands by one meanes or other.

Leſſons of Chriſtian maners.

Tob.2. Tob.3.

Obey with reverence all your ſuperiors, unleſſe they command idolatry or ungodlineſſe. Make proviſion for your houſholds, chiefly that they be inſtructed and taught in the Law of God. Love your wives even as your owne ſelves, and as Chriſt loved the Congregation. Love your children, but rate them not, leſt they be of a deſperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the yonger, and Suſanna did teach their children, even from their infancy to reverence God according to his law, and to abſtaine from ſinne, providing that in no wiſe they be brought up in idlenes and wantonneſſe, ſeeing that ye reckon your ſelves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God ſhall give to them which never turne their belief from him. See that ye ever feare God, and keepe his Commandements: and though the plague of God chance upon you, yet remaine yee ſtedfaſt in the faith and feare of God, and thanke him, and ſerve him in ſuch holineſſe and righteouſnes as are acceptable before him al the days of your life. Comfort your ſelves in all your adverſities, and ſtay your ſelves in him, who hath promiſed not to leave you as fatherleſſe and motherleſſe children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a moſt gentle and mercifull Lord. He will continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſſiſting, helping, and ſuccouring you at all times. I will be with you (ſaith he) unto the end of the world. And cleave you faſt unto him, which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught and dyed for your ſins, yea, roſe againe from death, and aſcended into heaven for your iuſtification. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and ceaſe from ſin, and from hence forward live as much time as remaineth in the fleſh, not after the luſts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and diſtribute, forget not. Faſt and pray buſily, and as every man hath received the gift, miniſter the ſame one to another as good Miniſters of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Ieſus Chriſt, to whom be praiſe and dominion for ever, and while the world ſtandeth, Amen.

Yours George Marſh.

Another letter.

Another letter of G. Marſh to certain faithfull brethren in the Congregation.

THe ſame grace and peace (dearely beloved in Chriſt) do I intirely deſire and wiſh unto you, which the Apoſtle S. Paul wiſheth to all them, unto whom hee did write and ſend his Epiſtles, than which two things no better can bee wiſhed and deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epiſtles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favor of God, whereby he ſaveth us freely without any deſervings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietneſſe and tranquillity of the conſcience, being throughly perſwaded that through the onely merits of Chriſts death and blood-ſhedding, there is an atonement and peace made betweene God and us, ſo that God will no more impute our ſins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

Grace.

Peace what it is.

He exhorteth to ſtedfaſtneſſe in the Goſpel.

Leiver. Pilkinton. Bradford. Saunders.

Men baniſhed for the Goſpel in Q. Maries time.

Dearely beloved, I will not be negligent to put you alwaies in remembrance of things, though that you know them your ſelves, and bee alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth: notwithſtanding, I think it meete, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to ſtir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beſeech you brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Ieſus, that yee increaſe more and more, even as yee have received how yee ought to walke and to pleaſe God. And as Barabas that good man, and full of the holy Ghoſt, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpoſe of heart cleave ye continually unto ye Lord. And ſtand faſt, and be not moved from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you theſe yeares paſt, by the faithfull Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, Leiver, Pilkinton, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, doe not fall away like ſhrinking children and forſake the truth, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, which are his myſticall body, to forſake the chiefe and principall delights of this life, and ſome of them in giving place to the outragious tyranny of the world, to forſake their livings, friends, native land, and other chiefe pleaſures of this life, and to commit themſelves to painfull exile, that if it pleaſe God, Chriſt may come againe out of Egypt. And other ſome are ready to fulfil their Miniſtery unto the uttermoſt: that is to wit, with their painfull impriſonments and blood-ſhedding, if need ſhall ſo require, to confirm

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firm and ſeal Chriſts Goſpell whereof they have been Miniſters: and as S. Paul ſaith, not only to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to die for the name of the Lord Jeſus.

The meaning of S. Pauls words opened.

The condition of a true Paſtor.

Be ye not therefore aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, neither be ye aſhamed of us which are his priſoners, but ſuffer ye adverſity with the Goſpel, for which word we ſuffer as evil doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therfore we ſuffer all things for the elects ſake, that they alſo may obtain the ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus with eternall glory: wherfore ſtand ye faſt in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhall ye make us even with ioy to ſuffer for your ſakes, and as the Apoſtle ſaith; To fulfill that which is behinde of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh, for his bodies ſake, which is the congregation. S. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the paſſion of Chriſt, which may be ſupplyed by man: for the paſſion of Chriſt, as touching his own perſon, is that moſt perfect and omniſufficient ſacrifice, wherby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his blood: but theſe his words ought to be underſtood of the elect and choſen, in whom Chriſt is and ſhall be perſecuted unto the worlds end. The paſſion of Chriſt then, as touching his myſticall body which is the Church, ſhall not be perfect till they have all ſuffered, whom God hath appointed to ſuffer for his Sons ſake. Wherefore ſtabliſh your ſelves, and be of good comfort, and be not moved in theſe afflictions, knowing that we are appointed therunto. For on our parts nothing can be greater conſolation and inward ioy unto us in our adverſity than to heare of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us alwaies, praying for us as we doe for you, as the Apoſtle writeth of the Theſſalonians, ſaying, Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord: for good ſhepheards doe alwaies count the welfare and proſperous eſtate of Chriſt flock to be their own; for while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth wel with them alſo in whatſoever affliction or adverſity they be: but when they ſee the Church in any peril or weakneſſe, then be they weary of their own lives, then can they have no reſt nor ioy. Who is weak, ſaith S. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I doe not burne? But this affection is not in them that ſeek their own lucre and glory.

A chriſtian mans life is a warfare upon earth.

The Church is ever forewarned before afflictions.

Act. 27.

And foraſmuch as the life of man is a perpetuall warfare upon earth, let us run with ioy unto the battell that is ſet before us, and like good warriours of Jeſus Chriſt pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be ſouldiers, and not like ſhrinking children faint and fall away from the truth now in time of adverſity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt be tried, even as gold and ſilver is proved in the fire and whereof all the Scriptures have given us ſo much forewarning. For God is wont for the moſt part, to warn his elect and choſen, what affliction and trouble ſhal happen unto them for his ſake, not to the intent to fray them therby, but rather to prepare their minds againſt yͤ boiſterous ſtorms of perſecution. As we have a notable example in the Apoſtle S. Paul, unto whom God ſent Agabus, who propheſied unto him of the impriſonment and bands that hee ſhould ſuffer at Jeruſalem: in whom we have alſo a good example of conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſſe, which regarding nothing the teares of his familiar friends, nor yet the perill of his own life, did through fire and water go on ſtill to ſet forth the glory of God; and he being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirſty enemies, ⁊ that ſo many times, is in concluſion fain to commit himſelfe to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great perill and ieopardy of his owne life. But God was alwaies (to the great comfort of all that ſhall heare of it) moſt ready to help and ſuccour him. Firſt, he did ſend him a moſt friendly and ſweet company, I meane Ariſtarchus and Lucas, ſo ruling the heart of the under Captain Julius, that he courteouſly intreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refreſh himſelf, and he was beneficiall unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joſeph, and delivered him from all his adverſities, and gave him favour and wiſdom in the ſight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, inſomuch that hee made him governour over all Egypt, and over all his houſhold. In like maner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their moſt troubles, to relieve, ſuccour and helpe them to their ſingular comfort.

Peter delivered out of priſon.

Alſo when Peter was in Herods priſon, ſleeping between two ſouldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the priſon the ſame night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following and to have put him unto death to pleaſe the Jews withall, as a little before hee had killed James the brother of John with the ſword; God ſent his Angel, and the chains fell off from Peters hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord, and ſo was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looſeth all bands, and delivereth out of priſon and not that fained God S. Leonard. On that true God did S. Peter call, unto him did he aſcribe the glory of his deliverance, ſaying, Now I know of a truth, yͤ God hath ſent his angel, ꝛc.

Theſe things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like minded one towards another, after the enſample of Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together may with one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

A poore priſoner for Chriſt,
George Marſh.

Another letter of George Marſh to Robert Langley.

Another letter of G. Marſh to R. Langley and others.

THe grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you good brother in Chriſt, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jeſus unfainedly, Amen.

After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that yee did viſit mee a priſoner in Chriſt, and unacquainted with, to your coſts, this ſhall bee to let you know, that yee ſhall receive from me mine examination and handling at Lachum, and the cauſe of mine impriſonment, according as I did promiſe you: and this ye ſhall receive by my brother or ſome one of the Bradſhawes of Bolton within this ſevennight, willing you to ſhew the ſame to ſuch faithfull men about Mancheſter or elſewhere, as you do take to be favorers of true religion, and Chriſts holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing neceſſary unto this life, you with ſome others would bee bearers with mee in this my coſtly ⁊ painful affliction; I give you moſt hearty thanks ⁊ reioyce greatly in the Lord, who ſtirs up yͤ hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great neceſſity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, ⁊ intend to be as little chargable to others (ſaving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to ſend for your reliefe and help in my neceſſity; deſiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Chriſt, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldneſſe confeſſe Jeſus Chriſt, and fight the good fight of faith.

Yours George Marſh.

A letter of George Marſh to a certaine godly friend.

Another letter of G. Marſh to his friend.

GRace be with you, and peace be multiplyed in the knowledge of God & Jeſus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thankes to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of conſolation to me as touching my perſon to you unknown: theſe ſhall be to certifie you that I reioyce greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my ſweet Saviour Chriſt doth ſtir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times paſt, but alſo of ſundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to beare part with me in this my painful and coſtly impriſonment, ſending me things not only neceſſary for this preſent life, but alſo comfortable letters, encouraging and exhorting mee to continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the faith, and not to be moved away from yͤ hope of the Goſpel, wherof, according to my ſmall talent, I have been a Miniſter: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my truſt, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it untill the day of Jeſus Chriſt, being ſurely certified in my conſcience of this, that he will ſo do, foraſmuch as he hath given me, that not only I ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirit, that I may be one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, wͭ induring to the end, ſhal be ſaved

And wheras you ſay, that my ſuffering of perſecution with Chriſt is a thing to you moſt comfortable, I make anſwer that in all mine adverſitie and neceſſity nothing on your behalf is greater conſolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the Apoſtle reporteth by the Theſſalonians, ſaying. Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord. For my truſt in the Lord is, that this my buſineſſe ſhall happen to the furtherance of the Goſpel, and that you will be none of thoſe forgetfull and hypocritiſh hearers, wherof ſome being but way-ſide hearers, the divell commeth and taketh away the word out of their hearts, leſt they ſhould believe and be ſaved, (but let prayer bee made without ceaſing by the congregation unto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your conſolation gloriouſly deliver by one means or other his oppreſſed. Only tarry ye the Lords leaſure; bee ſtrong, let your heart bee of good comfort, and wait ye ſtill for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come, look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Way-ſide hearers of the word.

Yours, George Marſh.

A letter of a godly brother, one Iames Bradſhaw, ſent to George Marſh in priſon.

A letter of Iames Bradſhaw to George Marſh.

GRace and peace from God the Father, & the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you alway, Amen.

What good affliction worketh in the godly

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to ſee you take yͤ croſſe ſo thankfully. Trouble & affliction doth prove, try, inſtruct, confirme and ſtrengthen the faith, provoke and ſtir up prayer, drive & force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekneſſe, to patience, to conſtancy, to gentleneſſe, to ſoberneſſe, temperancy, and to all manner of vertues, and are the occaſion of exceeding much good, as wel tranſitory as eternall, in this world as in the world to come: There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one croſſe or other. And although ſome there bee that can ſhift for a while, and make proviſion for themſelves for a time, by craft or ſubtilty and diſſimulation, or by ſome falſhood in fellowſhip (as they call it) yet they bring themſelves at length into the higheſt danger, confuſion, and ſhame, both in this world, and in the world to come. And ſeeing that all the troubles and adverſity in this world are a thouſand times more light and eaſie, yea nothing in compariſon of the eternall fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithfull wicked enemies of God; all faithful and godly perſons ought to bear and ſuffer their tranſitory affliction and adverſity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; conſidering and remembring all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, Abraham of the Caldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Iſaac of Iſmael, Jacob of Eſau, Moſes of his people, David of Saul, and of his own Son. As for Job, he had not a drop of blood in his body. John Baptiſt, the holieſt that ever was born of a woman, was without any law, right or reaſon, beheaded in priſon, as though God had knowne nothing at all of him.

Examples of holy men ſuffering affliction.

We have many thouſand fellow martyrs and companions of our miſery and adverſity, in reſpect of whoſe impriſonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beaſts, and other meanes wherewith they were tormented, all that we ſuffer is but a blaſt of wind. Therefore now, whoſoever is aſhamed of the Croſſe of Chriſt, and agreeved therewith, the ſame is aſhamed to have Chriſt for his fellow & companion, and therefore ſhall the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him again at the later day.

Thus I leave for this time, beſeeching you to let me have your advice, becauſe I do not outwardly ſpeak that with my tongue that I doe think with my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beſeech the holy Ghoſt have you in his keeping alway, Amen.

By your friend, Iames Bradſhaw.

A prayer of G. Marſh, which he uſed daily to ſay.

A prayer of G. Marſh, martyr

O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which art the only Phiſitian of wounded conſciences, we miſerable ſinners truſting in thy gracious goodneſſe, do briefly open unto thee the evill tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crookes, knots and knoures, all which thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceiveſt as well the inward luſts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as theſe groſſe outward ſins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beſeech thee, according to the little meaſure of our infirmity, although we be farre unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtony hearts, and for theſe old hearts create new within us, and repleniſh us with a new ſpirit, and water us, and moiſten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wels of ſpirituall waters, whereby the inward venome and noyſome juice of the fleſh may be dryed up, and cuſtome of the old man changed, and our heart, alwayes bringing forth thornes and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may beare ſpirituall fruits in righteouſneſſe and holineſſe, unto life everlaſting, Amen.

Beloved, among other exerciſes, I do daily on my knees uſe this confeſſion of ſins, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, & daily to acknowledge unfainedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulnes, & diſobedience againſt him. This ſhall ye

doe,

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do, if ye will diligently conſider & look your ſelvs firſt in the pure glaſs of Gods commandements and there ſee your outward filthineſſe & uncleannes, and ſo learn to vanquiſh the ſame, that is to wit, fall in hearty diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, and therby be provoked to long after Chriſt. For we truly are ſinners; but he is iuſt, and the iuſtifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger & thirſt for righteouſnes; let us reſort unto his table, for he is a moſt liberal feaſt maker. He will ſet before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was ſhed for us, and for many for the remiſſion of ſins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for gueſts, which hunger and thirſt. Come (ſaith he) all ye that labor and are laden, and I will refreſh you, coole and eaſe you, and you ſhall find reſt unto your ſoules.

1 Cor. 10.
Mat. 26.
Mat. 11.

The life and ſtory of W. Flower, who for ſtriking of a Prieſt, was apprehended, firſt having his hand cut off, and after martyred for his conſtant ſtanding to the truth.

W. Flower Martyr.

WIlliam Flower, otherwiſe named Branch firſt concerning his trade of life, and bringing up, hee was born at Snowhill in the Countie of Cambridge, where he went to ſchool certain yeeres, and then came to the Abby of Ely; where, after he had remained a while, hee was a profeſſed Monke according to the order & rule of the ſame houſe wherin he remained, uſing and bearing the habit of a Monk, and obſerving the rules and order of the ſame houſe, untill he came to one and twenty years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a profeſſed Monk, he was made a prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate & ſing Maſſe a good ſpace together. After that, by reaſon of a viſitation, and certaine iniunctions given in the ſame time by the authoritie of King Henry the eighth, he forſook the ſame houſe, & caſting from him the ſaid Monkes habit and religion aforeſaid, took upon him and uſed the habit of a ſecular Prieſt, and returned to Snowhill, where hee was borne; and there he did celebrate and ſing Maſſe, and taught children their Primar and Accidence about halfe a yeere together.

W. Flower firſt a Monke, then a Prieſt in the houſe of Ely.

W. Flower at the ſuppreſſion of Abbies, turned his religion.

W. Flower a Maſſe Prieſt.

Then he went from thence to Ludgate in Suffolke, and there ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt about a quarter of a yeare; and from thence hee then went to Stoniland, where he tarried and ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt alſo, untill the comming out of the ſix Articles: and then he departed from thence, and went into Glouceſter ſhire, where after he had made his abode in the Countrey a while, at length in Tewkeſbury, according to Gods holy ordinance, hee married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honeſtly continued: & after his mariage, he tarried in Tewkeſbury about two yeers together: and then from thence he went unto Broſley, where he tarried three quarters of a yeere, and practiſed Phyſicke and Chirurgery, and from thence he removed to Northhampton ſhire, where under a Gentleman he taught children their Primars, and to write and reade, a good ſpace. And ſo departing from thoſe parts; he came to London, and there remained for a certaine ſpace. After that, being deſirous to ſee his country, he returned to Snowhill where he was borne: from thence to Brankeſtrey in Eſſex, then to Corall, where hee taught children a ſpace, and ſo came to Lambeth beſide London, where he hired a houſe, and placed his wife, where he & his wife did ever ſince dwell together til this time: howbeit for the moſt part he was alwaies abroad; and very ſeldome at home, except once or twiſe in a moneth, to viſit and ſee his wife; where he being at home upon Eaſter day about 10. or 11. a clock in the forenoon of the ſame day, came over the water from Lambeth into ſaint Margarets Church at Weſtminſter, where he finding and ſeeing a Prieſt called John Cheltam miniſtring and giving the Sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conſcience with the prieſt for the ſame his doing (for that hee iudged him not to be a Catholike Miniſter, neither his act to bee Catholike and laudable according to Gods word) did ſtrike and wound him upon the head, and alſo upon the arme and hand with his woodknife, the prieſt having the ſame time in his hand a Chalice, with certaine conſecrated hoſts therin, which were ſprinkled with the blood of the ſaid prieſt.

W. Flower marrieth a wife.

W. Flower commeth to Lambeth.

W. Flower ſtriketh a Popiſh Prieſt at the altar in Weſtminſter.

In the which ſo doing as indeed he did not wel or Evangelically, ſo afterward, being examined before biſhop Boner, did no leſſe confeſſe his not well doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therfore himſelfe willingly to puniſhment, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his beliefe in the Sacrament, and the Popiſh miniſtration, he neither would nor did ſubmit himſelfe.

W. Flower repenteth his act in ſtriking.
W. Flower conſtant in his faith.

Wherupon the foreſaid W. Flower, being firſt apprehended and laid in the gatehouſe at Weſtminſter (where he had given two groats the ſame day a little before to the priſoners, ſaying, hee would ſhortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could beare: afterward was convented before Boner his Ordinary, Aprill 19. Anno 1555. where the Biſhop after he had ſworne him upon a book (according to his ordinary manner) miniſtred articles & interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeak of the articles, firſt we have here to ſet forth what communication paſſed betwixt him and Robert Smith being then alſo there priſoner with him in Newgate, concerning his fact done at Weſtminſter, the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

W. Flower laid in the gate houſe at Weſtminſter.

W. Flower brought before Biſhop Boner.

A communication or debating betweene Robert Smith priſoner in Newgate, and W. Flower, concerning his ſtriking of the Prieſt at Weſtminſter.

Robert Smith.

The talke betweene Robert Smith and W. Flower.

FRiend, for as much as I do underſtand that you doe profeſſe the Goſpell, and alſo have ſo done a long ſeaſon, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the aſtoniſhing not only of me, but of divers other, that alſo profeſſe the verity.

Flower. I praiſe God for his great goodnes, in ſhewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your viſitation, intending by Gods grace to declare all the truth that yee ſhall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam prieſt, in the Church, as neere as you can, that I may heare from your owne mouth how it was.

The zeale of W. Flower in ſeeing the Lords honor defaced.

Flo. I came from my houſe at Lambeth over the water, and entring into S. Margarets Church (ſo called) and there ſeeing the people falling down before a moſt ſhamefull and deteſtable Idol, being moved with extreme zeale for my God, whom I ſaw before my face diſhonored, I drew forth my Hanger, and ſtrake the prieſt which miniſtred the ſame unto them: wherupon I was immediately apprehended, and this is moſt true, as the act is manifeſt.

Smi. Did ye not know yͤ perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil wil or hatred betwéen you at any time.

Flo. No verily, I never to my knowledge ſaw the perſon before that preſent, neither ought him or any man alive evill will, or malice; for if he had not had it, another ſhould, if I had any time come where the like occaſion had béen miniſtred, if God had permitted me to doe it.

Smith. Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the Goſpel?

Extraordinary zeales are no generall rules to be followed.

Flo. I doe confeſſe all fleſh to be ſubiect to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his Miniſters to do his will and pleaſure; as in example, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, Joſhua, Zimry, Jehu, Judith, Mattathiah, with many others, not only changing degrées, but alſo planting zeales to his honour, againſt all order and reſpect of fleſh and blood. For, as ſaith S. Paul, His works are paſt finding out: by whoſe ſpirit I have alſo given my fleſh at this preſent unto ſuch order, as it ſhall pleaſe the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

W. Flower intending at Pauls to have done the like.

Flo. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at Pauls Church (ſo called) upon Chriſts day in the morning, to have done it in my iealouſie: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undoe that is done; and yet now being compelled by the ſpirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the Church, but being in mind fully content to dye for the Lord, gave over my fleſh willingly without all fear, I praiſe God. Wherfore I cannot learne you to do the like. Firſt, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the Goſpell command us to ſuffer with patience all wrongs and iniury: yet nevertheles, if hee make you worthy, that hath made mee zealous, ye ſhall not be letted, iudged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unſpeakeable workes in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beſéech you to iudge the beſt of the ſpirit, and condemn not Gods doings: for I cannot expreſſe with my mouth the great mercies that God hath ſhewed on mee in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are ye not aſſured to have death miniſtred unto you for the ſame act committed, and even with extremity?

W. Flower prepared himſelfe to death before the fact committed.

Flo. I did before the déed committed, adiudge my body to die for the ſame: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the holy Scriptures; that if it had pleaſed God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the Church, they might in the ſaid writing have ſéen my hope which I (praiſe God) is laid up ſafe within my breſt, notwithſtanding any death that may be miniſtred upon my body in this world; being aſcertained of everlaſting life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and being moſt heartily ſorry for all mine offences committed in this fleſh, and truſting ſhortly through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Smith. It is no néed to examine or commune with you of the hope that yee have any further: for I perceive (God be praiſed) yee are in good eſtate, and therefore I beſéech God for his mercies ſpread his wings over you, that as for his love you have béene zealous, even to the loſſe of this life, ſo he may give you his holy ſpirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be ſhortly.

Flo. I hunger for the ſame (dear friend) being fully aſcertained that they can kill but the body, which I am aſſured ſhall receive life again everlaſting, and ſée no more death; entirely deſiring you and all that feare the Lord, to pray with me to almighty God, to perform the ſame in me ſhortly. And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his Ward. And this (gentle Reader) is the truth, as néer as the ſaid Smith could report it.

Anno 1555.

And thus much concerning the talke betwéen him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in ſtriking the Prieſt. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: We ſhewed before how this William Flower, after his ſtriking the Prieſt, firſt was laid in the gatehouſe; then, being examined before Boner, had articles miniſtred againſt him: the copy whereof here followeth.

Articles objected and miniſtred by Boner, againſt William Branch, *alias* Flower, late of Lambeth in the Countie of Surrey.

Articles objected againſt W. Flower by D. Boner.

First, that thou being of a lawfull age and diſcretion at the leſt of ſeventéen yéers old waſt profeſſed a Monk in the late Abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt untill the age of 21. yéers, uſing all the mean time the habit and religion of the ſame houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

In the later daies certaine ſhall depart from the faith, forbidding mariage and eating of meats. 1 Tim. 4.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made Prieſt, according to the laudable cuſtome of the Catholike Church, and afterward thou didſt execute and miniſter as a prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a prieſt.

Item, that after the premiſſes thou forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſty, and the laudable order of the Catholike Church, didſt contrary to thy profeſſion and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the Pariſh Church of Tewkeſbury in the Dioceſſe of Glocester, with whom thou haddeſt mutuall cohabitation, and carnall copulation, as man and wife, and begateſt of her two children.

A great hereſie.

Item, that thou being a religious man and a prieſt, didſt contrary to the order of the Eccleſiaſticall Laws, take upon thée to practiſe in divers places within the Dioceſſe of London, Phyſick, and Chirurgery, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learnnd.

Item, that upon Eaſter day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the fourtéenth day of this preſent moneth of April, within the Pariſh Church of S. Margarets at Weſtminſter, within the County of Middleſex and Dioceſſe of London, thou didſt maliciouſly, outragiouſly, and violently pull out thy weapon, that is to wit, thy woodknife or hanger. And whereas the Prieſt and Miniſter there, called ſir John Cheltam, was executing his Cure and charge, eſpecially in doing his ſervice, and miniſtring the ſacrament of the altar to communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with thy ſaid weapon the ſaid Prieſt, firſt upon the head very ſore, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood aboundantly upon him; the ſaid Prieſt then holding the ſaid ſacrament in his hand, and giving no occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt him; the people being grievouſly offended therwith, and the ſaid Church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitants were compelled to repaire to another Church to communicate, and to receive the ſaid ſacrament.

Item, that by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the Eccleſiaſticall Laws of the Church, amongſt other penalties, excommunicate and accurſed, *ipſo facto*, and not to be companied withall, neither in Church, nor otherwhere, but in ſpeciall caſes.

Item,

Anno 1555.

His faith in the ſacrament.

Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Chriſts naturall body and blood in the ſacrament of the Altar, haſt been by the ſpace of theſe yeeres, 20.19.18.17. 16.15.14.13.12.11.10.9.8.7.6. 5.4.3.2. and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of this opinion; that is to ſay, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the formes of bread) the very true and naturall body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, that thou for the hatred and diſdaine that thou hadſt and didſt beare againſt the ſaid ſacrament, and the vertue thereof, and againſt the ſaid Prieſt miniſtring the ſame, (as before) didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

Item, that thou, over and beſides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruell fact, art alſo by the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of the Church, and the laudable cuſtome and ordinance of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, and iudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretike, and to be puniſhed by and with the paines due for hereſie, by reaſon of the ſaid hereſie and damnable opinion.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, and notorious and famous, and that upon the ſame and every part thereof, there was and is within the ſaid Pariſh of S. Margarets and other places thereabout, a publike voice and fame.

The anſwer of William Flower made to the articles aforeſaid.

Flower anſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that he ſaith and confeſſeth that he never conſented and agreed in his heart to be a Monk.

Flower made Monk againſt his will.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he never did, nor yet doth eſteeme the ſaid order of Prieſthood, according to the ſaid order of the Catholike Church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his conſcience.

Flower confeſſeth his matrimony to be honeſt & lawfull.

W. Flower more devout to God being in the ſtate of matrimony, than before.

To the third article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the ſaid Alice Pulton named in this article, wherein he beleeveth that he did well, and according to Gods lawes. Further, confeſſing and beleeving, that all the time when he was profeſſed Monke, and made Prieſt, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did ſo marry the ſaid Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and beleeveth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he anſwereth, and beleeveth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

The order of Flowers ſtriking the Prieſt at the Altar. Note that the ſaid W. Flower afterward in his next appearance corrected and reformed this anſwer.

To the fifth article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that his conſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid ſir John Cheltam Prieſt, for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the Altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this article, he did ſo ſmite and ſtrike the ſame Prieſt with his hanger or woodknife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body, which he remembreth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid Church, as he beleeveth, having, as he ſaith, none other cauſe or matter ſo to do, but onely that his conſcience was offended and grieved, in that the ſame Prieſt did ſo give and miniſter the ſaid ſacrament to the people: which people he beleeveth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaid fact and doing, and were enforced and compelled to goe out of the Church, and to repaire to another to receive the ſaid ſacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the ſaid Prieſt, or not: he ſaid he would not anſwer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evill in ſtriking the ſaid Prieſt; he would make no anſwer thereunto, as he ſaid.

Flower would not anſwer whether he intended to kill the Prieſt.

To the ſixth he anſwereth and ſaith, that whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himſelfe herein to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth and ſaith, that by the ſpace of ſixe and twenty yeeres now paſt, he hath alwayes been, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, as followeth; videlicet, that in the ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained under the forme of bread, the very true and naturall body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eighth he anſwereth, and beleeveth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he anſwereth, and herein he referreth himſelfe to the ſaid lawes, cuſtome, and ordinance ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the Canonicall lawes.

To the laſt he anſwereth and beleeveth, that thoſe things before by him confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the ſaid common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and goe upon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me W. Flower, alias Branch.

W. Flower exhorted to recant.

After this examination done, the Biſhop began after the beſt ſort of his fine Divinity to inſtruct him, and to exhort him to returne againe to the unity of his mother the catholike Church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to uſe to others, promiſing many faire things if he would ſo doe, beſides the remitting of that was paſt.

To this William Flower anſwering again, thanked him for his offer: and where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he ſtood therewith contented, let him doe therein what he thought; yet over his ſoule he had no ſuch power, which being once ſeparated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to ſave or ſpill. As concerning his opinion of the ſacrament, he ſaid he would never go from that he had ſpoken, do he with him what he would.

W. Flower refuſeth to revoke his faith and doctrine.

Then the Biſhop aſſigned him againe to appeare in the ſame place at afternoone, betwixt 3. and 4. In the meane time to adviſe himſelfe of his former anſwers, whether he would ſtand to the ſame his opinions or no: which if he ſo did, he would further proceed againſt him, &c.

Another appearance of W. Flower before B. Boner.

At afternoone the ſaid William Flower appeared againe before the ſaid Biſhop the houre and place appointed. To whom the Biſhop ſitting in his Conſiſtory, ſpake theſe words: Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made anſwer to certaine articles; and thereupon I reſpited you till now, to the intent you ſhould conſider and weigh with your ſelfe your ſtate, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and alſo that evill opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Chriſts true naturall body in the ſacrament of the Altar.

W. Flower ſtandeth to his doctrine.

To whom the ſaid Branch anſwered againe, and ſaid as followeth: That which I have ſaid, I will ſtand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed againſt me. Whereupon the Biſhop commanded his Notarie (Harward by name) to read to him againe his articles, as before. Which being read, ẏ ſaid William Flower perſiſting in his godly ſentence, anſwered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoone before, ſave onely that he requeſted the Biſhop concerning the fifth article, he might alter ſomthing his anſwer therein, after this tenor and manner of words: to wit, and moreover confeſſeth and ſaith, that whereas he ſtrake the Prieſt on Eaſter day laſt paſt, in S. Margarets Church in Weſtminſter, he hath ſince that time, and yet doth miſlike himſelfe in that doing, and doth now iudge and beleeve that the ſame his act was evill & naught. Howbeit he ſaith and beleeveth that for the matter and cauſe wherefore he ſo ſtrooke the ſaid Prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the Altar, which he taketh and iudgeth abominable) he neither did nor doth miſlike himſelfe at all therein.

Flower miſliked his owne act in ſtriking the Prieſt.

Flower reformeth his anſwer to the ninth article.

Moreover, he deſireth of the ſaid Biſhop licence to be granted him, to alter and take out ſomewhat of the ninth Article, and in place thereof, theſe words to be placed; to wit, Herein he referreth himſelfe to the lawes, cuſtome and ordinance ſpecified in this article, &c. At which requeſt, Boner granted to the altering of both the Articles according as he deſired, and ſo put in the acts.

After this, the Biſhop turning againe to his old maner of exhorting, went about with words (and words onely) to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelfe to the catholike Church, and to the faith thereof. All which his perſwaſions notwithſtanding, William ſtill remained in the conſtancy of his ſentence, ſaying, that he would not be removed from that he had ſpoken, to die therefore. Whereupon the Biſhop aſſigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of Aprill) to appeare in the ſame day and place, betweene the houres of 8. and 9. before noone, there and then to heare the ſentence pronounced, in caſe he would not relent, &c.

The laſt appearance of William Flower before Biſhop Boner.

The laſt appearance of W. Flower before B. Boner.

IN the which day, houre, and place, the ſaid William Flower as he was appointed, was brought by the Keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleet, before Boner, who after his wonted manner of perſwaſion going about to reduce him to his catholike Church and the unity thereof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt; ſometimes with faire promiſes alluring, ſomtime with menaces and terrours, fearing him, &c. To this William anſwering, ſaid on this wiſe; Doe what ye will, I am at a point: for the heavens ſhall as ſoone fall, as I will forſake mine opinion, &c. Whereupon the Biſhop after he had commanded theſe words to be regiſtred, called for the depoſitions of certaine witneſſes, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witneſſes were theſe: William Jenings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the Pariſh Prieſt of S. Margarets at Weſtminſter. The ſumme and effect of whoſe depoſitions here enſueth.

W. Flowers conſtancy.

Witneſſe produced againſt W. Flower.

The depoſitions or atteſtations producted upon the anſwers of William Flower.

RObert Graunt of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers of William Flower, ſaith and depoſeth; that he did heare and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand, and alſo was preſent in the Church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, when the ſaid William Flower did ſmite and wound the Prieſt, when (as he ſaith) he was miniſtring the ſacrament; and how this examinate among other preaſed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin, and after he was taken, this examinate holp to conduct him to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter.

RIchard Dod of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth; that he did heare and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his owne hand; and alſo did ſee and was preſent, when the ſaid Flower upon Eaſter day laſt paſt drew his wood-knife, and ſtrake the Prieſt upon the head, hand, and arme: who being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with conſecrated hoſts there in his hand, ſprinkled with the ſaid Prieſts bloud, was holpen and reſcued by this examinate, and the ſaid Flower carried to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, and his wood-knife taken away by this examinate.

WIlliam Pampion, one of the Churchwardens of the ſaid Pariſh Church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers of the ſaid Flower, ſaith and depoſeth, that the ſame anſwers be true, and in his ſight were ſubſcribed with the hand of the ſaid Flower. And that upon Eaſter day laſt paſt, about eleven of the clock in the forenoone, in the Pariſh Church of Saint Margarets in Weſtminſter, among a great number of the people ready to be houſeled, the Prieſts backe being turned toward the ſaid Flower, he the ſaid Flower ſuddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and ſtrake ſir John Cheltam the Prieſt, both upon his head, hand, and arme, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the chalice with conſecrated hoſts being in his hand, were ſprinkled with his bloud, and the people in great feare cried out lamentably, and thought they ſhould preſently have been killed.

RObert Smalwood of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth that he did heare and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe the ſame with his owne hand; and touching the ſtriking and wounding the Prieſt in S. Margarets Church in Weſtminſter upon Eaſter day laſt, this examinate ſaith, he was not there when the fact was done, but immediately after, he came to Church, and found ſir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arme, by the ſaid Flower, and the people in great heavineſſe by reaſon thereof. Alſo the people did report (as this examinate ſaith) that Flower did the deed, as the Prieſt had the chalice in his hand, miniſtring the ſacrament to the people.

WIlliam Jenings of Weſtminſter, being examined upon the anſwers of the ſaid William Flower, ſaith and depoſeth by vertue of his oath, that he did heare and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand in yͤ Conſiſtory place: and further depoſeth, that he (upon Eaſter day laſt paſt) was preſent in the Church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, where Flower ſtrake the ſaid ſir John Cheltam Prieſt, firſt upon the head, and afterward upon his arme two ſore ſtrokes, whereby the ſaid Prieſt is like to loſe his hand. Alſo this Jurate depoſed, that the ſaid ſir John Cheltam had a chalice with certain conſecrated hoſts therein (in his hand) which were ſprinkled with the bloud of the ſaid Prieſt, and after the ſaid Flower was apprehended by this examinate and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouſe in Weſtminſter.

John Bray one of the Churchwardens of the Pariſh Church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, ſworne and examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, that he did heare and ſée the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and alſo ſubſcribe unto the ſame. And further depoſeth of Flowers ſtriking the Prieſt, in effect, as the reſt of the examinates do, and that this ſaid Jurate was preſent there at the déed doing.

After the depoſitions of theſe foreſaid witneſſes being taken, publiſhed, and denounced, the ſaid Biſhop ſpeaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cauſe why his ſentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an Heretike. Whereunto the Martyr of God anſwereth againe as followeth; I have nothing at all to ſay, for I have already ſaid unto you all that I have to ſay; and that I have ſaid I will not go from: and therefore do what you will, &c.

Sentence of condemnation and degradation pronounced againſt William Flower.

Which when he had ſpoken, the Biſhop procéeded to the ſentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an Heretike, and after pronounced him alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed him to the ſecular power. Upon the 24. day of the foreſaid moneth of Aprill, which was S. Marks Even, he was brought to the place of martyrdome, which was in Saint Margarets Churchyard at Weſtminſter, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the ſtake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confeſſion of his Chriſtian faith, in manner as followeth.

A prayer and confeſſion of William Flower.

Flowers prayer.

OH eternall God, moſt mighty and mercifull Father, who haſt ſent down thy Sonne upon the earth, to ſave me and all mankinde, who aſcended up into heaven againe, and left his bloud upon the earth behinde him, for the redemption of our ſins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy deare Sonne our Saviour Ieſus Chriſts ſake, in whom I confeſſe only to be all ſalvation and juſtification, and that there is none other meane, nor way, nor holineſſe, in which or by which any man can be ſaved in this world. This is my faith, which I beſeech all men here to beare witneſſe of.

Then he ſaid the Lords prayer, and ſo made an end.

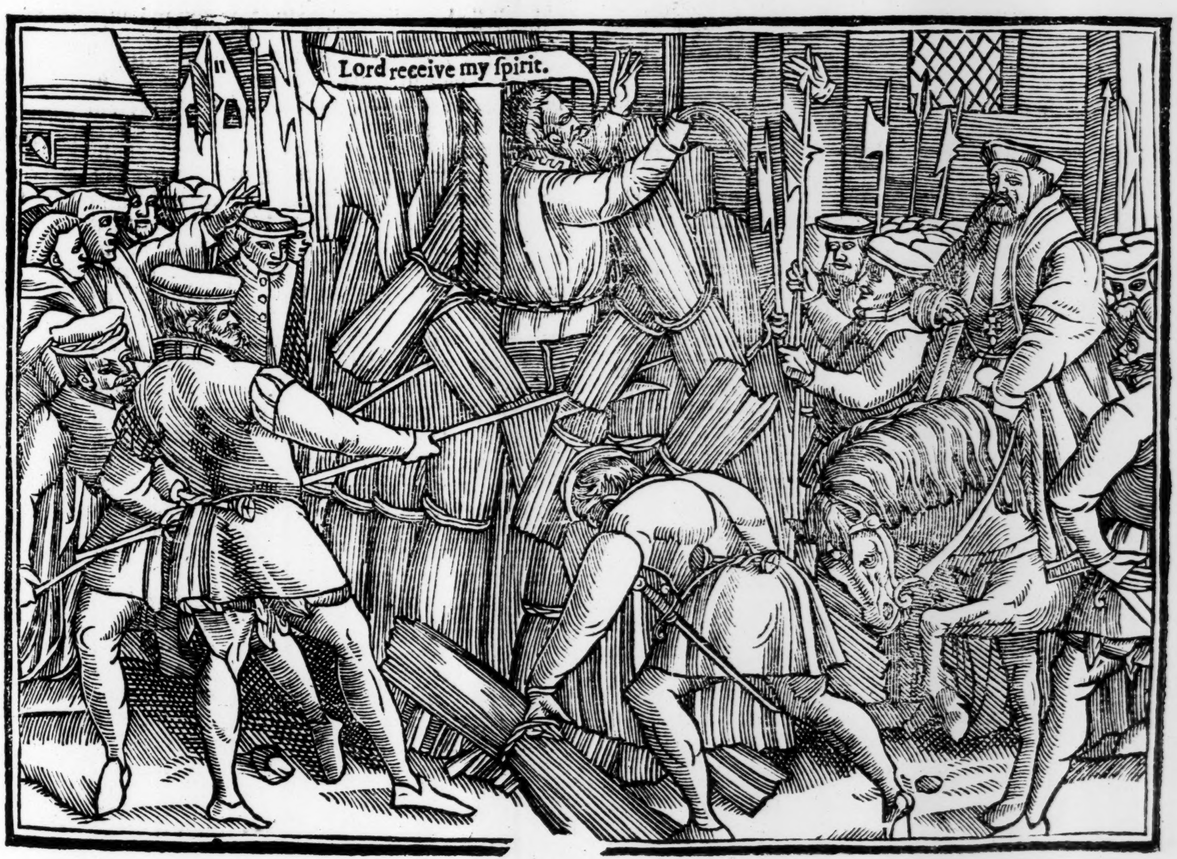
Talk between W. Flower and M. Cholmeley.

Then M. Cholmeley came to him, willing him to recant his hereſie, whereby he might do good to the people, or elſe he would be damned.

Flower anſwered as followeth: Sir, I beſéech you for Gods ſake be contented: for that I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and I have béene of this faith from the beginning; and I truſt to the living God he will give me his holy ſpirit to continue to the end. Then he deſired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world.

This done, firſt his hand being held up againſt the ſtake, was ſtriken off, his left hand being ſtayed behinde him. At the which ſtriking off his hand, certaine that were preſent beholders of the matter, and purpoſely obſerving the ſame, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once ſhrink at the ſtriking thereof, but once a little he ſtirred his ſhoulders.

The burning of *William Flower* at Weſtminſter, the 24. of Aprill, Anno 1555.


Lord receive my ſpirit.

And thus fire was ſet unto him, who burning therein, cried with a lowd voice; O the Sonne of God have mercy upon me, O the Sonne of God receive my ſoule, three times, and ſo his ſpeech being taken from him, he ſpake no more, lifting up notwithſtanding his ſtump with his other arme, as long as he could.

And thus indured this conſtant witneſſe and faithfull ſervant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reaſon that to his burning little wood was brought, ſo that for lack of ſagots there not ſufficient to burne him, they were faine to ſtrike him down into the fire. Where he lying along (which was dolefull to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was conſumed in the fire, whileſt his upper part was cleane without the fire, his tongue in all mens ſight ſtill moving in his mouth

May 1555.

The third of May a letter was ſent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make ſearch for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Walſh, who uſed to repaire to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pigot that was burned, doe ſhew them to the people, perſwading them to be conſtant in his religion, and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the lawes.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the little eaſe in the Tower, there to remaine two or three dayes, untill further examination.

The 12. day M. Thomas Roſſe Preacher, was by the Councels letters delivered from the Tower to the Sheriffe of Northfolke, to be conveighed and delivered to the Biſhop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or elſe proceed againſt him according to the law.

The 16. a letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, ſignifying what the LL. had done for Roſſe, and that order ſhould be given, according to his Lordſhips requeſt, for letters to the Biſhops: and for Appes, whom the Lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordſhip perceiving the ſame to be true, ſhould commit him to Bedlem, there to remaine untill their further order.

The 26. a letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to conferre with the Biſhop of London, and the Juſtices of the Peace of that County, wherein they are to be executed, that are already condemned for religion, and upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The 28. a letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to cauſe ſpeedy preparation to be made of ſuch money as was appointed for ſuch perſons as ſhould carry the ioyfull tydings of Queene Maries good delivery of childe, to divers Princes: ſo as they be not compelled to ſtay when time ſhall come. The Embaſſadors were, to the Emperor the Lord Admirall, to the French King the Lord Fitzwater, to the King of Romans ſir Henry Sidney, to the King of Portingall Richard Shelley, whoſe free paſſage through France M. Doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters the 24. of June.

The 29. was a letter directed to ſir Frances Inglefield to make ſearch for one John D. at London, and to apprehend him, and ſend him to the Councell, and to make ſearch for ſuch papers and books as he thinketh may touch the ſame D. or one Benger.

The burning and martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, and Iohn Warne Vpholſter, which ſuffered both together in Smithfield, Anno 1555.

May 30. John Cardmaker and John Warne, Martyrs.

Upon the 30. day of May ſuffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwiſe called Taylor, Prebendary of the Church of Wels; and John Warne Upholſter, of the Pariſh of S. John in Walbrooke. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning firſt with M. Cardmaker, who firſt was an obſervant Frier before the diſſolution of the Abbeyes: then after was a married Miniſter, and in K. Edwards time appointed to be a Reader in Pauls, where the Papiſts were ſo much agrieved with him for his doctrines ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gowne with their knives. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, with M. Barlow Biſhop of Bathe, was brought to London, and laid in priſon in the Fleet, King Edwards lawes yet being in force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was againe admitted as ſupreme head of the Church, and the Biſhops had alſo gotten power and authority, Ex officio, to exerciſe their tyranny, theſe two were brought before Wincheſter Chancellor, and others appointed by commiſſion (as before is mentioned) to examine the faith of ſuch as were then priſoners, and as unto others before, ſo now unto them the Chancellor offered the Queenes mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

M. Cardmaker Reader in Pauls.

Cardmaker with M. Barlow apprehended and laid in the Fleet.

To this they both made ſuch an anſwer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commiſſioners allowed them for Catholikes. Whether they of weakneſſe ſo anſwered, or he of ſubtilty would ſo underſtand their anſwer, that he might have ſome forged example of a ſhrinking brother to lay in the diſh of the reſt, which were to be examined, it may eaſily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he obiected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their ſoberneſſe, diſcretion, and learning. But whatſoever their anſwer was, yet notwithſtanding Barlow was led againe to the Fleet, from whence he afterward being delivered, did by exile conſtantly beare witneſſe to the truth of Chriſts Goſpell. Cardmaker was conveighed to the Counter in Breadſtreet, the Biſhop of London procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be delivered, after that he had ſubſcribed to tranſubſtantiation and certain other articles. To the ſame priſon where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced againſt him) where theſe two priſoners had ſuch Chriſtian conference, that whatſoever the breath of the Biſhops bluſtred, and the tickle eares of the people too lightly beleeved, in the end they both ſhewed themſelves conſtant Confeſſors and worthy Martyrs of Chriſt: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whoſe departure Cardmaker remained there priſoner, to be baited of the Papiſts, which would needs ſeeme to have a certaine hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continuall and great conference divers of them had with him, with reaſonings, perſwadings, threatnings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appeare, he required them to put their reaſons in writing, and promiſed by writing to anſwer them.

Barlow and Cardmaker acceptable to Wincheſter as Catholikes.

M. Barlow exiled for the truth.

Conference betweene Laurence Saunders and John Cardmaker.

Doctor Martin, who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageants, took upon him to be the chiefe doer by writing, whoſe long unſavoury letters and ſimple reaſons for Tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch papiſticall traſh, this Cardmaker anſwered largely, learnedly, and ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, opening the falſhood of his arguments, and delivering the ſentences of the Fathers (which Martin abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true underſtanding; which his anſwers I would had come to our hands. Thus conſtantly abode this

Doctor Martin writeth againſt Cardmaker.

man of God all the enemies doings, as he did alſo the death which he ſuffered in Smithfield in London: whereof ye ſhall heare more anon. But firſt we will ſurvey the matter and manner of his articles objected againſt him by B. Boner, with his anſwers annext to the ſame, as conſequently hereunder followeth.

Articles objected by Boner againſt Iohn Taylor, aliàs Cardmaker, with his anſwers unto the ſame.

May 24. Articles miniſtred againſt John Cardmaker by the biſhop of London.

John Cardmaker firſt an obſervant Frier.

FIrſt, I Edmund Biſhop of London, object againſt thee ſir John Taylor, aliàs Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the City and Dioceſſe of London, and ſo of the iuriſdiction of me Edmund Biſhop of London.

Item, that thou in times paſt diddeſt profeſſe the rule of S. Francis, and diddeſt by vow promiſe to keep poverty, chaſtity, and obedience, according to the rule of S. Francis.

Item, that thou in times paſt didſt receive all the orders of the Church then uſed: to wit, tam majores quàm minores.

John Cardmaker married.

Item, that thou after thy ſaid entry into religion and profeſſion and orders aforeſaid, didſt take to wife a widow, and with her hadſt carnall copulation, and didſt get of her a woman child, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and alſo the ordinance of the Church.

Item, that thou haſt beleeved and taught, and ſo doſt beleeve, that in the ſacrament of the Altar under the viſible ſignes there, that is to ſay, under the formes of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very naturall body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

The beliefe of the Popes Catholike Church.

Item, that the beliefe of the Catholike Church is, that in having the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the Altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Chriſt there inviſibly and really preſent under the ſaid ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.

To ſpeak naturally of the naturall body of Chriſt, theſe two cannot ſtand together at one time, unleſſe we grant Chriſt to have two bodies.

Item, that it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the faith of the catholike Church; that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into heaven, and there is in the viſible form of his humanity; and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar.

“That Chriſt never willed, neither can the Scriptures beare it.

Item, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper taking bread into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Apoſtles, and ſaying; Take, eat, this is my body; did inſtitute a ſacrament there, “willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Anſwers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforeſaid.

John Cardmaker anſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part therof.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he, being under age, did profeſſe the ſaid order and religion, and afterward by the authority of King Henry the eighth, he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the third he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, the firſt part therof to be true: and to the ſecond part of the ſame article he anſwereth and ſaith, that in marriage he brake no vow, becauſe he was ſet at liberty to marry, both by the lawes of this Realme and alſo by the lawes and ordinances of the Church of the ſame.

To the fifth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he hath beleeved and taught, as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now ſo beleeve nor teach.

To the ſixth he anſwereth, that he doth not beleeve the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth, that he doth not beleeve the ſame to be true in part thereof.

The firſt part of this article is true: the ſecond is falſe.

To the eighth he anſwereth and doth beleeve, videlicet, that it is true; that is to ſay, that Chriſt taking bread at his laſt Supper into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Diſciples, and ſaying; Take, eat, this is my body, did inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other part of his article, videlicet (willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but onely the accidents thereof) he anſwereth that he doth not beleeve the ſame to be true.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

Maſter Cardmaker calling to minde afterwards the ready cavillings of the Papiſts, and thinking himſelf not to have fully and according to his true meaning anſwered the later part of the laſt eighth article, did the next day after the foreſaid anſwers exhibite unto the Biſhop in a ſchedule this hereafter following.

A more full anſwer to the ſecond part of the eighth article.

Where in my anſwer to your articles I deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, I meane not his ſacramentall preſence, for that I confeſſe; but my deniall is of his carnall preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this word is oftentimes taken of the holy Fathers, not only for bread and wine, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration and receiving of the ſame, according to Chriſts inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually to, and in all them which worthily receive the ſacrament; ſo that my deniall is ſtill of the reall, carnall, and corporall preſence in the ſacrament, and not of the ſacramentall nor ſpirituall preſence.

Sacramentall preſence in the ſacrament. Carnall preſence in the ſacrament denied.

This have I thought good to add to my former anſwer, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

Next to theſe articles of Maſter Cardmaker, I thought beſt to inferre the articles and anſwers likewiſe of John Warne his Martyrfellow, in manner as followeth.

Articles miniſtred againſt Iohn Warne Upholſter, of the Pariſh of S. Iohn in Walbrooke, with his anſwers to the ſame.

Articles againſt John Warne Upholſter in Walbrooke.

FIrſt, that thou John Warne, being of the age of 29. yeeres, and of the Pariſh of S. John of Walbrooke in London, haſt beleeved and doſt beleeve firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and naturall body of our Saviour Chriſt in ſubſtance, under the formes of bread and wine.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that thou haſt beleeved, and doſt beleeve, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is not (as the Church of England doth beleeve and teach) the body of Chriſt; but that there doth only remaine the ſubſtance of materiall bread, as it is before the conſecration, or ſpeaking of the words of conſecration, and that the ſaid bread is in no wiſe altered or changed.

Againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Item, that thou haſt ſaid and doſt beleeve, that if the Catholike Church doe beleeve and teach, that there is in the Maſſe, now uſed in England, and in other places of Chriſtendome, a ſacrifice wherein there is a ſacrament containing the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly; then that beliefe and faith of the Church is naught, againſt Gods truth and the Scripture.

Hereſie for laughing at a Spaniel ſhorne on the head.

Item, that thou haſt ſaid, that where about a twelve moneth agone, and more, a great rough Water-ſpaniel of thine was ſhorne on the head, and had a crown like a Prieſt made in the ſame, thou didſt laugh at it and like it, though thou didſt it not thy ſelfe, nor kneweſt who did it.

Item, that thou neither this lent laſt paſt, nor at any time ſince the Queens Maieſties reigne, haſt come into the Church, or heard Maſſe, or been confeſſed, or received the ſacrament of the Altar; and haſt ſaid, that thou art not ſorry that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſcience, which otherwiſe thou ſhouldeſt have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the ſaid Boner, in preſence of divers witneſſes, the 23. of May, the yeere 1555. did confeſſe and beleeve the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me Iohn Warne.

Another addition of articles

Alſo it was obiected againſt the ſaid John Warne, by the Biſhop aforeſaid, as followeth.

John Warne about the time of Anne Aſkew was condemned to be burned, and had his pardon

John Warne pardoned by King Henry the eighth.

Item, that thou John Warne waſt in time paſt here in the City of London, convented in the Guildhall for hereſie againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the lawes of this Realme of England in the time of King Henry the eighth, and when Alderman Barnes was Sheriffe, and the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkew was burnt in Smithfield, and thereupon thou waſt ſent as a priſoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund Biſhop of London did repaire with his Chaplaines, to inſtruct thee in the true faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, and to bring thee from thy errour, which was, that in the ſacrament of the Altar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporall preſence of Chriſts body and blood, under the formes of bread and wine; but that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only materiall bread and wine, without any ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood at all: and becauſe thou wouldſt not leave and forſake thy ſaid hereſie therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to the ſaid lawes condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the King and other in the Court, thou hadſt a pardon of King Henry the eighth, and ſo thereby didſt ſave thy life.

John Warne denieth tranſubſtantiation.

Neverthèleſſe, in thy heart, conſcience, and minde, thou didſt both then, and alſo afore beleeve no otherwiſe than at this preſent thou doſt beleeve; that is to ſay, that in the ſacrament of the Altar there is neither yͤ very true body or blood of Chriſt, nor no other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine, and to receive the ſaid materiall bread and wine, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Chriſts body, and no otherwiſe: ſo that thy faith and belief is, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is no ſubſtance of Chriſts materiall body and blood: but all the thing that is there, is materiall bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the ſubſtance of the naturall and true body of Chriſt, born of the Virgin Mary, is onely in heaven, and not in the ſacrament of the Altar. In which thine opinion thou haſt ever hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all this to be true, and in witneſſe thereof ſubſcribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

By me Iohn Warne.

Anno 1555.

The plaine anſwer of John Warne to the articles.

John Warne being examined upon the foreſaid articles by the Biſhop before certaine witneſſes, whoſe names were John Boſwell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the 23. of May, did anſwer to the ſame, confeſſing and granting the articles and the contents thereof to be true, according as they were obiected in every part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude Gods holy ſpirit wrought in him, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the Biſhop exhorting him with many words to leave his hereſies (as he called them) and to returne to the boſome of his mother the holy Church, commanded him to appeare againe the next day, being the 24. of the ſame moneth.

The ſecond ſeſſion againſt John Warne.

Who ſo doing (and anſwering as he did before) was willed to come thither againe at afternoon, and ſo he did: where and at what time he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop to recant his opinions. To whom he anſwered, that he would not depart from his received profeſſion, unleſſe he were thereunto throughly perſwaded by the holy Scriptures.

The third ſeſſion. May 25.

Upon which anſwer he was willed to come againe the next day, being the 25. day of the ſame moneth, at one of the clock in the afternoone. At which day and houre the Biſhop examined him again upon all his former articles before obiected, to the which he moſt conſtantly did ſtick, with his further anſwer thereunto added: I am perſwaded (quoth he) that I am in the right opinion, and I ſee no cauſe to repent; for all filthineſſe and Idolatry is in the Church of Rome.

John Warne conſtant againſt the Biſhops perſwaſions.

Sentence given againſt John Warne

The Biſhop then ſeeing that notwithſtanding all his faire promiſes, and terrible threatnings (wherof he uſed ſtore) he could not any thing prevaile; finiſhed this examination with the definitive ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid John Warne, and ſo charged the Sheriffes of London with him, under whoſe cuſtody he remained in the priſon of Newgate, untill the 30. day of the ſame moneth of May.

May 30. Cardmaker & John Warne brought to execution.

Upon the which 30. of May, being the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker with the ſaid John Warne were brought by the Sheriffes to the place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who being come to the ſtake, firſt the Sheriffes called Cardmaker aſide, and talked with him ſecretly, ſo long, that in the meane time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the ſtake, and had wood and reede ſet about him, ſo that nothing wanted but the firing; but ſtill abode Cardmaker talking with the Sheriffes.

John Warne tyed to the ſtake.

The people afraid of Cardmakers recanting.

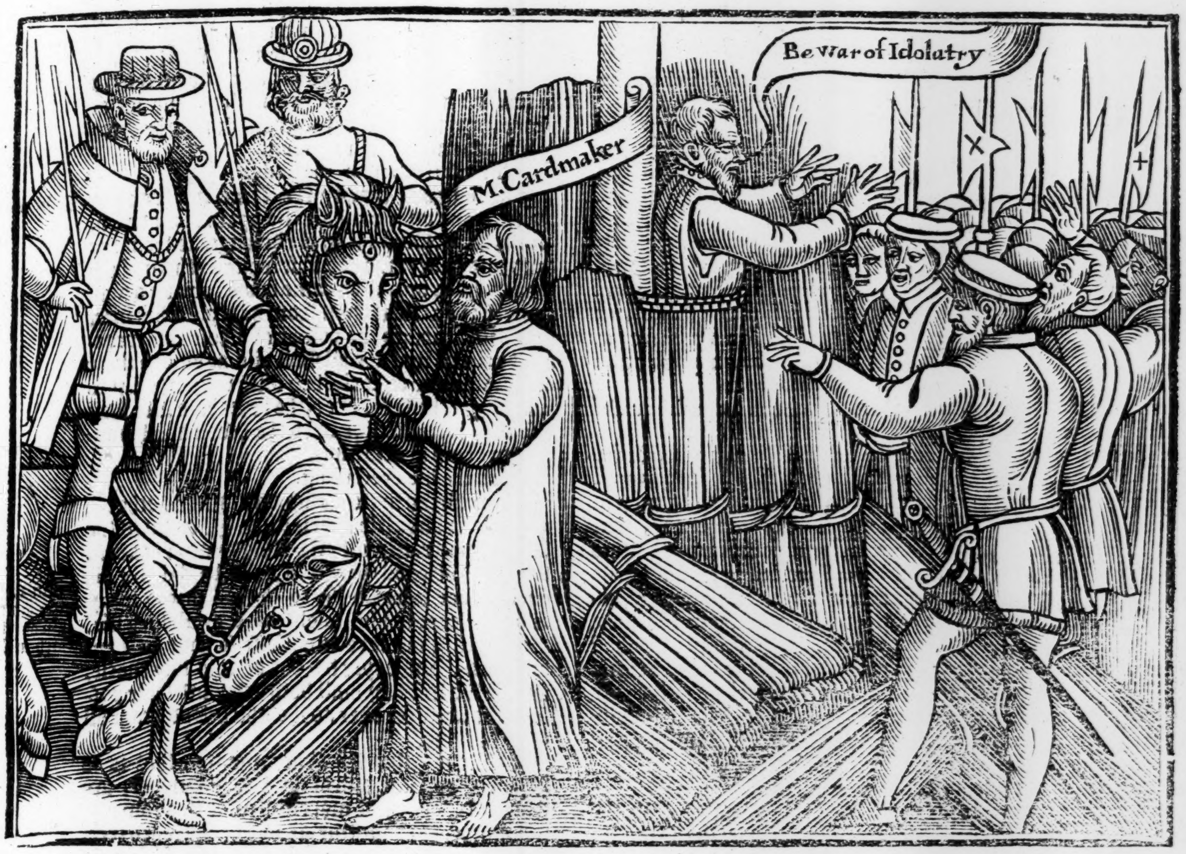
The people which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this maner of doing, were in a marvellous dumpe and ſadneſſe, thinking indeed that Cardmaker ſhould now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Sheriffes, and came towards the ſtake, and (in his garments as he was) kneeled downe and made a long prayer in ſilence to himſelfe: yet the people confirmed themſelves in their fantaſie of recanting, ſeeing him in his garments, praying ſecretly, and no ſemblance of any burning.

John Cardmaker ſtandeth conſtantly to the fire. Cardmaker & Warne ioyne hands.

His prayers being ended, he roſe up, put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, went with bold courage to the ſtake, and kiſſed it ſweetly: hee tooke Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily and ſo gave himſelfe to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeeing this ſo ſuddenly done, contrary to their fearfull expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for ioy (with ſo great a ſhout as hath not lightly been heard a greater) ſaying; God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee Cardmaker, the Lord Jeſus receive thy ſpirit. And this continued while the executioner

The reioycing of the people at Cardmakers conſtancy.

The martyrdome of *Iohn Cardmaker*, and *Iohn Warne* Upholſter, Anno 1555. May 30.



Anno 1555

ecutioner put fire to them, and they both paſſed thorow the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among Gods holy Saints and Martyrs, to enioy the crowne of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſouldiers and warriours of Chriſt Ieſus in his bleſſed Kingdome. To whom be glory and maieſty for ever. Amen.

The confeſſion of the faith of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30. day of May, Anno 1555.

I beleeve in God the Father Almighty, and maker of heaven and earth.

The confeſſion of Iohn Warn.

A Father, becauſe he is the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who is the everlaſting word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himſelfe, which word was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his Sonne; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his Kingdome, and therefore he is our Father: An Almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created all things viſible and inviſible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely Son our Lord.

The eternall word, perfect God with his Father, of equall power in all things, of the ſame ſubſtance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made alſo perfect man, and ſo being very God, and very man in one perſon, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ranſomer of them which were loſt in Adam our forefather. He is the only meane of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the ſurety of our ſalvation.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers moſt mercifull promiſe, this eternall Son of God, forſaking the heavenly glory, humbled himſelfe to take fleſh of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the ſubſtance of the Godhead to the ſubſtance of the manhood, which he took of the ſubſtance of that bleſſed Virgin Mary, in one perſon, to become therin the very Meſſiah, the annointed King and Prieſt, for ever appointed to pacifie the Fathers wrath, which was iuſtly gone out againſt us all for our ſin.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Jewry, and ſo uniuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged him innocent, and ſought meanes to deliver him; but contrary to knowne iuſtice, he did let goe Barrabbas which had deſerved death, and delivered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerved no death: which doth declare unto us manifeſtly, that he ſuffered for our ſinnes, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophets do witneſſe, thereby to have it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world. Therfore ſuffering for our ſins, he received and did beare our deſerved condemnation, the paines of death, the taſte of abiection, the very terror of hell, yeelding his ſpirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

The third day he roſe again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and iuſtification, the ſame crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raiſed up againe the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the firſt fruits of the reſurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raiſed up from death. Through whom all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remiſſion of their ſins.

He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

The triumphant victory over death.

After that in his death and reſurrection he had conquered ſin, death, and the divell, and had been converſant forty dayes in the earth being ſeen of the Apoſtles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the ſame body in which he wrought the work of our ſalvation, he aſcended into heaven with eternall triumph, for the victory over death, ſin, hell, leaving the paſſage open, by which all true beleevers may and ſhall enter into his Kingdome, where he now ſitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to ſay, in power and glory equall, in maieſty coeternall.

From thence he ſhall come to judge the quicke and the dead.

He ſhall appeare againe in great glory to receive his elect unto himſelfe, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raiſing up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this ſhall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their ſins waſhed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteouſneſſe, ſhall receive the everlaſting Kingdome, and reigne with him for ever; and they, which after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed fleſh and blood, ſhall receive everlaſting damnation with the divell and his angels.

I beleeve in the Holy Ghoſt.

I doe beleeve that the Holy Ghoſt is God, the third perſon in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equall with the Father and the Sonne, given through Chriſt to inhabit our ſpirits, by which we are made to feele and underſtand the great power, vertue, and loving kindneſſe of Chriſt our Lord. For he illumineth, quickneth, and certifieth our ſpirit, that by him we are ſealed up unto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, ſo that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodneſſe promiſed us in Ieſus Chriſt.

The holy Catholike Church.

The Church.

This is an holy number of Adams poſterity, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the blood of the Lambe from the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame by the tyranny of Gog and Magog, that is to ſay, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the Biſhop of Rome, and his angels, as this day alſo doth teach.

The communion of Saints.

Which moſt holy congregation (being as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his miniſters perſecuted, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions and painfull torments; yet doth it remaine in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowſhip: which unity is knit in an unſpeakable knot, aſwell of them which are departed from this mortall life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue untill they all do meet in the Kingdome, where the head Ieſus Chriſt with all his holy members (of which number through Chriſt I aſſuredly beleeve that I am one) ſhall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

The forgiveneſſe of ſinnes.

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Remiſſion only through Chriſt.

I do beleeve that my ſinnes, and all their ſins which do rightly beleeve the holy Scripture, are forgiven onely through that Ieſus Chriſt, of whom onely I doe profeſſe that I have my whole and full ſalvaton and redemption, which S. Paul ſaith, cometh not through our works and deſervings, but freely by grace, leſt any ſhould boaſt himſelf. Through the blood of his croſſe all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life given, nor ſin forgiven.

The reſurrection of the body.

Reſurrection.

I do beleeve, that by the ſame my Saviour Chriſt, I and all men ſhall riſe again from death; for he, as S. Paul ſaith, is riſen againe from the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them which ſleepe. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the reſurrection from death. This man is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe reſurrection I beleeve that we all ſhall riſe againe in theſe our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality to live with Chriſt for ever; the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortall to live with the divell and his angels in death everlaſting.

And the life everlaſting.

Through the ſame Ieſus, and by none other, I am ſure to have life everlaſting. He onely is the way and entrance into the Kingdome of heaven. For ſo God loved the world, that he did give his onely Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as doe beleeve in him might have everlaſting life. The which I am ſure to poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as I am diſſolved, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the laſt day ſhall both body and ſoule poſſeſſe the ſame for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

Iohn 3. Life and ſalvation only by faith in Chriſt.

I beleeve, that the Sacraments, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lords Supper, are ſeales of Gods moſt mercifull promiſes towards mankinde. In baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthineſſe which hangeth on my fleſh; ſo do I aſſuredly beleeve, that I am by Chriſts blood waſhed cleane from my ſinnes, through which I have ſure confidence of my certaine ſalvation. In the partaking of the Lords Supper, as I receive the ſubſtance of bread and wine (the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body) ſo do I by faith receive the redemption wrought in Chriſts body broken on the Croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that ever Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſalvation, to the ſtrengthening of my faith in the ſame. And I beleeve, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy Supper according to his word, to move and to ſtirre up my minde to beleeve theſe articles above written.

Two ſacraments of the New Teſtament.

This is my faith; this do I beleeve; and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my blood.

By me Iohn Warne.

A Letter of Iohn Cardmaker to a certaine friend of his.

The peace of God be with you.

A letter of M. Cardmaker to a certain friend of his.

YOu ſhall right well perceive that I am not gone backe, as ſome men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a policie I have a little prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth unto me, and ſhall ſhortly appeare unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine aſſiſtance, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and

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tell him no leſſe. This the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to reioyce in poverty as well as riches; for that I count now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with ſome of my adverſaries, learned men, and I finde that they be but Sophiſts and ſhadowes.

A note concerning M. Cardmaker.

A note concerning the talk between Maſter Cardmaker, and Beard a Promoter.

MAſter Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to him two or three dayes before he was burned, and ſaid unto him; Sir, I am ſent unto you by the Councell, to know whether ye will recant or no?

Card. From which Councell are ye come? I thinke ye are not come, nor yet ſent from the Queens Councell, but rather from the Commiſſioners, unto whom (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to thoſe whom ye ſaid ſent you. I know you are a Taylor by your occupation, and have endeavoured your ſelfe to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: ſo I have been a Preacher theſe twenty yeeres, and ever ſince that God by his great mercy hath opened mine eyes to ſee his eternall truth, I have by his grace endeavoured my ſelf to call upon him, to give me the true underſtanding of his holy word, and I thanke him for his great mercy; I hope I have diſcharged my conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that little talent that I have received.

Beard. Yea ſir, but what ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar?

Card. I ſay, and mark it well, that Chriſt the night before his bitter paſſion, ordained the holy and bleſſed Communion, and hath given commandement, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiving thereof, in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood ſhed for the forgiveneſſe of our ſinnes, to as many as faithfully beleeve and truſt in him.

The ſentence and iudgement of M. Cardmaker touching the ſacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he aſked of him, whether the ſacrament he ſpake of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the ſame to be, then M. Cardmaker againe thus inferred thereupon: If the ſacrament (ſaid he) as you confeſſe, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending: and ſo willing him well to note the ſame, he departed from him.

The fifth day, M. Secretary Bourne, the Maſter of the Rolles, ſir Francis Englefield, ſir Richard Read, and Doctor Hughes, authoriſing them or two or three of them at the leaſt, to proceed to further examination of Benger, Cary, D. and Field, upon ſuch points as they ſhall gather out of their former confeſſions, touching their lewd and vaine practices of calculating or coniuring, preſently ſent unto them with the ſaid letters.

The ſeventh day there was another letter to ſir Iohn Tregonwell, willing him to ioyne in commiſſion with the ſaid Lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the ſaid parties and others, for coniuring and witchcraft.

And the 29. of Auguſt, Cary and D. were ſet at liberty upon bands for their good appearing untill Chriſtmas after.

The 12. day a letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to cauſe Writs to be made to the Sheriffe of Suſſex, for the burning and executing of Dirike a Brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stainings, the other at Chicheſter.

The 23. of Iune a letter was ſent to Boner, to examine a report given to the Councell of foure Pariſhes within the Soken of Eſſex, that ſhould ſtill uſe the Engliſh Service, and to puniſh the offenders, if any ſuch be.

The ſtory of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Simſon of the Pariſh of Wigborow the great, in Eſſex.

The ſtory of Iohn Simſon & Iohn Ardeley, Martyrs.

WIth M. Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, upon the ſame day, and in the ſame company, and for the ſame cauſe was alſo condemned Iohn Ardeley, and Iohn Simſon, which was the 25. day of May. But before we come to the ſtory of them, firſt here is to be noted the copie of the King and Queenes letter, directed from the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſt early in the morning to the Biſhop, in tenor and forme as followeth.

To the right reverend Father in God, our right truſty and welbeloved, the Biſhop of London.

The King and Queens letter to B. Boner.

RIght reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. And where of late wee addreſſed our letters to the Iuſtices of Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realme, whereby amongſt other inſtructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the Countrey round about them, they are willed to have a ſpeciall regard unto ſuch diſordered perſons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refuſing to ſhew themſelves conformable to the Catholike Religion of Chriſts Church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and faire means reforme them, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withall, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions, or elſe if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the Lawes provided in that behalfe: underſtanding now, to our no little marvell, that diverſe of the ſaid diſordered perſons, being by the Iuſtices of Peace for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with, as Chriſtian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withall according to the order of Iuſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as wee finde this matter very ſtrange, ſo we have thought convenient both to ſignifie our knowledge, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you to have in this behalfe ſuch regard henceforth to the office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop, as when any ſuch offenders ſhall be by the ſaid Officers or Iuſtices of Peace brought unto you, you to uſe your good wiſdome and diſcretion in procuring to remove them from their errours if it may be, or els in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the order of the lawes; ſo as through your good furtherance both Gods glory may be better advanced, and the Common-wealth more quietly governed. Yeoven under our ſignet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 24. of May, the firſt and ſecond yeeres of our Reignes.

Q. Mary ſtirreth Boner to ſhed innocent blood.

This letter thus comming from the Court to the Biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the condemnation as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom now we have preſently to intreat, of Iohn Simſon I meane and Iohn

John Ardeley and John Simſon, both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborough.

Ardely. Which both being of one countrey, and of one towne together, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborow in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſave that Simſon was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought up both together by the under Sheriffe of Eſſex, to Boner Biſhop of London, upon the accuſation (as in that time it was called) of hereſie.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the Biſhop; as the articles miniſtred againſt them, were much like, ſo their anſwers againe unto the ſame were not much diſcrepant in manner and forme; as out of the Biſhops own regiſters here followeth expreſſed.

Articles objected againſt Iohn Simſon, and Iohn Ardeley, of the Pariſh of Wigborow the great in Eſſex, husbandmen, by Boner Biſhop of London, at Fulham, May 22. Anno 1555.

Articles miniſtred againſt John Simſon and John Ardeley.

1 First, that thou John Simſon (or John Ardeley) huſbandman, of the age of 34. yeeres or thereabout, waſt and art of the pariſh of great Wigborow, within the Dioceſſe of London, and thou haſt not beleeved, nor doſt beleeve, that there is here in earth one catholike and univerſall whole Church, which doth hold and beleeve all the faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary articles and ſacraments of the ſame.

2 Item, that thou haſt not beleeved, nor doſt beleeve, that thou art neceſſarily bounden, under the paine of damnation of thy ſoule, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholike and univerſall Church, and to the religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſaid faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the ſaid faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

The Church of Rome, Italy, Spaine, and other forraigne countries in Europe.

3 Item, that thou haſt not beleeved, nor doſt beleeve, that that faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spaine, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the ſaid catholike and univerſall Church, doe beleeve and teach, is both agreeing with the ſaid catholike and univerſall Church, and the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all Chriſtian people ought to beleeve, obſerve, follow, and keepe: but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleeved, and doſt beleeve, that that faith and religion, which the ſaid Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſaid have heretofore beleeved, and do now beleeve, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be beleeved, obſerved, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian man.

The ſubſtance of Chriſts body under formes of bread and wine.

4 Item, that albeit it be true, that in the ſacrament of the Altar there is in ſubſtance the very body and blood of Chriſt under the formes of bread and wine, and albeit that it be ſo beleeved, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid Church of Rome, and all other the Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo beleeved, nor doſt ſo beleeve; but contrariwiſe thou haſt and doſt beleeve firmly, and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid ſacrament of the Altar, under the ſaid formes of bread and wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood, but that there is onely the ſubſtance of materiall and common bread and wine, with the formes thereof; and that the ſaid materiall and common bread and wine are only the ſignes and tokens of Chriſts body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Chriſts paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood at all.

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Tranſubſtantiation denied.

5 Item, that thou haſt beleeved and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and ſo doſt beleeve, thinke, maintaine, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſts body and blood, is only to take materiall and common bread, and to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the people, remembring thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

The Maſſe abominable.

6 Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleeved, taught and ſpoken, that the Maſſe now uſed in this Realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſſe in it, ſaving the gloria in excelſis, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, and that therefore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come to be preſent at the Maſſe, nor receive the ſacrament of the Altar, or any other ſacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in this Realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſaid.

7 Item, that thou haſt in times paſt beleeved preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſaid, and ſo doſt now beleeve and thinke, that auricular confeſſion is not needfull to be made unto the Prieſt, but it is a thing ſuperfluous and vaine, and ought onely to be made to God, and to none other perſon: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vaine, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the Church and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid, that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſaid, it is unlawfull and naught.

The anſwers of Iohn Simſon, and alſo of Iohn Ardeley, to the foreſaid Articles.

Their anſwers to the articles.

To the firſt, they beleeve, that here in earth there is one catholike and univerſall holy Church, which doth hold and beleeve as is contained in the firſt article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the ſecond, they beleeve, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the ſecond article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spaine, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europe, they ſay, they have nothing to doe with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the ſaid Church of England be ruled and governed by ẏ word of life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholike Church, and not otherwiſe; and do ſay alſo, that if the Church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemne them and others of this hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

To the fourth they anſwer, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the Altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor changed in ſubſtance in any wiſe, and that he that receiveth the ſaid bread and wine, doth ſpiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Chriſt, but not the very naturall body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance under the formes of bread and wine.

To the fifth they ſay, they have anſwered, anſwering to the ſaid fourth article, and yet neverthelesse they ſay, that they have beleeved, and do beleeve, that in the ſacrament of the Altar there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood, but only the ſubſtance of the naturall bread and wine.

To the ſixth they ſay, that they beleeve, that ẏ

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The Maſſe detected.

Maſſe is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt; and therfore it is not good, nor having in it any goodneſſe, ſaving the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, the Creed, and the Pater noſter; and for this cauſe they ſay they have not, nor will not come and heare Maſſe.

To the ſeventh John Ardeley anſwereth and ſaith, that he beleeveth the contents of the ſame to be true; but John Simſon doth anſwer, that he is not as yet fully reſolved with himſelf, what anſwer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily Service ſaid and uſed in the Church, he ſaith, that he never ſaid, that Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, nor yet he never ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and uſed than in Engliſh, it is unlawfull and naught.

Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Simſon.

Another appearance of Simſon and John Ardeley before the biſhop.

Thus theſe articles being to them objected, and their anſwers made unto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop, according to the old trade of his Conſiſtory Court, reſpited them to the afternoone, bidding them to make their appearance the ſaid day and place, betweene the houres of two and three. At what time the ſaid Biſhop repeating againe the ſaid articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley did urge and ſolicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

The words of John Ardeley to Boner.

To whom John Ardeley againe conſtantly ſtanding to his profeſſed religion, gave anſwer in words, as followeth; My Lord (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholike Church; for you be of a falſe faith: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceived at length, beare as good a face as ye can. Ye will ſhed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, &c.

And added further, ſaying; If every haire of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in. Theſe with many other words he ſpake. Then the Biſhop yet demanding if he would relinquiſh his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced againe to the unity of the Church, he anſwered, as followeth; No, God foreſhield that I ſhould ſo do; for then I ſhould loſe my ſoule.

John Ardeley & Jo. Simſon condemned.

After this, the ſaid Biſhop asking John Ardeley (after his formall manner) if he knew any cauſe why he ſhould not have ſentence condemnatorie againſt him, ſo read the condemnation, as he alſo did againſt John Simſon, ſtanding likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancy with John Ardeley: which was done the 25. day of May, and ſo were they both committed to the ſecular power, that is, to the hands of the Sheriffs, to be conveighed to the place where they ſhould be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be paſſed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which hapned in the cloſing up the examination of theſe two innocent Martyrs of God, which is this.

☞ A note of the ſudden feare of Boner.

At the time of the examination of this Simſon & John Ardeley aforeſaid, there was aſſembled ſuch a great multitude of people, that becauſe the Conſiſtory was not able to hold them, they were faine to ſtand in the Church, neere about the ſaid Conſiſtory, waiting to ſee the priſoners when they ſhould depart. It hapned in the meane time, that the Biſhop being ſet in a heat with the ſtout and bold anſwers of the ſaid two priſoners (eſpecially of John Simſon) burſt out in his loud and angry voice, and ſaid; Have him away, have him away.

Now the people in the Church hearing theſe words, and thinking (becauſe the day was farre ſpent) that the priſoners had their judgement, they being deſirous to ſee the priſoners had to Newgate, ſevered themſelves, one running one way, another another way, which cauſed ſuch a noiſe in the Church, that they in the Conſiſtory were all amazed, and marvelled what it ſhould meane: wherefore the Biſhop alſo being ſomwhat affraid of this ſudden ſtirre, asked what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſwering, ſaid, that there was like to be ſome tumult: for they were together by the eares.

The ridiculous feare of Boner & his Doctors.

When the Biſhop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heeles, and leaving his ſeat, he with the reſt of the Court betooke them to their legs, haſtening with all ſpeed poſſible to recover the doore that went into the Biſhops houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did ſooner recover the doore, and thronging haſtily to get in, kept the Biſhop ſtill out, and cried; Save my Lord, ſave my Lord, but meaning yet firſt to ſave themſelves if any danger ſhould come, whereby they gave the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at; reſembling in ſome part a ſpectacle not much unlike to the old ſtagers at Oxford, worſe feared than hurt, when as the Church there was noiſed to be ſet on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

John Simſon & Joh. Ardeley ſent into Eſſex to be executed. The martyrdome of Simſon & Ardeley. June 10.

Now John Simſon and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforeſaid) to the Sheriffes, were ſhortly after ſent downe from London to Eſſex, where both they in one day (which was about the tenth day of June) were put to death, albeit in ſeverall places; for John Simſon ſuffered at Rochford, John Ardeley the ſame day was had to Railey, where he finiſhed his martyrdome moſt quietly in the quarrell of Chriſts Goſpell.

A note of Iohn Ardeley.

For the better conſideration of the rigorous cruelty of theſe catholike dayes, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and knowne to all poſterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company; how that they being brought before the Commiſſioners, were by them greatly charged of ſtubbornneſſe and vain-glory. Unto whom they anſwered in defence of their own ſimplicity, that they were content willingly to yeeld to the Queen all their goods and lands, ſo that they might be ſuffered to live under her, in keeping their conſcience free from all idolatry and papiſticall religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart blood; ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe perſecutors of Chriſtian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the juſt reward of ſuch cruell dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Biſhop Boner and his mates againſt Iohn Tooly, firſt ſuſpected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his grave, and given to the ſecular power, and ſo burned for an heretike.

The ſtory of John Tooly.

About the ſame time of the burning of theſe two aforeſaid, in the beginning of the ſaid moneth of June, fell out a ſolemne proceſſe, and much ado was made about the popes ſpiritualty againſt John Tooly in a caſe of hereſie. The ſtory is this. There was about the time that the Spaniards began firſt to keep a ſtir in England, one John Tooly a citizen & Poulter in London, who conſpired with certain other of his ſociety, to rob a Spaniard at S. James: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of it ſelf, yet was it aggravated & made greater than it was by other being committed againſt ſuch a perſon, and againſt ſuch a country, which both the Queen and her whole Court did highly favour. The robbery being knowne, and brought into iudgement, this Toly was found guilty, and iudged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this Realme there are many moe thefts committed than theeves executed.

John Tooly died a true chriſtian man. The chriſtian confeſſion of Tooly.

The covetouſneſſe of the Pope.

The foreſaid Toly being led to the gallowes (which ſtood faſt by Charing Croſſe) a little before he died, ſtanding upon the Cart, read a certaine prayer in a printed booke, and two other prayers written in two ſeverall papers: who then having the halter about his necke, deſired the people there preſent to pray for him, and to beare him witneſſe that he died a true Chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaved onely by the merits of Chriſts paſſion, and ſhedding of his precious blood, and not by any Maſſes, or Trentals, Images, or Saints, which were (as he ſaid) meere idolatry and ſuperſtition, and deviſed by the Biſhop of Rome: and as the ſame Toly, and two other his fellowes which were there hanged with him, did ſteale and rob for covetouſneſſe, ſo the Biſhop of Rome did ſell his Maſſes and Trentals, with ſuch other paltry, for covetouſneſſe, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loud voice theſe words following; From the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities; From falſe doctrine and hereſie, and from the contempt of thy word and commandement, Good Lord deliver us.

Ex Regiſtro.

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake unto the people; All you that be true Chriſtian men, ſay with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon 300. perſons and more, to the iudgement and eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, anſwered and ſaid, Amen, three times together at the leaſt.

After this it hapned, that when Toly had read the Bill the firſt time, it fell from him, and a certaine young man (who was thought to bee a Prentice) ſtouped downe, and tooke up the Bill, and climbed up by the Cart, and delivered it unto Toly again, which hee againe did read to the people. That done he delivered unto one of the Marſhals Officers the booke aforeſaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Hankes, ſaying, that it was his booke. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers written in a paper to one Robert Bromeley Sergeant, which deſired to have it of him. Upon the top of which Bill was written a line, containing theſe words; Beware of Antichriſt, and ſubſcribed underneath; Per me Thomam Harold, priſoner in the Marſhalſea, enemy to Antichriſt. For the Bill aforeſaid Robert Bromeley was brought afterward coram nobis, and was faine to aske pardon of the Biſhop, and to deteſt all the words of Toly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while Toly had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from and popes tyranny, by the ſame praier he fell into great tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the brute of this fact came unto the eares of the Prieſts and Mitred Prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a reproach ſhould bee done againſt the holy Father. Calling therefore for a councell together, as though it had been a matter of great importance. Tolies talk at his death was debated among themſelves.

A councell called againſt Tooly.

Cardinall Poole a great doer in burning dead mens bones.

At the laſt (after much Pro and Contra) they all conſented to thoſe mens iudgements, which thought it meet that the violating of the Popes Holines ſhould be revenged with fire and fagot. And I doe eaſily believe that Cardinall Poole was no ſmall doer in this ſentence: for as Winchester and Boner did alwaies thirſt after the blood of the living, ſo Pooles lightning was for the moſt part kindled againſt the dead; and he reſerved this charge onely to himſelfe, I know not for what purpoſe, except peradventure being loth to be ſo cruell as the other, he thought neverthelesse by this meanes to diſcharge his duty towards the Pope. By the ſame Cardinals like lightning and fiery fiſt the bones of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, which had lien almoſt two yeeres in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tolies carkaſſe was here at London. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both Univerſities, he cauſed Peter Martyrs wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Churchyard, and to be buried on the dunghill. Of theſe two prodigious acts ye ſhall heare more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of Toly, which having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged againe, by the commandement of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to iudge and condemne him as an heretike upon the commandement of the Councels letter, as here appeareth.

Anno 1555.

Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Peter Martyrs wife, & John Tooly, burned for heretikes after their death.

A Letter ſent unto Boner Biſhop of London, from the Councell.

The Councels letter to biſhop Boner concerning Tooly.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordſhip, underſtanding that of late amongſt others that have ſuffered about London for their offences, one lewd perſon that was condemned for felony, died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the time of his death ſundry hereticall and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be overpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo we thought good to pray your Lordſhip to cauſe further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of ſuch proceſſe, as by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes is provided in that behalfe. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From Hampton Court, the 28. of Aprill, 1555.

Your Lordſhips loving friends,

Ste. Winton. Chancel.	R. Rochester.
F. Shrewesbury.	William Peter.
Iohn Gage.	Rich. Southwell.
Thomas Cheney.	&c.

Anon after a Citation was ſet up upon Pauls Church doore under the Biſhop of Londons great ſeale; the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Writ or Mandate of Boner Biſhop of London, ſet up at Charing Croſſe, on Pauls Church doore, and at S. Martins in the field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the caſe of Iohn Tooly.

A citation ſet up by Boner, and that in Latin, commanding his kin and kinsfolke to ſay for him what they could, before the ſentence given, or elſe to hold their peace for ever.

Edmund by the ſufferance of God, Biſhop of London, to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and others, Clerkes and learned men, being within our Dioceſſe of London, and ſpecially unto Richard Clonie, our ſworne Sumner, greeting, ſalutation, and benediction. Forſomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſundry credible perſons, that one John Toly late Citizen and Poulter of London, the ſonne of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice, in the ſelfe ſame time in the which he ſhould goe to hanging, according to the lawes of the Realme, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the wealth of his ſoule, and to have died in the unity of the catholike Church, did utter divers and

ſundry

Anno 1555.

ſundry damnable, blaſphemous and hereticall opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the Catholike faith and unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the people, there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: And moreover, certain of the people there ſtanding, as it did appeare, affected with errors and hereſies, as fautors and defenders of the ſaid John, did confirm and give expreſſe conſent to the foreſaid words, propoſitions, and affirmations; which thing we do utter with ſorrow and bitterneſſe of heart.

Note how Boner here pretendeth conſcience in proſecuting this matter, when only he was commanded unto it by the Councels letters.

Wee therefore the foreſaid Edmund and Biſhop aboveſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſſe over in ſilence, nor wincke at the foreſaid hainous act, leſt by our negligence and ſlacknes the blood of them might be required at our hands at the moſt terrible day of judgement, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the premiſſes declared unto us, be of the truth, and leſt that any ſcabbed ſheepe, lurking amongſt the ſimple flocke of our Lord, do infect them with peſtiferous hereſie: to you therfore we ſtraightly charg and command that you cite, or cauſe to be cited all and ſingular, having or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſetting up this Citation upon the Church door of S. Martins in the field, being within our Dioceſſe of London, and alſo upon the Cathedrall Church doore of Saint Pauls in London, leaving there the copie hereof, or by other meanes or waies, the beſt you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenour of theſe preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appeare before us our vicar generall, or commiſſary, whatſoever hee be in that behalfe, in our Cathedrall Church of S. Paul in London, in the Conſiſtory place, upon Thurſday the ſecond day of May now next enſuing, betwixt the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenoone the ſame day, to beare witneſſe of the truth in this behalfe, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premiſſes, and moreover to do and receive what law and reaſon doth require.

The wife, children and kindred of John Tooly, cited.

Further wee commit unto you as before, and ſtraightly enjoyning you do command, that yee will generally cite the wife of the ſaid Tooly that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by Father and Mother, his friends and his familiars in eſpeciall, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembrance of the perſon in the premiſſes, that yee admoniſh them after the manner and form aforeſaid, whom we likewiſe by the tenor of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under paine to bee compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this behalfe) before us, or our Vicar generall in ſpirituall matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary, at the day, houre, and place aforeſaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge and propoſe in due form of Law, a cauſe reaſonable, if they have any or can tell of any, why the ſaid John Tooly, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an heretike and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo hainous a deed and crime, and his body or carkaſſe to lack Church buriall, as a rotten member cut off from the Church, and the ſame to be committed to the arme and power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

The carkaſſe of Tooly cut off from Chriſtian buriall.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to ſuffer as law and reaſon wil, and as the quality of ſuch matter, and the nature of themſelves doe conſtrain and require; and moreover, that you cite and moniſh, after the manner aforeſaid, all and every of the receivers, fautors, and creditors of the ſaid John Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid Thurſday they returne and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy Church: which thing if they doe, wee truſting upon the mercy of Almighty God, doe promiſe that wee will receive them being penetent for ſuch their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favor, to the comfort and health of their owne ſoules, and in that behalf ſave their honeſties to the uttermoſt of our power; otherwiſe, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary proceſſe of the Law, let thoſe men know that we will puniſh more ſeverely this offence, according to the uttermoſt of the Law, and as farre as the Law will beare it; and what ye ſhall do in the premiſſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certifie us, or our Vicar generall in ſpirituall matters, either by his own perſon, or by his letters patents, together with theſe authentically ſealed.

The biſhop layeth his bait to catch whom he may trouble.

Dated at London under our ſeal, the laſt day of April. 1555. and of our tranſlation the 16.

Tooly ſuſpended and excommunicated.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooly being cited did not appeare: next in order of Law came the ſuſpenſion (whereas one ſuſpenſion had beene enough for him) and after that commeth the excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat and drink with him, or if any met him by the way, he ſhould not bid him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould bee excluded from the communion of the Church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch maner, as in ſuch caſes full wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood out for the nonce, that made anſwer to certaine articles, rehearſed in judgement openly, and that in the behalfe of the dead man. But when the poore dead man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently anſwer them by the other, to avoid the name of an heretike: firſt witneſſes were provided againſt him, whoſe names were Henry Clark Eſquire, Thomas Way Keeper of the Marſhalſey, Philip Andrew Undermarſhall, William Holingworth Fiſhmonger, William Gellard, William Walton Chandeler, Richard Longman Merchanttaylor, Philip Britten, John Burton Brewer Thomas Smith Sergeant. Then he was for an heretike condemned, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffs of London, which with like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therfore receiving the man being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretike, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, for a continuall remembrance thereof. This was done the fourth day of June.

Witneſſe againſt John Tooly.

Tooly given to the ſecular power.

Here followeth the hiſtory and martyrdome of the worthy ſervant of Chriſt, Thomas Haukes Gentleman, with his examinations and anſwers had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

The ſtory of M. Thomas Haukes Martyr.

IMmediately after the ſtory of Doctor Taylor, mention before was made of ſix men brought and convented before Biſhop Boner upon the

eighth

8. day of February. The names of which martyrs were Steven Knight, W. Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Laurence, W. Hunter. In which number was alſo Tho. Haukes, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9. day of the foreſaid moneth of February. But becauſe his execution did not ſo ſhortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this preſent 10. day of the moneth of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now conſequently to enter tractation thereof, firſt, beginning briefly with his godly converſation and inſtitution of life, then ſhewing of his troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflicts with the biſhop & other adverſaries, according as the order of his ſtory doth require.

The life and converſation of Tho. Haukes.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, firſt hee was of the Countrie of Eſſex, borne of an honeſt ſtock, in calling and profeſſion a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch comlines and ſtature, ſo wel endued with excellent qualities, that he might ſeem on every ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe But his gentle behaviour toward other, and eſpecially his fervent ſtudie and ſingular love unto true religion and godlineſſe did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorn him: even ſo he, being ſuch a valiant Martyr of God, may ſeeme to nobilitate the whole company of other holy Martyrs, and as a bright ſtar to make the Church of God and his truth, of themſelves bright and cleare, more gloriouſly to ſhine by his example.

The victory of Martyrs, is the triumph of Chriſt. Ambroſe.

For if the conqueſts of Martyrs are the triumphs of Chriſt (as S. Ambroſe doth notably and truly write) undoubtedly Chriſt in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriouſly, than in this yong man: he ſtood ſo wiſely in his cauſe, ſo godly in his life, and ſo conſtantly in his death.

Tho. Haukes firſt in ſervice with the Earle of Oxford.

But to the declaration of the matter, firſt this Haukes following the guiſe of the Court, as hee grew in yeares, entred ſervice with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good ſpace, being there right well eſteemed and loved of all the houſhold, ſo long as Edward the ſixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godlineſſe not only to waxe cold, but alſo to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houſes of good men. Haukes miſliking the ſtate of things, and eſpecially in ſuch mens houſes, rather than he would change the profeſſion of true godlineſſe, which he had taſted, thought to change the place; and ſo, forſaking the Noblemans houſe, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himſelfe to God and uſe his own conſcience.

Haukes compelled to leave the Earle of Oxfords houſe

But what place in this world ſhall a man find ſo ſecret for himſelf, whither the old wicked Serpent cannot creepe, whereby hee may have ſome matter to overthrow the quietneſſe of the godly? Now in the mean ſeaſon (as it happened) Hauks keeping his houſe at home, had borne unto him a young ſon, whoſe baptiſme was deferred to the third weeke, for that he would not ſuffer him to be baptized after the papiſticall maner: which thing the adverſaries not able to ſuffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earle of Oxford, there to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in Religion, in that hee ſeemed to contemn the ſacraments of the Church.

Haukes child three weekes unchriſtened.

Haukes brought before the Earle.

The Earl either intending not to trouble himſelfe in ſuch matters, or elſe ſeeing himſelf not able to weigh with him in ſuch caſes of religion, ſent him up to London with a Meſſenger, and letters, and ſo, willing to cleer his own hands, put him in yͤ hands of Boner B. of London; the contents of which his letter ſent to Boner, be theſe.

Haukes ſent up by the Earle to Biſhop Boner

A letter of the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

The Earles letter to Boner

Moſt reverend Father in God, be it known unto you, that I have ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the Countie of Eſſex, who hath a childe that hath remained unchriſtened more than three weekes; who, being upon the ſame examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now uſed in the Church, whereupon I have ſent him to your good Lordſhip, to uſe as ye think beſt, by your good diſcretion.

When the Biſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterward reade it to M. Haukes, he hearing the ſame, thought with himſelf that he ſhould not be very well uſed, ſeeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the Biſhop a letter again to him that ſent the priſoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in ſetting forth the Queenes proceedings. Then began the Biſhop to enter communication with M. Haukes, firſt aſking, what ſhall move him to leave his childe unchriſtened ſo long? To whom M. Haukes anſwered thus again as followeth.

Private talk or conference betweene maſter Haukes and B. Boner.

Haukes. Becauſe we bee bound to doe nothing contrary to the word of God.

Boner. Why, baptiſme is commanded by the word of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therein I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all things invented and deviſed by man.

Boner. What things be thoſe that bee deviſed by man, that ye be ſo offended withall?

Haukes. Your Oyle, Creame, Salt, Spittle, Candle, and conjuring of water &c.

Mans invention added to Baptiſme. The forefathers.

Boner. Will ye deny that which all the whole world, & your father hath been contented withal?

Haukes. What my father and all the whole world hath done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to doe, to that ſtand I.

Boner. The Catholike Church hath taught it.

The Catholike Church.

Haukes. What is the Catholike Church?

Boner. It is the faithfull congregation, whereſoever it be diſperſed throwout the whole world

Haukes. Who is the head thereof?

Boner. Chriſt is the head thereof.

Haukes. Are wee taught in Chriſt, or in the Church now?

Boner. Have ye not read in the eighth of John, where he ſaid, he would ſend his comforter which ſhould teach you all things?

Hauks. I grant you it is ſo, that he would ſend his comforter, but to what end? Forſooth to this end, that he ſhould lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Boner. A ſir, ye are a right Scripture man. For yee will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrey-men of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pygot I doe not know.

Boner. I thought yee were acquainted with him: it ſeemeth ſo by your judgement. What Preachers doe ye know in Eſſex

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I know him.

Boner. What manner of man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man ſo far as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if yee ſee him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then ſaid he to one of his ſervants, Go call me Baget hither. And then he ſaid to me; Ye ſeem to be a very proud man and a ſtubborn. He that brought me up ſtood all this while by.

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Haukes. What ſhould move your Lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Boner looked to be curtiſed.

Boner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you much humility and lowlineſſe.

Hauks. It ſeemeth your Lordſhip ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no courteſie to you: and with that came Baget. Then the Biſhop ſaid to Baget: How ſay ye Sir, know ye this man?

Baget brought to the ſight of Tho. Haukes

Baget. Yea forſooth my Lord; with that Baget and I ſhook hands. Then ſaid the Biſhop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a childe which hath lyen three weekes unchriſtened (as I have letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to have it baptiſed, as it is now uſed in the Church: how ſay you thereto?

Baget. Forſooth my Lord I ſay nothing thereto (with low courteſie to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and uſed in the Church or not.

Baget. I beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon me, he is old enough, let him anſwer for himſelfe.

Boner chafeth at Bagets anſwer.

Boner. Ah Sir knave, are yee at that point with me? Goe call me the Porter, ſaid hee, to one of his men, Thou ſhalt ſit in the ſtockes, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point? Then came the Biſhops man, and ſaid; The Porter is gone to London: Then ſaid the Biſhop to Baget; Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemen to talke with me (who was one of his own teaching) who deſired amongſt other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Eſſex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Boner taketh Baget with him aſide to coniure him.

Haukes. When I ſee your Commiſſion, I will make you anſwer. And then immediately came the Biſhop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talke. Then the Biſhop ſate down under a vine in his Orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to Baget: How ſay ye now ſir unto Baptiſme? Say whether it bee to be frequented and uſed in the Church, as it is now, or no?

Baget taught to ſay after Boner.

Baget. Forſooth my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Boner. I befoole your heart, could ye not have ſaid ſo before? Yee have wounded this mans conſcience. Then the Biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; How ſay ye now ſir, this man is turned and converted.

Tho. Haukes builded his faith upon no man.

Haukes. I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Chriſt Ieſus, who (as Paul ſaith) is the founder and author of all mens faith.

Boner. I perceive ye are a ſtubborne fellow. I muſt be glad to worke another way with you, to win you.

Tho. Haukes forbidden to talke in the biſhops houſe.

Haukes. Whatſoever ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well ye are ſo, Come on your waies, yee ſhall goe in, and I will uſe you Chriſtianlike: You ſhall have meat and drink, ſuch as I have in my houſe: but in any wiſe talke not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talke nothing but the word of God and truth.

Boner. I will have no hereſie talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why is the truth become hereſie? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other talk in our houſe, in our bed, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

Boner. If yee will have my favor, be ruled by my counſell.

Haukes. Then I truſt you will grant me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. That your Doctors and Servants give me none occaſion: for if they doe, I will ſurely utter my conſcience. Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the Stewards table.

Tho. Haukes and Baget ſeparated aſunder.

After dinner, his Chaplaines and his men began to talke with me. But amongſt all other, there was one Darbiſhire principall of Broadgates in Oxford, and the Biſhops kinſman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: for ye will have (ſaid he) nothing but your little pretty Gods book.

Talk between Darbiſhire and Tho. Haukes.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſalvation? Yes (ſaid he) it is ſufficient for our ſalvation, but not for our inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſalvation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a commandement that you ſhould not talke.

Salvation. Inſtruction.

Haukes. And I deſired you that your Doctors and Servants ſhould give mee none occaſion. Then went we into his Orchard again, he and his Doctors and I.

Boner. Would not ye be contented to have, that your child ſhould bee chriſtened after the Book that was ſet out by King Edward?

Talk between M. Haukes and Boner. Baptiſme after K. Edwards book.

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: yee would have the ſame thing. The principall is in the name of the father, the ſon, and of the holy Ghoſt, and in neceſſitie it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch neceſſity: and yet we lack the chiefeſt point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Goe teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.

Boner no Preacher.

Boner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeake the Text: I do not meane you. Then ſpake all the Doctors and his men that were with him: he ſpeaketh it of you my Lord (with a great noiſe that they made.)

Boner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your childe ſhall bee baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the ſame counſell given before.

Boner. You ſeeme to be a luſtie young man; you will not give your head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the defence of it for the honor of your Country. Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

M. Hauks will not conſent to have his child chriſtened after the popiſh order.

Haukes. What the Queene and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſent never the ſooner.

Boner. Well, you are a ſtubborne young man: I perceive I muſt work another way with you.

Haukes. Yee are in the hands of God, and ſo am I.

Boner. Whatſoever you think, I would not have you ſpeak ſuch words unto me. And ſo we departed untill evenſong time: and ere evenſong was begun, my Lord called for mee to come to him into the Chappell, and ſaid; Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to doe thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtor, and one that ſhould anſwer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould anſwer for thy ſoule.

Haukes. That I have ſaid, I will ſtand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

Boner. Nay nay Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo

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wilfull. Remember Chriſt bade two go into his Vineyard, the one ſaid he would, and went not, the other ſaid he would not, and went

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner entreth talke of the ſacrament.

Boner. Doe thou likewiſe, and I will talke friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixth of S. John; I am the bread of life : and the bread that I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, hath everlaſting life. My fleſh is very meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needs believe the Scriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that you be ſound in the bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhip to feele my conſcience no farther then in that, that I was accuſed in unto you.

Boner. Well, well, let us go unto evenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my back to goe out of the Chappell.

Tho. Haukes refuſeth to heare Boners Evenſong.

Boner. Why, will you not tarry evenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Boner. And why will you not?

Haukes. For becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no Latine.

Boner. Why? you may pray by your ſelfe. What bookes have ye?

Haukes. I have the new Teſtament, the bookes of Salomon, and the Pſalter.

Boner. Why I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his Chaplains; let him go my Lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with us in our prayers.

Haukes. I think my ſelfe beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you. And ſo the Biſhop went to Evenſong, and I came downe and walked betweene the Hall and the Chappel in the Court, and tarried there till Evenſong was done, and within an houre after that Evenſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came, there was hee, and three of his Chaplaines.

Tho. Haukes called for again by Boner

Boner. Yee know of the talke that was betweene you and mee, as concerning the Sacrament. You would not have your conſcience ſought any farther, than in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer and iudge.

Boner. Well, yee ſhall anſwer mee to the ſacrament of the altar, the ſacrament of Baptiſm, the ſacrament of Penance, and the ſacrament of Matrimony,

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeak my conſcience in them.

Boner. The ſacrament of the altar ye ſeem to be ſound in.

Tho. Haukes knoweth no ſacrament of the altar.

Haukes. In the ſacrament of the altar? why ſir, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, & believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye never do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you doe it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your fagot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that ſhall ye doe, and more ye ſhall not do.

The matter and ſubſtance of the ſacrament

Boner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Chriſt? and at that word hee put off his cap.

Haukes. I doe believe as Chriſt hath taught mee.

Boner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay, Take, eate, this is my body?

Haukes. Chriſt ſaid ſo: but therefore it followeth not, that the ſacrament of the altar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt ever teach it ſo to be

Boner. Why? the Catholike Church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſts Church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The Apoſtles never taught it ſo. Read the Acts, the ſecond, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither inſtituted it ſo.

Boner. Ah ſir, yee will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I will not believe him.

Boner. Why, then ye muſt eat a Lamb, if yee will have but Chriſts inſtitution only.

Touching the neceſſary points of doctrine and ſacraments, only the word is to be followed.

Haukes. Nay, that is not ſo: before that Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then began the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the inſtitution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learne.

Boner. Marry, we will teach you: but you are ſo ſtubborn that ye will not learne.

Haukes. Except ye learne me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you: and thus wee concluded. Then the Biſhop and his Chaplaines laughed and ſaid: Jeſu, Jeſu, what a ſtubbornneſſe and arrogantneſſe is this? and this was in his chamber where he lay. Then ſaid the Biſhop to me, goe ye down and drinke, for it is faſting day: it is Midſommer Even, but I think ye love neither faſting nor praying.

A falſe conceived opinion of Boner againſt the Proteſtants.

Faſting and praying no man denyeth.

Hauks. I will never deny faſting neither praying, ſo that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocriſie or vain glory.

Boner. I like you the better for that: and ſo we left for that night.

The next day the Biſhop went to London: for Fecknam was made Deane that day, and I tarried ſtill at Fulham.

Then did the Biſhops men deſire me to come to Maſſe, but I did utterly refuſe it, anſwering them as I did their Maſter.

Boner returneth from London.

That night the Biſhop came home to Fulham again.

Talke betweene Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Talk between Tho. Haukes and Harpsfield

Then upon the Munday morning very early, the Biſhop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, to whom the Biſhop ſaid; this is the man that I told you of, who would not have his child chriſtened, nor will have any ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Chriſt uſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took ſpittle, and made the blind man to ſee?

But Chriſt never made any ordinance or cuſtome of that ceremony.

Haukes. I wot well that, but Chriſt did never uſe it in Baptiſme. If ye will needs have it, put it to the uſe that Chriſt put it unto.

The ſtate of children dying without baptiſme.

Harpsfield. Admit your childe die unchriſtened: what a heavie caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes I admit that if it do, what then?

Harpſ. Marry then are ye damned, and your child both.

Haukes. Iudge you no farther than ye may by the Scriptures,

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your child is born in originall ſinne?

Haukes. Yes that I doe.

Harpſ. How is originall ſin waſhed away?

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Haukes. By true faith & belief in Chriſt Jeſus.

Harpſ. How can your child being an infant believe?

Haukes. The deliverance of it from ſin ſtandeth in the faith of his parents.

Harpſ. How prove you that?

Haukes. By S. Paul, in the 7. and the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying, The unbelieving man is ſanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is ſanctified by the believing man, or elſe were your children unclean.

The believing parents ſanctifie the child.

Harpſ. I will prove that they whom thou putteſt thy truſt in, will be againſt thee in this opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Chriſt ſaid, Except ye be baptiſed ye cannot be ſaved?

Chriſtianity ſtandeth not in outward ceremonies.

Haukes. Doth Chriſtianity ſtand in outward ceremonies, or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what ſay you to that?

Haukes. I ſay as S. Peter ſaith, Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthines of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſenting unto God.

Harpſ. Beware of pride, Brother, beware of pride.

Sirach. 10.

Haukes. It is written, Pride ſerveth not for men, nor yet for the ſons of men.

Boner commeth in with his Maſſe. Maſſe profitable for nothing.

Boner. Let us make an end here. How ſay you to the Maſſe, Sirra?

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Boner. What nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the Epiſtle and Goſpel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be uſed as Chriſt left it to be uſed.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Boner. How ſay you to Confiteor?

Confiteor in the Maſſe, a thing deteſtable.

Haukes. I ſay it is abominable and deteſtable, yea, and a blaſphemy againſt God and his Son Chriſt, to call upon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſave only to Chriſt Jeſus.

Boners ſimilitude to prove praying to Saints. We ought not to believe in Saints. Ergo, wee ought not to call upon them

Boner. To truſt to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye cannot ſpeake with the King and the Queen, unleſſe ye call to ſome of the privie chamber that are next to the King and Queene?

Haukes. They that liſt receive your doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not believe nor truſt in any, but to call on them: and S. Paul ſaith, How ſhould I call upon him, on whom I believe not?

Praying for the dead.

Boner. Will you have no body to pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No ſurely, except you can prove it by the Scriptures. Then the Biſhop pointed unto Harpsfield, and ſaid unto me; Is it not well done to deſire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we live, prayer of the righteous man is available: but this mans prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?

Haukes. I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Pſal. 49.

Haukes. No forſooth, for David ſaith, No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it coſt more to redeem their ſoules, ſo that yee muſt let that alone for ever.

Ezek. 14.

Alſo Ezekiel ſaith, Though Noah, Daniel, or Iob dwelt amongſt them, yet can they in their righteouſneſſe exceed no farther than themſelvs. Then the Biſhop ſaid to Harpsfield, Sir, ye ſee this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the bleſſed Saints. Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you hoping that you ſhould do ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſaid to me, Sir, It is time to begin with you; wee will rid you away, and then we ſhall have one heretike leſſe.

Boner when he cannot overcome by doctrine, goeth about to oppreſſe by authority.

Harpſ. What bookes have you?

Haukes. The new Teſtament, Salomons books, and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Will you read any other books?

Haukes. Yea, if you will give me ſuch bookes as I will require.

Harpſ. What books do you require?

Haukes. Latimers books, my Lord of Canterburies booke, Bradfords Sermons, Ridleyes bookes.

Boner. Away, away, he will have no bookes but ſuch as maintain his hereſies: and ſo they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the Porters lodge again.

The next dayes talke.

The next days talk. This biſhops name was Bird, biſhop ſometime of Cheſter, and Suffragane before of Coventry, of whom read before.

The next day came thither an old biſhop, who had a pearle in his eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had loſt his living, becauſe he had a wife. Then the Biſhop called me againe into the Orchyard, and ſaid to the old Biſhop: this young man hath a childe, and will not have it chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſme.

B. Boner reproved for his anger.

Boner. Thou art a fool, thou canſt not tell what thou wouldeſt have, and that he ſpake with much anger.

Haukes. A Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe or faultleſſe, ſober, diſcreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

Boner. Thou judgeſt me to be angry: no by my faith am I not, and ſtroke himſelfe upon the breaſt.

Then ſaid the old biſhop, Alas good young man, you muſt be taught by the Church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot hee doth not underſtand them. Hee will have no ceremonies in the Church, no not one. What ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures do allow it.

Haukes. Where prove you that?

See how Boner proveth holy water by the Scripture. Elizeus put ſalt in the water, not to waſh away ſin, but only to make the water ſweet.

Boner. In the book of Kings, where Elizeus threw ſalt into the water.

Haukes. Yee ſay truth, it is written in the fourth booke of the Kings, the ſecond chapter; the children of the Prophets came to Elizeus, ſaying The dwelling of the City is pleaſant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cauſe that Elizeus threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweet and good: and ſo when our waters bee corrupted, if ye can by putting in of ſalt make them ſweet, clear and wholeſome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

Boner. How ſay you to holy bread?

Haukes. Even as I ſaid to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?

Boner proveth holy bread by the five loaves and three fiſhes

Boner. Have yee not read where Chriſt fed five thouſand men with five loaves, and three fiſhes.

Haukes. Will ye make that holy bread? There

Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread.

Boner. Looke I pray you how captious this man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould believe and credit his doctrine therby.

Boner. We believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Mark, 16.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſaith, These tokens ſhall follow them that believe in me: they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues, they ſhall caſt out Divels, and if they drink any deadly poiſon, it ſhall not hurt them.

How converted Chriſtians do ſpeake with tongues.

Boner. With what new tongues do ye ſpeake?

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods word, I was a foule blaſphemer and filthy talker, ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praiſed God, and given thanks unto God, even with the ſame tongue; and is not this a new tongue?

Boner. How do you caſt out Divils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by his word, and hee hath left the ſame word, that whoſoever doth credit and believe it, ſhall caſt out divels.

Boner. Did you ever drink any deadly poyſon?

Haukes. Yea forſooth that I have; for I have drunken of the peſtilent traditions and ceremonies of the Biſhop of Rome.

Boner. Now you ſhew your ſelfe to be a right heretike.

Haukes. I pray you, what is hereſie?

B. Boner an heretike by his own deſinition

Boner. All things that are contrary to Gods word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be ſo called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtand and continue in this opinion. Ye thinke we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it; I warrant you.

The Papiſts doe beſides Gods book in burning men for their faith.

Haukes. Where prove you that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did kill any man for his faith?

Boner. Did not Paul excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord, but there is a great difference betweene excommunicating and burning

Boner. Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apoſtles, whom Peter deſtroyed.

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were deſtroyed for lying againſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſerveth nothing to your purpoſe.

Boner. Well you will grant one yet.

Hauk. Wel, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then ſhew mercy, for that God requireth.

This biſhop here forgetteth his leſſon, Benedicite perſequentibus vos.

Boner. We will ſhew ſuch mercy unto you, as ye ſhewed unto us: for my benefice or biſhoprick was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray you my Lord, what do ye give him now that was in the biſhopricke or benefice before that ye came againe to it? whereunto he anſwered me never a word: for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, ſaying that he was very ſorry for me, but he truſted that I would turne with S. Paul, becauſe I was ſo earneſt: and ſo he departed and went to dinner, and I to the Porters lodge again.

Tho. Haukes afterwards called for again to talk with the old biſhop.

After dinner I was called into the Hall again, and the biſhop deſired the old biſhop to take me into his chamber: for I would be glad (ſaid he) if ye could convert him. So hee took me into his chamber, and ſate him down in a chaire, and ſaid to me; I would to God I could do you ſome good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wiſh you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the old Biſhop ſhould have made me an anſwer, and he was faſt aſleep.

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Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the Porters lodge again, and there ſaw I the old Biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

Talke between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next days talk with Fecknam.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and ſaid; Are ye he that will have no ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye wil not have your child chriſtned, but in Engliſh, and you wil have no ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatſoever the Scripture commandeth to be done I refuſe not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be uſed by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Fecknams reaſon lyeth in Pauls breeches.

Fecknam. How ſay you by Pauls breeches?

Haukes. I have read no ſuch thing.

Feck. Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, how things went from Pauls body, and they received health thereby?

Acts 19.

Haukes. I have read in the xix. of the Acts, how there went partlets and napkins from Pauls body, Is it that ye mean?

Fecknam maketh every act ſpoken of in the new Teſtament to be a ceremony.

Fecknam. Yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe ceremonies?

Haukes. I ſay nothing to the ceremonies. For the text ſaith, that God did ſo work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c. So that it ſeemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies

Mark 5. Luke 8.

Fecknam. How ſay yee to the woman that came behind Chriſt, and touched the hemme of his veſture? did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that ceremony?

Fecknam taken ſhort in his own tale.

Haukes. No forſooth: for Chriſt turned back, and ſaid to Peter, Who is it that toucheth mee? And Peter ſaid, Thou ſeeſt the people thruſt thee; and askeſt thou, Who touched mee? Some bodie hath touched me (ſaith Chriſt) for vertue hath gone out of me. I pray you, whether was it the vertue that healed this woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam. Both.

Fecknam driven in a ſtrait, driveth him to the ſacrament.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: for he ſaid, Go thy way thy faith hath made thee whole.

Boner. Away, away to the ſacrament for theſe are but meere trifles to that.

Fecknam. How ſay ye ſirra; Chriſt took bread, and brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body?

Haukes. I grant Chriſt ſaid ſo.

It is his ſacramentall body, or the ſacrament of his body, but not his true body.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſooth, I do not underſtand it ſo.

Fecknam. Why, then is Chriſt a lyer?

Haukes. I think ye will ſo prove him.

Fecknam. Will I? why I have ſpoken the words that Chriſt ſpake.

The words of Chriſt are to be underſtood, not as he ſpake, but as he meant them.

Haukes. Is every word to bee underſtood as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid, I am a door, a vine, I am a King, a way, &c.

Feckn. Chriſt ſpake theſe words in parables.

Haukes. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables when he ſaid, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. more than this when he ſaid, This is my body? For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeech, as he ſaith, This is my body: ſo ſaith he, I am a doore, a vine, a king, a way; he ſaith not, I am like a door, like a vine, &c.

Then Fecknam ſtood up, and ſaid, I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, theſe places ſerve nothing for your purpoſes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Feck. I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

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Haukes. I know nothing elſe by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam' falleth out of his matter to rayling.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherin he affirmeth a reall preſence in the ſacrament.

Haukes. What he hath done, I know not, but what he doth I know.

Fecknam. Ridley hath preached at Pauls Croſſe openly, that the Divell believeth better than you: for he believeth that Chriſt is able of ſtones to make bread, and ye will not believe, Chriſts body in the ſacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy faith upon them.

Tho. Haukes buildeth his faith upon no man.

Haukes. I build my faith upon no man, and that ye well know: for if thoſe men, and as many mo as they be, ſhould recant, and deny that they have ſaid or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye know that I build my faith upon no man.

Boner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you an anſwer.

Boner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doeſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea indeed will I, and that truſt to it, by Gods grace.

B. Boner iudgeth other men by his own ſore.

Boner. I dare ſay Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might have his living. And ſo the Biſhop and Fecknam departed from mee with great laughing, and I went again to the porters lodge

Talk between Haukes and Chadſey.

Another daies talke with D. Chadſey.

The next day came D. Chadſey to the biſhop and him. The biſhop declared unto him that I had ſtood ſtubbornly in the defence againſt the chriſtening of my child, and againſt the ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not have it chriſtened but in Engliſh.

Then ſaid D. Chadſey; then he denieth the order of the Catholike Church.

Bon. Yea, he thinketh that there is no Church but in England and in Germany.

The Church of Rome.

Haukes. And ye think that there is no Church, but the Church of Rome.

Chad. What ſay ye to the Church of Rome?

Haukes. I ſay it is a Church of a ſort of vicious Cardinals, Prieſts, Monkes and Friers, which I will never credit nor believe.

The Biſhop of Rome.

Chad. How ſay ye to the Biſhop of Rome?

Haukes. From him and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us.

Chad. Marry ſo may we ſay, From K. Henry the eighth, and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not far.

Haukes. Where were ye in his ſons dayes?

Chad. In priſon.

Haukes. It was for your well doing.

Boner. He will by no meanes come within my Chappell, nor heare Maſſe: for neither the Maſſe, neither the ſacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will hee have any ſervice but in Engliſh.

Chadſeyes argument. Chriſt never ſpake engliſh: ergo, we muſt not pray in Engliſh. An inſtance given againſt Chadſey.

Chad. Chriſt never ſpake in Engliſh.

Haukes. Neither ſpake hee ever any Latine but alwaies in ſuch a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul ſaith, That tongues profit us nothing. Hee maketh a ſimilitude betweene the pipe and the harpe, and except it be underſtood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himſelfe to the battell: ſo if I heare the tongue which I doe not underſtand, what profit have I thereby? no more than hee hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad. If ye underſtand Pauls ſaying, he ſpeaketh it under a prophecy, If ye prophecy to you in tongues, &c.

Haukes. Forſooth Paul ſpeaketh plainely of tongues: for tongues ſerve not for them that believe.

Chad. I tell you Paul ſpeaketh altogether upon prophecy.

1 Cor.

Haukes. Paul maketh a diſtinction betweene prophecying and tongues, ſaying, That if any man ſpeake with tongues, let it be by two or three at the moſt, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep ſilence in the congregation, and let himſelfe pray unto God: and then let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and that by courſe, and let the other judg: and if any revelation be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: ſo that it ſeemeth that Paul maketh a diſtinction betweene tongues and prophecying.

Latine ſervice.

Boner. The order was taken in the Catholike Church that the Latine tongue ſhould ſerve thorow the whole world, becauſe that they ſhould pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and ſtrife, and to have one univerſal order thorow the whole world

Haukes. This did your Councels of Rome conclude.

Boner. Underſtand yee what the generall Councels of Rome meant?

The generall Councels of Rome.

Haukes Indeed all your generall Councels of Rome be in Latine, and I am an Engliſh man: therfore I have nothing to do with them.

Chad. Yee are too blame, being an unlearned man to reprove all the Councels thorowout all the whole world.

Haukes. I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, ſaying, If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, doe you hold him accurſed.

Chad. Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?

Haukes. Yea, I have been taught another Goſpel ſince I came into this houſe.

Other doctrine taught in the Church of Rome than ever Paul taught.

Chad. What Goſpel have ye been taught?

Haukes. Praying to Saints, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſſe, holy bread, and holy water and in Idols.

Cha. He that teaches you ſo, teaches not amiſs

Haukes, Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt him nor believe him.

Boner. You ſpeak of Idols, and ye know not what they meane.

Idols.

Haukes. God hath taught us what they be: for whatſoever is made, graven, or deviſed by mans hand, contrary to Gods word, that ſame is an Idoll. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withall?

The Croſſe.

Haukes. The croſſe of wood, ſilver, copper, or gold, &c.

Boner. What ſay ye to that?

Haukes, I ſay it is an idol. What ſay you to it?

Images.

Boner. I ſay every idoll is an image, but every image is not an idoll.

Haukes. I ſay, what difference is there betweene an Idol and Image?

Note here Boners definition of an idoll.

Boner. If it bee a falſe God, and an image made of him, that is an Idoll: but if an image be made of God himſelfe, it is no idoll, but an image, becauſe he is a true God

Haukes. Lay your image of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the difference. Have not your images feet, and go not, eyes and ſee not, eares and hear not, hands and feele not, mouths and ſpeak not? and even ſo have your idols.

[illegible] the wordes of S. Paul.

Chad. God forbid, ſaith S. Paul, that I ſhould rejoyce in any thing els, but in the croſſe of Chriſt Ieſus.

Haukes. Do ye underſtand Paul ſo? Do ye underſtand Paul? Unto the which he anſwered me never a word.

Boner. Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to ſee the Croſſe?

Haukes. If the Croſſe were ſuch a profit unto us, why did not Chriſts Diſciples take it up, and ſet it on a pole, and carry it in proceſſion, with Salve, feſta dies?

Chad. It was taken up.

The people ſeduced by falſe pieces of the holy Croſſe.

Haukes. Who tooke it up? Helene, as ye ſay; for ſhe ſent a piece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the viſiters when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the piece of the holy Croſſe (which the religious had in ſuch eſtimation, and had robbed many a ſoule, committing Idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double guilded as it had bin cleane gold.

Boner. Fie, fie, I dare ſay thou ſlandereſt it.

Haukes. I know it to be true and doe not believe the contrary. And thus did the Biſhop and the Doctor depart in a great fume: and Chadſey ſaid unto me, as he was about to depart, It is pity that thou ſhouldeſt live, or any ſuch as thou art. I anſwered, In this caſe I deſire not to live, but rather to die.

Note here diſcreetly the ſpirit of Chadſey.

Chad. Ye die boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your death, as Jone Butcher did.

Haukes. What Jone Butcher did, I have nothing to do withall: but I would my part might be to morrow. God make you in a better minde, ſaid they both, and ſo they departed, and I went to the Porters lodge with my Keeper.

The next day Doctor Chadſey preached in the Biſhops Chappell, and did not begin his Sermon untill all the ſervice was done: and then came the porter for me, and ſaid, My Lord would have you come to the Sermon, and ſo I went to the Chappell doore, and ſtood without the doore.

Boner. Is not this fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner. Come in man.

Tho. Haukes will not come into Boners Chappell.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called againe, and I anſwered; I will come no neerer, and ſo I ſtood at the doore. Then ſaid the Biſhop, go to your Sermon.

Then Doctor Chadſey put the ſtole about his neck, and carried the holy water ſprinkle unto the Biſhop, who bleſſed him, and gave him holy water, and ſo he went to his Sermon.

His Theame. Chadſeyes Sermon.

The Text that he treated on, was the xvi of Matthew, Whom do men ſay that I the ſonne of man am? Peter ſaid; Some ſay that thou art Helias, ſome ſay that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome ſay thou art one of the Prophets. But whom ſay yee that I am? Then ſaid Peter, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the everliving God. Then left he the text there, and ſaid, Whoſe ſins ſoever ye binde, are bound: which authority (ſaid he) is left to the heads of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and ſo unto all the reſt that bee underneath him. But the Church hath beene much kicked at ſith the beginning: yet kicke the heretikes, ſpurne the heretikes never ſo much, the Church doth ſtand and flouriſh. And then hee went ſtraight way to the ſacrament, and ſaid his minde on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his place againe, ſaying, Whoſe ſinnes yee doe remit are remitted and forgiven: and ſo hee applyed it to the Biſhops and Prieſts to forgive ſinnes, and ſaid, All that be of the Church will come and receive the ſame. And this he proved by S. John in the xi. chap. ſaying, that Chriſt came to raiſe Lazarus, which when he was riſen, was bound in bands: then ſaid Chriſt to them that were in authority (who were his Diſciples) go ye and looſe him: looſe him you. And this was the effect of his Sermon, applying all to them, that they have the ſame authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles, and ſo ended his Sermon, and they went to dinner.

Chadſey exalteth the Sacrament.

Scripture clerkly applyed.

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Another communication betweene Tho Haukes, and the Biſhop.

AND after dinner I was called into the Chappell, whereas were certaine of the Queenes ſervants, & other ſtrangers, whom I did know.

Boner. Haukes, how like you the ſermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his doctrine.

Another talke betweene Tho. Haukes and Boner, and the Queenes men.

Boner. What? are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No ſurely.

Boner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſorry that yee had no moe heretikes here, as ye call them: I am ſorry that ye have beſtowed ſo much labor on one, and ſo little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have buſineſſe, I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (ſaid he) I would be glad.

This the Biſhop ſpake to the Queenes men, who ſaid unto me; Alas what mean you to trouble your ſelfe about ſuch matters againſt the Queenes proceedings?

Haukes. Thoſe matters have I anſwered before them that be in authority: and unleſſe I ſee you have a farther commiſſion, I will anſwer you nothing at all. Then ſaid the Biſhops men (which were many) my Lord hath commanded you to talk with them.

Tho Haukes refuſeth to talk with the Queenes ſervants.

Hauks. If my Lord will talk with me himſelf, I will anſwer him. They cried Fagots, burne him, hang him, to priſon with him; it is pitie that he liveth, lay irons upon him, and with a great noiſe they ſpake theſe words. Then in the midſt of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the Porters lodge again.

The next daies talke.

THe next day the Biſhop called mee into his chamber, and ſaid; Ye have been with mee a great while, and ye are never the better, but worſe and worſe: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Another daies talk betweene Haukes and Boner.

Haukes. My Lord, you can doe mee no better pleaſure.

Boner. Why? would you ſo fain go to priſon?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands.

Boner. Come on your waies, ye ſhall ſee what I have written. Then did he ſhew me certain Articles, and theſe are the contents of them:

Boner ſheweth Haukes articles in writing.

Whether the Catholike Church do teach and believe that Chriſts reall preſence doth remaine in the ſacrament or no, after the words of conſecration, according to the words of Saint Paul, which are theſe; Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Chriſt, and the cup which we bleſſe, the partaking of the blood of Chriſt? which if it were not ſo, Paul would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I cannot tel: but I am ſure that the holy Catholike Church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Answer of Haukes to the firſt article.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholike Church teach and believe the Baptiſme that now is uſed in the Church, or no?

Haukes. I anſwered to it, as I did to the other queſtion before. Then did the Biſhop with much flattery counſell mee to bee perſwaded, and to keep me out of priſon, which I utterly refuſed, and ſo wee departed. And I ſuppoſed that the

Anſwer to the 2. Article.

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Talk betweene Haukes and D. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury.

the next day I ſhould have gone to priſon, and ſo I had, ſave for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whoſe name is Harpsfield, whom the biſhop had deſired to talk with me, and began to perſwade me concerning the Sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was the ſame body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the croſſe.

A queſtion put to Harpsfield.

Haukes. He was upon the Croſſe both alive and dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpſ. The Archdeacon anſwered, alive.

Haukes. How prove you that?

Harpſ. Ye muſt believe. Doth not S. John ſay, He is already condemned that believeth not?

Haukes. S. John ſaith, He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned: but hee ſaith not, He that believeth not in the Sacrament, is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talke with you: for ye are both without faith and learning, and therfore I will talk no more with you in Scripture.

Another queſtion put to Harpsfield, why the Roodeloft is ſet betweene the Church & the Chancell.

Haukes. Then two that ſtood by bade me enter further in talk with him, and then ſaid I unto him, Why is the Roodloft ſet betwixt the body of the Church, and the Chancell?

Harpſ. I cannot tell: for ye have aſked a queſtion, which you cannot aſſoyle your ſelfe.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this ſaith one of your owne Doctors; That the body of the Church doth repreſent the Church militant, and the Chancell the Church triumphant: and ſo becauſe we cannot goe from the Church militant to the Church triumphant, but that wee muſt beare the croſſe of Chriſt, this is the cauſe of the Roodloft, being betweene the bodie of the Church and the Chancell.

Harpſ. This is well and clarkly concluded.

Hauks. As all the reſt of your doctrine is, and ſo with many perſwaſions on his part we ended, & ſo departed: and I to the Porters lodge againe.

Another dayes talke.

Haukes ſent to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter with the biſhops warrant.

THe next day in the morning, which was the firſt day of July, the biſhop did call me himſelf from the Porters lodge, commanding me to make me ready to goe to priſon, and to take ſuch things with me, as I had of mine owne. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bride, neither to ſteale, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the Keeper of the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who with his owne man and one of the biſhops men brought me to priſon, and delivered the warrant and me both to the Keeper: and this was contained in the warrant.

The biſhops warrant.

I will and command you, that you receive him who commeth, named in this warrant, and that hee bee kept as a ſafe priſoner, and that no man ſpeak with him, and that yee deliver him to no man, except it bee the Councell, or to a Juſtice: for hee is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt baptiſme, a ſeditious man, a perillous man to be abroad in theſe perillous dayes. And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteene dayes, and then the Biſhop ſent two of his men unto me, ſaying, my Lord would be glad to know how ye doe. I anſwered them, I doe like a poore priſoner. They ſaid, My Lord would know, whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when yee departed. I ſaid, I am no changling. They ſaid, My Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſaid, if my Lord will me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my friends to come to mee. So they ſaid they would ſpeake for mee, but I heard no more of them.

The Biſhops men ſent to Haukes in the Gatehouſe.

This is the firſt examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Boner, then Biſhop of London, and by his Chaplaines and Doctors at Fulham, foure miles from London, where I lay, till I came to priſon to Weſtminſter: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him, till the third day of September.

Here followeth the ſecond time of mine examination, the which was the third day of September, for the Biſhop did ſend his men for mee to come to his Palace of London, and ſo my keeper and his men brought me to his Palace the ſame day.

The ſecond time of Haukes his examination.

THe biſhop of Wincheſter, then being Chancellor, preached that day at Pauls Croſſe, and the biſhop of London ſaid to my Keeper, I think your man will not go to the Sermon to day.

Haukes. Yea my Lord, I pray you let me goe: and that that is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me, and ſo I went. And when the Sermon was done, I and my Keeper came to the biſhops houſe, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the biſhop called for me, and aſked me if I were the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no changling, nor none will be.

Boner. Yee ſhall finde me no changeling neither. And ſo he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheet of paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the chamber. And as I ſtood there, D. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in Print) ſaying, that he would be glad to talke brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was. Then ſaid they that ſtood by, he is Doctor Smith. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

D. Smith cometh to Haukes. D. Smiths recantation.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own honeſty.

D. Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To bee ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talke with you, credit you, or believe you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of the chamber. Then ſaid the biſhops men and his Chaplaines, that my Lord commanded mee to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by, cried with a great noiſe; hang him, burne him; it is pitie that he liveth, that diſobeyeth my Lords commandement.

Miles Huggards words to Tho. Haukes.

Then ſaid one Miles Huggard; where prove you that infants were baptized?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy Ghoſt. Sir, here is none excepted.

M. Hug. What ſhall we go to teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

Miles Huggard.

M. Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Bee you not a Hoſier, and dwell in pudding lane?

Huggard more meet to eat a pudding, than to diſpute of Scripture.

M. Hug. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeeme ſo, for yee can better ſkill to eat a pudding, and make a hoſe, than in Scripture either to anſwer or oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I deſired that ſome man would ſome pain to walk the Gentleman, he did fret ſo for anger. Then one that ſtood by mee (who was Parſon of Horne-church, and Rumford in Eſſex) ſaid; Alas, what doe you meane? a young man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much pride in you.

Hauks. Are ye not the Parſon of Hornchurch?

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a Prieſt in your Benefice?

Parſon. Yes for a ſhift.

Parſon of Horn-church compared the the Weather-cock of Pauls.

Haukes. Like will to like; ſuch maſter, ſuch man. For I know the Prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I aſked the Parſon what kin he was to the wether-cocke of Pauls? and he fell into a great laughter, with the reſt of his companions. He ſaid, that I did raile.

Frivolous queſtions.
Eſay 53.

Then ſaid another that ſtood by unto me; what book have you here? I anſwered, the new Teſtament. May I look in it, ſaid he? Yea that ye may, ſaid I. And ſo he looked in my book, and ſaid it was corrupt. I anſwered him, if the things contained in it be true, then are ye falſe Prophets. He ſaid that hee would appoſe mee in the firſt word of the Teſtament, ſaying; here is a generation of Chriſt: And Eſay ſaith, No man can tell his generation.

Haukes. What meaneth Eſay by that?

I would learne of you, ſaid he.

Haukes. Yee would bee angry if the ſcholler ſhould teach the Maſter: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you Eſayes meaning.

Then ſaid he, no man can tell the generation betweene the father and the ſon: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then Eſay denieth not the generation.

Then ſaid he, Why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſaid he, Why is he called a Meſſias.

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo propheſied by the Prophets.

Then ſaid he, Why is your book called a book?

Haukes. Theſe words do breed more ſtrife, than godly edifying.

Beware, ſaid he, that ye do not decline from the Church, for if you do, you will prove your ſelf an heretike.

Difference between the true Prophets and the falſe.
The falſe Prophets ſay: Dicit Eccleſia, thus ſaith the Church.
The true Prophets ſay, Dicit Dominus, thus ſaith the Lord.

Haukes. Even as ye do call us heretikes, that do incline to Chriſts Church from your Church: ſo are yee all falſe Prophets that doe decline from Chriſts Church to your own Church. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe Prophets, if ye ſay, This ſaith the Church: and will not ſay, this ſaith our Lord. And ſo hee went his way, as though he had a flea in his eare.

The Biſhop writeth Hauks confeſſion.

Then came another and ſaid unto mee, hee would talk with me, for he perceived (as he ſaid) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes. I will ſee your commiſſion, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more. For I wiſt not how to be be rid of them, they came ſo thick about me. For I ſaid that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the Biſhop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which hee had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner: I Thomas Haukes doe here confeſſe and declare before my ſaid Ordinary Edmund Biſhop of London, that the Maſſe is abominable and deteſtable and full of all ſuperſtition, and alſo as concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of the altar) that Chriſt is *in no part* thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withall? But what I do believe, to that ſtand I, and will. Then he took his pen, and ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, & ſaid; I T. Hauks have talked with my ſaid Ordinary and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtanding I ſtand ſtill in mine opinion.

Anno 1555.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant my ſelf to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Boner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſaid al his Doctors, if your Lordſhip bee ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then he read more to me. Here unto this bill have I ſet my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me ſet my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or deviſing.

Tho. Haukes denieth to ſet his hand to Boners writing.

Boner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hand? It ſhall be to thy ſhame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his doctors and ſaid he would have every mans hand to it that was in the chamber, and ſo he had al their hands to it, and ſaid: He that will not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and ſo ſaid all his Chaplains and Doctors with a great noiſe.

Boner in a fume with Haukes.

Then the biſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger, and ſaid he would be even with me, and with all ſuch proud knaves in Eſſex.

Haukes. Yee ſhall do no more than God ſhall give you leave.

Bo. This gear ſhal not be unpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your curſings, railings, and blaſphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms ſhall eat you, as they eate cloth or wooll.

Biſhop. I will be even with you, when time ſhall come.

Haukes. You may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye have done, ye cannot doe ſo much as make a finger, and ye be meetly even with ſome of us already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the Law of me.

Haukes. Salomon ſaith, Go not to Law with a Iudge. For he will judge according to his own honor

Boner. Salomon ſaith, Give not a fool an anſwer

Haukes. What? do ye count me a foole?

Boner. Yea, by my troth, do I, and ſo doſt thou me too: but God forgive thee, “ and ſo do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my Lord. Then took Boner the bill, and read it again, and when hee ſaw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

“ And then now ye ſaid, you would be even with him.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremony? Neither ſhall it come into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his boſome, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horſe, and went to horſback, for the ſame day he rode in viſitation into Eſſex: and ſo went I to priſon, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the ſecond time of my examination.

Written by me Th. Haukes, who deſireth all faithfull men and brethren to pray unto God to ſtrengthen me in his truth unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray.

The publike examination of Th. Haukes.

After all theſe private conferences, perſwaſions, and long debatings had with T. Haukes in the biſhops houſe as hitherto have been declared, the biſhop ſeeing no hope to win him to his wicked waies, was fully ſet to proceed openly againſt him after the ordinary courſe of his popiſh law. Whereupon T. Hauks ſhortly after was cited with the reſt of his other fellows above ſpecified, to wit, T. Tomkins, St. Knight, W. Pygot, I. Laurence, & W. Hunter, to appear in the biſhops

Tho. Haukes cited to the biſhops Conſiſtory.

Conſiſtory

Anno 1555.
Ex Regiſtro.
The firſt daies Seſſions against Tho. Haukes.

Conſiſtorie, the 8. day of February, this preſent yeare, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid againſt him in like order as to the other, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Boners hand, to the which bill yee heard before how the bleſſed ſervant of God denied to ſubſcribe.

The ſecond daies Seſſions againſt Tho. Haukes.

The anſwer of Tho. Haukes.

After which bill of confeſſion, being read, and he conſtantly ſtanding to the ſaid confeſſion, the Biſhop then aſſigned him with the other five the the next day following, which was the ix. of February, to appear before him again, to give a reſolute anſwer what they would ſticke unto. Which day being come, and theſe foreſaid ſix priſoners being ſeverally called before the biſhop at the comming of Thomas Haukes, the biſhop willed him to remember what was ſaid to him yeſterday, and now while he had time and ſpace, to adviſe with himſelf what he would anſwer, for he ſtood upon life and death. Well quoth maſter Haukes again, I will willingly receive whatſoever ſhall be put unto me. Then were certain other Interrogatories or Articles commenced againſt him by the ſaid biſhop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of foure, with another bill alſo which Boner brought out of his boſome, containing private matters againſt the ſaid Thomas Haukes, which the Biſhop called hereſies and errours, but we may better call them Chriſtian verities. To the which matter being read, the ſaid Haukes anſwered openly againe, ſaying that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true as it was, with moe words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ix. day of February. In the afternoone againe the ſaid Haukes appearing and hearing the foreſaid bill of his confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read unto him, with like conſtancie in anſwering againe to the Biſhop; My Lord (ſaid hee) as you being my friends have cauſed theſe my ſayings to be written: ſo doe you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will never goe from them. And then being exhorted by the Biſhop, with many fair words, to return again to the boſome of the mother Church: No my Lord (ſaid he) that will I not: for if I had an hundred bodies, I would ſuffer them all to bee torne in peeces, rather than I willl abiure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtill in the ſame ſong, notwithſtanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were ever calling upon him to come againe to the unity of the Church, hee ever kept them off with this anſwer, that he would never goe from the beliefe he was in, ſo long as he lived. Whereupon Boner at the laſt read the ſentence of death upon him, and ſo was hee condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his fellowes, which was the ninth of February. Neverthelesse his execution was prolonged, and hee remained in priſon till the 10. day of June. Then was hee committed to the hands and charge of the Lord Rich, who, being aſſiſted with power ſufficient of the worſhipfull of the Shire, had the foreſaid Thomas Haukes down into Eſſex, with ſix other fellow priſoners whoſe ſtories hereafter follow, there to ſuffer martyrdome, Hauks at Coxhall, the other ſeverally in other ſeverall places.

The words of Tho. Haukes at his iudgement.
The invincible conſtancy of Tho. Haukes.

Tho. Haukes condemned by Biſhop Boner.

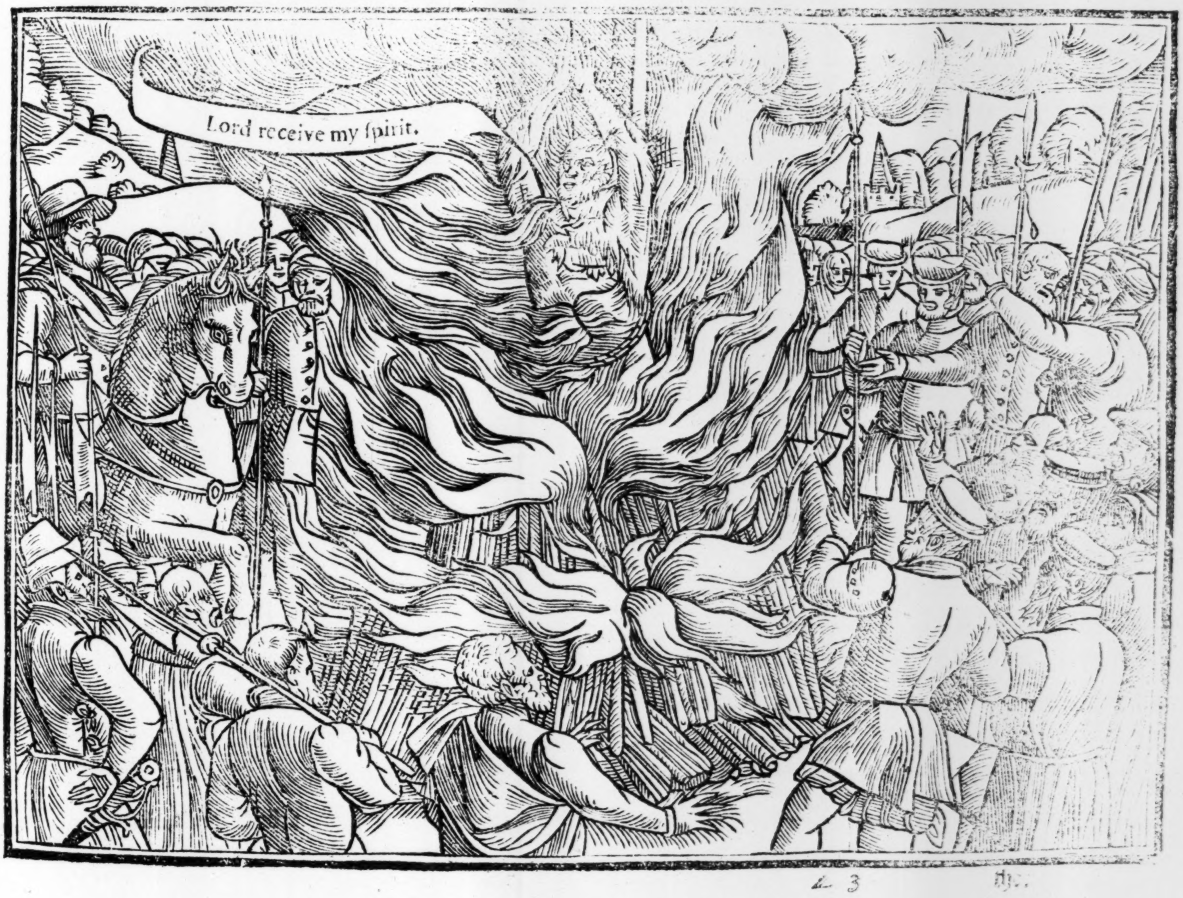
The death of Haukes deferred.
Tho. Haukes brought downe to Eſſex by the Lord Rich.

Thomas Haukes by the way uſed much exhortation to his friends, and whenſoever opportunity ſerved to talk with them, he would familiarly admoniſh them.

Agreed between Tho. Haukes and his friends to give them a token in the fire, whether the pain of burning were ſo grievous as it ſeemeth or no.

A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, which ſeemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his conſtancy, and by his talk; yet notwithſtanding the ſame againe, being feared with the ſharpneſſe of the puniſhment which he was going to, privily deſired that in the midſt of the flame he would ſhew them ſome token if hee could, whereby they might be more certain whe-

The Martyrdome of Tho. Haukes in Eſſex, at a Town called Coxehall. Anno 1555. June 10.


Lord receive my ſpirit.

ther the pain of ſuch burning were ſo great, that a man might not therin keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promiſed them to doe: and ſo ſecretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift up his hands above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the Ghoſt.

Tho. Haukes carried to the place of execution.

Tho. Haukes ſtanding at the ſtake reaſoneth with the Lord Rich.

Not long after, when the houre was come, T. Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the ſlaughter, by the L. Rich and his aſſiſtants, who being now come unto the ſtake, there mildly and patiently addreſſed himſelf to the fire, having a ſtrait chain caſt about his middle, with no ſmall multitude of people on every ſide compaſſing him about. Unto whom after he had ſpoken many things, but eſpecially unto the L. Rich reaſoning with him of the innocent blood of ſaints, at length after his fervent prayers firſt made, and poured out unto God, the fire was ſet unto him.

A token given in the fire that burning is not ſo intolerable a pain as it was thought.

The end and martyrdome of Tho. Haukes at Coxhall.

In the which when he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by violence of the flame, his ſkinne alſo drawne together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, ſuddenly and contrary to all expectation the bleſſed ſervant of God, being mindfull of his promiſe afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great reioycing as ſeemed, ſtrooke or clapped them three times together. At the ſight whereof there followed ſuch applauſe and out-cry of the people, and eſpecially of them which underſtood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and ſo the bleſſed martyr of Chriſt, ſtraight way ſinking down into the fire, gave up his ſpirit, An. 1555 June 10. And thus have you plainly and expreſſly deſcribed unto you the whole ſtory, as well of the life, as of the death of T. Haukes, a moſt conſtant and faithfull witnes of Chriſts holy Goſpel.

Letters.

An Epiſtle to the Congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

A letter of Th. Haukes to the congregation.

The manifold dangers which a true Chriſtian hath to paſſe through in this world.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be alway with you all (my deare brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) for ever; and his holy ſpirit conduct and lead you all in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he ſhall appeare to reward every man according to their works, ye may as obedient children, be found watching, ready, to enter into his everlaſting Kingdome with your lamps burning, and when the Bridegroome ſhall ſhew himſelfe, ye need not to be aſhamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but tranſitory, vain, and like unto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoon paſſeth away all our terreſtriall honour, glory, and felicity. For all fleſh (ſaith the Prophet) is graſſe, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beauty, and as ſoone as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth. For in this tranſitory and dangerous wilderneſſe, we are as Pilgrims and ſtrangers following the footſteps of Moſes, among many unſpeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities: and vexation of mind; ſubiect to hunger, cold, nakedneſſe, bonds, ſickneſſe, loſſe, labours, baniſhment, in danger of that dreadfull Dragon, and his ſinfull ſeed, to be devoured, tempted and tormented, who ceaſeth not behind every buſh to lay a-baite, when we walk awry to have his pleaſure upon us, caſting abroad his apples in all places, times, and ſeaſons, to ſee if Adam will be allured and entiſed to leave the living God, and his moſt holy commandements, whereby he is aſſured of everlaſting life, promiſing the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a meſſe of pottage ſell and ſet at naught the everlaſting kingdome of heaven. So fraile is fleſh and blood; And in eſpeciall Iſrael is moſt ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all maner of riches, as ſaith the Prophet.

The higher in dignity the nearer to danger.

Therfore I am bold in bonds (as entirely deſiring your everlaſting health and felicity) to warn you, and moſt heartily deſire you to watch and pray: For our eſtate is dangerous, and requireth continuall prayer. For on the high mountains, doth not grow moſt plenty of graſſe, neither are the higheſt trees fartheſt from danger, but ſeldome ſure, and alwaies ſhaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitfull thing (ſaith our Saviour) is honor and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good ſeed ſowne on his creatures, and blindeth ſo their ſeeing, that they go groping at noon day in darkneſſe: it maketh a man think himſelf ſomewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we eſteem our ſelvs and ſtand in our own light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the living God, there ſhall be no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can wee make the Lord partiall for money. But as ye have miniſtred unto the Saints, ſo ſhall ye receive the reward, which I am fully perſwaded and aſſured ſhall be plenteouſly poured upon you all, for the great goodneſſe ſhewed unto the ſervants of the living God. And I moſt heartily beſeech almighty God to poure forth a plenteous reward upon you for the ſame, and that he will aſſiſt you with his holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto ſuch a perfection as may be to Gods honour, your own ſalvation, and the ſtrengthening of the weake members of Chriſt. For though the world rage, and blaſpheme the elect of God, ye know that it did ſo unto Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all that were in the Primitive Church, and ſhall be unto the worlds end.

Prov. 11. Riches help not before God

Gods elect alwaies beare the ſlander in this world.

Therfore believe in the light while ye have it, leſt it be taken away from you; if you ſhall ſeem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, and your hearts conſented unto it, that it is the very and only truth pronounced by Gods only ſon Jeſus Chriſt, by the good will of our heavenly Father. Therefore I ſay in the bowels of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſtick faſt unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and converſation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one ſhepheard, may riſe to the life immortall, through Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour. Amen.

Yours in him that liveth for ever,
Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth another letter of T. Haukes, ſent to his wife after his condemnation, being priſoner in Newgate: the copie whereof is this.

The copie of Thomas Haukes letter to his wife.

A letter of T. Haukes unto his wife.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which gave himſelf for our ſins, to deliver us from this preſent evill world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

My deare yoke-fellow in the Lord, foraſmuch

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as ẏ Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath alſo fulfilled his good worke in me (I truſt to his glory, and to the comfort of all thoſe that look for his comming) I thought it my duty, deare yoke-fellow, to write unto you ſome leſſons out of Gods booke; and if you will direct your ſelfe thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuſeth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy ſake, Amen.

Leſſons for inſtructions to his wife.

First, I exhort you to feare God, to ſerve and honour his holy Name, to love him with all your heart, ſoule, and minde, to beleeve faithfully all his promiſes, to lay ſure hold upon them, that in all your troubles whatſoever they are, ye may run ſtraight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them, keepe you within his wings; then ſhall ye be ſure that neither divell, fleſh, nor hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

He exhorteth her to beware of Idolatry. Idolatry puniſhed of God.

But take heed; If you will not keepe his holy precepts and lawes, and to the uttermoſt of your power call for the helpe of God to walke in the ſame, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they doe; then be ſure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning Lake that never ſhall be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatry, which doth moſt of all ſtink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the world. For the which, what Kingdomes, Nations, and Realmes God hath puniſhed with moſt terrible plagues, with fire, brimſtone, hunger, ſword, and peſtilence, &c. to the utter ſubverſion of them, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene through the whole Bible. Yea his owne peculiar people, whom he had done ſo much for, when they fell from him, and went and ſerved other gods, contrary to his commandement, he vtterly deſtroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable ſtate, not repenting their abominable evill, he threw them into the pit of hell. Againe, how he hath preſerved thoſe that abhorre ſuperſtition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to ſerve him, and to love him, to feare him, &c. it is moſt manifeſtly to be ſeen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea when all hope of deliverance was paſt as touching their expectation, even then in the ſight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpoſe, to the utter amazing and deſtruction of all thoſe that were his manifeſt enemies.

Exhortation to prayer.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt, that you will exerciſe and be ſtedfaſt in prayer; for prayer is the onely meane to pierce the heavens, to obtaine at the hand of God whatſoever we deſire, ſo that it be aſked in faith. Oh what notable things doe we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer? We are commanded to call upon him for helpe, aid, and ſuccour in neceſſities and troubles: And he hath promiſed to help us. Againe, they that will not cal upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the booke, but only the Lamb Chriſt which was killed for our ſinnes) I ſay, who that will refuſe his helpe, muſt even by the terrible iudgements of God come utterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is daily manifeſt to be ſeene. And whatſoever you deſire of God in your prayer, aſke it for Ieſus Chriſts ſake, for whom and in whom God hath promiſed to give us all things neceſſary. And though that which we aſk come not by and by at the firſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtill knocking, and he will at the length open his treaſures of mercy, ſo that ye ſhall be ſure to obtain; for he hath ſo promiſed if ye continue in faith, hoping ſurely in him. Theſe former leſſons, with all ſuch inſtructions as I have told you by mouth, I doe wiſh that you would moſt earneſtly learne; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will aſſiſt you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his Kingdome, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Praying to God, and not to creatures.

To continue in prayer, and to pray only in the name of Chriſt

Care for his children.

He meaneth M. Clement Throgmorton, who deſired to have the bringing up of his child.

Further, where it hath pleaſed God to ſend us children, my deſire is, that they may be brought up in the feare of God, and in his lawes. And this is to certifie you, that ye deliver in any wiſe my eldeſt ſonne unto M. Throgmorton, who upon his good will hath promiſed me to bring him up according to my deſire; and (I truſt) as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wiſe without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeeme to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not ſuffer) my deſire is, that it be brought up in the feare of God to the uttermoſt of your indeavour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the feare of God before his eyes, and let us give thanks unto God which hath given them us, beſeeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flocke that ſhall ſtand on the right hand of the maieſty of God, when he ſhall iudge the world, Amen.

Keeping of good company.

Yet once againe I warne you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I ſaid before; then ſhall ye be ſure, that God even of his own mercy, according as he hath promiſed, will be an husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do: yea, he will cauſe all men that feare him to pitie you, to helpe you, to ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover, I wiſh you to keep company with thoſe of whom ye may learne to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that ſuch will be glad to receive you, if you ſhall profeſſe and go forward in his truth.

Exhortation to take heed whom ſhe marrieth, and that ſhe marry in the Lord.

Finally, and to make an end, I deſire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple your ſelfe. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the ſame to the uttermoſt of his power: ſuch a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked perſon, not given to filthineſſe, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy perſon, but chuſe you ſuch a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And againe on your part, love him, ſerve him, obey him in all godlineſſe, as long as God ſhall give you life in this world. Then ſhall ye both be ſure to obtain that kingdome which God the Father hath prepared, and Ieſus Chriſt obtained for you, that never ſhall have end, where I truſt to abide your comming, Amen.

By your husband, Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before in the letter of Tho. Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldeſt ſonne to be ſent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth to the ſaid M. Throgmorton touching the ſame matter, by this his letter to the ſaid party hereunder enſuing, may appeare.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to M. Clement Throgmorton.

Another letter of Thomas Haukes written to M. Clement Throgmorton.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you, and aſſiſt you in all your thoughts, words, and workes, that he in all things, as moſt worthy, may be glorified, and that the bleſſing of Abraham may be powred plenteouſly on you and all your poſterity.

Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my ſonne to be brought up before your eyes, and the ſelfe ſame love hath alſo moved me in like caſe to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in mine abſence, I ſhall require you in Gods behalfe according to your promiſe, that ye will ſee him brought up in the feare of the Lord, and inſtructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learne to leave the evill, and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with fatherly inſtructions to follow my footſteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpeciall grace to work his will in obedience, he may learne to follow me his father in the like, to Gods honour and praiſe: And this I require you in Gods behalfe to fulfill, or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the living God will make anſwer for the ſame. I have left for the child certaine books which ſhall be delivered unto you, wherein his inſtruction and ſalvation lieth, if he learne and practiſe the ſame. And thus moſt humbly beſeeching you once againe, to be as good to him as your promiſe was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Ieſus, and deſire him to bleſſe both him and you according to his good promiſe: and all that good which ye ſhall do unto him, I ſhall moſt heartily deſire the everlaſting God to recompence unto you in his Kingdome, where I hope to meet both him and you among all Gods elect. To which God be all praiſe, honour, and glory, Amen.

Yours and all mens in Chriſt Ieſus,
Thomas Hawkes.

The hiſtory of Thomas Wats, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the Goſpell.

June 10. The ſtory of Tho. Wats, Martyr.

Tho. Wats diſpoſeth his goods before he ſhould be apprehended.

Thomas Wats of Billerica, within the county of Eſſex, of the Dioceſſe of London, was by his occupation a Linnen Draper: who before he was apprehended, had ſold and made away his cloth in his ſhop, and diſpoſed his things being ſet in order to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poore. For he looked alwayes to be taken by Gods adverſaries and his, as ſhortly after came indeed to paſſe: ſo that upon the 26. day of Aprill, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Rich, and other Commiſſioners at Chelmsford, and there being accuſed for not coming to the Church, was upon the ſame examined before the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, ſir Anthony Browne, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, Iohn Wiſeman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weſton, Juſtice Gaudy, &c. The ſumme and principall effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expreſſed.

The examination of Thomas Wats before the Lord Rich, and others.

The examination of Tho. Wats before the Lord Rich, and other the Queens Commiſſioners.

When this Thomas Wats came before the Lord Rich, and other the Juſtices, whoſe names are ſpecified in the letter following (which they ſent unto the Biſhop of London againſt him) at the Seſſions at Chelmesford, the Lord Rich ſaid theſe words or the like in effect unto him.

The words of the Lord Rich to Tho. Wats.

Wats, ye be brought hither, as I underſtand, becauſe of diſobedience to the King and the Queens lawes. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not heare Maſſe, &c. but have your conventicles a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the King and Queenes proceedings. Unto which his words Wats anſwered and ſaid.

My Lord, if I have offended a law, I am ſubject here to the law. Then Anthony Brown Juſtice ſaid unto him; Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy Schoolmaſter to teach thee this geere, or where didſt thou firſt learne this religion? Forſooth, quoth Wats, even of you ſir: you taught it me, & none more than you. For in King Edwards dayes in open Seſſions you ſpake againſt this religion now uſed, no Preacher more. You then ſaid the Maſſe was abominable, and all their trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould beleeve therein, and that our beliefe ſhould be only in Chriſt: and you ſaid then whoſoever ſhould bring in any ſtrange nation to rule here, it were treaſon, and not to be ſuffered. Then ſaid Browne to my Lord Rich, he belies me my Lord. What a knave is this? he will ſoon belie me behinde my back, when he doth it before my face; and my Lord Rich ſaid again, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

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Wats words to the L. Rich. Sir Anthony Browne a Goſpeller in King Edwards dayes, and a perſecutor in Q. Maries dayes.

After theſe words, Wats took occaſion to ſpeak ſomwhat of King Philip and of his coming in, but what it was, I could not iuſtly learne. But thus much was heard, that after thoſe words ſpoken, the Bench among themſelves ſtood up, and ſaid one to another, Treaſon, ſaving one good man called Juſtice Gawdy, who a little before was about to ſpeak: but when he heard them cry treaſon, he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

Juſtice Gaudy a good man.

In concluſion, the Commiſſioners being weary of him, or elſe not willing to meddle further in ſuch high matters, ſent him up to the Biſhop of London, with their letter withall, importing the cauſe of his ſending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be ſeen.

A Letter ſent by certaine Iuſtices in Eſſex to Boner Biſhop of London.

A letter of the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, and other Juſtices to Boner.

After our moſt hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer & Terminer holden at Chelmsford the 26. day of April laſt paſt, there came before us in open Court one Thomas Wats of Billerica within your Dioceſſe, by ordinary proceſſe, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his Pariſh Church, and there to receive the ſacrament of the Altar, and heare divine Servise, according to the inſtitution of holy Church, he openly there anſwered generally; that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the dayes of late K. Edward 6. was ſaid by us now to be abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all naught, ſo he ſaid, that all that is now uſed and done in that Church, is abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all naught, with divers other erroneous, and arrogant words: and therfore we have thought good to ſend him to your Lordſhip, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your paſtorall office ſhall ſeem convenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant hereticks that hath been heard ſpeak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any Goale, as well for feare of corrupting others, as for divers and ſundry other ſpeciall cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to moleſt your good Lordſhip, we commit you to the Holy Ghoſt. Given at Chelmsford the 27. of Aprill, Anno 1555.

Tho. Wats ſent up by the Juſtices of Eſſex to biſhop Boner.

Your good Lordſhips moſt aſſured,

R.Rich.
Henry Tyrel.
Anthony Browne.
Edmund Tyrel.

Thomas Mildman.
Iohn Wiſeman.
Roger Appleton.
Richard Weſton.

The names of the Juſtices.

Now when the Biſhop had received him, how he uſed him it is eaſie (by his common practices with others) to iudge. What his private conferences

rences were, I know not, but what was publikely done in the Conſiſtorie at Pauls (the common ſtage for theſe tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wats in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wats in the biſhops conſiſtory.

FIrſt upon Thurſday, being the ſecond day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the Biſhop of London, and there being examined upon his words had before the Lord Rich, and others (as is contained in their letters) he did earneſtly affirme the ſame to be true. Whereupon the Biſhop obiected, and examined him upon theſe articles following, to the which he anſwered, as under may appeare.

Articles obiected againſt Thomas Wats of Billerica in the County of Eſſex, within the Dioceſſe of London, by Boner Biſhop there, as enſueth.

Articles againſt Tho. Wats.

1 FIrſt, that the ſaid Thomas Wats was of Billerica, and ſo of the iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

The ſacraments of the Church of Rome.

2 Item, that he beléeved not in the ſacraments of the holy and Catholike Church, as the Catholike Church of Rome, and all other Churches members of the ſame, ever hitherto have beléeved, and is taught of all good and faithfull people, nor hath allowed the ſaid ſacraments, rites, uſages, or ceremonies of the ſaid Church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

3 Item, that he beléeveth, and alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine doe remaine in the ſacrament of the Altar after the conſecration, and that the ſaid materiall bread and wine are the ſignes and tokens of Chriſts body hanged upon the Croſſe, and of his blood there ſhed, and that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Chriſts body and blood, and nothing elſe.

The preſence in the ſacrament.

4 Item, that he beléeveth, and doth preciſely affirme, that the very true preſence of Chriſts body and blood in ſubſtance, is not in the ſacrament of the Altar, but onely in heaven, and no where elſe.

The Maſſe abominable.

5 Item, that he beléeveth, affirmeth, and ſaith, that the Maſſe now uſed in the Church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of Idolatry, abomination, and wickedneſſe, and that Chriſt did never inſtitute it, nor ordaine it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be uſed in his Church.

Confeſſion to God.

6 Item, that he beléeveth and affirmeth, that auricular confeſſion to be made unto the Prieſt is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous: and that it is enough for a man to beléeve only, and to confeſſe himſelfe unto God, without any Prieſt or Miniſter at any time, though he may have the Prieſt to confeſſe him unto.

Defence of Martyrs.

7 Item, that he beléeveth that Luther, Wickliffe, Doctor Barnes, and all other that have holden againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, and ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenance of the ſaid opinion, were good men and faithfull ſervants and Martyrs of Chriſt in ſo beléeving and dying.

Faſting, praying, and almeſdeeds.

8 Item, that he hath and doth beléeve, that to faſt, pray, or to do almes-déeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall be ſaved without doing of them; and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not help him, or doe him any good at all.

Q. Maries Service reproved.

9 Item, that the ſaid Wats of late coming into open Court at the Seſſions before the Lord Rich, ſir Henry Tyrel Knight, Anthony Brown Eſquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confeſſe, that he had refuſed to come to the Church, and to heare there the divine Service, and to receive the ſacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Church; becauſe that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the dayes of the late King Edward the ſixth, was ſaid and alledged to be abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all naught; ſo he the ſaid Thomas Wats then and there ſaid openly before the ſaid Commiſſioners, that all that is now uſed and done in the Church, is abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and altogether naught: And that he did alſo then utter before the ſaid Commiſſioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his ſoule, and to the evill example of the people there preſent.

Wats reputed by the lawes for an heretike.

10 Item, that he the ſaid Thomas by reaſon of the premiſſes, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and iudged as a manifeſt and open heretike, and for the ſame, by the order of Eccleſiaſticall lawes is to be declared accurſed; and being obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the ſecular power, there to be puniſhed as an heretike.

The Church of Rome a Synagogue of Satan.

11 Item, that he over and beſides all theſe offences and treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this treſpaſſe, that is to wit, that he had beléeved and deliberately ſpoken, that ẏ Church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, ſacraments, conſtitutions, and traditions, is the Synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had conſented and agréed in opinion and beliefe with one John Tooly, of late hanged at Charing Croſſe, who at the time of his executing, deſired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who ſhould ſay, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12 Item, that the premiſſes and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken and talked of amongſt the honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all and ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſaid, and other places thereabout, being of the Dioceſſe of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The anſwer of the ſaid Thomas Wats to the foreſaid Articles.

His anſwers to the articles.

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond article he anſwered, that he beléeveth in all the ſacraments according to Chriſts inſtitution, and the catholike Church; but not according to the Biſhop of Romes Church: and further ſaid, that he doth not beléeve now as he had done in times paſt; for in time paſt he beléeved as the Church then beléeved, but now he doth not ſo beléeve; for the Church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he ſaid he did not beléeve as the Church of Rome beléeveth, but as Chriſt hath taught him: And further ſaid, that he was ſo taught to beléeve by preaching of one M. Alvey, and other whoſe names he remembred not; which Alvey he ſaid did preach the word of God truly and ſincerely.

Tho. Wats firſt won to the Goſpell by M. Alvey.

To the third he anſwered, that he hath and doth beléeve, that Chriſts body is in heaven, and no where elſe: and further, that he will never beléeve that Chriſts body is in the ſacrament.

To the fourth he anſwered, confeſſing and firmely beléeving the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, that he did beléeve, that the Maſſe is abominable, and that he will not go one iot from that his beléefe.

To the ſixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth beléeve, that the Prieſt can abſolve him of his

ſins:

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ſins:howbeit,he denieth not but it is good to aſke counſell at the Prieſts mouth.

To the ſeventh he ſaid,that he knew not what the opinions of the ſaid perſons named in the ſaid article were; and in caſe the ſaid perſons did beleeve,that the body and blood of Chriſt were really and in very deed in the ſacrament of the Altar,then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did beleeve that the body and blood of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the Altar really and truly, then he beleeved that they were good Chriſtian men.

To the eighth, that he had not ſpoken as is contained in this article, but ſaid, that he hath and doth beleeve,that faſting,prayers, and almſdeeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confeſſed,that he did utter and ſpeak,as in this article is contained, and further he deſired God that he might die in that faith and beliefe,wherein he now is.

To the tenth he anſwered and ſaid, that he will ſubmit himſelfe herein to the order of the law: and further ſaid,that he truſteth that with God he ſhall be bleſſed,although with men he be accurſed.

The Biſhop of Rome an enemy to Chriſt.

To the eleventh he ſaid, that he beleeved that the Biſhop of Rome is a mortall enemy to Chriſt and his Church. And as for Tooly he ſaid, he did never ſee or know him: but in caſe the ſaid Tooly did wiſh and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewiſe wiſh and conſent with him therein.

To the twelfth he anſwered,that all which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth againe to be true,and beleeveth the ſame to be according to ſuch things as he hath confeſſed.

By me Thomas Wats.

Another appearance of Thomas Wats in the Conſiſtory.

Tho. Wats againe appeareth in the Conſiſtory.
The Biſhops words to Tho. Wats.

THeſe articles thus propounded and anſwered, the Biſhop commanded him to appeare againe in the ſame place at three of the clocke in the afternoon,upon the ſame day.At which houre being brought thither by his Keeper, the Biſhop began with him in this wiſe; Wats,you know what I ſaid unto you to day, and what I appointed unto you at this time.The time is now come: weigh & conſider with your ſelf, that you are but a man;and albeit that you will wilfully caſt away your body, yet caſt not ſo away your ſoule, but while ye have time,return and confeſſe the truth.

The anſwer of Wats.

Wherunto Thomas Wats anſwered and ſaid, I am weary to live in ſuch idolatry as ye would have me to live in. Upon which anſwer the Biſhop cauſed his articles againe to be read. He thereto anſwered as before, and farther ſubſcribed the ſame with his own hand.

Another appearance before D.Harpsfield.

Another appearance before D.Harpsfield.

THe Biſhop after many perſwaſions to cauſe him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come againe on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning. Where the Biſhop being abſent, D.Nicolas Harpsfield,as then being his Deputy, did ſit, and earneſtly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he anſwered.

Wats ſubmitteth him to the law,and not to the Popes law

Well, ye have a law to condemne me, and I ſubmit my ſelfe to the law; but not to the lawes of the Church(as you call it:) And farther I doe affirme, and will ſtand to mine anſwers that I have made.

Tho. Wats privately appeareth againe before the biſhop.

Whereupon D.Harpsfield willed him to appeare there again upon Friday,being the 10 day of the ſame moneth of May. Upon which day the Biſhop privatly ſent for the ſaid Thomas Wats into his chamber,and there with many faire promiſes tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors(as he then termed them.)But Wats anſwered him in this ſort; I will not beleeve your Church, neither the Romiſh Church, and therfore you doe but labour in vaine thus to travaile with me. He was hereupon againe diſmiſſed for that time untill Friday the 17. day of May,and then commanded to appeare in yͤ Conſiſtory;which commandement he obeyed,and having the accuſtomed former articles miniſtred unto him,made then ſuch anſwers as before.

Wats anſwer to the biſhop.

Tho. Wats brought againe to the Conſiſtory.

THus being toſt to and fro from day to day,and houre to houre, he was at the laſt, the 18. day of the moneth of May, brought into the Conſiſtory, where firſt was made a briefe recitall of all the former proceſſe: and there the ſaid Wats being (by the Biſhop and others) willed to deny his profeſſion,made this finall anſwer; God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beſeech God that I may perſevere in that that I have done; for I will ſtand to mine anſwers.

The finall anſwer of Tho. Wats.

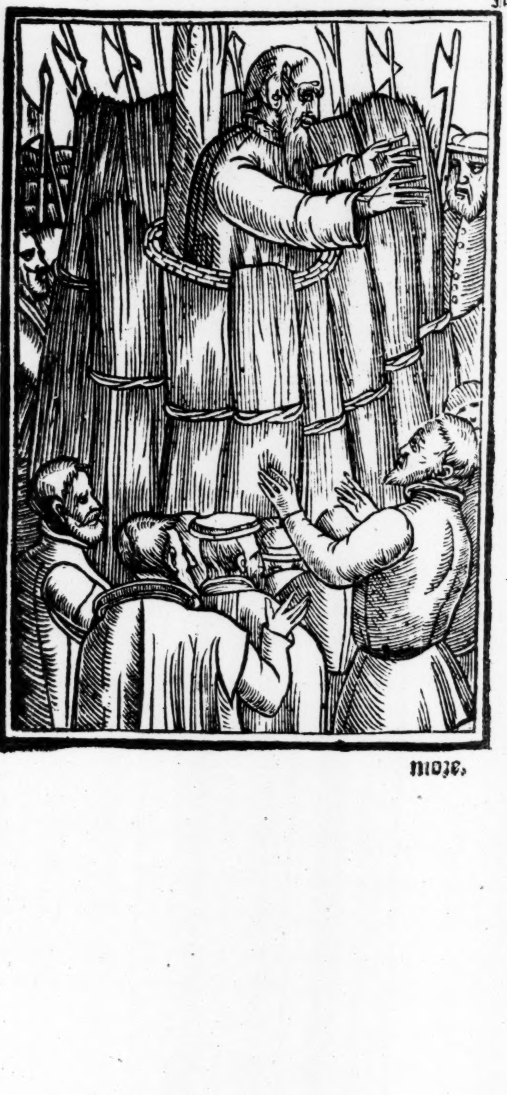
The biſhop perceiving his faire flattering promiſes nothing to prevaile (and having no great ſtore of other reaſons to perſwade with)put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument of condemnation. Which being ended,he was delivered to the Sheriffes of London, and by them was ſent to Newgate,where he remained untill the 9. day of June,or (as ſome record) to the 22. of May: at what time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scots houſe, keeping then an Inne at Chelmsford, where,as they were eating meat with Haukes, and the reſt that came downe to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Sentence of condemnation againſt Tho. Wats.

Then Wats went and prayed privatly to himſelf, and afterward came to his wife and his ſixe children being there, & ſaid theſe words in effect; Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more.

The farewell of Tho. Wats to his wife and ſixe children.
The martyrdome of Thomas Wats at Chelmsford, Anno 1555. June 12.

The burning of Thomas Wats, Martyr.



Anno 1555.

more,but as the Lord hath given you unto me,ſo I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you ſee you doe obey,and feare him: and beware ye turne not to this abominable Papiſtry, againſt the which I ſhall anon, by Gods grace, give my blood. Let not the murthering of Gods Saints cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to be the ſtronger in the Lords quarrell, and I doubt not but he will be a mercifull father unto you. All theſe and ſuch like words ſpake he unto them,and they unto him: of whom two, as it is ſaid,offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kiſſed them all, and was carried to the fire.

The words of Tho. Wats to the Lord Rich.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my Lord Rich theſe or the like words; My Lord, ſaith he, Beware, beware, for you doe againſt your own conſcience herein,and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the cauſe of this my death.

Concerning the childbed of Queene Mary as it was rumoured among the people.

The childbirth of Q. Mary.

LOng perſwaſion had been in England with great expectation,for the ſpace of half a yeere or more, that the Queene was conceived with child. This report was made by the Queenes Phyſitians, and other nigh about the Court: ſo that divers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And commandement was given, that in all Churches ſupplication and prayer ſhould be made for the Queens good delivery: the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Councell ſent to Boner. And alſo the ſame moreover may appeare by proviſion made before in Act of Parliament for the child.

Rockers and Nurſes provided for Queen Maries child.

And now forſomuch as in the beginning of this moneth of Iune about Whitſontide, the time was thought to be nigh that this yong maſter ſhould come into the world, and that Midwives, Rockers, Nurſes, with the Cradle and all,were prepared and in a readineſſe, ſuddenly, upon what cauſe or occaſion it is uncertaine, a certaine vaine rumor was blown in London of the proſperous deliverance of the Queen,and the birth of the child. Inſomuch that the bels were rung,bonfires and proceſſions made, not only in the city of London, and in moſt other parts of the Realme, but alſo in the towne of Antwerpe Guns were ſhot off upon the river by the Engliſh ſhips, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred Piſtolets or Italian crownes by the Lady Regent, who was the Queene of Hungary. Such great reioyceing and triumph was for the Queens delivery,and that there was a Prince borne. Yea,divers Preachers,namely one the Parſon of S. Anne within Alderſgate, after Proceſſion and Te Deum ſung, tooke upon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how faire,how beautifull,and great a Prince it was, as the like had not been ſeen.

Proceſſions and bonfires in London for ioy of the young Prince. Triumph at Antwerpe for the ſame.

In the midſt of this great adoe, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeak but upon information) dwelling within foure miles of Warwick, that never had been before half way to London,which ſaid concerning the bonfires made for Q. Maries child: here is a ioyfull triumph,but at length all will not prove worth a meſſe of potage,as indeed it came to paſſe: For in the end all proved cleane contrary, and the ioy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that yͤ Queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

Q. Maries child would not come.

At this time many talked diverſly: ſome ſaid this rumor of the Queens conception was ſpread for a policy; ſome other affirmed, that ſhe was deceived by a Tympany or ſome other like diſeaſe, to thinke her ſelfe with child, and was not; ſome thought ſhe was with child, and that it did by ſome chance miſcarry, or els that ſhe was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof, the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine owne hearing, and ſeeing, I cannot paſſe over unwitneſſed.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

There came to me, whom I did both heare & ſee, one Iſabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Alderſgate ſtreet in Horn Alley, not far from the houſe where this preſent book was printed, who before witneſſe made this declaration unto us, that ſhe being delivered of a man child upon Whitſunday in yͤ morning, which was the 11. day of Iune. Anno 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and another Lord to her unknown,dwelling then about old Fiſhſtreet, demanding of her if ſhe would part with her child, and would ſweare yͭ ſhe never knew nor had any ſuch child. Which if ſhe would, her ſon (they ſaid) ſhould be well provided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with many faire offers if ſhe would part with yͤ child.

After that came other women alſo, of whom one they ſaid ſhould have beene the Rocker, but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her ſonne, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt,was of the age of 13. yeeres, and upward.

Ex teſtimonio cujuſdam puerperæ Londinenſis.

Thus much, I ſay, I heard of the woman her ſelfe. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deale not withall, but leave it to the liberty of the Reader, to beleeve it they that liſt; to them that liſt not I have no farther warrant to aſſure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the Queenes deliverance of child, there was a cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, theſe Verſes were written, both in Latine and Engliſh.

The young Princes cradle.

Quam Mariæ ſobolem Deus optime ſumme dediſti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might haſt ſend,
To Englands joy in health preſerve, keepe, and defend.

Verſes upon the cradle.

About this time there came over into England a certaine Engliſh booke, giving warning to Engliſh men of the Spaniards, and diſcloſing certaine cloſe practices for recovery of Abbey lands,which booke was called A warning for England. Whereof ye ſhall underſtand more, God willing,when we come to the Spaniſh Inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this book,upon the 13. day of this moneth came out a certaine Proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the King and Queene, repealing and diſanulling all manner of bookes written or printed, whatſoever ſhould touch any thing the empairing of the Popes dignity, whereby not onely much godly edification was hindred, but alſo great perill grew among the people. The copy of which Proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queene for the reſtraining of all bookes and writings, tending againſt the doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

VVHereas by the Statute made in the ſecond yeere of King Henry the fourth concerning the repreſſing of hereſie, there is ordained and provided a great puniſhment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and hereticall opinions, contrary to the catholike faith, and determinati

o

Of this Act or Statute, reade before.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ, & principes convenerunt in unum adverſus Dominum & Chriſtum ejus. Pſalme 2.

Good bookes prohibited.

Againſt Halles Chronicle.

What adoe is here to keepe down Chriſt in his ſepulchre? and yet will he riſe in ſpite of all his enemies

of the holy Church, and likewiſe for their fautors and ſupporters, but alſo for ſuch as ſhall have or keepe any ſuch bookes or writings, and not make delivery of them to the Ordinary of the Dioceſſe or his Miniſters, within a certaine time limited in the ſaid Statute, which Act or Statute being by authority of Parliament of late revived, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the ſubjects of the Realme upon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the danger and penalty of the ſaid Statute, and as yet nevertheleſſe in moſt parts of the Realme the ſame is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queene our Soveraigne Lord and Lady, therefore, &c. ſtraightly charge and command, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bring, or convey, or cauſe to be brought or conveyed into this Realme, any bookes, writings or workes hereafter mentioned; that is to ſay, any booke or bookes, writings or workes made or ſet forth, by, or in the name of Martin Luther, or any booke or bookes, writings or works made or ſet forth, by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Iohn Calvin, Pomerane, Iohn Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Eraſmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwiſe called Frier Barnes, Iohn Bale, otherwiſe called Frier Bale, Iuſtus, Ionas, Iohn Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindall, Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Baſil, otherwiſe called Thomas Beacon, Iohn Frith, Roy, and the booke commonly called Halles Chronicle, or any of them in the Latine tongue, Dutch tongue, Engliſh tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or ſet forth, by any other perſon or perſons, containing falſe doctrine, contrary and againſt the Catholike faith, and the doctrine of the Catholike Church: And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, print, utter, ſell, read, or keep any, or cauſe to be written, printed, uttered, or kept any of the ſaid books, papers, works, or writings, or any booke or bookes written or printed in the Latine or Engliſh tongue, concerning the common Service and adminiſtration ſet forth in Engliſh to be uſed in the Churches of this Realme, in the time of King Edward the ſixth, commonly called the Communion booke, or booke of common Service and ordering of Miniſters, otherwiſe called, The booke ſet forth by authority of Parliament, for common prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, or to be uſed in the mother tongue within the Church of England, but ſhall within the ſpace of fifteene dayes next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cauſe the ſaid bookes, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their cuſtody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the Ordinary of the Dioceſſe, where ſuch bookes, workes, or writings be or remaine, or to his Chancellour or Commiſſaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the ſaid Ordinaries will and diſpoſition to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be uſed or ordered by the ſaid Ordinaries, as by the Canons or ſpirituall lawes it is in that caſe limited and appointed, upon paine that every offender contrary to this Proclamation, ſhall incurre the danger and penalties contained in the ſaid Statute, and as they will avoid their Majeſties high indignation and diſpleaſure, and further anſwer at their uttermoſt perils.

The power of this world ſet againſt Chriſt.

And their Majeſties by this Proclamation give full power and authority to all Biſhops and Ordinaries, and all Iuſtices of Peace, Majors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes of Cities and Townes corporate. and other head Officers within this Realme and the Dominions thereof, and expreſſy commandeth and willeth the ſame and every of them, that they and every of them, within their ſeverall limits and juriſdictions, ſhall in the default and negligence of the ſaid ſubjects, after the ſaid fifteene dayes expired, enquire and ſearch out the ſaid bookes, writings, and workes, and for this purpoſe enter into the houſe or houſes, cloſets, and ſecret places of every perſon, of whatſoevet degree, being negligent in this behalfe, and ſuſpected to keepe any ſuch booke, writing, or workes, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the ſaid Iuſtices, Majors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other head Officers above ſpecified, and every of them within their ſaid limits and juriſdictions finding any of the ſaid ſubjects negligent and faulty in this behalfe, ſhall commit every ſuch offender to ward, there to remaine without baile or main prize, till the ſame offender or offenders have received ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid Statute doth limit and appoint in this behalfe. Given under our Signes Manuall, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13. day of Iune, the firſt and ſecond yeeres of our reignes.

Imprinted by Iohn Cawood.
Anno 1555.

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every company, touching ſeditious bookes, eſpecially touching the book called A warning for England.

This book called A warning for England, look for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

Articles to be inquired upon.

1 Whether they have ſeene any of the foreſaid bookes.

2 Whether they have heard of any of the ſaid bookes.

3 Where they were, and in what place they have ſeene them.

4 Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the ſea, eſpecially from Zuricke, Straſbrough, Franckford, Wezel, Emden, and Diſburge.

2 Whom they know or vehemently ſuſpect to be common carriers of letters or mony thither from hence.

6 That they bring to my Lord Maior all ſuch ſeditious books as they have, or ſhall have found hereafter.

The books of the Proteſtants to be weighed with books of the Papiſts.

In this Proclamation thou haſt heard, Chriſtian Reader, the profound and learned cenſure of the Catholike Church of England, what bookes they miſlike and reject as heretical, ſchiſmatical, and pernicious. Againſt the which Catholike cenſure of theſe learned fathers, I have not at this time to inferre: neither doth any leaſure ſerve now to write Apologies in defence of theſe authors here condemned. Only ſo much leave it may pleaſe the Reader to grant me to ſet before him here a paire of ballance, wherein to weigh the books on the one ſide condemned, with the books on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we weighing the one with the other, may diſcern the better between them, which part weigheth beſt with Gods holy truth and true Catholike Church, againſt manifeſt Idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this preſent proclamation given their condemnation upon theſe books above recited: ſo I deſire thee to give thy cenſure upon their books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them conteined, and mark well what good ſtuffe it is.

The Primer ſet forth in Queene Maries time, printed by J. Wayland.

And firſt to begin with the Primer in Engliſh for children after the uſe of Saliſbury, imprinted with a priviledg according to the King & Queens Majeſties letters patents in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us repeate and ſurvey ſome part of the ſaid Primer (for to expreſſe all, it were too long)

long) beginning, with the firſt leſſon of our Ladie, in theſe words:

Holy Mary; mother moſt pure of Virgins all;
Mother and daughter of the King celeſtiall,
So comfort us in our deſolation,
That by thy prayer and ſpeciall mediation,
We enjoy the reward of the heavenly reigne, &c.

Conferre this with the Scriptures, good Reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary of all godly the godlieſt,
Pray for us, of all holy the holieſt;
That he our prayers accept may in good wiſe,
Which of thee was borne, and reigneth above the (skies, &c.

In the third Leſſon.

Thy Son beſeech with humble interceſſion,
To purge us clean of our tranſgreſſion,
That ſo being redeemed we may the place aſcend,
Where thou dwelleſt with him world without end.

The Verſicle.

One mediator between God and men, the man Jeſus Chriſt.

Pray for the people, intreate for the Clergy, make interceſſion for the devoute womankinde, let all feele thy helpe that worthily ſolemnize thy memoriall, &c.

Another Verſicle.

Holy Mother of God, make thy petition, that we may deſerve Chriſts promiſſion, &c.

And in the Antheme after Benedictus, thus it followeth.

Falſe merits.

We beſeech thee of thy pitie to have us in remembrance, and to make meanes for us unto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy help, may deſerve to attain the Kingdome of Heaven.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth.

Wrong mediation.

And grant, that through the gracious interceſſion of the Virgin thy mother, we may be delivered from this preſent heavineſſe, aud have the fruition of eternall gladneſſe.

It followeth moreover in the ſaid Primer thus, concerning the materiall Croſſe.

Idolatry to the materiall Croſſe.

O God which haſt aſcended thy moſt holy Croſſe, and haſt given light to the darkneſſe of the world, vouchſafe by the vertue of thy Croſſe, to illumine, viſit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies, &c.

Moreover, in the name of Saint John Baptiſt thus it prayeth.

Let no man glory in any man: for all things are yours, &c. 1 Cor. 3.

O Lord defend us alway through the continuall ſuccours of Saint Iohn Baptiſt. For the more fraile we be, the more need we have to be relieved with neceſſary prayers, &c.

In which words note (good Reader) not only the abſurdity of doctrine, but alſo the ſtoliditie of the reaſon. For where their doctrine pretendeth that S. John Baptiſt ſhould pray for us, here we pray to God for S. John Baptiſt, that he will heare his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul.

What is Paul, what is Apollo, but the ſervants of him on whom you beleeve? 1 Cor. 3.

Heare us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtaine the glory everlaſting, &c.

Of Saint Andrew.

So let him, O Lord, be a continuall petitioner for us to thee, &c.

Of Saint Laurence thus.

Saint Laurence the Deacon did work a good work. For by the vertue of the holy Croſſe he gave ſight to the blinde, &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy Croſſe was not yet found in the time of Saint Laurence? For Helen which firſt found the Croſſe, as they ſay, came after Saint Laurence more then fortie yeers.

To Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Horrible blaſphemie and derogation to Chriſts bloud.

By the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Make us Chriſt to climb, whither Thomas did aſcend.

Of S. Nicholas.

Falſe merits.

O God which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas thy holy Biſhop with innumerable miracles, grant we beſeech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Grant we beſeech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for us the bliſſe everlaſting, &c.

Another prayer to our Ladie.

The dolorous compaſſion of Gods ſweet mother,
Bring us to the bliſſe of Almighty God the Father, &c.

Another prayer in the ſaid Primer to our Lady.

The office of Chriſt given to our Lady.

Eſtabliſh us in peace and tranquillitie,
And change the name of ſinfull Eva:
Looſe thy priſoners from captivitie,
Vnto the blinde give ſight againe.
Deliver us from malignitie,
To the end we may ſome grace attaine.
Shew thy ſelf to be a mother:
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of ſinne, &c.

Item.

Holy mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weak ſpirited, give courage to the deſperate, pray for the people, make interceſſion for the Clergy, and be a mean for the devout womankinde, &c.

Another blaſphemous prayer.

Blaſphemy.

O thou meek mother have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou hadſt theſe paines all,
Seeing thy Son that Vine cluſter preſſed ſore:
And from the peſtilence of death eternall,
Keep us by voiding the Fiend infernall,
And joyne us with them which rewarded be
With eternall life, ſeeing the Deitie.

Another blaſphemy in the ſaid Primer.

Idolatry.

Haile Queen mother of mercy, our life, our ſweetneſſe, our hope. Vnto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our Patroneſſe, caſt upon us thy pitifull eyes; and after this our baniſhment, ſhew to us the bleſſed fruit of thy wombe. O gate of glory be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expell: wipe the ſpots of ſins uncleane, &c.

Item to our Lady.

The fruit of thy wombe everlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſerving, &c.

Item.

If Maries merits might help us, then Chriſt dyed in vaine.

Grant we beſeech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attaine to that unſpeakable joy, whereas ſhe being aſſumpt, doth now rejoyce with thee in Heaven for ever.

Like Primer, like Pſalter.

And thus much hitherto of this Catholike Primer, called our Ladies Mattens. Whereunto if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adjoyne our Ladies Pſalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they have ſeen what Books theſe Catholike Fathers have condemned and do condemne for hereticall; ſo the ſame may alſo ſee and judge, what Books on the other ſide they approve as lawfull and Catholike. And for as much as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Ladies Pſalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and ſome peradventure will deny any ſuch booke of our Ladies Pſalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will firſt produce the name of the Author, who was Bonaventure, a Seraphicall Doctor, Biſhop alſo and Cardinall, canonized moreover by Pope Sixtus the fourth, An. 1482. for a Saint in the Calendar, who in his book thus intitled in Latin; Incipit Pſalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Epiſcopum Albanenſem, nec non ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ

Bonaventure compiler of our Ladies Pſalter.

This Bonaventure lived, An. 1170. and was canonized, An. 1482.

Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c. Fol. 84. In the ſecond part of his whole works (which were imprinted at Argentine, An. 1495.) to ſhew himſelf a devout ſervant to his Ladie, hath taken every Pſalme of Davids Pſalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to Almightie God) and hath in divers of the ſaid Pſalmes and Verſes put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Ladie. This being done through the whole Pſalmes and every one of them, it is now called our Ladies Pſalter, uſed to be ſung and ſaid in the praiſe and ſervice of our Ladie. A brief taſte whereof for examples ſake (for, to ſhew all, it were too long) we thought here to exhibite unto the Reader in order, as followeth.

The Title in Engliſh of the Pſalter.

The title of the book called our Ladies Pſalter

¶ Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin, made by the Seraphicall Doctor St. Bonaventure, the Biſhop of Alban, and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome, &c.

The book called our Ladies Pſalter. Ex 2. parte operum S. Bonaventuræ.

1 BEatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum Maria Virgo, gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum juſtitiæ propagabis, &c. Vniverſas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis; ſuperas Angelos & Archangelos excellentia ſanctitatis. Miſericordia tua & gratia ubique prædicatur, &c. Gloria Patri.

That is to ſay.

Our Ladies beauty.

Bleſſed is the man which underſtandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary, thy grace ſhall comfort his ſoule. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentifull fruit of Juſtice, being watered as it were with fountaines of water. All women thou paſſeſt in the beautie of thy bodie; all Angels and Archangels in the excellencie of thy holineſſe. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where, &c. Glorie be to the Father, &c.

2 Quare fremuerunt inimici noſtri, & adverſum nos meditati ſunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua Mater Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens & deſtruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis & tribulati eſtis, & dabit refrigerium animabus veſtris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus veſtris, & ſtabiliet vos ſerenitas vultus ejus. Benedicite illam in toto corde veſtro, miſericordia enim illius plena eſt terra, &c. Gloria Patri.

Treaſon againſt Chriſts perſon and dignitie.

Why doe our enemies fret and imagine vaine things againſt us? Let thy right hand defend us O Mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a ſword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe will give reſt unto your ſoules. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance ſhall ſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſſe her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercie. Glorie be to the Father, &c.

3 Domina quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulant me? In tempeſtate tua perſequeris & diſſipabis eos. Diſſolve colligationes impietatis noſtræ; tolle faſciculos peccatorum noſtrorum. Miſerere mei Domina & ſana infirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem & anguſtiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis meæ conforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis, & ſpiritum meum redde factori meo.

Blaſphemous Idolatry.

Why are they ſo many O Lady that trouble me? In thy fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our ſins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heale my infirmitie. Take away my ſorrow and the anguiſh of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my ſoule. Bring me unto the haven of ſalvation, and reſtore my ſpirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, &c.

4 Cum invocarem, exaudiſti me Domina, & è ſublimi ſolio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad eſcam & de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna eſt miſericordia & pietas tua in omnes, qui invocant nomen ſanctum tuum. Benedicta ſis Domina in æternum, & majeſtas tua in ſeculum. Glorificate eam omnes gentes, &c.

False Faith.

When I called to thee, thou heardeſt me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didſt vouchſafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themſelves to devoure me, and out of the hands of ſuch as ſeek after my life, thy grace ſhall deliver me: Becauſe thy mercy and thy pitie are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou O Lady for ever, and thy majeſtie for ever and ever. Glorifie her all nations of the earth, &c.

5 Verba mea auribus percipe Domina, &c. Converte luctum noſtrum in gaudium, & tribulationem noſtram in jubilationem. Corruant ante pedes noſtros inimici noſtri; virtute tua eorum capita conterantur, &c.

Derogation of the Croſſe of Chriſt.

Heare my words, O Ladie, &c. Turn our mourning into gladneſſe, and our trouble into rejoycing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power daſh their heads in pieces.

6 Domina ne in furore Dei ſinas corripi me, neque in ira ejus judicari, &c. De porta inferi, & de ventre abyſſi tuis ſanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis januæ ſempiternæ, ut enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno ſunt, laudabunt te Domina, ſed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt.

O Ladie, ſuffer me not to be rebuked in Gods anger, nor to be chaſtned in his heavie diſpleaſure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marvellous workes for ever. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in hell, ſhall not praiſe thee O Ladie, but they which ſhall obtaine by thy grace life everlaſting.

7 Domina mea in te ſperavi, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, & labia perſequentium conſtringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis miſericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat ſuper nos, ut ſervetur conſcientia noſtra apud altiſſimum. Si perſequitur inimicus animam meam Domina adjutorio tuo conforter, ne vibret gladium ſuam contra me.

Vaine truſt. Wrong invocation.

Manifeſt Idolatry.

O my Ladie, in thee do I put my truſt; deliver me from mine enemies O Ladie. Stop the mouth of the Lyon, and binde the lips of the perſecutors. Make no tarrying for thy names ſake, to ſhew thy mercie upon me. Let the brightneſſe of thy countenance ſhine upon us, that our conſcience may be ſaved before the moſt higheſt. If the enemy do perſecute my ſoule, O Ladie help me that he deſtroy me not.

9 Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam, &c. Inveniant gratiam per te inventricem gratiæ & ſalutis; reſpirant ad indulgentiam humiles pœnitentes; ſana contritiones cordis eorum, &c.

I will give thanks to thee O Ladie with my * whole heart, and will ſhew forth among the nations thy praiſe and glory, &c. They ſhall finde grace through thee, the finder out of grace and ſalvation, the humble and penitent groane for pardon and forgiveneſſe, heale thou the ſores of their heart, &c.

* Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with all thy ſtrength and power, &c. Deut. 6.

11 In te Domina confido, &c. Exquirite illam à juventute veſtra, & glorificabit vos, &c. Miſericordia illius noſtrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & fœcunditatem nobis conferat meritorium, &c.

In thee O Ladie do I put my truſt, &c. Seeke her even from your youth, and ſhe ſhall glorifie you, &c. Her mercie take from us the multitude of our ſinnes, and give unto us plenteouſneſſe of merits, &c.

Derogation of Chriſts Paſſion.

12 Salvum me fac mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clementiæ, &c. Gyrum terræ ſola circuis, ut ſubvenias invocantibus te, &c.

Save me O mother of love, and fountaine of mercie, &c. Thou thy ſelf alone haſt gone about the compaſſe of the earth to help them that call upon thee, &c.

13 Vſque quo Domina oblivíſceris me, & non liberas me in die tribulationis? Vſque quo exaltabitur inimicus meus ſuper me? Potentia virtutis tuæ contere ipſum, &c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inventricem, per quam ſæcula reparantur, &c.

How long doſt thou forget me O Ladie, and doſt not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long ſhall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power deſtroy him, &c. We magnifie thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired, &c.

16 Conſerva me Domina, quoniam ſperavi in te, &c. Benedicta ſunt ubera tua, quibus “ lacte deifico Salvatorem enutriſti, &c.

“ Milk making God.

Preſerve me O Ladie: for in thee have I put my truſt, &c. Bleſſed be thy breſts, which with thy deifying milk didſt nouriſh the Saviour, &c.

Yea rather bleſſed be they which heare the Word of God and keep it.

18 Diligam te Domina cœli & terræ; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos contra inimicos veſtros, &c. Religioſi omnes honorate illam, quia ipſa eſt adjutrix veſtra & ſpecialis advocata. Eſto refrigerium noſtrum glorioſa mater Chriſti, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

I will love thee O Ladie of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confeſſe your ſelves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and ſhe ſhall ſtrengthen you againſt your enemies, &c. All ye Cloyſterers honour her, for ſhe is your helper and ſpeciall Advocate. Be thou our refreſhing and reſt, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion.

Idolatry of the Cloyſterers.

20 Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis, &c. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis noſtræ, ſed ſuccurre animæ, cum deſeruerit corpus ſuum. Mitte Angelum in occurſum ejus per quem ab hoſtibus defendatur, &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Heare us O Ladie in the day of trouble, &c. Caſt us not away in the time of our death, but ſuccour our ſoule when it forſaketh the body. Send an Angell to meete it, that it may be defended from the enemies, &c. In torments and paine let it feele thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elects of God.

25 Ad te Domina levavi animam, &c. Non prævaleant adverſum me laquei mortis, &c. Ductrix mea eſto ad patriam, & me cœtui Angelorum digneris aggregare.

To thee O Ladie do I lift up my ſoule, &c. Let not the ſnares of death prevaile againſt me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly reſt, and to the company of Angels aſſociate me.

26 Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperavi in te non infirmabor, &c.

“ Judge thou me O Ladie, for I am falne from mine innocencie: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therefore I ſhall not fall, &c.

“ All judgement is given to Chriſt alone, and before him the Virgin alſo her ſelf ſhall be judged.

27 Domina illuminatio mea ſit ſplendor faciei tuæ, &c. Serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ, &c.

O Ladie, let the brightneſſe of thy face be my light, and let the cleereneſſe of thy grace ſhine unto my minde, &c.

28 Ad te Domina clamabo, &c. Miſerere mei in die anguſtiæ meæ, & in luce veritatis tuæ libera me.

To thee O Ladie, &c. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me, &c.

31 In te Domina ſperavi, non confundar in æternum, in gloria tua ſuſcipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum, conſolatio mea & protectio mea, &c. Educas me laqueo quem abſconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo ſpiritum meum.

In thee O Ladie do I put my truſt, let me not be confounded for ever, in thy glory receive me. Thou art my ſtrength and my refuge, my conſolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the ſnare that they have laid for me, becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c.

If our Lady be all in all, then God be like ſitteth idle in heaven.

34 Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, &c. In periculis, in rebus dubiis invocate eam, & in neceſſitatibus invenietis auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum converſationis ejus & æmulamini ſtudia humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo Domina humilima fuiſti, Verbum increatum ex te carnem ſuſcipere coegiſti.

I will alwayes praiſe our Lady, &c. In perils, in adverſitie call upon her, and in time of need ye ſhall finde ſuccour. Let her converſation be an example unto you, and follow the vertue of her humilitie. Becauſe therefore O Ladie thou waſt humble and lowly, thou didſt compell the Word increate to take fleſh of thee.

Horrible blaſphemy againſt the Lord.

36 Dixit injuſtus, &c. A malo propoſito diſcedat; Mater Dei, inclina vultum Dei ſuper nos: Coge illum peccatoribus miſereri, &c. Benedictum ſit imperium tuum ſuper cœlos; benedicta ſit magnificentia tua ſuper terram.

The wicked man ſaid, &c. Let him depart from his evill purpoſe; O mother of God, turn the countenance of God toward us: “ Compell him to be mercifull unto ſinners. Bleſſed be thy impery and dominion in heaven, and bleſſed be thy magnificence upon the earth.

“ O impious blaſphemy.

45 Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum Domina, &c. Per tuam ſanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, &c.

My heart is inditing a good matter, O Ladie, &c. By thy holineſſe let my ſinnes be purged, by thy integritie let me obtaine incorruption, &c.

If Mary forgive ſins, then is our Faith in Chriſt in vaine.

47 Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, &c. Quoniam ipſa eſt porta vitæ, janua ſalutis, & vitæ noſtræ reconciliatrix; ſpes pœnitentium, ſolamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque ſalus. Miſerere mei Domina, miſerere mei, quia tu es lux & ſpes omnium confidentium in te, &c.

Clap your hands all ye people, &c. For ſhe is the gate of life, the doore of ſalvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the ſorrowfull, the bleſſed peace of hearts and ſalvation. Have mercy upon me O Ladie, have mercie upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their truſt in thee.

Theſe words ſtink of blaſphemous idolatry.

51 Miſerere mei Domina, quæ mater miſericordiæ nuncupatis. Et ſecundum viſcera miſerationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, &c.

Have mercy upon me O Ladie, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compaſſion cleanſe me from mine iniquities.

54 Domina, in nomine tuo ſalvum me fac, & ab injuſtitiis meis libera me, &c.

O Ladie in thy name ſave me, and from mine unrighteouſneſſe deliver me, &c.

The Croſſe of Chriſt evacuate.

70 Domina in adjutorium meum intende, &c. Miſerere ſervorum tuorum, ſuper quos invocatum eſt nomen tuum, &c.

Make haſte O Ladie to help me, &c. Have mercie on thy ſervants, upon whom thy name is vocated, &c.

Blinde truſt.

71 In te Domina ſperavi, non confundar in æternum, in tua miſericordia libera me, &c.

In thee Ladie have I put my truſt: let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercie deliver me, &c.

79 Domina, venerunt Gentes in hæreditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Chriſto confœderaſti, &c.

O Ladie, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didſt joyne unto Chriſt by thy merits, &c.

Gods honour derogated.

89 Qui regis Iſrael, &c. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur, & omnis ſalus de corde illius ſcaturizat.

Thou that ruleſt Iſrael, &c. The ſavour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

Falſe truſt.

91 Qui habitat in adjutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipſius commorabitur, &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis veſtris, & flagellum non appropinquabit Tabernaculo veſtro. Fructus gratiæ inveniet qui ſperaverit in illa, porta Paradiſi reſerabitur ei.

Whoſo dwelleth in the help of the mother of God, ſhall dwell in the ſhadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the ſcourge ſhall not come neer your Tabernacle. The fruit of grace ſhall be to him whoſo truſteth in her, and the gate of Paradiſe ſhall be open unto him.

95 Venite exultemus Dominæ noſtræ, &c. Suſcipe in fine animas noſtras, & introduc nos in requiem æternam, &c.

Come let us rejoyce to our Ladie, &c. Receive our ſoules at our laſt end, and bring them into everlaſting reſt, &c.

Abominable blaſphemie.

105 Confitemini Dominæ noſtræ, & invocate nomen ejus, &c. Salus ſempiterna in manu tua, Domina, &c.

Praiſe our Ladie, and call upon her name, &c. Everlaſting ſalvation is in thy hand, O Ladie, &c.

110 Dixit Dominus Dominæ noſtræ; Sede mater mea à dextris meis, &c.

The Divell and the Pope ſaith ſo, and not God.

The Lord ſaid unto our Ladie; Sit here my mother on my right hand, &c.

114 In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina, & ſuſcipe eam, &c. Eſto illi ſcala ad regnum cœlorum, & iter rectum ad Paradiſum Dei, &c.

In the paſſing of my ſoule out of this world, come and meete it, O Ladie, and receive it, &c. Be to it a ladder to the Kingdome of Heaven, and a right way to the Paradiſe of God, &c.

119 Miſerationibus tuis plena eſt terra, ideo viam juſtificationum tuarum exquiſivi, &c. Concupiſcam in æternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me " juſtificationes tuas, &c.

" Blaſphemy.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will ſearch out the way of thy juſtifications, &c. I will covet for ever to praiſe thee O Lady, when thou ſhalt teach me thy juſtifications, &c.

Blaſphemy.

125 Qui confidunt in te mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici, &c.

They that put their truſt in thee, O Mother of God, ſhall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, &c.

" Blaſphemy.

127 " Niſi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis noſtri, non permanebit ædificium ejus.

Except our Ladie ſhall build the houſe of our heart, the building thereof ſhall not continue.

128 Beati omnes qui timent Dominam noſtram, & beati omnes qui ſciunt facere voluntatem ſuam, &c.

Bleſſed is every one that feareth our Ladie, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her will, &c.

Idolatrous invocation.

130 De profundis clamavi ad te Domina, Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes, &c.

Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Ladie, heare my voice, &c.

132 Memento Domina David, & omnium invocantium nomen tuum, &c.

O Ladie remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, &c.

" Falſe truſt.

134 Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui " ſperatis in nomine ſancto ejus, &c.

Behold and bleſſe now our Ladie, all ye that put your truſt in her holy name.

Blaſphemy.

136 Super flumina Babylonis, &c. Non invenietur propitiatio ſine illa.

At the floods of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her, &c.

Gods office appointed to our Lady.

140 Eripe me Domina ab omni malo, & ab hoſte inferni defende me, &c.

Deliver me O Ladie from all evill, and from the infernall enemy defend me, &c.

145 Oculi noſtri ſperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & eſcam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquitur lingua mea, & benedicam te in ſeculum ſeculi.

Our eyes look up and truſt in thee. Do thou ſend us meate and food convenient, &c. My tongue ſhall ſpeak thy praiſe, and ſhall bleſſe thee for ever.

148 Lauda Ieruſalem Dominam, glorifica illam etiam O Sion. Ipſa enim conſtruit muros tuos, & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia ſua te impinguat, pacemque donat terminis tuis.

Idolatry.

Praiſe thou our Ladie, O Jeruſalem, and glorifie her alſo O thou Sion: For ſhe buildeth up thy wals, and bleſſeth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coaſts, &c.

I could alſo recite other things more of like blaſphemy following immediately after this Pſalter of our Ladie, in the Seraphicall Doctor aforeſaid, as theſe:

Horrible blaſphemy.

Ecce Domina Salvatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, & non temebo, &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. Et facta es mihi in ſalutem, i. Behold O Ladie my Saviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not feare, &c. Becauſe thou art my ſtrength, &c. And art become my ſalvation, &c.

Blaſphemy.

Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi Mediatricem Dominus Deus tuus, i. Rejoyce O all mankinde, becauſe the Lord thy God hath given unto thee ſuch a Mediatrix, &c.

The Scripture abuſed.

Confitebor tibi Domina, quia abſcondiſti hæc à ſapientibus, & revelaſti ea parvulis, i. I will confeſſe to thee, O Ladie, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, and haſt revealed them to the little ones, &c.

Generatio prava atque perverſa agnoſce Dominam noſtram Salvatricem tuam. Nunquid ipſa eſt mater tua quæ poſſedit te, & in fide generavit te? i. O thou wicked and peeviſh generation, knowledge our Ladie thy Saviour. Is not ſhe the mother that hath poſſeſſed thee, and in Faith hath begotten thee?

Curſed blaſphemy.

O benedicta, in manibus tuis repoſita eſt noſtra ſalus, i. O thou bleſſed, in thy hands is laid up our ſalvation, &c.

In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœleſtium, &c. In thy name let every knee bend, in Heaven and earth, and in hell.

Quemadmodum infans ſine Nutrice non poteſt vivere; ita nec ſine Domina noſtra poſſes habere ſalutem, i. Like as the infant cannot live without the Nurſe, ſo neither canſt thou have ſalvation without our Ladie.

Blaſphemy.

Quicunque vult ſalvus eſſe, ante omnia opus eſt ut teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam niſi quiſque integram inviolatamque ſervaverit, abſque dubio in æternum peribit, i. Whoſo will be ſaved, before all things he muſt needes hold this belief of our Ladie: which belief, unleſſe every one ſhall hold perfect and ſound, ſhall periſh without doubt for ever.

Moreover, after theſe ſo horrible things and intolerable to be heard, conſequently in the next tractation followeth the Roſary or Garland of

our

The Roſary or Garland of our Ladie, called Corona beatæ Mariæ.

our Ladie, compiled by the ſaid Bonaventure; wherein theſe words are to be read as followeth: O Mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only ſhouldeſt conceive his Sonne. Wherefore, O good Mary our Mediatrix, Mother of Grace, and Mother of Mercy, &c. And moreover, within few lines it followeth in theſe words; Therefore O our Empreſſe and Lady moſt bountifull, by the authoritie of a mother command, command (I ſay) thy welbeloved Sonne, that he will ſtirre up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly deſires, &c.

Mary made a commander of Chriſt.

Item, O the Advocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy ſervants be directed to thee, &c.

To theſe premiſſes, I might alſo adjoyne the horrible and moſt blaſphemous words of the ſaid Bonaventure in the ſaid Book, Fol. 100. pag. 2. Col. 1. which I beſeech thee to reade and note. Quæ major bonitas quam quod Chriſtus, i. What greater goodneſſe can be, then that Chriſt is content to be captive upon the Altar?

Whereupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of Jeremy, ſaying; Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you ſee good, &c. Where note (ſaith he) that when any Duke or Prince is taken priſoner for his ſubjects, he is not let go, before he pay ſome great ſum of money for his ranſome. Even ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our hands being our priſoner and captive, except he grant unto us remiſſion of our ſins and his heavenly Kingdome. The Prieſt therefore lifteth up the body of Chriſt upon the Altar, as though he ſaid thus; Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our captive, wherefore let us hold him faſt, and not let him go before we obtaine of him our requeſts, &c.

Chriſt made a captive and a priſoner in the Popes Church.

Notes.

The Church of Rome examined.

Is not here good Catholike ſtuffe (Chriſtian Reader) trow you? Conferre I beſeech you this doctrine with the doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach us that we are fully compleat in Chriſt, and I will referre me to no better Judge then to your own conſcience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times paſt of the doctrine and proceeding of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blinde errours, with blaſphemy intollerable, and Idolatry abominable or not, here now may he be fully certified and reſolved. For where was ever idolatry or blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins and Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idoll to be worſhipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an Idoll of our Lady (as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſſe dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and ſervice, then is the Lord God himſelf? And as he is called our Lord, ſo ſhe is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet ſhe is the Queen of Heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew her ſelf to be his Mother, to cauſe him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our Patron, yet ſhe is our Patroneſſe. The Commandement ſaith; Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve. And what worſhip or ſervice can we give to God, more then we do aſcribe unto her? Or what benefit is to be aſked at the hands of Chriſt our Saviour, which is not equally aſked of her? To ſave our ſoules, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the deſperate, to looſe our captivitie, to releaſe our ſinnes, to deliver from the Fiend, to bring to Heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we ſigh, we groane, we knock and kneele, to her we truſt, and if we beleeve not alſo in our Lady, we be Hereticks ipſo facto.

The Church of Rome convicted of manifeſt Idolatry.

Our Ladie made equall with God in the Church of Rome.

The doctrine of the Romiſh Church directly againſt the firſt Commandement of God.

To truſt and beleeve in our Lady.

Furthermore, as Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour hath his Church and Congregation which profeſſe his name, of whom we are called Chriſtians; ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her Chappels, her Cloyſters, her Chapters, Fraternities, and Brotherhoods, which profeſſing her name in like ſort, are called our Ladies brethren, or white Friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other patrons of Churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by himſelf, yet all theſe together be included under the generall devotion of our Lady their ſupreme Patroneſſe and Governeſſe.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the Commandement, which ſaith; Him only ſhalt thou ſerve. What ſervice hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady alſo joyntly with him hath the like? Her Maſſe, her Mattins, her Evenſong, her Houres and Complin, her Roſaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Pſalter, her Holy-daies likewiſe, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lords Prayer, ſo hath ſhe her Ave Maries, yea ten Aves to one Pater noſter; yea, and reade further in the ſaid Bonaventure, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to have her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, and alſo her Quicunque vult.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Ten Aves to one Pater noſter.

If the Lord our God had not expreſſed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by expreſſe injunction what to beleeve, what to follow, and how to worſhip and ſerve him, and how to receive from him our ſalvation, but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to ſhift for himſelf after his own policie, then peradventure this way taken by the Popes Church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remiſſion, and ſalvation, might have ſome rime or reaſon; but now Gods Word doth binde us, doth preſcribe and limit us preciſely in every point touching ſalvation, what to beleeve, and what to do, ſhewing us plainly that we cannot be ſaved, but by the blood of his Sonne only, neither can be juſtified but by faith only in the ſame Chriſt his Son: Wherefore not to beleeve that which he hath promiſed is infidelitie, and to follow any other beliefe then he hath ſet us, is plaine Idolatry. The which two ſpeciall errours moſt commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romiſh Church, as not only in this Primer and Pſalter of our Lady aforeſaid, but alſo in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings beſides may well appear. For where the Scripture perfectly doth promiſe and pronounce us to be juſtified through our Faith in Chriſt, and willeth us to ſeek our ſalvation no where elſe, but only in the merits of Jeſus: the inſtitution of the Church of Rome, neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein ſtandeth infidelity) neither yet will ſeek the ſame there where as they ſhould, but in the merits and prayers of our Ladie, of S. John Baptiſt, S. Peter and Paul, S. Andrew, S. Nicolas, S. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthineſſe of the materiall Croſſe, and ſuch other unlawfull meanes, wherein ſtandeth plaine Idolatry. And yet ſuch bookes as theſe can be ſuffered among the Catholikes to be currant, as good, wholeſome, and lawfull bookes, whereas the other, which leade us the true way from infidelity and blinde idolatry to true Chriſtianitie, in no wiſe can be ſufferable. But of this to complaine it is vaine. Wherefore to paſſe from this Proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the courſe of our hiſtory.

Infidelity. Idolatry.

The Church of Rome charged with infidelity and idolatry.

The Church of Rome neither taketh that which God doth give, neither doth ſeek for that which they would have by lawfull meanes.

Anno 1555.

The ſtory of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne, Martyrs.

Tho. Oſmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, martyrs. Reade before.

MEntion was made before in the ſtorie of Thomas Haukes, of ſix priſoners beſides, which were ſent down with him to Eſſex the ſame time as he went to execution. Of which ſix priſoners, thrée were ſent to be burned, the other thrée to recant, and to doe penance: Of whom it followeth next in ſtorie now to intreat. The names of which ſix were theſe; Thomas Oſmond Fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, Weaver, Thomas Osborne Fuller, Nicholas Chamberlaine Weaver, Thomas Brodehill Weaver, Richard Web Weaver, being all of the towne of Coxehall. All which ſixe Coxehall men, next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes, and Thomas Wats, were ſent up to Boner to be examined, by the Earle of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris Knight, with a letter with them alſo ſent, the copie whereof here followeth.

A Letter ſent from the Earle of Oxford to Boner Biſhop of London.

A letter from the Earle of Oxford to biſhop Boner.

AFter our hearty commendations unto your good Lordſhip, this ſhall be to advertiſe the ſame, that the Conſtables of Coxehall within your Dioceſſe, have brought before us this day ſix perſons dwelling in the Towne of Coxehall aforeſaid, whoſe names hereafter doe follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlaine Weaver, John Wallet Fuller, Thomas Brodehill Weaver, Richard Web Weaver, William Bamford, alias Butler, Weaver, and Thomas Osborne Fuller, for that they at the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt, have not obeyed to the order of the holy Catholike Church in receiving of the Sacraments; but obſtinately refuſing the ſame, beſides of holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the ſaid Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to ſend the ſame perſons unto your good Lordſhip further to be ordered, as in ſuch caſe ſhall appertaine. Thus we commit your good Lordſhip to the kéeping of Almighty God. From Hedingham the firſt of May, Anno 1555.

Sixe priſoners ſent by the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

Your Lordſhips aſſuredly, Oxford,
Philip Paris.

Oſmond, Chamberlaine, and their fellowes brought before biſhop Boner.

Thus the ſaid priſoners being ſent up the firſt day of May, were brought before the ſaid Biſhop the 17. of the ſaid Moneth to be examined, upon divers and ſundry Articles miniſtred and objected againſt them; whereunto they were compelled to anſwer, and to put their hands to the ſame: the Copie of which their Articles and anſwers, being all one in forme and effect (if the Regiſter ſay true) here followeth.

The Copy of the Articles objected againſt Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlaine of Coxehall.

Articles miniſtred unto them by the biſhop.

1 FIrſt, that thou Thomas Oſmond Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of Coxehall, within the Dioceſſe of London, and thou haſt not beléeved nor doſt beléeve, that there is here in the earth one Catholike and Univerſall whole Church, which doth hold and beléeve all the Faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacraments of the ſame.

The Popes Church falſly termed by the name of the univerſall Church.

2 Item, that thou haſt not beléeved nor doſt beléeve, that thou art neceſſarily bounden under the paine of damnation of thy ſoule, to give full Faith and credence unto the ſaid Catholike and Univerſall Church, and to the Faith and religion of the ſame in all neceſſary points of the ſaid Faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the ſaid Faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

Queen Mary.

The Faith of the Romiſh Church not to be beleeved.

3 Item, that thou haſt not beléeved that the Faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spaine, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the ſaid Catholike and Univerſall Church, do beléeve and teach, is both agréeing with the Faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all Chriſtian people ought to beléeve, obſerve, follow, and kéep: but contrariwiſe, thou haſt beléeved and doſt beléeve, that that Faith and religion, which the ſaid Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſaid, have heretofore beléeved, and do beléeve, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be beléeved, obſerved, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian perſon.

Note how this geare is penned to the worſt.

4 Item, that albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in ſubſtance the very Body and Bloud of our Saviour Chriſt under the formes of Bread and Wine; and albeit that it be ſo beléeved, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid Church of Rome, and all other Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo beléeved, nor doſt ſo beléeve, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beléeved, and doſt beléeve firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, under the ſaid formes of Bread and Wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Bloud, but that there is only the ſubſtance of materiall and common Bread and Wine, with the formes thereof, and that the ſaid materiall and common Bread and Wine are only the ſignes and tokens of Chriſts Body and Bloud, and are by Faith to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſts paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Bloud at all.

This Article not ſo put down as they meant it.

5 Item, that thou haſt beléeved and taught, and haſt openly ſpoken and defended, and ſo doſt beléeve, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſts Body and Bloud, is only to take materiall and common Bread, and to break it, and diſtribute it among the people, remembring thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

The Maſſe not of Chriſts inſtitution.

6 Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beléeved, thought, and ſpoken, that the Maſſe, now uſed in the Realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſſe in it, ſaving the Gloria in Excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, and therefore thou haſt not, nor will not come and be preſent at Maſſe, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, nor any other ſacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in the Realme of England, &c.

Againſt auricular confeſſion and Church Service.

7 Item, that thou haſt in times paſt beléeved, and yet doſt now beléeve, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made unto the Prieſt, but is a thing ſuperfluous, voide, and naught, only to be made to God, and to none other perſon. And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vaine, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the Church, and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe, it is unlawfull and naught.

The Earle of Oxford, Maſter Philip Paris.

8 Item, that thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an Hereticke, and a perſon culpable in the premiſſes, waſt of late called and convented before the Earle of Oxford, and Maſter Philip Paris, and there waſt charged with the ſaid hereſies, eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. And becauſe thou didſt maintaine and ſtand to thy ſaid hereſies, and wouldſt not come to the Church and be confeſſed, and receive the

ſaid Sacrament as other Chriſtian people did, but utterly didſt refuſe to do the ſame, thou waſt by the ſaid Earl of Oxford, and maſter Philip Paris ſent up by a Conſtable unto me Biſhop of London, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an heretick and misbeleeving perſon.

9 Item, that thou haſt known and beleeved, thou doſt know and beleeve, or at leaſt thou haſt credibly heard reported, ſpoken and ſaid, that all and all manner of perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the Sacraments of the Church, or any the Articles of the Faith, otherwiſe than is found already diſcuſſed and determined by the mother of the holy Church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any ſlanderous or blaſphemous words concerning the ſaid Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any ſect or kinde of hereſie againſt the wholeſome Doctrine of the Church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obſtinately defend the ſaid ſect or kinde of hereſie, are by the Canons of the whole and Univerſall Catholick Church, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall Laws of this Church of England, by their ſo doing, accurſed with that curſe, which doth ſeparate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiving of the Sacraments, and from the company of faithfull people, and are (in continuing in this ſaid ſect and hereſie) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for hereticks, and to be delivered to the ſecular power, and by the Laws temporall of this Realm of England, and the cuſtome of the ſame, to be by the ſaid ſecular power put to death and burnt for this ſaid ſect and hereſie.

10 Item, that thou by reaſon of the premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifeſt and open, wilfull and obſtinate heretike, for a wicked and curſed perſon, and to be puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, according to the ſaid Canon Laws, uſages, and cuſtomes.

The anſwers which the ſaid Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain ſeverally made unto theſe Articles.

The anſwer of the 3. priſoners, to the Articles, agreeing all in one.

TO the firſt they anſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do beleeve that there is here in the earth one Catholike and whole Church, and that the ſame Church doth hold and beleeve, as is contained in this article.

To the ſecond they anſwer, and beleeve the ſaid Article not to be true; for they ſay that they have and do beleeve that they are neceſſarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid Catholick Church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſame faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

The Church of Rome not to be beleeved.

To the third they anſwer, that the Church of Rome, and other Churches mentioned in this Article, be not true members and parts (as they be uſed in faith and religion) of the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and that the faith and religion uſed in the ſaid Churches, is not agreeable with the Church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erronious.

To the fourth they anſwer and ſay, that howſoever the ſaid Churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendom have and do beleeve touching the Sacrament of the Altar, yet they do beleeve that in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood, but that there is onely the ſubſtance of materiall Bread and Wine, and that the ſame materiall Bread and Wine be onely the ſigns and tokens of Chriſts body and blood, and are to be received onely for a remembrance of Chriſts paſſion and death, without any ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood at all.

The true eating of Chriſts body.

To the fift Article they anſwer, that the true receiving and eating of Chriſts body, according to Chriſts inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute, and eate materiall Bread, and thereby to remember the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and ſo receive by faith (as they beleeve) Chriſts body and blood, and not otherwiſe.

To the ſixt they anſwer, the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that over and beſides the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, which they beleeve to be good, they beleeve the Pater noſter, and Creed uſed in the Maſſe, be alſo good.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary. Ceremonies idle in the Church.

To the ſeventh they anſwer and confeſſe, that Auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the Prieſt; nevertheleſſe they think that it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a Prieſt, as is able to give good councell: And that for councell onely, and not otherwiſe. And as concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, they anſwer the ſame to be vain and unprofitable. No Service in the Church ought to be ſaid, but onely in the Engliſh tongue.

To the eight they anſwer and beleeve the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that they do not beleeve that they be hereticks, or ſuſpected of hereſie.

To the ninth Oſmond and Bamford anſwered, that they referred themſelves to the ſaid Laws, mentioned in that Article, but Chamberlain made no anſwer at all to this Article.

To the tenth, the ſaid Oſmond and Bamford anſwered and ſaid, that by reaſon of their belief before by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken or judged for wilfull and obſtinate hereticks, nor to be puniſhed therfore, as is declared in that article. The other anſwered nothing.

Scholies upon the foreſaid Articles.

Notes of Scholies upon the Articles uſed to be miniſtred to the poor Chriſtians by the Popes Church.

THeſe Articles in the ſame form and manner of words are commonly objected to all other that follow after, with the ſame anſwers alſo thereto annexed. In which Articles thou maiſt note (Reader) the crafty and ſubtile handling of theſe Lawyers and Regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame their articles and poſitions, that unleſſe a man do adviſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple man to anſwer to them, but he ſhall be ſnared and intangled. So they paint their Church with ſuch a viſage of Univerſall, whole, holy, Catholick, as who ſhould ſay; He that denieth Rome, denieth the holy Church of Chriſt here in earth. Likewiſe in examining them, and ſpecially the ſimple ſort in the matter of the Sacrament, to the materiall Bread in the Sacrament they put their word (onely) very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt advantage, making the people beleeve that they take the holy Sacrament to be no better than onely common Bread: when they do not ſo, but make a difference between the ſame, both in the uſe, honour aud name thereof.

The crafty and captious dealing of the Papiſts in propounding the Articles.

Again, when the Examinates hold but onely againſt the erroneous points of Romiſh Religion, theſe Biſhops in their Interrogatories give out the matter ſo generally, as though the ſaid Examinates in generall ſpake againſt all the Articles of Faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latine Service, in ſuch crafty form of words, they propound their Article, that it might appear to the people, theſe men do deny any Service to be lawfull in any place, country or language, but onely in Engliſh.

And as theſe Articles are craftily, captiouſly, and deceitfully in form of words deviſed by the Biſhops and their Notaries: ſo the anſwers again to the ſame, be no leſſe ſubtilely framed, and after the moſt odious manner put down in the name of the Examinates, which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were conſtrained upon a ſudden, to ſubſcribe the ſame with their hands. Whereby, if any word eſcaped their hand, peradventure not conſiderately ſubſcribed; there the Papiſts take their advantage againſt them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

Theſe Articles thus propounded and anſwered, they were untill the afternoon diſmiſſed. At what time they did again appear, and there were examined and travelled with by fair and flattering ſpeeches, as well of the Biſhop as of others his aſſiſtants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithſtanding remained conſtant and firm, and therefore, after the common uſage of their Eccleſiaſticall laws, were ſent away again untill the next day being Saturday, and the 18. day of May. Then in the forenoon the Biſhop uſing his accuſtomed manner of proceeding, which he had uſed before as well with them as with others, did likewiſe diſmiſſe them, and at laſt in the afternoon condemned them as Hereticks, and ſo delivered them to the Sheriffs, in whoſe cuſtody they remained untill they were delivered to the Sheriff of Eſſex, and by him were executed, Chamberlain at Colcheſter, the 14. of June, Thomas Oſmond at Maningtree, the 15. of June, and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the ſame 15. day in the month of June.

Sentence againſt Oſmond, Chamberlain, Bamford.
June 14.
June 15.
The martyrdom of Tho. Oſmond, Chamberlain, and W. Bamford.

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The Hiſtory of the worthy Martyr and ſervant of God,

Mr. *JOHN BRADFORD*;

With his life, acts, and ſundry conflicts with
his adverſaries, and Martyrdom at length
moſt conſtantly ſuffered for the
Teſtimony of Chriſt and
his Truth.

July 1.
The hiſtory of Maſter John Bradford, Martyr.

As touching the firſt country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Mancheſter in Lancaſterſhire. His parents did bring him up in Learning from his infancy, untill he attained ſuch knowledge in the Latine tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in ſome honeſt condition. Then he became ſervant to Sir John Harrington, Knight, who in the great affairs of King Henry the eight, and King Edward the ſixth, which he had in hand when he was Treaſurer of the Kings Camps and buildings, at divers times in Bullonois, had ſuch experience of Bradfords activity in writing, his expertneſſe in the Art of Auditors, as alſo of his faithfull truſtineſſe, that not onely in thoſe affairs, but in many other of his private buſineſſe he truſted Bradford in ſuch ſort, that above all other he uſed his faithfull ſervice.

Sir John Harrington, knight.

The truſty ſervice of John Bradford under M. Harrington.

Thus continued Bradford certain yéers in a right honeſt and good trade of life, after the courſe of this world, like to come forward (as they ſay) if his minde could have ſo liked, or had béen given to the world as many other be. But the Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and preordained him to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, in that hour of grace, which in his ſecret councell he had appointed, called this his choſen childe to the underſtanding and partaking of the ſame Goſpel of life. In which call he was ſo truly taught, that forthwith his effectuall call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forſake his worldly affairs and forwardneſſe in worldly wealth, and, after the juſt account given to his Maſter of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the Kingdom of God by the Miniſtery of his holy Word, he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpoſe to accompliſh the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporall Law is ſtudied, and went to the Univerſity of Cambridge, to learn by Gods Law how to further the building of the Lords Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profiting in knowledge, and godly converſation ſo pleaſed all men, that within one whole yéer after that he had béen there, the Univerſity did give him a degrée of a Maſter of Art.

Bradford called to the Goſpel.

Bradford giveth himſelf to the ſtudy of Scripture.

Immediately after the Maſter and Fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a Fellowſhip in their Colleage with them: yea that man of God, Martin Bucer, ſo liked him, that he had him not onely moſt dear unto him, but alſo oftentimes exhorted him to beſtow his talent in Preaching. Unto which Bradford anſwered alwayes, that he was unable to ſerve in that office, through want of Learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying; If thou have not fine Manchet bread, yet give the poor people Barley bread, or whatſoever elſe the Lord hath committed unto thée. And whiles Bradford was thus perſwaded to enter into the Miniſtery, Doctor Ridley that worthy Biſhop of London, and glorious Martyr of Chriſt, according to the order that then was in the Church of England, called him to take the degrée of a Deacon. Which order, becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch abuſe, as to the which Bradford would not conſent, the Biſhop yet perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the Miniſtery, was content to order him Deacon without any abuſe, even as he deſired. This being done, he obtained for him a Licence to preach, and did give him a Prebend in his Cathedrall Church of Saint Pauls.

Bradford Maſter of Art, and fellow of Pembroke Hall.

M. Bucers ſaying.

John Bradford made Deacon by Biſh. Ridley without any ſuperſtitious abuſe therein.
John Bradford made Prebendary in Pauls and licenſed to preach.

In this preaching office by the ſpace of thrée yéers, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can teſtifie. Sharply he opened and reproved ſin, ſwéetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithily he impugned hereſies and errours, earneſtly he perſwaded to godly life. After the death of bleſſed yong King Edward the ſixth, when Quéen Mary had gotten the Crown, ſtill continued Bradford diligent in preaching, untill he was unjuſtly deprived both of his office and liberty by the Quéen and her Councell. To the doing whereof, becauſe they had no juſt cauſe, they took occaſion to do this injury for ſuch an act, as among Turks and Infidels would have béen with thankfulneſſe rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indéed it did no leſſe deſerve.

Bradford unjuſtly deprived of his living and preaching.

The fact was this. The 13. of Auguſt, in the firſt yéer of the raign of Q. Mary, maſter Bourn, then Biſhop of Bathe, made a ſeditious Sermon at Pauls Croſſe in London, as partly is declared before, to ſet Popery abroad, in ſuch ſort that it moved the people to no ſmall indignation, being almoſt ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of Biſhop Bonner, who then was his maſter, nor yet the commandment of the Maior of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, ſtay their rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incenſed. At length Bourn ſéeing the people in ſuch a mood, and himſelf in ſuch peril (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn Dagger at him as he ſtood in the Pulpit)

Bourns Sermon at Pauls Croſſe.

and that he was put from ending his Sermon, fearing leſt (againſt his will) he ſhould there end his wretched life, deſired Bradford, who ſtood in the Pulpit behinde him, to come forth, and to ſtand in his place and ſpeak to the people. Good Bradford at his requeſt was content, and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as ſoon as the people ſaw to begin to ſpeak unto him, ſo glad they were to hear him, that they cryed with a great ſhout; Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life Bradford: well declaring not onely what affection they bare unto him, but alſo what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entred a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftſoons all the raging ceaſed, and they in the end quietly departed each man to his houſe. Yet in the mean ſeaſon (for it was a long time before that ſo great a multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himſelf not yet full ſure of his life till he were ſafely houſed, notwithſtanding that the Major and Sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he deſired Bradford not to depart from him, till he were in ſafety: which Bradford according to his promiſe, performed. For while the Major and Sheriffs did leade Bourn to the School-maſters houſe, which is next to the Pulpit, Bradford went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, and ſo to ſet him ſafe.

Bradford appeaſeth the rage of the people, and guardeth the Papiſtical preacher.

The reverent regard and affection of the people to M. Bradford.

M. Bradford procureth M. Bourns ſafety.

Let the Reader now conſider the perill of Bourn, the charity of Bradford, and the headyneſſe of the multitude, and alſo the grudging mindes of certain, which yet ſtill there remained behinde, grieved not a little in their mindes, to ſee that ſo good a man ſhould ſave the life of ſuch a Popiſh Prieſt, ſo impudently and openly rayling againſt King Edward. Among whom, one Gentleman ſaid theſe words: Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaveſt him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life, if it were not for thee, I would (I aſſure thee) run him through with my ſword. Thus Bourn for that time, through Bradfords means, eſcaped bodily death: but God hath his judgement to be ſhewed in the time appointed.

Bradford rebuketh the people for the tumult at Pauls croſs.

The ſame Sunday in the afternoon Bradford preached at the Bow Church in Cheapſide, and reproved the people ſharply for their ſeditious miſdemeanour. After this he did abide ſtill in London with an innocent conſcience, to try what ſhould become of his juſt doing.

Bradford charged with ſedition for ſaving the Preacher.

Bradford committed to the Tower moſt unjuſtly.

Bradford in the Kings Bench. Bradford in the Counter.

Bradford preacheth and miniſtreth the Sacrament in priſon.

Within three dayes after, he was ſent for to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, to appear there before the Councell. There was he charged with this act of ſaving of Bourn, which act they there called ſeditious, and alſo objected againſt him for preaching, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then unto other priſons, out of which neither his innocencie, godlineſſe, nor charitable dealing could purchaſe to him liberty of body, till by death (which he ſuffered for Chriſts cauſe) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither Pope nor Papiſt ſhall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the Kings Bench in Southwark: and after his condemnation, he was ſent to the Counter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain priſoner, he preached twice a day continually, unleſſe ſickneſſe hindered him: where alſo the Sacrament was often miniſtred, and through his means (the Keepers ſo well did bear with him) ſuch reſort of good folks was daily to his Lecture, and to the miniſtration of the Sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading and praying was all his whole life. He did not eate above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it: and his continuall ſtudy was upon his knees. In the midſt of dinner he uſed often to muſe with himſelf, having his Hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and childe, and in ſo good credit with his Keeper, that at his deſire in an evening (being priſoner in the Kings Bench in Southwark) he had licence upon his promiſe to return again that night, to go into London without any Keeper, to viſit one that was ſick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promiſe, but returned to his priſon again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: ſo conſtant was he in word and in deed.

Bradford came into London without his Keeper, and returned that night to priſon again.

The deſcription of Bradford.

Bradford content with a little ſleep.

Bradfords recreation.

The holy life of Bradford.

Of perſonage he was ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faint Sanguine colour, with an Awburn beard. He ſlept not commonly above four hours in the night: and in his bed till ſleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other paſtime, but onely in honeſt company, and comely talk, wherein he would ſpend a little time after Dinner at the board, and ſo to prayer and his Book again. He counted that hour not well ſpent, wherein he did not ſome good, either with his pen, ſtudy, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow-priſoners. And commonly once a week he viſited the theeves, pick-purſes, and ſuch others that were with him in priſon where he lay on the other ſide, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles, and, after that ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome portion of money to their comfort.

Bradford viſited the theeves pick-purſes, &c.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the Kings Bench, and maſter Saunders in the Marſhalſey, both priſoners, on the backſide of thoſe two priſons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: ſo mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midſt of their troubles: and the ſaid Bradford was ſo truſted with his Keeper, and had ſuch liberty in the backſide, that there was no day, but that he might have eaſily eſcaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the Summer time, while he was in the ſaid Kings Bench, he had liberty of his Keeper to ride into Oxfordſhire, to a Merchants houſe of his acquaintance, and horſe and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in a readineſſe that ſhould ride with him: but God prevented him by ſickneſſe that he went not at all.

The meeting and conference between Laurence Saunders and John Bradford.

Bradford refuſeth to ſcape out of priſon though he might.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him whileſt he was priſoner, and asked him, If he ſued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made anſwer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he ſaid he would marry, and abide ſtill in England ſecretly, teaching the people as the time would ſuffer him, and occupy himſelf that way. He was had in ſo great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number alſo of the Papiſts themſelves wiſhed heartily his life. There were few dayes in which he was thought not to ſpend ſome tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any priſoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witneſſe, and have confeſſed of him no leſſe, to the glory of God, whoſe ſociety he frequented, as among many, one ſpeciall thing I thought to note, which is this.

Bradford would not fly out of England though he might.

Bradford beloved.

Bradfords tears.

Biſhop Farrar being in the Kings Bench priſoner, as before you have heard, was travelled

withall

Biſhop Farrar confirmed in the truth, by J. Bradford.

withall of the Papiſts in the end of Lent, to receive the Sacrament at Eaſter in one kinde, who after much perſwading yeelded to them, and promiſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it hapned by Gods providence) the Eaſter Even, the day before he ſhould have done it, was Bradford brought to the Kings Bench priſoner, where the Lord making him his inſtrument, Bradford onely was the mean that the ſaid Biſhop Farrar revoked his promiſe and word, and would never after yeeld to be ſpotted with that Papiſticall pitch; ſo effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy ſervant of his. Such an inſtrument was he in Gods Church, that few or none there were that knew him, but eſteemed him as a precious Jewell and Gods true meſſenger.

Bradford dreameth of his burning according as it came to paſſe.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was ſore troubled divers times in his ſleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Counter-gate, and how the next day being Sunday, he ſhould be had to Newgate, and on the Munday after burned in Smithfield, as indeed it came to paſſe accordingly, which hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. Now he being vexed ſo oftentimes in this ſort with theſe dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet ſleep, and what he was troubled withall. Then after a little talk, Maſter Bradford roſe out of the bed, and gave himſelf to his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, as alwayes he had uſed before: and at dinner according to his accuſtomed manner he did eate his meat, and was very merry, no body being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of the ripeneſſe of ſin in that time.

Bradford hath word of his burning.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the Keepers chamber, ſuddenly the Keepers wife came up, as one half amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt windleſſe, ſaid: Oh Maſter Bradford, I come to bring you heavie news. What is that, ſaid he? Marry, quoth ſhe, to morrow you muſt be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and ſoon you muſt go to Newgate. With that Maſter Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid; I thank God for it; I have looked for the ſame a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour, the Lord make me worthy thereof: and ſo thanking her for her gentleneſſe, departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went ſecretly himſelf alone a long time, and prayed. Which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and ſhewed him his minde in thoſe things what he would have done, and after they had ſpent the afternoon till night in many and ſundry ſuch things, at laſt came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he ſpent the time in prayer and other good exerciſes, ſo wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and ſee his doings.

Bradford maketh his praier, taking his farewell at the Counter.

A little before he went out of the Counter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with ſuch plenty of tears, and abundant ſpirit of prayer, that it raviſhed the mindes of the hearers. Alſo when he ſhifted himſelf with a clean ſhirt that was made for his burning (by one Maſter Walter Marlars wife, who was a good nurſe unto him, and his very good friend) he made ſuch a prayer of the wedding garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewiſe a prayer, and gave money to every ſervant and officer of the houſe, with exhortation to them to feare and ſerve God, continually labouring to eſchew all manner of evill. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be ſpoken in vaine, but that the Lord would work the ſame in them effectually, for his Chriſts ſake. Then being beneath in the court, all the priſoners cryed out to him and bid him farewell, as the reſt of the houſe had done before with weeping tears.

Bradfords going from the Counter.

The priſoners take their leave of Bradford with tears.

Bradford carried to Newgate at midnight.

The people in Cheapſide bade Bradford farewell.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about xi. or xii. a clock in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapſide and other places (between the Counter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee him, which moſt gently bade him farewell, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitifull tears, and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying moſt heartily for them and their welfare. Now whether it were a commandment from the Queen and her Councell, or from Boner and his adherents, or whether it were merrily deviſed of the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noiſe there was over night about the city by divers, that Bradford ſhould be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it ſhould be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers mindes; ſome thinking the fear of the people to be the cauſe thereof: other thought nay, that it was rather becauſe the Papiſts judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their Kingdom. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome another, that no juſt conſecture of the cauſe could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device ſuſpected, for the next day, at the ſaid hour of four a clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield ſuch a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not poſſible that they could have warning of his death, being ſo great a number in ſuch ſhort time, unleſſe it were by the ſingular providence of Almighty God.

A noiſe of Bradfords early burning.

A multitude in Smithfield by 4. a clock.

Bradford going to Smithfield.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine a clock of the day, before Maſter Bradford was brought into Smithfield: which, in going through Newgate thitherward, ſpyed a friend of his whom he loved, ſtanding on the one ſide the way to the Keepers houſeward, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and pluckt him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and alſo his handkerchief, with other things beſides. And after a little ſecret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother in law of his, called Roger Beſwike, which as ſoon as he had taken the ſaid Bradford by the hand, one of the Sheriffs of London called Woodroſe, came with his ſtaffe, and brake the ſaid Rogers head, that the blood ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother, and the reſt of his friends, and to get him to ſome Surgeon betimes; ſo they departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not ſeen at any mans burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were ſome, beſides thoſe that ſtood about the ſtake. Bradford then being come to the place fell flat to the ground, ſecretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then riſing again, and put-

Bradford gave his night-cap away.

Woodroſe breaketh the head of Bradfords brother in law.

ting off his clothes unto his ſhirt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a yong man of twenty yeers of age, joyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was John Leaf. Touching the order and manner of whoſe burning, more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time, we will now ſhew forth the ſundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adverſaries during the time of his impriſonment, which was in all two yeers lacking one month and a half. Which Examinations here follow to be declared.

M. Bradford two yeeres lacking a moneth and a halfe in priſon.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three dayes after the Sermon of Maſter Bourn, who by the Councell committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of Auguſt, Anno 1553. to the 22. day of January, Anno 1555. upon which day he was called out to examination before Steven Wincheſter and other of the Commiſſioners. The effect of which examination and communication which paſſed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

The effect of the communication between Iohn Bradford and the Lord Chancellor and others in Commiſſion with him, the two and twenty day of Ianuary, Anno 1555.

Talk between M. Bradford and Steven Wincheſter.

After the Lord Chancellor, and the reſidue of the Queens Councell in Commiſſion with him, had ended their talk with Maſter Farrar late Biſhop of Saint Davids, the Under-marſhall of the Kings Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford: who, being come into the preſence of the Councell ſitting at a Table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediatly by the Lord Chancellor was bidden to ſtand up, and ſo he did.

Wincheſter overfaced.

When he was riſen, the Lord Chancellor earneſtly looked upon him, to have (belike) overfaced him: but he gave no place, that is, he ceaſed not in like manner to look on the Lord Chancellor ſtill continually, ſave that once he caſt up his eyes to heaven-ward, ſighed for Gods grace, and ſo overfaced him.

The words of the Biſhop of Wincheſter to John Bradford

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor as it were amazed, and ſomething troubled, ſpake thus to him in effect; That of long time he had been impriſoned juſtly for his ſeditious behaviour at Pauls Croſſe, the thirteenth of Auguſt, in the yeer One thouſand five hundred fifty three, for his falſe preaching and arrogancie, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now (quoth he) the time of mercie is come, and therefore the Queens Highneſſe, minding to offer unto you mercie, hath by us ſent for you, to declare and give the ſame, if ſo be ye will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you ſhall finde as we have found, I warrant you. This was the ſum of his words, and in manner the ſame words which he ſpake.

Bradfords anſwer again to Wincheſter.

Brad. To theſe words John Bradford ſpake (after reverent obeyſance made) in this manner: My Lord and Lords all, I confeſſe that I have been long impriſoned, and (with humble reverence be it ſpoken) unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietneſſe, as an obedient and faithfull ſubject, both in going about to ſave the Biſhop of Bathe now, then M. Bourn, the Preacher at the Croſſe, and in preaching for quietneſſe accordingly.

Bradfords fact in ſaving of Bourn counted for ſeditious.

L. Chan. At theſe words, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, the ſaid Lord Chencellor ſomething ſnuffed, and ſpake with an admiration, that there was a loud lye: for (quoth he) the fact was ſeditious, as you my Lord of London can bear witneſſe.

Boner witneſſeth with Wincheſter againſt Bradford.

Boner. You ſay true my Lord; I ſaw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and leade the people malepertly, thereby declaring that he was the author of the ſedition.

Brad. My Lords, notwithſtanding my Lord Biſhops ſeeing and ſaying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty ſhall reveal to all the world, when we ſhall all come and appear before him: In the mean ſeaſon, becauſe I cannot be beleeved of you, I muſt and am ready to ſuffer, as now your ſayings be, whatſoever God ſhall licenſe you to do unto me.

This talke of Bradford firſt in the Tower, came not to our hands.

L. Chan. I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, and goodly ſhews thou makeſt: but all is lyes thou ſpeakeſt. And again, I have not forgot how ſtubborn thou waſt when thou waſt before us in the Tower, whereupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning Religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, wherethrough worthily thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid I ſay again, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not ſo take it. Yea my Lord, I dare ſay, that my Lord of Bath, M. Bourn will witneſſe with me, that I ſought his ſafegard with the perill of mine own life, I thank God therefore.

Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt thy neighbour. Commandement the ninth.

Boner. That is not true: for I my ſelf did ſee thee take upon thee too much.

Bradford deſired of Maſter Bourn to help him, and yet is now ſhent for his labour.

Brad. No, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Maſter Bourn himſelf, as if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he would affirm. For he deſired me both to help him to pacifie the people, and alſo not to leave him till he was in ſafety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, if your Lordſhips would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould and would ſhortly make you anſwer.

Chan. Well, to leave this matter: how ſayeſt thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou ſhalt receive the Queens mercie and pardon?

Mans mercy with Gods wrath refuſed.

Brad. My Lord, I deſire mercie with Gods mercie, but mercie with Gods wrath, God keep me from: Although (I thank God therefore) my conſcience doth not accuſe me, that I did ſpeak any thing wherefore I ſhould need to receive the Queens mercie or pardon. For all that ever I did or ſpake, was both agreeable to Gods Laws, and the Laws of the Realm at that preſent, and did make much to quietneſſe.

Chan. Well, if thou make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercie offered to thee, know for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a “ purgation of all ſuch as thou art.

“ That is the worſt you and your Pope can do, and the beſt argument you have.

The Lords mercy is better then life to Bradford.

Brad. The Lord before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have ſought, and ſeek in this behalf: his mercie I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queens favour, to live as a ſubject without a clog of conſcience. But otherwiſe the Lords mercie is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away before it be his pleaſure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man have power thereon. Therefore his good will be done; life in his diſpleaſure is worſe than death, and death with his true favour, is true life.

Bradford ready to confirm his Doctrine with his life.

Chan. I know well enough, that we ſhall have glorious talk enough of thee: be ſure therefore that as thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and devilliſh Doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive.

Brad. I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other Doctrine, than by Gods grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilliſhneſſe and falſeneſſe in the Doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it.

Duresme. Why, tell me, what ſay you by the miniſtration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford asketh a queſtion before he anſwereth any interrogatory.

Brad. My Lord, here I muſt deſire of your Lordſhip and of all your Honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſwer to any Interrogatory or queſtion, wherewith you now begin. I have been ſix times ſworn that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction, or any authority on the Biſhop of Romes behalf within this Realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honors to tell me whether you ask me this queſtion by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may anſwer you any thing in his authority, which you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid.

Secretary Bourn ſpeaks. Bradford ſix times ſworn againſt the pope.

Sec. Bourn. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times? what office haſt thou born?

Brad. Forſooth I was thrice ſworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted Maſter of Art, when I was admitted Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and when I was there, the Viſitors came thither, and ſware the Univerſity. Again, I was ſworn when I entred into the Miniſtery, when I had a Prebend given me, and when I was ſworn to ſerve the King a little before his death.

Herods oath, quoth Wincheſter.

Chan. Tuſh, Herods oathes a man ſhould make no conſcience at.

Brad. But my Lord, theſe were no Herods oathes, no unlawfull oathes, but oathes according to Gods word, as you your ſelf have well affirmed in your book De vera obedientia.

Wincheſt. de vera obedientia.

M. Rocheſter ſpeaketh.

M. Roch. My Lords (quoth another of the Councell that ſtood by the table, Maſter Rocheſter I ween) I never knew wherefore this man was in priſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cauſe he was and is to be kept in priſon.

The Earl of Derbies complaint againſt Bradford. This Letter was written to his mother, brethren and ſiſters, and followeth hereafter.

Bourn. Yea, it was reported this Parliament time by the Earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe Doctrine (for ſo he calleth that which is not according to that he taught) and moſt heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which words divers of the Councell affirmed. Whereunto the ſaid M. Bourn added, ſaying; How ſay you Sir, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written and exhorted the people?

M. Bradford falſly charged with ſedition.

Brad. I have not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any ſeditious cogitation, nor I truſt ever ſhall do.

Bourn. Yea, thou haſt written letters.

Chan. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſaith?

Brad. That I have written, I have written.

Rich. Southwell ſpeaketh.

South. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborn boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaveth himſelf before the Queens Councell? Whereat one looked upon another with diſdainfull countenances.

Brad. My Lords and Maſters, the Lord God, which is, and will be Judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I ſtand now before his Majeſty; ſo with reverence in his ſight I ſtand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and geſture I deſire to behave my ſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean ſeaſon, I ſhall ſuffer with all due obedience your ſayings and doings too, I hope.

All is lyes that pleaſeth not Wincheſter.

Chan. Theſe be gay glorious words of reverence: but as in all other things, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the Author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and ſhew a terrible judgement on me here preſent, if I have purpoſed or do purpoſe to lye before you, whatſoever you ſhall ask me.

Wincheſter holden at a bay.

Chan. Why then doeſt thou not anſwer? Haſt thou written ſuch Letters as here is objected againſt thee?

Brad. As I ſaid, my Lord, that I have written, I have written, I ſtand now before you, which either can lay my Letters to my charge, or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a lyer.

Chan. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now; be ſhort, be ſhort, Wilt thou have mercie?

Brad. I pray God give me his mercie, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuſe it, but otherwiſe I will none.

Here now was much ado, one ſpeaking this, and another that of his arrogancie, in refuſing the Queens pardon, which ſhe ſo lovingly did offer unto him; whereto Bradford anſwered thus:

M. Bradford deſireth to live, that he may have life without clog of conſcience.

Brad. My Lords, if I may live as a quiet ſubject without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwiſe I behave my ſelf, then I am in danger of the Law: in the mean ſeaſon I ask no more, but the benefit of a Subject, till I be convinced of tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, Gods good will be done.

Wincheſter ſpeaketh againſt the Doctrine taught in King Edwards time.

Chan. Upon theſe words my Lord Chancellor began a long proceſſe of the falſe Doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the dayes of King Edward, and ſo turned the end of his talk to Bradford, ſaying: How ſayeſt thou?

M. Bradford ſtandeth in defence of the Doctrine taught in King Edwards time.

Brad. My Lord, the Doctrine taught in K. Edwards dayes was Gods pure Religion: the which as I then beleeved, ſo do I now more beleeve it than ever I did, and therin I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by Gods grace even as he will, to the world, than I was when I firſt came into priſon.

Dureſ. What Religion mean you in K. Edwards dayes? What yeer of his raign?

Brad. Forſooth even the ſame yeer my Lord, that the King died, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourn I wote not what.

The reaſon of Wincheſter wherewith he diſproveth the Doctrine of K. Edwards daies.

Chan. Now after a little pauſing, my Lord Chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the Doctrine taught in King Edwards dayes was hereſie, uſing for probation and demonſtration therof, no Scripture nor reaſon, but this: that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (quoth he) the very end were enough to prove that Doctrine to be naught.

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter into Gods Sanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent Doctrine that you now ſo magnifie.

Chan. What meaneſt thou by that? I ween we ſhall have a ſnatch of rebellion even now.

Brad. My Lord, I mean no ſuch end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man look on preſent things, he will ſoon deceive himſelf.

The Queens mercie again offered to M. Bradford.

Here now did my L. Chancellor offer again mercie, and Bradford anſwered, as before: Mercie with Gods mercie, ſhould be welcome, but otherwiſe he would none. Whereupon the L. Chancellor did ring a little Bell, belike to call in ſome body: for there was preſent none in manner, but onely thoſe before named, and the biſhop of Worceſter. Now when one was come in; it is beſt, quoth Maſt. Secretary Bourn, that you give the Keeper a charge of this fellow. So was the under-marſhall called in.

M. Bradford returned again into priſon.

Chan. Ye ſhall take this man to you, and keep him cloſe without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any Letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a deſire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the ſecond examination of Iohn Bradford in S. Mary Overies Church, before the L. Chancellor, and divers other Biſhops, the 29. of Ianuary, Anno 1555.

The ſecond examination of M. Bradford before the biſh. of Wincheſter and others.

AFter the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and ſtanding before the L. Chancellor and other biſhops ſet with him, the ſaid L. Chancellor ſpake thus in effect.

L. Chan. Where before the 22. of January, the ſaid Bradford was called before them (ſaid he) and they offered unto him the Queens pardon, although he had contemned the ſame, and further ſaid, that he would ſtiffly and ſtoutly maintain, and defend the erroneous Doctrine taught in the dayes of K. Edward the 6, yet in conſideration that the Queens Highneſs was wonderfull mercifull, they thought good eftſoons to offer the ſame mercie again, before it were too late: therefore adviſe you well, ſaid he, there is yet ſpace and grace before we ſo proceed, that you be committed to the ſecular power, as we muſt do and will do, if you will not follow the example of M. Barlow, and M. Cardmaker, whom he there commended, adding oratoriouſly amplifications to move the ſaid Bradford to yeeld to the religion preſently ſet forth.

Example of M. Barlow and Cardmaker laid againſt Bradford.

Brad. After the L. Chancellors long talk, Bradford began on this ſort to ſpeak; My Lord, and my Lords all, as now I ſtand in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſeech your Honors to conſider, that you ſit in the ſeat of the Lord, who (as David doth witneſſe) is in the congregation of Judges, and ſitteth in the midſt of them judging: and as you would your place to be now of us taken as Gods place, ſo demonſtrate your ſelves to follow him in your ſitting, that is, ſeek no guiltleſſe blood, nor hunt not by queſtions to bring into the ſnare, them which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you guilty or guiltleſſe, then proceed and give ſentence accordingly: if guiltleſſe, then give me the benefit of a ſubject, which hitherto I could not have.

Si illum objurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit; quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor replyed, and ſaid, that the ſaid Bradford began with a true ſentence, Deus ſtetit in Synagoga, &c. But quoth he, this and all thy geſture declareth but hypocriſie and vain-glory. And further he made much ado to purge himſelf, that he ſought not guiltleſſe blood, and ſo began a long proceſſe how that Bradfords fact at Pauls Croſſe, was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to leade the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietnes, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) was ſo prefract and ſtout in religion at that preſent. For the which, as thou waſt then committed to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt been kept in priſon, where thou haſt written Letters to no little hurt to the Queens people, as by report of the Earl of Derby in the Parliament houſe was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the ſaid Bradford did ſtubbornly behave himſelf the laſt time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, quoth he, but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

The witneſſe of the Earl of Derby laid againſt M. Bradford.

Brad. My Lord, where you accuſe me of hypocriſie and vain-glory, I muſt and will leave it to the Lords declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth, and hearty meanings: in the mean ſeaſon, I will content my ſelf with the teſtimony of mine own conſcience, which if it yeeld to hypocriſie, could not but have God to be my foe allo; and ſo both God and man were againſt me. And as for my fact at Pauls Croſſe, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God uſed to publike benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept of long time in priſon. And as for Letters and Religion, I anſwer, as I did the laſt time I was before you.

M. Bradford defendeth his fact at Pauls Croſſe.

Chan. There didſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldeſt manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in K. Edwards dayes.

The words of M. Bradford miſreported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſix times taken an oath, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction on the Biſhop of Romes behalf, and therefore durſt I not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be demanded ſo, leſt I ſhould be forſworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſaving mine oath, I ſaid that I was more confirmed in the Doctrine, ſet forth publikely in the dayes of K. Edward, than ever I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, and think yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame.

M. Bradford more confirmed in his Doctrine after his impriſonment than before.

Chan. I remember well that thou madeſt much ado about needleſſe matter, as though the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done: for thou pretendeſt a conſcience in it, which is nothing elſe but meer hypocriſie.

Wincheſter maketh but a ſmall matter of an oath.

Brad. My conſcience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therfore then my Lord, ſo I ſay again now, That for fear leſt I ſhould be perjured, I dare not make anſwer to any thing you ſhall demand of me, if my anſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any juriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England.

L. Chan. Why didſt thou begin to tell that we are Dii, and ſit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make us an anſwer?

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid, you would have your place taken of us now as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to follow God and his wayes at this preſent, who ſeeth us all, and well perceiveth, whether of conſcience I pretend this matter of the oath, or no.

Bradford ſtandeth ſtill to his oath.

L. Chan. No, all men may well ſee thine hypocriſie: for if for thine oathes ſake thou didſt not anſwer, then wouldeſt thou not have ſpoken as thou didſt, and have anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceive, that this is but a ſtarting hole to hide thy ſelf in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwer, and ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple peoples eyes, as though of conſcience you did all you do.

The cauſe why Bradford anſwereth not to Wincheſter. Popiſh interrogatories.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an anſwer to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did ſpeak, than you did: but when I perceived you did not conſider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of juriſdiction on the Biſhop of Romes behalf here in England, and ſo be forſworn; then of conſcience and ſimplicity I ſpake as I do yet again ſpeak, that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſwer you. And therefore I ſeek no ſtarting holes, nor go about to blinde the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your Honors ſhall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing, whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Biſhop of Romes juriſdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you ſhall hear that I will anſwer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing elſe at your hands of long time: but I am afraid, when death cometh, I ſhould have matter to trouble my conſcience, by the guiltineſſe of perjury, and therefore do I anſwer as I do.

L.Chan. These be gay glorious words, full of hypocriſie and vain-glory, and yet doeſt thou not know that I ſit here as Biſhop of Wincheſter in mine own Dioceſſe, and therfore may do this which I do, and more too?

Bradford ready to anſwer under proteſtation

Brad. My Lord, give me leave to ask you this queſtion, that my conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here Coram Deo, before God, all this audience being witneſſe, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to and confirm the practiſe of juriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England, and yet your Honour ſhall hear me give you as flat and as plain anſwers briefly, to whatſoever you ſhall demand me, as ever any did.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was wonderfully offended, and ſpake much how that the biſhop of Romes authority needed no confirmation of Bradfords anſwering, nor no ſuch as he was, and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous Merchants, which becauſe they would lend no mony to their neighbours when they were in need, would ſay that they had ſworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, becauſe their Debters had ſo oft deceived them. Even ſo thou, quoth he to Bradford, doeſt at this preſent, to caſt a miſt in the peoples eyes, to blear them with an hereſie (which is greater, and more hurtfull to the Common-wealth than the other is) pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Difference of oathes: ſome with faith and charity, ſome againſt it.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again; I dare not anſwer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me: or elſe I could tell you that there is a difference between oathes. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome: ſome be againſt faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath, my help to my brother in his need.

L. Chan. Here my L. Chancellor again was much offended, ſtill ſaying that Bradford durſt not anſwer, and further made much ado to prove that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was againſt charity.

Brad. But Bradford anſwered, that howſoever his Honour took him, yet he was aſſured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to anſwer: For, as for my death, my Lord (quoth he) as I know there are 12. hours in the day, ſo with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it ſhall be his good time, then I ſhall depart hence: but in the mean ſeaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the people had ſworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And ſaving mine oath, I will anſwer you in this behalf, that the oath againſt the B. of Rome was not, nor is againſt charity.

L.Chan. How prove you that?

Brad. Forſooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

The oath againſt the biſh. of Rome is not againſt charity.

Fe. Nothing is againſt charity, which is with Gods word, and not againſt it.
ſti- The oath againſt the Biſhop of Romes authority in England, is with Gods word, and is not againſt it:
no. Ergo, The oath againſt the Biſhop of Romes authority in England, is not againſt charity.

A King, how he may be taken for ſupreme head of the Church in his own dominion.

L.Chan. Is it againſt Gods word, that a man ſhould take a King to be ſupreme head of the Church in his Realm?

Brad. No, ſaving ſtill mine oath, it is not againſt Gods word, but with it, being taken in ſuch ſenſe as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the Kings power, the ſoveraignty in all his dominion.

L. Chan. I pray you where finde you that?

Rom. 13. Biſhops, Prophets and Apoſtles ſubject to temporall Magiſtrates.

Brad. I finde it in many places, but ſpecially in the 13. to the Romans, where S. Paul writeth, Every ſoul to be ſubject to the ſuperiour power: but what power? *Quæ gladium geſtat*, The power verily which beareth the ſword; which is not the ſpirituall, but the temporall power. As Chryſoſtom full well noteth upon the ſame place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (Chryſoſtom I mean) there plainly ſheweth that Biſhops, Prophets, and Apoſtles are obedient to the temporall Magiſtrates.

L. Chan. Here yet more the Lord Chancellor was ſtirred, and ſaid, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen for his oath: and ſo (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warrant of diſobedience: for he will anſwer the Queen on this ſort, that when ſhe ſaith, Now ſwear to the Biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority: No (will he ſay) for I ſhould be forſworn, and ſo he makes the Queen no Queen.

Refuſing of the Popes obedience being ſworn againſt him, is no denying of obedience to the Q.

Brad. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the Queens Highneſſe, but denying obedience in this part, if he ſhould demand it. For I was ſworn to K. Edward, not ſimply, that is, not onely concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors, and therfore in denying to do the Queens requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient.

The prepoſterous judgment of Wincheſter, to care ſo little for an oath to God, and ſo much for his vow to the Pope.

L. Chan. Yes that thou doeſt: and ſo he began to tell a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oath to pay to me an hundred pounds by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor ſhould ſay, No, you cannot do it: for I am forſworn then.

Brad. Here Bradford deſired my L. Chancellor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondred his Honour would make ſolemn oathes made to God, trifles in that ſort; and make ſo great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the Biſhop for marriage of Prieſts.

Chan. At theſe words the L. Chancellor was much offended, and ſaid, he did not trifle: but quoth he, thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the Queen, which now requireth obedience to the biſhop of Rome.

Argument. Ad ſpeciem ad genus negative non valet.

Brad. No my Lord, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you would diſcern between Genus and Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this; Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a peece of his Inheritance, yet this notwithſtanding all his inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe, all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this branch.

Chan. I will none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not uſe them, if that you went not about to perſwade the people, that I meant that which I never meant: for I my ſelf not onely mean obedience, but will give enſample of all moſt humble obedience to the Queens Highneſſe, ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience againſt God.

Chan. No, no, all men may ſee your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be ſworn to the King, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be ſworn to the French King and to the Emperor.

Brad. It is true my Lord, but the caſes be not like. For here is an exception; Thou ſhalt not ſwear to the Biſhop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were ſworn; Thou ſhalt not ſerve the Emperor, &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſeech your Honour remember what ye your ſelf have written, anſwering the Objections here againſt in your Book *De vera obedientia. Vincat modo divini verbi veritas*, i. Let Gods Word, and the reaſon thereof, bear the bell away.

Wincheſter pretendeth as though Bradford for fear durſt not anſwer.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was thorowly moved, and ſaid ſtill, how that Bradford had written ſeditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the erroneous Doctrine in King Edwards time, againſt all men: and now, quoth he, he ſaith, he dare not anſwer.

Bradford ready to tender a reaſon of his faith.

Brad. I have written no ſeditious Letters, I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and ſpoken, that will I never deny, by Gods grace. And where your Lordſhip ſaith, that I dare not anſwer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, ſaving mine oath, aſk me what you will, and I will plainly make you anſwer, by Gods grace, although I now ſee my life lieth thereon. But O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what come will: onely ſanctifie thy Name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace, Amen. Now aſk what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afraid, by Gods grace, flatly to anſwer.

Chriſts preſent corporally in the Sacrament to faith.

L. Chan. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament? Do you not beleeve there Chriſt to be preſent concerning his naturall body?

Brad. My Lord, I do not beleeve that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the Sacrament. By this word (corporally) I mean that Chriſt is there preſent corporally unto faith.

L.Chan. Unto faith? we muſt have many moe words to make it plain.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: but firſt give me leave to ſpeak two words.

L.Chan. Speak on.

Note well the Popes way to bring men to faith.

The Popes judging and condemning men for their faith, reproved by Bernard.

Brad. I have been now a yeer and almoſt three quarters in priſon, and of all this time you never queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might have ſpoken my conſcience frankly without perill: but now have you a Law to hang up and put to death, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite, and ſo now you come to demand this queſtion. Ah my Lord, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the Prophets or Apoſtles. Remember what Bern. writeth to Eugenius the Pope; *Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe judicandos, ſediſſe judicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit, &c.* That is, I reade, that the Apoſtles ſtood to be judged, but I reade not, that they ſate to judge. This ſhall be, that was, &c.

Wincheſter blamed without a cauſe as he ſaith.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſaid moſt gently that he uſed not this means. It was not my doing, quoth he, although ſome there be that think this to be the beſt way. For, I for my part have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes. Which thing the Biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had been ever too milde and too gentle.

Brad. At which words Bradford ſpake thus: My Lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentlenes, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

Chan. As ſoon as ever he had ſpoken thus, the Lord Chancellor belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercie and pardon, ſaid, that with all his heart, not onely he, but the Queens Highneſſe would ſtretch out mercie, if with them he would return.

Bradford three quarters of a yeer in the tower kept from pen and ink.

M. Bradford impriſoned, not for matter they had, but for matter they would have againſt him.

Brad. Return, my Lord? God ſave me from that going back: I mean it not ſo, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a yeer in the Tower, you forbade me paper, pen and ink, and never in all that time, nor ſithence did I feel any gentleneſſe from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have. Gods good will be done.

Bradford kept in the veſtry till dark night.

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner time. And ſo he roſe up, leaving Bradford ſpeaking, and ſaying that in the afternoon they would ſpeak more with him. And ſo was he had into the Veſtry, and was there all that day till dark night, and ſo was conveyed again to priſon.

Tho. Huſſey cometh to Bradford.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the ſame afternoon, a Gentleman called Maſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, which was once an officer in the Duke of Northfolks houſe, did come into the Reveſtry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was anſwered him by the undermarſhals officers of the Kings Bench, that there was none ſuch, he entred into the houſe, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, ſaying, that he would commune and ſpeak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

Counſell of M. Huſſey given to M. Bradford.

M. Bradford refuſeth to require reſpit.

The next morning about ſeven of the clock, this Gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lye, and being with him, he began a long Oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him to ſpeak that which he would further utter. You did (ſaid he) ſo wonderfully behave your ſelf before the L. Chancellor, and other Biſhops yeſterday, that even the verieſt enemies you have, did ſee that they have no matter againſt you: and therefore adviſe you (ſpeaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privie, or any other procuring him, as he ſaid) this day (for anon you ſhall be called before them again) to deſire a time, and men to confer withall, ſo ſhall all men think a wonderfull wiſdom, gravity, and godlineſſe in you: and by this means you ſhall eſcape preſent danger, which elſe is neerer than you be ware of. To this John Bradford anſwered, I neither can nor will make ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I give occaſion to the people and to all other to think that I doubt of the Doctrine which I confeſſe; the which thing I do not: for thereof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I will give no ſuch offence.

D. Seton cometh to M. Bradford.

Huſſey taken with a lye.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and D. Seton came in, who when he ſaw Maſter Huſſey, What Sir, quoth he, are you come before me? O Lord, ſaid Bradford in his heart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord give me grace to remember thy leſſon, *Cavete ab hominibus illis*, Beware of thoſe men, &c. Caſt not your pearls before dogs: for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witneſſe with the other.

Councell of D. Seton given to M. Bradford.

Seton. D. Seton, after ſome by-talk of Bradfords age, of his country and ſuch like, began a gay and long Sermon of my Lord of Canterbury, Maſt. Latimer, and Maſt. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to anſwer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury deſired to confer with the biſhop of Dureſm and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford ſhould make the like ſuit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury.

Brad. To this John Bradford briefly anſwered as he did before to M. Huſſey.

The flattering commendation of D. Seton to M. Bradford.

Seton. With this anſwer neither the Doctor nor Gentleman being contented, after many perſwaſions, Maſter Doctor ſaid; I have heard much good talk of you, and even yeſternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lord Chancellors table, that ye were able to perſwade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge never did ſee you before yeſterday) yet me thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I would be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than my ſelf. And I tell you further, I do perceive my L. Chancellor hath a fantaſie towards you: wherfore be not ſo obſtinate, but deſire reſpite and ſome learned man to confer withall, &c.

M. Bradford refuſeth to ask reſpite to confer upon his Doctrine.

Brad. But John Bradford kept ſtill one anſwer: I cannot, nor I will not ſo offend the people. I doubt not, but I am moſt certain of the Doctrine I have taught.

Seton. Here maſter Doctor waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and ſpake like a Prelate.

Brad. But Bradford anſwered, Beware of judging, leſt you condemn your ſelf. But ſtill M. Doctor Seton urged him, ſhewing him how mercifull my L. Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Little juſtice, leſſe love appeareth in the b. of Wincheſt.

Brad. I never ſaw any juſtice, much leſſe love, I ſpeak for my part, quoth Bradford, in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no juſt matter againſt me.

This talk ſerved not the Doctors purpoſe: wherfore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford ſtill gave him the hearing, and anſwered not: for he perceived that they both did come but to fiſh for ſome things which might make a ſhew that my L. Chancellor had juſtly kept him in priſon.

When all their talk took no ſuch effect as they would or looked for, Maſt. Huſſey asked Bradford, will ye not admit conference, if my L. Chancellor ſhould offer it publikely?

M. Bradford refuſeth to admit conference but upon conditions.

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered ſo that I might be at liberty to confer, and as ſure as he with whom I ſhould confer, then it were ſomething: but elſe I ſee not to what other purpoſe conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingring may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his own motion, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever he ſhall appoint.

D. Seton raileth againſt M. Bradford.

Maſter Doctor hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoever it pleaſed him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wiſdom and grace of him: for, quoth he, otherwiſe I am helples: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God and made his praiers, which the Lord of his goodneſſe did graciouſly accept in his need, praiſed therfore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the foreſaid Church, and there tarried uncalled for, till eleven of the clock, that is, till M. Saunders was excommunicated.

The effect and ſum of the laſt Examination of Iohn Bradford, in the Church of S. Maries Overies.

The laſt examination of M. Bradford.

The effect of Wincheſters talk with M. Bradford.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the L. Chancellor and other the biſhops there ſitting, the L. Chancellor began to ſpeak thus in effect: that if Bradford being now eftſoons come before them, would anſwer with modeſty and humility, and conform himſelf to the Catholike Church with them, he yet might finde mercie, becauſe they would be loath to uſe extremitie. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his Doctrine.

M. Bradfords anſwer to Wincheſter.

After the Lord Chancellor had ended his long Oration, Bradford began to ſpeak thus: As yeſterday I beſought your Honours to ſet in your ſight the Majeſty and preſence of God to follow him, which ſeeketh not to ſubvert the ſimple by ſubtile queſtions: ſo I humbly beſeech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltleſſe blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that, which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: For our nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetfull of God. Again, as yeſterday I pretended mine oath and oathes againſt the Biſhop of Rome, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction for him, or on his behalf in the Realm of England: ſo do I again this day, leſt I ſhould be perjured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the anſwers I made, were by proteſtation and ſaving mine oath, ſo I would your Honors ſhould know that mine anſwers ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltineſs of perjury.

Wincheſter replyeth again to Bradford with a lye.

L. Chan. At which words the L. Chancellor was wroth, and ſaid, That they had given him reſpite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the bleſſed Sacrament, which yeſterday (quoth he) before us you uttered.

Brad. My Lord, you gave me no time of any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeak any thing of the Sacrament which you did diſallow. For when I had declared a preſence of Chriſt to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge your ſelf, that you were not cruell, and ſo went to dinner.

The oath againſt the biſh. of Rome, whether it be lawfull or unlawfull.

L. Chan. What? I perceive we muſt begin all again with thee. Did not I yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did not I make it plain, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was an unlawfull oath?

Brad. No indeed my Lord: You ſaid ſo, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

Wincheſters ſimilitude in no point like.

L. Chan. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou? Thou wouldeſt go about to bring into the peoples heads, that we, all the Lords of the Parliament houſe, the Knights and Burgeſſes, and all the whole Realm be perjured. O what an heretike is this? here good people, you may ſee what a ſenſleſſe heretike this fellow is. If I ſhould make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need, were this a good anſwer to tell my neighbour deſiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Wincheſters ſimilitude refuted.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern betwixt oathes that be againſt charity and faith, and oathes that be according to faith and charity, as this is againſt the Biſhop of Rome.

Chan. Here the Lord Chancellour made much ado, and a long time was ſpent about oathes, which were good, and which were evill, he captiouſly asking often of Bradford a direct anſwer concerning oathes: which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Whereat the Chancellor was much offended: but Bradford ſtill kept him at the bay, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawfull oath, uſing thereto the Lord Chancellors own book, de vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

Gods Word judge onely of oathes, whether they be made lawfully againſt the ſupremacie of the Pope or no. Wincheſter leaveth his hold.

At the length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould be judge of the lawfulneſſe of the oath; and Bradford ſaid the Word of God, according to Chriſts word, John 12. My word ſhall judge; and according to the teſtimony of Eſay, and Micah, That Gods Word coming out of Jeruſalem, ſhall give ſentence among the Gentiles. By this Word, quoth Bradford, my Lord, I will prove the oath againſt the Biſhop of Romes authority, to be a good, a godly and a lawfull oath. So that the Lord Chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a deniall of the Queens authority and obedience to Her Highneſſe, ſo did he now.

“ One ſpeciall cauſe of obedience denied by conſcience, maketh no general deniall of obedience in cauſes lawfull.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved that obedience in this point to the Queens Highneſs, if ſhe ſhould demand an oath to the B. of Rome, being denied, was not “a generall deniall of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, quoth he, than the ſale, gift or leaſe of a peece of a mans inheritance, proveth it a ſale, gift or leaſe, of the whole inheritance.

Wincheſter ſtumbling at vows made to man, and leaping over ſolemn oathes made to God.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the Lord Chancellor talking much, and uſing many examples of debt, of going out of the Town to morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and ſuch like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, ſaying, That it was a wonder his Honour weighed conſcience no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in vows of Prieſts marriages made to Biſhops, and be careleſſe for ſolemn oathes made to God, and to Princes. Summa, this was the end. The Lord Chancellor ſaid, the Queen might diſpenſe with it, and did ſo to all the whole Realm. But Bradford ſaid, that the Queens Highneſſe could do no more but remit her right, as for the oath made to God, ſhe could never remit, for as much as it was made unto God.

Wincheſter in a pelting chafe.

L.Chan. At which words the L. Chancellor chafed wonderfully, and ſaid, that in plain ſenſe I ſlandered the Realm of perjury: and therefore, (quoth he to the people) you may ſee how this fellow taketh upon him, to have more knowledge and conſcience, than all the wiſe men of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

M. Bradford impriſoned without a cauſe

Brad. Well, my Lord, let all the ſtanders by ſee who hath conſcience: I have been a yeer and a half in priſon: Now before all this people, declare wherefore I was impriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſaid the other day in your own houſe, my Lord of London witneſſing with you, that I took upon me to ſpeak to the people undeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I mean my Lord of Bathe, which deſired me himſelf for the paſſion of Chriſt, I would ſpeak to the people. Upon whoſe words, I coming into the Pulpit, had like to have been ſlain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my ſleeve. He then prayed me, I would not leave him, and I promiſed him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the Pulpit, and intreated with the people, and at length brought him my ſelf into an houſe.

M. Bradford neer ſlain in the pulpit, with a dagger, thrown againſt M. Bourn.

M. Bradford jeoparded his life for Maſter Bourn.

Beſides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow Church, and there going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people: for quoth he, you ſhall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithſtanding I did in that Sermon reprove their fact, and called it ſedition at the leaſt twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, priſon for a yeer and a half and more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be judge where conſcience is.

In ſpeaking of theſe words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford ſtill ſpake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, ſpeak what they would. And then the Lord Chancellor ſaid, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Croſſe was naught.

Wincheſter proved double in his own words.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as you your ſelf did bear witneſſe with me. For when I was at the firſt before you in the Tower, you your ſelf did ſay, that my fact was good, but (quoth you) thy minde was evill. Well, quoth I; then my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my minde, for ſo much as otherwiſe I cannot declare my minde to man, but by ſaying and doing. God one day, I truſt, will open it to my comfort, what my minde was, and yours is.

Wincheſter driven to eate his own words.

L. Chan. Here the Lord Chancellor was offended, and ſaid, that he never ſaid ſo. I, quoth he, had not ſo little wit I trow, as not to diſcern betwixt meaning and doing: and ſo brought forth, little to the purpoſe, many examples to prove that men conſtrue things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not ſerve, then cometh he to another matter, and ſaid that Bradford was put in priſon at the firſt, becauſe he would not yeeld, nor be conformable to the Queens Religion.

Brad. Why my Lord, your Honour knoweth that you would not then reaſon with me in religion, but ſaid a time ſhould afterwards be found out, when I ſhould be talked withall. But if it were as your Lordſhip ſaith, that I was put in priſon for religion, in that my religion was then authoriſed by publike Laws of the Realm, could conſcience puniſh me, or caſt me in priſon therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conſcience wanteth.

M. Chamberlain of Woodſtock againſt M. Bradford.

M.Cham. Here came forth M. Chamberlain of Woodſtock, and ſpake to my L. Chancellor, how that Bradford had been a Serving-man, and was with M. Harrington.

L. Chan. True, and did deceive his Maſter of ſeven ſcore li. and becauſe of this, he went to a Goſpeller and a Preacher (good people) and yet you ſee how he pretendeth conſcience.

Brad. My Lord, I ſet my foot by his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth, and juſtly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my Maſter. And as you are chief Juſticer by office in England, I deſire juſtice upon them that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it.

Wincheſter again driven from his hold.

L.Chan. Here my L. Chancellor and M. Chamberlain were ſmitten blank, and ſaid they heard it. But, quoth my Lord Chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this againſt you: for you are an heretike.

Boner again cometh in with another untruth.

London. Yea, quoth the Biſhop of London, he did write Letters to M. Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well as his own, your Honour did ſee the Letters.

Brad. That is not true, I never did write to Pendleton ſithence I came to priſon, and therefore I am not juſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you indited it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Here came in another, I trow they call him

A Clerk of the councel thought to be M. Allen.

Maſter Allen, one of the Clerks of the Councell, putting the Lord Chancellor in remembrance of Letters written into Lancaſhire.

L. Chan. You ſay true: for we have his hand to ſhew.

Brad. I deny that you have my hand to ſhew of Letters ſent into Lancaſhire, otherwiſe than before you all I will ſtand to, and prove them to be good and lawfull.

Here was all anſwered, and then the L. Chancellor began a new matter. Sir (quoth he) in my houſe the other day you did moſt contemptuouſly contemn the Queens mercie, and further ſaid, that you would maintain the erroneous Doctrine in K. Edwards dayes againſt all men, and this you do moſt ſtoutly.

Wincheſter brought to a plaine foile.

Wincheſters captious quarrell anſwered.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men ſee now you have had no matter to impriſon me afore that day juſtly. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſly contemn the Queens mercie, but would have had it (though if juſtice might take place, I need it not) ſo that I might have had it with Gods mercie, that is, without doing or ſaying any thing againſt God and his truth. And as for maintenance of Doctrine, becauſe I cannot tell how you will ſtretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I ſpake. I ſaid I was more confirmed in the Religion ſet forth in King Edwards dayes, than ever I was: and if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhould declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and teſtification thereof. So I ſaid then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to maintain it, than pertaining to a private perſon by confeſſion, I thought not, nor think not.

Another untruth in Wincheſter.

L. Chan. Well, yeſterday thou didſt maintain falſe hereſie concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, and therefore we gave thee reſpite till this day to deliberate.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the Sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproved it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

L.Chan. Why? didſt thou not deny Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament?

Brad. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Chriſt, body and blood was as preſent as the bread and wine to the due receiver.

L. Chan. Yea, but doeſt thou not beleeve that Chriſts body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?

Brad. My Lord, I beleeve Chriſt is preſent there to the faith of the due receiver: as for tranſubſtantion, I plainly and flatly tell you I beleeve it not.

Bleſſed are you when they ſhall revile you, and ſpeak all that is naught againſt you for my names ſake. Matth. 5.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſlanderer: for we ask no queſtion (quoth my L. Chancellor) of tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſts preſence.

Brad. I deny not his preſence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is tranſubſtantiate.

B.Worceſt. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Brad. Forſooth though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot expreſſe it, nor you otherwiſe than by faith hear it, or underſtand it.

Chriſts body preſent to faith.

Tranſubſtantiation denied

Here was much ado, now one Doctor ſtanding up and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, and the L. Chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, but ſtill Bradford kept him at that point, that Chriſt is preſent to faith; and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the bread: but all this would not ſerve them.

Therefore another Biſhop asked this queſtion, whether the wicked man received Chriſts very body or no? And Bradford anſwered plainly, No. Whereat the Lord Chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the evill man received it. But Bradford put away all his Oration in few words, that grace was at that time offered to his Lordſhip, although he received it not: ſo that (quoth he) the receiving maketh not the preſence, as your Lordſhip would infer: but Gods grace, truth, and power is the cauſe of the preſence, which grace the wicked that lack faith, cannot receive. And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together; Take, eat, this is my body: He ſaith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a promiſe depending upon condition, If we take and eat.

The wicked receive not the body of Chriſt.

Receiving maketh not the preſence of the body, but grace.

The Popes Church divorceth that the Lord in the ſacrament hath coupled.

L.Chan. Here the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man elſe ever did, of the condition, and the Lord Chancellor made many words to the people thereabout.

The ſacrament hath both a commandement and a promiſe, and how.

Brad. But Bradford ſaid thus; My Lord, are not theſe words, Take, eate, a Commandement? And are not theſe words, This is my body, a promiſe? If you will challenge the promiſe, and do not the Commandement, may you not deceive your ſelf?

L.Chan. Here the L. Chancellor denied Chriſt to have commanded the Sacrament, and the uſe of it.

M. Bradford teacheth Wincheſter his Grammer.

Brad. Why my Lord, I pray you tell the people what mood Accipite, Manducate, is; Is it not plain to children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying, commandeth?

Wincheſter denieth theſe words, Take, eate, to be a commandement.

L. Chan. At theſe words the Lord Chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the Imperative mood, and fell to parſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a childe, and ſo concluded that it was no commandment, but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you give me drink, which quoth he, is no comandement, I trow.

Brad. But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and ſaid thus: My Lord, if it be not a commandement of Chriſt to take and eate the Sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of neceſſity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary commandement, once a yeer for all that be of diſcretion, to receive the Sacrament.

“ Diabolus, is as much to ſay in Greek, as a ſlanderer, or caviller.

L.Chan. Here the L. Chancellor called him again “ Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of theſe words; Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eate of the bread (yea bread quoth Bradford) and drink of the cup, to prove that it was no commandment to receive the Sacrament: for then (quoth he) if it were a commandement, it ſhould binde all men, in all places, and at all times.

Diſtinction between commandements.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern between commandements: ſome be generall, as the Ten Commandements, that they binde alwayes, in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo generall; as this of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yeerly at Jeruſalem, of Abraham offering of Iſaac, &c.

Here my L. Chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Chriſt: for then quoth he, we ſhould have eleven Commandements.

Brad. Indeed I think you think as you ſpeak: for elſe would you not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſaith, Drink ye all of it. But how ſay you my Lords? Chriſt ſaith to you Biſhops eſpecially, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium*: Go, and preach the Goſpel: Feed Chriſts flock, &c. Is this a commandement, or no?

Wincheſter in a chafe.

L.Chan. Here was my L. Chancellor in a chafe, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

B. Conſtals queſtion

Dureſ. Another, the Biſhop of Dureſme I ween, asked Bradford when Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament? whether before the receiver received it, or no?

As the Cup is the Teſtament, ſo bread is the body. Chryſoſt. in Mat. Hom. 83.

Brad. Bradford anſwered, that the queſtion was curious, and not neceſſary; and further ſaid, that as the cup was the New Teſtament, ſo the bread was Chriſts Bodie to him that received it duely, but yet ſo that the Bread is Bread. For, quoth he, in all the Scripture ye ſhall not finde this propoſition, Non eſt panis, There is no Bread. And ſo he brought forth Chryſoſtome; Si in corpore eſſemus, Hom. in 83. Mat. 34. Summa. Much ado was hereabouts, they calling Bradford Heretick, and he deſiring them to proceed on in Gods Name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to doe.

L. Chan. This fellow is now in another hereſie of fatall neceſſitie, as though all things were ſo tyed together, that of meere neceſſity all muſt come to paſſe.

To God nothing is by fortune, to man it may ſometimes ſo ſeeme to be. Acts 4.

Brad. But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be ſpoken, and not wreſt them into a contrary ſenſe. Your Lordſhip, quoth he, doth diſcerne betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they ſeeme ſo ſometimes. I ſpeak but as the Apoſtles ſaid; Lord (quoth he) ſee how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates, are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſell hath before ordained for them to do.

Wincheſter readeth the ſentence of the curſe againſt M. Bradford.

L. Chan. Here began the Lord Chancellor to reade the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford Laicus, Lay man: Why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Brad. No, nor never was, either Prieſt, either beneficed, either married, either any Preacher, afore publike authoritie had eſtabliſhed religion, or Preacher after publike authoritie had altred religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God I doubt not will give his bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his names ſake. And ſo praying God to give him repentance, and a good minde, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the Sheriff of London, and ſo had to the Clink, and afterward to the Counter in the Poultry, in the ſame Citie of London, this being purpoſed of his murtherers, that he ſhould be delivered from thence to the Earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancaſhire, and there to be burned in the Town of Mancheſter, where he was borne: but their purpoſe concerning the place was afterward altered; for they burned him in London.

M. Bradford delivered to the Sheriff.
M. Bradford ſent to the Counter in the Poultry.

After the condemnation of Maſter Bradford, which was the laſt day of Januarie, Maſt. Bradford being ſent into priſon, did there remaine untill the firſt day of July, during all which time, divers other conferences and conflicts he ſuſtained with ſundrie adverſaries, which repaired unto him in the priſon. Of whom firſt Biſhop Boner, coming to the Counter to degrade Doctor Taylor the fourth day of Februarie, entred talk with the ſaid Maſter Bradford; the effect whereof here enſueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent unto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

B. Boners talk with Bradford.

UPon the fourth of Februarie, that is, the ſame day Maſter Rogers was burned. Boner Biſhop of London came to the Counter in the Poultry, to degrade M. Doctor Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he ſpake to M. Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was priſoner there, whom when he ſaw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, ſaying: Becauſe I perceive that ye are deſirous to conferre with ſome learned men, therefore I have brought Maſter Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but ſhort.

Brad. My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never deſired to conferre with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am readie.

Bradford deſireth to conferre with none, and yet is ready to talk with any.

Boner. What (quoth the Biſhop in a fume to the Keeper) did you not tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keeper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to conferre with any; but I did not ſay that it is his deſire.

Bon. Well, M. Bradford, you are welbeloved, I pray you conſider your ſelf, and refuſe not charity when it is offered.

Brad. Indeed my Lord this is ſmall charitie, to condemne a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your lawes. In Turkie a man may have charitie, but in England I could not yet finde it. I was condemned for my Faith, ſo ſoone as I uttered it at your requeſts, before I had committed any thing againſt the lawes. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to ſay that I deſire to conferre, that do I not.

More charitie amongſt the Turks, then amongſt the perſecuting Papiſts.

Boner. Well, well. And ſo he called for Maſter Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Maſter Bradford and Willerton, Creſwell, Harding, Harpsfield, and other more.

Talk between M. Bradford and Willerton, Chapleine to biſhop Boner.

UPon another day of February, one Maſt. Willerton, Chapleine of the Biſhop of London, did come to conferre with Bradford, but when he perceived that Bradford deſired not his coming, and therefore wiſhed rather his departing then abiding: Well, Maſter Bradford, quoth he, yet I pray you let us conferre a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which words Bradford was content, and ſo they began to talk. Willerton ſpak much of the Doctors, the Fathers, of the bread in the ſixth of John, &c. labouring to prove tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men do receive Chriſt.

Willerton ſendeth his writing to Bradford to prove tranſubſtantiation.

But Bradford on the contrary part improved his authorities, ſo that they came to this iſſue, that Willerton ſhould draw out of the Scriptures and Doctors his reaſons, and Bradford would peruſe them; and if he could not anſwer them then he would give place. Likewiſe alſo ſhould Bradford draw out his reaſons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, to which Willerton ſhould anſwer if he could: and ſo for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton ſent halfe a ſheete of paper written on both ſides, containing no reaſons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare ſentences: *Panis quem ego dabo, &c.* The bread which I will give is my fleſh. And the places in the 26. of Matthew, the 14. of Mark, the 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with ſome ſentences of the Doctors, all which made as much againſt him as with him.

Willerton cometh again to Bradford.

In the afternoone he came himſelf, and there they had a long talke to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the Church, ſaying that Bradford ſwerved from the Church.

Brad. No that I do not, but ye do. For the Church is Chriſts Spouſe, and Chriſts obedient Spouſe, which your Church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lords cup, and of Service in the Engliſh tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the Service in Engliſh; for it is written, *Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt legem*; The lips of the Prieſt ſhould keep the law, and out of his mouth man muſt look for knowledge.

Brad. Should not the people then have the Scriptures? Wherefore ſerveth this ſaying of Chriſt, Search the Scriptures.

Willer. This was not ſpoken to the people, but to the Scribes and learned men.

Brad. Then the people muſt not have the Scriptures.

Argument. Erunt docti à Deo: Ergo the people muſt not have the Scriptures.

Willer. No, for it is written, *Erunt docti a Deo*; They ſhall be all taught of God.

Brad. And muſt we learn all at the Prieſts?

Willer. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas goe, as the Prieſts did then perſwade the people. At which words M. Willerton was ſo offended, that he had no luſt to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reaſons which he had gathered againſt tranſubſtantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the forme of reaſons, and then quoth Bradford, I will anſwer them.

M. Bradfords reaſons againſt tranſubſtantiation not anſwered.

Willer. Well, I will do ſo. But firſt I will anſwer yours. The which thing untill this day he hath not done.

The Earle of Derbies ſervant.

Upon the 12. of February, there came one of the Earle of Derbies ſervants to Bradford, ſaying; My Lord hath ſent me to you, he willeth you to tender your ſelf, and he would be a good Lord unto you.

Brad. I thank his Lordſhip for his good will towards me: but in this caſe I cannot tender my ſelf more then Gods honour.

Servant. Ah M. Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſters, friends, kinsfolk, and countrie, what a great diſcomfort will it be unto them to ſee you die as an Heretick?

M. Bradford preferreth Chriſt before all his kin and kinred.

Brad. I have learned to forſake father, mother, brother, ſiſter, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own ſelf, for elſe I cannot be Chriſts Diſciple.

Serv. If my Lord ſhould obtain for you that ye might depart the Realme, would you not be content to be at the Queens appointment, where ſhe would appoint you beyond the Sea?

Bradford contented to be burned in England, rather then to be ſent over the Sea to Popiſh places.

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in England, then be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſend me to Paris, Lovain, or ſome ſuch place, forthwith they would burn me.

Talk between Maſter Bradford and one Percivall Creſwell, and after that with Doctor Harding.

Percival Creſwell talketh with Bradford.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percivall Creſwell, an old acquaintance of Bradfords, came to him, bringing with him a Kinſman of Maſter Fecknams, who after many words ſaid:

Creſ. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Creſwell offereth to make ſute for Bradford.

Creſw. But tell me what ſute I ſhould make for you.

Brad. Forſooth that ye will do, do it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your hands. If the Queen will give me life, I will thank her. If ſhe will baniſh me, I will thank her. If ſhe will burn me, I will thank her. If ſhe will condemne me to perpetuall priſonment, I will thank her.

Mores book brought to Bradford.

Hereupon Creſwell went away, and about 11. of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of Mores making, deſiring Bradford to reade it over.

Bradford taking the book, ſaid; Good Percivall, I am ſetled for being moved in this Article.

Creſw. Oh if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me.

Brad. What is it?

Creſw. Deſire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you. My Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bathe, and others will gladly come unto you.

Brad. No, never will I deſire them or any other to come to conferre with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may know I am not aſhamed to have my Faith ſifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talke with them. So they went their way.

D. Harding cometh to M. Bradford.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, Maſter Doctor Harding, who was then the Biſhop of Lincolnes Chaplaine, came to Bradford, and after a great and ſolemne proteſtation, ſhewing how that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his talk to Bradfords good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and ſpent the time in ſuch tatling, ſo that their talk was to little purpoſe: ſave that Bradford prayed him to conſider from whence he was falne, and not to follow the world, nor to love it: For the love of God is not where the world is.

Harding. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable eſtate, as one being out of the Church, and therefore willed him to take heed of his ſoule, and not to die in ſuch an opinion.

Brad. What Maſter Harding, quoth Bradford? I have heard you with theſe eares maintain this that I ſtand in.

D. Harding inveigheth againſt Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Luther.

Harding. I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtile doctrine, but otherwiſe I never taught it. And ſo he inveighing againſt marriages of Prieſts, and namely againſt Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and ſuch, which for breaking their vowes were juſtly given up into hereſies (as he ſaid.) Bradford ſeeing him altogether given up to Popery, after admoniſhment thereof, bade him farewell.

Talk between Doctor Harpsfield Archdeacon, and Maſter Bradford.

D. Harpsfield talketh with M. Bradford.

Upon the 25. of Februarie, Percivall Creſwell came with Maſter Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and a ſervant waiting upon him. After formall ſalutations, he made a long Oration, of which this is a ſhort ſum; That all men, even the Infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptiſts, and Libertines deſire felicitie as well as the Chriſtians, and how that every one thinketh they ſhall attaine to it by their religion. To which Bradford anſwered briefly, that he ſpak not farre amiſſe.

Felicitie coveted of all men, but the way to felicitie not known to all men.

Harpſ. Then ſaid Harpsfield, but the way thither is not all alike. For the Infidels by Iupiter, Iuno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Thalmud, do beleeve to come to heaven. For ſo may I ſpeak of ſuch as beleeve the immortalitie of the ſoule.

Brad. You ſpeak truly.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

The true way to felicitie.

Bradford. We may not invent any manner of wayes. There is but one way, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, as he himſelf doth witneſſe; I am the way.

Harpſ. It is true that you ſay, and falſe alſo. I ſuppoſe that you mean by Chriſt, beleeving in Chriſt.

Brad. I have learned to diſcerne betwixt Faith and Chriſt. Albeit I confeſſe, that whoſo beleeveth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.

Harpſ. No not at all that beleeve in Chriſt; for ſome ſhall ſay Lord, Lord, have not we caſt out divels, &c. But Chriſt will anſwer in the day of Iudgement to theſe, Depart from me, I know you not.

Note the difference betweene beleeving and ſaying I beleeve.

Brad. You muſt make difference betwixt beleeving, and ſaying I beleeve; as for example, If one ſhould ſay and ſweare he loveth you, for all his ſaying ye will not beleeve him when you ſee he goeth about to utter and do all the evill againſt you that he can.

Harpſ. Well, this is not much materiall. There is but one way Chriſt. How come we to know him? Where ſhall we ſeeke to finde him?

The way to come to Chriſt is by the word: for by the word cometh Faith, by Faith we come to Chriſt. Baptiſme an outward ſeale, whereby we are known to be Chriſtians. Children which die without baptiſme.

Brad. Forſooth, we muſt ſeeke him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

Harpſ. Very good: but tell me now how firſt we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by Baptiſme.

Brad. Baptiſme is the Sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engraffed into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that die without Baptiſme. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whoſe parents deſire baptiſme for them, and cannot have it.

Harpſ. To theſe we may think perchance that God will ſhew mercie.

Brad. Yea, the children whoſe parents do contemne baptiſme will not I condemne, becauſe the childe ſhall not beare the fathers offence.

The Church is our mother.

Harpſ. Well, we agree, that by baptiſme then we are brought, and (as a man would ſay) begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our Father, and the Church his ſpouſe is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; ſo all ſpirituall men have Chriſt for their Father, and the Church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adams ſide, ſo was the Church taken out of Chriſts ſide; whereout flowed bloud for the ſatisfaction and purgation of our ſins.

Brad. All this is truly ſpoken.

Deſcent of the Church.

Harpſ. Now then tell me whether this Church of Chriſt hath not been alwayes?

Brad. Yea, ſince the creation of man, and ſhall be for ever.

Harpſ. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church is a viſible Church, or no?

The Church of Chriſt is viſible, even as Chriſt was, that is, not by exteriour pompe or ſhew, but by the inward eye.

Brad. It is no otherwiſe viſible, then Chriſt was here on earth: that is, by no exteriour pompe or ſhew that ſetteth her forth commonly, and therefore to ſee her we muſt put on ſuch eyes, as good men put on to ſee and know Chriſt when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the ſame ſubſtance that Adam was of, ſo was the Church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of, fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, as Paul ſaith, Epheſ. 5. Looke therefore how Chriſt was viſibly known to be Chriſt when he was on earth, that is, by conſidering him after the Word of God, ſo is the Church known.

Harpſ. I do not come to reaſon at this preſent, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a multitude?

Multitude is not alwaies the ſureſt marke to know the Church.

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, latet anguis in herba, as the Proverbe is. For in your queſtion is a ſubtiltie. What viſible multitude was there in Helias time, or when Moſes was on the Mount, Aaron and all Iſrael worſhipping the Calfe?

Harpſ. Ye divert from the matter.

D. Harpsfield prevented of his purpoſe.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where-about you go. And therefore fewer words might well ſerve if that you ſo would.

Harpſ. Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the miniſterie or preaching of Gods Word?

Preaching of the Goſpel goeth ever with the Church, unleſſe it be interrupted ſometime by perſecution.

Brad. Sir, ye go about the buſh. If ye underſtand preaching for confeſſing of the Goſpel, I will go with you: for elſe if you will, you may know that perſecution often letteth preaching.

Harpſ. Well, I mean it ſo. Tell me yet more: hath it not the ſacraments adminiſtred?

Adminiſtration of Sacraments is one note, but not the cauſe of the true Church. And yet not ſuch a note, but that it may often be letted by perſecution, and yet the true Church remaine.

Brad. It hath the Sacraments, howbeit the adminiſtration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpoſe, becauſe I ſee where about you go. If Heretickes have baptiſme, and do baptize, as they did in Saint Cyprians time, you know this baptiſme is baptiſme, and not to be reiterate. This Bradford did ſpeak, that the ſtanders by might ſee, that though the Papiſts Church have baptiſme which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true Church, neither need we to be baptized again.

The Popes Church hath baptiſme and ſacraments adminiſtred: Ergo the Popes Church is the true Church. The argument faileth A cauſa non ſufficiente, vel non cauſa, ut cauſa.

Harpſ. You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors then one.

Brad. So you ſay, but that is not enough till you prove them.

A Popiſh diſtinction of the Church to be a multitude having preaching of the Goſpel, miniſtration of the ſacraments power of juriſdiction, and ſucceſſion of biſhops.

Harpſ. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Goſpel, and the miniſtration of the ſacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of Iuriſdiction?

Brad. What juriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction.

Harpſ. I mean by juriſdiction admoniſhing one another, and ſo forth.

Brad. Well, go to; what then?

Harpſ. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of biſhops. And here he made much ado to prove that this was an eſſentiall point.

Succeſſion of biſhops is no eſſentiall part of the Church, but rather accidens commune; which being interrupted, yet the Church may ſtand as it did both before Chriſts coming and after at the coming of Antichriſt.

Brad. You ſay as you would have it; for if this part faile you, all the Church that you go about to ſet up will fall down. You ſhall not finde in all the Scripture this your eſſentiall part of ſucceſſion of biſhops. In Chriſts Church Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old Church afore Chriſts coming, ſo will it be in the new Church ſince Chriſts coming: that is, as there were falſe Prophets, and ſuch as bare rule were adverſaries to the true Prophets, ſo ſhall there be (ſaith he) falſe teachers, even of ſuch as are biſhops, and beare rule amongſt the people.

Harpſ. You go alwayes out of the matter: but I will prove further the ſucceſſion of biſhops.

Brad. Do ſo.

Apoſtles and biſhops, be ſundry offices.

Harpſ. Tell me, were not the Apoſtles biſhops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a biſhop: that is, give him no certain place.

Harpſ. Indeed, the Apoſtles office was not the biſhops office; for it was univerſall, but yet Chriſt inſtituted biſhops in his Church as Paul ſaith, he hath given Paſtors, Prophets, &c. So that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the ſucceſſion of biſhops to be an eſſentiall point.

The miniſtery of Gods Word and Miniſters, be an eſſentiall point of the true Church, but not the locall ſucceſſion of miniſters in one certaine place.

Brad. The miniſterie of Gods Word and miniſters, be an eſſentiall point. But to tranſlate this to the biſhops and their ſucceſſion, is a plaine ſubtiltie: And therefore that it may be plain, I will aske you a queſtion. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference betweene biſhops and miniſters, which ye called Prieſts?

Harpſ. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwards, and let us ſee what ye ſhall get now by the ſucceſſion of biſhops: that is, of miniſters, which can be underſtood of ſuch biſhops as miniſter not, but Lord it.

The aſcent and deſcent of ſucceſſion of high Prieſts.

Harpſ. I perceive that you are farre out of the way. By your doctrine you can never ſhew in your Church, a multitude which miniſtreth Gods word and his ſacraments, which hath juriſdiction and ſucceſſion of biſhops, which hath from time to time beléeved as you beléeve, beginning now and ſo going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and ſo cannot be ſaved. Perchance you will bring me downewards a ſhew to bleare peoples eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true triall.

Brad. Ye muſt and will, I am aſſured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Stephen was accuſed and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and falſe doctrine, before the fathers of the Church then as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth their accuſation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? no, but by coming downewards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing ſtill till Eſaias time, and the peoples captivitie. From whence he maketh a great leape untill the time he was in, which was (I think) upon 400. yéeres, and called them by their right names helhounds, rather then heaven hounds. On this ſort will I prove my Faith, and that can you never do yours.

The Papiſts challenge to them the true Church, even as the mother of the dead childe challenged the living childe from the true mother. 3 Reg. 3.

Harpſ. Yea Sir, if we did know that you had the holy Ghoſt, then could we beléeve you. Here Bradford would have anſwered, that Stephens enemies would not beléeve he had the holy Ghoſt, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was in ſpeaking, Maſter Harpsfield roſe up, and the Kéeper and others that ſtood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take héed to that Maſter Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſaid that Bradford was out of the Church.

Brad. Sir, I am moſt certain that I am in Chriſts Church, and I can ſhew a demonſtration of my religion from time to time continually.

Bradfords prayer.

God our Father, for the name and bloud of his Chriſt be mercifull unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from falſe teachers, and blinde guides, through whom (alas) I feare me, much hurt will come to this Realme of England. God our Father bleſſe us, and keep us in his truth and poore Church for ever. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, ſaying, that he would come again the next morning.

The next dayes talk between Doctor Harpsfield, and Maſter Bradford.

Archdeacon Harpsfield returneth again to M. Bradford.

M. Harpsfield again proveth his Church by ſucceſſion of high Prieſts.

Upon the 16. of Februarie in the morning, the Archdeacon and the other two with him came again, and after a few by-words ſpoken, they ſate down.

Harpſ. Maſter Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repeating what they had ſaid, and how farre they had gone overnight, and therewith did begin to prove upwards ſucceſſion of Biſhops here in England for 800. yéers: in France at Lyons for 1200. yéers: in Spaine at Hiſpalen for 800. yéers: in Italy at Millain for 1200. yéers, labouring by this to prove his Church. He uſed all ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more confirmation of his words, and ſo concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this Church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could ſhew any ſuch ſucceſſion for the demonſtration of his Church (for ſo he called it) which followed.

Bradfords anſwer to Maſter Harpsfields Oration.

Brad. Unto this his long Oration, Bradford made this ſhort anſwer; My memorie is evill, ſo that I cannot anſwer particularly your Oration.

Therefore I will generally do it, thinking becauſe your Oration is rather to perſwade then to prove, that a ſmall anſwer will ſerve. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles being here on earth had béen required by the Prelates of the Church then; to have made a demonſtration of that Church by ſucceſſion of ſuch high Prieſts as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Chriſt would have done as I do: that is, have alleaged that which upholdeth the Church, even the veritie, the Word of God taught and beléeved, not by the high Prieſts, which of long time had perſecuted it, but by the Prophets and other good ſimple men which perchance were counted for Heretickes of the Church; which Church was not tied to ſucceſſion, but to the Word of God. And this to think S. Peter giveth me occaſion, when he ſaith that as it went in the Church before Chriſts coming, ſo ſhall it go in the Church after his coming: but then the pillars of the Church were perſecutors of the Church; therefore the like we muſt looke for now.

Outward deſcent of miniſters maketh not the true Church: but the truth of Gods Word maketh true miniſters.

The true Church not tyed to ſucceſſion, but to Gods Word.

The true ſucceſſion of Prieſts, and the ſucceſſion of true Prieſts are two things.

Harpſ. I can gather and prove ſucceſſion in Jeruſalem of the high Prieſts from Aarons time.

Brad. I grant, but not ſuch ſucceſſion as allowed the truth.

Harpſ. Why, did they not allow Moſes law?

The Jewes corrupt the law, as the Papiſts do the Scriptures.

A compariſon between the old Phariſees and our new Papiſts.

Brad. Yes, and kéep it, as touching the bookes thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do, and therefore the perſecution which they ſtirred up againſt the Prophets and Chriſt, was not for the Law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we muſt fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I looke daily for, yea hourely, and I think my time be but very ſhort. Therefore I had néed to ſpend as much time with God as I can whileſt I have it, for his help and comfort, and therefore I pray you beare with me, that I do not now particularly and in more words anſwer your long talk. If I ſaw death not ſo néer me as it is, I would then weigh every péece of your Oration, if you would give me the ſum of it, and I would anſwer accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I ſhall deſire you to hold me excuſed, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I ſhall heartily pray God our Father to give you the ſame light and life I do wiſh to my ſelf; and ſo Bradford began to ariſe up.

Bold confidence and hope of Gods Word and promiſe, ſeemeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in mortification.

Harpſ. But then began Maſter Archdeacon to tell him he was in very perillous caſe, and that he was ſorrie to ſée him ſo ſetled. As for death, whether it be nigh or farre off I know not, neither forceth it, ſo that you did die well.

Brad. I doubt not in this caſe but that I ſhall dye well: for as I hope and am certaine my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo I truſt I ſhall dye chéerefully to the comfort of his children.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you ſhould ſay the Sun did not ſhine now? (and the Sun did ſhine through the window where they ſate.)

Harpſ. Well I am ſorrie to ſée you ſo ſecure and careleſſe.

Brad. Indéed I am more carnally ſecure and careleſſe then I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in the truth.

Harpſ. That ye are not, for you are out of the Catholike Church.

Brad. No, though you have excommunicate me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholike Church of Chriſt, and am, and by Gods grace ſhall be a childe and an obedient childe of it for ever. I hope Chriſt will have no leſſe care for me, then he had for the blinde man excommunicated of the Synagogue: and further, I am ſure that the neceſſarie Articles of the Faith, I mean

Free to beleeve or not to beleeve tranſubſtantiation many hundreth yeeres after Chriſt.

the twelve Articles of the Creede, I confeſſe and beleeve with that which you call the holy Church, ſo that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimonie of my Lord of Dureſme, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred yeer after Chriſt, to beleeve or not beleeve.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why: ye are not condemned therefore only.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſts body.

Harpſ. You agree not with us in the preſence, nor in any thing elſe.

Chriſt not included really in the ſacrament.

Brad. How you beleeve you know: for my part I confeſſe a preſence of whole Chriſt God and man, to the faith of the receiver.

Harpſ. Nay, you muſt beleeve a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Chriſts body preſent to the Faith of the receiver.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tie him to it otherwiſe then Faith ſeeth and perceiveth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the Sacrament, or tie him to it otherwiſe then to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men ſhould receive him, which I do not, nor will by Gods grace beleeve.

Harpſ. More pitie: But a man may eaſily perceive, you make no preſence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.

Brad. I confeſſe a preſence, and a true preſence, but to the Faith of the receiver.

What (quoth one that ſtood by) of Chriſts very Bodie which died for us.

Brad. Yea, even of whole Chriſt God and man, to feede the faith of him that receiveth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing elſe but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kinde of miracle in the Sacrament.

None denieth omnipotency more then the Papiſts, which ſay, that Chriſts body cannot be in the ſacrament, unleſſe the ſubſtance of bread be away.

Brad. I doe not exclude his omnipotencie, but you do it rather: for I beleeve that Chriſt can accompliſh his promiſe, the ſubſtance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you beleeve not. When we come to the ſacrament, we come not to feede our bodies, and therefore we have but a little peece of bread; but we come to feede our ſoules with Chriſt by Faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but panem Domini, as Iudas did, and not panem Dominum, as the other Apoſtles did.

Harpſ. The wicked do receive the very body of Chriſt, but not the grace of his bodie.

Argument, who ſo receive the body of Chriſt do receive the fruit and grace of life: no wicked men do receive the fruit and grace of life: Ergo no wicked men receive the body of Chriſt.

Brad. They receive not the bodie. For Chriſts bodie is no dead carkaſſe: he that receiveth it, receiveth the ſpirit, which is not without grace I trowe.

Harpſ. Well, you have many errours. You count the Maſſe for abomination, and yet Saint Ambroſe ſaid Maſſe, and ſo he read out of a book written a ſentence of S. Ambroſe to prove it.

Maſſe in St. Ambroſe time.

Brad. Why Sir? the Maſſe as it is now, was nothing ſo in S. Ambroſe time. Was not the moſt part of the Canon made ſince by Gregorie and Scholaſticus?

That is falſe, for Scholaſticus was not before Ambroſe time.

Harpſ. Indeed a great peece of it was made (as ye ſay) by Gregorie: but Scholaſticus was before S. Ambroſe time.

Brad. I weene not: howbeit I will not contend. Saint Gregorie ſaith, that the Apoſtles ſaid Maſſe without the Canon, only with the Lords Prayer.

The chief parts of the Popiſh Maſſe.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſſe, the greateſt part is the ſacrifice, elevation, tranſubſtantiation, and adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I think the ſame: but yet Hoc facite, telleth plainly the ſacrifice of the Church.

Sacrifice of the Church. Sacrifice for the Church.

Brad. You confound ſacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the ſacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The ſacrifice of the Church is no propitiatorie ſacrifice, but a gratulatorie ſacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, is not referred to any ſacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

Note this doctrine good Reader.

Harpſ. You ſpeak not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his Super only to the twelve Apoſtles, not admitting his mother or any of the ſeventie Diſciples to it. Now the Apoſtles do ſignifie the Prieſts.

Brad. I think that you ſpeak as you would men ſhould underſtand it: for elſe you would not keep the cup away from the Laitie. We have great cauſe to thank you, that you will give us of your bread. For I perceive you order the matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harpſ. Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Baſilius.

Elevation was not brought in indeed before the time of Pope Honorius.

Brad. I have read the place, which ſeemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan the doubtfull places of the Doctors with you. I have been in priſon long without bookes and all neceſſaries for ſtudie, and now death draweth nigh, and I by your leave muſt now leave off, to prepare for him.

Harpſ. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in ſoule or bodie. For you are in a perillous caſe both wayes.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thank God it was never ſo well with me; for death to me ſhall be life.

Creſwell. It were beſt for you to deſire Maſter Archdeacon that he would make ſute for you, that you might have a time to conferre.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can: for I pitie his caſe.

Brad. Sir, I will not deſire any bodie to ſue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any bodie ſhould think I were ſo. But if you have the charitie and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an errour, I think the ſame ſhould move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, ſo do of you, that you are farre out of the way, and I do not only think it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in this and ſuch like gentle talk they departed.

The talk of Doctor Heth Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, with Maſter Bradford.

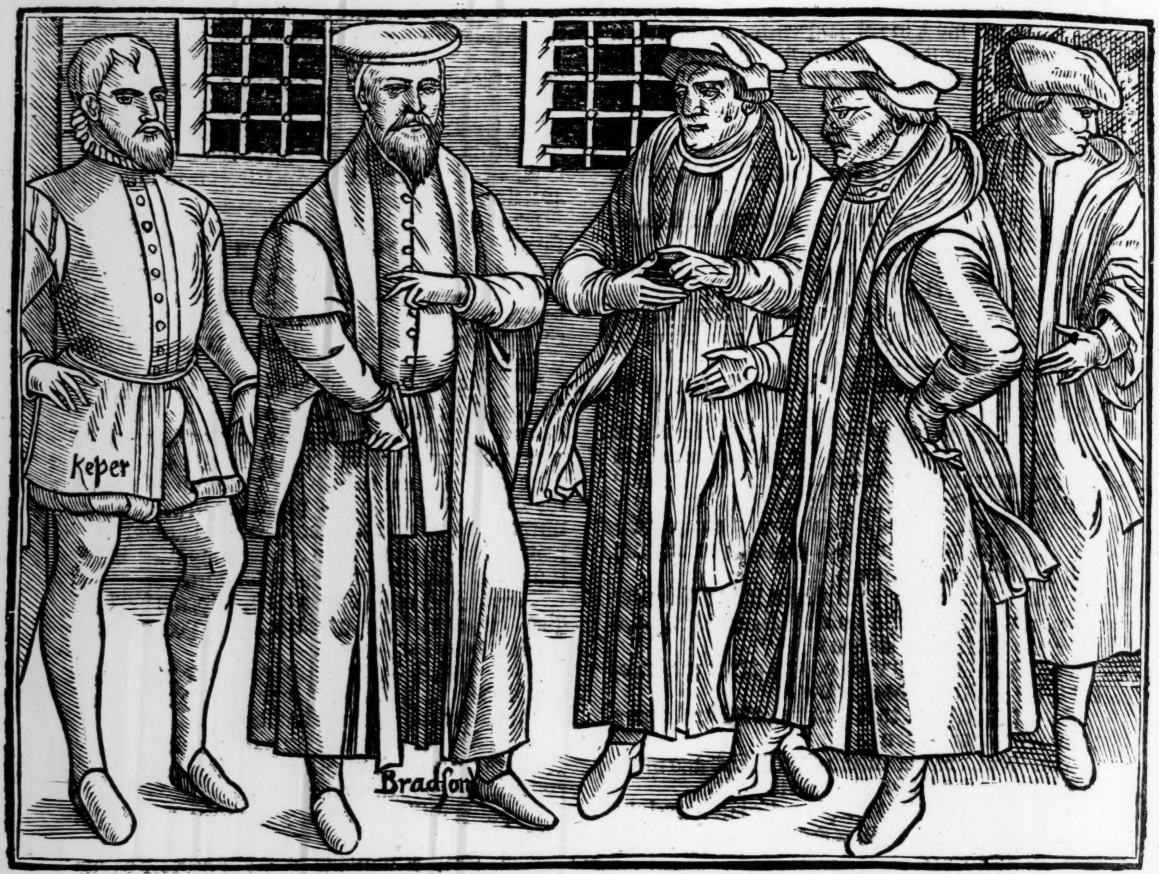
Talk between the biſhops and Bradford.

THe three and twentieth of the ſame moneth, the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter came to the Counter to ſpeak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and ſpecially the biſhop of Yorke, uſed him very gently: they would have him to ſit downe, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he ſhould put on, not only his night cap, but his upper cap alſo, ſaying unto him, that obedience was better then ſacrifice.

Now thus ſtanding together, my Lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not ſent to him, but of love and charitie they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance alſo which he had with Bradford, more then the Biſhop of Chicheſter had: then after commending Bradfords godly life, he concluded with this queſtion; How he was certain of ſalvation and of his religion.

Bradford. After thankes for their good will, Bradford anſwered; by the Word of God, even by the Scriptures I am certain of ſalvation and religion,

Certain Biſhops talking with Mr. *Bradford* in priſon.



York. Very well ſaid; but how do ye know the Word of God and the Scriptures, but by the Church?

Brad. Indeed my Lord, the Church was and is a mean to bring a man more ſpeedily to know the Scriptures and the Word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Chriſt: but as when they had heard him ſpeak, they ſaid, Now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy words, but becauſe we our ſelves have heard him; ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures ſhewed unto us, and diſcerned by the Church, we do beleeve them, and know them as Chriſts ſheep, not becauſe the Church ſaith they are the Scriptures, but becauſe they be ſo, being thereof aſſured by the ſame ſpirit which wrote and ſpake them.

York. You know, in the Apoſtles time at the firſt the word was not written.

Brad. True, if you mean it for ſome bookes of the New Teſtament: but elſe for the Old Teſtament Peter telleth us, *Firmiorem ſermonem propheticum habemus*; We have a more ſure word of prophecie: not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being alive and compaſſed with infirmitie, attributed to the word written more firmitie, as wherewith no fault could be found, whereas for the infirmitie of their perſons men perchance might have found ſome fault at their preaching; albeit in very deed no leſſe obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, then to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one ſpirit of truth.

Although in the Apoſtles time certain bookes of the New Teſtament were not written, yet the Apoſtles ſend us ad firmiorem ſermonem propheticum.

York. That place of Peter is not ſo to be underſtood of the word written.

Brad. Yea ſir, that it is, and of none other.

Chicheſter. Yea, indeed Maſter Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

York. Well, you know that Irenæus and others doe magnifie much, and alledge the Church againſt the Heretickes, and not the Scripture.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch Hereticks as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnifie the Apoſtles, ſo that they were inforced to uſe the authoritie of thoſe Churches wherein the Apoſtles had taught, & which had ſtill retained the ſame doctrine.

The authoritie of the Church alledged againſt heretickes, and wherefore.

Chicheſt. You ſpeak the very truth; for the Hereticks did refuſe all Scriptures, except it were a peece of Lukes Goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledging of the Church cannot be principally uſed againſt me, which am ſo farre from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeale unto them utterly, as to the only Judge.

York. A pretie matter, that you will take upon you to judge the Church, I pray you where hath your Church been hitherto? For the Church of Chriſt is Catholike and viſible hitherto.

Brad. My Lord, I do not judge the Church, when I diſcerne it from that congregation, and thoſe which be not the Church, and I never denied the Church to be Catholike and viſible, although at ſometimes it is more viſible then at ſome.

To judge the Church. The Church is Catholike and viſible, but yet ſometimes more Catholike and viſible then at ſome.

Chicheſt. I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe foure hundred yeers?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhall tell your ſelf, if you will tell me this one thing where the Church was in Helias his time, when Helias ſaid that he was left alone?

Chicheſt. That is no anſwer.

Brad. I am ſorrie that you ſay ſo: but this will I tell your Lordſhip, that if you had the ſame eies wherewith a man might have eſpyed the Church then, you would not ſay it were no anſwer. The fault why the Church is not ſeene of you, is not becauſe the Church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not cleere enough to ſee it.

The true Church is viſible and ever hath been: but every man hath not eies to ſee it.

Chich. You are much deceived, in making this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

York. Very well ſpoken my Lord; for Chriſt ſaid, Edificabo Eccleſiam, I will build my Church, and not I do, or have built it, but I will build it.

The biſhops driven to an inconvenience.

Brad. My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, ſaying; as in the people there were falſe Prophets, which were moſt in eſtimation afore Chriſts coming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongſt the people after Chriſts coming, and very many ſhall follow them. And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Chriſts Church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſts work only; for Paul and Apollo be but waterers.

Chich. In good faith I am ſorrie to ſee you ſo light in judging the Church.

York. He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the Church. A man ſhall never come to certainty that doth as they do.

Bradford condemned without juſt cauſe, but as was gathered at his judgement againſt him.

Brad. My Lords, I ſpeak ſimply what I think, and deſire reaſon to anſwer my objections. Your affections and ſorrowes cannot be my rules. If that you conſider the order and caſe of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it ſhould ſomething move your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was laid againſt me, but what was gathered upon mine own confeſſion. Becauſe I did deny tranſubſtantiation and the wicked to receive Chriſts bodie in the ſacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicate, but not of the Church, although the pillars of the Church (as they be taken) did it.

Chich. No, I heard ſay the cauſe of your impriſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other.

Falſe ſurmiſe againſt Bradford.

Brad. My Lord, I never meant any ſuch thing, nor ſpake any thing in that ſort.

York. Yea, and you behaved your ſelfe before the Councell ſo ſtoutly at the firſt, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you priſoned.

Bradford impriſoned for that, for which he had the lawes on his ſide.

Brad. Your grace did heare me anſwer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put caſe I had been ſo ſtout as they and your grace make it: were not the lawes of the Realme on my ſide then? Wherefore unjuſtly was I priſoned: only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my confeſſion of Chriſts truth againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I ſaid.

York. You deny the preſence.

The preſence of Chriſts body to the faith of the worthy receiver.

Brad. I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

York. Why? what is that to ſay other, then that Chriſt lieth not on the altar?

Brad. My Lord, I beleeve no ſuch preſence.

Chich. It ſeemeth that you have not read Chryſoſtome: for he proveth it.

Hyperbolicall phraſe of Chryſoſtome.

Brad. Hitherto I have been kept well enough without bookes; howbeit this I do remember of Chryſoſtome, that he ſaith that Chriſt lyeth upon the altar, as the Seraphins with their tongues touch our lips with the coales of the Altar in heaven, which is an hyperbolicall locution, of which you know Chryſoſtome is full.

York. It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the Church, out of the which ye are excommunicate.

Bradford excommunicated with the poore blinde man, John 9.

Brad. I am not excommunicate out of Chriſts Church my Lord, although they which ſeeme to be in the Church, and of the Church, have excommunicated me, as the poore blinde man was, John 9. I am ſure Chriſt receiveth me.

York. You do deceive your ſelfe.

Here, after much talke of excommunication, at length Bradford ſaid,

Brad. Aſſuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romiſh Church, ſo I think ye have done wickedly to couple your ſelves to it againe; for you can never prove that, which you call the mother Church, to be Chriſts Church.

Chich. Ah Maſter Bradford, you were but a childe when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the Univerſitie, I went with the world, but I tell you it was alwaies againſt my conſcience.

The Pope proved to be Antichriſt by Scripture.

Brad. I was but a childe then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evill. For ye are come and have brought others to that wicked man which ſitteth in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church: for it cannot be underſtood of Mahomet, or any out of the Church, but of ſuch as beare rule in the Church.

York. See how you build your faith upon ſuch places of Scripture as are moſt obſcure, to deceive your ſelf, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

What B. Tonſtal writeth of Tranſubſtantiation.

Brad. Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others: yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemne him utterly that is of my faith in the ſacrament; knowing as you know, that at the leaſt eight hundred yeeres after Chriſt, as my Lord of Dureſme writeth, it was free to beleeve or not to beleeve Tranſubſtantiation.

York. This is a toy that you have found out of your own braine; as though a man not beleeving as the Church doth, that is, Tranſubſtantiation, were of the Church.

Note how theſe biſhops themſelves do grant that the time was when Tranſubſtantiation was not defined by the Church, Tonſtal ſaith that it was more then 800. yeers after Chriſt.

Chich. He is an Heretick, and ſo none of the Church, that doth hold any doctrine againſt the definition of the Church; as a man to hold againſt Tranſubſtantiation. Cyprian was no Hereticke, though he beleeved rebaptizing of them which were baptized of Heretickes, becauſe he held it before the Church had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been an Heretick.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemne to the Divell any man that beleeveth truly the 12. Articles of the faith (wherein I take the unitie of Chriſts Church to conſiſt) although in ſome points he beleeve not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the Articles of our Belief, though in other things he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhall be ſaved.

York. Chich. Yea, ſaid both the Biſhops: this is your Divinitie.

Brad. No, it is Pauls, which ſaith, that if they hold the foundation Chriſt, though they build upon him ſtraw and ſtubble, yet they ſhall be ſaved.

York. Lord God, how you delight to leane to ſo hard and dark places of the Scriptures.

Chich. I will ſhew you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and ſo he read a place of Luther making for his purpoſe.

M. Bradford hangeth not of Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius, and yet he accounteth them good men.

Brad. My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much paſſe not, no more do I in this caſe. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never reade any of their workes in this matter. As for them, I do think aſſuredly that they were, and are Gods children, and Saints with him.

York. Well, you are out of the communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not, for it conſiſteth, and is in faith.

York. Lo, how you make your Church inviſible: for you would have the communion of it to conſiſt in faith.

Communion of the Church conſiſteth in faith, and not in viſible ceremonies.
Diſagreeing in rites breaketh no agreement in faith.
Ireneus.

Brad. For to have communion with the Church needeth no viſibleneſſe of it; for communion conſiſteth, as I ſaid, in faith, and not in exteriour ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, which would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſervation of Eaſter, ſaying that diſagreeing of faſting ſhould not break the agreeing of faith.

Chich. The ſame place hath often even wounded my conſcience, becauſe we diſſevered our ſelves from the See of Rome.

Brad. Well, God forgive you; for you have done evill to bring England thither again.

Aug. contra Epiſt. fundamenta.
Conſent of people.
Authoritie confirmed with miracles, nouriſhed with hope, increaſed with charitie, eſtabliſhed with antiquity.
Succeſſion of Prieſts.
The name Catholike.
All this might be objected againſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles, by the Scribes and Phariſes.

York. Here my Lord of Yorke tooke a book of paper of common places, and read a peece of Saint Auguſtine contra Epiſtolam Fundamenti, how that there were many things that did hold S. Auſtin in the boſome of the Church; conſent of people and nations, authority confirmed with miracles, nouriſhed with hope, increaſed with charity, eſtabliſhed with antiquity: beſides this, there holdeth me in the Church, ſaid S. Auguſtine, the ſucceſſion of Prieſts from Peters ſeat untill this preſent Biſhop. Laſt of all, the very name of Catholike did hold me, &c. Lo (quoth he) how ſay you to this of S. Auguſtine? Paint me out your Church thus.

Brad. My Lord, theſe words of Saint Auſtine make as much for me as for you: although I might anſwer, that all this, if they had been ſo firme as you make them, might have been alledged againſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For there was the law and the ceremonies conſented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquitie, and continuall ſucceſſion of Biſhops from Aarons time untill that preſent.

Chich. In good faith, Maſter Bradford, you make too much of the ſtate of the Church before Chriſts coming.

Brad. Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. 2. and Paul very often. You would gladly have your Church here very glorious, and as a moſt pleaſant Ladie. But as Chriſt ſaith, *Beatus eſt quicunque non fuerit offenſus per me*; ſo may his Church ſay, Bleſſed are they that are not offended at me.

York. Yea, you think that none is of the Church, but ſuch as ſuffer perſecution.

The Church commonly not glorious in this world, but poor and perſecuted.

Brad. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your grace judge me by my words and ſpeaking, and mark that Paul ſaith, *Omnes qui, &c.* All that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution. Sometimes Chriſts Church hath reſt here; but commonly it is not ſo, and ſpecially towards the end her forme will be more unſeemely.

York. But what ſay you to S. Auſtin? where is your Church that hath the conſent of people and nations?

Conſent of the godly.

Brad. Even all people and nations that be Gods people have conſented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith.

York. Lo, ye go about to ſhift off all things.

Brad. No, my Lord; I mean ſimply, and ſo ſpeak, God knoweth.

Succeſſion from Peter.

York. Saint Auguſtine doth here talk of ſucceſſion, even from Peters ſeate.

Brad. Yea, that ſeate then was nothing ſo much corrupt as it is now.

York. Well, you alwayes judge the Church.

Chriſts people may diſcerne the Church, though they judge not the Church.

Brad. No, my Lord, Chriſts ſheep diſcerne Chriſts voice, but they judge it not; ſo they diſcerne the Church, but judge her not.

York. Yes, that they do.

Brad. No, and it like your grace: and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge alſo of the Romiſh Church; for ſhe obeyeth not Chriſts voice, as Chriſts true Church doth.

The Church of Rome ſwarveth from the voice of Chriſt, and wherein.

York. Wherein?

Brad. In Latin Service, and robbing the Laitie of Chriſts cup in the ſacrament, and in many other things, in which it committeth moſt horrible ſacriledge.

Chich. Why? Latin Service was in England when the Pope was gone.

Brad. True; the time was in England when the Pope was away, but not all Popery; as in King Henries daies.

Latin Service defended.

York. Latin Service was appointed to be ſung and had in the Quire, where only were Clerici, that is, ſuch as underſtood Latin, the people ſitting in the bodie of the Church praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet ſeen by making of the Chancell and Quire, ſo as the people could not come in, or heare them.

Againſt Latin Service.

Brad. Yea, but in Chryſoſtomes time, and alſo in the Latin Church in S. Jeromes time, all the Church (ſaith he) reboat, Amen: that is, anſwereth again mightily, Amen. Whereby we may ſee that the prayers were made ſo, that both the people heard them and underſtood them.

Chich. Ye are too blame, to ſay that the Church robbeth the people of the cup.

The people robbed of the cup.

Brad. Well, my Lord, terme it as it pleaſe you: all men know that the Laitie hath none of it.

Chich. Indeed I would wiſh the Church would define again, that they might have it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?

York. Well, Maſter Bradford, we leeſe our labour; for ye ſeek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

York. I pray you whereby?

The Church known only by the Scriptures.

Brad. Forſooth Chryſoſtome ſaith, Tantummodo per Scripturas, alonely by the Scriptures; and this ſpeaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

Chryſ. in opere imperfect.

York. Indeed that is of Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be known beſt, is ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Lyra ſupra Mat.

Bradford. No, my Lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis ſecularis aut Eccleſiaſticæ, ſed in hominibus in quibus eſt notitia vera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis: that is, The Church conſiſteth not in men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporall power, but in men indued with true knowledge, and confeſſion of faith, and of veritie.

Hilarius ad Auxentium.

And in Hilarius time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the Church did rather deliteſcere in cavernis, then eminere in primariis ſedibus: that is, was hidden rather in caves and holes, then did gliſter and ſhine in thrones of preheminence.

Then came one of the ſervants and told them, that my Lord of Dureſme tarried for them at Maſter Yorkes houſe; and this was after that they had tarried three houres with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written bookes of common places, and ſaid that they lamented his caſe: they willed him to reade over a book which did D. Crome good; and ſo wiſhing him good in words, they went their way, and poore Bradford to his priſon.

The coming of two Spaniſh Friars to Maſter Bradford.

After this communication with the Biſhops ended, within two dayes following came into the Counter two Spaniſh Friars to talk with Maſter Bradford, ſent (as they ſaid) by the Earl of Derby; of whom the one was the Kings Confeſſor, the other was Alphonſus, who had before written a Popiſh booke againſt hereſies, the effect of which their reaſoning here likewiſe followeth.

Talk between Maſter Bradford and two Spaniſh Friers.

The talk between certain Friers and M. Bradford.

Upon the five and twentieth day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spaniſh Friers came to the Counter where Bradford was priſoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one Frier, which was the the Kings Confeſſor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not ſeen nor heard of one Alphonſus that had written againſt hereſies?

Brad. I do not know him.

This Alphonſus had written a book before in Latine againſt hereſies.

Confeſ. Well, this man (pointing to Alphonſus) is he. We are come to you of love and charitie, by the meanes of the Earl of Derby, becauſe you deſired to conferre with us.

Brad. I never deſired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But ſeeing you are come of charitie, as you ſay, I cannot but thank you: and as touching conference, though I deſire it not, yet I will not refuſe to talk with you if you will.

Alphon. It were requiſite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods ſpirit, that he would inſpire you, ſo that ye be not addict to your own ſelf will or wit.

Bradford willed to pray, maketh his praier.

Brad. Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and beſought God to direct all their wils, words, and workes, as the wils, words, and workes of his children for ever.

Alph. Yea, you muſt pray with your heart. For if you ſpeak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, leſt ye be judged. You have heard my words, now charitie would have you leave the judgement of the heart to God.

Alph. You muſt be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to your ſelf, but as one ſtanding in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God ſhall inſpire; for in vaine laboureth our tongue to ſpeak elſe.

No man ought to be in doubt of his religion.

Brad. Sir, my ſentence, if you mean it for religion, muſt not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to be moſt certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirme me more in it. For it is his truth, and becauſe it is ſo certaine and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and conferre it with you, or any man; in reſpect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alph. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

The cauſe why M. Bradford was condemned.

Brad. Sir, I have been in priſon almoſt two yeers: I never tranſgreſſed any of their lawes wherefore I might juſtly be priſoned, and now am I condemned only becauſe I frankly confeſſed, whereof I repent not, my faith concerning the ſacrament, when I was demanded in theſe two points: one that there is no tranſubſtantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Chriſts body.

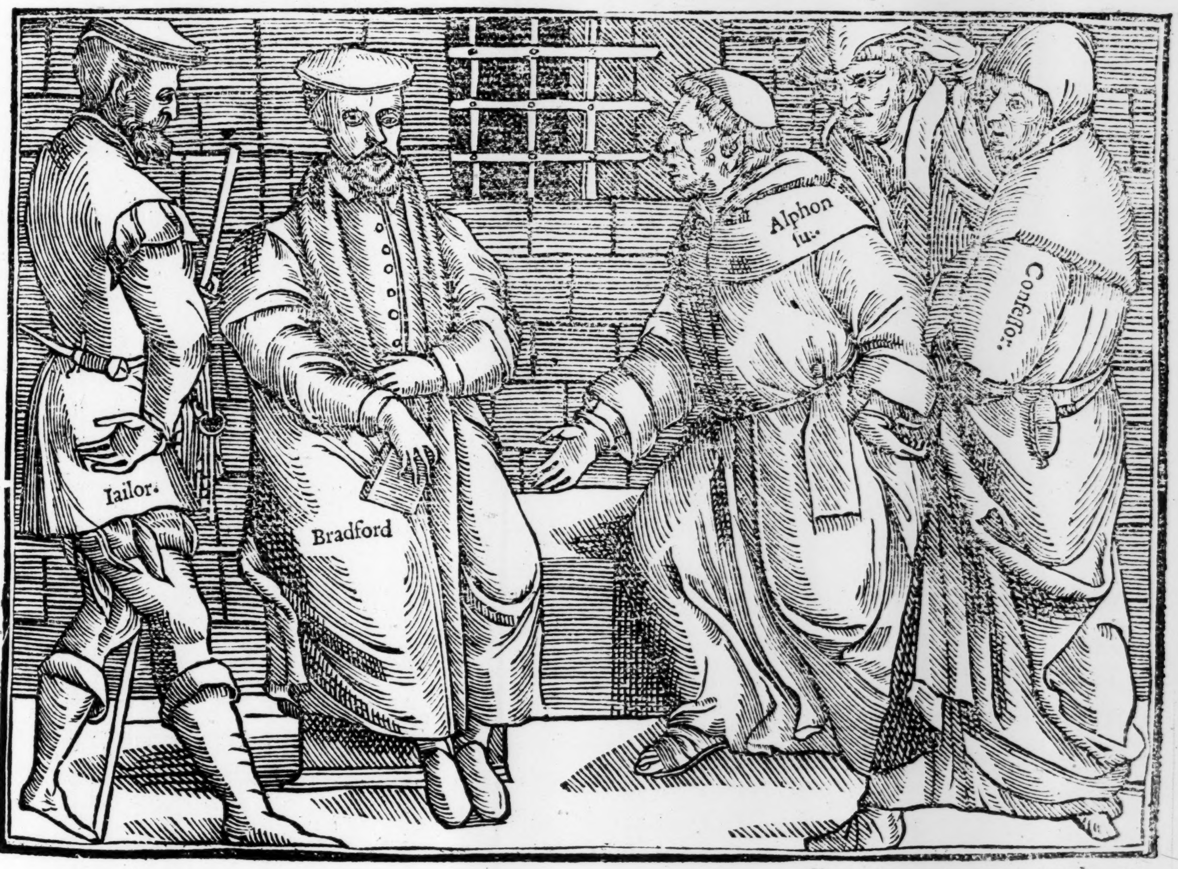
Alph. Let us looke a little on the firſt. Do you not beleeve that Chriſt is preſent really, and corporally in the forme of bread?

Chriſt preſent to the faith of the worthy receiver.

Brad. No, I do beleeve that Chriſt is preſent to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is preſent bread and wine to the ſenſes and outward man: as for any ſuch preſence of including and placing Chriſt, I beleeve not, nor dare beleeve.

Alph. I am ſure you beleeve Chriſts naturall bodie is circumſcriptible. And here he made

The talk between Maſter Bradford and two Spaniſh Friers.



A Spaniſh argument. Chriſts body is circumſcriptible in heauen: Ergo, Chriſts body is circumſcriptible in the bread.

much ado of the two natures of Chriſt, how that the one is euery where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding ſuch queſtions as no wiſe man would haue ſpent any time about. At length becauſe the Frier had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in minde of it, and thus then at length he concluded: how that becauſe Chriſts bodie was circumſcriptible, concerning the humane nature in heauen, therefore it was ſo in the bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Euen as if you ſhould ſay; becauſe you are here, Ergo, it muſt needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reaſon; Becauſe Chriſts bodie is in heauen: Ergo, it is in the Sacrament under the forme of bread: which no wiſe man will grant.

Alph. Why? will you beleeue nothing but that which is expreſly ſpoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes ſir, I will beleeue whatſoeuer you ſhall by demonſtration out of the Scriptures declare unto me.

Chriſt is able to do it: Ergo, he doth it.

Alph. He is obſtinate, quoth Alphonſus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, ſaid, Is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the queſtion is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alph. Why? doth he not ſay plainly, This is my bodie?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the faith of the worthy receiuer.

Alph. To the faith? how is that?

Brad. Forſooth ſir, as I haue no tongue to expreſſe it: ſo I know ye haue no eares to heare and underſtand it. For faith is more then man can utter.

Alph. But I can tell all that I beleeue.

Brad. You beleeue not much then. For if you beleeue the ioyes of heauen, and beleeue no more thereof then you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thither. For as the minde is more capable and receiueable then the mouth; ſo it conceiueth more then tongue can expreſſe.

Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Alph. Chriſt ſaith it is his bodie.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certaine manner.

Alph. After a certaine manner? that is, after another manner then it is in heauen.

Quodam modo Auguſtinus Epiſtola ad Bonifacium.

Brad. Saint Auguſtine telleth it more plainly, that it is Chriſts bodie after the ſame manner as Circumciſion was the couenant of God, and the Sacrament of faith is faith; or to make it more plaine, as baptiſme and the water of baptiſme is regeneration.

Argument. As grace is in the water of baptiſme, ſo is the body in the ſacrament. But grace is in the water by ſignification: Ergo, ſo is the body in the ſacrament.

Alph. Very well ſaid, baptiſme and the water thereof is a ſacrament of Gods grace and ſpirit in the water cleanſing the baptized.

Brad. No ſir, away with your encloſing: but this I grant, that after the ſame ſort Chriſts body is in the bread, on which ſort the grace and ſpirit of God is in the water.

Alph. In water is Gods grace by ſignification.

Brad, So is the bodie in the bread in the Sacrament.

A Popiſh diſtinction of ſacraments.

Alph. You are much deceiued, in that you make no difference between the Sacraments that be ſtanders, and the Sacraments that are tranſitorie and paſſers by. As for example, the Sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though Saint Auguſtine affirme it, it is a ſtander, although the ceremonie be paſt. But in baptiſme ſo ſoone as the bodie is waſhed, the water ceaſeth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in uſe, is it Chriſts Sacrament.

The Frier in a chafe.

Here was the Frier in a wonderfull rage, and ſpake ſo high (as often he had done before) that the whole houſe rang againe, chafing with om and cho. He hath a great name of learning, but ſurely he hath little patience. For if Bradford had been any thing hote, one houſe could not haue held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not finde in the Scripture baptiſme and the Lords ſupper to beare any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the conqueſt, ſaying, that theſe men would receiue nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to proue nothing by the Scripture.

The ſacrament of the Lords table compared with baptiſme in the Scripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you ſhall ſee that by the Scripture I will finde baptiſme and the Lords ſupper coupled together.

Alph. No, that canſt thou neuer do. Let me ſee a text of it.

1 Cor. 12.

Brad. Paul ſaith; That as we are baptized into one Bodie, ſo were we *potati in uno ſpiritu, i.* we haue drunk of one Spirit, meaning of the Cup in the Lords ſupper.

Alph. Paul hath no ſuch words.

Brad. Yes that he hath.

Confeſ. I trow he hath not.

Brad. Giue me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

The Frier proued a lyar in his own Teſtament.

So a Prieſt that ſate by them gaue him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the Frier found this ſimple ſhift, that Paul ſpake not of the ſacrament.

Brad. Well, the text is plaine enough, and there are of the Fathers which do ſo underſtand the place: For Chryſoſtome doth expound it ſo.

Alph. Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſſe this foile, turned the leaues of the book from leafe to leafe, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. 11. and there he read how that he was guiltie, which made no difference of the Lords bodie.

1 Cor. 11.

1 Cor. 10.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſaith, He that eateth of the bread: calling it bread ſtill, and that after conſecration (as ye call it) as in the tenth of the Corinthians he ſaith; The bread which we break, &c.

Conuerſion is mentioned in turning Moſes rod, ſo it is not in the ſacrament.

Alph. Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things after their conuerſion do retaine the ſame names which they had before, as Moſes rod: and calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: But Bradford cooled him quickly, ſaying:

Moſes rod was ſeene to be turned, ſo is not the ſacrament.

Brad. Sir, there is mention made of the conuerſion, as well as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here ye cannot finde it ſo. Finde me one word how the bread is conuerted, and I will then ſay, ye bring ſome matter that maketh for you.

Alph. At theſe words the Frier was troubled, and at length he ſaid, how that Bradford hanged on his owne ſenſe.

Brad. No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. yeers after Chriſt, to confirme this which I ſpeak.

Alph. No, you haue the Church againſt you.

Brad. I haue not Chriſts Church againſt me.

Alph. Yes that you haue. What is the Church?

Brad. Chriſts wife, the chaire and ſeate of verity.

Alph. Is ſhe viſible?

The Church is viſible, but to them that haue ſpirituall eies.

Brad. Yea that ſhe is to them that will put on the ſpectacles of Gods word to look on her.

Alph. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will proue by all the good Fathers from Chriſts Aſcenſion, euen for 800. yeers at the leaſt continually.

Brad. What will you ſo proue? Tranſubſtantiation?

Alph. Yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſts bodie.

Brad. You ſpeak more then you can do.

Alph. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give place.

Alph. Will you beleeve?

Brad. Beliefe is Gods gift; therefore cannot I promiſe: but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I ſhall beleeve his truth alwayes, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Saviour.

Alph. Here the Friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt Habitus and Actus; as though Actus, which he called credulitie, had been in our power. But this he let paſſe, and came again asking Bradford if he could prove it as he ſaid, whether he would give place?

The Papiſts hold that the act of beleeving is in mans power.

Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for paper, pen, and inke, to write, and then ſaid I: What and if that I prove by the teſtimonie of the Fathers, that continually for 800. yeers after Chriſt, at the leaſt, they did beleeve that the ſubſtance of bread doth remaine in the Sacrament? what will ye do?

Alph. I will give place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will give place if I ſo prove, and I will write that I will give place if you ſo prove: becauſe ye are the ancient, ye ſhall have the preheminence.

Here the Friar fumed marvellouſly, and ſaid; I came not to learne at thee: Are not here witneſſes? (meaning the Prieſts) be not they ſufficient? But the man was ſo chafed, that if Bradford had not paſſed over this matter of writing, the Friar would have falne to plaine ſcolding.

The Friar refuſeth to abide tryall with Bradford.

Confeſ. At the length the Kings Confeſſor asked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked men receive not Chriſts bodie in the ſacrament, as S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Judas, that he received Panem Domini, but not Panem Dominum.

Alph. Saint Auguſtine ſaith not ſo.

Brad. Yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.

The Friar againe proved a lyar.

The Friars depart in a heate from Maſter Bradford.

A Prieſt. After they were gone, one of the Prieſts came, and willed Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Sir be not you ſo wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you finde me, non eſt panis.

Prieſt. Yes that I can in five places.

Brad. Then I will eate your book. So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way ſmiling. God help us.

A Prieſt put to a foile.

Talk between Maſter Bradford and Doctor Weſton, and others.

IT followed after this, upon the twenty one of the moneth of March, that by meanes of one of the Earl of Derbies men, there came to the Counter to dinner one M. Collier, once Warden of Mancheſter, and the ſaid ſervant of the Earl of Derby, of whom M. Bradford learned that Doctor Weſton Dean of Weſtminſter would be with him in the afternoon about two of the clock. At dinner time, when the ſaid Warden did diſcommend King Edward, and went about to ſet forth the authoritie of the Pope, which Bradford withſtood, defending the Kings faith, that it was Catholike, and that the authoritie of the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie was uſurped, bringing forth the teſtimonie of Gregorie, which affirmeth the name of ſupreme head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichriſt. A woman priſoner was brought in, whereupon the ſaid Bradford tooke occaſion to riſe from the table, and ſo went to his priſon-chamber to beg of God grace, and help therein, continuing there ſtill untill he was called down to ſpeak with Maſter Weſton, which was then come in.

The name of ſupreme head is the fore-runner to Antichriſt. Gregor.

Maſter Bradford then being called downe, ſo ſoone as he was entred into the Hall, Maſter Weſton very gently tooke him by the hand, and asked how he did, with ſuch other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: So they all went out, ſave Maſter Weſton himſelf, Maſter Collier, the Earl of Derbies ſervant, the Subdeane of Weſtminſter, the Keeper, Maſter Clayden, and the Parſon of the Church where the Counter is.

D. Weſton commeth to M. Bradford.

Now when he began with Maſter Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto deſired of the Earl of Derby: and (quoth he) after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to ſpeak with me, then any others; I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be ſure I will not.

Conference between Maſter Bradford and D. Weſton.

Brad. Sir, quoth Maſter Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my Lords ſervant, that you did beare me good will: more (as he ſaid) then any other of your ſort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you ſhould come unto me. This did I ſay, quoth he, otherwiſe I deſired not your coming.

Weſt. Well, quoth he; now I am come to talk with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talk, certain principles we muſt agree upon, which ſhall be this daies work.

First, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vaine-glorie, and not hold any thing for the praiſe of the world.

D. Weſtons leſſons, ſuch as he did never follow himſelf. Vain glory.

Brad. Sir, S. Auguſtine maketh that indeed a peece of the definition of an Heretick; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will a ſpice of it remain in us, as long as this fleſh liveth) yet I promiſe you by the grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yeeld to it. God I hope will never ſuffer it to beare rule in them that ſtrive there againſt, and deſire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Weſt. I am glad to heare you ſay ſo, although indeed I think you do not ſo much eſteeme it as others do.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put away ſingularitie in your judgement and opinions.

Singularitie.

Brad. Sir, God forbid that I ſhould ſtick to my ſingularitie or private judgement in Gods religion. Hitherto I have not deſired it, neither do, nor minde at any time to hold any other doctrine then is publike and Catholike, underſtanding Catholike as good men do; according to Gods Word.

Weſt. Very well, this is a good daies work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly I ſhall pray you to write me Capita of thoſe things whereupon you ſtand in the ſacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and Wedneſday next: untill which time, yea, untill I come to you again, be aſſured that you are without all perill of death. Of my fidelitie, I warrant you, therefore away with all dubitations, &c.

Weſton willeth M. Bradford to put down in writing the chief grounds of his faith.

Brad. Sir, I will write to you the grounds I leane to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me, ſhall be no great let to me therein.

Weſt. You know that Saint Auguſtine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; ſo have I good hope of you.

Brad. Sir, becauſe I will not flatter you, I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am even ſetled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned.

Weſt. Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you ſee evident matter to the contrarie, will you not then give place?

Brad. God forbid but that I ſhould alwaies give place to the truth.

Weſt. I would have you to pray ſo.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirme me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

Weſt. Yea but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No ſir, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſetled and aſſured of his truth.

Weſt. Well, quoth Weſton, as the learned Biſhop anſwered S. Auſtins mother, that though he was obſtinate, yet the teares of ſuch a mother could not but win her ſonne: ſo, quoth he, I hope your prayers (for then Bradfords eyes did ſhew that he had wept in prayer) cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe God. Do ye not, quoth he, remember the hiſtorie thereof?

Brad. Yea ſir, quoth Bradford, I think it be of St. Ambroſe.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here Weſton would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to Bradford; as you are overſeene herein, ſo are you in other things.

Brad. Well ſir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Auguſtine writeth in his Confeſſions.

M. Bradford wrongfully charged with ſedition.

After this talk Weſton began to tell Maſter Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withſtand the Queen.

Whereunto Bradford anſwering again, bade him hang him up as a traytor and a theef, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his Keeper, and others that were there of the Prieſts, affirmed on his behalf. So, much talk there was to little purpoſe at that time. Doctor Weſton declared moreover how he had ſaved men going in the cart to be hanged, and ſuch like.

The end was this, that Bradford ſhould ſend unto him, Capita doctrinæ of the ſupper, and after Wedneſday he would come unto him again, and thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beere and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of bookes of Germany writers, of the feare of death, and ſuch other talke, which are to no purpoſe.

Another diſputation or talk between Maſter Bradford and Doctor Pendleton,

Another diſputation or talk between M. Bradford and D. Pendleton.

IN the mean time, when Maſter Bradford had written his reaſons and arguments, and had ſent them to Doctor Weſton, in ſhort ſpace after, about the 28. of March, there came to the Counter Doctor Pendleton, and with him the foreſaid Maſter Collier, ſometime Warden of Mancheſter, and Stephen Bech. After ſalutations Maſter Pendleton began to ſpeak to Bradford, that he was ſorrie for his trouble. And further (quoth he) after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more ſpeed, being as ready to do you good, and pleaſure you what I can, as ye would wiſh.

Brad. Sir, the manner how I was content to ſpeak with you, was on this ſort: Maſter Bech was often in hand with me whom he ſhould bring unto me, and named you amongſt other: and I ſaid that I had rather ſpeak with you then with any of all the other. Now the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you have ſet forth the ſame earneſtly. Gladly therefore would I learne of you what thing it was that moved your conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you have ſeene ſince, which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton once of the ſame religion with Maſter Bradford.

Pendleton. Maſter Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned.

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe wherefore I am condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſts bodie: wherein I would deſire you to ſhew me what reaſons, which before you knew not, did move your conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſaid) you were as I am in religion.

Here Maſter Pendleton half amazed, began to excuſe himſelf if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully tranſubſtantiation indeed, although I ſaid, quoth he, that the word was not in Scripture, and ſo he made an endleſſe tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (ſaid he) I will gather to you the places which moved me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Bradford that he might have a copie of that which he had ſent to Maſter Weſton; the which Bradford did promiſe him.

Pendleton belike would ſtudie out the reaſons that moved him to alter: for he had none ready to ſhew.

Evill men receive not Chriſts body.

Some reaſoning alſo they had, whether evill men did receive Chriſts bodie, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford ſaid that they received not the ſpirit: Ergo, not the bodie; for it is no dead carkaſſe. Hereto Bradford brought alſo Saint Auguſtine, how Judas received Panem Domini, and not Panem Dominum, and how that he muſt be in Chriſts bodie, which muſt receive the bodie of Chriſt. But Pendleton went about to put it away with idem, and not ad idem, and how that in Corpore Chriſti was to be underſtood of all that be in the viſible Church with Gods elect. Bradford denied this to be Saint Auguſtines meaning, and ſaid alſo that the allegation of idem, and not ad idem, could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of tranſubſtantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; Panis natura mutatur, &c. And Bradford ſaid, that in that place natura did not ſignifie ſubſtance. As the nature of an herbe is not the ſubſtance of it; ſo the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in ſubſtance: For now it is ordained not for the food of the bodie ſimply, but rather for the ſoule. Here alſo Bradford alleaged the ſentence of Gelaſius. Pendleton ſaid, that he was a Pope. Yea, ſaid Bradford, but his faith is my faith in the ſacrament, if ye would receive it.

He muſt be in Chriſts body, that muſt receive Chriſts body.

The place of S. Cyprian expounded how the nature of bread is changed.

Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

They reaſoned alſo whether accidentia were res, or no. If they be properly res, ſaid Bradford then are they ſubſtances; and if they be ſubſtances, they are earthly, and then are there earthly ſubſtances in the Sacrament, as Irenæus ſaith, which muſt needs be bread. But Pendleton ſaid that the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidentall ſubſtance.

Pendleton driven to ſay that accidents be ſubſtances.

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterburie, of Peter Martyrs book, of Pendletons letter laid to Bradfords charge when he was condemned, with other talk more of the Church; whether Dic Eccleſiæ was ſpoken of the Univerſall Church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be ſpoken of a particular Church) alſo of vaine-glorie, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and ſuch like talk. A little before his departing Bradford ſaid thus, Maſter Doctor, as I ſaid to Maſter Weſton the laſt day, ſo ſay I unto you again, that I am the ſame man in religion againſt Tranſubſtantiation ſtill, which I was when I came into priſon; for hitherto I have ſeene nothing in any point to infirme me. At which words Pendleton was ſomething moved, and ſaid that it was no Catholike doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that will I prove even by the teſtimonie of the Catholike Fathers untill Concilium Lateranenſe, or thereabout. Thus Pendleton went his way, ſaying that he would come oftener to Bradford. God our Father be with us all, and give us the Spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

Bradford could heare no reaſon of the Papiſts to infirme his opinion againſt tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came M. Weſton to Bradford; and after gentle ſalutations, he deſired the company every man to depart, and ſo they two ſate down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his boſome the ſame writing which Bradford had ſent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, gathered by Iohn Bradford, and given to D. Weſton and others.

Tranſubſtantiation not brought into the Church before the yeer 1215. by Pope Innocentius 3.

THat which is former (ſaith Tertullian) is true; that which is latter is falſe. But the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Councell of Lateran, about 1215. yeers after Chriſts coming, under Pope Innocentius the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to beleeve it, or not beleeve it, as the Biſhop of Dureſme doth witneſſe in his book of the preſence of Chriſt in his Supper, lately put forth: Ergo, The doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

Three reaſons proving the words of the Lords Supper to be figurative. 1. Circumſtances of Scripture. 2. Proportion of Sacraments. 3. Teſtimony of old Doctors.

2 That the words of Chriſts Supper be figurative, the circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy or proportion of the Sacraments, and the ſentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the ſpace of 1000. yeers after Chriſts Aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it followeth, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation.

3 That the Lord gave to his Diſciples bread, and called it his Body, the Scriptures do witneſſe. For, he gave that, and called it his Body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks, which alſo he brake, and gave to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, Bread; as the Fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of Antiquity, do affirm: but in as much as the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine is another thing than the ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, it plainly appeareth that there is no Tranſubſtantiation.

The wine is not tranſubſtantiate: Ergo, neither the bread.

4 The Bread is no more tranſubſtantiate than the Wine: but that the Wine is not tranſubſtantiate, Saint Matthew and Saint Mark do teach us: for they witneſſe, that Chriſt ſaid that he would drink no more of the fruit of the Vine, which was not Blood, but Wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no Tranſubſtantiation. Chryſoſtome upon Matthew, and Saint Cyprian, do affirm this reaſon.

The ſame Spirit which ſaith, This is my body, ſaith alſo, We many are one bread, and one body, &c.

5 As the Bread in the Lords Supper is Chriſts naturall Body, ſo it is his myſticall Body: for the ſame Spirit that ſpake of it, This is my Body; did ſay alſo, For we many are one Bread, one Body, &c. but now it is not the myſticall Body by Tranſubſtantiation, and therefore it is not his naturall Body by Tranſubſtantiation.

The words do not tranſubſtantiate the Cup into the new Teſtament, Ergo, neither the bread into the body.

6 The words ſpoken over the Cup in Saint Luke and Paul, are not ſo mighty and effectuall, as to tranſubſtantiate it: For then it, or that which is in it, ſhould be tranſubſtantiate into the new Teſtament: therefore the words ſpoken over the Bread, are not ſo mighty as to make Tranſubſtantiation.

7 All that doctrine which agreeth with thoſe Churches which be Apoſtolike, mother Churches, or originall Churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe Churches received of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of GOD. But it is manifeſt, that the doctrine taught at this preſent of the Church of Rome, concerning Tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the Apoſtolike and mother Churches in Greece, of Corinthus, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, Epheſus, which never taught Tranſubſtantiation; yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in times paſt. For Gelaſius the Pope, ſetting forth the doctrine which that See did then hold, doth manifeſtly confute the errour of Tranſubſtantiation, and reproveth them of ſacrileage, which divide the myſtery, and keep from the Laity the Cup, therefore the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the truth.

The doctrine of the Church of Rome for tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Apoſtles Church, nor with the Greek Churches, nor with the old Roman Church.

This was the writing which Weſton pulled out of his boſome: and yet before he began to reade it, he ſhewed Bradford that he asked of his converſation at Cambridge ſithence his laſt being with him: and, quoth he, Maſter Bradford, becauſe you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will ſpeak it before your face: Your life I have learned was ſuch there alwayes, as all men, even the greateſt enemies you have, cannot but praiſe it, and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will reade over your arguments, and ſo we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you ſtand on conſcience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to reade the firſt; to the which he ſaid, that though the word Tranſubſtantiation began but lately, yet the thing alwayes was, and hath been ſithence Chriſts inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend, or hang upon the word onely, but upon the thing which is as new as the word.

The words of Auſten guilefully wreſted by Weſton.

Weſt. Then went he to the ſecond, and there brought out Saint Auguſtin, how that if an evill man going to the Devill, did make his Will, his ſon and heir would not ſay his father did lye in it, or ſpeak tropically: much more Chriſt, going to God, did never lye, or uſe any figurative ſpeech in his laſt Will and Teſtament. Do you not remember this place of Saint Auguſtine, ſaid he?

Brad. Yea Sir, but I remember not that S. Auguſtine hath thoſe words, tropicé or figurativè, as you rehearſe them: for any man may ſpeak a thing figuratively, and not lye: and ſo Chriſt did in his laſt Supper.

Weſt. After this he went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into fleſh. Here (ſaith he) my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth nature for quality, by Gelaſius. The which interpretation ſerveth for the anſwer of your argument, that Chriſt called bread his body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the ſame names which they had before, as Symon the Leper; he was not ſo preſently, but becauſe he had been ſo.

Symon though he were called the Leper, yet he was ſeen to be no Leper. But bread is ſeen ſtill to be bread: and therefore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is.

Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelaſius: therefore Cyprian muſt not expound Gelaſius, but Gelaſius Cyprian: and ſo they both teach, that bread remaineth ſtill. As for things having ſtill the names they had, is no anſwer, except you could ſhew that this now were not bread, as eaſily as a man might have known and ſeen then Symon to have been healed and cleer from his Leproſie.

Weſt. After this he went to the fourth, of the Cup, the which he did not fully reade, but digreſſed into a long talk of Cyprians Epiſtle De Aquatiis: alſo of S. Auguſtine, expounding the breaking of bread by Chriſt to his two Diſciples going to Emmaus, to be the Sacrament, with ſuch other talk to no certain purpoſe: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that in as much as he had written the reaſons that ſtabliſhed his faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he would likewiſe do to him, that is, anſwer him by writing, and ſhew him more reaſons in writing to confirm Tranſubſtantiation. Which Doctor Weſton promiſed to do, and ſaid that he would ſend or

Weſton required to write his reaſons.

bring it to Maſter Bradford again within three dayes.

Grimoald ſubſcribed.

Thus when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there ſpoken little to the purpoſe for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his anſwers: then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or ſlander he ſhould ſuffer, meaning belike to have Bradford ſecretly to come to them, as Grimoald did, for he ſubſcribed.

M. Bradford plain and firm in confeſſion of the truth.

Brad. Maſter Dean, I would not gladly that you ſhould conceive of me that I paſſe of ſhame of men ſimply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard nor ſeen any thing to infirm my faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſſe ſetled in it, than I was at my firſt coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the firſt, as you ſhall finde at the laſt.

Weſt. In good faith, M. Bradford, I love you the better for your plainneſſe: and do not think otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall finde me plain in all my talk with you.

Here Weſton began to ask Bradford of his impriſonment and condemnation; and ſo Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled. Whereat Weſton ſeemed to wonder: yea in plain words he ſaid, that Bradford had been handled otherwiſe than he had given cauſe, and ſo ſhewed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deſerved a benefit at the Queens hand, and at all the Councell.

In this kinde of talk they ſpent an hour almoſt, and ſo, as one weary, Bradford roſe up, and Weſton called to the Keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and ſaid that he was out of all perill of death.

Keeper. Sir, quoth the Keeper, but it is in every mans mouth, that he ſhall dye to morrow.

The vain promiſe of Weſton.

Weſton. Whereat Weſton ſeemed half amazed, and ſaid, he would go ſay Evenſong before the Queen, and ſpeak to Her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the Queen had almoſt ſupped at that preſent: for it was paſt ſix of the clock.

Brad. Before the Keeper, Bradford told Weſton again that ſtill he was one man: and even as he was at the firſt, and till he ſhould ſee matter to teach his conſcience the contrary, he ſaid he muſt needs ſo continue.

Keep. The Keeper deſired Bradford to hearken to M. Doctors counſell, and prayed M. Doctor to be good unto him: and ſo after they had drunk together, M. Doctor with moſt gentle words took his leave for three dayes.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper told Bradford, that M. Doctor ſpake openly, how that he ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould burn him. Which ſentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him ſomewhat ſorry, leſt he had behaved himſelf in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableneſſe to them in their Doctrine, which God knoweth, ſaith Bradford, I never as yet did. God our Father bleſſe us, as his children, and keep us from all evill for ever, Amen.

Another talk or conference between Maſter Bradford and Doctor Weſton.

Another talk or conference between M. Bradford and D. Weſton.

Upon the fifth day of Aprill came Maſter Doctor Weſton to the Counter about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excuſed himſelf for being ſo long abſent; partly by ſickneſſe, partly for that Doctor Pendleton told him that he would come unto him; and partly for that, quoth he, I withſtood certain Monks which would have come again into Weſtminſter; telling him moreover, how that the Pope was dead, and alſo declared unto him, how he had ſpoken to the Queen in his behalf, and how that death was not neer to him.

D. Weſton withſtandeth the Monks coming into Weſtminſter.

Weſton. Laſt of all, he excuſed himſelf for not anſwering his arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation: becauſe my coming to day, quoth he, was more by fortune, than of purpoſe.

Bradfords arguments not anſwered.

Brad. I would gladly, Maſter Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your anſwers to my arguments.

Weſton. Why? you have remembred ſomething that I ſpake to you, when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No Sir, I never called them in manner to minde, ſithence that time, as well becauſe I hoped you would have written them; as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo materiall.

Weſt. In good faith I cannot ſee any other or better way for you, than to ſubmit your ſelf to the judgement of the Church.

Brad. Marry ſo will I Sir, if ſo be by the Church you underſtand Chriſts Church.

The Papiſts will not have the Church judged.

Weſt. Lo, you take upon you to judge the Church.

Brad. No Sir, that I do not; in taking upon me to diſcern, I do not judge the Church.

Weſt. Yes that you do, and make it inviſible.

Brad. I do neither.

Weſt. Why, who can ſee your Church?

Brad. Thoſe Sir, that have ſpirituall eyes, wherwith they might have diſcerned Chriſts viſible converſation here upon earth.

The Church is viſible but only to ſpirituall eyes.

Weſt. Nay, Chriſts Church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon: namely, Unity, Antiquity, and Conſent.

Unity, Antiquity, Conſent.

Unity, Antiquity, Conſent, as well common to the Devils Church, as to Chriſts Church.

Brad. Theſe three may be as well in evill as in good, as well in ſin as in vertue, as well in the Devils Church, as in Gods Church: As for an example, Idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. Chryſoſtome telleth plainly, as you well know, that the Church is well known, Tantummodo per Scripturas, Alonely by the Scriptures.

Weſt. In good faith, you make your Church inviſible, when you will have it known alonely by the Scriptures.

Brad. No Sir, the Scriptures do plainly ſet forth to us the Church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they liſt to look.

Weſt. The Church is like a Tower or Town that all men may ſee.

Why the Church is not ſeen.

Brad. True Sir, all men that be not blinde. Viſible enough is the Church, but mens blindeneſſe is great. Impute not therfore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to mens blindeneſſe.

Weſt. Where was your Church forty yeers ago? or where is it now? except in a corner of Germany?

Weſton cometh in again with his antiquity.

The Church is tied to no place but to the word

Brad. Forſooth Sir, the Church of God is diſperſed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the word of God; ſo that where it is, there is Gods Church, if it be truly taught.

Weſt. Lo, is not this to make the Church inviſible? point me out a Realm a hundred yeers paſt, which maintained your Doctrine?

The Church is not alwayes to be pointed out by Realms and Countries.

The Church in Helias time was not pointable.

Brad. Sir, if you will, or would well mark the ſtate of the Church before Chriſts coming, with it now (as Saint Paul and Peter willeth us) I think you would not look for ſuch ſhews of the Church to be made, as to point it by Realms. You know that in Helias time, both in Iſrael, and elſewhere, Gods Church was not pointable:

pointable; and therefore cryed he out, that he was left alone.

Weſt. No marry, did not God ſay that there was 7000. which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then 7000. ſhew me 7000. a hundred yeers ago of your religion.

Brad. Sir, theſe 7000. were not known to men: for then Helias would not have ſaid, that he had been left alone. And it is plain enough by that which the Text hath, namely that God ſaith, Reliqui mihi, I have reſerved to me ſeven thouſand. Mark that it ſaith, God hath reſerved to himſelf, to his own knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundred yeers ago, God had his ſeven thouſand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof.

God ſaw the Church in Helias time, although Helias himſelf did not ſee it: and ſo is it now.

Weſton. Well, M. Bradford, I will not make your caſe worſe, than for Tranſubſtantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your ſelf not worſe. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, and therefore I cannot promiſe you life, except you will ſubmit your ſelf to the definition of the Church.

Brad. Sir, ſo that you will define me your Church, that under it you bring not in a falſe Church, you ſhall not ſee but that we ſhall ſoon be at a point.

Weſt. In good faith Maſter Bradford, I ſee no good will be done, and therefore I will wiſh you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or ſend to you again: and ſo he ſent for Maſt. Weal, and departed.

Now after his departing, came the Keeper, M. Claydon, and Stephen Bech, and they were very hot with Bradford, and ſpake unto him in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be againſt thee?

Among divers which came to M. Bradford in priſon, ſome to diſpute and confer, ſome to give counſell, ſome to take comfort, and ſome to viſit him, there was a certain Gentlewomans ſervant, which Gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miſerably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her fathers houſe, for not coming to the Maſſe, and like at length to have been purſued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her fathers houſe, being put from all that ever ſhe had. This Gentlewomans ſervant therefore, being ſent to M. Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-ſlip.

This Gentlewoman is yet alive, to whom M. Bradford wrote a letter which hereafter followeth.

A Colloquie between Maſter Bradford, and a Gentlewomans ſervant, being ſent to viſit him in priſon.

Talk between Bradford and a certain Gentlewomans ſervant.

This ſervant or meſſenger of the foreſaid Gentlewoman coming to M. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, God be thanked for you. How do you?

Brad. Maſt. Bradford anſwered, Well I thank God. For as men in ſayling, which be neer to the ſhore or haven where they would be, would be neerer; even ſo the neerer I am to God, the neerer I would be.

Serv. Sir, I have never ſeen you ſo ſtrong and healthſome of body, as me think you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why, quoth he, I have given over all care and ſtudy, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have alwayes ſtudied to be withall.

Ser. Well, God hath done much for you ſince the time, that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſins, but hath ſuffered me to live, that I might ſeek repentance.

Serv. Truly, we hear ſay, there is a rod made ſo grievous, out of the which I think no man ſhall pluck his head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſts flock, arm themſelves to ſuffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to eſcape untouched, if he love him, let them ſeek what means or wayes they can.

Serv. Well Sir, there goeth talk of a Frier that ſhould preach before the King, and ſhould tell him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been ſhed of late.

By this Frier he meaneth Alphonſus mentioned before.

Brad. Verily, quoth Bradford, I had a book within theſe two dayes of his writing, and therein he ſaith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretikes ſhould live: and therefore I do marvell how that talk ſhould riſe: for I have heard of it alſo, and I have alſo talked with this Frier (he is named Frier Fonſe) and with divers other, and I praiſe God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vain.

Alphonſus, otherwiſe called in the vulgar ſpeech Frier Fonſe.

Serv. Sir, Father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for indeed my L. Chancellor did caſt him in my teeth, but as David ſaith, God hath diſappointed him.

Serv. Forſooth, Gods name be praiſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What elſe? our quarrell is moſt juſt: therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My Miſtreſſe hath her recommended unto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Serv. Well, God be praiſed, but ſhe hath been ſorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerved her, I truſt, to his glory.

A ſtory of a faithfull woman and martyr in the primitive Church, called Juleddo. Ex Baſilio.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly hiſtory, written by Baſilius Magnus, of a vertuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juleddo. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuouſneſſe and godly living, had great indignation at her, and of very malice he took away her lands, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to go to the Law with him: and in concluſion, the matter came to the tryall before the Judge, who demanded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully withheld theſe lands from this woman? He made anſwer and ſaid, he might ſo do: for (ſaith he) this woman is diſobedient to the Kings proceedings; for ſhe will in no wiſe worſhip his gods, nor offer ſacrifice unto them. Then the Judge hearing that, ſaid unto her; Woman, if this be true, thou art not onely like to loſe thy land, but alſo thy life, unleſſe that thou worſhip our gods, and do ſacrifice unto them. This godly woman hearing that, ſtept forth to the Judge, and ſaid, Is there no remedy but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or elſe to loſe my lands and life? Then farewell ſuit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends, yea, and farewell life too: and in reſpect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewell all. And with that ſaying did the Judge commit her to priſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffered moſt cruell death: and being brought to the place of execution, ſhe exhorted all women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For, ſaith ſhe, ye were re-

Example of Juleddo, martyr.

deemed with as deer a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his fleſh: ſo that alſo, in the caſe and tryall of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus died ſhe conſtantly, not fearing death, I pray you tell your Miſtreſſe of this hiſtory.

Serv. That ſhall I Sir by Gods grace: for ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and M. Saunders, and received your gentle counſell.

M. Bradford nothing afraid of death.

Brad. We never gave her other counſell but the truth, and in witneſſe therof, we have and will ſeal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been ſent for, becauſe at II. of the clock there was ſuch rapping at the door.

Then anſwered a maid, and ſaid, Why then I perceive you were afraid.

Brad. Ye ſhall hear how fearfull I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was aſleep, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearfulneſſe, I heard them not: therfore belike I was not afraid, that ſlept ſo faſt.

Serv. Do you lack any thing towards your neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, and I truſt I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I ſaw a Prieſt come to you to day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a Frier, and I am writing an anſwer.

Serv. Then we let you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſſe you.

Serv. Amen, ſaid we, and gave him thanks, and departed.

M. Bradford had from the Counter to Newgate by night.

Thus ſtill in priſon continued Bradford, untill the month of July, in ſuch labours and ſufferings as he before alwayes had ſuſtained in priſon. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was ſuddenly conveighed out of the Counter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate, as afore is declared, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Chriſt, and ſweetly comforting the godly yong ſpringall of nineteen or twenty yeers old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painfull life, to live with Chriſt.

Iohn Leaf burnt with Bradford.

John Leaf fellow-martyr with Maſter Bradford.

John Leaf of the Pariſh of Chriſts-church, by the Alderman of that Ward committed to priſon.

With whom was burnt one John Leaf an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, Tallow-Chandler, of the Pariſh of Chriſts Church in London, of the age of nineteen yeers and above, born at Kirkely Moreſide, in the County of York: who upon the Friday next before Palm-Sunday, was committed to the Counter in Breadſtreet, by an Alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that Ward, or part of the City, where the ſaid Leaf did dwell. After, he coming to examination before Boner, gave a firm and chriſtian teſtimony of his doctrine and profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch Articles as were objected to him by the ſaid Biſhop.

John Leaf examined before biſh. Boner.

The anſwer of John Leaf concerning his faith in the Sacrament.

Firſt, as touching his belief and faith in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, he anſwered, that after the words of Conſecration, ſpoken by the Prieſt over the Bread and Wine, there was not the very true and naturall Body and Blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance; and further did hold and beleeve, that the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now called, uſed, and beleeved in this Realm of England, is Idolatrous and abominable; and alſo ſaid further, that he beleeved, that after the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt over the materiall bread and wine, there is not the ſelf ſame ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further ſaid, that he beleeved, that when the Prieſt delivereth the ſaid materiall bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but onely " materiall bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the ſame in remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in faith they receive Chriſts body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine; and alſo affirmed that he beleeved Auricular confeſſion not to be neceſſary to be made unto a Prieſt: for it is no point of ſoul health, neither that the Prieſt hath any authority given him by the Scripture to abſolve and remit any ſin.

" Only as touching the ſubſtance, but not as concerning the effect thereof.

Auricular confeſſion.

He meaneth after the popiſh maner of remitting, &c.

Upon theſe his anſwers, and teſtimony of his faith, he at that time being diſmiſſed, was bid the Munday next, being the tenth of June, to appear again in the ſaid place, there and then to hear the ſentence of his condemnation; who ſo did. At what time the foreſaid Biſhop propounding the ſaid articles again to him, as before, aſſaying by all manner of wayes to revooke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to errour, notwithſtanding all his perſwaſions, threats, and promiſes, found him the ſame man ſtill, ſo planted upon the ſure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

John Leaf Maſt. Rogers ſcholler.

Then the Biſhop after many words to and fro, at laſt asked him, if he had been Maſter Rogers ſcholler? To whom the foreſaid John Leaf anſwered again, granting him ſo to be, and that he the ſame John did beleeve in the doctrine of the ſaid Rogers, and in the doctrine of B. Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, which of late were burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would dye in that doctrine that they dyed for: And after other replications again of the Biſhop, moving him to return to the unity of the Church, he with a great courage of ſpirit, anſwered again in theſe words: My Lord, quoth he, you call mine opinion hereſie, it is the true light of the word of God: and again repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would never forſake his ſtayed and well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Whereupon the Biſhop being too weak, either to refute his ſentence, or to remove his conſtancie, proceeded conſequently to reade the Popiſh ſentence of cruell condemnation; whereby this godly and conſtant yong man, being committed to the ſecular power of the Sheriffs there preſent, was then adjudged, and not long after ſuffered the ſame day with Maſt. Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his life.

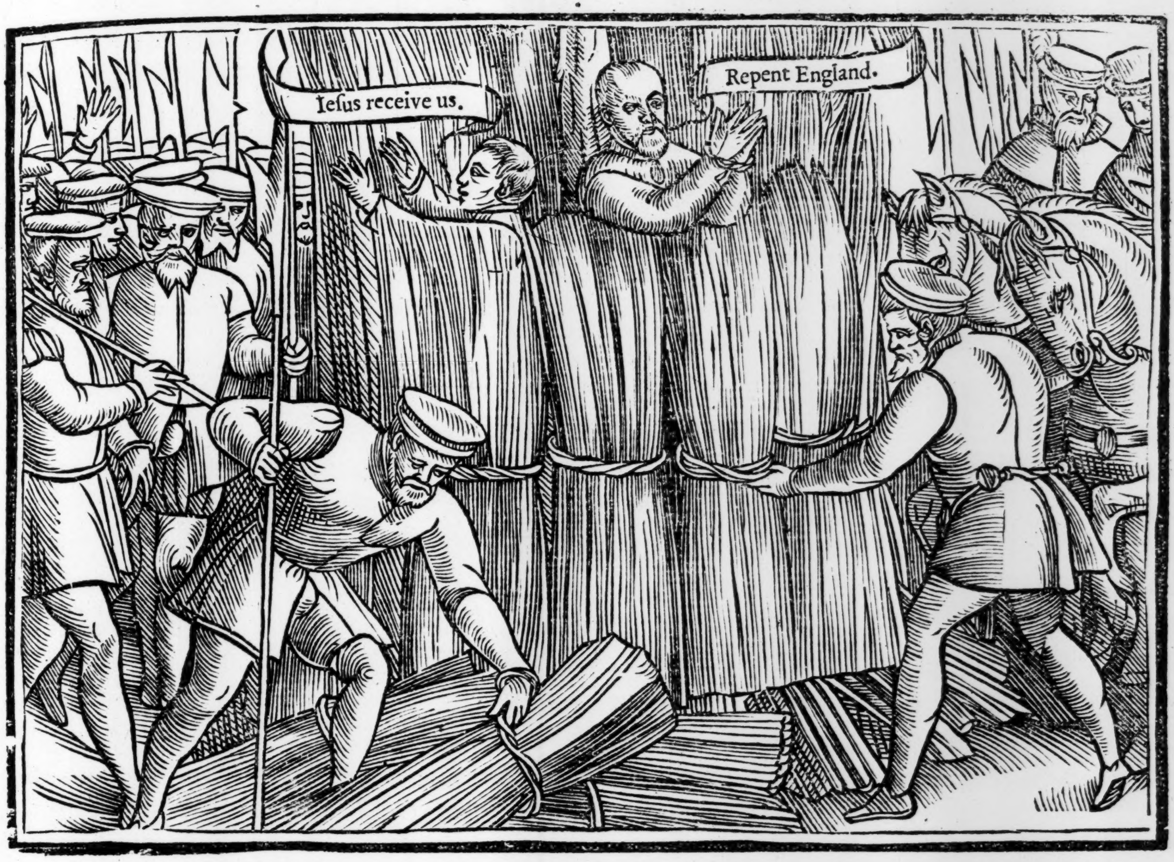
Sentence read againſt J. Leaf.

It is reported of the ſaid John Leaf, by one that was in the Counter the ſame time, and ſaw the thing, that after his examinations before the Biſhop, when two bills were ſent unto him in the Counter in Breadſtreet, the one containing a recantation, the other his confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, firſt hearing the Bill of recantation read unto him (becauſe he could not reade nor write himſelf) that he refuſed. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, in ſtead of a pen he took a pin, and ſo pricking his hand, ſprinkled the blood upon the ſaid bill, willing the Reader thereof to ſhew the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Bill with his blood already.

John Leaf ſealed the bill of his confeſſions with his blood.

The

The deſcription of the burning of M^{r}. John Bradford Preacher, and John Leaf a Prentice.


Ieſus receive us.
Repent England.

Queen MARY.

The Behaviour of M. Bradford Preacher, and the yong man that ſuffered with him in Smithfield, named Iohn Leaf, a Prentice, which both ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

Bradford and John Leaf at the ſtake how they behaved themſelves.

FIrſt, when they came to the ſtake in Smithfield to be burned, M. Bradford lying proſtrate on the one ſide of the ſtake, and the yong man John Leaf on the other ſide, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themſelves the ſpace of a minute of an hour. Then one of the Sheriffs ſaid to M. Bradford; Ariſe, and make an end: for the preaſſe of the people is great.

At that word they both ſtood up upon their feet, and then Maſter Bradford took a Fagot in his hand, and kiſſed it, and ſo likewiſe the ſtake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Sheriffs, that his ſervant might have his raiment. For (ſaid he) I have nothing elſe to give him: and beſides that, he is a poor man. And the Sheriff ſaid, he ſhould have it. And ſo forthwith Maſter Bradford did put off his rayment, and went to the ſtake: and holding up his hands, and caſting his countenance to heaven, he ſaid thus; O England, England, repent thee of thy ſins, repent thee of thy ſins. Beware of Idolatry, beware of falſe Antichriſts, take heed they do not deceive you. And as he was ſpeaking theſe words, the Sheriff bade tye his hands, if he would not be quiet. O Maſter Sheriff (ſaid Maſter Bradford) I am quiet: God forgive you this, Maſter Sheriff. And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing Maſter Bradford ſo ſpeaking to the Sheriff, ſaid: if you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were beſt hold your peace. To the which words Maſter Bradford gave no anſwer: but asked all the world forgiveneſſe, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the yong man that ſuffered with him, and ſaid; Be of good comfort brother: for we ſhall have a merry ſupper with the Lord this night: and ſo ſpake no more words that any man did hear, but imbracing the Reeds, ſaid thus; Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternall ſalvation, and few there be that finde it.

The words of M. Bradford to England.

Anno 1555.

The ſaying of M. Bradford at his death.

And thus they both ended their mortall lives, moſt like two Lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beſeech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, Amen.

TOuching Maſter Woodrofe the Sheriff, mention is made a little before, how churliſhly here he anſwered Maſter Bradford at the ſtake, not ſuffering him to ſpeak, but commanding his hands to be tyed, &c. The like extremity or worſe, he uſed alſo before to M. Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The ſaid Woodrofe Sheriff, above mentioned, was joyned in office with another, called Sir William Cheſter, for the yeer 1555. Between theſe two Sheriffs ſuch difference there was of judgement and religion, that the one, that is, M. Woodrofe, was wont commonly to laugh, the other to ſhed tears at the death of Chriſts people. And whereas the other was wont to reſtrain, and to beat the people, which were deſirous to take them by the hands that ſhould be burned; the other Sheriff contrariwiſe again with much

Difference between two Sheriffs, M. Cheſter and M. Woodrofe.

ſorrow

Sir W. Cheſter commended.

ſorrow and mildeneſſe behaved himſelf, which I wiſh here to be ſpoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

A notable example of Gods hand upon M. Woodroſe.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the ſevere puniſhment of Gods hand againſt the ſaid Woodroſe, as againſt all ſuch cruell perſecutors, ſo it happned, that within half a yeer after the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, the ſaid Sheriff was ſo ſtricken on the right ſide with ſuch a paulſie, or ſtroke of Gods hand whatſoever it was, that for the ſpace of eight yeers after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himſelf in his bed, but as two men with a ſheet were fain to ſtir him; and withall ſuch an inſatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monſtrous to ſee. And thus continued he the ſpace of eight yeers together.

In mortem Iohannis Bradfordi conſtantiſſimi Martyris.

Epitaphium in Ioan. Bradfordum per Ioan. Frieum.

Diſcipulo nulli ſupra licet eſſe magiſtrum;
Quique Deo ſervit, triſtia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem;
Ad cælum ſtricta eſt difficiliſque via.
Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pectore voces,
Non hominum rigidas terribileſque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradis & accenſæ membra cremanda pyræ.

Here follow the Letters of M. Bradford.

The letters of M. Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly Martyr, during the time of his impriſonment, wrote ſundry comfortable Treatiſes, and many godly letters, of which, ſome he wrote to the City of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foreſaid Letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being priſoner, what ſpeciall zeal he bare to the ſtate of Chriſts Church, what care he had to perform his office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavie hearted, how fruitfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the ſame: and although to exhibite here all the letters that he wrote (being in number ſo many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compaſſed, yet neverthleſſe we minde to excerpt the principall of them, referring the Reader for the reſidue to the book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

Reade the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

The copy of M. Bradfords letter, whereof the Earl of Derby complained in the Parliament.

And firſt, forſomuch as ye heard in the ſtory before, how the Earl of Derby complained in the Parliament houſe, of certain Letters written of John Bradford out of priſon, to Lancaſhire, and alſo how he was charged both of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and of Maſter Allen with ſome Letters; to the intent the Reader more perfectly may underſtand what Letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and ſiſters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin firſt with the ſame Letters: the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable Letter of M. Bradford to his mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in Mancheſter, and to his brethren and ſiſters, and other of his friends there.

A Letter of M. Bradford to his mother, brethren, & ſiſters.

Our deer and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (praiſed be his Name therefore) I am, preſerve and keep you my good mother, with my brothers and ſiſters, my father John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradſhaw, with their wives and families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am at this preſent in priſon ſure enough for ſtarting, to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready (I thank God) with my life and blood to ſeal the ſame, if God vouchſafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpeciall benefit of God, to ſuffer for his Names ſake and Goſpel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as Paul ſaith, If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall raign with him. Therefore be not faint hearted, but rather rejoyce, at the leaſt for my ſake which now am in the right and high way to heaven: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff: but when the blaſt cometh, then flyeth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is ſo far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleanſed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold when it is caſt into the fire, is the more precious: ſo are Gods children by the croſſe of affliction. Alwayes God beginneth his judgement at his houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt miſery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land ſmarted for it after: ſo now Gods children are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely, great plagues of God hang over this Realm.

2 Tim. 2.

Acts 14.

God beginneth his judgement with his own houſe.

Complaint of the carnall and wicked life among Goſpellers.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and leſſe godly living, and true ſerving of God. It was counted a fooliſh thing to ſerve God truly, and earneſt prayer was not paſt upon. Preaching was but a paſtime. The Communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the fleſh, was far out of uſe. Alms was almoſt nothing. Malice, covetouſneſſe, and uncleanneſſe, was common every where, with ſwearing, drunkenneſſe, and idleneſſe. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to puniſh us: as me for carnall living. For, as for my preaching, I am moſt certain it is and was Gods truth, and I truſt to give my life for it by Gods grace: but becauſe I loved not the Goſpel truly, but outwardly; therefore doth he thus puniſh me; nay rather in puniſhing bleſſeth me. And indeed I thank him more of this priſon, than of any Parlour, yea, than of any pleaſure that ever I had: for in it I finde God my moſt ſweet good God alwaies. The fleſh is puniſhed, firſt to admoniſh us now heartily to live as we profeſſe, ſecondly to certifie the wicked of their juſt damnation, if they repent not.

The cauſe why God firſt puniſheth his in this world.

Perchance you are weakned in that which I have preached, becauſe God doth not defend it, as you think, but ſuffereth the Popiſh doctrine to come again and prevail: but you muſt know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfainedly and ſimply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Iſraelites, bringing them into a deſert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderneſſe) was want of all things, in compariſon of that which they had in Egypt. Chriſt, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth, nor quietneſſe with him, but rather war. The world (ſaith he) ſhall rejoyce, but ye ſhall mourn and weep, but your weeping ſhall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep: for they ſhall be comforted. They are marked then with Gods

God uſeth to prove and try his children.

John 16.

mark

Of this place the Earle of Derby ſeemeth to take hold, complaining that he curſeth them that teacheth any falſe doctrine, &c.

The Maſſe rebuketh no ſin nor ſhameth conſciences, as preaching doth.

mark in their foreheads, and not with the beaſts mark, I mean the Popes ſhaven crown, who now with his ſhavelings rejoyce: but woe unto them; for they ſhall be caſt down, they ſhall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus ſorrow, but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnall joy is ſorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, ſwearer, covetous, malicious, and blinde buzzard ſir John: for the Maſſe will not bite them, neither make them to bluſh, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will, come divels to the Church, and go divels home, for no man muſt finde fault. And they are glad of this; now they have their hearts deſire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone, but what followed? Forſooth when they cried peace, all ſhall be well, then came Gods vengeance, fire and brimſtone from heaven, and burnt up every mothers childe; even ſo (deare mother) will it do to our Papiſts.

The beſt death of all deaths, is to die for Gods ſake.

Wherefore feare God, ſtick to his Word though all the world ſwarve from it. Die you muſt once, and when or how can you not tell. Die therefore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſerving him truly and after his Word: for ſure may we be, that of all deaths it is moſt to be deſired to die for Gods ſake. This is the moſt ſafe kinde of dying, we cannot doubt but that we ſhall go to Heaven, if we die for his names ſake. And that you ſhall die for his names ſake, Gods Word will warrant you, if you ſtick to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeak as I think; for by Gods grace I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and ſtrengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuſe it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, priſon nor pleaſure, I truſt in God, ſhall be able to ſeparate me from my Lord God and his Goſpel. In peace, when no perſecution was, then were you content and glad to heare me, then did you beleeve me, and will ye not do ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeak that which I truſt by Gods grace, if neede be to verifie with my life? Good Mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

The Maſſe is a poyſon to the Church.

It is Gods truth I have taught: It is that ſame infallible word whereof his ſaid, Heaven and earth ſhall paſſe, but my word ſhall not paſſe. The Maſſe and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God and enemies of Chriſts Croſſe (the Papiſts I ſay) have brought in again, to poyſon the Church of God withall, diſpleaſeth God highly, and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may be he which of conſcience ſuffereth loſſe of life or goods in diſallowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: If the Maſſe be God, let them that will ſee it, heare, or be preſent at it, and go to the Divell with it. What is there as God ordained? His ſupper was ordained to be received of us in the memoriall of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his bodie was broken for us, and his bloud ſhed for pardon of our ſins; but in the Maſſe there is no receiving, but the Prieſt keepeth all to himſelf alone. Chriſt ſaith, Take, eate. No, ſaith the Prieſt; Gape, peepe. There is a ſacrificing, yea killing of Chriſt again as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worſhipping the outward ſigne of bread and wine; there is all in Latine, you cannot tell what he ſaith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good mother) come not at it.

Compariſon between the Lords Supper and the Maſſe.

Doubts and objections anſwered. Math. 19.

Oh, will ſome ſay, it will hinder you, if you refuſe to come to Maſſe and to do as other do. But God will further you (be you aſſured) as you ſhall one day finde: who hath promiſed to them that ſuffer hinderance or loſſe of any thing in this world, his great bleſſing here, and in the world to come life everlaſting.

You ſhall be counted an Heretick: but not of others then of Heretickes, whoſe praiſe is a diſpraiſe.

You are not able to reaſon againſt the Prieſts, but God will that all they ſhall not be able to withſtand you. No bodie will do ſo but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to ſalvation. Howbeit, you ſhall have with you (I doubt not) Father Traves and other my brothers and ſiſters, to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your ſonne in God, I truſt, ſhall not leave you an inch, but go before you: pray that I may, and give thankes for me. Rejoyce in my ſuffering, for it is for your ſakes to confirme the truth I have taught. Howſoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traves his hands: for if it ſhould be known that I have pen and inke in the priſon, then would it be worſe with me. Therefore to your ſelves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, who make me worthy for his names ſake, to give my life for his Goſpel and Church ſake. Out of the Tower of London, the ſixth day of October, 1553.

For all this caveat, yet this letter came to the Earl of Derbies knowledge.

My name I write not for cauſes, you know it well enough: Like the Letter never the worſe. Commend me to all our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord. Howſoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebell, but rather if they command that which with good conſcience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall do or ſay. By patience poſſeſſe your ſoules.

After the time that Maſter Bradford was condemned, and ſent to the Counter, it was purpoſed of his adverſaries (as ye heard before) that he ſhould be had to Mancheſter where he was borne, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the Citie of London, thinking to take his laſt Vale of them in this Letter.

To the Citie of London.

A fruitfull letter of Maſter Bradford to the Citie of London.

TO all that profeſſe the Goſpel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the Citie of London, John Bradford a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now not only in priſon, but alſo excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increaſe of all godly knowledge and pietie from God the Father of mercie, through the merits of our alone and omniſufficient Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation of the holy ſpirit for ever, Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Chriſt, although the time I have to live is very little (for hourely I looke when I ſhould be had hence to be conveied into Lancaſhire, there to be burned, and to render my life by the providence of God, where I firſt received it by the ſame providence) and although the charge is great to keepe me from all things whereby I might ſignifie any thing to the world of my ſtate: yet having, as now I have pen and inke, through Gods working, maugre the head of Satan and his ſouldiers, I thought good to write a ſhort confeſſion of my faith, and thereto joyne a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profeſſion.

Firſt, for my faith, I do confeſſe and pray all the whole congregation of Chriſt to beare witneſſe with me of the ſame, that I beleeve conſtantly, through the gift and goodneſſe of GOD, (for Faith is Gods only gift) all the twelve Articles of the Symbole or Creede, commonly attributed to the collection of the Apoſtles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound, to the confirmation and comfort of the ſimple; but alas by ſtarts and ſtealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I ſhall deſire you all to take this brevitie in good part. And this faith I hold, not becauſe of the Creede it ſelf, but becauſe of the Word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This Word of God Written by the Prophets and Apoſtles, left and contained in the Canonicall Bookes of the whole Bible, I do beleeve to contain plentifully all things neceſſarie to ſalvation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to ſalvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the Church of Chriſt, nor none of his Congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, then which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In teſtimony of this faith I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſts Vicar generall and ſupreme head of his Catholike and Univerſall Church here or elſewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſts reall, corporall, and carnall preſence in his Supper, under the formes and accidents of bread and wine.

Antichriſt of Rome not to be Chriſts generall Vicar.
Tranſubſtantiation a doctrine of Idolatry.

To beleeve Chriſt our Saviour to be the head of his Church, and Kings in their Realmes to be the ſupreme powers, to whom every ſoule oweth obedience, and to beleeve that in the Supper of Chriſt (which the ſacrament of the Altar, as the Papiſts call it, and uſe it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very preſence of whole Chriſt God and man to the faith of the receiver, but not to the ſtander by and looker upon, as it is a true and verie preſence of bread and wine to the ſenſes of men: to beleeve this (I ſay) will not ſerve, and therefore as an Heretick I am condemned, and ſhall be burned; whereof I aske God heartily mercie that I do no more rejoyce then I do, having ſo great cauſe, as to be an inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my deare Lord God and Saviour to ſuffer.

The ſacrament of the altar quite overthroweth the Lords Supper.
Chriſt wholly preſent to the faith of the receiver.

For albeit my manifold ſinnes, even ſince I came into priſon, have deſerved at the hands of God, not only this temporall, but alſo eternall fire in hell, much more then my former ſinfull life, which the Lord pardon for his Chriſts ſake, as I know he of his mercie hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, ſo great is his goodneſſe (praiſed therefore be his holy name) although (I ſay) my manifold and grievous late ſinnes have deſerved moſt juſtly all the tyrannie that man or Divel can do unto me; and therefore I confeſſe that the Lord is juſt, and that his judgements be true and deſerved on my behalf: yet the Biſhops and Prelates do not perſecute them in me, but Chriſt himſelf, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cauſe, yea moſt great cauſe to rejoyce that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deſerved for my ſinnes, it pleaſeth the heavenly Father to glorifie his name, to teſtifie his truth, to confirme his veritie, to repugne his adverſaries. Oh good God and mercifull Father, forgive my great unthankfulneſſe, eſpecially herein.

God puniſheth his people for one thing: but men perſecute them for another.

Bradford ſorry that he doth not more rejoyce dying in ſo good a quarrell.

And you my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jeſus Chriſts ſake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and bloud do now, for my laſt Vale and farewell in this preſent life, beſeech you and every of you, that you will conſider this work of the Lord accordingly: Firſt by me be admoniſhed to beware of hypocriſie and carnall ſecuritie; profeſſe not the Goſpel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and veritie; frame and faſhion your lives accordingly; beware Gods name be not evill ſpoken of, and the Goſpel leſſe regarded by your converſation. God forgive me that I have not ſo heartily profeſſed it as I ſhould have done, but have ſought much my ſelf therein. The Goſpel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottels, without more great hurt then good to the bottels. If we will talk with the Lord, we muſt put off our ſhooes and carnall affections; if we will heare the voice of the Lord, we muſt waſh our garments and be holy; if we will be Chriſts Diſciples, we muſt denie our ſelves, take up our croſſe and follow Chriſt; we cannot ſerve two Maſters. If we ſeek Chriſts Kingdome, we muſt ſeek for the righteouſneſſe thereof. To this petition (Let thy Kingdome come) we muſt joyn, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in Heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we ſore deceive our ſelves. If we heare the Goſpel, and love it not, we declare our ſelves to be but fooles, and builders upon the ſand. The Lords Spirit hateth faining; deceitfulneſſe the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him we muſt beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will anſwer us according to the block which is in our heart, and ſo we ſhall deceive our ſelves and others.

A leſſon againſt carnall ſecurity.

The Goſpel is a new doctrine to the old man.

Chriſtian profeſsion requireth Chriſtian converſation.

To Faith ſee that we couple a good conſcience, leſt we make a ſhipwrack. To the Lord we muſt come with feare and reverence. If we will be Goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſts; if we be Chriſts, we muſt crucifie our fleſh with the luſts and concupiſcences thereof; if we will be under grace, ſin muſt not beare rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elſewhere, leſt the Lords wrath waxe hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no caſe can the Kingdome of Chriſt approach to them that repent not. Therefore my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily ſorrie that we have ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo covetouſly, ſo vaine-gloriouſly profeſſed the Goſpel. For all theſe I confeſſe my ſelf to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of Judgement. Let the anger and plagues of God moſt juſtly falne upon us, be applied to every one of our deſerts, that from the bottome of our hearts, every of us may ſay; It is I Lord that have ſinned againſt thee: it is my hypocriſie, my vaine-glory, my covetouſneſſe, uncleanneſſe, carnalitie, ſecuritie, idleneſſe, unthankfulneſſe, ſelf-love, and ſuch like, which have deſerved the taking away of our good King, of thy word and true religion, of thy good Miniſters by exile, priſonment, and death; it is my wickedneſſe that cauſeth ſucceſſe and increaſe of authoritie and peace to thine enemies. Oh be mercifull, be mercifull unto us. Turn to us again, O Lord of hoſts, and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, leſt we be conſumed in thine anger; chaſtiſe us not in thy wrathfull diſpleaſure; reprove us not, but in the midſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiſſe, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulneſſe, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be mercifull unto us, that we might truly worſhip thee. Help us, for the glory of thy name: be mercifull unto our ſins, for they are great: O heale us, and help us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people ſay, Where is their God, &c.

Faith would be coupled ever with a good conſcience.

He exhorteth to repentance.

Our ſins provoke perſecution.

He exhorteth to pray, and how to pray with repentance.

On this ſort my right dearely beloved, let us heartily bewaile our ſinnes, repent us of our former evill life, heartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lives in all things, continually

Praying, hearing, and reading the holy Scriptures.

Obedience to Magiſtrates in all that is not againſt Gods Word.

Patience.

watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, heare, and reade the holy Scriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkneſſe. Let us flee from all Idolatrie. Let us abhorre the Antichriſtian and Romiſh rotten ſervice, deteſt the Popiſh Maſſe, abrenounce their Romiſh god, prepare our ſelves to the Croſſe, be obedient to all that be in authoritie in all things that be not againſt God and his Word, for then anſwer with the Apoſtles; It is more meete to obey God then man. Howbeit never for any thing reſiſt, or riſe againſt the Magiſtrates. Avenge not your ſelves, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feele in your ſelves an hope and truſt in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to beare, be aſſured the Lord will be true to you; and you ſhall be able to beare all brunts. But if you want this hope, flee and get you hence rather then by your tarrying Gods name ſhould be diſhonoured.

We ought to depend upon Gods providence alwayes.

All our hope is only in Chriſt, and for his ſake to be received.

In ſumme, caſt your care on the Lord, knowing for moſt certain, that he is carefull for you; with him are all the haires of your head numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure and will: much more then, nothing ſhall happen to our bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, howſoever for a time it ſeeme otherwiſe to your ſenſes. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but alſo when you have no means, yea when all means be againſt you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he moſt chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, beleeve that you are his children through Chriſt, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you ſhall not lie ſtill: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of evill he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternall joy. Doubt not my dearely beloved herein, doubt not (I ſay) this will God your Father do for you, not in reſpect of your ſelves, but in reſpect of Chriſt your Captain, your Paſtor, your Keeper, out of whoſe hands none ſhall be able to catch you, in him be quiet, and often conſider your dignitie: namely, how that ye be Gods children, the Saints of God, Citizens of heaven, Temples of the holy Ghoſt, the Thrones of God, members of Chriſt, and Lords over all.

To beare the Croſſe.

Mortification.

Therefore be aſhamed to think, ſpeak, or do any thing that ſhould be unſeemely for Gods children, Gods Saints, Chriſts members, &c. Marvaile not though the Divell and the world hate you, though ye be perſecuted here, for the ſervant is not above his Maſter. Covet not earthly riches, feare not the power of man, love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Ieſus his coming, at which time your bodies ſhall be made like unto his glorious bodie, when he appeareth you ſhall be like unto him; when your life ſhall thus be revealed, then ſhall ye appeare with him in glory.

We muſt live in the faith of Chriſt.
The propertie of faith.

In the mean ſeaſon live in hope hereof. Let the life you leade be in the faith of the Sonne of God: For the juſt doth live by faith, which faith fleeth from all evill, and followeth the Word of God as a Lanterne to her feet, and a light to her ſteps; her eyes be above where Chriſt is, ſhe beholdeth not the things preſent, but rather things to come; ſhe glorieth in affliction, ſhe knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glorie which God will reveale to us, and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taſte; then ſhall we runne after the ſent it ſendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the Kingdome of God; whether the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Chriſt our Lord, to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my Country muſt have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this ſignification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offenſive and negligent behavior when I was amongſt you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come, Gods name therefore be praiſed. Confeſſe Chriſt when you be called, whatſoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen. This 11. of February, Anno 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lords ſake;
John Bradford.

To the Univerſitie and Town of Cambridge.

Another letter of M. Bradford to the Univerſity of Cambridge.

TO all that love the Lord Ieſus and his true doctrine, being in the Univerſitie and Town of Cambridge, John Bradford a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now not only priſoned, but alſo condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increaſe of all godlineſſe from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloudy paſſion of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, by the lively working of the holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

The Martyr is perſecuted of the Prelates not for their ſins, but only for Chriſt.
The cauſe of his condemnation declared.

Although I looke hourely when I ſhould be had to the ſtake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and ſtraight; yet having by the providence of God ſecretly pen and inke, I could not but ſomething ſignifie unto you my ſolicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (ſpecially in this matter wherein I am condemned) diſputed and preached, that it is needleſſe to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the ſame: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were ſealed up, as now you do and ſhall heare by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deſerved (through my uncleanneſſe, hypocriſie, avarice, vainglory, idleneſſe, unthankfulneſſe, and carnalitie, whereof I accuſe my ſelf, to my confuſion before the world, that before God through Chriſt I might, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, finde mercie) eternall death, and hell fire, much more then this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloved, it is not theſe, or any of theſe things, wherefore the Prelats do perſecute me, but Gods veritie and truth; yea even Chriſt himſelf is the only cauſe and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and ſhall be burned as an Heretick, becauſe I will not grant the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſts Vicar generall and ſupreme head of his Church here, and every where upon earth, by Gods ordinance, and becauſe I will not grant ſuch corporall, reall, and carnall preſence of Chriſts bodie and bloud in the Sacrament, as doth tranſubſtantiate the ſubſtance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea of Dogs and Miſe. Alſo I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Chriſts Church, as a rotten branch, and therefore ſhall be caſt into the fire.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoyce with me, and to give thankes for me, that God the eternall father hath vouchedſafe our mother to bring up any childe in whom it would pleaſe him to magnifie his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercie and truths ſake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deſerved death by reaſon of my ſinnes, ſhould be delivered to a demonſtration, a teſtification, and confirmation of Gods veritie and truth? Thou my mother the Univerſitie haſt not only had the truth of Gods Word plainly manifeſted unto thee by reading, diſputing and preaching publikely and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuſeleſſe, and as it were, almoſt to ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romiſh rout to ſuppreſſe the veritie, and ſet out the contrarie, thou haſt my life and bloud as a ſeale to confirme thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or elſe to confound thee, and beare witneſſe againſt thee, if thou wilt take part with the Prelates and Clergie, which now fill up the meaſure of their fathers which ſlew the Prophets and Apoſtles, that all the righteous bloud from Abel to Bradford, ſhed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

A great mercy of God to turn the death of his ſaints juſtly deſerved to ſerve for a confirmation of his own glory.

Cantabrigienſes bene moniti.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and libertie would ſuffer me (for love and duetie I beare unto thee) to admoniſh thee good Mother, and my ſiſter the Town, that you would call to minde from whence you are falne, and ſtudie to do the firſt workes. You know (if you will) theſe matters of the * Romiſh ſupremacie, and the Antichriſtian Tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſts Supper is overthrown, his Prieſthood evacuate, his ſacrifice fruſtrate, the Miniſterie of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godlineſſe extinguiſhed, the maſſe maintained, idolatrie ſupported, and all impietie cheriſhed: you know I ſay (if you will) that theſe opinions are not only beſides Gods Word, but even directly againſt it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part againſt God, againſt whom you cannot prevaile.

* Read before the letter of Cambridge to King Henry 8.

Therefore for the tender mercie of Chriſt, in his bowels and bloud I beſeech you, to take Chriſts collyrium and eye ſalve to annoint your eyes, that you may ſee what you do and have done in admitting (as I heare you have admitted, yea, alas authoriſed, and by conſent confirmed) the Romiſh rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not Canis reverſus ad vomitum. Be not * Sus lota reverſa ad volutabrum cœni. Beware leſt the Satan enter in with ſeven other ſpirits, and then poſtrema ſhall be worſe then the firſt. It had been better yee had never known the truth, then after knowledge to run from it. Ah, woe to this world and the things therein, which hath now ſo wrought with you. Oh that ever this dirt of the Divell ſhould daube up the eye of the Realm. For thou O mother art as the eye of the Realm. If thou be light and give ſhine, all the bodie ſhall fare the better: But if thou the light be darkneſſe, alas how great will the darkneſſe be? What is man whoſe breath is in his noſtrels, that thou ſhould thus be affraid of him?

* The dog returned to his own vomit. The Sow that was waſhed returned to her wallowing in the mire. 2 Pet. 2.

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glorie in this world, but ſhame? Why art thou affraid to carry Chriſts Croſſe? Wilt thou come into his Kingdome, and not drink of his cup? Doſt thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Doſt thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivitie, ſo hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confeſſors of Chriſt? Doſt thou not know that as deſtruction hapned unto it, ſo ſhall it do unto this? And troweſt thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her? and wilt thou give enſample to the whole Realme to run unto her? Haſt thou forgotten the wo that Chriſt threatneth to offence givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a milſtone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the Sea, then that thou ſhouldeſt offend the little ones?

The glory of this world is a vaine thing.

Babylon hath Juda in captivitie.

And alas, how haſt thou offended? Yea, and how doſt thou ſtill offend? Wilt thou conſider things according to the outward ſhew? Was not the Synagogue more ſeemely and like to be the true Church, then the ſimple flock of Chriſts Diſciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more coſtly aray, and rich apparrell externally to ſet forth her ſelf, then the homely houſewife of Chriſt? Where is the beauty of the Kings daughter the Church of Chriſt? Without or within? Doth not David ſay, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Chriſt, ſo are they happy which are not offended at his poore Church. Can the Pope and his Prelates mean honeſtly, which make ſo much of the wife and ſo little of the husband? The Church they magnifie, but Chriſt they contemne. If this Church were an honeſt woman (that is, Chriſts wife) except they would make much of her husband, Chriſt and his Word, ſhe would not be made much of them.

The Church ſtandeth not in the outward ſhew.

When Chriſt and his Apoſtles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, they or the Prelates, Biſhops, and Synagogue? If a man ſhould have followed cuſtome, unitie, antiquitie, or the more part, ſhould not Chriſt and his company have been caſt out of the doores? Therefore bade Chriſt, Search the Scriptures. And good mother, ſhall the ſervant be above his Maſter? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the World, then Chriſt and his deare Diſciples found? Who was taken in Noes time for the Church? Poore Noe and his familie, or others? Who was taken for Gods Church in Sodome? Lot, or others? And doth not Chriſt ſay; As it was then, ſo ſhall it go now towards the coming of the Sonne of man? What meaneth Chriſt when he ſaith; Iniquitie ſhall have the upper hand? Doth not he tell, that charitie ſhall waxe cold? And who ſeeth not a wonderfull great lack of charitie in thoſe, which would now be taken for Chriſts Church? All that feare God in this Realme truely can tell more of this then I can write.

Cuſtome, Unitie, Antiquitie, Conſent of multitude are markes deceiveable.

Therefore deare mother, receive ſome admonition of one of thy poore children, now going to be burned for the teſtimony of Jeſus. Come againe to Gods truth; come out of Babylon; confeſſe Chriſt and his true doctrine; repent that which is paſt; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of Gods Prophet the true Preacher Martin Bucer. Call to minde the threatnings of God, now ſomething ſeen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindall, Haddon, Horne, Scorie, Ponet, &c. ſomething awake thee. Let the impriſonment of thy deare Sonnes, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move thee. Conſider the Martyrdome of thy Chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now caſt not away the poore admonition of me going to be burned alſo, and to receive the like Crown of glorie with my fellows. Take to heart Gods calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? hardneſſe of heart. And what then? Deſtruction eternally both of bodie and ſoule. Ah therefore good mother awake, awake, repent, repent, buskle thy ſelfe, and make haſte to turn to the Lord. For elſe it ſhall be more eaſie for Sodome and Gomorrha in the day of

Martin Bucer preaching. Leaver, Pilkington, Grindall, Haddon, Horne, Ponet, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor.

judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O ſtop not your ears to day in hearing Gods voyce, though it be by a moſt unworthy meſſenger. O fear the Lord: for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

Bradford propheſies before the ſweat time what would follow of carnall Goſpelling, if repentance did not come.

You know I prophecied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnall Goſpelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both Town and Univerſity, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not ſpeedily to the Lord, if you ſtill be aſhamed of Chriſts truth which you know.

Perne, Thomſon. He teacheth Cambridge to pray.

Oh Perne repent, Oh Thomſon repent, Oh you Doctors, Batchelors, and Maſters repent: Oh Maior, Aldermen, and Towne-dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may eſcape the neer vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all ſay, Peccavimus, we have all ſinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voyce, O Lord. Deale not with us after our deſerts, but be mercifull to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercie. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hoſts, for the glorie of thy names ſake. Spare us, and be mercifull unto us. Let not the wicked people ſay; Where is now their God? O for thine own ſake, for thy names ſake, deale mercifully with us. Turn thy ſelf unto us, and us unto thee, and we ſhall praiſe thy name for ever.

Gods mercy promiſed to Cambridge if it repent.

If in this ſort (my dearely beloved) in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and proſtrate our ſelves before the throne of his grace, then ſurely, ſurely we ſhall finde mercie. Then ſhall the Lord looke merrily upon us, for his mercy ſake in Chriſt: then ſhall we heare him ſpeak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and mercifull of great pitie and compaſſion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot laſt long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we ſhall have our ſorrow to ceaſe. For he is exorable, and hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner: he rather would our converſion and turning.

Cambridge threatned if it repented not.

Oh turn ye now and convert yet once again I humbly beſeech you, and then the Kingdome of Heaven ſhall draw nigh. The eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joyes prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turne to the Lord. But if yee repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the faſhion of the world, the Lord will leade you on with wicked doers, you ſhall periſh in your wickedneſſe, your bloud will be upon your own heads, your part ſhall be with hypocrites, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, yee ſhall be caſt from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternall ſhame, ſorrow, woe, and miſery, ſhall be both in body and ſoule to you, world without end. Oh therefore, right deare to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evill, do good, follow peace and purſue it. Come out from Babylon, caſt off the workes of darkneſſe, put on Chriſt, confeſſe his truth, be not aſhamed of his Goſpel, prepare your ſelves to the Croſſe, drink of Gods Cup before it come to the dregs, and then ſhall I with you and for you, rejoyce in the day of judgement, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your ſelves thereto, I heartily beſeech you. And thus I take my Vale in æternum, with you in this preſent life, mine own deare hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercie be with us all, and give us a joyfull and ſure meeting in his Kingdome, Amen, Amen. Out of priſon the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever,
Iohn Bradford.

To Lancaſhire and Cheſhire.

Another letter of M. Bradford to Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and ſpecially to Mancheſter.

TO all thoſe that profeſſe the name and true religion of our Saviour Chriſt in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and ſpecially abiding in Mancheſter and thereabout, John Bradford a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but alſo condemned for the ſame true religion, wiſheth mercie and grace, peace, and increaſe of all godlineſſe from God the Father of all pitie, through the deſerts of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the working of the moſt mighty and lively ſpirit the comforter for ever, Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearely beloved in the Lord, that my Heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and Goſpel amongſt you by word, ſo I ſhall teſtifie and confirme the ſame by deed, that is, I ſhall with you leave my life, which by his providence I firſt received there (for in Mancheſter was I borne) for a ſeale to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongſt you: ſo that if from henceforth you waver in the ſame, you have none excuſe at all. I know the enemies of Chriſt, which exerciſe this crueltie upon me (I ſpeak in reſpect of mine offence which is none to themwards) think by killing of me amongſt you to affray you and others, leſt they ſhould attempt to teach Chriſt truely, or beleeve his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will by my death, more confirme you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoyce to ſee Satan and his ſouldiers ſupplanted in their own ſapience, which is plain fooliſhneſſe amongſt the wiſe indeed, that is, amongſt ſuch as have heard Gods Word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wiſe of the wiſedome of God our Saviour.

He confeſſeth his ſinnes before God.

Indeed if I ſhould ſimply conſider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his Law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Iuſtus es Domine, & omnia judicia tua vera. i. e. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgements are true. For I have much grieved thee, and tranſgreſſed thy holy precepts, not only before my profeſſing the Goſpel, but ſithence alſo: yea, ſithence my coming into priſon I do not excuſe, but accuſe my ſelf before God and all his Church, that I have grievouſly offended my Lord God, I have not loved his Goſpel as I ſhould have done, I have ſought my ſelf, and not ſimply and only his glorie and my brethrens commoditie, I have been too unthankfull, ſecure, carnall, hypocriticall, vaine-glorious, &c. All which my evills, the Lord of mercie pardon me for his Chriſts ſake, as I hope and certainly beleeve he hath done for his great mercie in Chriſt our Redeemer.

The Papiſts condemne not Bradford but Chriſt.

But when I conſider the cauſe of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoyce then I do. For it is Gods veritie and truth; So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford ſimply, but rather a condemnation of Chriſt and of his truth. Bradford is nothing elſe but an inſtrument in whom Chriſt and his doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearely beloved, rejoyce, rejoyce and give thankes with me and for me, that ever God did vouchſafe ſo great a benefit to our countrey, as to chooſe the moſt unworthy (I meane my ſelfe) to be one, in whom it would pleaſe him to ſuffer any kinde of affliction: much more this violent kinde of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his ſake. All glorie and praiſe be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercie towards me, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

D. Pendleton recanted firſt in K. Edwards time, and now again in Q. Maries time.

But perchance you will ſay unto me; what is the cauſe for the which you are condemned? We heare ſay, that yee deny all preſence of Chriſt in his holy Supper, and ſo make it a bare ſigne and common bread, and nothing elſe. My dearely beloved, what is ſaid of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongſt you) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will ſpeak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much paſſe not: for he that is ſo uncertain, and will ſpeak ſo often againſt himſelf, I cannot think he will ſpeak well of me, except it make for his purpoſe and profit: but of this enough.

The cauſe why M. Brad. was condemned.

Tranſubſtantiation the divels darling, and daughter of Antichriſt.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an heretick, is becauſe I deny in the Sacrament of the altar (which is not Chriſts ſupper, but a plain perverting of it, being uſed as the Papiſts now uſe it) to be a reall, naturall, and corporall preſence of Chriſts bodie and bloud, under the formes and accidents of bread and wine, that is, becauſe I deny Tranſubſtantiation, which is the darling of the Divell, and daughter and heire to Antichriſts religion, whereby the Maſſe is maintained, Chriſts ſupper perverted, his ſacrifice and croſſe imperfected, his Prieſthood deſtroyed, the miniſtery taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godlineſſe abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord, or Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, I confeſſe and beleeve that there is a true, and very preſence of the whole Chriſt, God and man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the ſtander by and looker on) as there is a very true preſence of bread and wine to the ſenſes of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which conſenteth with the Word of God, and with the true teſtimonie of Chriſts Church, (which the Popiſh Church doth perſecute) will I not forſake, and therefore am I condemned as an heretick, and ſhall be burned. But my dearely beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I beleeved, and do beleeve, and therein give my life) I hope in God ſhall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but ſhall triumph, have victorie, and be at libertie, maugre the head of all Gods adverſaries. For there is no counſeil againſt the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the veritie in any other then ſuch as be children of unbeleefe, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to beleeve lies. From which plague the Lord of mercie deliver you and all the Realme, my deare hearts in the Lord, I humbly beſeech his mercie, Amen.

M. Bradfords farewell to the countrey of Lancaſhire.

And to the end you might be delivered from this plague, (right deare to me in the Lord) I ſhall for my farewell with you for ever in this preſent life, heartily deſire you all in the bowels and bloud of our moſt mercifull Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to attend unto theſe things which I now ſhall ſhortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

Gods manifold plagues upon England in Q. Maries dayes.

You know an heavie plague (or rather plagues) of God is falne upon us, in taking away our good King, and true Religion, Gods true Prophets and Miniſters, &c. And ſetting over us, ſuch as ſeek not the Lord after knowledge: whoſe endevours God proſpereth wonderfully to the tryall of many, that his people may both better know themſelves, and be known. Now the cauſe hereof is our iniquities and grievous ſinnes. We did not know the time of our viſitation: we were unthankfull unto God: we contemned the Goſpel, and carnally abuſed it, to ſerve our hypocriſie, our vaine glory, our viciouſneſſe, avarice, idleneſſe, ſecuritie, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have ſhewed mercie upon us, but we were ever the longer the worſe. Therefore moſt juſtly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may ſee that his juſtice is tempered with much mercie, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly conſumed. For if the Lord ſhould deale with us after our deſerts, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, ſeeing he doth remember his mercie undeſerved (yea undeſired on our behalf) let us take occaſion the more ſpeedily to go out to meete him, not with force of armes (for we are not ſo able to withſtand him, much leſſe to prevaile againſt him) but to beſeech him to be mercifull unto us, and according to his wonted mercie to deale with us.

The cauſe of Gods plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the time of Gods viſitation.

Riſing with David.

Suing with the Centurion.

Repenting with the Publican.

Returning with the loſt Sonne.

Let us ariſe with David, and ſay, Ne intres in judicium cum ſervo tuo, &c. i. e. Enter not into judgement with thy ſervant O Lord: for in thy ſight no fleſh living ſhall be juſtified. Let us ſend Embaſſadors with the Centurion, and ſay, Lord, we are not worthy to come our ſelves unto thee, Speak the word, and we ſhall have peace. Let us penitently with the Publican looke down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burſt them, and cry out, O God be mercifull unto us wretched ſinners. Let us with the loſt Sonne return and ſay, O Father, we have ſinned againſt heaven and earth, and before thee; we are unworthy to be called thy children. Let us I ſay do on this ſort, that is heartily repent us of our former evill life, and unthankefull Goſpelling paſt, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercie through Chriſt, and heartily calling upon his holy name, and then undoubtedly we ſhall finde and feele otherwiſe then yet we feele, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we ſhall feele peace of conſcience between God and us, which peace paſſeth all underſtanding, and outwardly we ſhall feele much mitigation of theſe miſeries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Bradfords ultimum vale.

Therefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your pooreſt brother now departing to the Lord, for my Vale in æternum, for this preſent life, pray you, beſeech you, and even from the very bottome of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Chriſt ſhewed unto you, moſt earneſtly beg and crave of you out of priſon (as often out of your Pulpits I have done) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evill life, be ſorrie for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whoſe armes are wide open to receive and imbrace you, whoſe ſtretched out hand to ſtrike to death ſtayeth that he may ſhew mercie upon you. For he is the Lord of mercie, and God of all comfort, he will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that yee ſhould return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleaſure in the deſtruction of men; his long ſuffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

The day of Gods wrath at hand.

Now is the axe laid to the roote of the tree utterly to deſtroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the

Wanton Goſpellers. Proud Proteſtants. Falſe Chriſtians.

wanton Goſpellers, the proud Proteſtants, hypocriticall and falſe Chriſtians, as alas, we have done. Now the Lord ſpeaketh to us in mercie and grace; Oh turn before he ſpeaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercie with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to ſhew mercie to them that call upon him. Oh then call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercie, and plentifull to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the Name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved. If your ſins be as red as ſcarlet, the Lord ſaith, he will make them as white as ſnow. He hath ſworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithfull, and true, ſo will he be our God, and we ſhall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraff in our mindes, and never will he have in minde our unrighteouſneſſe.

Bradford propheſied of theſe plagues before.

Therefore my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you ſtop your ears, and harden your hearts to day, when you hear his voice by me your pooreſt brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath ſhewed himſelf true, and me his true Preacher, by bringing to paſſe theſe plagues which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to paſſe, ſpecially when I intreated of Noahs flood, and when I preached of the twenty two chapter of S. Matthews Goſpel, on S. Stevens day the laſt time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord ſendeth you word (dear countrymen) that if you will go on forward in your impenitencie, carnality, hypocriſie, idolatry, covetouſneſſe, ſwearing, gluttony, drunkenneſſe, whoredom, &c. (wherewith alas, alas our country floweth:) if (I ſay) you will not turn and leave off ſeeing me now burned amongſt you, to aſſure you on all ſides how God ſeeketh you, and is ſorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to deſtroy you, to take vengeance upon you; Oh your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

Deſtruction threatned to them that repent not.

Precepts of life.

As I ſaid therefore, I ſay again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, ceaſe from doing evill, ſtudy to do well, away with Idolatry, flye the Romiſh God and ſervice, leave off from ſwearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenneſſe, flye from fornication and flattery, murther and malice, deſtroy deceitfulneſſe, and caſt away all the works of darkneſſe. Put on pity and godlineſſe, ſerve God after his word, and not after cuſtome, uſe your tongues to glorifie God by prayer, thankſgiving, and confeſſion of his truth, &c. be ſpirituall, and by the ſpirit mortifie carnall affections, be ſober, holy, true, loving, gentle, mercifull, and then ſhall the Lords wrath ceaſe, not for this our doings ſake, but for his mercies ſake. Go to therefore (good countrymen) take this counſell of the Lord, by me now ſent unto you, as the Lords counſell, and not as mine, that in the day of judgement I may rejoyce with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily deſire, and not to be a witneſſe againſt you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as againſt the Papiſts Gods enemies (whom I beſeech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death, and are the cauſers thereof, for they know not what they do) ſo will my blood cry for vengeance againſt you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

Good counſell given.

Bradfords blood will cry againſt the refuſers of his counſell.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beſeech thee thou Mancheſter, thou Aſhton-underline, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigine, Lierpool, Motrine, Steppor, Winſley, Eccles, Prieſtwich, Middleton, Radclief, and thou City of Weſtcheſter, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn I ſay unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you, he will ſay unto his Angel, It is enough, put up the ſword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beſeech his goodneſſe, for the precious bloods ſake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Ah good brethren, take in good part theſe my laſt words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongſt you. The Lord of mercie pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen. Out of priſon, ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

To the Town of Walden.

Another letter of M. Bradford to the town of Walden.

To the faithfull, and ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, mercie, and peace, with the increaſe of all godlineſſe in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deſerts of our alone and full Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the mighty working of the moſt holy ſpirit, the comforter for ever, Amen.

When I remember, how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleaſed him through my miniſtery to call you to repentance and amendment of life, ſomething effectually, as it ſeemed, and to ſow amongſt you his true doctrine and religion, leſt that by my affliction, and ſtorms now ariſen to try the faithfull, and to conform them like to the Image of the Son of God, into whoſe company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of priſon ſecretly (for my Keepers may not know that I have pen and ink) write unto you a ſignification of the deſire I have, that you ſhould not onely be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongſt you, which I take on my death, as I ſhall anſwer at the day of doom, I am perſwaded to be Gods aſſured, infallible, and plain truth; but alſo ſhould after your vocation avow the ſame by confeſſion, profeſſion, and living. I have not taught you my dearly beloved in the Lord) fables, tales, or untruths, but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praiſed be God therefore) I do ſeal the ſame.

M. Bradford anſwereth with his blood for his doctrine.

M. Bradford accuſeth againſt his own life.

Indeed to confeſſe the truth unto you, and to all the Church of Chriſt, I do not think of my ſelf, but that I have moſt juſtly deſerved, not onely this kinde, but alſo all kindes of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocriſie, vaine-glorie, uncleanneſſe, ſelf-love, covetouſneſſe, idleneſſe, unthankfulneſſe, and carnall profeſſing of Gods holy Goſpel, living therein not ſo purely, lovingly, and painfully as I ſhould have done. The Lord of mercie for the bloud ſake of Chriſt pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done for his holy names ſake through Chriſt. But my dearely beloved, you and all the whole world may ſee, and eaſily perceive, that the Prelates perſecute in me another thing then mine iniquities, even Chriſt himſelf, Chriſts veritie and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not confeſſe Tranſubſtantiation, and how that wicked men, yea Mice and Dogs eating the Sacrament, which they term of the Altar, thereby overthrowing Chriſts holy Supper utterly, do eate Chriſts naturall and reall body born of the Virgin Mary;

Chriſt himſelf perſecuted in his Martyrs.

To beleeve and confeſſe as Gods word teacheth, the primitive Church beleeved, and all the Catholike and good holy fathers taught 500. yeers at the leaſt after Chriſt, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Maſſe overthroweth, as it doth Chriſts Prieſthood, ſacrifice, death, and paſſion, the miniſtery of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godlineſſe) whole Chriſt, God and man, is preſent by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the ſtanders by and lookers on, as bread and wine is to their ſenſes, will not ſerve: and therefore I am condemned and ſhall be burned out of hand as an Heretike. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an inſtrument, in whom he himſelf doth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction and death is not ſimply, becauſe I have deſerved no leſſe, but much more at his hands and juſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſſe his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you alſo might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and ſo many as unfainedly love me in God, to give with me and for me moſt hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, for this his exceeding great mercie towards me and you alſo, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you deſire more, to aſſure your conſciences of the verity taught by your Preachers, than their own lives?

M. Bradford perſecuted for confeſsing the truth.

Go to therefore my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Chriſts religion truly taught you, and ſet forth in King Edwards dayes. Never ſhall the enemies be able to burn it, and priſon it, and keep it in bonds. As they may priſon, they may binde and burn as they do, and will do, ſo long as ſhall pleaſe the Lord: but our cauſe, religion, and doctrine which we confeſſe, they ſhall never be able to vanquiſh and put away. Their Idolatry and Popiſh religion ſhall never be built in the conſciences of men that love Gods truth. As for thoſe that love not Gods truth, that have no pleaſure to walk in the wayes of the Lord, in thoſe I ſay the Devill ſhall prevail: For God will give them ſtrong illuſion to beleeve lyes. Therefore, dear brethren, and ſiſters in the Lord, I humbly beſeech you, and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, now going to the death, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, as oftentimes I have done before this preſent out of your Pulpit, that you would love the Lords truth; love (I ſay) to love it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas, you know the cauſe of all theſe plagues fallen upon us, and of the ſucceſſe which Gods adverſaries have daily, is for our not loving Gods word.

Gods truth can never be kept under by the adverſaries.

He exhorteth them to love Gods truth, and to live thereafter.

You know how that we were but Goſpellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnall, concupiſcentious, idle, unthankfull, unclean, covetous, arrogant, diſſemblers, crafty, ſubtile, malicious, falſe, backbiters, &c. and even glutted with Gods word, yea, we loathed it, as did the Iſraelites the Manna in the wilderneſſe; and therefore as to them the Lords wrath waxed hot, ſo doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confeſſe our faults even from the bottome of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercies ſake) we run unto the Lord our God, which is exorable, mercifull, and ſorry for the evill poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, ſaying; We have ſinned, we have ſinned grievouſly, Oh Lord God, againſt thy majeſty, we have heaped iniquity upon iniquity; the meaſure of our tranſgreſſions floweth over, ſo that juſtly is thy vengeance and wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miſerable, we have contemned thy long ſuffering, we have not hearkned to thy voyce. When thou haſt called us by Preachers, we hardned our hearts, and therefore now deſerve that thou ſend thy curſe hereupon to harden our hearts alſo, that we ſhould henceforth have eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, hearts and underſtand not, leſt we ſhould convert and be ſaved. Oh be mercifull unto us; ſpare us good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou haſt dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and alwayes againſt thee, for then will they be puft up. Look down and behold the pitifull complaints of the poor; let the ſorrowfull ſighing of the ſimple come in thy ſight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us O Lord God of hoſts unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou maiſt be juſtified in thy ſweet ſentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adverſaries. For they ſay, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their Goſpel ſerve them? Oh Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honours ſake, in the bowels and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, we humbly beſeech thee, come and help us, for we are very miſerable.

Gods Goſpel abuſed.

Gods Goſpel loathed.

He exhorteth to repentance and prayer, and to bewail our ſins before the Lord our God.

On this ſort I ſay dearly beloved, let us publikely and privately bewail our ſins; but ſo that hereto we joyn ceaſing from wilfulneſſe and ſin of purpoſe, for elſe the Lord heareth not our prayers, as David ſaith. And in S. John it is written; The impenitent ſinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpoſe not to amend their lives: As for example, not onely ſuch which follow ſtill their pleaſures, uncleanneſſe, carnality; but thoſe alſo which for fear or favour of men, do againſt their conſcience conſent to the Romiſh rags, and reſort to the rotten religion, communicating in ſervice and ceremonies with the Papiſts, thereby declaring themſelves to love more the world than God, to fear man more than Chriſt, to dread more the loſſe of temporall things than ſpirituall; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the world, hath not Gods word abiding in him, ſaith S. John: therefore my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have profeſſed, Chriſts religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, ſin, and the world.

The prayers of ſinners be not heard.

Romiſh rags and rotten religion.

Remember that before ye learned A. B. C. your leſſon was Chriſts Croſſe. Forget not that Chriſt will have no Diſciples, but ſuch as will promiſe to deny themſelves, and take up their Croſſe (mark, take it up) and follow him, and not the multitude, cuſtome, &c. Conſider for Gods ſake, that if we gather not with Chriſt, we ſcatter abroad. What ſhould it profit a man to win the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul? We muſt not forget that this life is a Wilderneſſe, and not a Paradiſe: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we muſt needs fight, or elſe be taken priſoners. Of all things we have in this life, we ſhall carry nothing with us. If Chriſt be our Captain, we muſt follow him as ſouldiers. If we keep company with him in affliction, we ſhall be ſure of his ſociety in glory. If we forſake not him, he will never forſake us. If we confeſſe him, he will confeſſe us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be aſhamed of him, he will be aſhamed of us. Wherefore, as he forſook his Father, and Heaven, and all things to come to us, ſo let us forſake all things and come to him, being ſure and moſt certain that we ſhall not loſe thereby. Your children ſhall finde and feel it double, yea treble, whatſoever you loſe for the Lords ſake; and you ſhall finde and feel peace of conſcience, and friendſhip with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

The A.B.C. of the Chriſtians beginneth with Chriſts Croſſe.

They never loſe that follow Chriſt.

He exhorteth to amendment in religion and converſation.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lords ſake, conſider theſe things which I now write unto you of love, for my vale, and laſt farewell for ever in this preſent life. Turn to the Lord, repent you of your evill and unthankfull life, declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord whiles he calleth you; run into his lap, whiles his arms be open to imbrace you; ſeek him whiles he may be found; call upon him whiles time is convenient; forſake and flye from all evill, both in religion, and in the reſt of your life and converſation. Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and praiſe God in the day of his viſitation. Oh come again, come again you ſtrange children, and I will receive you, ſaith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why, will ye needs periſh? As ſure as I live (ſweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the childe of her womb? if ſhe ſhould, yet I will not forget you, ſaith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your ſins for mine own ſake.

The Lord watcheth to perform his word double wiſe.

Oh then dear friends, turn I ſay unto your deareſt Father. Caſt not theſe ſweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two ſorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and beleeve it, will he pay all, and eternall joy and comfort. But to them that caſt it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I ſay) will he pour out indignation and eternall ſhame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beſeech and pray you, and every of you, not to contemn this poor and ſimple exhortation, which now out of priſon I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loath would I be a witneſſe againſt you in the laſt day; as of truth I muſt be if ye repent not, if ye love not Gods Goſpel, yea, if ye love it not.

Bradford muſt be a witneſſe in the laſt day to them that reject his counſel.

Therefore (to conclude) repent, love Gods Goſpel, live in it all your converſation, ſo ſhall Gods name be praiſed, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies aſhamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us for thy dear Sons ſake, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: To whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt be eternall glory for ever and ever, Amen. The 12. of February, Anno 1555.

By the Bondman of our Lord, and
your afflicted poor brother,
Iohn Bradford.

To my loving brethren, B.C. &c. their wives and whole families, I. Bradford.

Another letter of M. Bradford to certain friends of his, whom for danger of that time he would not name.

I Beſeech the everliving God to grant you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the comfort of the holy Spirit, and the continuall ſenſe of his mercie in Chriſt our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

Gods anger and mercy both together upon his Church.

The world (my brethren) ſeemeth to have the upper hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity ſeemeth to be oppreſſed, and they which take part therewith, are unjuſtly intreated; as they which love the truth, lament to ſee and hear, as they do. The cauſe of all this, is Gods anger, and mercie: his anger, becauſe we have grievouſly ſinned againſt him; his mercie, becauſe he here puniſheth us, and as a farther nurtureth us. We have been unthankfull for his word; We have contemned his kindeneſſe; We have been negligent in prayer; We have been ſo carnall, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not haſtned to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; ſo that of his juſtice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true ſervice from us, and permitting Satan to ſerve us with Antichriſtian religion, and that in ſuch ſort, that if we will not yeeld to it, and ſeem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in priſon, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

The contempt of God and his Goſpel puniſhed.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

This ſhould we look upon as a ſign of Gods anger procured by our ſins; which my good brethren, every of us ſhould now call to our memories oftentimes, ſo particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earneſtly mercie for them, and ſubmit our ſelves to bear in this life any kinde of puniſhment, which God will lay upon us for them. This ſhould we do in conſideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercie in this time of wrath is ſeen, and ſhould be ſeen in us my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh us in this preſent life. If he ſhould not have puniſhed us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been worſe, and have gone forwards in hardning our hearts by impenitencie, and negligence of God and true godlineſſe. And then if death had come, ſhould not we have periſhed both ſoul and body in eternall fire in perdition? Alas, what miſery ſhould we have fallen into, if God ſhould have ſuffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater ſign of danmation there is, than to lye in evill and ſin unpuniſhed of God, as now the Papiſts (my dearly beloved) are caſt into Jeſabels bed of ſecurity, which of all plagnes is the grievouſeſt plague that can be. They are baſtards and not ſons, for they are not under Gods rod of correction.

Gods mercie the cauſe why we are puniſhed here.

Jeſabels bed of ſecurity.

Apoc.3.
Heb.12.
1 Cor.11.
1 Pet.4.

The end wherfore Gods Saints be afflicted in this world.

A great mercie it is therefore, that God doth puniſh us: For if he loved us not, he would not puniſh us. Now doth he chaſtiſe us, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, becauſe he favoureth us. Now may we think our ſelves Gods houſe and children, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtiſing at us: Now calleth he us to remember our ſins paſt. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercie. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, juſtifie us, and make us his children, and ſo begin to make us here like unto Chriſt, that we might be like unto him elſewhere, even in heaven, where already we are ſet by faith with Chriſt; and at his coming in very deed we ſhall then moſt joyfully enjoy, when our ſinfull and vile bodies ſhall be made like to Chriſts glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things ſubject to himſelf.

Phil.3.

Rom.8.
2 Tim.2.
Matth.10.

Therefore my brethren, let us in reſpect hereof not lament, but laud God, not be ſorry, but be merry, not weep, but rejoyce and be glad, that God doth vouchſafe to offer us his Croſſe, thereby to come to him to endleſſe joys and comforts. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall raign, if we confeſſe him before men, he will confeſſe us before his Father in heaven; if we be not aſhamed of his Goſpel now, he will not be aſhamed of us in the laſt day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endleſſe felicity: For, bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for Righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven: Be glad (ſaith Peter) for the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, ſtrengthen and confirm you. And therefore my good brethren be not diſcouraged for croſſe, for priſon, or loſſe of goods, for confeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel and truth which ye have beleeved, and lively was taught amongſt you in the dayes of our late good King, and moſt holy Prince, King Edward. This is moſt certain, if you loſe any thing for Chriſts ſake, and

Matth.5.
1 Pet.4.

1 Pet.5.
He exhorteth them to take comfort in the Croſſe.
Matth.19.

for

Pſal.38.

for contemning the Antichriſtian ſervice, ſet up again amongſt us: as you for your parts even in priſon ſhall finde Gods great and rich mercie, far paſſing all worldly wealth; ſo ſhall your wives and children in this preſent life, finde and feel Gods Providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell. For he will ſhew mercifull kindeneſſe on thouſands of them that love him. The good mans ſeed ſhall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſts ſake.

Gods mercie ſeen in the croſſe.
Rom.8.
Matth.7.
2 Tim.3.
2 Cor.5.
Matth.16.
A ſtrait way.

I truſt you all, my dearly beloved, will conſider this gear with your ſelves, and in the Croſſe ſee Gods mercie, which is more ſweet, and to be ſet by, than life it ſelf, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercie of God ſhould make you merry and cheerfull: for the afflictions of this life, are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to Heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the Devill, but it is a ſtraight way which few walk in. For few live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, few regard the life to come, few remember the day of Judgement, few remember how Chriſt will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here, few conſider that Chriſt will be aſhamed of them in the laſt day, which are aſhamed of his truth and true ſervice, few caſt their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the condemnation of their own conſciences, in doing that which inwardly they diſallow, few love God better than their goods.

A little flock.
Luke 10.
Rom.14.
Epheſ.4.
Acts 20.

But I truſt yet you are of this few, my dearly beloved, I truſt you be of that little flock, which ſhall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, I truſt you are the mourners and lamenters which ſhall be comforted with comfort, which never ſhall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils, if now you ſtrive againſt the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon God, if now you defile not your bodies with any Idolatrous ſervice uſed in the Antichriſtian Churches, if you moleſt not the good ſpirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternall redemption, a counſeller and maſter to leade you into all truth, which good ſpirit I beſeech the Father of mercie to give to us all, for his dear Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and ſave you all that beleeve it, follow it, and ſerve God thereafter.

Matth.10.
Matth.8.
John 1.
Pſal.104.
Pſal.31.
1 Pet.5.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh, neither ſhall any man or Devill be able to attempt any thing, much leſſe to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, which loveth you moſt tenderly, ſhall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they ſhall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore caſt on him all your care, for he is carefull for you. Onely ſtudy to pleaſe him, and to keep your conſciences clean, and your bodies pure from the Idolatrous ſervice, which now every where is uſed, and God will marvellouſly and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy names ſake in Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

To his dearly beloved in Chriſt, Erkinalde Rawlins, and his wife.

Another letter of M. Bradford unto a godly couple, to the ſame effect as the other before.

GOD our dear and moſt mercifull Father through Chriſt, be with you my good brother and ſiſter, as with his children for ever, and in all things ſo guide you with his holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him, Amen. Becauſe I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporall (for the which I beſeech the Lord, as to make me thankfull, ſo to recompence you both now and eternally) I cannot but go about (Lord help hereto for thy mercies ſake) to write ſomething for your comfort ſpiritually.

Dales of affliction to the godly are joyfull: to the unrepenting ſinners be dolefull dayes.

Cleanſing dayes.

Gods phyſick not to be refuſed.

My dearly beloved, look not upon theſe dayes and the afflictions of the ſame here with us, ſimply as they ſeem unto you, that is, as diſmall dayes, and dayes of Gods vengeance, but rather as lucky dayes, and dayes of Gods fatherly kindeneſſe towards you, and ſuch as you be, that is, toward ſuch as repent their ſins and evill life paſt, and earneſtly purpoſe to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and moſt part of men, for the preſervation of their pelf, which will they, nill they, they ſhall leave ſooner or later, and to whom or how it ſhall be uſed, they know not. Indeed to ſuch as walk in their wickedneſſe, and winde on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of ſorrow is but now, becauſe they contemn the phyſick of their Father, which by this purging time and cleanſing dayes would work their weal, which they will not: and becauſe they will not have Gods bleſſing, which both wayes he hath offered unto them by proſperity and adverſity; therefore it ſhall be kept far enough from them. As when the ſick man will no kinde of phyſick at the hands of the Phyſician, he is left alone, and ſo the malady increaſeth, and deſtroyeth him at the length. To ſuch men indeed theſe dayes are and ſhould be dolefull dayes, and dayes of woe and weeping, becauſe their damnation draweth nigh.

Gods chaſtiſement to be received with comfort.

God puniſheth not twice for one thing.

But unto ſuch as be penitent, and are deſirous to live after the Lords will (among whom I do not onely count you, but as far as a man may judge, I know ye are) unto ſuch I ſay this time is and ſhould be comfortable. For firſt, now your Father chaſtiſeth you and me for our ſins; for the which if he would have deſtroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to our ſelves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly viſitation, which here it pleaſeth them to work preſently, becauſe elſewhere he will not remember our tranſgreſſions, as Paul writeth; he chaſtiſeth us in this world, leſt with the world we ſhould periſh. Therefore (my dear hearts) call to minde your ſins to lament them, and to ask mercie for them in his ſight, and withall undoubtedly beleeve to obtain pardon and aſſured forgiveneſſe of the ſame, for twice the Lord puniſheth not for one thing.

Difference between baſtards and children.

So that I ſay, firſt we have cauſe to rejoyce for theſe dayes, becauſe our Father ſuffereth us not to lye in Jeſabels bed, ſleeping in our own ſins and ſecurity, but as mindefull of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no baſtards, but children; for he chaſtiſeth every childe whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chaſtiſing, or that contemn it, declare themſelves to be baſtards, and not children, as I know ye are, which as ye are chaſtiſed, ſo do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly even by theſe viſitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whoſe faults your Father doth viſit with the rod of correction, but his mercie will he never take away from us, Amen.

Secondly, ye have cauſe to rejoyce for theſe dayes, becauſe they are dayes of tryall, wherein not onely ye your ſelves, but alſo the world ſhall know that ye be none of his, but the Lords dearlings. Before theſe dayes came, Lord God, how many thought of themſelves, they had been in

Gods

Trouble trieth who be of God, and who be not.

Gods boſome, and ſo were taken, and would be taken of the world? But now we ſee whoſe they are. For to whom we obey, his ſervants we are. If we obey the world (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it) then are we the worlds; but if we obey God, then are we Gods. Which thing (I mean that ye are Gods) theſe dayes have declared both to you, to me, and to all other that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cauſe to ſorrow, but rather to ſing, in ſeeing your ſelves to be Gods babes, and in ſeeing that all Gods children do ſo count you.

A true lover of the world, is declared by his life.

The Devill never entreth into his own hogs.

What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he ſeek to trouble and moleſt you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kinde: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the childe, that hateth the father: he cannot minde the ſervant, that careth not for the maſter. If ye were of the world, the world would love you, ye ſhould dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no moleſtation. If the Devill dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not ſtir up his Knights to beſiege your houſe, to ſnatch your goods, or ſuffer his fiends to enter into your Hogs. But becauſe Chriſt dwelleth in you (as he doth by faith) therefore ſtirreth he up his firſt-begotten ſon, the world, to ſeek how to diſquiet you, to rob you, to ſpoil you, to deſtroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are deſtinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another Citie than mans eyes have ſeen at any time, hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye may not love them above him) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

The Lord giveth power to Satan ſometimes over his ſervants, and to what end God uſeth to try his.

Satan perchance telleth God) as he did of Job) that ye love God for your goods ſake. What now then, if the Lord to try you with Job, ſhall give him power on your goods and body accordingly, ſhould ye be diſmayed? ſhould ye diſpair? ſhould ye be faint-hearted? ſhould ye not rather rejoyce, as did the Apoſtles, that they were counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Lords ſake? Oh forget not the end that hapned to Job: for as it hapned to him, ſo ſhall it happen unto you. For God is the ſame God, and cannot long forget to ſhew mercie to them that look and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you ſo to do ſtill. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to ſhew and pour out his mercie upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tryed you (ſaith Peter) he will viſit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob wraſtling with the Angel, at the length morning came, and the Sun aroſe; ſo dear hearts, doubtleſſe it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and diſpoſe your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power this long, even to that end.

Jacob muſt teach us to wraſtle.

This Erkinald and his wife following this counſell, did flie both beyond ſea.

Go to therefore, diſpoſe your goods, prepare your ſelves to triall, that either ye may ſtand to it like Gods Champions, or elſe if ye feel ſuch infirmity in your ſelves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and ſafe conſcience ſerve the Lord. Think not this counſell to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other Oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joſeph in a dream by an Angel, that he ſhould flye; ſo if you feel ſuch infirmity in your ſelves, as ſhould turn to Gods diſhonour, and your own deſtruction withall, know that at this preſent I am as Gods Angel, to admoniſh you to take time whiles ye have it, and to ſee that in no caſe Gods name by you might be diſhonoured. Joſeph might have objected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things elſe give place to Gods name, and the ſanctifying thereof.

This I ſpeak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to ſtand to it: but I ſpeak it in reſpect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be ſo great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; flye and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tryed to your ſelves and to others. For by it you ſhall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and ſo give occaſion to others leſſe to love this world, and perchance to ſome to doubt of their religion. Wherein though they be earneſt, yet would they not leeſe ſo much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Tribulation doth conform us to the image of Chriſt.

Laſt of all, ye have cauſe to rejoyce over theſe our dayes, becauſe they be the dayes of confirmation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Chriſts image here, that we may be like unto him elſewhere. For if that we ſuffer with him, then we ſhall raign alſo with him; if we be buried with him, then we ſhall riſe with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we ſhall rejoyce with him in glory: if we now ſow with him in tears, we ſhall reap with him in gladneſſe: if we confeſſe him before men, he will confeſſe us before his Father in Heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we leeſe ought for his names ſake, he will give us all things for his truths ſake. So that we ought to rejoyce and be glad; for it is not given to every one to ſuffer loſſe of country, life, goods, houſe, &c. for the Lords ſake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the Camp with his Son? What may Chriſt our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his Warriours? What can the holy Ghoſt do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hoſts?

The Lords cognizance ſtandeth not in forked caps, &c. but in ſuffering for the Lords ſake.

This cognizance of the Lord ſtandeth not in forked caps, tippets, ſhaven crowns, or ſuch other baggage and Antichriſtian pelf, but in ſuffering for the Lords ſake. The world ſhall hate you, ſaith Chriſt. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of Gods children; The world ſhall hate you. Rejoyce therefore (my dearly beloved) rejoyce, that God doth thus vouchſafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Chriſt. By the tryall of theſe dayes ye are occaſioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to deſire life everlaſting, more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us) and ſo to come to Gods company. Which thing becauſe we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternall life, and immortality of ſoul and body; which God of his mercie ſend ſhortly for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

To Miſtreſſe A. Warcup.

THe everlaſting peace of Chriſt be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, Amen.

Although I know it be more than needeth to write any thing unto you (good ſiſter) being, as I doubt not you be, diligently exerciſed in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the ſame, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of

his

Bradfords farewell to Miſtris Warcup.

his holy ſpirit, to have the ſenſe and feeling, eſpecially of the comforts you reade in Gods ſweet Book: yet having ſuch opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I ſhall ever have the like (as this bringer can declare) I thought good in few words to take up my farewell in writing, becauſe otherwiſe I cannot. And now me thinks I have done it. For what elſe can I, or ſhould I ſay unto you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) but farewell? Farewell, dear ſiſter, farewell; howbeit in the Lord, our Lord (I ſay) farewell. In him ſhall you fare well, and ſo much the better, by how much in your ſelf you fare evill, and ſhall fare evill.

When I ſpeak of your ſelf, I mean alſo this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, ſo be not diſmayed, when accordingly you ſhall not feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Chriſt, which hath born our ſins on his back, and is our Mediatour for ever, do I ſend you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, becauſe of his own goodneſſe and truth, which our evils and untruth cannot take away: Not that therefore I would have you to flatter your ſelf in any evill or unbelief, but that I would comfort you, that they ſhould not diſmay you. Yours is our Chriſt wholly, yours I ſay he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, trow you? Mountains ſhall move, and the earth ſhall fall before you finde it otherwiſe, ſay that lyer Satan what he liſt.

Chriſt is wholly ours with all that ever he hath.

Therefore good ſiſter farewell, and be merry in the Lord, be merry I ſay, for you have good cauſe. If your welfare, joy, and ſalvation hanged upon any other thing than onely Gods mercie and truth, then might you well be ſad, heavie, and ſtand in a doubt: but that it hangeth onely upon theſe two, tell Satan he lyeth, when he would leave you to ſtand in a mammering, by cauſing you to caſt your eyes (which onely in this caſe ſhould be ſet on Chriſt your ſweet Saviour) on your ſelf. In ſome part indeed look on your ſelf, on your faith, on your love, obedience, &c. to wake you up from ſecurity, to ſtir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true conſolation in your conſcience, altogether look upon the goodneſſe of God in Chriſt. Think on this Commandement which precedeth all other, That you muſt have no other Gods but the Lord Jehovah, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your ſins in very deed. Remember that Chriſt commandeth you to call him Father for the ſame intent. And hereto call to minde all the benefits of God, hitherto ſhewed upon you: and ſo ſhall you feel in very deed, that which I wiſh unto you now, and pray you to wiſh unto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Jeſus, with whom he grant us ſhortly to meet as his children, for his name and mercies ſake, to our eternall welfare, Amen.

How to anſwer to Satan, when he moveth us to doubt of Gods favour.
How to look upon Chriſt.
How to look upon our ſelves.
In caſe of Juſtification, let no man look upon himſelf, but onely upon the goodneſſe of God in Chriſt.

To mine own dear Brother, Maſter *Laurence Saunders*, priſoner in the Marſhalſey.

A letter of M. Bradford to M. Saunders.

MY good Brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father alwayes to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by inſtruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confuſion of his adverſaries. *Ex ore infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad deſtruendum inimicum, &c. Amen. id eſt,* Out of the mouth of infants and babes, he will ſhew forth his praiſe to deſtroy the enemy, &c.

I have peruſed your Letters to my ſelf, and have read them to others. For anſwer whereof, if I ſhould write what Doctor Taylor and Maſter Philpot do think, then muſt I ſay that they think, the Salt ſent unto us by your "friend, is unſeaſonable. And indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they ſhould come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and moſt dear brother Laurence) becauſe I am ſo ſinfull and ſo conſpurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many grievous ſins (which I hope are waſhed away *Sanguine Chriſti noſtri*) I neither can nor would be conſulted withall, but as a Cipher in Agrime. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I minde, take this for a ſum: I pray God in no caſe I may ſeek my ſelf, and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpoſe it not.

" This friend moved them to ſubſcribe to the Papiſts articles, with this condition: ſo far as they were not againſt Gods word, being indeed clean contrary to it: and yet ſhortly after he valiantly ſuffered death for refuſing the ſame.

Quod reliquum eſt Domino Deo meo committo, & ſpero in illum, quod ipſe faciet iuxta hoc; Iacta in Dominum curam, &c. Omnis cura veſtra coniecta ſit in illum, &c. Revela Domino viam tuam, & ſpera, &c. Sperantem in Domino miſericordia circundabit: id eſt, That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I truſt in him, that he will do according to this; Caſt thy care on the Lord, &c. Caſt all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and truſt, &c. Who that truſteth in the Lord, mercie ſhall compaſſe him about. I did not, nor do not know, but by your Letters, *quod cras* we ſhall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, ſtick ſtill to *dabitur vobis*.

Pſal. 54.
Pſal. 56.
Pſal. 31.
Matth. 10.
1 Cor. 10.
2 Pet. 1.
Nahum

Fidelis enim eſt Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo poſſumus ſufferre. Novit Dominus pios e tentatione eripere, &c. O utinam pius ego eſſem. Novit Dominus in die tribulationis ſperantes in ſe, &c. id eſt, It ſhall be given you, &c. For the Lord is faithfull. He will in tentation make a way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of tentation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of tentation ſuch as truſt in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kinde of indifferent, or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare beſtiam,* we never ſhall be de delivered, but againſt their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begun in us.

Faciet mi frater, chariſſime frater, quem in intimis viſceribus habeo ad convivendum & commoriendum. O ſi tecum eſſem. He will do it my Brother, my dear Brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me mine own heart root in the Lord.

For ever your own,
Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter to Maſter *Laurence Saunders.*

Another letter of M. Bradford to the ſaid Saunders.

GOds ſweet peace in Chriſt be with you, my good Brother in the Lord Jeſus, and with all your concaptives, Amen.

I was letted this morning from muſing on that which I was purpoſed to have thought on by reaſon of you, againſt whom I ſaw my ſelf guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write, I ſhould ſay, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared my ſelf to purge my ſelf hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my fault (for that were more to load me) but my asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purpoſing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a Letter from you: for the which as I have cauſe to thank God and you (howbeit not ſo that you ſhould think, I give not the whole to God) ſo I ſee my ſelf more blame-worthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit (good brother) in this I have given a demonſtration to you, to behold

M. Bradford accuſing himſelf of negligence, &c.

my negligence in all other things, and eſpecially in praying for you, and for the Church of GOD, which for my ſins and hypocriſie (hypocriſie indeed even in this writing, GOD deliver me from it) have deſerved to be puniſhed. Juſt is God, for we have deſerved all kinde of plagues at his hands: but yet mercifull is he that will on this wiſe chaſtiſe us with this world, Ne cum mundo condemnemur. i. That we ſhould not be condemned with the world. He might otherwiſe have puniſhed us, I mean, he might have for other cauſes caſt us in priſon, me eſpecially, then for his Goſpel and Words ſake. Praiſed therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah good God forgive us our ſins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me eſpecially, effectually to love thee and thy Chriſt; and with joyfulneſſe unto the end to carry thy Croſſe through thick and thin. Alwayes ſet before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will ſtick to thee, but the gallows in Hell, if we deny thee, and ſwerve from that we have profeſſed.

Ah good brother, if I could alwayes have God, his Majeſty, Mercie, Heaven, Hell, &c. before mine eyes, then ſhould I Obdurare, as Paul writeth of Moſes, Hebrews 11. Obduravit, inquit. perinde quaſi vidiſſet eum qui eſt inviſibilis. i. He endured (ſaith he) as he that ſaw him which is inviſible. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks alſo: for, In Domino ſpero, non mutabo. Si ambulavero per vallem umbræ mortis, non timebo, quia tu Domine mecum es, &c. Amen. i. In the Lord I truſt, I ſhall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. I think we ſhall be ſhortly called forth; for now legem habent, & ſecundum legem, &c. otherwiſe will they not reaſon with us; and I think their ſhoot-ancher will be, to have us to ſubſcribe. The which thing if we do, though with this condition (ſo far as the thing ſubſcribed to, repugneth not againſt Gods word) yet this will be offenſive. Therefore let us vadere planè, and ſo ſanè, I mean, let us all confeſſe that we are no changelings, but reipſa, are the ſame we were in Religion, and therefore cannot ſubſcribe, except we will diſſemble both with God, our ſelves, and the world, Hæc tibi ſcribo frater mi chariſſime in Domino. Iam legam tuam Epiſtolam. i. Theſe things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epiſtle. Ah brother, that I had Practicam tecum ſcientiam in vite illa quam pingis; roga Dominum ut ita verè ſentiam, Amen. i. The practicall underſtanding with you in that vine which you deſcribe. Pray the Lord that I may think ſo indeed. God make me thankfull for you. Salutant te omnes concaptivi, & gratias Domino prò te agunt. Idem tu facias pro nobis, & ores ut, &c. i. All our fellow-priſoners ſalute you, and give thanks to God for you. The ſame do you for us, and pray that, &c.

Pſal. 22.

Iohn 2.13.

Your Brother in the Lord Ieſus,
to live and dye with you,
Iohn Bradford,

To my dear Fathers, D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

JEſus Emmanuel. My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beſeech God our ſweet Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every of your ſtaves had ſtood next the door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear Brother Rogers hath broken the Ice valiantly, as this day (I think) or to morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty Hooper, ſincere Saunders, and truſty Taylor end their courſe, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the Porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgive me mine unthankfulneſſe for this exceeding great mercie, that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his mercie to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that juſtè patior, i. I juſtly ſuffer (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous ſinner, the Lord pardon me, yea he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet hic autem quid mali fecit? i. What evill hath he done? Chriſt, whom the Prelates perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evill, nor deſerveth death. Therefore ought I moſt heartily to rejoyce of this dignation and tender kindeneſſe of the Lords towards me, which uſeth the remedy for my ſin as a teſtimoniall of his Teſtament, to his glory, to my everlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the overthrowing of Antichriſt and his Kingdom. Oh what am I Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnifie me ſo vile a man and miſer, as alwayes I have been? Is this thy wont, to ſend for ſuch a wretch and an hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou diddeſt for Helias? Oh dear Fathers be thankfull for me, and pray for me, that I ſtill may be found worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctifie his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your Gentlemen-uſhers. Nuptiæ agni paratæ ſunt, venite ad nuptias. i. The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my fleſh there, where I received it. I ſhall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, Leopardis; by whoſe evill I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me, Amen.

This is a ſingular mercie of God, to have death, which is a due puniſhment for ſin, turned into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lords truth.

4 Reg. 2.

He meaneth that he ſhould be conveyed by the Queens Guard into Lancaſhire to be burnt, as the adverſaries had once determined: like as Ignatius was by a company of ſouldiers conveyed to Rome, and caſt to the Leopards.

For my farewell therefore, I write and ſend this unto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall never be ſeparated. In the mean ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I have done, to commend you to our father of Heaven, and that you would ſo do by me, I moſt heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have moſt need. But Fidelis Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus. i. Faithfull is God, which will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am aſſured he will never, Amen. A dextris eſt mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me, ſanctum ſuum per gratiam in Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnificem. i. He is on my right hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my heart ſhall rejoyce, for he ſhall not leave my ſoul in hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy one by his grace in Chriſt, to ſee corruption. Out of priſon in haſte, looking for the tormentor, the 8. of February, 1555.

Pſal. 16.

Iohn Bradford.

To the Right Honorable Lord Ruſſell, now Earl of Bedford, being then in trouble for the verity of Gods Goſpell.

A Letter of M. Bradford to the Lord Ruſſel now Earl of Bedford.

THe everlaſting and moſt gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, bleſſe your good Lordſhip with all manner of heavenly bleſſings in the ſame Chriſt our onely comfort and hope, Amen.

Praiſed be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Chriſt, ſo of his Croſſe for the ſame. Magnified be his holy name, The excellency of faith, and what it worketh.

Faith cometh by hearing the word, and not by hearing Maſſe.

who as he hath delivered you from one croſſe, ſo he hath made you willing (I truſt) and ready to bear another when he ſhall ſee his time to lay it upon you: for theſe are the moſt ſingular gifts of God, given as to few, ſo to none elſe but to theſe few which are moſt dear in his ſight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greateſt gifts of God, yea it is the greateſt it ſelf that we may enjoy. For by it, as we be juſtified and made Gods children, ſo are we temples and poſſeſſors of the holy ſpirit, yea of Chriſt alſo, Epheſ. 4. And of the Father himſelf, John 14. By faith we drive the Divel away, 1 Pet. 5. We overcome the world, 1 John 5. And are already Citizens of Heaven, and fellows with Gods dear Saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the ſoule ſhe ſitteth upon? No man or Angel. And therefore (as I ſaid) of all Gods gifts ſhe may be ſet in the top, and have the upmoſt ſeat. The which thing if men conſidered (in that ſhe cometh alonely from Gods own mercy ſeat, by the hearing, not of Maſſe or Mattins, Dirges, or ſuch droſſe, but the Word of God in ſuch a tongue as we can and do underſtand) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or ſeeing any thing which might caſt her down (for then they fall alſo) ſo would they with no leſſe care read and hear Gods holy Word, joyning thereto moſt earneſt and often prayer, as well for the more and better underſtanding, as for the loving, living, and confeſſing of the ſame, maugre the head of the the Divell, the world, our fleſh, reaſon, goods, poſſeſſions, carnall friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they ſhould pull us back to hearken to their voice and counſell, for more quiet, ſure, and longer uſe of them.

Phil. 1.

The efficacie of the croſſe, and what it worketh in Gods children.

Pſal. 72.

The end of proſperity.

Sapience 5.

Now notwithſtanding this excellency of faith, in that we reade the Apoſtle to match therewith, yea, (as it were) to preferre, ſuffering perſecution for Chriſts ſake, I trow no man will be ſo fond as to think otherwiſe, but that I and all Gods children have cauſe to glorifie and praiſe God, which hath vouched you worthy ſo great a bleſſing. For though the reaſon or wiſedome of the world, think of the Croſſe, according to their reach, and according to their preſent ſenſe, and therefore flieth from it as from a moſt great ignominie and ſhame: Yet Gods Schollers have learned otherwiſe to think of the Croſſe, that is, the frame-houſe in the which God frameth his children like to his Son Chriſt; the fornace that fineth Gods gold; the high way to Heaven; the Sute and Liverie that Gods ſervants are ſerved withall; the earneſt and beginning of all conſolation and glory. For they (I mean Gods Schollers, as your Lordſhip is, I truſt) do enter into Gods ſanctuary, leſt their feet ſlip. They look not as beaſts do, on things preſent only, but on things to come, and ſo have they as preſent to faith the judgement and glorious coming of Chriſt Jeſus, as the wicked have now their worldly wealth wherein they wallow and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into Hell where are torments too terrible and endleſſe. Now they follow the Fiend as the Bear doth the train of Honey, and the Sow the Swillings, till they be brought into the ſlaughter houſe, and then they know that their proſperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they wo, wo, we went the wrong way: we counted theſe men (I mean ſuch as you be that ſuffer for Gods ſake, loſſe of goods, friends and life, whom they ſhall ſee endued with rich robes of righteouſneſſe, crownes of moſt pure precious gold, and palmes of conqueſt in the goodly glorious palace of the Lambe, where is eternall joy, felicitie, &c.) We counted (will they then ſay) theſe men but fooles and mad men, we took their conditions to be but curioſitie. But then will it be too late, then the time will be turned, laughing ſhall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoycing. Read Sapien. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Few Noble men called to Chriſts Kingdom.

Pſal. 91.

Therefore (as before I have ſaid) great cauſe have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of this moſt bountifull bleſſing: much more then have you cauſe (my good Lord) ſo to be, I mean thankfull. For look upon your vocation I pray you, tell me how many Noblemen, Earls ſons, Lords, Knights, and men of eſtimation, hath God in this Realm of England dealt thus withall? I dare ſay you think not that you have deſerved this. Only Gods mercie in his Chriſt, hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremias time on Abimelech, in Achabs time on Abdias, in Chriſts time on Joſeph of Arimathea, in the Apoſtles time on Sergius Paulus, and the Queen of Candaces Chamberlain. Onely now be thankfull and continue, continue, continue (my good Lord) continue to confeſſe Chriſt. Be not aſhamed of him before men: for then will not he be aſhamed of you. Now will he try you; ſtick faſt unto him, and he will ſtick faſt by you, he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then muſt you cry unto him: for ſo it proceedeth; He cried unto me, and I heard him, I was with him in trouble, &c.

Gods remembrances.

Chriſt onely muſt have both heart and hand.

Pſal. 1.

2 Cor. 6.

Remember Lots wife which looked back. Remember Francis Spira. Remember that none is crowned, but he that ſtriveth lawfully. Remember that all you have is at Chriſts commandment. Remember he loſt more for you, than you can loſe for him. Remember you loſe not that which is loſt for his ſake: for you ſhall finde much more here and elſewhere. Remember you ſhall dye, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell. Remember the death of ſinners is moſt terrible. Remember the death of Gods Saints is moſt precious in his ſight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to wo. Remember that the ſtrait gate which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers. Remember Chriſt biddeth you ſtrive to enter in thereat. Remember he that truſteth in the Lord, ſhall receive ſtrength to ſtand againſt all the aſſaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbred. Be certain your good father hath appointed bounds, over the which the Devill dares not look. Commit your ſelf to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Caſt your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Chriſt be your ſcope, and mark to prick at; let him be your patern to work by; let him be your enſample to follow; give him as your heart, ſo your hands, as your minde, ſo your tongue, and your faith, ſo your feet, and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Bleſſed is he that walketh not to theſe Popiſh prayers, nor ſtandeth at them, nor ſitteth at them; glorifie God both in ſoul and body. He that gathereth not with Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad. Uſe prayer, look for Gods help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter aſſuredly. In which prayes I heartily deſire your Lordſhip to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly (God therefore be praiſed) ſo we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God ſo will, according to your daily prayer; Thy will be done on earth, &c. The good ſpirit of God alwayes guide your Lordſhip unto the end. Amen.

Your Lordſhips own for ever,
Iohn Bradford.

To Maſter Warcup and his wife, Miſtreſſe Wilkenſon, and others of his godly friends, with their families.

THe ſame peace our Saviour Chriſt left with his people, which is not without war with the world, A pithy and effectuall Letter of M. Bradford to M. Warcup, and Miſtreſſe Wilkenſon.

world, Almightie God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

The time I perceive is come wherein the Lords ground will be known, I mean, it will now ſhortly appeare who have received Gods Goſpel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good roote therein: for ſuch will not for a little heate or ſun-burning wither, but ſtiffely will ſtand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning ſhowres and tempeſts. And for as much as (my beloved in the Lord) I am perſwaded of you, that yee be indeed the children of God, Gods good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by Gods grace) bringing forth fruit to Gods glorie after your vocations, as occaſions ſhall be offered (burn the Sun never ſo hot) therefore I cannot but ſo ſignifie unto you and heartily pray you and every one of you, accordingly to go on forwards after your Maſter Chriſt, not ſticking at the foul way and ſtormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like ſo to do: of this being moſt certain, that the end of your journey ſhall be pleaſant and joyfull in ſuch a perpetuall reſt and bliſſefulneſſe, as cannot but ſwallow up the ſhowres that ye now feel and are ſouſed in, if ye often ſet it before your eyes, after Pauls counſell in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Reade it I pray you, and remember it often as a reſtorative to refreſh you, leſt ye faint in the way.

Foul way and foul weather to the kingdom of Heaven.

And beſides this ſet before you alſo, that though the weather be foul, and ſtorms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and ſiſters tread the ſame path, as Saint Peter telleth us: and therefore company ſhould cauſe you to be the more couragious and cheerfull. But if you had no company at all to go preſently with you, I pray you tell me, if even from the beginning, the beſt of Gods friends have found any fair weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean Heaven) than ye now finde and are like to do, except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry ſtill by the way till the ſtorms be overpaſt, and then either night will ſo approach that ye cannot travell, either the doors will be ſparred before ye come, and ſo ye then lodge without in wonderfull and evill lodgings. Reade Apocalyps 22. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noe, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Ioſeph, the Patriarcks, Moſes, David, Daniel, and all the Saints of the old Teſtament, and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now finde.

The paſſage of all Gods Saints both in the old and new Teſtament, hath been through affliction.

If the old Teſtament will not ſerve, I pray you come to the new, and begin with Mary and Ioſeph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, Iohn Baptiſt, and every one of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, and ſearch whether they all found any other way into the City we travell towards, than by many tribulations.

Reade the ſtory of the Primitive Church above deſcribed.

Beſides theſe, if ye ſhould call to remembrance the Primitive Church, Lord God, ye ſhould ſee many to have given cheerfully their bodies to moſt grievous torments, rather than they would be ſtopped in their journey, that there is no day in the year, but (I dare ſay) a thouſand was the feweſt that with great joy loſt their homes here, but in the City they went unto, have found other maner of homes than mans minde is able to conceive. But if none of theſe were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as ye have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I truſt in God, if you had none other of the Fathers, Patriarcks, Kings, Prophets, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, Martyrs, and other holy Saints and children of God, that in their journey to Heaven-ward, found as ye now finde, and are like to finde if ye go on forward, as I truſt ye will, yet ye have your Maſter and your Captain Ieſus Chriſt, the dear darling and onely begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Fathers pleaſure, joy, and delectation, ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler into this our City of Ieruſalem. I need not (I truſt) to rehearſe what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his buriall, ye ſhall finde that every foot and ſtride of his journey was no better, but much worſe than yours is now.

Chriſt Ieſus the ring-leader of all Gods children afflicted.

We muſt not be ſo dainty to look for fairer weather than Chriſt himſelf went thorow.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not ſo dainty, as to look for that at Gods hands, your dear Father, which the Fathers, Patriarcks, Prophets, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, Martyrs, Saints, and his own Son Ieſus Chriſt did not finde. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather alſo: now becauſe we have loitered by the way, and not made the ſpeed we ſhould have done, our loving Lord and ſweet Father hath overcaſt the weather, and ſtirred up the ſtorms and tempeſts, that we might with more haſte run out our race before night come, and the doors be ſparred. The Devill ſtandeth now at every Inne door in his City and Country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the ſtorms be overpaſt; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpaſſe us, to our utter deſtruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Caſt not your eyes on things that be preſent, how this man doth, and how that man doth: but caſt your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or elſe ye will loſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that ſtand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that thoſe which be behinde overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even ſo ſhould we do, leave off looking on thoſe which will not run the race to Heavens bliſſe by the path of perſecution with us, and caſt our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faſter after.

Phil. 3. The Devils enticements not to be truſted.

To look to the mark.

He that ſhooteth, will not caſt his eyes in his ſhooting on them that ſtand by, or ride by the wayes (I trow) but rather at the mark he ſhooteth at: for elſe he were like to win the wrong way: Even ſo my dearly beloved, let your eyes be ſet on the mark ye ſhoot at, even Chriſt Ieſus, who for the joy ſet before him, did joyfully carry his croſſe, contemning the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him: for this did he that we ſhould not be faint-hearted. For we may be moſt aſſured, that if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall undoubtedly raign with him: but if we deny him, ſurely he will deny us: for he that is aſhamed of me, ſaith Chriſt, and of my Goſpel, in this faithleſſe generation, I will be aſhamed of him before the Angels of God in heaven. O how heavie a ſentence is this to all ſuch as know the Maſſe to be an abominable Idoll, full of idolatry, blaſphemy and ſacrileage againſt GOD and his Chriſt (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loſſe of life or goods, yea, ſome for advantage and gain, will honeſt it with their preſence, diſſembling both with God and man, as their own heart ond conſcience doth accuſe them. Better it were that ſuch had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils,

Heb. 12. Rom. 8. 2 Tim. 3. Matth. 10.

What danger it is to go to the blaſphemous Maſſe.

Eſay 2.
2 Pet.2.
Heb.6.10.

to diſſemble it, or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of ſuch, is like to be worſe than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6. and 10. Chapters, leſt by ſo doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no wily beguile with themſelves, as ſome do I fear me, which go to Maſſe, and becauſe they worſhip not, nor kneel not, nor knock not as others do, but ſit ſtill in their Pues, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

Diſſembling Goſpellers.

But (alas) if theſe men would look into their own conſciences, there ſhould they ſee they are very diſſemblers, and in ſeeking to deceive others (for by this means the Magiſtrates think them of their ſort) they deceive themſelves. They think at the elevation time, all mens eyes are ſet upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of ſuch men going to Maſſe, do ſee, or enquire of their behaviour there. Oh if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the Maſſe, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take Gods part, and admoniſh the people of their Idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to caſt both ſoul and body into hell fire: they halt on both knees: they ſerve two maſters. God have mercie upon ſuch, and open their eyes with his eye ſalve, that they may ſee, that they which take no part with God, are againſt God, and that they which gather not with Chriſt, do ſcatter abroad. Oh that they would reade what Saint John ſaith will be done to the fearfull. The counſell given to the Church of Laodicea, is good counſell for ſuch.

Matth. 10.
3 Reg.8.
Apoc.3.

Apoc.21.
Apoc.3.

But to return to you again (dearly beloved) be not ye aſhamed of Gods Goſpel: It is the power of GOD to ſalvation to all thoſe that do beleeve it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhall make you able, knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no ſmall grace of God, to ſuffer perſecution for Gods truth: for the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye ſhall ſee. Reade 2 Theſſalonians 1. Hebrews 12. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, ſo ſhall ye be more pure, by ſuffering with Chriſt, 1 Peter 1. The flail and winde hurteth not the wheat, but cleanſeth it from the chaff. And ye (dearly beloved) are Gods wheat: fear not therefore the flail: fear not the fanning winde, fear not the milſtone, fear not the oven: for all theſe make you more meet for the Lords own tooth. Sope, though it be black, ſoileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: ſo doth the black Croſſe help us to more whiteneſſe, if God ſtrike with his battledore. Becauſe ye are Gods ſheep, prepare your ſelves to the ſlaughter, alwayes knowing that in the ſight of the Lord our death ſhall be precious. The ſouls under the Altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have ſo appointed us. Howſoever it be (dearly beloved) caſt your ſelves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we nill we, we muſt drink Gods cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the firſt when it is full, leſt peradventure if we linger, we ſhall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he viſit the Nations round about.

2 Tim.1.
Rom.1.

1 Cor.10.
Phil.1.
1 Pet.3.
Matth.5.

Perſecution compared to the flail which hurteth not, but cleanſeth the wheat.

Rom.8.
1 Pet.5.
Matth.10.

Pſal.75.
1 Pet.4.

1 Pet.5.
Rom.8.

Submit your ſelves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man ſhall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, know it is your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Chriſt here, that ye may be alſo like unto him elſewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulneſſe and ſin, and bleſſe God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe you ſhall not be damned with the world. Otherwiſe might he correct us, than in making us to ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake: but this he doth becauſe we are not of the world. Call upon his Name through Chriſt for his help, as he commandeth us. Beleeve that he is mercifull to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, ſaith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over the which the Devill and all the world ſhall not paſſe. If all things ſeem to be againſt us, yet ſay with Job, If he will kill me, I will hope in him. Reade the 91. Pſalm, and pray for me your poor brother, and fellow ſufferer for Gods Goſpel ſake, his Name therefore be praiſed; and of his mercie he make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good conſcience for his Names ſake. Dye once we muſt, and when we know not: happy are they whom God giveth to pay natures debt: I mean to dye for his ſake.

1 Cor.11.

Pſal.50.
Pſal.22.

Happy is that death, which ſeeing once it muſt needs be paid, is beſtowed upon the Lord.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly conſider things, alwayes having before our eyes the heavenly Jeruſalem, Heb.12. Apoc.21. 22. the way thither to be by perſecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe footſteps let us follow even to the gallows, if God ſo will, not doubting but that as he within three dayes roſe again immortall, even ſo we ſhall do in our time, that is, when the trump ſhall blow, and the Angel ſhall ſhout, and the Son of man ſhall appear in the clouds with innumerable Saints and Angels, in majeſty and great glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and ſo be alwayes with him. Comfort your ſelves with theſe words, and pray for me for Gods ſake. E carcere 19. November, 1553.

Iohn Bradford.

To Sir Iames Hales Knight, then priſoner in the Counter in Bredſtreet.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to Sir James Hales, knight.

THe GOD of mercie, and father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercie, and with his conſolations comfort and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our Chriſts ſake.

Although right worſhipfull Sir, many cauſes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to perſevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his Name, and comfort of all ſuch as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name) and other ſuch like things; yet I cannot content my ſelf, but preſume ſomething to ſcrible unto you, not that I think my ſcribling can do you any good, but that I might declare my συμπαθειαν and compaſſion, love, and affection I bear towards your maſterſhip, which is contented, yea deſirous with us poor miſers, to confeſſe Chriſts Goſpel in theſe perillous times and dayes of tryall. Oh Lord God, how good art thou, which doeſt thus glean out grapes, I mean children for thy ſelf, and brethren for Chriſt? Look good Maſter Hales on your vocation; not many Judges, not many Knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God choſen to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath now done you.

How God gleaneth out his people.

Certainly

The world, people, worldly wiſedome, are evill judges of things ſpirituall.
Heb. 12.
Praiſe of the croſſe.

Certainly I dare ſay you think not ſo of your ſelf, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you: but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free mercie in Chriſt. Again, I dare ſay that you being a wiſe man, do judge of things wiſely, that is, concerning this your croſſe, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is magnus erroris magiſter, nor after the judgment of reaſon and worldly wiſedom, which is fooliſhnes to faith, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to which non videtur gaudii, ſed moleſtiæ. i.e. It ſeemeth not to be joyous but grievous, as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your croſſe to be, in reſpect of your ſelf between God and you, Gods chaſtiſing, and your fathers correction, nurture, ſchool, tryall, path-way to Heaven, glory and felicity, and the furnace to conſume the droſſe, and mortifie the reliques of old Adam which yet remain, yea even the frame-houſe to faſhion you like to the deareſt Saints of God here, yea to Chriſt the Son of God, that elſewhere you might be like unto him.

The croſſe maketh us witneſſes to God, wherein and in what things.
1 Cor. 4.
Subſcribing to King Edwards will.
Pſal. 19.
Abak. 2.
Pſal. 30.
Eſay 26.
Eſay 26.

Now concerning your croſſe in reſpect of the world, between the world and you, Gods word teacheth it to be a teſtimoniall of Gods truth, of his providence, of his power, of his juſtice, of his wiſedom, of his anger againſt ſin, of his goodneſſe, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, ſo that by it you are to the world a witneſs of God, one of his Teſtes, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is juſt, wiſe, and at length will judge the world, and caſt the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternall habitation. I know you judge of things after faiths fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and ſo you ſee æternum pondus gloriæ, i.e. an eternall weight of glory, which this croſſe ſhall bring unto you, dum non ſpectas ea quæ videntur, ſed ea quæ non videntur. i.e. While ye look not on things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporall eyes, as did many in ſubſcription of the Kings laſt will, and therefore they did that, for the which they beſhrewed themſelves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as God be praiſed you did, in not doing that which you were deſired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and ſo you do now in religion, at the leaſt hitherto you have done, and that you might do ſo ſtill, I humbly beſeech and pray you, ſay with David, Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: quando conſolaberis me? i. Mine eyes fail for thy word, ſaying; when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as uter in fumo. i. like a bottle in the ſmoke; (for I hear you want health) yet ne obliviſcaris juſtificationes Dei. i. Do not forget the ſtatutes of the Lord: but cry out, Quot ſunt dies ſervi tui? quando facies de perſequentibus me judicium? i. e. How many are the dayes of thy ſervant? when wilt thou execute judgement on them that perſecute me? And be certain, Quod Dominus veniens veniet, & non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum. i. The Lord will ſurely come, and not ſtay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but ad momentum in ira ſua, & vita in voluntate ejus: Ad veſperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinum lætitia. i. He is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore Eſays counſell, Abſcondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranſeat indignatio ejus. i. Hide thy ſelf for a very little while, untill his indignation paſſe over, which is not indignatio indeed, but to our ſenſe, and therefore in the ſix and twentieth chapter of Eſay, God ſaith of his Church and people, that as he keepeth night and day: ſo Non eſt indignatio mihi. i. There is no anger in me (ſaith he.)

Gods love in our corrections.
Eſay 49.
Pſal. 25.
Pſal. 90 98. 37. and 26.
Pſal. 31.
Pſal 22.
Eſay 40.

The mother ſometime beateth the childe, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore ſhe caſteth the rod into the fire, and calleth the childe, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore ſaith he, Can a mother forget the childe of her womb? As who ſhould ſay, No: but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will not I forget thee, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Ah comfortable ſaying: I will not forget thee, ſaith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Ne abſcondas faciem tuam à me, &c. i. Hide not thy face from me, &c. Ne derelinquas me Domine, &c. i. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not ſo, but to their preſent ſenſe: and therefore David ſaid, Ego dixi in exceſſu meo projectus ſum à facie tua. i. I ſaid in my agony, I was clean caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? Nay verily. Reade his Pſalms, and you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt: as when he ſaith, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquiſti me? i. My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? He ſaith not, Vt quid de relinquis? i. Why doeſt thou forſake me? or, derelinques? i. Why wilt thou forſake me? But, Vt quid dereliquiſti? i. Why haſt thou forſaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was ſo to his ſenſe, and that this Pſalm telleth us full well: which Pſalm I pray you now and then reade, it is the two and twentieth, and thereto joyn the thirtieth, and the hundred and ſixteenth, with divers other. The ſame we reade in the Prophet Eſay, the fortieth chapter, where he reproveth Iſrael for ſaying, GOD had forgotten them. Nunquid neſcis, ſaith he? Knoweſt thou not? An non audiviſti? &c. Haſt thou not heard? &c. Qui ſperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem. i. They that truſt in the Lord, ſhall renew their ſtrength. And in his four and fiftieth chapter, Noli timere, &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, at in miſerationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abſcondi faciem meam parumper à te, at in miſericordia ſempiterna miſertus ſum tui, dicit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam iſtud erit mihi ſicut aquæ Noe. Vt enim juravi ne porro aquæ Noe pertranſirent terram, ſic juravi ut non iraſcar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim commovebuntur & colles contremiſcent, miſericordia autem mea non recedet à te, & fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur, dicit miſerator tuus Dominus. i: Fear not, &c. For a little while I have forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in everlaſting mercie have I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I have ſworn that the waters of Noe ſhould no more go over the earth, ſo have I ſworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains ſhall remove, and hils ſhall fall down, but my mercie ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the covenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord that hath compaſſion on thee.

Micah 7.

But the Scriptures are full of ſuch ſweet places to them that will portare iram Domini & expectare ſalutem & auxilium ejus. i. Bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations, this is the greateſt, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us thorough the pikes, as they ſay: ſo of all ſervice of God, 1 Cor. 11. Pſal. 144.

this liketh him the beſt, to hope aſſuredly on him, and for his help alwayes, which is adjutor in tribulationibus, i.e. An helper in tribulations, and doth more glorioufly ſhew his power by ſuch as be weak, and feel themſelves ſo. For, quo infirmiores ſumus, eo ſumus in illo robuſtiores. Sic oculi Domini. i.e. The weaker we are, the more ſtrong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. Voluntatem eorum faciet. i.e. he will accompliſh their deſire; he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. Antequam clamaverint, exaudit eos. i.e. Before they cry, he heareth them, as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beſeeching Almighty God, that of his eternall mercies he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, that you might have no leſſe hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now againſt your enemies, than already he hath given you againſt N. for not ſubſcribing to the Kings will.

Be certain, be certain, good Maſter Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear father hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God caſt all your care, which will comfort you with his eternall conſolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies ſhall fall and lye for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporall fire, which muſt be conſtrued according to the end and profit that cometh after it; ſo ſhall it then not much fear us to ſuffer it for our maſter Chriſts cauſe, the which the Lord grant us for his mercies ſake, Amen. From the Kings Bench.

Your humble Iohn Bradford.

To my very friend in the Lord,

Doctor Hill, Phyſician.

A letter to D. Hill, Phyſician.

THe God of mercie and father of all comfort at this preſent and for ever ingraff in your heart the ſenſe of his mercie in Chriſt, and the continuance of his conſolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatſoever croſſe he ſhall lay upon you, Amen.

Hitherto I could have no ſuch liberty, as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now in that through Gods providence I have no ſuch reſtraint, I cannot but ſomething write, as well to purge me of this ſuſpicion of unthankfulneſſe towards you, as alſo to ſignifie my carefulneſſe for you in theſe perillous dayes, leſt you ſhould wax cold in Gods cauſe (which God forbid) or ſuffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your heart to be quenched, and ſo become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many other, which would have been accounted otherwiſe in our dayes, and yet ſtill beguil themſelves, ſtill would be ſo accounted, although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithſtanding that the outward man doth curry-favour.

Parting ſtakes between God and the world.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requireth the whole man as well body as ſoul, being both create, as to immortality and ſociety with him, ſo redeemed by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and now ſanctified by the holy ſpirit to be the Temple of God, and member of his Son (as I ſay) by their parting ſtake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous (for elſe they would give him both, as the wife would do to her huſband whether he be jealous or no, if ſhe be honeſt) ſo they play the diſſemblers with the Church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careleſſe and conſcienceleſſe if they be fallen, and occaſioning the wicked and obſtinate to triumph againſt God, and the more vehemently to proſecute their malice againſt ſuch as will not defile themſelves in body or ſoul with the Romiſh rags now received amongſt us. Becauſe of this, I mean leſt you, my dear Maſter and Brother in the Lord, ſhould do as many of our Goſpellers do for fear of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of ſoul and body, and not onely temporally, but alſo eternally: I could not but write ſomething unto you, as well becauſe duty deſerveth it, (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which he reward you, for I cannot) as alſo becauſe charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need (for as I may rather learn of you, ſo I doubt not but you have hitherto kept your ſelf upright from halting) but that I might both quiet my conſcience, calling upon me hereabout, and ſignifie unto you by ſomething, my carefulneſſe for your ſoul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

Diſſembling with the church.

Goſpel ſpillers. Eſay 2.

D. Hill M. Bradfords Phyſician.

Two maſters. Two ſorts of ſubjects. Two wayes. Two kingdoms.

Therefore I pray you call to minde, that there be but two Maſters, two kindes of people, two wayes, and two manſion places. The Maſters be Chriſt and Satan: the people be ſervitors to either of theſe, the wayes be ſtrait and wide; the manſions be Heaven and Hell. Again, conſider that this world is the place of tryall of Gods people, and the devils ſervants: for as the one will follow his Maſter whatſoever cometh of it, ſo will the other. For a time it is hard to diſcern who pertaineth to God, and who to the Devill: as in the calm and peace, who is a good ſhipman and warriour, and who is not. But as when the ſtorm ariſeth, the expert Marriner is known, and as in war the good ſouldier is ſeen, ſo in affliction and the croſſe, eaſily Gods children are known from Satans ſervants: for then, as the good ſervant will follow his Maſter, ſo will the godly follow their captain, come what will come, whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adiew, and deſire leſſe of Chriſts acquaintance. For which cauſe the Croſſe is called a probation and tryall, becauſe it trieth who will go with God, and who will forſake him. And now in England we ſee how ſmall a company Chriſt hath in compariſon of Satans ſouldiers. Let no man deceive himſelf: for he that gathereth not with Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad. No man can ſerve two maſters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the luke warm, that is, ſuch as are both hot and cold, he ſpitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his ſervants. The way of Chriſt is the ſtrait way, and ſo ſtrait, that as a few finde it, and few walk in it, ſo no man can halt in it, but muſt needs go upright: for as the ſtraitneſſe will ſuffer no reeling to this ſide or that ſide: ſo if any halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternall perdition.

Affliction trieth who go with God, and who go with the Divell.

Chriſts part the ſmaller, and why?

Strive therefore, good Maſter Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you ſhould be called or pulled back, look not on this ſide, or that ſide, or behinde you, as Lots wife did, but ſtraight forwards is the end which is ſet before you (though it be to come) as even now preſent: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your miniſtrations, to conſider the effect that will enſue; where through the bitterneſſe and loathſomeneſſe of the purgation is ſo overcome, and the painfulneſſe, in abiding the

A wiſe man will ever conſider the end.

working of that is miniſtred, is ſo eaſed, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that is to be received, although it be never ſo unpleaſant: ſo (I ſay) ſet before you the end of this ſtrait way, and then doubtleſſe, as Paul ſaith, æternum pondus gloriæ pariet, i. It ſhall bring with it an eternall weight of glorie, whilſt we look not on the thing which is ſeen, for that is temporall, but on the thing which is not ſeen, which is eternall. So doth the husbandman in plowing and tilling ſet before him the harveſt time; ſo doth the Fiſher conſider the draught of his net, rather then the caſting in; ſo doth the Merchant the return of his merchandiſe; and ſo ſhould we in theſe ſtormy dayes ſet before us not the loſſe of our goods, libertie, and very life, but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Chriſt to Judgement, the fire that ſhall burn the wicked and diſobedience to Gods Goſpel, the blaſt of the Trumpe, the exceeding glory prepared for us, in heaven eternally, ſuch as the eie hath not ſeen, the eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we loſe here, the greater joy ſhall we have there. The more we ſuffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible droſſe, we ſhall finde incorruptible treaſures; for gold, glorie; for ſilver, ſolace without end; for riches, robes royall; for earthly houſes, eternall palaces; mirth without meaſure, pleaſure without paine, felicitie endleſſe; Summa, we ſhall have God the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt.

The glorious recompence of ſuch as ſuffer; for the Lord.

O happie place! Oh that this day would come! Then ſhall the end of the wicked be lamentable, then ſhall they receive the juſt reward of Gods vengeance, then ſhall they cry woe, woe, that ever they did as they have done. Read Wiſd. 2.3.4.5. Read Matthew 25. Read 1 Corinth. 15. 2 Corinth. 5. and by Faith (which God increaſe in us) conſider the thing there ſet forth. And for your comfort, read Hebrews 11. to ſee what Faith hath done, alwayes conſidering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. You know this is our Alphabet; He that will be my Diſciple, ſaith Chriſt, muſt deny himſelf, and take up his Croſſe and follow me, not this Biſhop, nor that Doctor, not this Emperour, nor that King, but me, ſaith Chriſt: For he that loveth Father, Mother, Wife, Children, or very life, better then me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the ſame Lord ſaith; He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it. Comfort your ſelfe with this, that as the Divels had no power over the Porkets, or over Jobs goods without Gods leave, ſo ſhall they have none over you. Remember alſo that all the haires of your head are numbred with God. The Divel may make one beleeve he will drown him, as the Sea in his ſurges threatneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot paſſe, ſo hath he done for the other.

The way to heaven is by tribulations.

Math. 8.

On God therefore caſt your care, love him, ſerve him after his Word, feare him, truſt in him, hope at his hand for all help, and alwayes pray, looking for the Croſſe, and whenſoever it commeth, be aſſured the Lord, as he is faithfull, ſo he will never tempt you further then he will make you able to beare, but in the midſt of the temptation will make ſuch an evaſion, as ſhall be moſt to his glorie and your eternall comfort. God for his mercie in Chriſt, with his holy ſpirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercie ſhaddow you, and as his deare childe guide you for evermore. To whoſe mercifull tuition, as I do with my heartie prayer commit you; ſo I doubt not but you pray for me, and ſo I beſeech you to do ſtill. My brother P. telleth me you would have the laſt part of Saint Jeromes workes, to have the uſe thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for theſe three dayes well forbeare it, but yet on Thurſday next I will ſend it you, if God let me not, and uſe me and that I have as your own. The Lord for his mercie in Chriſt direct our wayes to his glorie.

Out of priſon by yours to command:
Iohn Bradford.

To Miſtreſſe M.H. a godly Gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heavineſſe and godly ſorrow, which the feeling and ſenſe of ſinne worketh in Gods children.

I Humbly and heartily pray the everlaſting God and Father of mercie to bleſſe and keep your heart and minde in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Chriſt, through the inſpiration and working of his holy ſpirit, Amen.

Another ghoſtly letter of M. Bradford to Miſtris M.H.

Although I have no doubt, but that you proſper and go forward daily in the way of godlineſſe, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write, yet becauſe my deſire is that you might be more fervent and perſevere to the end, I could not but write ſomething unto you, beſeeching you both often and diligently to call unto your minde, as a mean to ſtirre you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God moſt ſtraightly requireth you to beleeve, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your deare Father, in, through, and for Chriſt and his deaths ſake. This love and tender kindneſſe of God towards us in Chriſt is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath to the godly work of creation of this World made us after his Image, redeemed us being loſt, called us into his Church, ſealed us with his mark and ſigne manuall of Baptiſme, kept and conſerved us all the dayes of our life, fed, nouriſhed, defended, and moſt fatherly chaſtiſed us, and now hath kindled in our hearts the ſparkles of his feare, faith, love and knowledge of his Chriſt and truth, and therefore we lament, becauſe we lament no more our unthankfulneſſe, our fraileneſſe, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we ſhould be moſt certain.

Gods benefits to be declared.

All theſe things we ſhould uſe as meanes to confirme our Faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to aſſure us, that he loveth us as our Father in Chriſt: to this end (I ſay) we ſhould uſe the things before touched, eſpecially in that of all things God requireth this Faith and fatherly perſwaſion of his fatherly goodneſſe, as his chiefeſt ſervice. For before he asketh any thing of us, he ſaith; I am the Lord thy God, giving himſelf, and then all he hath to us to be our own. And this he doth in reſpect of himſelf, of his own mercy and truth, and not in reſpect of us, for then were grace no grace. In conſideration whereof, when he ſaith; Thou ſhalt have none other Gods but me, thou ſhalt love me with all thy heart, &c. though of duetie we are bound to accompliſh all that he requireth, and are culpable and guiltie if we do not the ſame, yet he requireth not theſe things further of us, then to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certaintie whereof, as he hath given this whole world to ſerve to our need and commoditie; ſo hath he given his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus, and in Chriſt, himſelf to be a pledge and gage; whereof the holy Ghoſt doth now and

The chiefeſt ſervice of God is to think well of his fatherly goodneſſe in Chriſt.

then give us ſome taſte and ſweet ſmell to our eternall joy.

Where feeling faileth, yet obedience is required.

Therefore (as I ſaid) becauſe God is our father in Chriſt, and requireth of you ſtraitly to believe it, give your ſelf to obedience, although you do it not with ſuch feeling as you deſire. Firſt muſt Faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailtie, and many evils ſhould be occaſions whereby Satan would have us to doubt, as much as we can let us abhorre that ſuggeſtion, as of all others moſt pernicious; for ſo indeed it is. For when we ſtand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankfull to God, we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God, we cannot love our neighbours, and give over our ſelves to care for them, and do for them as we ſhould do, and therefore Satan is moſt ſubtile hereabouts, knowing full well that if we doubt of Gods eternall mercies towards us through Chriſt, we cannot pleaſe God, or do any thing as we ſhould do to man. Continually caſteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailtie, fals, and offences, that we ſhould doubt of Gods mercie and favour towards us.

Let no ſuggeſtion make us doubt of Gods favour in Chriſt.

Therefore (my good ſiſter) we muſt not be ſluggiſh herein, but as Satan laboureth to looſen our Faith, ſo muſt we labour to faſten it by thinking on the promiſes and covenant of God in Chriſts bloud; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon Gods own goodneſſe, mercie and truth only, and not on our obedience or worthineſſe in any point, for then ſhould we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthineſſe, but not that thereby we might be his Children, and he our Father: but becauſe he is our Father and we his Children through his own goodneſſe in Chriſt, therefore requireth he Faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthineſſe which he requireth, ſhould we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthineſſe the cauſe, and ſo to put Chriſt out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our Father: But rather becauſe he is our Father, and we feele our ſelves to want ſuch things as he requireth, we ſhould be ſtirred up to a ſhamefaſtneſſe and bluſhing, becauſe we are not as we ſhould be: and thereupon ſhould we take occaſion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner:

To ſtay upon Gods promiſe in Chriſts bloud.

Obedience giveth not to us to be Gods children, but to be Gods children giveth obedience.

How a man ſhould pray when feeling of Gods comfort lacketh.

Deare Father, thou of thine own mercy in Ieſus Chriſt haſt choſen me to be thy childe, and therefore thou wouldſt I ſhould be brought into thy Church and faithfull company of thy children; wherein thou haſt kept me hitherto, thy name therefore be praiſed. Now I ſee my ſelf to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy children have and thou requireſt of me, wherethrough the Divell would have me to doubt, yea utterly to deſpaire of thy fatherly goodneſſe, favour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercifull Father, through thy deare Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, and pray thee to help me good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy holy ſpirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to aſſure me that thou art my Father; that this mercifull covenant that thou madeſt with me in reſpect of thy grace in Chriſt, and for Chriſt, and not in reſpect of any my worthineſſe, is alwayes to me, &c.

On this ſort (I ſay) you muſt pray and uſe your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of ſalvation. He doth all he can to prevaile herein. Do you all you can to prevaile herein againſt him. Though you feele not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. For alwayes (I ſaid) goeth faith before feeling. As certain as God is almightie, as certain as God is mercifull, as certain as God is true, as certain as Ieſus Chriſt was crucified, is riſen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certain as this is Gods Commandement: I am the Lord thy God, &c. ſo certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other Gods but him, ſo are ye no leſſe bound to believe that God is your God. What profit ſhould it be to you to believe this to be true; I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you ſhould not believe that this is true to your ſelf? The Divell believeth on this ſort. And whatſoever it be that would move you to doubt of this, whether God be your God through Chriſt, that ſame cometh undoubtedly of the Divell. Wherefore did God make you, but becauſe he loved you? Might not he have made you blinde, dumbe, deafe, lame, frantick, &c. Might not he have made you a Iew, a Turk, a Papiſt, &c. And why hath he not done ſo? Verily becauſe he loved you? And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and ſo hitherto to keep you, but his own goodneſſe in Chriſt. Now then in that his goodneſſe in Chriſt ſtill remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himſelf, for it cannot be leſſened; how ſhould it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this my good ſiſter, for God is no changeling; them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

Hope beyond hope.
Faith goeth before feeling.

Doubting cometh of the Divell.

Eccleſ. 2.

Caſt therefore your ſelf wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are Gods Childe, that you are a Citizen of Heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the Temple of the holy Ghoſt, &c. If hereof you be aſſured as you ought to be, then ſhall your conſcience be quieted, then ſhall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then ſhall you labour to be holy in ſoule and body; then ſhall you go about that Gods glory may ſhine in all your words and workes; then ſhall you not be affraid what man can do unto you; then ſhall you have wiſedome to anſwer your adverſaries, as ſhall ſerve to their ſhame, and your comfort; then ſhall you be certain that no man can touch one haire of your head further then ſhall pleaſe your good Father, to your everlaſting joy; then ſhall you be moſt certain, that God as your good Father will be more carefull for your children, and make better proviſion for them, if all you have were gone, then you can; then ſhall you (being aſſured I ſay of Gods favour towards you) give over your ſelf wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then ſhall you contemne this life, and deſire to be at home with your good and ſweet Father; then ſhall you labour to mortifie all things that would ſpot either ſoule or bodie. All theſe things ſpring out of this certain perſwaſion and Faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Chriſt Ieſus. All things ſhould help our Faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

Faith and aſſured hope of Gods favour, is the fountain of all well doing.

Therefore let us uſe earneſt and heartie prayer; let us often remember this covenant; I am the Lord thy God; let us looke upon Chriſt and his precious bloud ſhed for the obſignation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promiſes of the Goſpel; let us ſet before us Gods benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his Church, &c. let us ſet before us Gods benefits particularly, how he hath made his creatures after his image, how he made us of perfect limbs, forme, beautie, memorie, &c. how he hath made us Chriſtians, and given us a right judgement in his religion; how he hath ever ſince we were borne, bleſſed, kept, nouriſhed, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chaſtiſed,

Conſideration of Gods promiſes and benefits.

and fatherly corrected us; how he hath ſpared us, and doth now ſpare us, giving us time, ſpace, place, grace. This if you do and uſe earneſt prayer, and ſo flee from all things which might wound your conſcience, giving your ſelf to diligence in your vocation, you ſhall finde at the length (which God grant to me with you) a ſure certaintie of ſalvation, without all ſuch doubt as may trouble the peace of conſcience, to your eternall joy and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Yours to uſe in Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter full of godly comfort, written to the ſame perſon.

Another like letter of comfort to M. H.

THe good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you my good ſiſter in the Lord for ever, Amen.

Although, as I to you, ſo you unto me in priſon are unknown, yet to him whom we deſire to pleaſe, we are not only in perſons, but alſo in hearts known and throughly ſeen: and therefore as for his ſake you would by that you ſent of me, be perceived how that in God you beare to me a good will; ſo that I to you might be ſeen in God to beare you the like, I ſend to you theſe few words in writing, wiſhing that in all your doings and ſpeech, yea even in your very thoughts you would labour to feele that they are all preſent and open before the ſight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in minde, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you ſhall at the length feele more comfort and commoditie, then any man can know, but ſuch as be exerciſed therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking your ſelf, and all that you have and do, to be in the ſight of God; this (I ſay) is to be added, that you think his ſight is the ſight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in your ſelf you ſee a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the ſame be unto you a trace to traine you to ſee the unſpeakable kinde affection of God your Father towards you.

Conſideration of Gods tender affection to us in Chriſt his Sonne.

No time nor meanes to be preſcribed to God.

And therefore upon the conſideration of your infirmities and naturall evills, which continually cleave unto us, take occaſion to go to God as your father through Chriſt: and before his mercifull heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with deſire of pardon and help after his good will and pleaſure, but in his time, and not when you will, and by what means he will, not by that way you would: in the mean ſeaſon hang on hope of his fatherly goodneſſe, and ſurely you ſhall never be aſhamed. For if a woman that is naturall cannot finally forget the childe of her wombe, be ſure God which is a Father ſupernaturall cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman could be ſo forgetfull, yet God himſelf ſaith, he will not be ſo.

Iſai. 49.

This opinion, yea rather certain perſwaſion of God our Father through Chriſt ſee that you cheriſh, and by all means, as well by diligent conſideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, ſee that you nouriſh; knowing for certain, that as the Divel goeth about nothing ſo much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be Gods childe or no: ſo whatſoever ſhall move you to admit that dubitation, be aſſured the ſame to come from the Divel, if you feele in your ſelf not only the want of good things, but alſo plentie of evill, do not therefore doubt whether you be Gods childe in Chriſt, or no.

The practice of the Divel to bring a man in doubt whether he be Gods childe, or no.

We ought to meaſure Gods favour neither by our goodnes nor ilneſſe, but only by our faith in Chriſt.

For if for your goodneſſe or ilneſſe ſake, which you feele or feele not, ye ſhould beleeve or doubt, then ſhould you make Chriſt Ieſus, for whoſe ſake only God is your father, either nothing, or elſe but half Chriſt.

But rather take occaſion of your wants in good, and of your plentie in evill, to go to God as to your Father, and to pray to him, that in as much as he commandeth you to beleeve that he is your God and Father; ſo he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feele the ſame, and live as his childe, to his glory: and ceaſe not upon ſuch prayers to looke for comfort in Gods good time, ſtill hoping the beſt, and rejecting all dubitation, and ſo all evill works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord ſhall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beſeech him to give unto you, my good ſiſter, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper unto your husband, ſo you would endeavour your ſelf therein to ſhew thy ſame as well in ſoule as bodie; and beg grace of God, that your endeavour may be effectuall to both your comforts in Chriſt, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To my welbeloved in the Lord, W. P.

A letter of M. Bradford to W. P.

GRace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

Dear brother, God moſt juſtly hath caſt me down into a dungeon, but much better then I deſerve; wherein I ſee no man but my Keeper, nor can ſee any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memoriall of my earthly affections (which God I truſt will mortifie) and of my ſepulchre, whereunto I truſt my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean ſeaſon he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me, for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common diſeaſe doth leſſe trouble me then when I was abroad, which doth teach me the mercifull providence of God towards me. Vſe true and hearty prayer, and you ſhall perceive God at length will declare himſelf to ſee, where now many think he ſleepeth.

This diſeaſe was a rheume, with a feebleneſſe of ſtomack wherewith he was much troubled whiles he was at liberty.

Out of the Tower, by the Lords priſoner, Iohn Bradford.

A Letter which he wrote to a faithfull woman in her heavineſſe and trouble: moſt comfortable for all thoſe to reade that are afflicted and broken hearted for their ſinnes.

A letter of M. Bradford to a faithfull woman inwardly afflicted.

GOD our good Father for his mercies ſake in Chriſt with his eternall conſolation ſo comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted of him in my moſt need: Yea, he will comfort you (my deare ſiſter) only caſt your care upon him, and he never can nor will forſake you. For his calling and gifts be ſuch, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his choſen can periſh. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved ſiſter: God increaſe the faith thereof daily more and more in you, he give unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence and protection. For whoſo dwelleth under "that ſecret thing, and help of the Lord, he ſhall be cockſure for evermore. He that dwelleth I ſay; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor, where God promiſed him protection, if he had dwelled there ſtill: we ſhall remove to our loſſe, as he did into the mountains.

Rom. 11.

" Gods providence and protection.

Pſal. 31. 90.

Gen. 19.

Dwell therefore, that is, truſt, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord (my dear ſiſter) and you ſhall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compaſſe Ieruſalem; ſo doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Sons ſake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one half houre with you, to be a Simon to help to carry your Croſſe with you. God ſend you ſome good Simon to be with you, and help you.

You complain in your Letters of the blindeneſſe of your minde, and the troubles you feele. My dearly beloved, God make you thankfull for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eies to ſee what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be leſſe covetous, or rather impatient, for ſo (I feare me) it ſhould be called, and more thankfull. Have you not received at his hands ſight to ſee your blindeneſſe, and thereto a deſirous and ſeeking heart to ſee where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear Spouſe ſpeaketh of her ſelf in the Canticles? Oh Joyce, my good Joyce, what a gift is this? Many have ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing, none this ſeeking which you have, I know, but ſuch as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiſſe his feete with the Magdalen, but you would be kiſſed even with the kiſſe of his mouth, Canticles 1. You would ſee his face with Moſes, forgetting how he biddeth us ſeek his face, Pſalme 27. yea, and that for ever, Pſalme 105. Which ſignifieth no ſuch ſight, as you deſire to be in this preſent life, which would ſee God now face to face, whereas he cannot be ſeen, but covered under ſomething, yea ſometime in that which is (as you would ſay) clean contrary to God; as to ſee his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith ſeeth him bring us to Heaven; in darkneſſe it beholdeth brightneſſe: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job ſee God, but as (you would ſay) under Satans cloak? For who caſt the fire from Heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his houſe, and ſtirred up men to take away his cattell, but Satan? And yet Job pierced through all theſe, and ſaw Gods work, ſaying; *The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.*

God cannot be ſeene, but covered under ſomething.
How faith ſeeth God, where fleſh ſeeth hell

In reading of the Pſalmes, how often do you ſee that David in the ſhaddow of death ſaw Gods ſweet love? And ſo my dearly beloved, I ſee that you in your darkneſſe and dimneſſe by faith do ſee claritie and brightneſſe: by faith, I ſay, becauſe faith is of things abſent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeale to your conſcience, whether you deſire not. And can you deſire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge then by faith?

The ſtate of Gods children deſcribed.
Math. 5.

Therefore (my deare heart) be thankfull, for (before God I write it) you have great cauſe. Ah, my Joyce, how happie is the ſtay wherein you are? Verily you are even in the bleſſed ſtate of Gods children; for they mourn, and do not you ſo? And that not for worldly weale, but for ſpirituall riches, Faith, Hope, Charitie, &c. Do you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe? And I pray you, ſaith not Chriſt, who cannot lie, that happy are ſuch? How ſhould God wipe away the teares from your eyes in Heaven, if now on earth ye ſhed no teares? How could Heaven be a place of reſt, if on earth ye finde it? How could you deſire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief? How could you ſo often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemie ſhould ſleep all day long? How ſhould you elſewhere be made like unto Chriſt, I mean in joy, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicitie, you muſt firſt needs feele ſorrow and miſery. If you will go to Heaven, you muſt ſaile by hell. If you will imbrace Chriſt in his robbes, you muſt not think ſcorne of him in his ragges. If you will ſit at Chriſts Table in his Kingdome, you muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his Cup of glorie, forſake not his Cup of ignominie.

The way to heaven is to go through hell.

Can the head corner ſtone be rejected, and the other more baſe ſtones in Gods building be in this world ſet by? You are one of his lively ſtones, be content therefore to be hewn and ſnagged at, that you might be made more meete to be joyned to your fellowes which ſuffer with you Satans ſnatches, the worlds wounds, contempt of conſcience, and threats of the fleſh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are, who ſhall deliver us? You are of Gods corne, feare not therefore the Flaile, the Fanne, Milſtone, nor Oven. You are one of Chriſts Lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even ſlain.

Threats of the fleſh
Rom. 6.

If you were a market ſheep, you ſhould go in more fat and graſſie paſture. If you were for the Faire, you ſhould be ſtall-fed, and want no weale: but becauſe you are of Gods own occupying, therefore you muſt paſture on the bare Common, abiding the ſtormes and tempeſts that will fall. Happie and twice happie are you (my deare ſiſter) that God now haileth you whether you would not, that you might come whether you would. Suffer a little and be ſtill. Let Satan rage againſt you, let the world cry out, let your conſcience accuſe you, let the Law loade you, and preſſe you down, yet ſhall they not prevaile, for Chriſt is, *Emmanuel*, that is, *God with you. If God be with us, who can be againſt us?* The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget you; your Spouſe loveth you. If the waves and ſurges ariſe, cry with Peter, *Lord, I periſh*; and he will put out his hand and help you. Caſt out your anker of Hope, and it will not ceaſe for the ſtormy ſurges, till it take hold on the rock of Gods truth and mercy.

Gods ſheep muſt feed on the bare common, where the Devils cattell are ſtalled.
John 21.
Rom. 8.
Math. 8.

Think not that he which hath given you ſo many things corporally, as inductions of ſpirituall and heavenly mercies, and that without your deſerts or deſire, can denie you any ſpirituall comfort, deſiring it. For if he give to deſire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing deſired. The deſire to have, and the going about to aske, ought to certifie your conſcience, that they be his earneſt of the thing which you asking he will give you; yea before you aske, and whileſt you are about to aske, he will grant the ſame, as Iſaiah ſaith, to his glory and your enternall conſolation. He that ſpared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

Philip. 1.
Deſire of ſpirituall comfort, though it be lacking is a great gift of God.

If he had not choſen you (as moſt certainly he hath) he would not have ſo called you; he would never have juſtified you; he would never have ſo glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praiſed be his name therefore; he would never have ſo exerciſed your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if (I ſay) he had not choſen you. If he have choſen you (as doubtleſſe, dear heart, he hath done in Chriſt, for in you I have ſeene his earneſt, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where and when) if I ſay, he have choſen you, then neither can you, nor ever ſhall you periſh. For if you fall, he putteth under his hand; you ſhall not lie ſtill; ſo carefull is Chriſt your Keeper over you. Never was mother ſo mindefull over her childe, as he is over you. And hath not he alwaies been ſo?

Rom. 8.
Exerciſe of tentations a great token of election.

Speak woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now trowe you in your moſt neede do otherwiſe, you calling upon him, and deſiring to pleaſe him? Ah (my Joyce) think you God to be mutable? Is he a changeling? Doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling ſuch, that he cannot repent him

Rom. 11.

of them? For elſe were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the ſpirit, which is the ſpirit of truth, told you ſo? And will you now hearken with Eve to the lying ſpirit which would have you not to deſpair, (no he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit to that end, if you ſhould give eare unto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and ſo ſhould you never truly love God, but ſerve him of a ſervile fear, leſt he ſhould caſt you off for your unworthineſſe and unthankfulneſſe; as though your thankfulneſſe or worthineſſe were any cauſe with God, why he hath choſen you, or will finally keep you.

Every lying ſpirit not to be hearkned unto. Satan ſeeketh to bring tender conſciences to doubting, but Gods promiſe in Chriſt ſtandeth ſure for ever.

Ah mine own dear heart, Chriſt only, Chriſt only, and his mercie and truth. In him is the cauſe of your election. This Chriſt, this mercie, this truth of God remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, I ſay, for ever. If an Angell from Heaven ſhould tell you contrary, accurſed be he. Your thankfulneſſe and worthineſſe are fruits and effects of your election, they are no cauſes. Theſe fruits and effects ſhall be ſo much more fruitfull and effectuall, by how much you waver not.

All our election is in and for Chriſt only.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) ariſe, and remember from whence you are falne. You have a Shepherd which neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth; No man nor Devill can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his Angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Pſalm: *The Lord is my Shepherd, I can want nothing?* Do you not know that God ſpared Noah in the Ark on the outſide, ſo that he could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good ſiſter) ſo hath he done to you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall on your right hand, and twentie thouſand on your left hand, yet no evill ſhall touch you. Say boldly therefore; *Many a time from my youth up they have fought againſt me, but they have not prevailed,* no, nor never ſhall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but ſuch as hope in him? Happie are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of thoſe, my dear heart, for I am aſſured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to ſhew moſt manifeſtly, and I know they were written unfainedly. Indeed not to ſay, that even before God you have ſimply confeſſed to me, and that oftentimes no leſſe. And once of you had this hope, as you doubtleſſe had it, though now you feele it not, yet ſhall you feele it again: for the anger of the Lord laſteth but a moment, but his mercie laſteth for ever. Tell me (my dear heart) who hath ſo weakned you? Surely not a perſwaſion which came from him that called you. For why ſhould you waver? Why ſhould you waver, and be ſo heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On your ſelf? On your worthineſſe? On your thankfulneſſe? On that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, feare, joy, &c. Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Beleeve you, hope you, love you, &c. as much as you ſhould do? No, no, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you ſo ſoon forgotten that which ever ſhould be had in memory? Namely, that when you would and ſhould be certain and quiet in conſcience, then ſhould your faith burſt throughout all things not only that you have in you, or elſe are in Heaven, earth, or hell, untill it come to Chriſt crucified, and the eternall ſweet mercies and goodneſſe of God in Chriſt? Here, here is the reſting place, here is your Spouſes bed; creep into it, and in your armes of faith imbrace him, bewail your weakneſſe, your unworthineſſe, your diffidence, &c. and you ſhall ſee he will turn to you. What ſaid, I, you ſhall ſee? Nay, I ſhould have ſaid, You ſhall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moſes, when he went to the Mount to talk with God, he entred into a dark cloud, and Helias had his face covered when God paſſed by. Both theſe dear friends of God heard of God, but they ſaw him not, but you would be preferred before them. See now (my dear heart) how covetous you are. Ah be thankfull, be thankfull. But God be praiſed your covetouſneſſe is Moſes covetouſneſſe. Well, with him you ſhall be ſatisfied. But when? Forſooth when he ſhall appear. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it were in a glaſſe. Iſaac was deceived becauſe he was not content with hearing only.

Pſal. 120.

Pſal. 23.

Pſal. 90.

Pſal. 125.

Though feeling faile, yet let hope hold faſt.

The eye of faith muſt look upon nothing elſe but only Chriſt crucified.

Therefore to make an end of theſe many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exerciſes; inaſmuch as you are indeed the childe of God elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times, inaſmuch as you are given to the cuſtodie of Chriſt, as one of Gods moſt precious Jewels; inaſmuch as Chriſt is faithfull, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall never periſh, no one hair of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave at your hands with all my very heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and minde, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, bloud, mercies, power, and truths ſake, my moſt intirely beloved ſiſter, that you admit no doubting of Gods finall mercies towards you, howſoever you feel your ſelf; but complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which ſhall be moſt opportune, you ſhall finde and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternall joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Learn here to put away doubting, all tender hearts that ſeek after Chriſt.

The good Spirit of God alwais keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore, Amen.

I break up thus abruptly, becauſe our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Chriſt dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you hear, you muſt prepare to bear it. It is written on Heavens door; *Do well, and hear evill.* Be content therefore to hear whatſoever the enemy ſhall imagine to blot you withall. Gods holy Spirit alwais comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen. This This eighth of Auguſt, by him that in the Lord deſireth to you as well and as much felicitie as to his own heart.

The Poeſie written upon heaven gates.

John Bradford.

Here followeth another Letter of his, written to the good Ladie Vane, wherein he reſolveth certain queſtions which ſhe demanded. This Ladie Vane was a ſpeciall Nurſe, and a great ſupporter to her power of the godly Saints, which were impriſoned in Queen Maries time. Unto whom divers Letters I have both of Maſter Philpot, Careles, Trahern, Thomas Roſe, and of others more, wherein they render unto her moſt gratefull thanks for her exceeding goodneſſe extended towards them, with their ſingular commendation and teſtimonie alſo of her Chriſtian zeal towards Gods afflicted priſoners, and to the veritie of his Goſpel. She departed of late at Holborn, Anno 1568. whoſe end was more like a ſleep, then any death; ſo quietly and meekly ſhe deceaſed and departed hence in the Lord.

Commendation of the Lady Vane.

Note how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friends of his Saints.

Amongſt other which wrote unto her, Maſter Bradford alſo ſent theſe Letters to the ſaid Ladie; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Ladie Vane.

THe true ſenſe and ſweet feeling of Gods eternall mercies in Chriſt Jeſus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the holy Ghoſt, Amen.

A letter of M. Bradford written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he diſcuſſeth doubts concerning the coming to Maſſe.

The abomination of the Maſſe ſet forth.

Theſe queſtions were concerning the Maſſe, wherein ſhe deſireth his judgement.

I moſt heartily thank you (good Madam) for your comfortable Letters; and whereas you would be advertiſed what were beſt to be done on your behalf, concerning your three queſtions; the truth is, that the queſtions are never well ſeen, nor anſwered, untill the thing whereof they ariſe be well conſidered, I mean untill it be ſeen how great an evill the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithie places gathered out of Gods Book, that there was never thing upon the earth ſo great, and ſo much an adverſarie to Gods true ſervice, to Chriſts death, paſſion, prieſthood, ſacrifice and Kingdom, to the Miniſtery of Gods Word and Sacraments, to the Church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godlineſſe of life, as that is whereof the queſtions ariſe (as moſt aſſuredly it is indeed) then cannot a Chriſtian heart but ſo much the more abhorre it, and all things that in any point might ſeem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the ſame, by how much it hath the name of Gods ſervice.

Again, your Ladiſhip doth know, that as all is to be diſcommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in reſpect of our ſelves, in reſpect of avoiding Chriſts Croſſe: ſo the end of all our doings ſhould be to God-wards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three queſtions by you propounded. But becauſe this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more conſideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, ſo from me by Gods grace you ſhall receive the other ſhortly. For I have already written a little book of it, which I will ſend unto you, in the which you ſhall have your queſtions fully anſwered and ſatisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout preſently; beſeeching God our good Father to guide you as his dear childe with his Spirit of wiſedome, power, and comfort unto eternall life, that you may be ſtrong, and rejoyce in him and with his Church, to carry Chriſts Croſſe, if he ſhall ſo think it need, 1 Pet. 1. Which is a thing to be deſired, wiſhed, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgement of Gods Word, and tried them by that touchſtone.

He meaneth his book which he calleth the hurt of hearing Maſſe.

If you be accuſtomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and miſery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlaſting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their preſent appearance only; if you uſe your ſelf to ſet Gods preſence, power, and mercy alwais before your eies, to ſee them, as God by every creature would you ſhould; I doubt not but you ſhall finde ſuch ſtrength and comfort in the Lord, as you ſhall not be ſhaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercy in Chriſt be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever, Amen.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to the foreſaid Lady Vane.

As to mine own ſoul, I wiſh to your Ladiſhip grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that ſomething he hath eaſed you, and and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done ſo much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the ſoul, I truſt you feel that which I pray God increaſe in you, I mean his fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the ſame in ſuch degree as may pleaſe him; I will not ſay as you feel, leſt I ſhould ſeem to aske too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully viſit with the ſenſe of his mercy them that humble themſelves under his mighty hand, and are ſore exerciſed (as you long have been) then others, which to the face of the world have a more ſhew and appearance.

Therefore I wiſh as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but alſo that I might occaſion you to the conſideration of the goodneſſe of God, which I by your Letters do well eſpy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaſeth his gifts, ſo ſheweth he more lively his ſalvation, Pſal. 50. 107. I have received Gods bleſſing from you, the which I have partly diſtributed unto my three fellow-priſoners, Maſter Farrat, Maſter Taylor, Maſter Philpot; and the reſidue I will beſtow upon foure poor ſouls which are impriſoned in the common Goale for Religion alſo. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have ſerved my turn alſo. But becauſe I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your Almner in ſuch ſort as I have already advertiſed you. God reward you, and give you to finde it ſpiritually and corporally. Becauſe otherwiſe I cannot talk with you, therefore on this ſort, as occaſion and opportunity will ſerve, I am ready to ſhew my good will and deſire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlaſting life, whereunto God bring us ſhortly for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Good Madam be thankfull to God, as I hope you be; be earneſt in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods Word, and if Gods further croſſe come, as therein God doth ſerve his providence (for elſe it ſhall not come unto you) ſo be certain the ſame ſhall turn to your eternall joy and comfort, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To my dear friends and brethren, R. and E. with their wives and families.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to two faithfull friends of his, one Roydon, and Ellis.

The comfort of Chriſt felt commonly of his children in their croſſe for his ſake, the everlaſting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoak fellows, eſpecially of good Mary my good ſiſter in the Lord, Amen.

If I had not ſomething heard of the hazzard which you are in for the Goſpels ſake, if you continue the profeſſion and confeſſion thereof, as I truſt you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, as he will doubtleſſe for his mercies ſake, if you hope in him (for this bindeth him, as David in Chriſts perſon witneſſeth; Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredſt them, &c. Pſal. 22.) yet by conjectures I could not but ſuppoſe (though not ſo certainly) the time of your ſuffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkneſſe fully come upon this Realm moſt juſtly for our ſinnes, and abuſing the Light lent us of the Lord, to the ſetting forth of our ſelves more then Gods glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and ſo heartily repent (which God grant us to do) as alſo we might have more feeling and ſenſe of our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us as more deſirous of him, ſo him more ſweet and pleaſant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work ſenſibly in all our hearts for Gods holy names ſake.

For this cauſe I thought it my dutie, being now where I have ſome liberty to write (the Lord be praiſed) and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I ſhould have done, if I had heard nothing at all: that is, to deſire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you ſee cauſe rather to the contrary) and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entred, conſidering that the ſame cannot but ſo much more and more wax ſtraight to the outward man, by how much you draw neerer to the end of it: even as in the travell of a woman, the neerer ſhe draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increaſe; ſo it goeth with us in the Lords way, the neerer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternall felicity.

The neerer we come to our journies end, travelling to heaven, the ſtraighter is the way.

Example whereof we have, I will not ſay, in the holy Prophets and Apoſtles of God, which when they were yong girded themſelves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and moſt lively in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe life and way was much more painfull to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvell, for Satan can ſomething abide a man to begin well, and ſet forwards, but rather than he ſhould go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and caſt out flouds to overflow him, before he will ſuffer that come to paſſe.

Example of the travell of a woman.

John 21.

Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Therefore as we ſhould not be diſmayed now at this world, as though ſome ſtrange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Devill declareth himſelf after his old wont, in that we have profeſſed no leſſe, but to forſake the world and the Devill, as Gods very enemies, in that we learned no leſſe at the firſt, when we came to Gods School, than to deny our ſelves, and take up our Croſſe and follow our Maſter, which leadeth us none other way than he himſelf hath gone before us: as (I ſay) we ſhould not be diſmayed, ſo we ſhould with patience and joy go forwards, if we ſet before us as preſent the time to come, like as the wife in her travell doth the deliverance of her childe, and as the Saints of God did, but eſpecially our Saviour and patern Jeſus Chriſt; for the Apoſtle ſaith; He ſet before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the ſhame and ſorrow of the croſſe; ſo if we did, we ſhould finde at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve which hath a long journey to go through a peece of foul way, if he knew that after that, the way ſhould be moſt pleaſant, yea the journey ſhould be ended, and he at his reſting place moſt happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he ſhould ſhortly after receive moſt plentifull riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forſake his wife, children, or friends, &c. when he knoweth he ſhall ſhortly after be aſſociated unto them inſeparably, even after his own hearts deſire? Who will be ſorry to forſake his life, which cannot but be moſt certain of eternall life? Who loveth the ſhadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can deſire the droſſe of this world, but ſuch as be ignorant of the treaſures of the everlaſting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to dye, but ſuch as hope not to live eternally? Chriſt hath promiſed pleaſures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his ſake loſe any thing, and ſuffer any ſorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guil was never found in his mouth.

The malice of the Devill no new thing.

Heb. 12.

Godly counſell ſtirring us to the contempt of this tranſitory life.

Matth. 19.

1 Pet. 2.

Alas then, why are we ſo ſlack and ſlow, yea hard of heart to beleeve him, promiſing us thus plentifully eternall bliſfulneſſe, and are ſo ready to beleeve the world promiſing us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both parts, then it promiſeth us peace, quietneſſe, and many other things elſe. But how doth it pay this gear? or if it pay it, with what quietneſſe of conſcience? Or if ſo; how long I pray you? Do not we ſee before our eyes, men to dye ſhamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuſe to dye for Gods cauſe? What way is ſo ſure a way to heaven, as to ſuffer in Chriſts cauſe? If there be any way on horſe-back to heaven, ſurely this is the way; By many troubles (ſaith the Apoſtle) we muſt enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. For the world cannot love them that are of GOD; the Devill cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: you are Chriſts, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirſt? And as ſoon ſhall Gods true ſervants finde peace and favour in Antichriſts regiment.

The flattering promiſes of this world, ill-favouredly performed.

Acts 14.

2 Tim. 3.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) be ſtout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; ſtand in the liberty of Chriſt which you have learned; rejoyce that you may be counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for Gods cauſe: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye finde nothing. The journey is almoſt paſt, you are almoſt in the haven; hale on apace I beſeech you, and merrily hoiſe up your ſails. Caſt your ſelves on Chriſt, who careth for you. Keep company with him now ſtill to the end; he is faithfull, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; yea in the middeſt of the temptation he will make an out-ſcape. Now pray unto him heartily, be thankfull of his indignation, rejoyce in hope of the health you ſhall receive, and be mindefull of us which are in the vaward, and by Gods grace truſt in Chriſt to be made able to break the Ice before you, that you following may finde the way more eaſie. God grant it may ſo be, Amen, Amen.

To bear the croſſe with courage.

Out of priſon by your Brother in Chriſt,
Iohn Bradford.

To Miſtris Wilkinſon.

A Letter of M. Bradford to Miſtris Wilkinſon.

ALmighty God our moſt loving Father, increaſe in your heart (my good mother and dear miſtris in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Chriſt, to the incouraging and comforting of your faith in theſe ſtormy dayes; as neceſſary unto us, ſo profitable if we perſiſt unto the end, which thing God grant to us, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to deſire you to be thankfull to the Lord, in that amongſt the not many of your calling and ſtate, it pleaſeth him to give you his rare bleſſing, I mean to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This bleſſing aſſuredly is rare as you ſee. But now if he ſhall bleſſe you with another bleſſing, which is more rare, I mean to call you forth as a Martyr, and a witneſſe againſt this filth, I hope you will become double thankfull. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and ſalvation, next to Chriſt and faith in him, than the croſſe, eſpecially when it is ſo glorious, as on this ſort to ſuffer any thing, but chiefly loſſe of this life, which indeed is never found till it be ſo loſt; except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitleſſe.

The croſſe a great token of election.

You know how that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth ſay, That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and caſt into the earth, ſo truly our bodies. And therefore the croſſe ſhould ſo little fear us, that even death it ſelf ſhould altogether be deſired of us, as the Taylor which putteth off our rags, and arayeth us with the royall robes of immortality, incorruption and glory. Great ſhame it ſhould be for us, that all the whole creatures

1 Cor.

Rom.

of God ſhould deſire, yea groan in their kinde for our liberty, and we our ſelves to loath it; as doubtleſſe we do, if for the croſſe, yea for death it ſelf, we with joy ſwallow not up all ſorrow that might let us from following the Lords calling, and obeying the Lords providence; whereby doubtleſſe all croſſes, and death it ſelf doth come, and not by hap or chance. In conſideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence ſtretcheth it ſelf ſo unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; ſurely we declare our ſelves very faint in faith, if we receive not ſuch comfort, that we can willingly offer our ſelves to the Lord, and caſt our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be carefull for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer even in the middeſt of theſe miſeries, be thankfull to the Lord, and prepare your ſelf for a further tryall, which if God ſend you, as I hope, ſo do you beleeve, that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatſoever ſhall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompence into your boſome all the good that ever you have done, to me eſpecially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and alwayes heretofore.

Your own in the Lord,
John Bradford.

Another Letter written to certain godly perſons, incouraging them to prepare themſelves with patience to the Croſſe.

Another fruitfull Letter of M. Bradford, exhorting from the love of this world, to the patient bearing of the croſſe.

GRacious God and moſt mercifull Father, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercie, grace, wiſedom, and holy Spirit to counſell, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words and works, to thy glory, and our everlaſting joy and peace for ever, Amen.

In my laſt Letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no leſſe towards you, than now I have learned. But (my dearly beloved) I have learned none other thing, than before I have told you would come to paſſe, if ye caſt not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your conſciences, whether herein I ſpeak truth, as well of my telling (though not ſo often as I might and ſhould, God forgive me) as alſo of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others: and by them which ſuffered this day ye might learn (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be ſet by more than Gods commandement. They in no point for all that ever their ghoſtly Fathers could do, having Doctor Death to take their part, would conſent, or ſeem to conſent to the Popiſh Maſſe and Papiſticall God, otherwiſe than in the dayes of our late King they had received. And this their faith they have confeſſed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confuſion, if we ſtart back from the ſame. Wherefore I beſeech you to conſider it, as well to praiſe God for them, as to go the ſame way with them, if God ſo will.

The Lady Jane and her husband were beheaded that day.

Doctor Death the Popes chaplain.

Conſider not the things of this life, which is a very priſon to all Gods children; but the things of everlaſting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye muſt open the eyes of your minde, of faith I ſhould have ſaid, as Moſes did, which ſet more by trouble with Gods people, than by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaohs Court. Your houſe, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admoniſh you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye ſet more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens ſake, that is, for your home, houſe, goods, yea life, will go with the world, leſt ye ſhould loſe them, then be aſſured your love, as he cannot but eſpy it to be a ſtrumpets love, ſo will he caſt it away with the world. Remember that he which will ſave his life ſhall loſe it, if Chriſt be true: but he which adventureth, yea loſeth his life for the Goſpels ſake, the ſame ſhall be ſure to finde it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to ſalvation, is not the broad way which many run in, but the ſtraight way, which few now walk in?

Example of Moſes, forſaking Pharaohs houſe, to go with Gods people.

Gods love-tokens.

A ſtrumpet ſetteth more by her tokens than by her lover.

Before perſecution came, men might partly have ſtood in a doubt by the outward ſtate of the world with us (although by Gods word it was plain) whether was the high-way (for there were as many that pretended the Goſpel as Popery) but now the Sun is riſen, and the winde bloweth, ſo that the corn which hath not taken faſt root, cannot nor will not abide; and therefore eaſily ye may ſee the ſtraight way by the ſmall number that paſſeth thorow it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Chriſts ſake, which yet gave his life for our ſakes? We are now become Gergeſites, that would rather loſe Chriſt than our Porkets. A faithfull wife is never tried ſo to be, but when ſhe rejecteth and withſtandeth wooers. A faithfull Chriſtian is then found ſo to be, when his faith is aſſaulted.

In King Edwards time the high way could not be known.

Matth. 8. Gergeſites ſet more by their Pigs than by Chriſt.

If we be not able, I mean, if we will not forſake this world for Gods glory and Goſpels ſake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forſake it for natures ſake? Dye ye muſt once, and leave all ye have (God knoweth how ſoon and when) will ye, or will ye not, and ſeeing perforce ye muſt do this, will ye not willingly now do it for Gods ſake?

If ye go to Maſſe, and do as the moſt part doth, then may ye live at reſt and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then ſhall ye go to priſon, loſe your goods, leave your children comfortleſſe, yea loſe your life alſo. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and ſee how ſhort a thing this life is, even a very ſhadow and ſmoke. Again, ſee how intolerable the puniſhment of hell fire is, and that endleſſe. Laſt of all, look on the joys incomprehenſible, which God hath prepared for all them world without end, which loſe either lands or goods for his names ſake. And then do ye reaſon thus; If we go to Maſſe, the greateſt enemy that Chriſt hath, though for a little time we ſhall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet ſhall we diſpleaſe God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderfull hazard of falling from eternall joy into eternall miſery, firſt of ſoul, and then of body, with the Devill and all Idolaters.

The tranſitory pleaſures of this life weighed with the endleſſe puniſhment to come hereafter both of body and ſoul.

Again, we ſhall want peace of conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will viſit our Idolatry on them in this life; yea our houſe and goods are in danger of loſing, as our lives be, through many caſualties: and when God is angry with us, he can ſend alwayes, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our ſins, and to caſt us into care for our own ſakes, which will not come into ſome little trouble for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with your ſelves, and then doubtleſſe God will work otherwiſe with you, and in you, than ye are ware of. Where now ye think your ſelves unable to abide perſecution, be moſt aſſured, if ſo be you purpoſe not to forſake God, that God will make you ſo able to bear

1 Cor. 10.
God will give ability, not only to bear his croſſe, but alſo to rejoyce in bearing it.

his croſſe, that therein you ſhall rejoyce. Faithfull is God (ſaith Paul) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, yea he will give you an out-ſcape in the croſſe, which ſhall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour, to ſuffer loſſe of any thing for his ſake. He might juſtly caſt moſt grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you ſhall be made like to his Chriſt, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer your ſelves therefore now to be made like to Chriſt, for elſe ye ſhall never be made like unto him. The Devill would gladly have you now to overthrow that which godly ye have of long time profeſſed. Oh how would he triumph, if he could win his purpoſe? Oh how would the Papiſts triumph againſt Gods Goſpel in you? Oh how would you confirm them in their wicked Popery? Oh how would the poor children of God be diſcomforted, if now you ſhould go to Maſſe and other Idolatrous ſervice, and do as the world doth?

Hath God delivered you from the ſweat to ſerve him ſo? Hath God miraculouſly reſtored you to health from your grievous Agues for ſuch a purpoſe? Hath God given you ſuch bleſſings in this world, and good things all the dayes of your life hitherto, and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands, and for his ſake, ſome evill? God forbid: I hope better of you. Uſe prayer, and caſt your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them unto you. Say with Job; God hath given, and God hath taken away, his name be praiſed for ever. Caſt your care upon him, I ſay, for he is carefull for you; and take it amongſt the greateſt bleſſings of God, to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

A great bleſſing of God to ſuffer for his ſake.

And I beſeech thee, O mercifull Father, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, that thou wouldeſt be mercifull unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and ſtrengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may beleeve, and in tongue boldly confeſſe thy Goſpel, to thy glory, and our eternall ſalvation, Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will do the ſame for you.

Iohn Bradford.

An admonition to certain profeſſours of the Goſpel, to beware they fall not from it, in conſenting to the Romiſh Religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced Goſpellers.

Another Letter or admonition of M. Bradford to certain godly profeſſors of Gods truth.

The peace of Chriſt, which is the true effect of Gods Goſpel beleeved (my dearly beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the holy Spirit our comforter, Amen.

Though I have many Letters preſently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet being deſired, I could not but ſomething ſignifie my ready good will in this behalf, ſo much as I may, when I cannot ſo much as I would.

You hear and ſee how Satan beſtirreth him, raging as a roaring Lion to devoure us. You ſee and feel partly what ſtorms he hath raiſed up to drown the poor boat of Chriſt, I mean his Church. You ſee how terribly he traineth his ſouldiers, to give a fierce on-ſet on the vaward of Gods battell. You ſee how he hath received power of God, to moleſt Gods children, and to begin at his houſe. By reaſon whereof conſider two things; one, the cauſe on our behalf; the other, what will be the ſequele on ſtrangers.

Two things to be conſidered in the perſecution of Gods people.

For the firſt, if we be not blinde, we cannot but well ſee that our ſins are the cauſe of all this miſery; our ſins, I ſay, which I would that every one of us would apply to our ſelves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other mens offences might lye behinde, and our own before. Not that I would excuſe other men, which exteriorly have walked much more groſſely than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as my ſelf, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increaſe to know and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercie, &c.

Earneſt repentance maketh the croſſe more pleaſant.
Coloſſ. 1.

Let us better feel and hate our ſelf-love, ſecurity, negligence, unthankfulneſſe, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtleſſe the croſſe ſhall be leſſe fearfulll, yea it ſhall be comfortable, and Chriſt moſt dear and pleaſant; death then ſhall be deſired, as the diſpatcher of us out of miſery, and entrance into eternall felicity and joy unſpeakable: the which is ſo much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the ſerpents bits, wherewith he woundeth our heels, that is, our outward Adam and ſenſes. If we had, I ſay, a lively and true feeling of his poyſon, we could not but as rejoyce over our Captain that hath bruiſed his head, ſo be deſirous to follow his example, that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and ſo fill up his paſſions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

If Gods judgment be ſo ſharp to his children, what will it be to his enemies?

Now the ſecond (I mean the ſequele, or that which will follow on the ſtrangers) my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if ſo be that God juſtly do thus give to Satan and his ſeed, to vex and moleſt Chriſt and his penitent people; Oh what and how juſtly may he and will he give to Satan to intreat the wretchleſſe and impenitent ſinners? If judgment begin thus at Gods houſe, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reſerved the dregs of Gods cup, that is, brimſtone, fire, and tempeſt intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of Gods cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Chriſt our Lord, leſt they ſhould loſe their Pigs with the Gergeſites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to Heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, Let us caſt his yoke from us; they walk two wayes, that is, they ſeek to ſerve God and Mammon, which is unpoſſible, they will not come nigh the ſtraight way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold preſent things onely; they judge of religion after reaſon, and not after Gods word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profeſſe God with their mouthes, but in their hearts thay deny him, or elſe they would ſanctifie him by ſerving him more than men; they part ſtake with GOD, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romiſh rout, and Antichriſtian Idolatry now ſet abroad amongſt us publikely; they will have Chriſt, but none of his Croſſe, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Chriſt, but yet they will ſuffer no perſecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they ſavour of thoſe things that be of men, and not that be of God; Summa, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds deny him, as well by not repenting their evils paſt, as by continuing in evill ſtill, by doing as the world, the fleſh and the Devill willeth, and yet ſtill perchance they will pray, or rather prate, Thy will be done in earth, which is generally that every one ſhould take up his croſſe and follow Chriſt. But this is a hard ſaying; Who is able to abide it?

Matth. 8.

The doings and wayes of the wicked deſcribed, and what is the end thereof.

Therefore Chriſt muſt be prayed to depart, leſt all the Pigs be drowned. The Devill ſhall have his dwelling again in themſelves rather than in their Pigs, and therefore to the Devill they ſhall go, and dwell with him in eternall perdition and damnation, even in hell-fire a torment endleſſe, and above all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

He doth imbolden them to take up Chriſts croſſe, and to follow him.

Wherefore by them (my dearly beloved) be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſion, how that in Baptiſme you made a ſolemn vow to forſake the Devill, the world, &c. You promiſed to fight under Chriſts ſtandard. You learned Chriſts Croſſe afore you begun with A. B. C. Go to then, pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men under Chriſts ſtandard; take up your croſſe and follow your Maſter, as your brethren, Maſter Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, Maſter Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Hawks, &c. be ready to do. The Ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to dye for the Lord. You have no cauſe to waver or doubt of the Doctrine thus declared by the blood of the Paſtors. Remember that Chriſt ſaith; He that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it. And what ſhould it profit you to win the whole world, much leſſe a little quietneſſe, your goods, &c. and to loſe your own ſouls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Chriſts Diſciples muſt deny themſelves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wiſedom. Have in minde, that as it is no ſmall mercie to beleeve in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kindeneſſe of God towards you, to ſuffer any thing, much more death for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that dye in the Lord, how ſhall they be that dye for the Lord? Oh what a bleſſing is it to have death due for our ſins, diverted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lords truth? Oh that we had a little of Moſes faith to look upon the end of the Croſſe, to look upon the reward, to ſee continually with Chriſt and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. Oh let us pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hid Manna, heavenly Jeruſalem, the congregation of his firſt-born, the melody of the Saints, the Tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then ſhould we run and become violent men, and ſo take the Kingdom of Heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Chriſts ſake to ſee a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and moſt aſſuredly giveth us for his own goodneſſe and truths ſake, Amen.

Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord, but more bleſſed be they that dye for the Lord.
The end and riches that follow the croſſe.

My dearly beloved, repent, be ſober, and watch in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations, ſhew your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not againſt Gods word, therein acknowledge the ſoveraign power of the Lord: howbeit, ſo that ye be no rebels, or rebellers for no cauſe; but becauſe with good conſcience you cannot obey, be patient ſufferers, and the glory and good ſpirit of God ſhall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us your afflicted brethren, being in the Lords bonds for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and moſt merciful Father. The Lord for Chriſts ſake, give us merry hearts to drink luſtily of his ſweet cup, which daily we grone and ſigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jeſus give us grace to be thankfull, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his moſt gracious will, Amen, Amen.

From the Counter in the Poultry. Yours
in Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

To my good brother Iohn Careles, priſoner in the Kings Bench.

A letter of M. Bradford to John Careles.

THe Father of mercie and God of all comfort, viſit us with his eternall conſolation, according to his great mercies in Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear brother, if I ſhall report the truth unto you, I cannot but ſigniſie, that ſince I came into priſon, I never received ſo much conſolation as I did by your laſt letter, the name of God be moſt heartily praiſed therefore. But if I ſhall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, ſpeak ſtill the verity, I muſt confeſſe, that for mine unthankfulneſſe to you-wards, and to God eſpecially, I have more need of Gods mercifull tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah that Satan envieth us ſo greatly. Ah that our Lord would tread his head under our feet ſhortly. Ah that I might for ever both my ſelf beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of unthankfulneſſe. Good brother Careles, we had more need to take heed, after a lightening, of a foil than before. God therfore is to be praiſed even when he hideth, and that not of long, a cheerfull countenance from us, leſt we being not expert how to uſe it as we ſhould do, do hurt more our ſelves thereby, ſo great is our ignorance and corruption. This my good brother, and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I imbrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good ſpirit, that as by faith we may feel our ſelves united unto him in Chriſt, ſo by love we may feel our ſelves linked in the ſame Chriſt one to another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

After a lightening take heed of a foil.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praiſe my God, which hath given him to ſee his truth at the length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be ſo heedy in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themſelves aſtray. Wo and wo again ſhould be unto us, if we by our example ſhould make men to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in Chriſt, as you ſhall think good, to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchance think otherwiſe. A drop maketh the ſtone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping; ſo if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you ſtill and drop upon them as you can, you ſhall ſee Gods work at the length. I beſeech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all, Amen. I deſire you all to pray for me the moſt unworthy priſoner of the Lord,

This Skelthrop was a free-will man.

The charitable ſpirit of maſter Bradford in reducing them that be weak and ignorant.

Your brother, Iohn Bradford.

To Maſter Iohn Hall and his wife, priſoners in Newgate for the teſtimony of the Goſpel.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to John Hall and his Wife in Newgate priſon.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you both my dearly beloved, as with his dear children for ever, and ſo he bleſſe you with his holy ſpirit, that you may in this your croſſe (for his cauſe doubtleſſe) rejoyce and gladly take it up to bear it ſo long as he ſhall think good. I have heard (my good brother and ſiſter) how that GOD hath brought you both into his School-houſe (whereas you were both purpoſed by his leave to have played the trewands) that thereby you might ſee his carefulneſſe and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and carefull father for his children, to prevent

vent the purpoſe, and diſappoint the intent of his children, purpoſing to depart a while from the School for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much conſider the commodity of Learning which there they might get:) how ſhould you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpoſe, but as an evident ſign of love and fatherly carefulneſſe that he beareth towards you? If he ſhould have winked at your wills, then would you have eſcaped beating, I mean the croſſe; but then ſhould you have loſt the commodity of learning that which your father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he ſent to you his croſſe. He (I ſay) hath brought you where you be; and though your reaſon and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that whatſoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal, although otherwiſe your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel: yet I ſay of truth that your duty is to think of this croſſe, that as it is of Gods ſending, and cometh from him; ſo although your deſerts be otherwiſe, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodities ſake.

The croſſe cometh not without Gods ſending.

What commodity is hereby, you will perchance object. You are now kept in cloſe priſon, you will ſay; your family and children be without good over-ſeers; your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe means; your poverty will approach; and perchance more perils alſo, yea and loſſe of life too. Theſe are no commodities, but diſcommodities, and that no ſmall ones; ſo that juſtly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this croſſe, whereby cometh ſo great diſcommodities.

To theſe things I anſwer, that indeed it is true you ſay of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtance, poverty, life, &c. Which things, if you would conſider a while with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward; then perhaps you ſhould finde more eaſe. Do not you now by the inward ſenſe perceive that you muſt part from all theſe and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your croſſe, to learn to loath and leave the world, and to long for and deſire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profeſſion in Baptiſme) forſaken the world and all earthly things, uſing the world, as though you uſed it not. Your heart ſet onely upon your hoard in heaven, or elſe you could never be Chriſts true Diſciples, that is, to be ſaved, and be where he is. And trow you (my good hearts in the Lord) trow you I ſay that this is no commodity, by this croſſe to be compelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enjoy with the Lord endleſſe glory? How now doth God, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning theſe things and all other things, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compell you to call upon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the Scripture ſay, that God doth correct us in this world, becauſe we ſhall not be damned with the world? That God chaſteneth every one whom he loveth? That the end of this correction ſhall be joy and holineſſe? Doth not the Scripture ſay, That they are happy that ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake, as you now do? That the glory and ſpirit of God is upon them? That, as you are now made like unto Chriſt in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you be made like him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture ſay, That you are now going the high and right way to Heaven? That your ſuffering is Chriſts ſuffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than thoſe can a godly heart deſire.

Worldly loſſe recompenſed with endleſſe and perpetuall gain by the croſſe.

What commodity the croſſe bringeth.

C

Promiſes annexed to the croſſe.

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoyce and be glad when ye ſuffer as now ye do: for through the goodneſſe of God great ſhall be your reward: Where? Forſooth on earth firſt your children; for now they are in Gods meer and immediate protection. Never was father ſo carefull for his children, as God is for yours preſently. Gods bleſſing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them ſhould be pulled away; yet God is not poor, he hath promiſed to provide for them moſt fatherly. Caſt thy burthen upon me, ſaith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore caſt them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will dye in your debt. He never was found unfaithfull, and he will not now begin with you. The good mans ſeed ſhall not go a begging his bread; for he will ſhew mercie upon thouſands of the poſterity of them that fear him. Therefore (as I ſaid) Gods reward firſt upon earth ſhall be felt by your children even corporally, and ſo alſo upon you, if God ſee it more for your commodity, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhall feel it by quietneſſe and comfort of conſcience: and ſecondly, after this life you ſhall finde it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious Gods reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your ſouls. God open our eyes, to ſee and feel this indeed. Then ſhall we think the croſſe which is a mean hereto to be commodious. Then ſhall we thank God that he would chaſtiſe us. Then ſhall we ſay with David; Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me: for before I went aſtray, but now I keep thy laws.

Pſal. 55.

Care of children to be left to Gods providence.

Pſal. 37.

This that we may do indeed (my dearly beloved) let us firſt know that our croſſe cometh from God: Secondly, that it cometh from God as a father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us thirdly call to minde our ſins, and aſk pardon. Whereto let us fourthly look for help certainly at Gods hand in his good time: help, I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our ſouls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there iſſue out of us hearty thankſgiving, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through Chriſt offer this, let us uſe earneſt prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſſe us, keep us, and comfort us under his ſweet croſſe for ever, Amen, Amen.

Two things to be conſidered of all men that be under the croſſe.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure therof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. Oh that it would pleaſe our dear Father ſhortly to bring us where we ſhould never depart, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence: Pray, pray that it may ſpeedily come to paſſe, pray. To morrow I will ſend to you to know your eſtate, ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you withall. From the Counter.

By your brother in the Lord,
Iohn Bradford.

To Miſtris Hall, priſoner in Newgate, and ready to make anſwer before her adverſaries.

OVr moſt mercifull God and Father through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord and Saviour, be mercifull unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end, Amen.

Another letter of M. Bradford to Miſtreſs Hall.

Matth. 5.

My dear ſiſter, rejoyce in the Lord, rejoyce: be glad, I ſay, be merry and thankfull, not onely becauſe Chriſt ſo commandeth us, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherein we are preſently, requireth no leſſe, for we are the Lords witneſſes. God the Father hath vouched ſafe to chuſe us amongſt many, to witneſſe and teſtifie that Chriſt his Son is King, and that his word is true. Chriſt our Saviour, for his loves ſake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no uſurper nor deceiver of the people, but Gods Embaſſadour, Prophet, and Meſſias; ſo that of all dignities upon earth this is the higheſt. Greater honour had not his Prophets, Apoſtles, nor deareſt friends, than to bear witneſſe with Chriſt, as we now do. The world, following the counſell of their Sire Sathan, would gladly condemn Chriſt and his verity, but lo the Lord hath choſen us to be his champions to let this. As ſtout ſouldiers therefore let us ſtand to our Maſter, who is with us, and ſtandeth on our right hand, that we ſhall not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercie; he is ſo faithfull and true, that he will never tempt us farther than he will make us able to bear.

The blood of Martyrs ſtandeth for the verity of Chriſt againſt the world and Satan, who would ſuppreſſe the ſame.

Therefore be not carefull (for I hear ſay this day you ſhall be called forth) what you ſhall anſwer. The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed, and will never fail nor forget it, that you ſhall have both what and how to anſwer, ſo as ſhall make his ſhameleſſe adverſaries aſhamed. Hang therefore on this promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch, and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or ſhall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

The Lord promiſeth, and will give them that ſtand in his defence, how and what to anſwer.

Therefore as I ſaid, I ſay again, Dear ſiſter, be not onely not carefull for your anſwering, but alſo be joyfull for your cauſe. Confeſſe Chriſt, and be not aſhamed, and he will confeſſe you, and never be aſhamed of you. Though loſſe of goods and life be like here to enſue; yet if Chriſt be true (as he is moſt true) it is otherwiſe indeed: for he that loſeth his life, ſaith he, winneth it; but he that ſaveth it, loſeth it. Our ſins have deſerved many deaths. Now if God ſo deal with us, that he will make our deſerved death a demonſtration of his grace, a teſtimoniall of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adverſaries; What great cauſe have we to be thankfull? Be thankfull therefore good ſiſter, be thankfull. Rejoyce and be merry in the Lord; be ſtout in his cauſe aud quarrell, be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and ſet your Captain Chriſt before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory, and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the Crown. Run to get the game, you are almoſt at your journeys end; I doubt not but our Father will with us ſend to you alſo, as he did to Helias a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be diſmayed, to leave our cloak behinde us, that is, our bodies to aſhes. God will one day reſtore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe coming is now at hand; Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercie grant us his mercie, Amen. I pray you pray for me, and ſo deſire my brethren which be with you. Gods peace be with us all, Amen. Bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord; then how much more they that dye for the Lord.

A bleſſed thing, ſeeing a man muſt needs dye, to dye for the Lord.

4 Reg. 2.

Your Brother in bonds,
Iohn Bradford.

To a woman that deſired to know his minde, whether ſhe refraining from the Maſſe, might be preſent at the Popiſh Popiſh Mattins, or no.

I Beſeech Almighty GOD our heavenly Father to be mercifull unto us, and to increaſe in you my good ſiſter, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at this preſent give me grace ſo to write to you ſomething of the ſame, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Whether you may come with ſafe conſcience to the Church now, that is, to the Service uſed commonly, in part, as at Mattins, or at Evenſong, or no, is your deſire to have me to write ſomething for your further ſtay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think, that in reſpect thereof I would bear with that which elſe were not to be born withall; yet by Gods grace I am purpoſed, ſimply and without all ſuch reſpect in this matter, to ſpeak to you the truth according to my conſcience, as I may be able to ſtand unto, when I ſhall come before the Lord.

A reſolution of M. Bradford, whether a chriſtian abſtaining from the Maſs, may hear the Popiſh Mattins, or no.

Firſt therefore, go about to learn perfectly the firſt leſſon to be learned of all that profeſſe Chriſt, that is, to deny your ſelf, and in nothing to ſeek your ſelf.

Three leſſons to be learned of every chriſtian.

Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next leſſon to it, which is, to ſeek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

Thirdly, know that then you ſeek God, when in his ſervice you follow his Word, and not mans fantaſies, cuſtome, multitude, &c. and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity, that is, To do as you would be done by. In theſe is a ſum of all the counſell I can give you, if that hereto I admoniſh you of the ſervice now uſed, which is not according to Gods word, but rather againſt Gods word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the ſervice, is a declaration that you have not learned the firſt leſſon, nor never can learn it, ſo long as you go thither; therefore the ſecond leſſon you ſhall utterly loſe, if you ceaſe not the ſeeking of your ſelf, that is, if for company, cuſtome, father, or friend, life or goods, you ſeem to allow that which God diſalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpoſe by Gods grace briefly to ſhew.

Firſt, the Mattins and Evenſong is in a tongue forbidden publikely to be uſed in the Congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be againſt Gods Commandement. This one (I trow) were enough, if nothing elſe were. For how can Gods glory be ſought, where his word and commandement is wilfully broken? How can charity to man ſtand, when charity to GOD, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

Reaſons proving that no chriſtian may come to the Popiſh Mattins and Evenſong, with a good conſcience.

The Popes ſervice is in a tongue unknown.

Again, both in Mattins and in Evenſong is Idolatry maintained for Gods ſervice; for there is invocation and prayer made to Saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

The Popes ſervice is full of Idolatry. Eſay 5.

Moreover, this ſervice, and the ſetters forth of it condemneth the Engliſh ſervice as hereſie, thereby falling into Gods curſe, which is threatned to all ſuch as call good evill, and evill good; whereof they ſhall be partakers that do communicate with them.

The Popes ſervice condemneth our Engliſh ſervice of hereſie.

Beſides this, this Latine ſervice is a plain mark of Antichriſts catholike Synagogue; ſo that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themſelves to be members of the ſame Synagogue, and ſo cut off from Chriſt and his Church, whoſe exteriour mark is the true adminiſtration of Gods word and Sacraments.

The Popes Latine ſervice is a mark of Antichriſt.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the Religion of Antichriſt (as doubtleſſe you do indeed, howſoever in heart you think)

The going to the Popes ſervice giveth ill example, and is offenſive.

think) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be utterly intractable, the weak Papiſts to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong Goſpellers to be ſore weakened, and the weak Goſpellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All theſe evils you ſhall be guilty of, that company with theſe in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admoniſhed to flye. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him: gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serve God, not onely in ſpirit, but alſo in body. Make not your body, now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confeſſe Chriſt and his truth, not onely in heart, but alſo in tongue, yea in very deed, which few Goſpellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, leſt that Chriſt will deny them in the laſt day: the which day, if it were ſet before our eyes often, then would the pleaſures and treaſures of this world be but trifles.

Chriſts leſſon.

Therefore good ſiſter, often have it before your eyes, daily ſet your ſelf and your doings as before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt now, that hereafter you be not called into judgement. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to loſe your own ſoul. Mark Chriſts leſſons well, He that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it. The Father of Heaven commandeth you to hear Chriſt, and he ſaith, Follow me: this can you not do, and follow Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſaith the Scripture.

This God grant to you, to me, and to all Gods children, Amen. Thus in haſte I have accompliſhed your requeſt. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, ſo this may be a little mean to do you ſome good ſpiritually, Amen. If time would ſerve, I would have written more at large. The 2. of March, Anno 1555.

To the Worſhipfull, and in God my moſt dear friend, the Lady Vane.

An Epiſtle of M. Bradford to the Lady Vane concerning the ſeat of the Popes pretenſed primacy. The Pope proved to be the great Antichriſt ſpoken of by the Apoſtles.

THe good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladiſhip, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deſerved at my hands the ſervice I can do for you, yet (Right Worſhipfull and dearly beloved in the Lord) the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, ſpecially and above all other things doth binde me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your deſire is to have ſomething ſent to you concerning the uſurped authority of the Supremacie of the Biſhop of Rome (which is undoubtedly that great Antichriſt, of whom the Apoſtles do ſo much admoniſh us) that you may have as well ſomething the more to ſtay you on, as alſo wherewith to anſwer the adverſaries, becauſe you may perchance therein be ſomething appoſed. To ſatisfie this your deſire, I will briefly go about, and ſo, that I will by Gods grace fully ſet forth the ſame, to enarm you to withſtand the aſſaults of the Papiſts herein, if you mark well and reade over again that which I now write.

The Pope diſplacing Chriſt.

The words of Chriſt to Peter, Feed my ſheep, expounded.

The Papiſts do place in preheminence over the whole Church, the Pope, thereby unplacing Chriſt, which is the head of the Church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the ſame. This they do without all Scriptures. For where they bring in this ſpoken to Peter, Feed my ſheep; I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others alſo. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he ſpake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would eaſily perceive how that it was not for any ſuch cauſe as they pretend; but rather by a threefold commandement to reſtore him to the honour of an Apoſtle, which he had loſt by his threefold deniall. And how dare they interpret this word, My ſheep, my lambs, to be the univerſall Church of Chriſt? I trow a man might eaſily by the like “ reaſon prove that Peter himſelf had reſigned that which Chriſt had given to him, in exhorting his fellow Paſtors to feed the flock of Chriſt. Is not this pretie ſtuffe? Becauſe Chriſt ſaith to Peter, Feed my ſheep, therefore he ought to rule the univerſall and whole Church of Chriſt? If Peter do truely write unto others that they ſhould do the like, that is, Feed Chriſts flock, either he tranſlateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or elſe he doth participate or communicate with them: ſo that fooliſhly they go about to eſtabliſh that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a ſhepherd of the ſheep, but ſuch a one as beſtowed his labour on them ſo farre, as he could ſtretch himſelf by his Miniſtery. But the Papiſts prate that he had full power over all Churches: Wherein they may ſee Paul to improve them, for elſe he had done unjuſtly in denying him the ſuperiour place. Howbeit, who ever yet read that Peter did take any thing upon him over Churches committed unto other men? Was not he ſent of the Church, and ſent of one not having rule over the reſt? I grant that he was an excellent inſtrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whenſoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpoſe, to make him ruler and head over all the whole Church, becauſe he was ſo over a ſmall congregation?

“ Argument. Chriſt bidding Peter, Feed his flock, made him head over the Univerſall Church: Ergo Peter bidding the Paſtors feed the flock of Chriſt made them alſo heads over the Univerſall Church.

Ab una exponente ad ſuam excluſivam non valet conſequentia.

Chriſt made Peter a ſhepherd: Ergo Chriſt made Peter only the chief ſhepherd of his ſheep.

Peter was excellent for his gifts, and not for the place where he ſate.

Argument. Peter left the title which he received, to his ſucceſſors. Peter received the title of Satan: Ergo Peter left the title of Satan to his ſucceſſors.

No mention of ſucceſſion nor primacy inheritable, in all the Scripture.

But be it ſo that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm: Who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heires? He hath left (ſay the Papiſts) to his ſucceſſors the ſelf ſame right which he received. O Lord God, then muſt his ſucceſſour be a Satan: for he received that title of Chriſt himſelf. I would gladly have the Papiſts to ſhew me one place of ſucceſſion mentioned in the Scriptures. I am ſure that when Paul purpoſely painteth out the whole adminiſtration of the Church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable Primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Chriſt, of one Spirit, of one body of the Church, of one Faith, and of one Baptiſme, then he deſcribeth the mean and manner how unitie is to be kept; namely, becauſe unto every Paſtor is grace given after the meaſure wherewith Chriſt hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis poteſtatis, of fulneſſe of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain meaſure, why did he not forthwith ſay one Pope? Which thing he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the Papiſts make it.

No cauſe why any perpetuity of primacy ſhould belong to Rome more then to other places.

As Peters chaire was in Rome, ſo Moſes chaire was in the wilderneſſe: Ergo the principality of the Jewiſh Church ſhould be in the wilderneſſe.

But let us grant that perpetuitie of the primacie in the Church was eſtabliſhed in Peter; I would gladly learn why the ſeat of the Primacie ſhould be rather at Rome then elſewhere. Mary ſay they, becauſe Peters chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that becauſe Moſes the greateſt Prophet, and Aaron the firſt Prieſt exerciſed their offices unto their death in the deſert, therefore the principalleſt place of the Jewiſh Church ſhould be in the wilderneſſe. But grant them their reaſon that it is good. What ſhould Antioch claim? For Peters chair was there alſo, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unſeemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his Preſident and better.

Peter had no Biſhoprick at Rome. Conjectures that Peter was not at Rome.

No ſay the Papiſts, Rome muſt have this authoritie becauſe Peter died there. But what if a man ſhould by probable conjectures ſhew, that it is but a fable, which is faigned of Peters Biſhoprick at Rome? Read how Paul doth ſalute very many private perſons when he writeth to the Romanes. Three yeers after his Epiſtle made, he was brought to Rome priſoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren, and yet in all theſe, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their ſtories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the Pope and Prelats be, or elſe he would have viſited Paul. Paul being in priſon in Rome did write divers Epiſtles, in which he expreſſeth the names of many which were in compariſon of Peter, but raſcall perſonages, but of Peter he ſpeaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this ſilence of him had been ſuſpicious. In the 2. Epiſtle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peters part, Luke 23. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome Biſhop as they prate: for all this time and long before, they ſay that Peter was Biſhop there.

2 Tim. 4. Phil. 2.

If Peters chair make the primacie: why might not Antioch claime as much as Rome, where he ſate firſt?

But I will not ſtir up coales in this matter. If Rome be the chief ſeat becauſe Peter died there, why ſhould not Antioch be the ſecond? Why ſhould not James and John which were taken with Peter to be as Pillars? Why, I ſay, ſhould not their ſeats have honour next to Peters ſeat? Is not this gear prepoſterous, that Alexandria where Mark (which was but one of the Diſciples) was Biſhop, ſhould be preferred before Epheſus, where John the Evangeliſt taught and was Biſhop, and before Jeruſalem, where not only James taught, and died Biſhop, but alſo Chriſt Jeſus our Lord and high Prieſt for ever, by whom being maſter, I hope, honour ſhould be given to his chair, more then to the chair of his Chaplains?

Peters Apoſtleſhip was over the circumciſed, and not over the Gentiles.

I need to ſpeak nothing how that Paul telleth Peters Apoſtleſhip to concern rather circumciſion or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregorius the firſt Biſhop of Rome, which was about the yeer of our Lord 600. who plainly in his works doth write that this title of primacy, and to be head over all Churches under Chriſt, is a title meet and agreeing only to Antichriſt, and therefore he calleth it a prophane, a miſchievous, and an horrible title. Whom ſhould we beleeve now, if we will neither beleeve Apoſtle nor Pope?

The title of primacy a foretoken of Antichriſt.

How the title of primacy firſt came up, and by whom.

If I ſhould go about to tell how this name was firſt gotten by Phocas, I ſhould be too long. I purpoſe God willing to ſet it forth at large in a work which I have begun of Antichriſt, if God for his mercies ſake give me life to finiſh it. For this preſent therefore I ſhall deſire your Ladiſhip to take this in good part. If they will needs have the Biſhop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I urge them that they ſhall give us a Biſhop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a biteſheep, then a Biſhop. They brag of Peters ſucceſſion, of Chriſts Vicar, this is alwais in their mouth. But alas how can we call him Chriſts Vicar that reſiſteth Chriſt, oppugneth his veritie, perſecuteth his people, and like a Prelate preferreth himſelf above God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and Chriſt agree? How ſupplyeth he Peters Miniſtery, that boaſteth of his ſucceſſion?

The Biſhop of Rome ſeemeth indeed rather a butcher then a Biſhop.

If they will needs make the biſhop of Rome the ſupreme head, they muſt firſt prove him a Biſhop indeed and not in name.

Therefore to begin withall, which I will uſe preſently for a concluſion, if the Papiſts will have the Biſhop of Rome ſupreme head of the Church of Chriſt in earth, they muſt, afore they attain this, give us a Biſhop in deed, and not in name. For whoſoever he be that will make this the bond of unity, whatſoever the Biſhop of Rome be, ſurely this muſt needs follow, that they do nothing elſe but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departing from Chriſt.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpoſe to ſpeak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladiſhip unto the tuition of God our father, and Chriſt our only head Paſtor and Keeper, to whom ſee that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the Word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your ſteps, you ſhall then avoid darkneſſe, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the Papiſts are fallen by the judgement of God, and ſeek to bring us into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blinde following the blinde, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preſerve us for his Names ſake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whileſt it is day; ſo ſhall the night never overpreſſe us, we going from light to light, from vertue to vertue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of Gods good Spirit, which God our father give unto us all for ever, Amen.

Your Brother in bonds for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt,
Iohn Bradford.

He wrote alſo another fruitfull Letter to this R. Hopkins, which you may read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

Here followeth another letter of M. Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, Sheriffe ſometimes of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear ſay) alive. This Hopkins, whom Maſter Bradford commendeth ſo much in this Letter, during the time of his Sheriffealtie was defected and accuſed, by certain maglinant adverſaries, of matter pertaining to Religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unleſſe it were for ſending and lending unto a thief, being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certain Engliſh book of Scripture for his ſpirituall comfort.

Whereupon, or elſe upon ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleet, and there endured a ſufficient time, not without great perill of life. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid Hopkins being at length delivered out of priſon, following this counſell of M. Bradford, and minding to keep his conſcience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight yong children, to avoid the Realm, and ſo, leaving all other worldly reſpects, with his great loſſe and damage went into high Germany, where he continued in the Citie of Baſil, till the death of Queen Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper, and a comfortable reliever of other Engliſh Exiles there about him, Gods holy bleſſing ſo working with him therefore, that in thoſe farre Countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houſhold, during all that time there, miſcarried, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he re-carried home again, yea and that with advantage, and Gods plenty withall upon him. Now the Letter written to this Richard Hopkins by M. Bradford, is this.

A Letter to Maſter Richard Hopkins, then Sheriff of Coventrie, and priſoner in the Fleet, for the faithfull and conſtant confeſſing of Gods holy Goſpel.

A Letter of M. Bradford to R. Hopkins priſoner the ſame time for his conſcience.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, I wiſh unto you, as unto mine own brother, yea as to mine own heart root, Gods mercie, and the feeling of the ſame plentifully in Chriſt our ſweet Saviour, who gave himſelf a ranſome for our ſinnes, and price for our redemption, praiſed therefore be his holy name for ever and ever. Amen.

I will not go about to excuſe my ſelf for not ſending unto you hitherto, ſuffering for the Lords ſake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuſe my ſelf both before God and you, deſiring you of forgiveneſſe, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkinde forgetting you, and all other my ſinnes, which I beſeech the Lord in his mercy to do away for his Chriſts ſake. Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could: but becauſe I cannot, I ſhall heartily deſire you to accept that will, and this which I ſhall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will and not after the deed to accept and take it. At this preſent my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeem otherwiſe to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be ſo bold as to diſcern from you, becauſe you would have him not only diſcerned, but alſo utterly deſtroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Now his word pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therefore it muſt needs be ſo. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the holy Ghoſt ſaith, That they are happy which ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake, and that Gods glory and Spirit reſteth on them which ſuffer for conſcience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your ſuffering is for righteouſneſſe ſake, and for conſcience to God-wards, for elſe you might be out of trouble even out of hand. I know in very deed that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulneſſe to God, and other ſinnes, to witneſſe to you, that you have deſerved this impriſonment, and lack of libertie, betwixt God and your ſelf, and I would you ſo would confeſſe unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thankſgiving, for his correcting you here. But you know that the Magiſtrates do not perſecute in you your ſinnes, your unthankfulneſſe, &c. But they perſecute in you Chriſt himſelf, his righteouſneſſe, his veritie, and therefore happy be you that have found ſuch favour with God your Father, to accompt you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake in the ſight of man; ſurely you ſhall rejoyce therefore one day with a joy unſpeakable, in the ſight of man alſo.

Martyrs perſecuted not for their ſins, but for Chriſt only, and the Goſpel.

You may think your ſelf born in a bleſſed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a veſſell of honour to ſuffer with his Saints, yea with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done ſo with many. The Apoſtle ſaith, Not many noble, not many rich, not many wiſe in the world, hath the Lord God choſen. Oh then what cauſe have you to rejoyce, that amongſt the not many, he hath choſen you to be one? For that cauſe hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more ſee his ſpeciall dignation and love towards you. It had not been ſo great a thing for Maſter Hopkins to have ſuffered as Maſter Hopkins, as it is for Maſter Hopkins alſo to ſuffer as Maſter Sheriff. Oh happy day that you were made Sheriff; by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, ſo by ſuffering in this roome he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the ſight of his Church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a Sheriff of a City hath ſuffered for the Lords ſake? Where read we of any Sheriff that hath been caſt into priſon for conſcience to Godward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the world it ſhall be written for a memoriall to your praiſe, that Richard Hopkins Sheriff of Coventry, for conſcience to do his office before God, was caſt into the Fleet, there kept priſoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if herefore you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this ſort out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but ſpecially to Magiſtrates in this Realm? Who would ever have thought that you ſhould have been the firſt Magiſtrate that for Chriſts ſake ſhould have loſt any thing? As I ſaid before, therefore I ſay again, that your ſtate is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you, my conſcience bearing me witneſſe that you are in a moſt happy ſtate with the Lord, and before his ſight.

1 Cor. 1.

R. Hopkins the firſt Magiſtrate that ſuffered for his conſcience.

Be thankfull therefore, rejoyce in your trouble, pray for patience, perſevere to the end, let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wiſedome and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, yet truſt in him with Job, and you ſhall perceive that the end will be to finde him mercifull and full of compaſſion: for he will not break promiſe with you, which hitherto did never ſo with any. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you calling upon him, yea before you call, your deſires are not only known, but accepted through Chriſt. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true, He is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he ſeem to tarry, yet ſtand you ſtill, and you ſhall ſee the wonderfull works of the Lord. Oh beloved, wherefore ſhould you be heavy? Is not Chriſt Emmanuel, God with us? Shall you not finde that as he is true in ſaying, In the world you ſhall have trouble; ſo is he in ſaying, In me you ſhall have comfort? He doth not ſwear only that trouble will come, but withall he ſweareth that comfort ſhall enſue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not ſeen, the eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. O great comfort: who ſhall have this? Forſooth they that ſuffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then, as I ſaid, happy, happy, and happy again are you my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now ſuffer with the Lord, ſurely you ſhall be glorified with him. Call upon God therefore in your trouble, and he will hear you, yea deliver you in ſuch ſort, as moſt ſhall make both to his and your glory alſo. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to Heaven: for by many afflictions muſt we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercies ſake, Amen, Amen.

Iacob. 1.

1 Cor. 2.

Your fellow in affliction,
Iohn Bradford.

To my good Siſter Miſtreſſe Elizabeth Brown.

A Letter of M. Bradford to Miſtreſſe Brown now called Miſtreſſe Rughbrough.

Good Siſter, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you unto the end.

I am affraid to write unto you becauſe you ſo overcharge your ſelf at all times, even whenſoever I do but ſend to you commendations. I would be more bold on you then many others, and therefore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens till I ſhould write unto you of my need; which thing doubtleſſe I would do if it urged me. Dear Siſter, I ſee your unfained love to mewards in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompence with the like, and will do by Gods grace ſo long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwiſe I can do you no ſervice, except it be now and then by my writing to let you from

better

2. Tim. 2.

better exerciſe; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and ſtirre up your heart more earneſtly to go onwards in your well begun enterpriſe. For you know none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as ſtrive lawfully, and none receiveth the glove, but thoſe that runne to the appointed mark. None ſhall be ſaved but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the very end.

Heb. 10.

Therefore, dear ſiſter, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promiſe. Patience and perſeverance be the proper notes, whereby Gods children are known from counterfeits. They that perſevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progreſſe ſeemeth marvellous, but yet after in the end they fail. Theſe were never of us ſaith Saint Iohn: for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end.

Wholeſome leſſons of life.

Go to now therefore mine own beloved in the Lord; as you have well begun, and well gone forward, ſo well perſiſt, and happily end, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharp and ſower, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, ſimply for God, and as to God; ſo ſhall never unkindeneſſe nor any other thing make you to leave off from well doing, ſo long as you may do well. Accuſtome your ſelf now to ſee God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto your ſelf. In evill things and plagues behold his judgements, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of ſin, as the ſerpent of the ſoul, which ſpoileth us of all our ornature and ſeemely apparell in Gods ſight. Let Chriſt crucified be your book to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Uſe hearty and earneſt prayer, and that in ſpirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Chriſt. Labour to have here life everlaſting begun in you: for elſe it will not be elſewhere enjoyed. Set Gods judgement often before your eyes, that now examining your ſelf, you may make diligent ſute, and obtain never to come into judgement. Uncover your evills to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this Antichriſtian traſh: defile not your ſelf in ſoul or body therewith, but accompliſh holineſſe in the fear of God, and bear no yoak with unbeleevers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earneſt prayer and godly life haſten it. God our Father accompliſh his good work in you, Amen. Commend me to my good Mother Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon, and to my very dear ſiſter Miſtreſſe Warcup. I ſhall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

Iohn Bradford.

To a friend of his inſtructing him how he ſhould anſwer his adverſaries.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to his friend, with inſtructions how to anſwer his adverſaries.

My good brother, our mercifull God and dear Father through Chriſt, open your eyes effectually to ſee, and your heart ardently to deſire the everlaſting joy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter ſheep, that is, for ſuch as ſhrink not from his truth for any ſuch ſtormes ſake. Amen.

Example of Moſes anſwering before K. Pharaoh.

When you ſhall come before the Magiſtrates to give an anſwer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and ſimplicitie. And becauſe you may be ſomething afraid by the power of the Magiſtrates and crueltie which they will threaten againſt you, I would you ſet before you the good Father Moſes to follow his example: for he ſet the inviſible God before his eies of Faith, and with them looked upon God and his glorious Majeſtie and power, as with his corporall eies he ſaw Pharaoh and all his fearefull terrors. So do you my dearly beloved; let your inward eyes give ſuch light unto you, that as you know you are before the Magiſtrates, ſo and much more, you and they alſo are preſent before the face of God, which will give ſuch wiſedome to you, fearing him and ſeeking his praiſe, as the enemies ſhall wonder at; and further, he will ſo order their hearts and doings, that they ſhall, will they nill they, ſerve Gods providence towards you (which you cannot avoid though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory and your everlaſting comfort.

Therefore my good brother, let your whole ſtudy be only to pleaſe God: put him always before your eies, for he is on your right hand leſt you ſhould be moved; he is faithfull, and never will ſuffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Chriſt: and therefore as he hath given you to beleeve in him (God increaſe his belief in us all) ſo doth he now graciouſly give unto you to ſuffer for his names ſake: the which you ought with all thankfulneſſe to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the ſelf ſame cup, which not only the very Sons of God have drunk of before you, but even the very naturall ſon of God himſelf hath brought you good luck. Oh he of his mercy make us thankfull to pledge him again, Amen.

Inſtructions how to anſwer, and to behave himſelf before the Iudges.

Becauſe the chiefeſt matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withall, is the Sacrament, not of Chriſts body and bloud, but of the altar as they call it, thereby deſtroying the Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted; I would you noted theſe two things: Firſt, that the Sacrament of the altar which the Prieſt offereth in the maſſe, and eateth privately with himſelf, is not the Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud inſtituted by him, as Chriſts inſtitution plainly written and ſet forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their uſing of it plainly doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Chriſts Sacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſts body or no: anſwer them, that as to the eies of your reaſon, to your taſte and corporall ſenſes is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the conſecration ſo: even ſo to the eies, taſte, and ſenſes of your faith, which aſcendeth to the right hand of God in Heaven, where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſts body and bloud, which ſpiritually your ſoul feedeth on to everlaſting life in Faith, and by faith, even as your body preſently feedeth on the Sacramentall bread and Sacramentall wine.

Chriſt is able to keep his promiſe in the Sacrament, the ſubſtance of bread ſtill remaining. The Papiſts deny the omnipotency of God and how.

By this means as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation, nor none of their Popiſh, opinions: ſo ſhall you declare the Sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the Papiſts make it. For they deny Gods omnipotency, in that they ſay Chriſt is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joyned with his promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to give that he promiſeth us ſpiritually by faith, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of bread were taken away: for Chriſt ſaith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this geare God ſhall inſtruct you, if you hang on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſedome of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, ſo he hath bound himſelf by his promiſe to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his names ſake, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To certain godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Croſſe, and conſtant in the true doctrine which they had profeſſed.

A Letter of exhortation of M. Bradford to certain friends, to be patient under the Croſſe.

My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wiſh you well to fare, ſo I pray God I and you may continue in his true ſervice, that perpetually we may enjoy the ſame welfare, as here in hope, ſo in Heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, ſo I truſt you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will ſeeme ſo to do, although by many you be occaſioned thereto. For this hot Sun, which now ſhineth, burneth ſo ſore, that the corne which is ſown upon ſand and ſtony ground, beginneth to wither, that is, many which before times were taken for hearty Goſpellers, begin now for the fear of afflictions to relent, yea to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from amongſt us, yet were they never of us: or elſe they would have ſtill tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loſſe have left us, either in word or deed. As for their heart (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger to Gods curſe) we have as much with us, as the Papiſts have with them, and more to by their own judgement. For they playing wily beguile themſelves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour. What though with my body, ſay they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

Backſliding of Goſpellers.

Ah brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why doeſt not thou confeſſe and declare thy ſelf accordingly by word and fact? Either that, which thou ſayeſt thou beleeveſt in thy heart, is good or no. If it be good, why art thou aſhamed of it? If it be evill, why doeſt thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thy ſelf for his cauſe? Or will he not defend his worſhippers? Doth not the Scripture ſay, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and truſt in his mercy? And whereto? Forſooth to deliver their ſouls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

Miniſters of God.
Pſal. 33.

If this be true, as it is moſt true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promiſe? Why are we afraid of the loſſe of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him deſtitute of all good things, and ſo do againſt his moſt ample promiſes? Ah faith, faith, how few feel thee now adayes? Full truely ſaid Chriſt, that he ſhould ſcarcely finde faith when he came on earth. For if men beleeved theſe promiſes, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they diſallow. No example of men, how many ſoever they be, or how learned ſoever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we muſt follow is Chriſt himſelf, and not the more company or cuſtome. His Word is the lantern to lighten our ſteps, and not learned men. Company and cuſtome are to be conſidered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be liſtned to and followed according to Gods lore and law? for elſe the more part goeth to the Divell. As cuſtome cauſeth errour and blindneſſe, ſo learning, if it be not according to the light of Gods Word, is poyſon, and learned men moſt pernicious. The Divell is called *Dæmon* for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiſer then the children of light in their generation: and I know the Divell and his darlings have always for the moſt part more helps in this life then Chriſts Church and her children. They (the Divell and his Synagogue I mean) have cuſtome, multitude, unitie, antiquitie, learning, power, riches, honour, dignitie and promotions plenty, as alwayes they have had, and ſhall have commonly and for the moſt part, untill Chriſts coming, much more then the true Church hath preſently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter ſhall have. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here; her triall, croſſe, and warfare is here.

Luke 18.
Lack of faith.
Pſal. 119.
Learning to be followed, ſo far as it concurreth with Gods Word.
Luke 15.
The Synagogue of the Divell more furniſhed with worldly helps then the Church of Chriſt.

And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, conſider theſe things accordingly. Conſider what you be, not worldlings, but Gods children. Conſider where you be, not at home, but in a ſtrange Country. Conſider among whom you are converſant, even in the midſt of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I truſt you will not much muſe at affliction. Which you cannot be without, being as you be, Gods children, in a ſtrange Countrey, and in the midſt of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain Chriſt, and follow Satan for the muck of this mould, reſt and quietneſſe, which he may promiſe you, and you indeed think you ſhall receive it by doing as he would have you to do: my ſweet hearts, he is not able to pay that he promiſeth. Peace and warre come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The Divell hath no power but by Gods permiſſion. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter ſaith, you being followers of godlineſſe? Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as moſt ſhall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the childe of her womb? And if ſhe ſhould, yet will not I forget thee (ſaith the Lord). Look upon Abraham in his exile and miſery, look upon Iacob, Ioſeph, Moſes, David, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the ſame God? Is he a changeling? you have heard of the patience of Iob (ſaith Saint Iames) and you have ſeen the end how that God is mercifull, patient and long ſuffering: even ſo I ſay unto you that you ſhall finde accordingly, if ſo be you be patient, that is, if ſo be you fear him, ſet his Word before you, ſerve him thereafter, and if he lay his croſſe on you, you bear it with patience: the which you ſhall do when you conſider it not accordingly to the preſent ſenſe, but according to the end, Heb. 12. 1 Cor. 4.

What we be. Where we be. Amongſt whom we be.
Affliction no ſtrange thing amongſt Gods children.
1 Pet. 3.
Iſai. 49.
Examples of Patriarks and Prophets afflicted in this world.
Iacob. 5.

Therefore I heartily beſeech you, and out of my bonds which I ſuffer for your ſake, pray you mine own ſweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantaſies, but the very Word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God ſo enabling us, as we truſt he will) to confirm, and by the ſhedding of our blouds, in all patience and humble obedience to the ſuperiour powers, to teſtifie and ſeal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confeſſe the ſame before this wicked world, knowing that if we confeſſe Chriſt and his truth before men, he will confeſſe us before his Father in Heaven: if ſo be we be aſhamed hereof for loſſe of life, friends or goods, he will be aſhamed of us before his Father, and his holy Angels in Heaven.

He exhorteth to come from the Maſſe.
Apoc. 18.

Therefore take heed, for the Lords ſake take heed, take heed, and defile not your bodies or ſoules with this Romiſh and Antichriſtian Religion ſet up amongſt us again: but come away, come away, as the Angel crieth, from amongſt them in their idolatrous ſervice, leſt you be partakers of their iniquitie. Hearken to your Preachers as the Theſſalonians did to Paul; that is, conferre their ſayings with the Scriptures, and if they ſound not thereafter, the morning light ſhall not ſhine upon them.

Itatan

Vſe much and hearty prayer for the Spirit of wiſedome, knowledge, humbleneſſe, meekneſſe, ſobrietie, and repentance; which we have great need of, becauſe our ſinnes have thus provoked the Lords anger againſt us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears, and ſorrowfull ſighes, and doubtleſſe he will be mercifull to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchſafe to do for his holy names ſake, in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, to whom with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, and everlaſting thanks from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Out of Priſon by yours in the
Lord to command,

Iohn Bradford.

A Letter to Maſter George Eaton.

A Letter of M. Bradford to M. George Eaton.

ALmightie God our heavenly Father, recompence abundantly into your boſome, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you, I have continually received ſithence my coming into priſon. Otherwiſe can I never be able to requite your loving kindeneſſe here, then by praying for you, and after this life, by witneſſing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we ſhall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whither (I thank God) I am even now a going, ever looking when Officers will come, and ſatisfie the Precept of the Prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, becauſe I have juſtly deſerved an hundred thouſand deaths at Gods hands by reaſon of my ſinnes, yet I may and muſt rejoyce, becauſe the Prelates do not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but Chriſt Jeſus and his veritie: ſo that they perſecute not me, they hate not me, but they perſecute Chriſt, they hate Chriſt.

The Prelats perſecute and hate the martyrs, not for their iniquities, but for hatred of Chriſt, and of his verity in them.

And becauſe they can do him no hurt (for he ſitteth in Heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to ſcorn, as one day they ſhall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor ſheep, as Herod their father did upon the Infants, Matth. 2. Great cauſe therefore have I to rejoyce, that my dear Saviour Chriſt will vouchſafe, amongſt many, to chooſe me to be a veſſell of grace to ſuffer in me (which have deſerved ſo often and juſtly to ſuffer for my ſinnes) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſell of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoyce with me, give thanks for me, and ceaſe not to pray, that God for his mercies ſake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have profeſſed and preached, I do confeſſe unto you in writing, as to the whole world I ſhortly ſhall by Gods grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apoſtles, and all good men: ſo that if an Angel ſhould come from Heaven and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

John Bradford giveth teſtimony of his doctrine.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God ſo will, confeſſe it, though it be perillous ſo to do. The end ſhall evidently ſhew another manner of pleaſure for ſo doing, then tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Uſe reverent reading of Gods Word. Set the ſhortneſſe of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternitie that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evill, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bonds, eſpecially for the Lords cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow heires of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppreſſion of Jeruſalem; and God our Father ſhall give us his continuall bleſſing through Chriſt our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you (dear Brother) for ever in this preſent life, till we ſhall meet in eternall bliſſe; whither our good God and Father bring us ſhortly, Amen. God bleſſe all your Babes for ever, Amen. Out of priſon this eighth of February.

Your afflicted Brother for
the Lords cauſe,

Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter to Miſtreſſe Anne Warcup.

Another Letter to Miſtreſſe Anne Warcup.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father for his Chriſts ſake, encreaſe in us faith, by which we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in Heaven, for all them that beleeve with the heart, and confeſſe Chriſt and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a Vale, or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life in deed, upon certain knowledge. My ſtaffe ſtandeth at the door, I continually look for the Sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practiſe that which I have preached. Now am I climing up the hill, it will cauſe me to puffe and to blow before I come to the cliffe. The hill is ſteep and high, my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodneſſe, even almoſt come to the top, I may by his grace be ſtrengthened, not to reſt till I come where I ſhould be. Oh loving Lord, put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, Gods loving mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath and great weakneſſe. As he ſent for Helias in a fiery chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire my droſſe muſt be purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. O unthankfull wretch that I am: Lord do thou forgive me mine unthankfulneſſe. Indeed I confeſſe (right dear to me in the Lord) that my ſins have deſerved hell fire, much more then this fire. But lo, ſo loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my ſinnes, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimoniall of his truth, and a teſtification of his veritie, which the Prelats do perſecute in me, and not my ſins: Therefore they perſecute not me, but Chriſt in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

God turneth the deſerved death of his to a glorious teſtimoniall of his truth.

O that I had ſo open an heart, as could ſo receive as I ſhould do, this great benefit and unſpeakable dignitie, which God my Father offereth to me. Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never ſhrink. I ſhall never ſhrink I hope. I truſt in the Lord I ſhall never ſhrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am aſſured will not leave me when I have moſt need, for his truth and mercies ſake. Oh Lord help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do unto me. Amen. My dearly beloved, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if ſo God call you. Be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, but keep company with him ſtill. He will never leave you, but in the midſt of temptation will give you an outſcape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Uſe hearty prayer, reverently read and hear Gods Word, put it in practice: look for the Croſſe, lift up your heads, for your redemption drawet nigh; know that the death of Gods Saints is precious in his ſight: Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of Gods heavy diſpleaſure upon our Country. God keep us for ever, God bleſſe us with his ſpirituall bleſſings in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this preſent life. Pray for me, pray for me; for Gods ſake, pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen. Out of priſon the ſeventh of February.

Yours in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

In the ſtory of Maſter Bradford it was above rehearſed, how a certain Gentlewoman, being in trouble by her Father and Mother for not coming to Maſſe, ſent her ſervant to viſit M. Bradford in priſon. Who tendering the wofull caſe of the Gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counſell, partly to relieve her oppreſſed minde with ſome comfort, directed this Letter unto her; the contents whereof are theſe.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not coming to the Maſſe.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to a godly Gentlewoman.
Rom. 1.

I Wiſh unto you right worſhipfull, and my dearly beloved Siſter in the Lord, as to my ſelf, the continuall grace and comfort of Chriſt, and of his holy Word, through the operation of the holy Spirit, who ſtrengthen your inward man with the ſtrength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithfull obedience of Gods Goſpel, whereto you are called, Amen.

1 Cor. 1.
1 Cor. 1. and 10.

I perceived by your ſelf the laſt day when you where with me, how that you are in the Schoolehouſe, and tryall Parlour of the Lord, which to me is (at the leaſt it ſhould be) a great comfort to ſee the number of Gods elect by you increaſed, which is in that ſtate whereof God hath not called many, as Paul ſaith. And as it is a comfort to me, ſo ſhould it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord for his faithfulneſſe ſake will make perfect and finiſh the good he hath begun in you to the end.

The croſſe a token of Gods election.
Matth. 10.
Satan ever ſeeketh to diſturb the peace of Chriſt.
Pſal. 22.
Rom. 8.
1 John 3.
Philip. 3.
Matth. 10.
Matth. 8.
2 Tim. 2.

If then your croſſe be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of Gods continuall favor (my dearly beloved) how much more ought it to be ſo unto you? Unto whom he hath not only given to beleeve, but alſo to come into the trace of ſuffering for his ſake, and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own Father, Mother, and all your friends, I mean Kinſfolkes, as you told me. By which I ſee Chriſts words to be true; How that he came to give his children ſuch a peace with him, as the Divell might not, nor may abide, and therefore ſtirreth up Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother, rather then it ſhould continue. But (my dear Siſter) if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conſcience to him your Father and Mother have forſaken you, you ſhall hear him ſpeak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this would have you to ſee, how that he maketh you here like to Chriſt, that elſewhere in Heaven you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be moſt aſſured, knowing that in time, even when Chriſt ſhall appear, you ſhall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with Idolatricall ſervice in going to Maſſe, like unto his own glorious and immortall body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confeſſe you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your father; he will make you to reign with him, that now ſuffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortleſſe, that ſeek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and ſtrengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in ſuch joy as is infinite and endleſſe. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will imbrace you as your dear husband; he will after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortalitie, ſuch as the heart of man ſhall never be able to conceive in ſuch ſort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtneſſe, and ſtriving to do his good will; and ſhortly will he ſhew you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully reſigned it to his will.

Communicating with Chriſt in ſufferings.
Luke 11.
2 Cor. 5.
Matth. 12.
1 Cor. 10.
The Maſſe is the principall ſervice of Antichriſt.
1 Cor. 6.

Pledge him in his cup of the Croſſe, and you ſhall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Deſire to drink it before it come to the dregs, whereof the wicked ſhall drink, and all thoſe that for fear of the croſſe and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart imbraceth for verity. The which thing if you ſhould do (which God forbid) then my dear Miſtreſſe and Siſter in the Lord, you ſhould not only loſe all that I have before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternall joy and glory, but alſo be a caſt-away, and partaker of Gods moſt heavy diſpleaſure in hell fire eternally; and ſo for a little eaſe, which you cannot tell how long it will laſt, to loſe for ever and ever all eaſe and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me (ſaith Chriſt; as no Maſſe-goſpeller doth) ſcattereth abroad. According to that we do in this Body, we ſhall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we ſhall be judged to condemnation or ſalvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of Gods Religion and Antichriſts ſervice, whereof the Maſſe is moſt principall. You cannot be a member of Chriſts Church, and a member of the Popes Church. You muſt glorifie God not only in ſoul and heart, but alſo in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth leſſe of you his Wife now, then your Husband did of you. If both heart and Body your Husband would have, ſhall Chriſt have leſſe, trow you, which hath ſo bitterly and deerly bought it? If your Husband could not admit an excuſe how your heart is his only, if he ſhould have taken your Body in bed with another; do you think that Chriſt will allow your Body at Maſſe, although your heart conſent not to it?

Pſal. 125.
3 Reg. 19.
Againſt Maſſe-goſpellers, which know the truth in their heart, and deny it in their deeds.

God eſteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works, and therefore in Helias time he counted none to be his ſervants and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his dearlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our Maſſe-goſpellers.

A falſe Chriſt of the Prieſt and the Bakers making.
The Maſſe deſtroyeth preaching and the Kingdome of Chriſt.

We ought to deſire above all things the ſanctifying of Gods holy name, and the coming of his Kingdom; and ſhall we then ſee his name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at Maſſe, by making it a ſacrifice propitiatory, and ſetting forth a falſe Chriſt of the Prieſts and Bakers making, to be worſhipped as God, and ſay nothing? The Jews rent their cloathes aſunder in ſeeing or hearing any thing blaſphemouſly done or ſpoken againſt God, and ſhall we yet come to Church where Maſſe is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their cloaths to ſee the people of Lycaonia to offer ſacrifice unto them, and ſhall we ſee ſacrifice and Gods ſervice done to an inanimate creature, and be mumme? What thing helpeth more or ſo much Antichriſts Kingdom as doth the Maſſe? And what deſtroyeth preaching and the Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth more then it doth? And how can we then ſay, Let thy Kingdom come, and go to Maſſe? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on Earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our Father or friends?

Now pray we, Deliver us from evill, which knowing the Maſſe to be evill, do come to it?

But what go I about to light a candle in the noon day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Maſſe, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in ſo doing do but diſſemble both with God and man? And is diſſembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees (ſaith God?) Halting (ſaith Paul) bringeth out of the way, that is to ſay, out of Chriſt, which is the way: ſo that he which is not in him ſhall wither away, and be caſt into hell fire. For Chriſt will be aſhamed of them before his Father, which be now aſhamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

He diſſwadeth her from the Maſſe.

Therefore (my good Miſtreſſe) take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have eſcaped from Papiſticall uncleanneſſe, then now to return to it, making eftſoones your members, being members of righteouſneſſe, members of unrighteouſneſſe, as you do, if you do but go to the Church where Maſſe is. Be pure therefore, and keep your ſelf from all filth of the ſpirit, and of the fleſh. Abſtain not only from all evill, but from all appearance of evill.

And ſo the God of peace ſhall be with you, the glory of God ſhall govern you, the Spirit of God ſhall ſanctifie you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evill, and to comfort you in all your diſtreſſe and trouble; which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternity you ſhall enjoy in glory and felicitie in the Lord, which undoubtedly you ſhall not fail but inherit for ever, if ſo be you, as the elect childe of God, put your truſt in his mercie, call upon his name unfainedly, and yeild not over to the wicked world, but ſtick ſtill againſt it unto the end. God for his holy names ſake, which is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always as I my ſelf would be holpen at his hands in all things, and eſpecially in this his own cauſe, Amen, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To one by whom he had received much comfort and relief in his trouble and impriſonment.

A Letter of thanks to a good benefactor of his.

The mercy of God in Chriſt, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, Amen.

When I conſider with my ſelf the benefits which God hath ſhewed unto me by your means, if I had ſo good and thankfull a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now being yet ſtill the Lords priſoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think my ſelf ſo much bound to you, my good Brother (although you were but the inſtrument by whom God wrought and bleſſed me) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleaſure, or ſervice that I ſhall ever be able to do you in this life. I ſhall heartily pray unto God therefore to requite you the good you have done to me for his ſake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it ſimply in reſpect of God and his Word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and Word, and ſo plentifully poure upon you the riches of his holy Spirit and Heavenly treaſures laid up in ſtore for you, that your corporall and earthly riches may be uſed of you as Sacraments and ſignifications thereof; the more to deſire the one, that is, the heavenly, and the leſſe to eſteem the other, that is, the earthly. For Satans ſollicitation is, ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you ſhould not have acceſſe to the conſideration of the heavenly, but as one bewitched ſhould utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worſhipper of the earthly Mammon, and ſo to fall to covetouſneſſe, and a deſire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noyſome and hurtfull luſts: as now adaies I hear of many which have utterly forſaken God and all his Heavenly riches, for Antichriſts pleaſure, and the preſerving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their poſterity, whereof they are uncertain, as they may be moſt certain they leave to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his time to be ſent by viſitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the ſame by earneſt prayer. Wherein (my good Brother) if you be diligent, hearty, and perſevere, I am ſure God will preſerve you from evill, and from yeelding your ſelf to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romiſh ſervice, that which the inward cogitation and minde doth diſallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into conſideration of earthly and preſent things ſimply, then ſhall you fall into faithleſſe follies and wounding of your conſcience; from which God evermore preſerve you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family, to the which I wiſh the bleſſing of God now and for ever, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Chriſt forſaken of many for the preſerving of worldly pelf.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old bedfellow, for his great friendſhip for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower.

Iohn Bradford.

To a faithfull friend of his, and his wife, reſolving their doubt why they ought not to come to auricular confeſſion.

Another Letter of M. Bradford diſproving auricular confeſſion.

The mercifull God, and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which loveth us as a moſt dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affections of a moſt tender Mother towards her children, ſo that he can no leſſe think upon us (although of our ſelves we be moſt unworthy, and deſerve nothing leſſe) then ſhe can think on her only begotten childe in his diſtreſſe, yea if ſhe ſhould forget her childe, as ſome unnaturall mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he ſeem to ſleep, that we might be occaſioned to call loude and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear Brother “ Nathanael, and your good yoak-fellow, my heartily beloved Siſter in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory and your eternall comfort: and alſo of his goodneſſe he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in ſtore for you both, farre paſſing the ſtore and proviſion, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I truſt already he hath wrought it in you, but I beſeech him to increaſe it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the ſame: the which once felt and had indeed, then the means by the which we come thereto, cannot be ſo greatly dread, as moſt men do dread them, becauſe either they want this feeling (I mean it, of altogether) or elſe becauſe the ſenſe of this preſent time and things therein, are as a miſt to the hiding of thoſe things from our ſight, leſt we ſhould run and imbrace them by hearty prayer; the Spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we ſhould attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

“ Note that this Nathanael was not his proper name, but he was ſo called for his unfained ſimplicitie and truth.

For auricular Confeſſion, wherein you deſire my advice for your good yoak-fellow and family (my moſt dear Brother) I am as ready to give it, as you to deſire it, yea more glad, foraſmuch as

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half a ſuſpicion was in me (at the leaſt touching my dear Siſter your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, where indeed I ſhould lament my too little feeding you ſpiritually, as both you out of priſon and in priſon have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, ſo I yet think that ſhe is the childe of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time to her eternall comfort give her her hearts deſire in ſure feeling and ſenſible beleeving of this, which I would ſhe had often in her minde; namely, that he is her God and Father through Chriſt Jeſus our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater ſervice to God ſhe cannot give, then to beleeve this. If Satan ſay ſhe beleeveth not, to anſwer, not him but the Lord, and to ſay, yea, Lord help my unbelief, and increaſe my poor faith, which Satan ſaith is no faith: make him a lyar Lord, as always he hath been, is, and ſhall be. Undoubtedly, ſooner or latter God will graciouſly hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottell, yea write them in his counting Book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleaſure in the death of his creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and ſhew her his mercy, he will caſt all her ſinnes and iniquities into the bottome of the Sea; and the longer that he tarrieth (as he doth it but to prove her) ſo the more liberally will he recompence her long looking, which no leſſe pleaſeth him, then it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God uſeth this Croſſe, and therefore if ſhe deſire to bear the ſame, doubtleſſe God will make her able to bear it; and in preſumption of his goodneſſe and ſtrength, let her caſt her ſelf wholly upon him: for he is faithfull, and will aſſuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end that good which graciouſly he hath begun in her. The which thing I deſire him to do for his own glory and names ſake, Amen, Amen.

What to do if Satan charge our conſcience with unbelief.

The Lord the longer he tarrieth, the more liberally he recompenceth at his coming.

And now to the matter. Confeſſion auricular, as it was firſt uſed and inſtituted (which was by the way of counſell asking) I take to be amongſt thoſe traditions which are indifferent, that is, neither unlawfull, nor neceſſarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to conſider it, as it is now uſed (I write to you but as I think, and what my minde is; which follow no further, then good men by Gods Word do allow it) to conſider it, I ſay, as it is now uſed, me think, it is plainly unlawfull and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Confeſſion auricular to what end it was firſt inſtituted.

Auricular confeſſion, as it is abuſed, is to be rejected, as unlawfull and wicked for eight cauſes.

Firſt, becauſe they make it a ſervice of God, and a thing which pleaſeth God of it ſelf, I will not ſay meritorious; this bringer my brother can tell you at large how great evill this is.

Secondly, becauſe they make it of neceſſitie, ſo that he or ſhe that uſeth it not, is not taken for a good Chriſtian.

Enumeration of ſins impoſſible.

Thirdly, becauſe it requireth of it ſelf an impoſſibilitie, that is, the numbring and telling of all our ſins, which no man perceiveth, much leſſe can utter.

Fourthly, becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at the leaſt alloweth praying to Saints; Precor Sanctam Mariam, you muſt ſay or the Prieſt for you.

Fifthly, becauſe it is very injurious to the liberty of the Goſpel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in Gods ſight.

Confeſſion prejudiciall to Chriſtian liberty.

Sixthly, becauſe (as it is uſed) it is a note, yea a very ſinew of the Popiſh Church: and therefore Ye ſhould be ſo far from allowing the ſame, that we ſhould think our ſelves happy to loſe any thing in bearing witneſſe there againſt.

Confeſſion a mark of the Popes Church.

Seventhly, becauſe inſteed of counſell, thereat you ſhould receive poyſon, or if you refuſe it under ſir Johns Benedicite, you ſhould no leſſe there be wound in the briars.

Confeſſion inſteed of counſell, giveth poyſon.

Eighthly, becauſe the end and purpoſe why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the Croſſe, that is, for our own cauſe, and not for Chriſts cauſe, or for our brethrens commoditie. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thing, and a worſhipping of God, it cannot but be againſt Chriſt, and the freedom of his Goſpel: and the ſame thing teacheth us, that it is againſt the commoditie of our brethren, which either be weak, either be ſtrong, either be ignorant, either be obſtinate. If they be weak, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be ſtrong, you do what you can to infirm their ſtrength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it cannot but rock them aſleep in their obſtinate errour of the neceſſitie of this rite and ceremonie. Theſe cauſes recited do ſhew you what I think in this: but my thinking muſt no farther binde you then a mans thought ſhould do, except the ſame be grounded upon Gods Word which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you weighing theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt and the laſt, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto aske the advice of this my good Brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I ſay) but you ſhould be guided to do that which is beſt in Gods ſight, although in the ſight of the world perhaps you ſhould be counted fooliſh & preciſe. But be at a point with your ſelves as the Diſciples of Chriſt, which had forſaken themſelves, to follow not your will, but Gods will, as you daily pray in the Lords prayer.

The croſſe of Chriſt be willing to carry, leſt you carry the croſſe of the world, the fleſh, or the Divell. One of theſe four croſſes you muſt carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to Heaven, but few go that way, as well becauſe the way is ſtraight, as alſo becauſe few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be ſtraight, it is but ſhort, and the few are many, if you conſider the godly, as the Patriarcks, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Chriſt Jeſus, with all his guard and train. Think not ſcorn to come after them, which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whoſe number I truſt I am appointed to be one, and I beſeech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our ſins deſerve plagues, priſon, and the loſſe of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our ſins out of ſight, and ſend us priſon, or loſſe of goods and living for his names ſake, Oh how happy are we? My dear hearts in the Lord, conſider this gear, and be aſſured that he which loſeth any thing for Chriſts ſake, the ſame in his poſterity ſhall finde it here, and in Heaven elſewhere. As for unableneſſe to anſwer for your faith; it ſhall be enough to will them to diſpute with your teachers. Faith ſtandeth not in diſputing. I think few, if it came to diſputing, could defend the Godhead of Chriſt and many other articles; I ſpeak it for the ſimple ſort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good Brother R. B. and my good Siſter his Wife. I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this bearer to hear how you do.

Four croſſes, whereof three bring to hell.

Why the more part go that way that leadeth to perdition.

John Bradford.

Another Letter to N. and his Wife.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to a dear friend and his Wife.

GOds mercy in Chriſt I wiſh you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithfull Siſter your Wife, now and for ever, Amen.

Having this occaſion, I could not but write ſomething, as well to put my ſelf in remembrance of my duty to God-wards for you both in thankfulneſſe and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me: and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not ſay in thankfulneſſe for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfull great and ſweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Chriſt his Sonne; but becauſe I have not deſerved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at leaſt my conſcience doth accuſe me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deſerts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your ſalvation, that is, in the fear of God to give your ſelves to great vigilancie in prayer for the increaſe of faith, and to a warie circumſpection in all your converſation, not only in works and words, but alſo in thoughts, becauſe God is a ſearcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in Gods ſight: I have (I ſay) not only not done this, but alſo have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, faſting, talking, and doing, ſo that woe to me for giving ſuch offence. Partly for this cauſe, dear Brother and Siſter, God hath caſt me here that I might repent me and turn to him, and that ye might alſo by his correction upon me be more diligent to redreſſe theſe things and others, if they in your conſcience do accuſe you.

Antichriſt reigning in England.

My dearly beloved, heavy is Gods anger falne upon us all; dolefull is this day. Now hath Antichriſt all his power again. Now is Chriſts Goſpel trodden under foot. Now is Gods people a deriſion and prey for the wicked. Now is the greateſt plague of all plagues faln, the want of Gods Word: and all theſe we have, yea I alone have juſtly deſerved. Oh that as I write (I alone) I could with David, 1 Par. 21. and with Jonas in heart ſay ſo. But I do not, I do not, I ſee not how grievouſly I have ſinned, and how great a miſery is faln for mine unthankfulneſſe for Gods Word, for mine hypocriſie in profeſſing, preaching, hearing, and ſpeaking of Gods Word: for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not loving of it throughly as it requireth, &c. I will ſpeak nothing of my manifeſt evils, for they are known to you well enough.

M. Bradford confeſſing himſelf to the Lord.

He exhorteth them by his confeſſion to do the like.

His prayer to God.

Dear Brother and Siſter, with me ſay ye the like for your own parts, and with me joyn your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Chriſts ſake beſeech him to be mercifull unto us, and to pardon us: Oh good Father, it is we that have deſerved the taking away of thy Word, it is we that have deſerved theſe thy juſt plagues faln upon us; we have done amiſſe, we have dealt unjuſtly with thy Goſpel, we have procured thy wrath, and therefore juſt art thou in puniſhing us, juſt art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miſerable. But good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whoſe juſtice is ſuch, that thou wilt not puniſh the poor ſouls of this Realm, which yet have not thus ſinned againſt thee, as we have done (for many yet never heard thy Word) for our treſpaſſes; and whoſe mercy is ſo great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Chriſts ſake, if we repent and beleeve: grant us we beſeech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our ſinnes, may through thy Chriſt get deliverance from the tyranny of Antichriſt now oppreſſing us.

Pſal. 125.

Oh good Father, which haſt ſaid, that the Scepter of the wicked ſhould not long lye upon and over the juſt, leſt they put forth their hands to iniquity alſo; make us juſt, we pray thee in Chriſts name, and cut aſunder the cordes of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people ſay, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and doeſt whatſoever pleaſeth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldeſt in the mean whiles, before thou doſt deliver us, that (I ſay) thou wouldeſt open our eyes to ſee all theſe plagues to come from thee, and all other that ſhall come, whatſoever they be, publike or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand, and that juſtly, and mercifully; Juſtly, becauſe we have and do deſerve them, not onely by our birth poyſon ſtill ſticking and working in us, but alſo by our former evill like paſte, which by this puniſhment and all other puniſhments thou wouldeſt have us to call to our remembrance, and to ſet before us, that thou mighteſt put them from before thee, where as they ſtand ſo long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, doeſt thou puniſh, in that thou doeſt not correct to kill, but to amend, that we might repent our ſins, ask mercie, obtain it freely in Chriſt, and begin to ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake; to be part of thy houſe, whereat thy judgement beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Chriſt, that we might be partakers of the glory of the ſame; to weep here, that we might rejoyce elſewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy Saints judge hereafter the world; to ſuffer with Chriſt, that we might reign with him; to be like to Chriſt in ſhame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus finde reſt elſewhere; reſt, I ſay, and ſuch a reſt as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive.

The croſſe ſent from God, and to what end.

Oh that our eyes were open to ſee this, that the croſſe cometh from thee to declare thy juſtice and thy mercie, and hereto, that we might ſee how ſhort a time the time of ſuffering is; how long a time the time of rejoycing is to them that ſuffer here, bnt to them that will not, how long and miſerable a time is appointed and prepared; a time, without time in eternall woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us dear father, and give more light in ſoul to ſee this gear, and how that all thy deareſt children have carried the croſſe of grievous afflictions in this life; in whoſe company do thou place us, and ſuch a croſſe lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our ſalvation in Chriſt, for whoſe ſake we pray thee to ſhorten the dayes of this our great miſery fallen upon us moſt juſtly, and in the mean ſeaſon give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternall conſolation; Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus dear hearts, I have talked (me thinks) a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh that God would give us his ſpirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for your ſelves, ſo for me, and that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy to ſuffer with a good conſcience for his names ſake. Pray for me, and I ſhall do the like for you. This 20. of December, by him whom by this bringer ye ſhall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Chriſt, for one day in heaven we ſhall meet and rejoyce together for evermore, Amen.

To my good Brother, Auguſtine Barneher.

This Auguſtine being a Dutchman, was Latimers ſervant, and a faithfull Miniſter in the time of K. Edward, and in Q. Maries time a diligent attendant upon the Lords priſoners.

MIne own good Auguſtine, the Lord of mercie bleſſe thee my dear brother for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I ſhall ſpeak with you, but come as ſecretly as you can: Howbeit, in the mean ſeaſon if you can, and as you can, learn what Maſter G. hath ſpoken to Doctor Story and others. The cauſe of all this trouble both to my Keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is ſaid that I ſhall be burned in Smithfield, and that ſhortly. *Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me, i.* The Lords Will be done. Behold here I am Lord, ſend me. Ah mine own ſweet friend, I am now alone, leſt I ſhould make you and others worſe. If I ſhould live, I would more warily uſe the company of Gods children, then ever I have done. *Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei, i.* I will bear the Lords anger, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him. Commend me to my moſt dear ſiſter, for whom my heart bleedeth, the Lord comfort her and ſtrengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternall life we ſhall moſt ſurely meet, and praiſe the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain anſwer of death, then ever I did: and yet not ſo certain as I think I ſhould do. I am now as a ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the houre is come, glorifie thy moſt unworthy childe. I have glorified thee, ſaith this my ſweet Father, and I will glorifie thee, Amen. Ah mine own bowels, praiſe God for me, and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forſake me, though I have above all other moſt deſerved it. I am the moſt ſingular example of his mercy; praiſed be his name therefore for ever. Cauſe Miſtreſſe Perpoint to learn of the Sheriff Maſter Cheſter, what they purpoſe to do with me, and know if you can, whether there be any Writ forth for me: *Factus ſum ſicut Nycticorax in domicilio, & Paſſer ſolitarius in tecto, i.* I am like to an Owle in the houſe, and as a Sparrow alone in the houſe top. Ah my Auguſtine, how long ſhall Gods enemies thus triumph? I have ſent you this of the Baptiſme of children to write out: when this is done, you ſhall have other things. Pray, pray mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The Keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to ſpeak with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeak with you.

Pſal. 101.

John Bradford.

To theſe Letters of M. Bradford above ſpecified, here is alſo adjoyned another Letter of the ſaid Bradford, written to certain of his faithfull friends, worthy of all Chriſtians to be read; wherein is deſcribed a lively compariſon between the Old man and the New: Alſo between the Law and the Goſpel, containing much fruitfull matter of Divinity, neceſſary for Chriſtian conſciences to reade and underſtand.

A Letter of Maſter Bradford, deſcribing a compariſon between the Old man and the New, &c.

A compariſon between the Old man and the New, by M. Bradford.

A Man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our Baptiſme, the Sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary ſay; Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy Word, according to the Sacrament of Baptiſme, wherein thou haſt declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, ſtriving againſt it, as we ſhall be made able of the Lord) a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the Old man, and of the New man. The Old man is like to a mighty Giant, ſuch a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect. But the New man is like unto a little childe, ſuch a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect untill the day of his generall reſurrection.

The Old man. The New man.

Why the Old man is ſtronger then the New.

The Old man therefore is more ſtrong, luſty, and ſtirring then is the New man, becauſe the birth of the New man is begun now, and the Old man is perfectly born. And as the Old man is more ſtirring, luſty, and ſtronger then the New man; ſo is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the New man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satans ſeed, the nature of the New man being heavenly, and bleſſed with the celeſtiall Seed of God. So that one man, inaſmuch as he is corrupt with the ſeed of the Serpent, is an Old man; and in aſmuch as he is bleſſed with the Seed of God from above, he is a New man. And as in aſmuch as he is an Old man, he is a ſinner and an enemy to God; ſo inaſmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the Seed of God preſerving him from ſin, ſo that he cannot ſinne, as the ſeed of the Serpent, wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception, inclineth him, yea inforceth him to ſinne, and nothing elſe but to ſinne: So that the beſt part in man before regeneration, in Gods ſight, is not only an enemy, but enmitie it ſelf.

In what reſpect one man is both an Old man and alſo a New man.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always juſt, and always ſinfull; juſt in reſpect of Gods Seed, and his regeneration; ſinfull in reſpect of Satans ſeed and his firſt birth. Betwixt theſe two men therefore there is continuall conflict, and warre moſt deadly. The fleſh and old man, by reaſon of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail againſt the New man (being but a childe in compariſon) and that in ſuch ſort, as not only other, but even the children of God themſelves think that they be nothing elſe but Old, and that the Spirit and Seed of God is loſt and gone away; where yet notwithſtanding the truth is otherwiſe, the Spirit and the Seed of God at the length appearing again, and diſpelling away the clouds which cover the Sunne of Gods Seed from ſhining, as the clouds in the ayre do the corporall Sunne; ſo that ſometimes a man cannot tell by any ſenſe, that there is any Sunne, the clouds and winds ſo hiding it from our ſight: Even ſo our cecitie or blindneſſe, and corrupt affections do often ſhaddow the ſight of Gods Seed in Gods Children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the truth, deſire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think ſo for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their fals, that they lie not ſtill as other do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt Gods Children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Chriſt, and the wicked always; that the elect lye not ſtill continually in their ſinne, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reaſon of Gods Seed, which is in them hid as a ſparkle of fire in the aſhes; as we may ſee in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For theſe (I mean Gods Children) God hath made all things in Chriſt Jeſus, to whom he hath given his dignitie, that they ſhould be his inheritance and Spouſes.

How one man may be called always ſinfull, and always juſt.

Why the Old man oftentimes prevaileth againſt the New man.

The Old man ſo mightily prevaileth ſometimes againſt the New in the Children of God, that the Spirit and Seed of God ſeemeth to be utterly taken from them: whereas indeed it is not ſo, as afterwards to their great comfort they finde and feel.

This our Inheritour Chriſt Jeſus, God with God, light of light, coeternall and conſubſtantiall with the Father, and with the holy Ghoſt, to the end that he might become our husband (becauſe the husband and the wife muſt be one body and fleſh) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own perſon, to us all his children, his divine Majeſty (as Peter ſaith) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones ſubſtantially; as we are become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones ſpiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea

1 Pet. 1.

As the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the husband: ſo Chriſt being our husband, let him enter the action for our ſins.

even our ſins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan ſhould ſummon us to anſwer for our debts or ſins, in that the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action againſt our Husband Chriſt, and he will make him a ſufficient anſwer.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Chriſt, and ſo be certain of ſalvation, and at godly peace with God in our conſciences) God hath given his holy Word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do conſiſt of two men) one part of Gods Word being proper to the old man, and the other part of Gods Word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man is the Law; the part properly pertaining to the new man is the Goſpel.

The Law pertaineth to the old man, and the Goſpel to the new.

What the Law is.

What the Goſpel is.

The Law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding. Under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatnings, promiſes upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The Goſpel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring Faith on our behalf, not as of worthineſſe, or as a cauſe, but as a certificate unto us, and therefore under it are contained all the free and ſweet promiſes of God; as I am the Lord thy God, &c.

The conſcience feared and beaten down with the terrour of Gods judgement againſt ſin, may not look upon the Law, but flye to the Goſpel for relief and comfort.

John 13.

To the conſcience quieted and at peace with God, the Law ſerveth only to keep down the old man.

In thoſe that be of yeers of diſcretion, it requireth faith, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument, whereby we our ſelves may be certain of our good husband Chriſt and of his glory, and therefore when the conſcience feeleth it ſelf diſquieted for fear of Gods judgement againſt ſin, ſhe may in no wiſe look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is Faith, becauſe we never beleeve as we ſhould; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on Gods grace and eternall mercy and peace in Chriſt. So ſhall ſhe be in quiet, when ſhe looketh for it altogether out of her ſelf, in Gods mercy in Chriſt Jeſus: in whoſe lap if ſhe lay her head with Saint John, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall finde quietneſſe indeed. When ſhe feeleth her ſelf quiet, then, in Gods name, let her look on the Law, and upon ſuch things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to ſlay that Goliath; from whom ſhe muſt needs keep the ſweet promiſes, being the bed wherein her Spouſe and ſhe meet and lye together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things ſhe is contented to have fellowſhip with others, as to ſpeak, ſit, eate, drink, go, &c. ſo our conſciences, which are Chriſts Wives, muſt needs keep the bed, that is, Gods ſweet promiſes alonely for our ſelves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyfull together. If ſin, the Law, the Divel, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lye there, then complain to thy husband Chriſt, and forthwith thou ſhalt ſee him play Phinees part. Thus (my dearly beloved) I have given you in few words a ſum of all the Divinity which a Chriſtian conſcience cannot want.

Num. 25.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a farewell, when he thought he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly after.

Another Letter or leave-taking to his mother, ſuppoſing that he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly after.

THe Lord of life and Saviour of the World, Jeſus Chriſt, bleſſe you and comfort you, my good and dear Mother, with his heavenly comfort, conſolation, grace, and ſpirit, now and for ever. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almoſt hourely you did not cry upon God the Father through Jeſus Chriſt, that he would give me his bleſſing, even the bleſſing of his children; then would I write more hereabouts. But foraſmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and ſo I beſeech you good Mother to continue; I think it good to write ſomething, wherby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe things which hinder it be taken away. Among the which, in that I think my impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will thereabout ſpend this Letter, and that briefly, leſt it might increaſe the let, as my good Brother this bringer can tell you. You ſhall know therefore, good Mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to Gods will, I finde herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, Books, and all other neceſſaries for mine eaſe, comfort, and commoditie, I am in much better caſe then I could wiſh, and Gods mercifull providence here is farre above my worthineſſe. Worthineſſe, quoth I? Alas I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

He meaneth the danger of more ſtraight impriſonment that might here by follow.

But beſides all this, for my ſoul I finde much more commodity. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Chriſt; therefore in priſoning me for his Goſpel, he maketh me like to the Image of his Sonne Jeſus Chriſt here, that when he cometh to Judgement I might then be like unto him, as my truſt and hope is, I ſhall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the Prophets, Apoſtles, the holy Martyrs and Confeſſors. Which of them did not ſuffer at the leaſt impriſonment or baniſhment for his Goſpel and Word?

Now Mother, how farre am I unmeet to be compared to them? I (I ſay) which always have been, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and grievous a ſinner. God might have cauſed me long before this time to have been caſt into priſon as a theef, a blaſphemer, an unclean liver, and an haynous offender of the Laws of the Realm; but (dear Mother) his mercy is ſo great upon both you and all that love me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon as none of theſe, or for any ſuch vices, but only for his Chriſts ſake, for his Goſpels ſake, for his Churches ſake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and ſins, ſo I might rejoyce in his mercy, be thankfull, look for eternall joy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake, praiſed be his name for it, I now ſuffer, and therefore ſhould be merry and glad. And indeed (good Mother) ſo I am, as ever I was, yea never ſo merry and glad was I, as now I ſhould be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this ſort: Ah good Father, which doſt vouchſafe that my ſonne, being a grievous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould finde this favour with thee, to be one of thy Sonnes Captains and men of warre to fight and ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Chriſts name, that thou wouldſt forgive him his ſins and unthankfulneſſe, and make perfect in him that good which thou haſt begun; yea Lord I pray thee make him worthy to ſuffer, not only impriſonment, but even very death for thy truth, religion, and Goſpels ſake. As Anna did apply and give her firſt childe Samuel unto thee, ſo do I dear Father, beſeeching thee for Chriſts ſake to accept this my gift, and give my ſon John Bradford grace always truly to ſerve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen Amen.

A prayer for his mother to offer unto God in his behalf.

If on this ſort (good Mother) from your heart you would pray, as I ſhould be the moſt merrieſt man that ever was; ſo am I certain the lets of your prayer for my impriſonment would be taken away. Good mother therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to ſay it daily, and then I ſhall be merry, and you ſhall rejoyce if that you continue, as I truſt you do in Gods true religion, even the ſame I have taught you, and my Father Traves I truſt will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger alſo I truſt doth ſo daily. Go to therefore, and learn apace. Although the Devill caſt divers lets in the way, God in whom you truſt, will caſt them away for his Chriſts ſake, if you will call upon him; and never will he ſuffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you ſhould do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith, ſhall teach you, which I would have none ſhould read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you by Gods grace ſome inſtructions.

This Letter came not to our hands.

Now therefore will I make an end, praying you good mother, to look for no moe letters: for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then ſhould I want all the foreſaid commodities I have ſpoken of concerning my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for Gods ſake, ſee that theſe be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger: for perchance your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch gear, when you think little of it: and look for no moe, ſweet mother, till either God ſhall deliver me, and ſend me out, either you and I ſhall meet together in heaven, where we ſhall never part aſunder, Amen.

Exhortation to his two ſiſters.

I require you Elizabeth and Margaret my ſiſters, that you will fear God, uſe prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you: bring up your children in Gods fear: and be good houſwives. God bleſſe you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, becauſe I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my ſiſter Anne, mother Pike. Th. Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcroſſe and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, M. Vicar, the Parſon Mottrom, Sir Laurence Hall, with all that love, and I truſt, live in the Goſpel; and God turn Sir Thomas his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to ſet my name, you know it well enough.

Becauſe you ſhould give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me good mother, and another for all your houſe in your evening prayer to pray with my brother. Theſe prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them ſtill, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the later prayer.

Another Letter to his mother, as his laſt farewell unto her in this world, a little before he was burned.

Another, and the laſt Letter of M. Bradford written to his mother a little before his death.

GOds mercie and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My moſt dear mother, in the bowels of Chriſt I heartily pray and beſeech you to be thankfull for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himſelf: I dye not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, &c. but I dye as a witneſſe of Chriſt, his Goſpel and verity, which hitherto I have confeſſed (I thank God) as well by preaching, as by impriſonment, and now even preſently I ſhall moſt willingly confirm the ſame by fire. I knowledge that God moſt juſtly might take me hence ſimply for my ſins (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord for his mercie in Chriſt, hath pardoned them all I hope) but now dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a Confeſſor and witneſſe, that the Religion taught by Chriſt Jeſus, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles, is Gods truth. The Prelates do perſecute in me Chriſt whom they hate, and his truth which they may not abide, becauſe their works are evill, and may not abide the truth and light, leſt men ſhould ſee their darkneſſe. Therefore my good and moſt dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witneſſe of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Mancheſter. Uſe often and continuall prayer to God the father through Chriſt. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: ſerve God after his Word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romiſh religion in England, defile not your ſelf with it: carry Chriſts croſſe as he ſhall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cauſe to God our father: be mindefull of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

Bradford perſecuted of the Prelates, not for his ſins, but for the truth of Chriſt.

I ſend all my writings to you my brother Roger, do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my minde. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behinde me for you: onely I pray God my father, for his Chriſts ſake, to bleſſe you, and keep you from evill. He give you patience, he make you thankfull, as for me, ſo for your ſelf, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witneſſe his verity: wherein I confeſſe to the whole world, I dye and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my father, through the merits of his dear ſon Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus, my dear mother, I take my laſt farewell of you in this life, beſeeching the Almighty and eternall father by Chriſt, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we ſhall give him continuall thanks and praiſe for ever and ever, Amen. Out of priſon the 24. of June, 1555.

Your ſon in the Lord,
John Bradford.

A Letter ſent with a ſupplication to Queen Mary, her Councell, and the whole Parliament.

A letter of M. Bradfords joyned with a ſupplication ſent to Q. Mary, her Councell, and the Parliament.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto your Majeſty and Honors, a poor ſubject perſecuted for the confeſſion of Chriſts verity: the which verity deſerveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign and have your Honours and authorities. Although we that be profeſſors, and through the grace of God the conſtant confeſſors of the ſame, are (as it were) the outſweepings of the world: yet (I ſay) the verity it ſelf is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to ſee, and for your hands to handle, help and ſuccour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe. Your Highneſſe and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocencie in words or deeds, where it is enough and ſufficeth onely to accuſe. It behoveth Kings, Queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the adminiſtration of their kingdoms they are Gods miniſters. It behoveth them to know, that they are no Kings, but plain Tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may ſerve and ſet forth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer themſelves to be taught, to ſubmit themſelves to the Lords diſcipline, and to kiſſe their Soveraign, leſt they periſh; as all thoſe Potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long proſper, but periſh indeed, if they and their Kingdoms be not ruled with the Scepter of God, that

Difference between Kings and Tyrants.

Good warning to Q. Mary.

is with his word; which who ſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cauſe, which he hath moſt chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and ſo overthrow them, and ſet up his truth gloriouſly; the people alſo periſhing with the Princes, where the word of prophecie is wanting, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this Realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your highneſſe, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not ſuffer your ſelves to be ſlaves and hangmen to Antichriſt and his Prelates, which have brought your highneſſe and honours already to let Barrabas looſe, and to hang up Chriſt: as by the grace and help of God I ſhall make apparent, if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent Majeſty, and all your honours, to take to heart Gods doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſees, I mean the Biſhops and Prelates, then your conſciences, is oppreſſed; and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paſſe the leſſe of it. For it (the doctrine I mean) is higher, and of more honour and majeſty, than all the whole world. It ſtandeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the everliving God, and of his Chriſt, whom the father hath ordained King, to have dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly ſo doth he, and will he reign, that he will ſhake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and ſilvery brightneſſe, onely by the rod of his mouth, to ſhivers, in ſuch ſort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the Prophets do write of the magnificence of his Kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

Princes made ſlaves to Antichriſt.

Chriſt ordained to bear dominion over all.

But now will our adverſaries mainly cry out againſt us, becauſe no man may be admitted once to whiſt againſt them, that we pretend falſly the doctrine and word of God, calling us the moſt wicked contemners of it, and hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, traytors, &c. All which their ſayings, how malicious and falſe they are, though I might make report to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publikely by proclamation: yet here will I occaſion your Majeſty and honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is far otherwiſe than they report of us. God our father for his holy names ſake, direct my pen to be his inſtrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which moſt may make to his glory, to the ſafeguard of your ſouls and bodies, and preſervation of the whole Realm, Amen.

Chriſts martyrs falſly belyed of the Prelates for hereticks, and ſchiſmaticks.

John Bradford.

To certain of his friends, N. S. and R. C.

A Letter of M. Bradford to certain perſons being at that time not thoroughly inſtructed in the doctrine of Gods Election.

I Wiſh to you, my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I wiſh and pray the father of mercies to give me for his holy names ſake, Amen.

Your Letter though I have not read my ſelf, becauſe I would not alienate my minde from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the ſum of it, that it is of Gods election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Chriſtian man to wade in it. I beleeve, that man, made after the Image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate, to the condemnation of himſelf, and all his poſterity. I beleeve that Chriſt, for man being thus fallen, did oppoſe himſelf to the juſtice of God, a Mediator, paying the ranſome and price of redemption for Adam and his whole poſterity that refuſe it not finally. I beleeve, that all that beleeve in Chriſt, I ſpeak of ſuch as be of yeers of diſcretion, are partakers of Chriſt and all his merits. I beleeve that faith, and to beleeve in Chriſt (I ſpeak not now of faith that men have by reaſon of miracles, John 2.11. Acts 8. or by reaſon of earthly commodity, Mat. 13. cuſtome and authority of men, which is commonly ſeen, the hearts of them that ſo beleeve, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the juſtifying and regenerating faith) I beleeve, I ſay, that this faith and belief in Chriſt, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to thoſe which be the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predeſtinate in Chriſt unto eternall life.

True faith. Exod. 4.

“ Thus do I wade in Predeſtination, in ſuch ſort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is laſt opened. And therfore I begin with Creation, from whence I come to Redemption, ſo to Juſtification, and ſo to Election. On this ſort I am ſure, that warily and wiſely a man may walk in it eaſily by the light of Gods ſpirit, in and by his word, ſeeing this faith not to be given to all men, 2 Theſſalonians 3. but to ſuch as are born of God, predeſtinate before the world was made, after the purpoſe and good will of God: which will we may not call into diſputation, but in trembling and fear ſubmit our ſelves to it, as to that which can will none otherwiſe than that which is holy, right, and good, how far ſoever otherwiſe it ſeem to the judgment of reaſon, which muſt needs be beaten down to be more carefull for Gods glory, than for mans ſalvation, which dependeth onely thereon, as all Gods children full well ſee: for they ſeek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, Jeremy 9. John 5. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not onely mercie, but alſo judgment, which is his Juſtice and moſt Juſtice, although our fooliſh reaſon cannot ſee it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoyce, though others through vain curioſity, grudge and murmur thereagainſt. Thus briefly I have ſent you my minde and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you ſhall have (I think) your Letter particularly anſwered by Maſter Philpot; as alſo if I have time, and ſo you require it, I will do.

“ M. B. for the certainty of this faith, ſearch your hearts. If you have it, praiſe the Lord: for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally periſh: for then happineſſe were not happineſſe, if it could be loſt. When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you ſhall not lye ſtill. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that Predeſtination is too high a matter for you to be diſputers of, untill you have been better ſcholers in the ſchoolhouſe of repentance and juſtification, which is the Grammer ſchool, wherein we muſt be converſant and learned before we go to the Univerſity of Gods moſt holy Predeſtination and providence. Of this matter he writeth more at large in the book of Letters of the Martyrs, Fol. 37

John Bradford.

Notes upon the ſame Epiſtle, and to the matter of Election appertaining.

Notes to this Epiſtle added.

AS touching the doctrine of Election (whereof this Letter of M. Bradford, and many other his Letters mo do much intreat) three things muſt be conſidered.

1. Firſt, what Gods election is, and what is the cauſe thereof.
2. Secondly, how Gods election proceedeth in working our ſalvation.
3. Thirdly, to whom Gods election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between Predeſtination and Election, this difference there is. Predeſtination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect. Election pertaineth only to them that be ſaved.

Difference between Predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination, in that it reſpecteth the reprobate, is called Reprobation: in that it reſpecteth the ſaved, is called Election, and is thus defined.

Predeſtination is the eternal decreement of God, purpoſed before in himſelf, what ſhall befall on all men, either to ſalvation or damnation.

Definition of predeſtination. Election defined.

Election is the free mercie and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Chriſt his Son, chooſing and preferring to life ſuch as pleaſeth him.

The parts of the definition examined.

In this definition of Election, firſt goeth before (the mercie and grace of God) as the cauſes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the Law, and merits of deſerving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before either of them began to work, &c.

Mercie and grace.

Free mercie and grace.

Secondly, in that this mercie and grace of God in this definition is ſaid to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any ſucceſſion of chair, nor to ſtate and dignity of perſon, nor to worthineſſe of blood, &c. but all goeth by the meer will of his own purpoſe; as it is written, Spiritus ubi vult, ſpirat, &c. And thus was the outward race and ſtock of Abraham after the fleſh refuſed (which ſeemed to have the preeminence) and another ſeed after the ſpirit raiſed up to Abraham of the ſtones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward Temple of Jeruſalem and chair of Moſes, which ſeemed to be of price, forſaken, and Gods chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refuſed, and little David accepted: the rich, the proud, the wiſe of this world rejected, and the word of ſalvation daily opened to the poor and miſerable abjects; the high mountains caſt under, and the low valleys exalted, &c.

The free mercie and grace of God in his own will.

Rom. 9.

Thirdly, where it is added (in his own will) by this falleth down the free will and purpoſe of man, with all his actions, counſels, and ſtrength of nature; according as it is written, Non eſt volentis, neque currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei, &c. i. It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercie. So we ſee how Iſrael ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles unneth began to ſet out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the firſt hour did labour more, and yet they which came laſt, were rewarded with the firſt, Matthew 20. The working will of the Phariſee ſeemed better, but yet the Lords will was rather to juſtifie the Publican, Luke 18. The elder ſon had a better will to tarry by his father, and ſo did indeed: and yet the fat Calf was given to the yonger ſon that ran away, Luke the 15. Whereby we have to underſtand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth him to accept, according as it is written, Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt, &c. i. Which are born, not of the will of the fleſh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God onely, and not by the will of man: ſo again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Chriſt Jeſus his Son.

Matth. 20.

Luke 18.

Luke 15.

John 1.

Gods mercy in ſaving the elect not excludeth the condition of faith in Chriſt.

And therefore fourthly is this clauſe added in the definition, through faith in Chriſt his Son. Which faith in Chriſt to us-ward maketh all together. For firſt, it certifieth us of Gods election: as this Epiſtle of Maſter Bradford doth well expreſſe. For whoſoever will be certain of election in God, let him firſt begin with his faith in Chriſt: which if he finde in him to ſtand firm, he may be ſure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods elect. Secondly, the ſaid faith, and nothing elſe, is the onely condition and means whereupon Gods mercie, grace, election, vocation, and all Gods promiſes to ſalvation do ſtay, according to the words of Saint Paul, Si permanſeritis in fide, &c. i. If ye abide in the faith, Coloſſ. 1. Thirdly, this faith alſo is the immediate and next cauſe of our juſtification ſimply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercie of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes do ſave and juſtifie us upon condition, If we beleeve in Chriſt: ſo this faith onely in Chriſt without condition is the next and immediate cauſe, which by Gods promiſe worketh our juſtification; according as it is written, Crede in Dominum Ieſum, & ſalvus eris, tu & domus tua. i. Beleeve in the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, thou and thy whole houſe, Act. 16. And thus much touching the definition of election, with the cauſes thereof declared. Which you ſee now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but onely the meer mercie of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taſte of his malediction, though they taſted not his apple: ſo all they that be born of Chriſt, (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Chriſt, although they never did that obedience themſelves, which was in him, Rom. 5.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own good will through faith in Chriſt his ſon our Lord.

Faith is the only condition whereby Gods grace doth ſave us.

Acts 16.

Faith onely is the immediate cauſe of our juſtifying.

The ſecond conſideration.

Now to the ſecond conſideration; let us ſee likewiſe, how, and in what order this election of God proceedeth in chooſing and electing them which he ordaineth to ſalvation; which order is this. In them that be choſen to life, firſt Gods mercie and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or Gods holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Chriſt. Faith through promiſe, obtaineth juſtification, juſtification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Grace,
Election,
Vocation,
Faith,
Juſtification,
Glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith cometh in time. Juſtification and glorification is without end.

Election, depending upon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mans will, blinde fortune, chance and all peradventures.

Mans free will,
Blinde fortune.
Mans wiſdom,
Mans learning
Mans merits.
Works of the law excluded from the cauſes of our ſalvation in Chriſt.

Vocation, ſtanding upon Gods election, excludeth all mans wiſedom, cunning, learning, intention, power and preſumption.

Faith in Chriſt, proceeding by the gift of the holy Ghoſt, and freely juſtifying man by Gods promiſe, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deſerving, and all works of the Law, both Gods law and mans law, with all other outward means whatſoever.

Juſtification, coming freely by faith, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercie preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the Word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith juſtifieth.

Juſtification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cauſe of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of Gods ſpirit by the Word) is the immediate and next cauſe of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cauſe of juſtification.

Papiſts confound the doctrine of election.

And this order and connexion of cauſes is diligently to be obſerved, becauſe of the Papiſts, which have miſerably confounded and inverted this Doctrine, thus teaching, that almighty God ſo far forth as he fore-ſeeth mans merits before to come, ſo doth he diſpenſe his election. Dominus prout cujuſque merita fore prævidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam. And again, Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere: That is, That the Lord recompenceth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the ſame to the merits which follow: As though we had our election by our holineſſe that followeth after, and not rather have our holineſſe by Gods election going before.

Election.

But we, following the Scripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the only cauſe of Gods election, is his own free mercie: and the onely cauſe of our juſtification is our faith in Chriſt, and nothing elſe. As for example: firſt concerning election, if the queſtion be asked, Why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? Why was Jacob choſen, not Eſau? Why was Moſes elected, and Pharaoh hardned? Why David accepted, and Saul refuſed? Why few be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It cannot be anſwered otherwiſe but thus; Becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

That vocation he meaneth here which is after purpoſe.

In like manner touching vocation, and alſo faith, if the queſtion be asked, Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? Why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, I thank thee Father, which haſt hid this from the wiſe, &c. Matth. 11.) Why to the unwiſe, the ſimple abjects and outcaſts in this world? (Of whom ſpeaketh Saint Paul, 1 Corinthians 1. Ye ſee your calling, my brethren, how not many of you, &c.) Why to the ſinners, and not to the juſt? Why the beggers by the high-wayes were called, and the bidden gheſts excluded? We can go to no other cauſe, but to Gods purpoſe and election, and ſay with Chriſt our Saviour; Quia pater ſic complacitum eſt ante te. i. Yea father, for ſo it ſeemeth good in thy ſight, Luke 10.

Vocation bringeth faith.

Juſtification by faith only.

And ſo for Juſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be asked, Why the Publican was juſtified, and not the Phariſee? Luke 18. Why Mary the ſinner, and not Simon the inviter? Luke 11. Why Harlots and Publicans go before the Scribes and Phariſees in the Kingdom? Matthew 21. Why the ſon of the free-woman was received, and the bond-womans ſon being his elder rejected? Geneſis 21. Why Iſrael, which ſo long ſought for righteouſneſſe, found it not: and the Gentiles, which ſought not for it, found it? Romans 9. We have no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay with Saint Paul, Becauſe they ſought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it cometh not by mans will (as the Papiſt falſly pretendeth) but onely by the election and free gift of God; ſo it is onely the immediate cauſe whereunto the promiſe of our ſalvation is annexed, according as we read; And therefore of faith is the inheritance given, as after grace, that the promiſe might ſtand ſure to every ſeed, Romans 4. Item, in the ſame Chapter, Faith, beleeving in him which juſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſneſſe.

How faith and election are linked together in the act of juſtifying.

And thus concerning the cauſes of our ſalvation, ye ſee how faith in Chriſt, onely and immediately, without any condition doth juſtifie us, being ſo linked with Gods mercie and election, that whereſoever election goeth before, there faith in Chriſt muſt needs follow after. And again, whoſoever beleeveth in Chriſt Jeſus, through the vocation of God, he muſt needs be partaker of Gods election.

The third conſideration. Election known to God ſimply.

Election known to man by means.

Whereupon reſulteth now the third note or conſideration; which is, to conſider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To anſwer to which queſtion, this firſt is to be underſtood; that although our election and vocation ſimply indeed be known to God onely in himſelf, à priore: yet notwithſtanding it may be known to every particular faithfull man, à poſteriore, that is, by means, which means is faith in Chriſt Jeſus crucified. Forſomuch as by faith in Chriſt a man is juſtified, and thereby made the childe of ſalvation, reaſon muſt needs lead the ſame to be then the childe of election, choſen of God unto everlaſting life. For how can a man be ſaved, but by conſequence it followeth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

Faith is the means whereby we be certified of our election.

And therefore of Election it is truly ſaid; De electione judicandum eſt à poſteriore; that is to ſay, we muſt judge of Election, by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Chriſt: which faith, although in time it followeth after Election, yet this is the proper and immediate cauſe aſſigned by the Scripture, which not onely juſtifieth us, but alſo certifieth us of this election of God.

De electione judicandum eſt à poſteriore.

Whereunto likewiſe well agreeth this preſent Letter of Maſter Bradford, wherein he ſaith; Election, albeit in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with creation, I come from thence to the redemption and juſtification by faith, and ſo to election. Not that faith is the cauſe efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cauſe certificatory, or the cauſe of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Chriſt. For albeit that election firſt be certain in the knowledge of God: yet in our knowledge, faith onely that we have in Chriſt, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Election firſt known to God, and laſt opened to man.

Wherefore, whoſoever deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him deſcend into himſelf, and there ſearch his faith in Chriſt the Son of God: which if he finde in him not faigned, by the working of Gods holy ſpirit accordingly; thereupon let him ſtay, and ſo wrap himſelf wholly both body and ſoul under Gods generall promiſe, and cumber his head with no further ſpeculations; knowing this, that whoſoever beleeveth in him, ſhall not periſh, John 3. ſhall not be confounded, Romans 9. ſhall not ſee death, John 8. ſhall not enter into judgement, John 5. ſhall have everlaſting life, John 37. ſhall be ſaved, Matthew 28. Acts 16. ſhall have remiſſion of all his ſins, Acts 10. ſhall be juſtified, Romans 3. Galatians 2. ſhall have floods flowing out of him of water of life, John 7. ſhall never dye, John 11. ſhall be raiſed in the laſt day, John 6. ſhall finde reſt to his ſoul, and ſhall be refreſhed, Matthew 11.

Every man to ſtay himſelf upon Gods generall promiſe.

Now then forſomuch as we ſee faith to be the ground, whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our juſtifying, let us diſcuſſe in like maner what is this faith whereof the Scripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more plain underſtanding of the ſimple. For many kindes there be of faith: as a man may beleeve every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth ſave, neither doth the beleeving of every truth juſtifie a man. He that beleeveth that God created all things of nought, beleeveth truly. He that beleeveth that God is a juſt God, that he is omnipotent, that he is mercifull, that he is true of promiſe, beleeveth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that beleeveth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he alſo is one of the ſame elect and predeſtinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be ſeaſoned with another thing, will not ſerve to ſalvation: as it availed not the old Jews, which ſo thought of themſelves, and yet think to this day to be only Gods elect people.

What faith is. Divers kindes of faith. Every truth hath his faith, but every truth juſtifieth not: no more doth every faith.

Onely the faith which availeth to ſalvation is that, whoſe object is the body and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt crucified. So that in the act of juſtifying,

Faith the action, Chriſt the object of faith.

ing, theſe two, Faith and Chriſt, have a mutuall relation, and muſt always concur together, Faith as the action which apprehendeth; Chriſt as the object which is apprehended.

Faith and Chriſt correlatives.

For neither doth the paſſion of Chriſt ſave without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Chriſt: as we ſee the body of man ſuſtained by bread and drink, not except the ſame be received and conveyed into the ſtomack: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing ſuſtain mans body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nouriſhment. In like ſort it is with Faith: for neither doth the beleeving of every thing ſave, but only Faith in the bloud of Chriſt: neither again doth the ſame bloud of Chriſt profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the ſun being the cauſe of all light, ſhineth not but to them only which have eies to ſee: nor yet to them neither unleſſe they will open their eyes to receive the light: ſo the paſſion of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of ſalvation, but faith is the condition whereby the ſaid paſſion is to us effectuall.

Chriſt without faith, ſaveth not. Faith without Chriſt helpeth not.

And that is the cauſe why we ſay with the Scripture, that faith only juſtifieth us, not excluding thereby all other extern cauſes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Chriſt, &c. all which be extern cauſes, working our ſalvation through faith. But when we ſay that faith only juſtifieth us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internall actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaſeth God, or ſtandeth before his judgement, or can help any thing to the juſtifying of man before him, but only this one action of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God.

Grace, election, vocation. Chriſts death, cauſes extern of our ſalvation. Faith the onely intern cauſe of mans ſalvation. Faith is an action in man, but not of man.

For although the action of praying, faſting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all theſe actions in man imputed of God to ſalvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God. Not that the action it ſelf of beleeving, as it is a quality in man, doth ſo deſerve, but becauſe it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I ſaid, the act of juſtifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be conſidered alone, but muſt ever go with his object, and taketh his vertue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Iſraelites did not of it ſelf procure any health unto them, but the promiſe made in the object, which was the brazen Serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up. Even ſo after like ſort are we ſaved by faith and ſpirituall looking up to the body of Chriſt crucified. Which faith to define is this.

Vertues and works of charity, though they be good gifts of God in man, yet they ſerve not to juſtification. Faith taketh his dignity of his object. Looking up to the brazen ſerpent, and beleeving upon the body of Chriſt compared.

To beleeve Jeſus Chriſt to be the Sonne of the living God, ſent into this world, by his death to ſatisfie for our ſins, and ſo to receive the ſame.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the cauſes neceſſary to be conſidered in our ſalvation, whereby may appear how farre the pretenſed Catholicks do ſwerve from the right minde of the Scriptures. For where the Scriptures in declaring the cauſes of ſalvation, do ſend us only to faith, as the only condition whereby theſe cauſes have their working, theſe Catholikes do quite leave out faith, and in ſtead thereof place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, maſſes, and eſpecially auricular confeſſions, with penance and ſatisfaction for our ſins, &c.

The errour of the Papiſts perverting the minde of Gods teſtament; how, and wherein.

And beſides theſe Letters above ſpecified of M. John Bradford, there hath come to our hands certain other Letters of his, not long ago, ſent by a certain old friend of the ſaid John Bradford unto us. Which Letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not been yet printed nor ſeen abroad, ſo I thought it not amiſſe to communicate the ſame to the Chriſtian Reader, for the worthineſſe of the matter, and the goodneſſe of the man, which may redound, I truſt, to no ſmall fruit to him, that with godly eyes ſhall adviſe the ſame.

A Letter of Maſter Bradford, to father Travers, Miniſter of Blackley.

The abundant grace and rich mercie of God in Chriſt our onely Saviour and high Biſhop, be increaſed in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodneſſe, the holy ſpirit, untill the day of the Lord, &c.

I have received your two Letter (good Father Travers) ſithence that I did write unto you, whereof though honeſty willeth to make an excuſe, yet truth biddeth me otherwiſe, and ſaith, it is better with ſhame to confeſſe the fault (for therin is, as a man might ſay, half a deſerving of pardon) than without ſhame to lye. I might have written unto you twice (notwithſtanding indeed ſome buſineſſe wherein I have ſomething been occupied) but yet I have not. Now the cauſe is, becauſe I would not. And why would I not? but becauſe I could not, I mean, becauſe my canning is taken away by ſin, for my ſins do forbid goodneſſe unto me. Indeed if my ſinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have loſt: But ſeeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yeelded, and yet do yeeld to my infirmities, juſtly I do deſerve, that becauſe I have caſt away, and rejected the word of the Lord behinde my back, the Lord ſhould reject me. And becauſe I would not have bleſſing, I am worthy (as David ſaith) that it be taken away from me. I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of Gods favour, is ſooner ſeen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the croſſe pincheth. Afore it pleaſed God to work the reſtitution (you know what I mean) and afore it pleaſed God to provide for me as he hath done, ſo that I can ſay in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another maner of man, than now I am, and yet Gods deſerts have otherwiſe bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nouriſhed them, but they have contemned me, I have fed them that they were fat and groſſe, and they ſpurned againſt me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? Oh father Travers, I warrant you, this is my ſtile, in carnall, and not in ſpirituall writing, doth ſomething ſhew unto you; but as for it, in compariſon of other things is nothing. For where the life of man is ſuch, that either it paireth or amendeth, as Paul ſaith, The outward man is corrupted day by day, and therefore except the inward man be renewed, the ſhoe goeth awry, every building in Chriſt doth grow to a holy Temple, as the wicked on the contrary part ſhall proceed to worſer, 2 Timot. 3. I have made a change far otherwiſe in going back, than I think by Letters I can perſwade you: Wherein will you ſay? For the firſt, ſecond, and third, and to be brief, in all things; As for an example, Gods true fear is flown away from me, love to my brethren is exiled from me, faith is utterly taken away. In ſtead whereof is diſtruſt and doubtfulneſſe bearing rule, contempt of Gods honour, and of my brethren reigning, and in ſtead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate ſin, and I do not conſider that in ſin,

Deut. 32.

ſin, which a Chriſtian ought to conſider; that ſin being not forgiven, is ſuch a thing for the which God caſteth his creature away, as examples not onely of Saul, of Judas, of the Iſraelites (which were beloved indeed, and yet for ſin are rejected) but alſo of others, on whom lately for my warning God hath ſhewed the ſame, do admoniſh me. But it is but my pen which writes this: for the wicked, ſaith Salomon, when they come into the depth of their ſins, then they grow in ſecurity. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindely, or elſe would I awake otherwiſe than I do, I fear me, I ſay, that I am intangled of the Devill, after his deſire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may eſcape out of his ſnares. Alas, the ſpirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be mercifull unto me. I am ſold under ſin, I am the bond-ſlave of ſin: for whom I obey, his ſervant I am. I am aſhamed to ſpeak of it, no I ſhame not at all: for I have forgot to bluſh, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey, I obey I ſay mine own concupiſcences, namely in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleneſſe, I will not ſpeak of vain-glory, envie, diſdain, hypocriſie, deſire of eſtimation, ſelf-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou rendereſt to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea too true, thou knoweſt it, O Lord, for thy mercies ſake pardon me. In your Letters you touch me home, how that there is no mans heart, but that conſidering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer (wherein you even take me by the noſe) &c. his eyes would tumble out great guſhes of tears. The Lord be praiſed which worketh ſo in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be ſo again, but oh it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by cuſtome more than familiar, for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot perſwade my ſelf that God will help me. O Lord be mercifull unto me for thy Chriſts ſake. This day I received the Lords Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have ſpent in laſciviouſneſſe, in wantonneſſe, and in prodigality, obeying my fleſh and belly) doth ſo declare, that what to ſay, or write any more, I know not, ſleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occaſion of making this bringer a ſupper in my chamber, the Lord pardon me, I truſt no more to be ſo far overſeen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deſerved, ſo ſeareth me, thou knoweſt it O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

Prov. 18.

2 Tim. 1.

For Gods ſake pray for me, good Father Travers, and write unto me as you may by your weakneſſe, your Letters do me good. By this which I have now written, you may conſider more, touch me therefore home in your Letters, and the Lord, I truſt, ſhall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am moſt unworthy, I will more trouble you with my Letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evill will, the Lord I take to judge, there is none whoſe company and talk I more deſire than yours, I ſpeak it before God. Prove my mothers minde how ſhe can bear it, if when I ſhall come down, I ſhall ſhew my ſelf another man outwardly, but alas fainedly, than before I have done. Marry when my coming will be I know not. Indeed two things move me ſore, the one for my mothers cauſe, concerning her better inſtruction, if the Lord would thereto uſe me his inſtrument, the other is to talk with you, and eftſoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but alwayes to my profit. For Gods ſake pray for me, for I had never ſo much need. This Sunday at night, following S. Andrews day, at Pembroke Hall.

The moſt miſerable, hard-
hearted, unthankfull ſinner.
John Bradford.

Another Letter of John Bradford to Sir Thomas Hall, and Father Travers of Blackley.

THe grace of God our moſt mercifull Father, keep your minde and ſoul in Chriſt Jeſus, who alone is our full ſufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made through his death and one onely oblation made and offered by himſelf upon the Croſſe, the children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the celeſtiall Kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the meer grace of God, given to none that putteth any maner of hope or truſt in any other thing viſible or inviſible, than in that oblation of ſweet ſavour which Chriſt himſelf did offer upon good Friday (as we call it) which oblation is alway recent and new in the ſight of God the Father, and maketh interceſſion for us; us I mean, which think that onely ſacrifice then offered, to be ſufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever ſhall be for all the faithfull, by the which ſacrifice (if we beleeve) we have free pardon of all our ſins. To him therefore which was both the offerer, and the offering, be all honour and praiſe, with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, bleſſed for ever, Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occaſion of this my long ſilence, mine old friend John Travers, ſhall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have ſent unto you an Engliſh and Latine Teſtament, both in one print and volume, the which, though it be not ſo beautifull without as I could have ſent you, yet no leſſe beautifull within, and more I think for your profit, and better for your eyes, your eyes I mean of the body. For undoubtedly it giveth light unto the ſoul, if ſhe be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof. If your ſoul be not delighted in it, if your ſoul do not hunger for it (I mean not the book, but the Doctrine in the book) ſurely your ſoul is ſore ſick, for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even ſo muſt the ſoul be, for other meat hath ſhe none. Chriſt, whom you muſt beleeve afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in the 4. of Matthew. Not onely in bread, but in every word of God the ſoul doth live. Mark well, he ſaith not, one or two words, as an Epiſtle, or a Goſpel; but he ſaith, every word. Take heed, beleeve Chriſt better than any man, be he never ſo holy. For he that is of God, (John 8.) heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you have the elect Childe of God or no, then this Text: Chriſt ſaith, He that is of God, heareth the word of God: but other word of God have we none, than in the Canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning (ſaith S. Paul) whereby he proveth, ſeeing that it is a learning, yea our learning, that we muſt learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either perſwade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that diſſwade men from imbracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, eſpecially the new Teſtament, is not above all other to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious ſtone, which in the Goſpel Chriſt ſaith, when a man hath found, he ſelleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now how neceſſary and precious Chriſt maketh that which great learned men (nay the Devils but no men) think not neceſſary, God help them. Chriſt bade his Diſciples ſell their coats, and buy a ſword: which is none other thing then the Word of God: for ſo S. Paul calleth it, the ſword of the ſpirit. Nay ſay our learned men, (I lie, they have ſaid ſo, now they are aſhamed) fetch fire and burn it.

This I ſay Sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocriſie ſhould perſwade or diſſwade you from reading the holy Word of God, the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. Follow you Saint Pauls leſſon: Attend reading, and let the Word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, ſaith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Chriſt: even as much as in you is, ſaith Peter, not once a yeer or once a quarter as a Strawbery, but ſo much as in you is. This Word of God trieth all doctrine: for we ought to have our conſcience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the Word of God in the Canon of the Bible ſet it out, I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words. For no other foundation can any man lay, beſides that which is laid. Saint Paul ſaith, the ground-work is laid already. Even ſo ſaith he to the Epheſians; We be his Workmanſhip to do good works, which God hath created that we ſhould walk in them. He ſaith they were not to be made, but they are made already. What ſhall we think then of ſuch works as mans wit hath founded, which yet ſeem moſt holy? Let Gods Word be Judge. Read the ſame diligently and reverently with prayer (I mean not Latine ſervice not underſtood, but with true hearty prayer) and mark what the Law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were poſſible. But to this end, that we ſeeing our abominable uncleanneſſe and inabilitie, might deſpair in our ſelves, trembling at the juſtice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and ſo amplect Chriſt, in whom God the Father is well pleaſed. Which Chriſt is the end of the Law to juſtifie all that beleeve, and continue not in their Popiſh ignorance, juſtifying themſelves; and treading Chriſts bloud under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All ſuch, be they never ſo well learned, never ſo holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain Antichriſts, which may not abide the ſword of Gods mouth. For the trumpets of the army (I mean ſtill Gods Word) when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocriſie falleth down. Embrace therfore Gods holy Word, and be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach ſuch proud hypocriticall arrogant bablers, as I am now (which if I may uſe this terme, defile Gods Word) God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that ſpareth me thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeale, but of a fooliſh braging, which prate of Gods holy Word. I wote not what I do to confeſſe it. So it is. I have ſent to you other Books which I pray you reade. I have written your name in them. The holy Ghoſt keep you with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your Brother James, &c. Sir Laurence, &c. This 20. of March.

A very painted Hypocrite,
John Bradford. Yours
in Chriſt for ever.

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves help to read this Letter written in haſte.

If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves (which God forbid) I pray you burn my Letters out of hand.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford, to Father Traves.

Gratia, miſericordia, & pax à Deo patre noſtro, & Domino Ieſu Chriſto Domino noſtro.

IF mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kinde Letters to me unkinde miſer would cauſe me from the bottome of the ſame, to confeſſe mine ingratitude towards you upon your behalf anempſt me ſo much deſerved: but as I am to do, ſo ſhew I my ſelf to write, and as I am unable in the one, ſo am I fooliſh in the other; in all thoſe unkindneſſes, rudeneſſe, &c. whereof you accuſe your ſelf, I am inforced to acknowledge my ſelf moſt juſtly condemned, not ſo fainedly by me confeſſed, as moſt truly by you experienced. In your Letters as in a glaſſe I may learn, by you in dejecting your ſelf, to eſpy my nakedneſſe, which tofore I thought cloathed Duplici veſtitu, now only but with fig leaves hypocritiſhly guilded, of which dejection wrought in you by the holy Ghoſt, be not proud: For what have you that you have not received? but be thankfull to the Lord, not only therefore, but alſo for thoſe ſurges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children, and family, now through that croſſe of the common accuſtomed trade of living: for Per multas tribulationes oportet ingredi regnum Dei: Through many tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, yea they be the cogniſances of Gods election, the letter Thau, the inſtruments which work ſuſpiria æternæ vitæ, and therefore to be imbraced. Beleeve me it is the moſt excellent gift of God, a man to deject and humble himſelf, and to feel the croſſes of Chriſt as croſſes. But I moſt hypocriticall wretch, not worthy that this earth ſhould bear me, am even agoing to bed with Jeſabel, and ſuch as commit fornication with her, which is afflictio maxima. O Lord help me and deliver me for Jeſus ſake, anoint mine eyes with oyntment that I may ſee. O give me not over into a leude minde and reprobate ſenſe, but awake my ſleeping ſoul that Chriſt may ſhine in me. You know the croſſe, the fatherly croſſe, the loving Lord hath laid upon me: but I, but I am little or nothing moved therewith, I work therein (yet not I but Gods Spirit) not of a repentant faithfull minde, but (I cannot tell how) of a ſloathfull blinde wretchleſſe intent. O Lord forgive me for ſaying ſo, (it is thy gift) forgive me mine unthankfulneſſe for Jeſus ſake, and as herein I blaſphemed and diſhoneſted thy holy name, ſo do thou by thy holy Spirit glorifie by me the ſame. So be it, So be it.

Sithence my coming to London, I was with M. Latimer, whoſe counſell is as you ſhall hear, which I purpoſe by Gods grace to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, fiat.) He willed me (as I have done) to write to my Maſter who is in the Country, and to ſhew him, that if within a certain time which I appointed, 14. dayes, he do not go about to make reſtitution, that I will ſubmit my ſelf to my Lord Protector, and the Kings Majeſties Councell to confeſſe the fault, and aske pardon. This life is uncertain and frail, and when time is, it muſt be deferred. And what ſhould it profit me to winne the whole world, and to loſe mine own ſoul? If, as I juſtly have deſerved, I be put to death for it, Gods will be done. At the leaſt, ſlander, reproach, rebuke, loſſe of worldly friends, loſſe of living, &c. ſhall enſue. What then? Lord thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, welcome be it, if ſlander, &c. Even as thou wilt Lord, So be it. Only grant me a penitent loving obedient heart, and of meer love to go forwards herein, and not to ſhrink, to ſtand and not to fall, that thy name only be praiſed herein. Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you ſhall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom for that this bringer hath not given me an houres warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but alſo have thus pratled to you, who (as no man elſe would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth (to whoſe grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family) the ſhortneſſe of time, and this ſaid bringers importance, is only the let I neither ſend you ſpectacles, the price of the Paraphraſes, nor thanks for your cheeſe, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, ſend the premiſſes to you, and a godly Teſtament for Sir Thomas Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknown that I have now written to you, for ſo I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhorre not my rude ſcribing, which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deſerve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the haſtineſſe of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

From the Temple, this Sunday, immediately after M. Latimers famous Sermon, which this bringer, as he ſaith, did hear.

By your poореſt friend,
Iohn Bradford.

It ſhall not be long, God willing, but you ſhall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthons Common places, for I have another.

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Another Letter of Maſter Bradford to Father Traves.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with increaſe of all manner godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your houſhold, now, and ever, Amen.

To excuſe this my long ſilence, within five or ſixe dayes after my (like fooliſh) Letters written to you by John Moſſe; it pleaſed God to ſend my Maſter hither to London (whom as I lately tofore had advertiſed by Letters) I moved (you know wherein) and prayed him to diſcharge the ſame, or elſe I would ſubmit my ſelf, &c. Whereunto he anſwered, that if the Books would declare it, he would ſatisfie, &c. The Books I ſhewed, whereupon he promiſed as much as I could aske. But being herein ſomething more moved then he had cauſe (God be praiſed therefore, which of his meer good pleaſure wrought it) at times as I could, I deſired to know how and in what time he would diſcharge us both. He thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented, and hearing me to alledge the uncertainty of time, and the fear of Gods juſtice (which O gracious Lord grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knoweſt good for me) he anſwered me to be ſcrupulous, and of a ſuperſtitious conſcience (for animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt Dei :) and plainly ſaid further, that I ſhould not know, nor by theſe words have his head ſo under my girdle. And when I ſhewed him that (God witneſſed with me) I went about no ſuch thing: He ſaid, that there was no godly conſcience, ſeeing he promiſed afore the face of God to diſcharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought ſo to be quieted. And thus at divers and ſundry times, moving eftſoons to know of him the way and time of diſcharging the debt, and having none other anſwers then tofore, I doubting worldly wiſedome, which uſeth delayes, to raign in him with this Mammon (the which O mercifull God eradicate out of his heart, minde, and all others) I was ſomething more ſharp, and told him, non ego tamen, ſed gratia tua Domine, I would obey God more then man: the which he lightly regarding, as ſeemed, I departed, and went to Maſter Latimer to have had him to have brought me to my Lord Protector (whoſe grace then was purpoſed ſhortly to take his journey to viſit the Ports) M. Latimer I ſay willed me to ſtay untill his return, which will not be long before Eaſter. In this mean time I bade my bed-fellow my Maſters ſonne, whom my Maſter had uſed as his inſtrument to move me carnally, for my Maſter diſcharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either houſe or childe, for I purpoſed to undo both him and all his, untruly thou knoweſt good Lord, and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren ſhould provide for themſelves as they could, I bade I ſay my ſaid bed-fellow to ſhew my Maſter, as of himſelf, my further purpoſe, which thing when he knew, it ſo moved and feared him, that he began ſomething to relent, and then made fair promiſes, that look what I ſhould deviſe, that would he do. I deviſed, but my devices pleaſed him not. And thus, but not vainly I truſt (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleneſſe which ever hath borne with me) I ſpent the time in which I have been ſilent to write, nay babble to you. And he, departing out of London tofore I knew, did ſend me word by another of his ſaid ſonnes, not ſo given to the Goſpel, and a good life according as my bed-fellow, and therfore more to be ſuſpected (for though pietas non eſt ſuſpicioſa, as I ſhould think my ſelf rather impius; yet Chriſt bade us to be prudentes ſicut ſerpentes) this other brother I ſay told me that my Maſter would do all things, only his fame and abilitie preſerved (& quid prodeſt totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?) And with the ſaid brother my Maſter ſent me a little billet alſo, wherein he confeſſed that he was contented within twelve moneths to deliver to my hands the whole money: which bill I thinking not ſo good as it might have been, have deviſed another, and have ſent it down to him in the Countrey, with requeſt that he will ſeal and ſigne it. For thus M. Latimer thinketh ſufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wiſedome, which was the whore that overcame Sampſon, that moved David to ſlay Urias, that brought wiſe Salomon to idolatry, that crucified Chriſt the which moved me to perperate hoc facinus, the which worketh in my Maſters heart, having higher place there then Timor Domini. What ſay I there, yea, yea, with me, it ſitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us) doubting I ſay worldly wiſedome, I remain in that ſame ſtate now for this matter (though in worſe for my ſoul, which is more to be lamented, pray therefore I beſeech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do ſo earneſtly) that I was in at my laſt writing unto you. And as I then was purpoſed, ſo I doubt not (grant it Lord) but that I ſhall perſevere, if in the mean ſeaſon I ſhall not hear from my Maſter accordingly. Thus I have (like my ſelf) fooliſhly, but truly declared unto you in many babling words, which wit (if I had it) would have ſhortly and briefly comprehended. Arrogant, nay Gods working unthankfull wretch, my working in this matter, which is, and was the only cauſe (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertiſe you ſome certaintie in this thing. And though ſilence had been much better then this fooliſh prating, yet your fatherly kindeneſſe ever towards me in expecting from you a correction, as I have herein given cauſe, may though not to you, yet to me be profitable.

In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me a moſt unkinde wretch to God and you, in your prayers with the Almighty mercifull Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleaſure herein, then all honour or ſhame in this life. But I muſt confeſſe unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I ſhould do, nor of fear of Gods juſtice (mine unthankfulueſſe, mine unthankfulneſſe, if nothing elſe were, hath not only deſerved it, but doth deſerve more then everlaſting damnation, O Lord be mercifull to me) I do not ſo repent it as I ſhould do. Why ſay I So? as though this So were any thing: Oh hypocriticall wretch that I am. Alas Father Traves, let me ſo call you, I am hard-hearted, there was never any ſo obſtinate, ſo unkinde, againſt ſo loving, ſo mercifull, ſo gracious, ſo good, ſo beneficiall a Lord, yea a Father, as I wretch, and moſt miſerable ſinner am. This I ſpeak, but not of humility, but of hypocriſie, yet I ſpeak truly. I pray thee good Father for Chriſts ſake, I may think it truly, as I write it even of arrogancy, ſo it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be ſuch goodly, godly, and learned Sermons, which theſe uncircumciſed ears of mine hear at the leaſt thrice a weeke, which were able (the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burſt any mans heart, to relent, to repent, to beleeve, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obſtinate, moſt unkinde, ingrate, unthankfull heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all Lords, ſo graciouſly, ſo lovingly, vouchſafe by ſo many his inſtruments to ſpeak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his Goſpel, now by his promiſes, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himſelf; I hide me with Adam in the Garden, I play not only Samuel running to Hely, but I play Jonas running to the Sea, and there I ſleep upon the hatches tumbling in Jeſabels bed, quod eſt afflictio maxima, untill it pleaſe God to anoint mine eyes collyrio, untill it pleaſe him to raiſe up a tempeſt, to turn and look upon me, as Luke ſaith he did on Peter. For O Lord it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy meer grace, it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to beleeve, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, which am thy creature and moſt unthankfull hypocriticall ſervant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be moſt to the glory of thy name, Amen. What ſhould I write? nay, why do I not pluck theſe ſame words and paper in pieces, for I write altogether of hypocriſie and arrogant preſumption, I will confeſſe it (thou wicked ſpirit the Lord judge thee:) I will confeſſe it, it is moſt true John Traves, I but only write it, for it is not I, it is hypocriſie. Scientia (if I had it) inflaret, Oh Lord grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgement and reaſon. Hypocriſie, arrogancy, and obſtinate ſecuritie environ me (yet I feel them not) the Lord deliver me. Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me: O Lord, even tua fiat voluntas: Unclock this mine heart, thou which haſt the Key of David, which openeſt only, that I may deſire to have the deſire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankfull for me, O Father Traves, and write to me. Your Letters I deſire more to ſee, then any mans living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayer at all times, that God would open mine heart to feede and taſte of theſe comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked) memento Ieſum Chriſtum reſurrexiſſe ex mortuis. This Text as a Text of moſt comfort (as it is indeed, and when God will, I ſhall feed on it) did Paul ſend to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our ſalvation (this day of reſurrection) is nearer now then when we beleeved. Therefore qui perſeveraverit, ſalvus erit. For conſummabitur prævaricatio, ſaith Daniel, finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, & adducetur juſtitia ſempiterna. Deus enim ipſe veniet & ſalvabit nos. Veniens, veniet, & non tardabit, & quandocunque manifeſtatus fuerit vita noſtra Chriſtus, tunc & nos manifeſtabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus eſt ut multorum peccata tolleret, rurſus abſque peccato conſpicietur iis qui illum expectant in ſalutem. Sic ſemper cum Domino erimus: proinde conſolemini vos invicem mutuo ſermonibus hiis. O Lord open mine eyes which ſee nothing of the great comforts in theſe thy moſt rich words: Open mine eyes, good Lord, ne nunquam obdormiam in morte. Pray for me, and commend me to your good bed-fellow, & omnibus in Chriſto fratribus oſculo ſancto. Thus I make an end (for it is time you may ſay) and I pray you ſtill water Sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have ſent a fair Teſtament both in Engliſh and Latine, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith ſent you a Letter, which firſt peruſe and read, and when you have ſo done, abhorre not me, but my wickedneſſe, and pray for me. And as you can ſee a meet time, ſeal it, and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolffoncros, by ſuch policie as you can think by Gods grace through prayer. I confeſſe unto you, God is my witneſſe, to my knowledge, I never in my being in the Country this Winter at any time called it to remembrance, the Lord forgive me. I would by ſome occaſion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the Letter, by ſome ſtory or communication, that he did know that abomination to be ſinne, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no ſinne. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us, Amen. The peace of God be with you, Amen. From the Temple, this twenty two of March, 1547.

Yours in Chriſt moſt bounden,
Iohn Bradford.

I have ſent you three pair of good Spectacles I trow, and other ſuch Books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford to Father Traves.

Gratia, miſericordia, & pax, &c.

My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, ſo that I am conſtrained, time coarcting me, to write not ſo much of things (which I will omit) as my deſire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleaſed God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my Maſters hand, wherein he is bound to pay the ſum afore Candlemas next coming. This thinks Maſter Latimer to be ſufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a moſt wretched ingrate ſinner, which have alſo in other things no leſſe cauſe to praiſe Gods name: As for that I have and ſuſtain my Maſters ſore diſpleaſure, the which hath brought me (God I ſhould ſay through it) unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſineſſe, as tofore I had ado withall, I call it a contempt, well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vain gloriouſly ſpoken: for the which fault amongſt my others innumerable, I truſt you remember in your prayers whereof I have (I would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertiſe you even to this end, that you might pray if it be Gods will, that as I truſt ſhortly to begin, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I beleeve it is his working. If the thing ſeem by Gods Spirit in you that I preſume, then for the Lords ſake advertiſe me: for I am much given to that diſeaſe, the Lord deliver me. I have moved my M. therein already by Letters, to ſee if I ſhall have any living of him as hitherto I have had, but I have thereof no anſwer, nor as our naturall ſpeech is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet that I have already, I truſt, will ſuffice me for three yeers: you look what my purpoſe meaneth, I am ſo long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, becauſe my long babling ſhould be leſſe tedious. Now ſhall you have it. If Gods will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient) I am minded afore Midſomer to leave London to go to my Book at Cambridge, and if God ſhall give me grace, to be a Miniſter of his Word. Thus you have of a flye an Elephant. Well, take it in good part though you ſee my *etiam non*, and not *etiam, etiam*. A tumbling block gathereth no moſſe: ſo therefore pray for me. Perchance I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a living as I have. I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt as I ſaid, for three yeers ſtudy I have ſufficient, if my Maſter take all from me: and when this is ſpent, God will ſend more. I do not write this that you ſhould think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore as Friers were wont, ſecretly to beg. No, in the Lords name I require you not to take it ſo: for I had rather never ſend Letter, afore I ſhould be herein a croſſe to you, for *ſufficit ſua diei afflictio*, we are more ſet by then many Sparrows. But if my Mother, or Sir Thomas Hall murmure at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counſell. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, untill ſuch time as I be going. I am ſomething fickle minded and unconſtant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough (preſumptuouſly ſpoken) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this Letter the Heroicall heart which lyeth in me.

I have ſent you a Book of Bucer againſt Wincheſter in Engliſh, lately tranſlated, which I never read, therefore I cannot praiſe it. And as I call to remembrance, I did ſend you with the other Books more then you received, at the leaſt one of them I remember, which is called, The Common places, or the Declaration of the faith by Urbanus Rhegius. Aſk for it, or ſend me word in whom the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly by Gods grace I will ſend you *Primitiæ laborum meorum*, a work or two which I have tranſlated into Engliſh, ſo ſoon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitſontide. Pray for me good Father Traves, and God ſend you health of ſoul and body, as I would mine own or any mans living. But yet to warn you of that you know not, in writing your Letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and ſo is all that knoweth me, I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling ſets me afiote, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be moſt bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the Prieſt ſaith Mattins, for I think I may be bold on you. The holy Ghoſt preſerve you, your wife and family, and perſevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a moſt (what ſhould I call me) miſerable and blaſphemous ſinner. The peace of God be with us. From the Temple this twelfth of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himſelf moſt. I deſire to ſpeak with him, as this Winter it may chance, if I diſcharge not my ſelf of mine office, ſo ſee him. Pray for him, and for me.

A very Hypocrite,
Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford To Father Traves.

The perſeverance of Gods grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increaſe with you unto the end. To declare my ſelf as I am a carnall man, which underſtandeth not the things that be of the Spirit. Theſe my Letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongſt them the ſpirituall words, as the Divell did in his temptations to Chriſt, will declare no leſſe. For I begin with carnall things in effect, and no marvell if I ſo end: for how can a man gather figs of bryars? Theſe words as they ſeem, ſo they are ſpoken for a cloak to make you think otherwiſe: but Father Traves, you cannot think ſo evill of me as I am: But to the matter. This preſent day by Gods grace I take my journey towards Cambridge, where I pray God, and ſo earneſtly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumſpectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas, I have ſpent moſt wickedly the time paſt, for the which I muſt account even for every hair breadth as they ſay: for God hath not given here time to ſin. But if I conſidered this (as I do nothing leſſe, cuſtome of ſin and pleaſing my ſelf hath ſo hardened my heart) I ſhould then come to the feeling of my ſelf, then ſhould I hate ſin which I now love, then ſhould I fear Gods wrath, which I now contemne, then ſhould I cry out and weep, and continually pray, whereas now I am as dry as a ſtone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying, as he that never knew any taſte of it. Which thing once I felt, (thanks to the Lord) but now for mine unthankfulneſſe I am almoſt (but moſt worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am ſo unthankfull. Alas, why do I lye in ſaying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do ſo, for then ſhould I pray and pray: but ſeeing I cannot, ſpeak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compaſſions towards me, for his mercies ſake draw me, yea compell me to ſerve, to fear and to love him. Thus may you ſee how I preſume: for my intent was to have been a Miniſter of Gods Word, to have been his inſtrument to call from as I have called to ſin, but you ſee how that God puniſheth mine arrogancy. Alas, what ſhall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member, I thought I ſhould have been therein profitable, but *Medice cura teipſum*. How ſhould I, or what ſhould I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I truſt God will give me grace and knowledge to tranſlate: nothing I fear me, yea I diſtruſt me, that I ſhall never be Miniſter of Gods Word: yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how ſhould I, of all wretches the greateſt, think me to look to the higheſt room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore eftſoones I deſire you to pray for me, that Gods will may be done in me whether I live or dye, ſo that his name be honoured. My Maſter which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life more then enough, thanks be to God. As this Winter I intend by Gods favour to declare more unto you. This Book which I have ſent, take it in good part, it is the firſt, I truſt it ſhall not be the laſt, God hath appointed me to tranſlate. The print is very falſe, I am ſorry for it.

I

I pray you be not offended at my babling in the Prologues, &c.

John Bradford.

I will lye, God willing, this Summer at Katherines Hall in Cambridge: write to me.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford, to Father Traves.

The loving kindneſſe and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithfull, in the bloud of that meek Lamb Jeſus Chriſt our only ſatisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the moſt holy Spirit, be encreaſed and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Becauſe I ſtand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of ſuch Letters as I write and ſend unto you (dearly beloved Father Traves) I am conſtrained to leave off ſuch griefs, and ſpirituall wants, as thanks unto the Lord I unwillingly feel: for the fleſh, as you know, loveth nothing ſo much as ſecuritie, of all enemies moſt perillous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocriſie, &c. and worldlineſſe, the Lord deliver me. I had not thought to have written thus much, but theſe I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you ſhould not think any ingratitude in me; as alſo that I might give you occaſion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even ſo do I interturb and trouble you with my babling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not ſo much as I wont to do. The cauſe I have declared, which had almoſt been the cauſe I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: ſend me word what Letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moſſe, and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had viſited you with ſickneſſe, his Fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you, Vt in tempore ſupremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretioſior auro quod perit, & tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Chriſto patiaris, nam & cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim ſermo eſt, ſi ſufferimus & con regnabimus. You know that Chriſt, etſi filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ paſſus eſt didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut ſitis perfecti & integri, nullaque in parte diminuti: and doth not patientia come of probatio, the one then you had, ſo that you were going a School to learn the other, which learned what want you? The end of all Gods proving, is as Paul ſaith, Vt impertiat nobis ſanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem ſortis ſanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem inſtauret te, fulciat, roboret, ſtabiliat. And that the Lord knoweth how eripere pios è tribulatione, and that in tempore opportuno, even ſhortly: for haud tardat qui promiſit: nam modicum tempus, & videbis me; veniens enim veniet, & non tardabit. Itaque qui conſortes eſtis crucis Chriſti, gaudete, ſaith Peter, ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes. Oh how doth my will over-run my wit. Why Bradford, whom writeſt thou unto? Thou ſheweſt thy ſelf. Thus Father Traves, you may ſee my raſhneſſe to rabble out the Scripture without purpoſe, rime, or reaſon. I will not blot it out as I thought to have done: for that hereby you ſhall ſee my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write for Gods ſake, and pray for me that I may be in ſomething profitable to the Lords congregation, that I may be no ſtumbling block, ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant. Send me ſuch counſell as the Lords Spirit ſhall move you how to ſtudy. My deſire is in ſomething to be profitable, if it were the Lords will, for to be Miniſter verbi. Alas I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea the Lords time, I have hitherto evill, yea moſt wickedly miſ-ſpent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you, and your Bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beſeech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to ſpeak with you. Reſcribe oro. Pray for me. This aſſumption day in Katherines Hall in Cambridge.

Yours with all I have and can,
Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford to Father Traves.

The plentifull grace of God the Father, through our only Maſter and Lord Jeſus Chriſt, increaſe in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

Foraſmuch as I have often written unto you, good Father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you ſithence Pentecoſt, I cannot now be ſo bold either in writing much or often as I would have been: Howbeit this I ſay, that I much marvell that I hear not from you: but not ſo, for I am ſo wretched a ſinner, that the Lords Spirit I am certain doth not move you to write to me, yet for Gods ſake pray for me, and in the Lords name I deſire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may pleaſe God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counſell me how to ſtudy the Word of life, the miniſtery whereof I deſire, if it be the Lords pleaſure, to profeſſe, and that I may do it both in living and learning, pray for me. Herus meus omnibus rebuis ſuis me abdicavit, & quæ prius conceſſerat, jam ſolvere renuit, & mihi prorſus factus eſt inimicus. I know not when I ſhall ſee you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you ſhould think me in egeſtate aut anguſtiis eſſe. No Father, the Lord giveth me omnia affatim, and will do. I truſt I ſhall ſhortly here have a fellowſhip, I am ſo promiſed, and therefore I have taken the degree of Maſter of Art, which elſe I could not have attained. If I get a fellowſhip, I ſhall not need de craſtino ſollicitus eſſe, as hereafter I ſhall more write to you by Gods grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haſte as appeareth, the twenty two of October. Ne ſciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

Miſerrimus peccator,
I. Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford to Father Traves.

The peace and plenteous mercy of God our Heavenly Father, in his Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increaſed in you by the holy Spirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, Amen.

Father Traves though I might think my ſelf more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet becauſe I ought to have reſpect to your pains, which now that old man cannot ſo well ſuſtain as it might, I had rather loſe my happineſſe in that behalf, then will your grief, for as much as it can be no happineſſe unto me which turneth to your pain: yet becauſe pain is not painfull when it is joyned with gain, I therefore deſire you for Gods ſake to pray often for me: for if I ſhall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord who knoweth all things doth right well ſee it, and ſo my conſcience witneſſeth, yet your good prayer ſhall return into your own boſome. And know this, that whoſo converteth a ſinner by prayer, whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, &c. the ſame hath ſaved a ſoul. Uſe therefore, for Gods ſake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joyned profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miſerable and moſt wretched ſinner: and as for the gainleſſe pain in writing to me, uſe it yet as you may, and ſurely God for whoſe ſake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in ſome thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did ſee what ſpirituall profit I receive by your Letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour loſt. For Chriſts ſake therefore begin again to write unto me, and reprove me ſharply for my horrible unthankfulneſſe to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my loden conſcience of the great weighty burthen, for ſo I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the leſſer burthen alſo: for I have an aſſurance of the payment of the ſame by Candlemas. Lo thus you ſee what a good God the Lord is unto me. O Father Traves give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulneſſe. But what ſhould I rehearſe the benefits of God towards me? Alas I cannot, I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankfull, but I am too far contumelious againſt God. For where you know the Sun, the Moon, and the ſeven Starres did forſake me, and would not ſhine upon me, you know what I mean per herum & heriles amicos, yet the Lord hath given me here in the Univerſity as good a living as I would have wiſhed. For I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall: for the which neither I nor any other for me did ever make any ſute: yea there was a contention betwixt the M. of Katherins hall and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who is Maſter of Pembroke Hall, whether ſhould have me, ſit hoc tibi dictum. Thus you may ſee the Lords carefulneſſe for me. My Fellowſhip here is worth ſeven pound a yeer, for I have allowed me 18. pence a week, and as good as thirty three ſhillings four pence a yeer in money, beſides my Chamber, Launder, Barber, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a yeer to keep a Probleme. Thus you ſee what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this? I will not ſpeak of the great mercies he ſheweth unto my ſoul. Surely Father Traves I have clean forgotten God, I am all ſecure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love, I am envious, and diſdain others, I am a very ſtark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in theſe my Letters to you. I am all ſenſuall without the true fear of God, another manner of man then I have been ſince my calling. Alas Father Traves, I writ this to put my ſelf in remembrance, but I am without all ſenſe, I do but only writ it. For Gods ſake pray for me, which am only in name a Chriſtian, in very deed a very worldling, and to ſay to you the very truth, the moſt worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my Mother now and then, with my Siſter Margaret to fear the Lord, and if my Mother had not ſold the Fore furre which was in my Fathers Gown, I would ſhe would ſend it me, ſhe muſt have your counſell in a piece of Cloath.

Yours for ever, Iohn Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford to Father Traves.

The ſelf ſame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteouſly, though now through mine unthankfulneſſe and wilfull obedience to the pleaſure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be perſwaded that I poſſeſſe, yea if I ſhall truly write, I in manner paſſe not upon the ſame, ſo far am I faln, the Lord help me, the ſame mercy, &c. I ſay, I wiſh unto you as I can, with all increaſe of godlineſſe. Hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beſeeching you in your earneſt prayers to God, to be an earneſt ſuter unto God for me which am faln into ſuch a ſecurity, and even an hardneſſe of heart, that neither I ſorrow my ſtate, neither with any grief or fear of Gods abjection do write this: before the Lord which knoweth the hearts of all men I lye not. Conſider for Chriſts ſake therefore, good Father Traves, my neceſſity though I my ſelf do it not, and pray for me, that God caſt me not off as I deſerve moſt juſtly. For where I ought to have well proceeded in Gods School, by reaſon of the time, I confeſſe it to my ſhame, I am ſo farre gone back, as alas if ſhame were in me I might be aſhamed to write it, but much more to write it, and think it not, ſuch is the reward of unthankfulneſſe. For where God wrought the reſtitution of the great thing you know of, the which benefit ſhould binde me to all obedience: Alas Father Traves I am too unthankfull, I finde no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to perſwade you) either to be thankfull, either to begin a new life in all things to mortifie this outward man, and heartily to be well content to ſerve the Lord in Spirit and verity, and withſtand mine affections, and eſpecially my beaſtly ſenſualitie in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you, but now through my licencious obeying that affect, I am faln ſo, that a whole legion ſpirituum malorum, poſſeſſeth me. The Lord whom I only with mouth (my heart ſtill abiding both in hardneſſe and wilfulneſſe) call upon, deliver me and help me. And for Gods ſake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of reſtitution, pray to the Lord that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will, Amen. I thank you for your cheeſe, and ſo doth Father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he ſaith he did never eat better cheeſe, and ſo I dare ſay he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you: yea God ſo moveth him towards me, that his deſire is to have me come and dwell with him whenſoever I will, and welcome. This do I writ yet once more to occaſion you to be thankfull for me to the Lord, which by all means ſheweth nothing but moſt high love to me: And I again a very obſtinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haſte.

The ſinfull, Iohn Bradford.

William Minge.

Will. Minge died in priſon.

The next day after, Maſter Bradford and John Leaf did ſuffer in Smithfield, Will. Minge Prieſt died in priſon at Maidſtone being there in bonds for Religion, and like to have ſuffered alſo, if he had continued the fury of his adverſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare and favour none that favoured Chriſts pure Goſpel: which W. Minge with as great conſtancy and boldneſſe yeelded up his life in priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to have called him to ſuffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the ſtake, and as he himſelf was ready alſo ſo to do, if it had pleaſed God to have called him thereunto.

Iames Treviſam buried in the fields.

The ſtory of James Treviſam, buried in the fields, and ſummoned after his death.

Upon the third of July 1555. died one James Treviſam in the Pariſh of Saint Margaret in Lotheburry, upon a Sunday, who being impotent and lame kept his bed; for he could not riſe out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a ſervant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible, and as he was in reading, Berd the Promooter came to the houſe, and would needs go up the ſtairs, where he found four perſons beſides him and his wife; to wit, the yong man that read, and two men and a woman. All which folks, the ſaid Berd the Promooter there being, apprehended and carried to the Counter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the ſaid Berd would have had alſo James the lame man himſelf to Newgate in a Cart (and brought the Cart to the door:) but for neighbours. Nevertheleſſe, the poor man was fain to put in two ſureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but alſo very ſick the ſame time. So within a few daies, the ſaid James lying in extremity, the Parſon of the church named M. Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and ſo departed. It hapned after the Prieſt was come down into the ſtreet, there met him one Coller, a Founder. Yea, ſaith he, be ye agreed? I will accuſe you, for he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar. Upon that the Parſon went to him again, and then the Prieſt and he could not agree. And ſo the Parſon went to the Biſhop of London and told him. The Biſhop anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt, and if he were dead, he ſhould be buried in a Ditch. And ſo when he died, the Parſon was againſt his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing elſe, but was fain to bear him upon a Table to More-field, and there was he buried. The ſame night the body was caſt up above the ground, and his ſheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this, the owner of the field ſeeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the Sumner came to his grave, and ſummoned him to appear at Pauls before his Ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt him. But what more befell upon him, I have not certainly to ſay.

M. Farthing, Parſon of S. Margarets in Lothbury, accuſer of James.

THE HISTORY OF Mr. JOHN BLAND Preacher and Martyr,

Conſtantly ſuffering for the GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST.

THe 12. day of July, John Bland, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together for one cauſe: of the which number, Frankeſh and Bland were Miniſters and Preachers of the word of God: the one being Parſon of Adeſham, the other the Vicar of Rolvindon. This Maſt. Bland was a man ſo litle born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was ſeparated from the common and publike utility of all men. For his firſt doings were there imployed to the bringing up of children in learning and vertue. Under whom were trained divers towardly yong men, which even at this preſent do handſomely flouriſh. In the number of whom is D. Sands, a man of ſingular learning and worthineſſe, as may well beſeem a Scholler meet for ſuch a Schoolmaſter, whom I gladly here name for his ſingular gifts of vertue and erudition.

July 12. John Bland, John Frankeſh, Martyrs.

M. Bland Schoolmaſter to D. Sands, ſometimes Biſhop of Worceſter, now Archbiſhop of York.

After this, he coming to the Miniſtery in the Church of GOD, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this; that whereas he was caſt into Canterbury priſon for the preaching of the Goſpel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the ſute of his friends, yet would he needs preach the Goſpel again as ſoon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promiſed to abſtain from preaching; he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch condition, notably well expreſſing unto us the manner and example which we read in the Apoſtle Paul? Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakednes, or danger, or perſecution, or the ſword, &c. But to expreſſe the whole life and doings of this godly Martyr, ſeeing we have his own teſtimony concerning the ſame, it ſhall be beſt to refer the Reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole diſcourſe of his troubles, from the beginning almoſt to the latter end, in order and maner as ye ſhall hear.

M. Bland offered by his friends to be delivered, refuſeth.

A diſcourſe of the whole proceſſe and doings of Maſter Bland, written and reported by himſelf to his father in his own Letter, as followeth.

DEarly beloved father in Chriſt Ieſus, I thank you for your gentle Letters. And to ſatisfie your minde, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, theſe ſhall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me ſince ye were with me, and alſo ſince I received your laſt Letters. God keep you ever.

Your ſon, Iohn Bland.

FIrſt, the 3. of Septem. being Sunday after ſervice ended, ere I had put off my Surplice, John Auſten came to the table (commonly called the Lords table) and laid both his hands upon it, ſaying, Who ſet this here again? Now they ſay they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it up again. The Clerk anſwered, that he knew not. Then Auſten ſaid, he is a knave that ſet it here. I was then going down the Church, marvelling what he meant, and ſaid; Goodman Auſten, the Queens Highnes hath ſet forth a Proclamation, that ye may move no ſedition. And ere I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, thou art a knave: And I ſaid, well Goodman Auſten, that I have ſaid, I have ſaid. By Gods ſoul (quoth he) thou art a very knave. Then my Clerk ſpake to him, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, ye are both heretick knaves, and have deceived us with this faſhion too long, and if he ſay any Service here again, I will lay the Table on his face; and in that rage he with other took up the Table, and laid it on a cheſt in the Chancell, and ſet the Treſſels by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Maſter Iſaac, and ſhewed him the cauſe, both how ſeditiouſly he had ſpoken, and performed it with a like deed. Maſter Iſaac directed a warrant to the Conſtable or Boſholder, which was incontinently ſerved, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame night, and was bound by recognizance, with ſureties, to appear if he were called. But we agreed ſo well then, that it was never called for, the Table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

Declaration of the troubles of M. Bland, how and by whom he was apprehended, and brought to his condemnation.

John Auſten perſecutor.

John Auſten offended with the Communion table.

Note the uncharitable ſpirit of this Papiſt, and ſo commonly of them all.

Maſter Iſaac a good Juſtice.

The Communion table ſet up again.

The 26. of Nov. being Sunday, Richard Auſten and his brother Thomas came to the foreſaid table after the Communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard ſaid unto me, Maſter Parſon we have to ſpeak to you. And I ſaid, what is your will? And he ſaid, you know that you took down the tabernacle or ſeeing wherin the Rood did hang, and ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the Queens proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch muſt up again.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.

No, ſaid Thomas Auſten, ye will not know the Queens proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Tho. Auſten and Rich. Auſten pick matter againſt M. Bland.

Then ſaid Richard, ye are againſt the Queens proceedings; for you ſay there are abominable uſes and devilliſhneſſe in the Maſſe.

Goodman Auſten, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I will ſay it again, and God willing, ſtand to the proof of it.

Maſters all, quoth Richard Auſten, bear record of theſe words, and went his way.

M. Bland charged for ſpeaking againſt the Maſſe.

Quoth Thomas Auſten, thou wilt as ſoon eat this book as ſtand to them. No, quoth I, not ſo ſoon. Tell us, quoth he, what devilliſhneſſe is, that is in the Maſſe.

I often preached it unto you, ſaid I, and ye have not beleeved it, nor born it away, nor will now neither, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou (quoth he) haſt told us alwayes, like an heretick as thou art. Now ye lye goodman Auſten, quoth I, by your leave. Marry, quoth he, thou lyeſt. And I ſaid, and you lye, for I have taught you Chriſt and his truth.

Quoth he, thou art an heretick, and haſt taught us nothing but hereſie: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Auſten, I can ſay that God is in heaven, and ye will ſay (I trow) that it is true, and ſo have I taught you truly.

Falſe accuſation.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught us like an heretick, and haſt ſaid, that there is no Devill in hell.

Well, ſaid I, lye on; me think you can ſay little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the laſt he ſaid, ye pulled down the Altar; will ye build it again? No (quoth I) except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, ſaid he, then will I. For I am Churchwarden.

Tho. Auſten threatneth to bring in a Popiſh Prieſt againſt Maſter Bland.

I charge you, ſaid I, that you do not, except you have authority. I will, ſaid he, not let for your charge. For we will have a Maſſe here on Sunday, and a Preacher, that ſhall prove thee an heretick, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for ſure I am, that he cannot diſprove any Doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou ſhalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No goodman Auſten, I will not run away.

Marry, quoth he, I cannot tell; thou art as like yea, as nay: with many other words we came out of the Church door, and ſo departed.

Falſe ſlander againſt Maſter Bland.

When the Sunday came, I looked for our Preacher, and at that time of morning prayer I ſaid to the Clerk; why do ye not ring? ye forget that we ſhall have a Sermon to day. No, quoth he, M. Miles ſervant hath been here this morning, and ſaid, his Maſter hath Letters from my L. Chancellor, that he muſt go to London, and cannot come. That day I did preach to them a Sermon in his ſted. Now have they ſlandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lye. For ſome ſaid, I had them at Adeſham, and that Richard Auſten had knowledge, and ſent for the Kings Conſtable to ſee the peace kept, which is found a lye. Other ſaid, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adeſham. Other ſaid, I had them in both places, that if the one miſt, the other ſhould not. God forgive them all. Now upon theſe two matters they crake, that they ſent two Bills of complaint to the Councell. Wherefore by the councell of friends, I made this teſtimony, and ſent it up by Maſter Wiſeman.

The behaviour of Iohn Bland Parſon of Adeſham, in the County of Kent, the Sunday, the third day of December laſt paſt, containing the words which he there ſpake unto the people.

M. Bland parſon of Adeſham cleareth himſelf of falſe ſlander.

Whereas upon certain communication had between the ſaid Parſon and Richard Auſten, and Thomas Auſten in the preſence of all the Pariſh of Adeſham, the Sunday before Saint Andrews day laſt, the ſaid Auſten then declared, that the ſaid Parſon had taught there in times paſt great hereſies, which to confound, they would prepare a Preacher againſt the next Sunday following, if ſo be the ſaid Parſon would abide, and not run away: Upon which rumour, divers and ſundry perſons reſorted out of the country, unto the ſaid Pariſh Church, at the ſaid ſame day appointed, there to hear the Preacher; and at the time in which the Sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the Parſon, that the Preacher appointed, had urgent buſineſſe, and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame Parſon perceiving that the peoples expectation was defrauded, ſaid: Foraſmuch as you are come willingly to hear ſome good advertiſement of the Preacher, which cannot be now preſent, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without ſome Exhortation for your edifying. And ſo further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſaid, that he would not meddle with any matter in controverſie. And then he began the Epiſtle of the day, deſiring the audience to mark three or four places in the ſame Epiſtle, which touched quietneſſe and love one to another: and there briefly reading the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, and ſo making an end thereof, deſired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of diſturbance, or token of evill.

M. Bland exhorting the people to love and quietneſſe.

Witneſſes they undernamed., with divers others.

Edmund Mores.
Richard Randal.
Iohn Hils.
William Forſtall.
Thomas Gooding.

Another matter of trouble wrought againſt Io. Bland, as appeareth by his own narration.

The third matter againſt M. Bland.

A Popiſh maſſe Prieſt brought to ſay Maſſe at Adeſham.

Upon the Innocents day, being the 28. day of Decem. they had procured the Prieſt of Stodmarſh to ſay them Maſſe; he had nigh made an end of Mattins ere I came; and when he had made an end of Mattins, he ſaid to me, Maſt. Parſon, your neighbour have deſired me to ſay Mattins and Maſſe; I truſt ye will not be againſt the Queens proceedings. No (quoth I) I will offend none of the Queens Majeſties laws, God willing. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I ſpake the ſame words to him again, with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the Chancell heard: So I cryed the third time (that all the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queens laws, and then he went to Maſſe; and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the Clerk unto me, with the becking of my finger, and ſaid unto him; I pray you deſire the Prieſt when the Goſpel is done, to tarry a little; I have ſomething to ſay to the people, and the Clerk did ſo.

M. Bland again exhorteth the people in his Pariſh Church.

And the Prieſt came down into the ſtall where he ſate; and I ſtood up in the Chancell door, and ſpake to the people of the great goodneſſe of God, alwayes ſhewed unto his people, unto the time of Chriſts coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they paſt, we preſent, and our ſucceſſors have; and among other benefits,

I ſpake

Bland ſpeaketh of the right inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

He ſpeaketh of the abuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſſe.

He declareth how the Maſſe was patched and pieced together, and by what Popes.

M. Bland violently plucked down in his Sermon by the Churchwarden

M. Bland thruſt into a ſide Chappell till the maſſe was done.

M. Blands dagger taken from him.

Ramſey apprehended by Th. Auſten.

John Gray of Wingham troubled for a word ſpeaking.

I ſpake of the great and comfortable Sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the conſecration, as yonder Maſſe book, ſaying; Panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ, & calicem ſalutis perpetuæ, &c. Holy bread of eternall life, and the cup of perpetuall ſalvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the Sacramentall bread and wine, ſo doth the mouth of our ſouls (which is our faith) eat Chriſts fleſh & blood. And when I had made an end of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſſe; ſo that I judged it in that uſe no Sacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade us all eat and drink; and one onely in the Maſſe eateth and drinketh, and the reſt kneel, knock, and worſhip: and after theſe things ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the Benefactors of the Maſſe, and began to declare what men made the Maſſe, and recited every mans name, and the patch that he put to the Maſs; and ere I had rehearſed them all, the Churchwarden and the Borſholder, his Son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the Chancell, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cryed, Thou heretick; ſome, thou traytor, ſome, thou rebell; and when every man had ſaid his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomething paſt; be quiet good neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make anſwer before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this ſide, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Auſten ſaid, Peace, Maſters, no more till Maſſe be done, and they ceaſed. Then ſaid I to the Churchwarden and the Borſholder, either holding me by the arm: Maſters, let me go into the Churchyard till your Maſſe be done. No, quoth the Churchwarden, thou ſhalt tarry here till Maſs be done. I will not, quoth I, but againſt my will. And they ſaid, Thou ſhalt tarry, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then ſaid I to the Borſholder, Lay me in the ſtocks, and then ye ſhall be ſure of me, and turned my back to the Altar. By that time Richard Auſten had deviſed what to do with me, and called to the Borſholder and the Churchwarden, and bade them put me into a ſide Chappell, and ſhut the door to me, and there they made me tarry till Maſſe was ended. When the Maſſe was ended, they came into the Chappell to me, and ſearched what I had about me, and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then ſaid T. Auſten, churchwarden, after many brablings that they made with me, Thou keepeſt a wife here amongſt us, againſt Gods Law and the Queens. Ye lye, goodman Auſten, ſaid I, it is not againſt Gods Law, nor as I ſuppoſe, againſt the Queens. Thus they brought me out of the Church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercie: but anon the Prieſt came out of the Church, and Ramſey that of late was Clerk, ſaid unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore Thomas Auſten took him by the arm, and ſaid, Come on ſirra, you are of his opinion, and took his dagger from him, and ſaid, he ſhould go with him. I am content, ſaid he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time there came in at the Church ſtile, one John Gray of Wingham, ſervant to John Smith, and ſeeing them hold Ramſey by the arms, ſaid to him; How now Ramſey, have you offended the Queens Laws? No, quoth he. Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſten took him, and ſaid, Ye are one of their opinion, ye ſhall go with them for company, and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very ſhame they let him go again. But they carried me and Ramſey to Canterbury, with 18. perſons weaponed. A ſheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Maſter Hardes Juſtice, Maſter Oxenden, Maſter Spilman, and Maſter Tutſam.

M. Bland and Ramſey carried to Canterbury.

M. Hardes Juſtice.

M. Oxenden Juſtice.

M. Spilman, M. Tutſam, Gentleman, againſt Bland.

James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes, ſureties for M. Bland.

Ch. Hogekins and Simon Barrat, ſureties for Ramſey.

The next day they made a Bill againſt me, but it ſerved not their purpoſe, which was, that they would have had me to priſon. But James Chapman, and Bartholomew Joyes, were bound in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next generall Seſſions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were ſent for before the Queens Majeſties Councell, or any other Commiſſioners ſent by the Queens authority. And Ramſey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next Seſſions. His ſureties were Thomas Hogeking, and Simon Barrat.

M. Bland taken from his ſureties.

Sir Thomas Moyles commandeth M. Bland to Canterbury caſtle.

Now the 23. or 24. of February, ſir Thomas Finch, Knight, and Maſter Hardes, ſent for me and my ſureties to Maſter Finches place, and took me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the Caſtle of Canterbury, by ſir Thomas Moyles commandment (they ſaid) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bayled, and bound to appear at the next Seſſions holden at Canterbury; but after, they changed it to be at Aſhford on the Thurſday in Whitſun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the ſpirituall Court.

The firſt Examination of Maſter John Bland in the ſpirituall Court, before Doctor Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Maſter Collins, Commiſſary.

M. Bland brought before M. Harpsfield and M. Collins.

M. Bland maſter of Art of Cambridge.

The 18. day of May, Maſter Harpsfield, Arch-Deacon of Canterbury, made the Majors Sergeant to bring me before him and Maſter Collins, Commiſſary, into Chriſts Church, and they went with me into a chamber, in the Suffragan of Dovers houſe. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, Art thou a Prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſaid, Art thou any graduate of any Univerſity? And I ſaid, Yea. What degree (ſaid he) haſt thou taken? The degree (quoth I) of a Maſter of Art. The more pity (quoth he) that thou ſhouldeſt behave thy ſelf as thou haſt done. Thou haſt been a common Preacher licenſed, haſt thou not? And I ſaid, I have been ſo. Marry (quoth he) ſo I underſtand.

What haſt thou preached?

And I ſaid, Gods Word, to the edifying (I truſt) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the deſtroying of their ſouls and thine both, except the mercie of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what haſt thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I have preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth he, what one matter haſt thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt? I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have ſome matter againſt me.

Note how theſe Papiſts ſeek for matters, to ſuck the blood of poor men.

No, by my faith, quoth he, but that only I would win thee from hereſies that thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected others withall. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is not the very body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt after the conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Sir, quoth I, I perceive (as I ſaid) that ye ſeek matter againſt me. But ſeeing that I am bound in the Seſſions to my good behaviour for preaching,

ing, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an anſwer.

Collins. Maſter Bland, do you not remember, that Saint Peter biddeth you make anſwer to every man that asketh you a reaſon of the faith that is in you?

A man not bound to anſwer ſuch as ask of purpoſe to bring him into trouble.

M. Bland upon promiſe talketh with them of the ſacrament.

Bland. I know that, and am content ſo to anſwer as that text biddeth: but I know that Maſter Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſaid, No, ye ſhall not be troubled for any thing that ye ſay here.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell in reaſoning more than the ſpace of an hour, of the Sacrament, both againſt me. At the laſt Maſter Collins ſaid; Maſter Bland, will ye come and take in hand to anſwer ſuch matter on Munday next, as ſhall be laid to you?

Mark what fidelity is in the promiſe of theſe men.

Bland. Sir, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſaid here for learnings ſake. And they ſaid, ye ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as ſome tell me, on Thurſday next at Aſhford, I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet I have purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to London to Maſter Wiſeman, for an Obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receive certain mony to pay my debts withall. Then ſaid Maſter Archdeacon, I will write to Maſter Wiſeman, that ye ſhall ſuſtain no loſſe.

Bland. That ſhall not need: for I can ſuſtain no great loſſe, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day. No, quoth he.

M. Bland warned to appear again before them.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on Munday.

Harpſ. Wilt thou not come, when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

“ Note here the extreme dealing of the pretended Catholikes.

Harpſ. “Thou ſhalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Munday.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it ſhall be for this or like matters: will it pleaſe you or Maſter Collins, for Gods ſake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, ſeeing ye ſay ye would ſo gladly win me?

Harpſ. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will alſo borrow my Lord of Dovers Library, to have what books thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17. of May at Aſhford I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the ſpirituall Court for the ſame matter, but was bound to appear at the Seſſions holden at Crambroke, the third of July.

Another appearance of M. Bland before the Archdeacon, and his fellows.

The ſecond appearance of M. Bland. M. Harpſfields words to Maſter Bland.

THe 21. day of May I appeared in the Chapter houſe, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Maſter Archdeacon ſaid thus to me; Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Queens Highneſſe, here to place me, to ſee Gods holy word ſet forth, and to reform thoſe that are here fallen into great and hainous errours, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the decay of Chriſts Sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the Catholike Church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is ſore poyſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected and deceived many with thy evill preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the Catholike Church, both I and many other moe would be very glad; and I for my part ſhall be right glad to ſhew you the favour that lieth in me, as I ſaid unto you when you were appointed hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatisfie again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feined by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day: although I did neither ſo intend nor appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without diſputation help to heal the ſouls that are brought to hellward by thee? What ſayeſt thou?

Falſe ſurmiſes pretended againſt Maſter Bland.

The anſwer of M. Bland to M. Harpſfields words.

Bland. I do proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my conſcience guilty of any errour or hereſie, neither that I ever taught any errour or hereſie willingly. And where your Maſterſhip ſaith, that I have feined an open diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugdens, and there Maſter Bingham laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open diſputation, as ye have here offered, ſhould be this day between you and me: Whereat I much marvelled, and ſaid to him, that before that preſent I never heard any ſuch word; neither would I anſwer nor diſpute: and to this can Maſter Vaghan, Maſter Drenden, Maſter Seth of Overland, and Maſter Ugden witneſſe; and further I ſaid to them, that I never ſpake to you of any diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your Maſterſhip have any thing to ſay to me by the Law, I will make anſwer to it.

M. Bland cleareth himſelf of the falſe report of M. Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Hear ye what he ſaith? His conſcience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundeſt thou thy conſcience? let me hear what thy faith is.

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould more ask me a reaſon of my faith, than any other man in this open audience?

Harpſ. Why thou heretick, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a Chriſtian belief, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

To beleeve the Articles of our Chriſtian faith never ſo well, will not ſuffice the Papiſts.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I beleeve in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his onely Son our Lord, &c. with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do beleeve all the holy Scriptures of God to be moſt certain and true.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

The Popiſh faith of Doctor Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do beleeve and ground my faith and conſcience upon all the Articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy Doctors of the Church, and upon all the generall Councels that ever were ſince the Apoſtles time. Lo hereupon ground I my faith; with many words moe, which I well remember not. And when he could get no other anſwer of me, than I had ſaid before, he called for a Scribe to make an act againſt me. And after much communication, I ſaid; by what law and authority will ye proceed againſt me. Maſter Collins ſaid; By the Canon law.

M. Bland requireth to have his Counſeller.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a Counſeller in the Law, and I will make anſwer according to the Law.

Harpſ. Why thou heretick, thou wilt not confeſſe thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confeſſed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, thou haſt taught, that after the conſecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How ſayeſt thou, haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and Maſter Collins, ye ſaid then it was for other matters

The Papiſts ever falſe of promiſe.

that I ſhould come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my deſire, to confer Scriptures with me, to ſee if ye could winne me; and ye ſaid, ye would borrow my Lord of Dovers Librarie, that I ſhould have what booke I would; and now ye require me thus to anſwer, contrarie to your promiſe, ere anie conference be had, and ſeeke rather to bring mee into trouble, than to winne me.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall helpe me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be anie thing conformable; and I truſt to diſſolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to here. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipfull men, my Lord of Dover, and Maſter Collins, to heare us.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon mee of that: there ſhall be no ſuch witneſſe. But when we agree, ſet to our hands. Hereat made the people a noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the witneſſe: and here had we many moe words, then I can rehearſe. But at the laſt I ſaid; Sir, will ye give me leave to aſke you one queſtion? And he ſaid, yea, with all my heart. For in that thou aſkeſt anie thing, there is ſome hope that thou mayeſt be wonne.

M. Blands queſtion to D. Harpsfield.

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed Almightie God to ſend his Angel unto the Virgin Marie to ſalute her, and ſayed; Haile full of grace, &c. came anie ſubſtance from God our Father into the Virgins wombe to become man? whereat as well Maſter Archdeacon, as my Lord of Dover, and Maſter Collins, ſtaid. But my Lord ſpake the firſt, and ſaid; the holy Ghoſt came to her; and ere he had brought out his ſentence, Maſter Syriac Peters ſaid; Vertus altiſſimi obumbrauit. Truth, ſayd Maſter Archdeacon, it was the power of God, ſent by the holy Ghoſt. They had forgotten, that genitus fuit ex ſubſtantia patris; Or elſe they perceived whereunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. but I ſaid; Sir, ſhall I aſke one other? And hee ſayd, yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſts naturall bodie, with all the qualities of a naturall bodie, or no?

Another queſtion of Maſter Bland to Doctor Harpsfield.

The anſwer of D. Harpsfield to the queſtion.

Harpſ. Harke, ſayd Maſter Archdeacon: heare ye this hereticke? He thinkes it an abſurditie to grant all the quantities of Chriſts naturall body to be in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurditie. For even that naturall body that was borne of the Virgin Marie is glorified, and that ſame body is in the ſacrament after the conſecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancie of this heretick, that will put me to anſwer him, and hee will not anſwer me? he thought to put me to a pinch with his queſtion; for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. So if ye be ſo much diſcontented with mee, I will ſay no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament, after the conſecration.

How can the glorified body be in the ſacrament, when the ſacrament was given before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified?

Harpſ. I may call thee groſſe ignorant. Thou groſſe ignorant, is not the ſame body glorified, that was borne of the Virgin Marie? is it then anie abſurditie to grant that to bee in the ſacrament? And whiles he ſpake manie other words, I ſaid to Maſter Petit, that the ſacrament was inſtituted, delivered, and received of his Apoſtles, before Chriſts body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which ſaying Maſter Petit partly recited to Maſter Archdeacon.

The body unglorified was given in the ſacrament, in a glorified act, quoth Harpsfield.

Harpſ. Thou art without all learning. Was not Chriſts body given to his Apoſtles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his naturall body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin Marie without paine, was not that the act of a glorified body? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his Apoſtles, the doors being ſhut faſt, were not theſe acts of a glorified body?

Dover. Then my Lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and ſaid; when Chriſt was in Mount Thabor, he was there glorified in his Apoſtles ſight.

Harpſ. Ye ſay truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his Apoſtles.

Bland. This me think is new doctrine.

D. Harpsfield reviveth the bill of complaint againſt M. Bland.

Harpſ. Well, ſeeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove theſe matters againſt him. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the Bill of complaint that was put againſt me at Chriſtmas, and about that we talked a little. And then Maſter Archdeacon roſe up, and ſaid; See ye good people, that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it againſt him. Whereunto anſwered Thomas Auſten; I pray you, ſaid he, let us be no more troubled with him. And then ſpake John Auſten, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuſe me; but no anſwer they could have of me, but do to me what ye can by law, and I will anſwer it. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten, Bland, ye were once abjured.

Tho. Auſten chargeth M. Bland with another untruth.

Bland. Ye ſay not truly, goodman Auſten, I was never abjured. Either, ſaid he, ye were abjured, or elſe ye had the Kings pardon. Neither of both; ye ſpeak this of malice; with many other brabling words moe. Then Maſter Archdeacon departed, and left Maſter Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent buſineſſe that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to M. Commiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to ſubmit my ſelf to the law when I came home.

M. Bland appearing at Seſſions in Cranbroke.

Now about the 28 day of June I came to M. Commiſſary, to ſhew him of my return, and offered my ſelf to tatisfie the law, if it were proceeded againſt me, before Maſter Cockes of Sturray, and Markes the Apparitor; but Maſter Commiſſary ſaid gently, he had done nothing againſt me. And ſo appointed me to appear before him the Friday ſevennight after. Now in the mean time was the Seſſions holden at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear; and carrying ſurety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third day of July.

Sir John Bakers talk with M. Bland.

M. Blands brought up by D. Lupton, Provoſt of Eaton Colledge.

And ſir John Baker ſaid; Bland, ye are, as we hear ſay, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I ſaid I was born in England. And he ſaid, where? And I ſaid, in Sedber, and brought up by one Docto Lupton, Provoſt of Eaton Colledge. Well, ſaid he, I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.

Sir Thomas Moyles words.

M. Bland laid in Maidſton Jayl.

M. Bland carried to the Aſſize at Rocheſter.

Then ſaid ſir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a ſtiffe-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor anſwer when thou art called. No will, quoth ſir John Baker? Maſter Sheriffe, take him to your ward: and the Bayliffe ſet me in the ſtocks, with other, and would not hear me ſpeak one word; and ſo we remained in the Jayle of Maidſton, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabout; and then we were carried to Rocheſter, to the Aſſize holden there, where we were among the priſoners two dayes: and when we were called, and the Judges of Aſſize asked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, Maſter Barrow, Clerk of the peace ſaid, that I was an excommunicate perſon.

M. Bland carried again to Maidſton Caſtle.

Then Maſter Roper of Linſted talked with the Judges, but what I am not able to ſay. But the Judges of Aſſize ſaid; Take them to Maidſton again, and bring them to the Seſſions that ſhall be holden next at the town of Maldin: Howbeit, the Sheriffe did not ſend for us, ſo that we tarried at Maidſtone till the Seſſions holden at Greenewich, the 18 and 19 of February. I and other being within the barre amongſt the fellons, and

irons

M. Bland appeareth at Seſsions in Greenwich.

irons upon our armes, were called out the later day by the Jayler and Bayliffes, and eaſed of our irons, and carried by them into the town to ſir John Baker, Maſter Petit, Maſter Webbe, and two other whom I know not.

Another examination of Maſter Bland before ſir Iohn Baker.

Baker, Bland wherefore were ye caſt into priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Maſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Yea, but wherefore were ye in before that time?

Bland. For an unjuſt complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the complaint?

Bland. I told him as truly and briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy book; and I took him a Latine Teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Church, and obey and follow the Queenes proceedings, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Baker. Will ye do as I ſayd?

A queſtion propounded to ſir John Baker.

Bland. Will it pleaſe your Maſterſhip to give me leave to ask you a queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his conſcience is not ſatisfied in to be good?

Baker. Away, away, and threw down the book, and ſayed, It is no Teſtament. And I ſaid, Yes. And Maſter Web took it up, and ſaid unto me marvellous gently; Maſter Bland, I knew you when ye were out of this opinion. I would to God ye would reforme your ſelf; with better words then I will write. And I ſaid; If ye have known me of another opinion then I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge.

Haſty judgement of a Juſtice.

Baker. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? by St. Marie, and thou hold thee there, I will give ſixe fagots to burne thee with all, ere thou ſhouldeſt be unburned: hence knave, hence. And ſo were we reprieved into our place again within the barre. And at night, when judgement of fellons and all was done, we were called, and the Judge ſaid to the Jayler; Take them with you, and deliver them to the Ordinarie, and if they will not be reformed let them be delivered to us againe, and they ſhall have judgement and execution. And one of our companie ſaid; My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Chriſts ſake, we ſhall live with him for ever.

M. Bland and his fellows ſent to the Ordinary by ſir John Baker.

Another appearance of Maſter Bland in the Spirituall Court.

M. Bland brought again to the caſtle of Canterbury. The B. of Dover, M. Collins, maſter Mills, with others.

THen came we to the Caſtle of Canterburie, and there we remained till the ſecond day of March, at which day we were brought into the Chapterhouſe of Creechurch, where were ſet the Suffragane of Canterburie, Maſter Collins, Maſter Milles, with other; and then went to them Maſter Orenden, Maſter Petit, Maſter Web and Maſter Hardes, Juſtices. And when I was called, Maſter Web ſayd; Here wee preſent this man unto you, as one vehemently ſuſpect of hereſie.

Bland. And I ſaid; Maſter Web, ye have no cauſe to ſuſpect mee of hereſie. I have been a priſoner this whole yeere, and no matter proved againſt me. I pray you wherefore have I been ſo long kept in priſon?

Web. Leave your arrogant asking of queſtions, and anſwer to that that is laid to your charge.

The anſwers of M. Bland firſt to the Juſtices.

Bland. I do ſo; for I ſay you have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſie.

Web. Yes; ye denied to ſir John Baker, to be conformable to the Queens proceedings.

Bland. Is it a juſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſie, for asking a queſtion with leave? So we had moe words there then I well remember.

Then ſtood up Maſter Petit, and ſayd; Ye were caſt into priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinarie.

Bland. Then have I had wrong. For I never fled, nor diſobeyed mine Ordinarie, nor did any thing contrarie to the law. Let them now ſay if I did: but they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw they held their peace, I ſaid; Maſter Commiſſarie, have you been the cauſe of this mine impriſonment? No quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appeare the Friday after the Seſſions, Here I was ſuffered to ſpeak no more, but ſhut up in a corner till my companions were likewiſe preſented, and then we were ſent to Weſtgate into priſon, and were put in ſeverall cloſe holds, that never one of us could ſpeake to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were foure times at this appearance: but one they diſpatched by what means I cannot tell: whoſe name was Cornewall, a Tanner.

Cornwall a Tanner, diſpatched in ſecret priſon.

And thus hitherto paſſed the talke betweene Bland and the Juſtices, and certain Gentlemen of the Shire. Now followeth the order of the reaſoning betweene him and the Clergie men, before whom he was examined. But foraſmuch as the chiefeſt doer and Judge againſt him was the Biſhop of Dover or Suffragan of Canterburie, called Doctor Richard Thorneton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or conſtancie is in theſe Catholike perſecutors, I thought here to exhibite by the way a certain Popiſh letter, written of a Papiſt unto him. Wherein is declared what a Goſpeller the ſayd Richard Thorneton was in King Edwards time, which now turning with the world, ſheweth himſelf ſuch a bitter perſecutor againſt Gods ſervants in Queene Maries time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popiſh Letter written to the Biſhop of Dover, by one *Thomas Goldwell*, a Prieſt, declaring what a Profeſſor he was in King *Edwards* time.

The meanes of the arrivall of Cardinall Poole.

RIght Reverend, and my good Lord, after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my laſt being with your Lordſhip, this ſhall be to certifie you, that as ſoon as I arrived with my Lords Grace, I gave him your letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there hath been given very evill informations of you, and it hath been ſaid, that you have concurred with all manner of evill proceedings, the which hath theſe yeers paſt been in England, as well againſt the holy Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the ſupreme authority of Chriſts Vicar in earth, as with the uſe of the abominable late Communion, and with the marriage of Prieſts, as well religious as ſecular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) baſe, unlearned, and evill diſpoſed people, by reaſon of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet if any new mutation, the which God forbid, ſhould chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the ſame, by reaſon that not-

Thorneton Biſhop of Dover a great doer againſt the Pope and Sacrament of the Altar, in King Edwards time.

withſtanding it hath pleaſed Almighty God to provide, that your abſolution was ſent unto you (not looking, I dare ſay, for any ſuch thing) of all manner of matters paſt, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding the vanitie of the world, then the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) preſumed to ſing Maſſe in Pontificalibus, the holy daies immediately following, and alſo to miniſtrate to children the ſacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (being a member of the Divell) did ſomewhat comfort you ſo to do.

Oh my Lord, what honour ſhould it have been both to God and your ſelf, and alſo edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and Hereticks would therefore have laught you to ſcorn) if you conſidering your great offences toward God, and his goodneſſe again toward you, would like as you have offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewiſe have ſhewed your ſelf penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrate for vanitie Pontificaliter; but alſo for a time to have abſtained for reverence totaliter from the Altar, according to the old cuſtome of the Church. The which I have alſo ſeen obſerved of ſome honeſt men, not being thereto injoyned of any man. But that which is paſt cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordſhip mine old friend and Maſter in the mire. Wherefore I ceaſed not to ſolicite your cauſe with my Lords Grace, till at the laſt I obtained of his Grace for your Lordſhip all the faculties, of the which I ſend you a Copy here incloſed, partly for your own conſolation, and partly for other, deſiring your Lordſhip to uſe them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publiſhing them to any perſon, but to ſuch that you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a Biſhop in England, who hath granted him ſo great authority concerning thoſe which be under his cure. Only Maſter Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great then be theſe your Lordſhips. Wherefore your Lordſhip ſhall do well to remit unto him all ſuch Prieſts as have cure of ſoul, whether they be beneficed men, or Pariſh Prieſts. For he hath not only authority to abſolve them as you have, but alſo to give them authority to abſolve ſuch as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your Lordſhip to the protection of Almighty God. Written at Bruſſell the 16. of June, 1554.

Power to give abſolution granted to the biſhop of Dover from the Cardinall.

Your Lordſhips Beadman,
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Biſhop of Dover, by way of digreſſion. Now to return again to the examinations of Maſter Bland, let us hear his own report of his anſwers, as followeth.

Here followeth mine anſwer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word, and ſentence; yet if any that was preſent can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is never one ſentence, but it was openly ſpoken the ninth of March in the Chapterhouſe of Creechurch, in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Maior of the Citie being called to be aſſiſtant, and all other ſhut out.

The anſwer of Maſter Bland in his appearance before the Commiſſary, and other in the ſpirituall Court.

Maſter Collins ſaid; Maſter Bland, ye know that ye are preſented unto us as one ſuſpected of hereſie. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reform your ſelf to the Lawes of this Realm, and of the holy Church?

Bland. I deny that I am ſuſpected juſtly of hereſie; and that ye heard when I was preſented, that I denied the ſuſpicion to be juſt, but to defend the unjuſt puniſhment that I have ſuffered: neither can ye prove that any occaſion hath been given by me, whereby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you have any law or authoritie to proceed againſt me for any thing done for a whole yeer ago and more, I will anſwer to it.

The anſwers of M. Bland to the Clergy men.

M. Bland unjuſtly ſuſpected of hereſie, and more unjuſtly puniſhed.

Collins. Ye were convented before Maſter Archdeacon and me, and matter of hereſie laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſaid a whole yeer ago, and for that I have been in priſon this yeer and more. If ye have any thing againſt me by any law, I deſire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will anſwer according to the law.

Then ſaid my Lord Suffragan; but that I am one of the Judges, I would riſe, and ſtand by thee, and accuſe thee to be a Sacramentary, and bring witneſſe to prove it; yea, and further, that thou haſt called the Maſſe an abominable Idoll.

Bland. You, my Lord, never heard me ſay ſo: But I heard you once ſay, that in your conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſſe three yeers. Thou lyeſt, quoth he, I never ſaid ſo.

The biſhop of Dover once abhorred the Maſſe.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witneſſe to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear M. Collins at a viſitation in Wingham ſay, that Chriſt was a full ſatisfaction for all ſin preſent, paſt, and to come, contrary to that he ſaith now.

Collins the Commiſſary, profeſſed before the true Doctrine of free Juſtification by Chriſt.

And here we had more words of this matter, which I let paſſe for lack of good remembrance.

Maſter Collins ſaid, this is but a drift. You were better anſwer now, for elſe you ſhall to priſon again, and be called on Munday, and have Articles laid to you, and if ye then anſwer not directly, ye ſhall be condemned pro confeſſo, & that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will not then deny to anſwer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law; wherefore I truſt ye will let me have the benefit of the law.

Collins. This is the law, that if ye be required of the Ordinary, Reddere rationem fidei, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Bland. To that then will I anſwer. For I beleeve in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, with all the other Articles of the ſame Creed: And I beleeve all the Articles contained both in the Creed called the Maſſe Creed, and in the Creed of Athanaſius: And I do beleeve, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are moſt true.

M. Bland confeſſeth all the Articles of his Creede.

If the faith of the Sacrament be in the Scripture, and ſo neceſſary a thing, why did not the Apoſtles then put it in the Creed, and make thirteen Articles? If it be not in the Scripture, nor yet put in the Creed, why then doth the Pope ſo extremly binde us unto it?

Collins. This will not ſerve you: ye muſt anſwer to all ſuch Articles in all theſe as ſhall be laid to you, or asked of you.

Bland. Let me know the law that it is in that force (without any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion proved againſt me) and I will anſwer.

Collins. How ſay ye, will ye anſwer?

Bland. Sir, I have anſwered you. Have him away, ſaid my Lord of Dover; he had better have anſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to anſwer, if ye have any thing againſt me by the law

Anno 1555.

B. Dover. Ye have preached many hereſies in Adeſham, where I am Parſon now; and therefore ye muſt make anſwer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will anſwer them, if ye can approve, that I am bound to anſwer to that was done a yéer or more ago; for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, and compell me to anſwer to all things done in all my life I trow.

Collins. It is not a yéer ago ſince you were before Maſter Archdeacon and me.

M. Bland appeared at five Seſsions, and could not have his cauſe tried.

Bland. It is truth, it is a yéer and ten wéeks ſince the words were ſpoken; and I have béen a priſoner ever ſince, and have béen at five Seſſions, and never could have my cauſe tryed. We think your charities ſhould think it puniſhment enough, if I had béen guilty.

Collins. All this will not ſerve you; you muſt néeds anſwer, and it will be better for you to anſwer now, then another time. Will ye reforme your ſelf, and go to the Church, and worſhip Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and be obedient unto all the Quéens laws?

M. Bland called before the ſpirituall Judges, not for any matter they had, but that they would have againſt him.

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To anſwer to ſuch things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had ſome matters againſt me by the law.

Collins. Well, on Munday at 9. of the clock ye ſhall ſée the law, and have articles laid unto you.

Then they had ſpied Maſter Coxe the Lawyer, and called him in, and ſaid; Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to anſwer: and he ſaid, as they had ſaid.

Col. Do ye not beléeve, that after the conſecration of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread, but the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſt, both God and man?

M. Bland denieth the realty of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament.

Bland. Maſter Commiſſary, I know not by any law why ye ſhould ask me that queſtion more then any other man here. And after a little talk, my Lord of Dover asked me this queſtion; Doeſt not thou beléeve, after the conſecration, that it is the body of Chriſt? And I ſaid, No, I do not ſo beléeve: for the Scriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remain the fleſh of Chriſt, to eat as a man ſhould eat mans fleſh.

The Capernaites took Chriſt to ſpeak literally of his body, and ſo do the Papiſts, and not the Proteſtants.

Then Maſter Glaſier ſaid, that was the opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that opinion, and ſpake long of cutting of Chriſts body, as men cut fleſh in the ſhambles.

Then M. Doctor Faucet ſaid; Maſter Bland, foraſmuch as you and I were brought up both in one houſe, and born both in one Pariſh, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus ſtand againſt the Church. For Chriſt ſaith; Ye muſt humble your ſelf, and take up his croſſe, and follow him. And to humble your ſelf in this place, is to be content, and not ſtick to your own judgement, but to humble your ſelf to the holy Church, which hath determined, that after the conſecration there remaineth no bread, but the naturall body and blood of Chriſt.

Determination of the Church is to be followed ſo far as the Church determineth by the Scriptures.

Bland. Maſter Doctor, if ye take humbling of our ſelves in that place, to admit the determination of the Church, then muſt we know by the Scriptures, that the ſame Church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not beléeve any ſuch tranſubſtantiation, nor never will, God willing. Then (quoth he) I have done with you: I will no more pray for you then for a dog.

Then ſaid Maſter Glaſier; How think ye? Did Paul when he ſaid; Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Chriſt? Did he mean Bakers bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean Bakers bread, that doth not prove that he brake naturall and reall fleſh.

Queen Mary.

Glaſier. No, by Saint Mary, we ſay not ſo, but we ſay it is the naturall body glorified, under the formes of bread and wine.

Argument. Feſ- ti- no. The glorified body of Chriſt was not crucified. The Apoſtles did eat the body crucified: Ergo, the Apoſtles did not eat the glorified body of Chriſt.

Bland. Then the Apoſtles had it not as we have; or elſe his glorified body was crucified for us.

Glaſier. Tuſh, ye do not underſtand the Scriptures. For Chriſts body was ever glorified, in that it was ſo marvellouſly united to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Thabor: And when he walked on the water, we ſée he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?

Bland. Then belike Peters body was glorified, if walking on the water was the déed of a glorified body: and the iron that Elizeus made to ſwim upon the water.

Dover. Tuſh, quoth my Lord of Dover, that was done by prayer. But they made ſuch a noiſe with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord ſaid.

It availeth not to reaſon with the Papiſts in time of their Kingdome.

Bland. Maſters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reaſon with you, no more then it booted you in the time of the Goſpel. For then neither the reaſon of Eckius, Cochlæus, nor yet of detection of the Divels ſophiſtry of my Lord Chancellors doing, could take any place. And it is known to ſome that be here, that ſomething I can ſay in them.

Dover. No, you know Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and ſuch other.

Bland. Indéed, my Lord, I have ſéen part of their doings.

Dover. That is ſéen by thée to day.

Glaſier. I was glad, when I heard you ſay ye beléeved the Catholike Church; and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

The Church viſible.

Glaſier. Ye know that Chriſt ſaith; If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all things may be eſtabliſhed. If he hear not them, *Dic Eccleſiæ*; If he hear not the Church, take him as an heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this Church of yours fifty yéers ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all times flouriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Bland commanded away.

Dover. Then my Lord cryed; No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

Collins. Ye ſhall come again on Munday, at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye ſhall have whom ye will to confer withall: your friend D. Faucet, or M. Glaſier, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I will refuſe to talk with no man; as for any conference of your part, it is but weak lawes, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no law, I did deſire conference. And ſo for that time I departed.

The Munday after we were brought forth to the ſame place again; and then Maſter Collins began to ſpeak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my minde: but the end was, that I would reform my ſelf. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to ſée the law, which they ſaid before I ſhould ſée.

Dover. What néeds that? we have enough againſt you. * For ye denied to me tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament.

* Yea but wh then did you priſon him a whole yéer before.

Bland. I did refuſe to anſwer, till ye promiſed that I ſhould ſée the law, whereby ye may compell me to anſwer.

Dover. My Lord took the Scribes Book, and read the anſwer that I made to Doctor Faucets reaſon, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no ſuch anſwer when ye asked me. I take M. Collins and M. Glaſier to witneſſe. Then they brought forth a Decretall, a Book of the Biſhop of Romes law, to binde me to anſwer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the Ordinary had authority to examine, and that they ſo examined muſt needs anſwer. But I ſaid, that it meaned of ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpect, as I was not. And here we had much communication. For I charged them with unjuſt impriſonment, which they could not avoide.

The Popes key.

But M. Oxenden would have helped them, and ſaid, the Juſtices put me in priſon for a Sermon ſeditiouſly ſpoken, and for troubling a Prieſt at Maſſe.

M. Oxenden helpeth the Catholikes.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had been ten weeks in priſon, I was bayled, till I was caſt in again, and (as the Juſtice ſaid) for the diſobeying mine Ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Will yee be content to conferre with ſome? It will be better for you; now we offer it you, becauſe ye would not deſire it.

Bland. As I did not refuſe before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to conferre the Scriptures: and therefore I looked that Doctor Faucet would have come to me without deſiring, if any commoditie to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his Tutor.

M. Bland was tutor to Doctor Faucet.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a priſoner, and therefore it is meete that I obey, and come whither you will, and ſo departed. At this time we were three. But they tooke another to appear before them the Tueſday ſevennight after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a Clothier.

Theſe three belike were Bland, Sheterden, and Middleton. Miller a Clothier excommunicate, and let go.

Here followeth a certain confutation of Maſter Bland againſt falſe and manifeſt abſurditities, granted by Maſter Milles, Prieſt of Chriſts Church in Canterbury.

Milles. We ſay, that Chriſt is in or under the Sacrament really and corporally, which are the formes of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained inviſibly, and the qualities which we do ſee, as whiteneſſe and roundneſſe, be there without ſubſtance by Gods power, as quantity and weight be there alſo by inviſible meaſure.

The Popiſh faith of the Sacrament.

Bland. This is your own Divinity, to make accidents the Sacrament, and Chriſts reall body inviſibly contained in them, and ſo to deſtroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors ſay; * Materia Sacramenti eſt panis & vinum. And God by his power worketh no miracles with Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſo to change the ſubſtance of bread and wine into his body and bloud, in that he maketh accidents to be without their ſubſtance by inviſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſts Sacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and trifle with Gods work.

* 1. The matter of the Sacrament is bread and wine.

Milles. To Chriſt is given all power in Heaven and in earth, ſo that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth, and is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place.

If Chriſt be able to be where he liſt, and occupy no place: why then is not he able to be as well under the ſubſtance of bread, as under the accidents of bread, ſeeing he is omnipotent?

Bland. Mark your own reaſon. All power is given to Chriſt both in Heaven and Earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: Ergo, he is in the Sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place.

I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your Maior nor Minor. And firſt I would learn of you, how you know that Chriſt liſteth to be preſent at every Prieſts liſt. For if the Prieſt liſt not to ſay your Maſſe, then Chriſt liſteth not to be there.

Chriſt may be where he liſt: Ergo, Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, without occupying of place. The antecedent is true, and the conſequence falſe.

Again, ye ſay, all power is given unto Chriſt both in Heaven and in Earth, ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: and by that reaſon he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his humane body, and then he was not equall with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Chriſt, before the humanitie and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he Filius. Here is more danger then yee are ware of; if ye would ſtand to it with juſt Judges.

Milles. We eate Chriſts fleſh and bloud ſpiritually when we receive it with Faith and Charitie. And we alſo do eate it corporally in the Sacrament; and the body that we ſo receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Chriſt, yet it is not viſible after a groſſe ſort, and the fleſh of Chriſt that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joyned to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the bloud of Chriſt: for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſts bloud. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and (a) quantities, without ſubſtance of bloud.

a Caſe being put that the Prieſt taking a great quantity in the Chalice, be made drunk, which of theſe three is it that maketh him drunk? the nature of bloud? the accidents only of wine? or elſe the true ſubſtance of wine? let any reaſonable man judge.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all men, to ſay that Chriſts body is alive in the Sacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Me think it is evill to keep Chriſts body alive in the Pixe, or elſe muſt yee grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pixe. And ye ſay truth, that it is (b) not the naturall receiving of Chriſts bloud that maketh a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

Argument. b Chriſts bloud hath not that quality to make a man drunk; receiving of that in the chalice can make a man drunk: Ergo, that in the chalice cannot be the bloud of Chriſt.

And a more truth ye confeſſe then ye did think, when ye ſaid; If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtance of bloud; for indeed bloud hath no ſuch qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no naturall bloud.

If a man be drunken with wine conſecrated, it muſt be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the ſaid accidents ſhould be without their naturall ſubſtance, and work all the operations of both ſubſtance and accidents: and ſo it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye ſay, is alive, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead, and the fleſh that ye receive is lively, becauſe it hath the Spirit of God joyned to it.

This diviſion is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the fleſh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by Gods Spirit, and both one Sacrament: ye make of it a thing ſo fantaſticall, that ye imagine a body without fleſh, and fleſh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without ſubſtance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

Fantaſticall abſurdities in the Popes doctrine to be noted.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly intent in the Miniſter to conſecrate, after the conſecration thereof there is preſent the body and bloud of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance, but accidents without ſubſtance to a true beleever.

c Three inconveniences granted by the Papiſts.

1. That a Tun of Wine being conſecrated, nothing remaineth but accidents: which is falſe by the operation thereof.

2. Where he ſaith, that the Word of God doth not conſecrate without the intent of the Prieſt; which is againſt their own doctrine, ſaying, that the wickedneſſe of the Prieſt miniſheth not the Sacrament.

3. Where he ſaith, that to the unbeleever it is not the Sacrament as the Papiſts ſay, that the wicked receive the body.

Bland. Ye grant three abſurdities, c that in a tun of wine conſecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increaſe it withall, yee have brought in two inconveniences; Firſt, that it is not the Word of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the Prieſt muſt help it; and if that lack, yee ſeem to grant no conſecration, though the Prieſt ſpeak the Word; and yet your Doctors ſay, that the wickedneſſe of the Prieſt miniſheth not the Sacrament.

And to an unbeleever ye ſeem to ſay, that it is not the ſame that it is to the true beleever; and then muſt the beleever have ſomething to do in the conſecration. Incidit in ſcyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.

Milles. The ſubſtance of Chriſts body doth not fill the Mouſes belly. For although he doth receive the outward formes of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouſe doth not eats the body of Chriſt, to ſpeak properly; for it doth not feed him ſpiritually or corporally, as it doth man, becauſe he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the fleſh.

Argument.

A contrario ſenſu.

d The Mouſe receiveth not the body inwardly, but without violation.

Ergo, with violation he receiveth the body inwardly.

Argument.

The Mouſe violateth not the body of Chriſt.

The Mouſe violateth the ſubſtance which he eateth:

Ergo, the Mouſe eateth no ſubſtance of Chriſts body.

e The Mouſe and the unbeleever receive the body of Chriſt both alike, by the Papiſts doctrine.

f Argument.

No Mouſe can live with accidents only without ſubſtance.

A Mouſe may live with conſecrated hoſts.

Ergo, conſecrated hoſts have not only accidents, but the ſubſtance of bread.

Bland. Ye make not your doctrine plain to be underſtood: we muſt know how a Mouſe can receive the ſubſtance inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſay, he doth not receive the ſubſtance d inwardly, but without violation: Ergo, with violation he receiveth the ſubſtance inwardly. Ye ſay that the Mouſe cannot violate Chriſts body; but he violateth the ſubſtance that he eateth. And this your proper ſpeech doth import as much, as that the Mouſe ſhould eat the Sacrament to as great effect, and the ſame thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feed upon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye ſay; then it followeth, that the unbeleever and the e Mouſe receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the f Mouſe will live with conſecrated bread, and then ye muſt grant this abſurdity, that a ſubſtance is nouriſhed and fed only with accidents.

Milles. Mens bodies be fed with Chriſts body, as with immortall meate, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed to eternall life; but mens bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and formes of Bread and Wine: and we deny, that by the Sacramentall eating any groſſe humour turned into bloud, is made miraculouſly in the body.

Another abſurdity, that mens bodies be nouriſhed naturally with accidents and qualities.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nouriſhed in his naturall body with the Sacramentall bread and Wine conſecrated; yee cannot avoide that: but then yee turn to the ſpirituall nouriſhing of mans body, by Chriſts body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the abſurdity, that either a mans naturall body ſhould be fed naturally with accidents, or elſe to have them changed into groſſe humours. But ye ſay, mens bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine; and then muſt ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtance in man. For ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta, or elſe is all that is the nutriment in man accidents and no ſubſtance.

Milles. If the formes of Bread and Wine be burned, or wormes ingendred, it is no derogation to the body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtance cometh again.

Another abſurdity, that ſubſtance is made of accidents, when aſhes or worms be made of the formes of bread and wine.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a ſubſtance may be made of accidents, as aſhes or wormes: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a more abſurdity then the other, that Chriſts body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible ſeems to ſerve you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would anſwer you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doings.

I ſubmit my ſelf to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Word, deſiring you in the bowels of Chriſt to do the ſame.

Your Orator in the Lord,
Iohn Bland.

The laſt appearance and examination of Maſter Bland.

Richard Thornton the bloudy biſhop of Dover.

Hitherto you have heard the troubleſome handling of this faithfull and bleſſed ſervant of God, John Bland, toſt to and fro, from priſon to priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſt he was brought before the Biſhop of Dover, the Commiſſary, and the Archdeacon, at Canterbury, the 13. day of June. The name of this Biſhop was Richard Thornton. The Commiſſary was Robert Collins, whom the Cardinall by his Letters Patents had ſubſtitute to his factor, before his coming over to England. The Archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under theſe a great ſort of innocent Lambs of Chriſt were cruelly intreated and ſlain at Canterbury, amongſt whom this foreſaid Maſter Bland was one of the firſt; who, as it is ſaid, being brought before the ſaid Biſhop, and Colleagues, which were John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Coker, was examined of Articles. To whom it was objected by the Commiſſary, whether he beleeved that Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, or no, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, that he beleeved that Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies; ſo that he judged not Chriſt to be really in the Sacrament.

The words of M. Bland at his examination.

Another appearance.

The laſt appearance of M. Bland before the Biſhop of Dover, and others.

Whereupon the day being Munday, he was bid to appear again upon Wedneſday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Munday following, being the twentith of June, in the ſame Chapterhouſe, then to hear further what ſhould be done, in caſe he would not relent to their minde. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to ſay his minde plainly and fully to the foreſaid Articles, being again repeated to him. Which Articles commonly and in courſe they uſe to object to their Examinates which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, ſpecially for that Country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles miniſtred by Richard Biſhop of Dover, to Maſter Bland, and likewiſe to the reſt following after him.

Articles of courſe miniſtred againſt M. Bland.

1 First, that thou art of the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop there.

2 Item, that thou art a Chriſten man, and doſt profeſſe the Laws of God, and Faith of Chriſts

Catholike Church, and the determination of the ſame.

3. Item, that all Parſons which teach, preach, beleeve, affirm, hold, maintain, or ſay within the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, otherwiſe then our holy mother the Church doth, are excommunicate perſons, and hereticks, and as excommunicate and hereticks ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholike faith, and determination of our mother holy Church, within the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, haſt openly ſpoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and beleeved, and yet doeſt hold, maintain, affirm, and beleeve, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of bread and wine, there is not the very body and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token, ſigne, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and bloud of Chriſt is only in Heaven, and no where elſe.

5 Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholike faith, and determination of our mother holy Church, haſt within this Dioceſſe of Canterbury openly ſpoken, ſaid, maintained, holden, affirmed, and beleeved, and yet doſt hold, maintain, affirm and beleeve, that it is againſt Gods Word, that the Sacrament of Chriſts Church ſhould be miniſtred in an unknown tongue; and that no man ſafely and with a ſafe conſcience, or without perill of ſin, receiveth any ſacrament miniſtred in any tongue that he underſtandeth not.

6. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholike faith of our mother holy Church, haſt, and yet doſt hold opinion, and ſay, that it is againſt Gods Word, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be miniſtred in one kinde; and that no man may with a ſafe conſcience ſo receive it.

7. Item, that the premiſſes be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the Dioceſſe of Canterbury.

The anſwers of Maſter Bland to the foreſaid Articles.

nſwer to the Article out e Regiſter. Catholike h of Catholike rch of An- nit.

1 TO theſe Articles M. Bland, anſwering again in order as they were objected to him, ſaith to the firſt, granting the ſame, that he was a Prieſt, and of the Dioceſſe of Canterbury.

2. To the ſecond alſo he anſwereth affirmatively.

3. Item, to the third he anſwereth, that the Article is true, meaning the Catholike Church to be Chriſts Church.

4. Item, in the fourth Article, as touching the firſt part of the Article, he doth confeſſe, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the ſame. And as touching the ſecond part of the Article, he doth confeſſe, that he doth now alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.

5. Item, to the fifth Article he granteth.

6. To the ſixth he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the Article.

7. Item, to the laſt Article he granteth the ſame, &c,

This done, and his anſwers and confeſſion taken, reſpite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himſelf. So the 25. day of the ſaid moneth of June he making his appearance again in the ſaid Chapter-houſe, there openly and boldly withſtood the authority of the Pope, whereupon his ſentence was read, and ſo he condemned and committed to the ſecular power. Touching the form and tenor of the ſentence, becauſe all their ſentences of courſe agree in one, read before in the hiſtory of M. Rogers.

M. Bland denieth the Pope. M. Bland condemned.

The prayer of M. Bland before his death.

A prayer of M. Bland.

THe Lord Jeſus, for whoſe love I do willingly leave this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of his croſſe, with the loſſe of all earthly things, then to abide the blaſphemy of thy holy name, or elſe to obey man in breaking of thy Commandements; thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worſhip falſe gods, and honour thy enemy, I choſe rather the torments of this body, and loſſe of this my life, and have counted all things but vile duſt and dung, that I might win thee: Which death is more dear unto me, then thouſands of gold and ſilver. Such love O Lord haſt thou laid up in my breſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded deſireth the ſoil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aide, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak peece of earth, which is voide of all ſtrength of it ſelf. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed goodneſſe haſt bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongſt thine elect; give me ſtrength againſt this element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my minde it may be at thy commandement, as an obedient ſervant, ſweet and pleaſant; and through the ſtrength of thy holy Spirit, I may paſſe through the ſtrength of this fire into thy boſome, according unto thy promiſe, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering and ſacrifice, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice it ſelf, but for thy dear Sons ſake my Saviour; for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my ſoul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive the whole world. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercifull inſpiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlaſting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit; Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul. So be it.

The hiſtory of John Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

July 12. John Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden, Martyrs.

HAving now paſſed over the examinations of Maſt. Bland, let us further proceed to the reſt of his fellows concaptives, being joyned the ſame time with him in the like cauſe and like affliction. The names of whom were John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker; of whom Thacker only gave back. The reſt conſtantly ſtanding to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Canterbury, the 25. day of June, the yeer above expreſſed. Touching whoſe examinations I ſhall not need long to ſtand, foraſmuch as the Articles miniſtred againſt them were all one; ſo in their anſwers they little or nothing diſagreed, as hereafter (by the Lords help) you ſhall hear. In the meantime, becauſe Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the Archdeacon and the Commiſſary, I will firſt begin with the ſame.

The firſt examination or reaſoning of Nicholas Sheterden with Maſter Harpsfield Archdeacon, and M. Collins the Commiſſary, for the which they ſent him to priſon.

The talk of Nicholas Sheterden with the Archdeacon and Commiſſary about the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

FIrſt, the Archdeacon and Commiſſary affirmed, that the very words of Chriſt, when he ſaid, This is my body, did change the ſubſtance, without any other interpretation or ſpirituall meaning of the words.

Shet. Then belike when Chriſt ſaid, This cup is my bloud, the ſubſtance of the cup was changed into his bloud, without any other meaning, and ſo the cup was changed, and not the wine.

The Romiſh Catholikes cannot deny a figuratiue ſpeech in the cup, and yet will not grant the ſame in the bread.

Arch. Not ſo; for when Chriſt ſaid; This Cup is my Bloud, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet. If Chriſt ſpake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the ſubſtance; but there muſt be a meaning ſought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Arch. There muſt be a meaning ſought of the cup otherwiſe then the words ſtand. But of the bread it muſt be underſtood only as it ſtandeth, without any other meaning.

Shet. Then do yée make one half of Chriſts inſtitution a figure, or borrowed ſpéech, and the other half a plain ſpéech, and ſo ye divide Chriſts Supper.

Arch. Chriſt meant the wine, and not the cup, though he ſaid, This cup is my bloud.

Shet. Then ſhew me whether the words, which the Prieſts do ſpeak over the cup, do change the ſubſtance, or whether the minde of the Prieſt doth it?

Arch. The minde of the Prieſt doth it, and not the words.

If the minde, and not the words of the Prieſt doth it: how then is it that Duns and his fellows ſay, that the words be the forme and formall cauſe only that maketh the Sacrament?

Shet. If the minde of the Prieſt doth it, and not the words, if the Prieſt then do minde his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the people do worſhip the Prieſts harlot in ſtead of Chriſts bloud: and again, none of the people can tell when it is Chriſt bloud, or when it is not, ſéeing the matter ſtandeth in the minde of the Prieſt. For no man can tell what the Prieſt meaneth, but himſelf; and ſo are they ever in danger of committing Idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon ſomewhat moved, and ſate him down, and ſaid to the Commiſſary; I pray you Maſter Commiſſary ſpeak you to him another while; for they are unreaſonable and perverſe anſwers, as ever I heard of. Then ſtood up the Commiſſary, and ſaid:

Collins the Commiſſary taketh the Martyr in hand.

Com. Your argument is much againſt your ſelf; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Chriſts Body; but the cup can be no figure of his Bloud, nor yet his very Bloud; and therefore Chriſt did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet. My argument is not againſt me at all; for I do not ſpeak it to prove that the cup is his bloud, nor the figure of his bloud, but to prove that the bare words being ſpoken of the Prieſt do not change the ſubſtance no more of the bread, then they do change the cup into bloud.

Commiſ. It could not be ſpoken of the cup, when he ſaid, This cup is my bloud; but he meant the wine in the cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to anſwer my queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the minde of the Prieſt when he ſpeaketh over the cup, doth change it into bloud, or the bare words?

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the words and the minde of the Prieſt together; yea the intent and the words together doth it.

The Commiſſary brought to an abſurdity.

Shet. If the words and intents together do change the ſubſtance, yet muſt the cup be his bloud, and not the wine, foraſmuch as the words are, This cup is my bloud, and the intent ye ſay, was the wine; or elſe the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the Commiſſary in his chamber, ſaid, it was the intent of the Prieſt before he went to Maſſe, without the words; for the Prieſt did intend to do as holy Church had ordained, then the intent made the ſacrament to take effect.

The intent of the Prieſt maketh not the Sacrament.

Shet. If the Sacraments take effect of the intent of the Prieſt, and not of Gods Word, then many Pariſhes having a Prieſt that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and alſo worſhipping that thing to be God, which is but bread, becauſe for lack of the Prieſts intent, the words do take none effect in it; ſo that by this it is ever doubtfull, whether they worſhip Chriſt, or bread, becauſe it is doubtfull what the Prieſts do intend.

Chriſts body, whether it may be in two places at once.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary would prove to me, that Chriſts Manhood was in two places at one time, by theſe words of Chriſt in John the third Chapter, where he ſaith; No man aſcendeth up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, that is to ſay, the Sonne of man which is in Heaven. By this he would prove, that Chriſt was then in Heaven, and in Earth alſo, naturally and bodily.

Shet. This place and other muſt néeds be underſtood for the unitie of the perſon, in that Chriſt was God and man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or elſe ye muſt fall into great errour.

Commiſ. That is not ſo; for it was ſpoken of the manhood of Chriſt, foraſmuch as he ſaith, the Son of man which is in Heaven.

The Commiſſary brought to another inconvenience.

Shet. If ye will néeds underſtand it to be ſpoken of Chriſts manhood, then muſt ye fall into the errour of the Anabaptiſts, which deny that Chriſt took fleſh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body aſcended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? For then he brought his body down with him.

Commiſ. Lo how you ſéek an errour in me, and yet ſée not how ye erre your ſelf. For it cannot be ſpoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is paſſible, for God cannot come down, becauſe he is not paſſible.

Shet. If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, becauſe he is not paſſible; then it might be ſaid by the like argument, that God could not ſit, and then Heaven is not his ſeat, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no right hand for Chriſt to ſit at.

Com. Then the Commiſſary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indéed.

If God cannot come down, then Chriſt were not God: for Chriſt came from Heaven.

Shet. Oh what a ſpoil of Chriſts Religion will this be, that becauſe we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all, and becauſe we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to ſay, that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the uttermoſt part of the Sea. O miſery: at length it will come to paſſe, that God cannot ſit, and then how can Heaven be his ſeat; and if Heaven be not his ſeat, then there is no Heaven, and then at length I doubt ye will ſay there is no God, or elſe no other God, but ſuch as the heathens gods are, which cannot go nor féel.

Gods hand is ſpirituall.

Commiſ. Why, doth not the Scripture ſay, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a ſpirit have?

Shet. Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worſhipped in ſpirit and truth; and as he is a ſpirit, ſo hath he a ſpirituall power, ſo hath he a ſpirituall ſeat, a ſpirituall hand, and a ſpirituall ſword; which we ſhall féel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Becauſe we know not what God hath; therefore if we ſay he hath none, then it may as well be ſaid, there is no Chriſt.

Then the Commiſſary ſaid, he would talk no more with me, and ſo departed; and alſo the Commiſſary was compelled to grant, that Chriſts Teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was changed from that he left it: but he ſaid they had power ſo to do.

My firſt anſwering, after their law was eſtabliſhed.

Declaration of the firſt examination of Sheterden, after the law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I know ye will deſire to hear from me ſome certainty of my eſtate, I was called before the Suffragon, and ſeven or eight of the chief Prieſts, and examined of certain articles, and then I required to ſee their Commiſſion.

Sheterden requireth to ſee the commiſſion

They ſhewed it to me, and ſaid, there it is, and the King and Queens letters alſo. Then I deſired to have it read: and ſo in reading I perceived, that on ſome notable ſuſpicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Chriſts reall preſence were in the Sacrament, and whether the Church of England be Chriſts Catholike Church.

Sheterden three quarters of a yeer in priſon before the law took place.

To that I anſwered, that I had been a priſoner three quarters of a yeer, and as I thought wrongfully: reaſon would therefore that I ſhould anſwer to thoſe things wherefore I was priſoner.

Suff, The Suffragan ſaid, his commiſſion was I muſt anſwer directly, yea or no.

Shet. This commiſſion, ſaid I, was not generall to examine whom he will, but on juſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. He ſaid, I was ſuſpected, and preſented to him.

Shet. Then I required that the accuſation might be ſhewed.

Suff. He ſaid, he was not bound to ſhew it, but he commanded me in the King and Queens name to anſwer directly.

Shet. And I as a ſubject do require of you juſtice for that I have done: I ask no favour.

Suff. He ſaid I was ſuſpected.

Shet. I bade him prove that ſuſpicion, or what cauſe he had to ſuſpect.

Suff. Thou waſt caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

The proceedings of the papiſts were againſt the law.

Shet. That was a pretty ſuſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to Gods Law and the Realm, that therefore I muſt now for amends be examined of ſuſpicion without cauſe, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into priſon, there was no law but I might ſpeak as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more ſuſpect, than you which preached the ſame your ſelf not long before.

The Biſhop of Dover a proteſtant in King Edwards time.

Suff. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Shet. Well, yet in the King and Queens name I muſt anſwer directly: and therefore I require as a ſubject, that ye do not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but prove me ſuſpect, more than you your ſelf.

Milles. Then ſaid M. Milles, I had written to my mother, and he did ſee the letter, wherein I perſwaded my mother to my opinions.

Shet. In that I did but my duty to certifie her, I was not in priſon for any evill. And that was before the law alſo, and therefore no more ſuſpicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like.

Milles. Well, ye are required here to anſwer directly, or no.

Shet. Firſt then I require of you to prove this ſuſpicion; and thus we toſſed it to and fro. At laſt the Biſhop ſaid he himſelf did ſuſpect me. I asked whereby?

Suff. Well, ſaid he, I my ſelf did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Shet. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerve you ſo to do without cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Suff. Well, yet did I ſuſpect you.

Shet. It is not meet for you to be my accuſer, and my judge alſo, for that is too much for one man. And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Milles. If you were a Chriſtian man you would not be aſhamed of your faith being required.

Suff. I am not aſhamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but foraſmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it beſt not to anſwer you.

Milles. If you will not, then will we certifie the Kings Councell.

Upon this it appeareth the letters were written to the B. of Wincheſter, by whom he was ſent for after and examined.

Shet. I am therewith content that you ſhould certifie that I had ſuffered three quarters priſon wrongfully, and therefore I deſire to be juſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch impriſonment; and then I will not refuſe to anſwer your articles, though they were a buſhell of them. But to ſay that I would anſwer, whereby you ſhould heal all your wrong done to me againſt the Law of God and the Realm, I will not.

Sheterden refuſeth to anſwer before it be tried wherefore he was impriſoned.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But he, ſaid the Commiſſary, was one of them. He anſwered, No, it was the Archdeacon. He ſaid, you ſate with him, and he asked your counſell in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacon and you be divided one from another. Well ſaid they, Will ye now deny that ye ſaid then, and promiſe here to ſubmit your ſelf henceforth, and ye ſhall be delivered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit himſelf.

Shet. I am not ſo much bound to you to grant any ſuch promiſe: and again you ſhall well know that I would not promiſe to go croſſe the ſtreet for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the puniſhment: I ask no favour.

Then ſaid they, that it was obſtinacy in him, that he would not anſwer, and a token that his faith was nought, ſeeing he was aſhamed to utter it.

Shet. Nay ſaid he, you ſhall well know I am not aſhamed of my faith: but becauſe you do ſo greedily ſeek blood, I will anſwer only to that you have againſt me.

Suff. Nay, you ſhall anſwer to the articles, or elſe be condemned upon ſuſpicion.

Shet. I am content with that, yet all men ſhall know that as ye ſuſpect and can prove no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye condemn me without a matter, and then ſhall all men know ye ſeek my blood, and no juſtice.

Suff. No, we ſeek not thy blood, but thy converſion.

Shet. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhall you prove my perverſion firſt, before you condemn me on your ſuſpicion without proof of the ſame: and by that you I ſhall know whether you ſeek blood or no. Many other words were between them.

One Lovels a loveleſſe Lawyer.

At laſt ſtept up one Lovels a Lawyer, which would prove his impriſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old Statutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at laſt he was compelled to forſake thoſe Statutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſaid it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas ſaid, if he could prove that men might wrongfully impriſon before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then under that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſaid true, or elſe not.

Thus he kept the Bandogs at ſtaves end, not as thinking to eſcape them, but that I would ſee, ſaid he, the Foxes leap above the ground for my blood if they can reach it (ſo it be the will of God) yet we ſhall ſee them gape, and leap for it. From Weſtgate in haſte,

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, againſt the falſe worſhip and oblation of the Sacrament.

False worſhipping of the Sacrament.

The holy ſigne in ſtead of the thing ſignified is ſervile ſervitude, as Saint Auguſtine termeth it, when the bread in the ſacrament is by common and ſolemn error worſhipped in ſtead of the fleſh aſſumpted of the word of God.

There was no mention of worſhipping the creatures at the feaſt or firſt ſupper that Chriſt did celebrate: therefore the ſaying of Chriſt concerning divorce, may well be applyed to them; it was not ſo from the beginning, nor ſhall be to the end.

Againſt ſacramentall oblation.

The once made oblation of Chriſt is hereby derogate, when this Sacramentall oblation and offering of thankſgiving is beleeved to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the ſoul as well of the living as of the dead, againſt this ſaying to the Hebrews, With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever thoſe that are ſanctified. Again, Where is remiſſion, there is no more oblation for ſins, making us clean by him.

This word (by himſelf) hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all Prieſts from authority to enterpriſe ſuch oblation, whereas what he himſelf doth by himſelf, he leaveth not for other to do. So ſeemeth our purgatory already paſt and done, not to come and remaining to be done.

His examination before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, then Lord Chancellor.

A note of the words or talk paſſed between Nicholas Sheterden, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

I Was called into a Chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Suffragan, and other, Prieſts I think for the moſt part. He ſtandeth to the table, called me to him, and becauſe I ſaw the Cardinall was not there, I bowed my ſelf and ſtood neer.

Then ſaid he, I have ſent for you, becauſe I hear you are indited of hereſie; and being called before the Commiſſioners, ye will not anſwer nor ſubmit your ſelf.

Unjuſt impriſonment of Sheterden.

I ſaid, if it like you, I did not refuſe to anſwer; but I did plainly anſwer, that I had been in priſon long time, and reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged for that, and not to be examined of Articles to hide my wrong impriſonment, neither did I know any inditement againſt me. If there were any, it could not be juſt, for I was not abroad ſince the law was made.

Winch. Well, yet if ſuch ſuſpicion be of you, if you be a Chriſtian, ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo purge your ſelf.

Shet. I thought it ſufficient to anſwer to mine offences, &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burthen upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Winch. He ſaid, if thou wilt declare thy ſelf to the Church to be a Chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then have a writ of wrong impriſonment, &c.

Shet. I ſaid I was not minded to ſue now, but require to have right juſtice; but to make a promiſe I will not: but if I offend the law, then puniſh me accordingly. For it might be that my conſcience was not perſwaded, nor would be, in priſon; ſeeing theſe things which I have learned, were by Gods law openly taught and received by authority of the Realm. And he ſaid it was never received, that I might ſpeak againſt the Sacrament, I ſaid againſt ſome opinion of the Sacrament it was openly taught.

Wincheſt. maketh a miracle that there was no law in King Edwards time againſt the ſacrament of the Altar.

Winch. By no law, and that was notable to conſider, that all that while God preſerved that, ſo that no law could paſſe againſt it.

Shet. I ſaid their law did not only perſwade me, but this moſt; when they preached unto us, they took pain to ſet out the word of God in our tongue, ſo that we may reade and judge whether they ſay true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us beleeve it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſwaſion.

The Catholikes ſtand upon the number.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guide in underſtanding, but the Doctors and all the whole Church, now whom wouldeſt thou beleeve? either the few or the many?

The faithfull ſtand upon the word.

Shet. I did not beleeve for the few, nor for the many, but only for that he bringeth the word, and ſheweth it to me to be ſo according to the proceſſe thereof.

Winch. Well ſaid he, then if an Arrian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt beleeve him, if he ſhew this Text, My Father is greater than I.

Shet. I anſwered, no my Lord, he muſt bring me alſo the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he ſaith, My Father and I am one.

Winch. Yea, ſaid he, that is by charity, as we be one with him.

Shet. I ſaid that gloſſe would not ſtand with the reſt of the Scripture, where he ſaid; I am the very ſame, that I ſay to you; He ſaid the truth, and the truth was God, &c. with much ſuch like. And here he made many words (but very gently) of the Sacrament: Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid (quoth he) it was his body; yea, (that is to ſay) a figure of his body, and how men did not conſider the word was God, and God the word, and ſo provoked me with ſuch temptation; but I let him alone, and ſaid nothing.

Wincheſter defendeth images.

So after many words he came to the Churches faith and comely orders of Ceremonies and images. And then I joyned to him again with the Commandements.

Winch. He ſaid, that was done that no falſe thing ſhould be made, as the Heathen would worſhip a Cat, becauſe ſhe killed Miſe.

Shet. I ſaid that it was plain that the Law forbade not only ſuch, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeneſſe.

Winch. Where finde ye that?

No image of God to be made.

Shet. Forſooth in the Law where God gave them the Commandements: for he ſaid, Ye ſaw no ſhape, but heard a voice only: and added a reaſon why? leſt they ſhould after make images, and marre themſelves: ſo that God would not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they would have no image of him which was the true God, &c.

Winch. He ſaid I made a goodly interpretation.

Shet. I ſaid no, it was the Text.

Then was the Bible called for, & when it came, He bade me finde it, and I ſhould ſtrait be confounded with mine own words; ſo that if there were any grace with me, I would truſt mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latine.

Winch. Why, ſaid he, can ye read no Latine?

Shet. No. Then was the Engliſh Bible brought. He bade me finde it; and ſo I read it aloud, and then he ſaid; lo here thou mayſt ſee; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beaſt, fowl or fiſh (the place was Deut. 4.) I ſaid it did plainly forbid to make any of theſe as an image of God, becauſe no man might know what ſhape he was of. Therefore might no man ſay of any image, this is an image of God.

Deut. 4.

Winch. Well, yet by your leave, ſo much as was ſeen we may, that is, of Chriſt, of the holy Ghoſt; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old (a) man &c.

(a) But the Commandement ſaith: Deut 4. Thou ſhalt make no Image of God, either man or woman, &c.

The holy Ghoſt like a Dove in ſome qualities, but not in ſhape.

The qualities of this ſeemed here to want in Wincheſter.

Shet. That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the Commandement: for though the holy Ghoſt appeared like a Dove, yet was he not like in ſhape, but in certain qualities, and therefore when I ſaw the Dove which is Gods creature, indeed I might remember the ſpirit to be ſimple and loving, &c. and with that he was ſomewhat moved, and ſaid, I had learned my leſſon, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he ſaid he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

Shet. At the laſt I ſayd, my Lord, although I were able to make never ſo good a gloſſe upon the

Commande-

Queen MARY.

Commandements, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much ado we had: at laſt he ſaw, he ſaid, what I was, and how he had ſent for me for charity ſake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle, and ſaid my wrong impriſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt clear my ſelf.

Shet. I ſaid that was eaſie for me to do, For I had not offended.

Winch. He ſayd I could not ſcape ſo: there I was deceived.

Shet. Well, then I am under the law, &c.

How the Catholikes falſly ſlander the faithfull innocent.

Arch. The Archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutneſſe, as never was heard, I behaved my ſelf before him, whereas he was minded with ſuch mercy towards me, &c. and many lyes he laid to me, that I was ſent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the Church with ſuch an out-cry as was notable.

Shet. I declared, that he falſly herein reported me, and brought in the Laws then in the Realm, and the Queens proclamation that none of her ſubjects ſhould be compelled till the Law were to compell, and that I rehearſed the ſame in the Court for me, and I did uſe him then (ſaid I) as I uſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſaid that I did not uſe my ſelf very well now.

Shet. I ſaid, I had offered my ſelf to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He ſaid, I ſhould not confer, but be obedient. I ſaid, let me go, and I will not deſire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your Brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

The laſt examination with the condemnation of Maſter Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton.

The finall condemnation of the 4 godly Martyrs. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

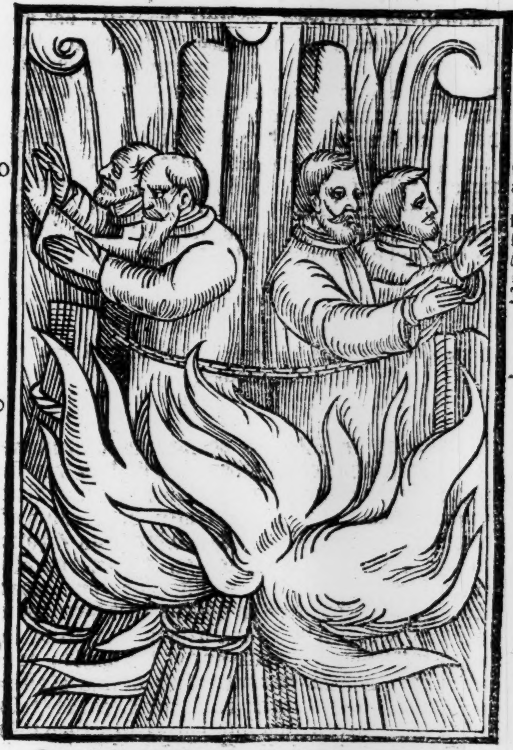
AND thus much touching the particular, and ſeverall examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of M. Bland. Now to touch ſomething alſo of the other Martyrs, which the ſame time were examined, and ſuffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Aſhford, and John Frankeſh, Vicar of Rolvynden, in the Dioceſſe of Kent above mentioned, here firſt would be declared the articles which publikely in their laſt examinations were jointly and ſeverally miniſtred unto them by the foreſaid Thorneton Biſhop of Dover. But foraſmuch as theſe articles, being ordinary and of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of M. Bland, as may appear before; It ſhall not therefore be needfull to make any new rehearſall thereof.

To theſe ſeven articles then being propounded to the five perſons above named, to wit, John Frankeſh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, firſt anſwered John Frankeſh ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further reſpite to be given him of fourteen dayes to deliberate with himſelf. Which was granted: Maſter Bland anſwered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton anſwered to the firſt and ſecond articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the Catholike Church after a ſort they granted. To the fourth and fift and ſixt touching the reall preſence, and the Sacrament to be miniſtred in the Latine tongue, and in one kinde, they refuſed utterly to anſwer. Sheterden ſaid he would not anſwer thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained priſoner, before the Laws of Parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confeſſed, that he beleeved in his own God, ſaying, My living God, and no dead God, &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the foreſaid four upon theſe anſwers were condemned by the Biſhop of Dover, the 25 day of June, An. 1555.

Anno 1555.

Thacker recanted.

The burning of four Martyrs.



The Martyrdom of John Bland, John Frankeſh, Miniſters: Alſo of Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, burned at two ſeverall ſtakes in Canterbury, Anno 1555. July 12.

And ſo being given to the ſecular power, they were burned at Canterbury, the 12 of July, at two ſeverall ſtakes, but all in one fire together, where they in the ſight of God and of his Angels, and before men, like true ſouldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, gave a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy Goſpel.

The prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

A Chriſtian prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things viſible and inviſible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppreſſed of the worldly minded for thy Laws ſake: yea Lord, thy Law it ſelf is now troden under foot, and mens inventions exalted above it, and for that cauſe do I, and many thy creatures, refuſe the glory, praiſe, and commodity of this life, and do choſe to ſuffer adverſity, and to be baniſhed; yea to be burnt with the Books of thy Word, for the hopes ſake that is laid up in ſtore. For Lord thou knoweſt, if we would but ſeem to pleaſe men in things contrary to thy word, we might by their permiſſion enjoy theſe commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I knowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I ſhould ſerve thee. And now Lord that the world will not ſuffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy Laws, behold I give unto thee my whole ſpirit, ſoul and body, and lo, I leave here all the pleaſures of this life, and do now leave the uſe of

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

them for the hopes ſake of eternall life purchaſed in Chriſts Blood, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with him for his truth, whenſoever the world and the devill ſhall perſecute the ſame.

Sacrifice of thanks for redemption.

O Father, I do not preſume unto thee, in mine own righteouſneſſe, no, but onely in the merits of thy dear Sonne my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of ſalvation I cannot worthily praiſe thee, neither is my ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now Lord, whatſoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, againſt thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will uſe any ſtrange worſhipping, which I beſeech thee accept at my hand for a pure ſacrifice: let this torment be to me the laſt enemy deſtroyed, even death, the end of miſery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and ſolace; and when the time of reſurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit into thy hands. Amen.

Sacrifice of the body.

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and firſt a Letter to his mother.

A letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembred, welbeloved mother, this ſhall be to wiſh you increaſe of grace and godly wiſdom, that ye may ſee and perceive the crafty bewitching of Sathan our mortall enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly ſhew himſelf in his own likeneſſe, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him, but having confidence in mens traditions and cuſtomes of the world, leaving the Commandements of God, and Teſtament of his Son Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, do grow more into ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, than into wiſdom and true holineſſe. For this is moſt true, that Sathan, the enemy of ſouls, doth by his miniſters make many beleeve, that thoſe things, which they compell us unto for their bellies ſake, have many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to Gods will, as doubtleſſe they be, even as did the Serpent in Paradiſe to our firſt mother Eve. What (ſaid he) hath God commanded ye ſhall not eat of all the trees in the Garden? The woman ſaid of the fruits of the trees in the Garden we may eat: but of the tree in the middeſt of the Garden, ſaid God, ſee ye eat not leſt ye die. Even ſo our Miniſters now adayes, ſay, Hath God commanded ye ſhall not make you any image or likeneſſe of any thing? Yea forſooth. Tuſh, ſay they, what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we ſee his image or picture? For they are good books for the lay men; but indeed they be better for the Prieſts, becauſe they receive the offerings.

Sathan transformeth himſelf into an Angel of light.

As the ſerpent ſeduced Eve by an Apple, ſo Prieſts ſeduce the people by Images.

Images more profitable books for Prieſts than for lay men.

And look how truely the promiſe of the Serpent was kept with Eve, ſo is the perſwaſion of our Prieſts found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evill, ſo are we in remembring God by his image. For Adams eyes were ſo open, that he loſt both innocency and righteouſneſſe, and was become moſt miſerable of all creatures: and even ſo we remember Chriſt ſo well by images, that we forget his Commandements, and count his Teſtament confirmed in his blood for ſtark madneſſe or hereſie; ſo miſerably have we remembred him, that of all people we are moſt blinde: and this doth follow upon our preſumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore ſurely except we repent, ſhortly God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues; as ſure as there is a God it will come to paſſe.

Sheterden propheſieth of Gods plagues.

But I know the craftineſſe of them herein (I thank God) which will ſay; Where went he to ſchool? Is he wiſer than our great Doctors that ſtudied all their life? And lo, they ſay that it is good hay; although we ſmell it muſty our ſelves, yet muſt we beleeve it is ſweet, and then pay them well for their ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I might ſay again; What ſir, be ye wiſer than Chriſt, and God his Father, or the holy Ghoſt? What, wiſer than the Prophets, and the holy Apoſtles, and all the holy Martyrs? I pray you Sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach, or have ye ſet it lower in hell than ever Chriſt durſt to venter? For it is ſome ſtrange learning belike, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without ſome ſhift: for peradventure they will not be aſhamed to ſay, that Chriſts coming on his fathers meſſage, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare ſay, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Chriſt: Yea I doubt it would be hard to finde one in the Church perfectly as he left it; ſo Romiſhly hath Antichriſt turned the Church upſidedown for lucres ſake.

Learning againſt or without Gods word is vain, and to no purpoſe.

Antichriſt hath turned the Church clean upſidedown.

Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes ſaid unto you, even ſo now I beſeech you from my very heart root in Chriſt, to conſider your own ſouls health is offered you, do not caſt it off: we have not long time here. Why ſhould we deceive our ſelves either for eaſe of our fleſh, or for the winning of this worlds treaſure? I know that ſome will ſay to you, why ſhould we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we ſhould condemn any that did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they condemn not us: for if they had heard the Word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithfull in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they ſhall be our condemnation, if we do not imbrace this grace offered us. And ſurely look how many of them God will accept and ſave, thoſe ſhall we never ſee, nor have any part among them: for our diſobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore if we will meet our fathers in bliſſe and joy, let us not refuſe his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Chriſts promiſe, which ſaid, after ſuch great ignorance as to ſeek him from Country to Country, and finde him not; Yet ſhall the Goſpel (ſaith he) be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the end come.

The fathers that heard no better are not to be condemned, but rather will condemn us that hear and receive it not.

And now let us know the time of our viſitation, and not turn back again, ſeeing we are once delivered: for ſurely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lots wife. God muſt needs puniſh out of hand our ſhamefull backſliding, either with induration and hardneſſe of heart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his Church and his true ſervants, or elſe reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore good mother, accept this my ſimple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be ſo knit in faith and truſt in Gods word and promiſes here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliſſe and conſolation of eternall life; which I deſire and ſeek above all worldly treaſure, as ye partly know. If I would ſeek the good will of men contrary to my conſcience, I could make ſome my friends, which now peradventure are jealous over me amiſſe.

Gods viſitation not to be refuſed.

Experience how Gods Martyrs ſeek not the world.

But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their conſciences, and they have no juſt cauſe ſo to do: nevertheleſſe I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the ballance of Gods moſt holy word, there to be payed by the minde of the holy Ghoſt, expreſſed unto us by the holy Patriarks, and Prophets, and by Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy Apoſtles, and then I doubt not, but our matter ſhall be ended with peace, and joyfulneſſe of heart; which God grant us for his mercy ſake, Amen.

Your own childe, Nicholas Sheterden, priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate. 1555.

A Letter to his brother, Walter Sheterden.

My uncle hath been with me, and made great promiſes and great threats alſo.

I Wiſh you health in Chriſt, true knowledge of his word, and a faithfull obedient heart unto the ſame. It is ſhewed me my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to perſwade with me, that I ſhould be ruled by mine Uncle, which ſaith, he will beſtow his goods very largely upon me, if I ſhould not ſtand too high in mine own conceit. But my good brother, I truſt ye do not judge ſo evill of me, that I ſhould have a faith to ſell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treaſure of the whole Country, yet I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but an heap of dung, in reſpect of the treaſure hid within; yet I do eſteem a buckle of your ſhoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counſelled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refuſed it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortall men. But if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe, I truſt in God, ſhall get it of me, nor yet the Angels in heaven.

No order nor reaſon in the Popes doctrine.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call learning) yet I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of Gods book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Chriſt from his Sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Chriſts paſſion and his ſupper, and a difference between the water of Baptiſme, and the holy Ghoſt, and not to mixe and mingle all things confuſedly together: ſo that if one ask me a queſtion or a reaſon of my faith, I muſt ſay thus; I beleeve as the holy Church beleeveth: if he ask me what is the order of that faith, I ſhould be ſo ignorant that I could not diſcern God from his creatures, nor Chriſt from his Sacraments; If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Chriſts birth and his buriall, nor which were firſt, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would beleeve that my faith were ſound?

So ſhould we have two bodies at once, one glorified, and another mortall.

We are bound to beleeve what God hath expreſly willed, not what he is able to do.

For ſome affirm that Chriſt did not give to his Apoſtles a mortall and a paſſible body, but an immortall and glorified body, ſo that he ſhould have a glorified body before his death, and ſo his glorification was before his reſurrection; and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and crucified before his Baptiſme, and then they may as well ſay, he was baptiſed before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promiſed, and that were even right Antichriſt to turn all things backward, and then ſay, Oh ye muſt beleeve, for God is almighty, he can do all things, &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not beleeve things contrary to his word, that Chriſts body was glorified before he died: for Gods Omnipotency doth not ſtand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleaſure in time. Neither doth he require of us to judge or beleeve of his Almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the bloſſome, and yet is he nevertheleſſe Almighty.

He ſpeaketh not againſt the true uſe of Logick.

But if peradventure you ſhall think with your ſelf, Why, they are learned; it were marvell but they ſhould know what is the truth, as well as other which never kept any ſuch ſtudy, &c. To that I anſwer, that if they had ſtudied Gods word, the author of truth, as they have done Logick, and Duns, with the Legend of lies, they ſhould have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reaſons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promiſe, that ſuch ſhould be deluded with lies, which would not beleeve nor walk in his truth.

Why God taketh his word from Realms.

And again; this is a good cauſe to make us think ſurely, that this was the cauſe that God gave them over at the firſt to error, after the Apoſtles time by little and little, as they grew in ſin. For ſeeing we had his truth now among us a few yeers, becauſe we did not obey unto it, we ſee what a ſudden change God hath brought upon us for our ſins ſake. And why ſhould not we think that this and ſuch like diſobedience was the cauſe that God took his word from all Chriſtendom at the firſt, and caſt a darkneſſe upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to ſee how unlike their doings be to Chriſts and his Apoſtles: and that ſeen, either we muſt judge Chriſts doings very ſlender, and theirs good, or elſe that indeed they be the very Antichriſts, which ſhould come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I truſt ſhall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

Your Brother, Nicholas Sheterden, priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

Another Letter to his Brother.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his brother.

GOd, which is the giver of all goodneſſe, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deſerts, but contrary to the ſame) grant you my brother, ſuch increaſe of godly knowledge and love unto the vertues thereunto belonging, as may give you ſuch a taſte in heavenly things, that all treaſures of earthly things may ſavour to you, as indeed they are, moſt vain and uncertain, ſo ſhall ye never take them for better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we ſhall know our ſelves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treaſure of his word, we ſhall not only enrich our ſelves againſt the time of need, but alſo arm our ſelves againſt the battell with weapons and harneſſe, which is invincible, and clothe our ſelves againſt the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feaſt, and blown the Trumpet to prepare the battell. Let us know the time of our viſitation, leſt the Lord ſitting on his mount, bewail our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is juſt to puniſh ſuch as continue in ſin, even as he is mercifull to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for ſo is God that cannot deny himſelf.

Time of Gods viſitation to be received.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to day, hear his voyce, and not harden our hearts by reſiſtance of his will, leſt he ſwear in his wrath, that we ſhall not enter into his reſt. Let us count it ſufficient, that we have ſpent the time paſt (as Saint Peter ſaith) after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonneſſe, and in abominable idolatry, &c. And now let us aſſay a new life, and trade our members in vertue another while, leſt peradven-

Certificate of conſcience.

ture we might run paſt any return in the contrary. But if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us ſuch certificate of conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in him, ſo that all treaſure ſhall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my hearts deſire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliſſe of eternall inheritance by one ſpirituall regeneration and new birth, as we are joyned by nature. But alack the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me (I will not ſay of you) for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe your ſelf: for no doubt the beſt of us both hath not ſought for wiſedom in Gods word, as ſome in the world whom we know have ſought for mony: therefore they ſhall be our Judges, if we do not learn by them: yea the very Emmet, as Salomon ſaith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for ſhe provideth in Summer againſt Winter.

Spirituall proviſion.

3. Eſd.4.

The victory of truth.

This is the beſt token I have for you now, which though it be ſimple, yet ſhall it declare partly my hearts deſire to you ward, which is even as to mine own ſoul. Let nothing diſmay you for my cauſe: but be ye ſure I ſhall have victory in the truth, which truth is ſtronger than Kings, Wine, or Women. For as Zorobabel ſaith; Wine is unrighteous, the King is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea all the children of men are unrighteous, but the truth endureth, and is alwayes ſtrong, and conquereth for ever without end: Therefore this is to deſire you and all other my friends that wiſh me good, to pray that God will alwayes keep me in his truth, as he hath begun, which prayer, if it be of ſuch a minde as laboureth to depart from evill, ſhall be to me the greateſt pleaſure under heaven. For I deſire nothing in compariſon of Gods truth, I thank him of his mercy, which ſo hath wrought: for I take it as a ſure ſeal of the endleſſe joy which ſhall hereafter follow; which God bring us unto, when his will and pleaſure is, Amen. From Canterbury,

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his mother.

To his mother, another letter written the day before his death.

O My good Mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I deſire your favourable bleſſing and forgiveneſſe of all my miſdeeds towards you. Oh my good Mother, in few words, I wiſh you the ſame ſalvation, which I hope my ſelf to feel, and partly taſte of before this come to you to reade; and in the reſurrection, I verily beleeve to have it more perfectly in body and ſoul joyned together for ever: and in that day God grant you to ſee my face with joy: but dear mother then beware of that great Idolatry, and blaſphemous Maſſe. Oh let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea the fire that conſumeth it, and the moiſtneſſe that cauſeth it to mould, and I take Chriſts Teſtament to witnes, that it is none of his ordinances, but a meer invention of men, and a ſnare to catch innocents blood; and now that God hath ſhewed it unto you, be warned in time. Oh give over old cuſtomes, and become new in the truth. What ſtate ſoever your father be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counſell of his word. Dear mother, imbrace it with hearty affection, reade it with obedience, let it be your paſtime; but yet caſt off all carnall affections, and love of worldly things: ſo ſhall we meet in joy at the laſt day, or elſe I bid you farewell for evermore: O farewell my friends and lovers all, God grant me to ſee your faces in joy. Amen.

Teſtimony and warning againſt the idoll of the altar.

Whatſoever the Fathers were, Gods word muſt needs be followed.

From Weſtgate the 11 of July, 1555.
Your childe, written with his hand, and ſealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be ſlain.

The copy of a letter written to his wife.

Another letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his wife.

I Wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treaſure, willing you to intreat Eſau the elder brother by nature gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and ſay they be Jacobs, and are ſent for a preſent to my Lord Eſau, but he will not take it, &c. Now my beloved, ye know the bleſſing of our father is, that the elder ſhall ſerve the yonger, and wiſdom our mother hath taught us the ſame, and I know ye do complain of your (a) ſervant the fleſh, that he is rebellious, diſobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly ye think he doth his ſervice: but yet behold, how ſhall ye plead your cauſe before an indifferent Judge: for if it be true that his ſervice be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in ſervants; yet I ſay, can you ſhew your cauſe to no indifferent Judge, but he ſhall object againſt you that he is not kept like a ſervant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other neceſſaries meet and due for a ſervant: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage againſt your ſervant, and it ſhall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward ſervice, becauſe ye have miſuſed him.

(a) By this ſervant belike he meant her own body, which ſhe pinched too much with penury or faſting more than needed.

How a mans body is to be ordered with diſcretion.

And therefore my ſentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in ſmall faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppreſſion, cruelty, and covetouſneſſe, requiring more than a ſervant can do, ſpecially being tyred with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with ſtripes. And theſe things amended, if he do his ſervice negligently (as no doubt ſometime he will) yet then ye may boldly correct him with diſcretion, and ſometime if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed ſupperleſſe: but yet beat him not with durable ſtrokes, neither with-hold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but (b) let him have ſomething to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a ſtranger in the life that is in God; yet be good to ſtrangers, for we are all ſtrangers in darkneſſe, and captives in ſin, as well ſoul and ſpirit, being in Egypt, as now the fleſh is yet unbaptized with the terrible red Sea of death, and remember that one law abideth for the ſtranger, I mean one reward abideth both for body and ſoul in the land of everlaſting reſt. And (c) therefore intreat him gently, and deal with him juſtly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage ſhall be taken from his neck, and he ſhall be a fellow heir with your younger brother.

(b) Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiſcentias.

(c) The body of man is redeemed as well as the ſoul.

Circumciſe him therefore, but do not miſuſe him, nor keep him from his own, but deal mercifully with the ſtranger, that he may ſay, Oh of what underſtanding heart is this people? Who hath God? Or where is God ſo nigh as to theſe? God make you wiſe and politick in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod: but kill not the Gabaonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water, and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedied: for it is better and eaſier for

The Gabaonites though they be but ſtrangers and not to be pampered, yet are they not to be caſt out.

a thirſty labouring man to drink, then for a drunken man to tell a ſober tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earneſtly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly gods: and therefore be glad I ſay, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven; yea bleſſed ſhall they be, that in this your zeal ſhall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging your ſelf upon that churliſh Naball: which thing I hope to doe now with theſe ſweet raiſons, and frailes of figges, I being of one houſe with your ſervant Naball, I dare ſay to you that churliſhneſſe is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord ſhall do it in his due time. Farewell mine owne heart.

Yours in bonds at Weſtgate,
Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe foreſaid, which was the 26. day of July, were alſo condemned for the ſame Articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Aſhford, W. Stere of Aſhford. But becauſe the execution of theſe Martyrs pertaineth not to this moneth, more ſhall be ſaid, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the moneth following of Auguſt.

Nicholas Hall, and Chriſtopher Waide, Martyrs.

July 19. Nich. Hall, and Chriſtopher Waid Martyrs.

The ſame moneth of July next after the ſuffering of the Kentiſhmen above named, followed the death and Martyrdome of Nicholas Hall Bricklayer, and Chriſtopher Waide of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice Biſhop of Rocheſter, about the laſt day of the month of June. The ſix Articles miniſtred to them, were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect with the Articles of the other Martyrs before ſpecified, the brief ſum whereof were theſe.

A brief ſum of their Articles.

Articles objected againſt Nich. Hall and Chriſtopher Waid.

1 Firſt, that they were Chriſtian men, and profeſſed the Catholike determinations of our mother holy Church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwiſe then our holy mother the Catholike Church doth, are hereticks.

3 That they hold and maintain, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of bread and wine, is not the very body and bloud of Chriſt. And that the ſaid very body of Chriſt is verily in heaven only, and not in the Sacrament.

4 Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the Maſſe, as it is now uſed in the Catholike Church, is naught and abominable.

5 Item, that they have been and be amongſt the people of that Juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected upon the premiſſes, and thereupon indicted, &c.

Their anſwers.

Their anſwers.

To theſe Articles they anſwered, as commonly others uſed to do, which ſtand with Chriſt and his truth againſt theſe pretended Catholikes, and their ſiniſter doctrine. Firſt granting themſelves Chriſtian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the congregation or body of Chriſt; Save that Hall denied to call the Catholike and Apoſtolike Church his mother, because he found not this word, mother, in the Scripture.

This word mother Church is not found in the Scripture.

To the ſecond they granted. To the third Article as touching the very body and bloud of Chriſt to be under the formes of bread and wine in ſubſtance they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in Heaven, and the Sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Chriſts death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and ſaying, that whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Chriſts death, now he ſaid, that there is neither token nor remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and clean turned from Chriſts inſtitution, &c. And concerning the Maſſe in the fourth Article, to be abominable, Chriſtopher Waid with the other anſwered, that as they had confeſſed before, ſo would they now not go from that they had ſaid. To the fifth Article, for the peoples ſuſpicion they made no great accompt nor ſticking to grant to the ſame.

Anſwer of Nicholas Hall.
Anſwer of Chriſtopher Waid.

And thus much concerning the Articles and anſwers of theſe good men. Which being received, immediately ſentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid Maurice the Biſhop againſt them, the copy of which ſentence, as it runneth much what after the common courſe in condemning all other like ſervants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplified before in the ſtory of Maſter Rogers, ſhall not greatly need heer again to be repeated; but rather may be referred over to the place above noted. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rocheſter about the 19. day of July.

Condemnation of Nicholas Hall and Chriſtopher Waid, Martyrs.

Ex Regiſtro.

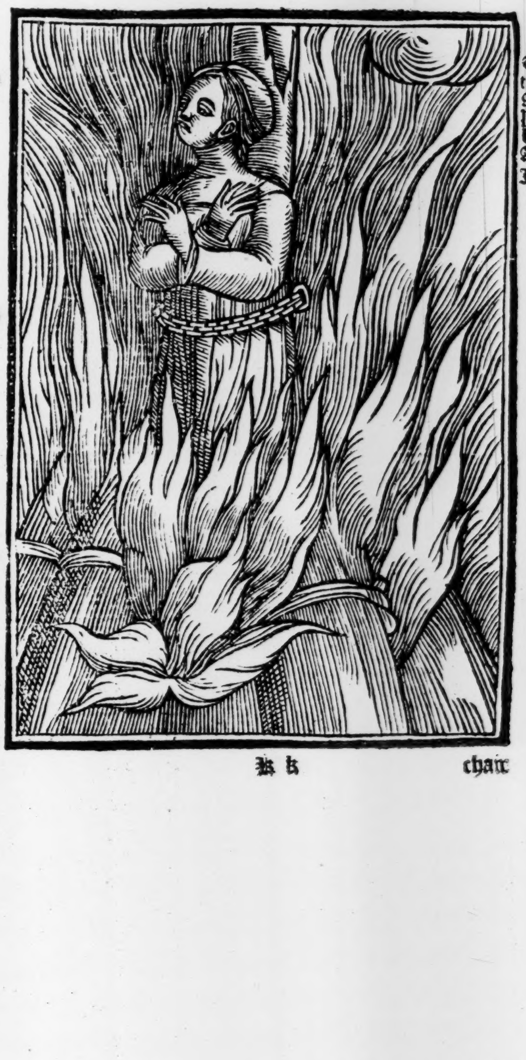
Furthermore, with the foreſaid Hall and Waid, in the ſame moneth of July, three other more were condemned by Maurice Biſhop aforenamed, whoſe names were Joan Beach Widow, John Harpoll of Rocheſter, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here followeth in ſtory.

The condemnation and Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

Ex Regiſtro.
Margery Polley Widow and Martyr.

Margery Polley widow, Wife ſome time of Richard Polley of Pepingbery, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid Maurice Biſhop of Rocheſter, about the beginning of the moneth of June. Which Biſhop according to the Pontificall ſolemnitie of that Church, riſing up out of the

The Martyrdome of Margery Polley.



The Martyrdome of Margery Polley, at Tunbridge, Anno 1555. July.

chair of his Majeſty, in the high ſwelling ſtile after his ordinary faſhion to daſh the ſilly poor woman, beginning in theſe words.

We Maurice, by the ſufferance of God, Biſhop of Rocheſter, proceeding of our meer office in a cauſe of hereſie, againſt thee Margery Polley, of the Pariſh of Pepingbery, of our Dioceſſe and Iuriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and object againſt thee all and ſingular theſe articles enſuing. To the which, and to every parcell of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain anſwer, by vertue of thine oath thereupon to be given, &c.

Thus the oath firſt being miniſtred, and the articles commenced againſt her, which articles were the ſame that were miniſtred to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, ſhe ſo framed her anſwers again, eſpecially anſwering to the third and fourth article, that ſhe neither allowed the Deity of their Sacrament, nor the abſurdity of their Maſſe. For the which, ſentence was read againſt her about the beginning of June, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her death followed not upon the ſame, we will therefore deferre the tractation thereof to the due place and time, firſt ſetting down in order of hiſtory the execution of Chriſtopher Waid above mentioned.

The condemnation of Margery Polley.

The execution and Martyrdom of Chriſtopher Waid.

Chriſtopher Waid of Darford, in the County of Kent, Linnen-Weaver, was condemned by Maurice, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and appointed to be burned at Darford aforeſaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was betimes in the morning carried out of the Town in a cart, a ſtake, and therewith many bundles of Reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the Town, called the Brimth, into a gravell pit thereby, the common place of the execution of fellons. Thither alſo was brought a load of Broom faggot, with other faggots and talwood. Unto which place reſorted the people of the Country in great number, and there tarried his coming. Inſomuch as thither came divers Fruiterers with horſe-loads of cherries, and ſold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the Sheriff, with a great many of other Gentlemen, and their retinue, appointed to aſſiſt him therein, and with them Waid, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge, both ſinging of a Pſalm; which Margery, as ſoon as ſhe eſpied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he ſhould ſuffer, waiting his coming, ſhe ſaid unto him very loud and cheerfully; You may rejoyce Waid to ſee ſuch a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And ſo paſſing by the place, which joyned hard to the high-way, they were carried ſtraight down to the town, where ſhe was kept untill the Sheriff returned from Waides execution. And Waid being made ready, and ſtripped out of his clothes in an Inne, had brought unto him a fair long white ſhirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the foreſaid place. And coming ſtraight to the ſtake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kiſſed it, ſetting his back unto it, and ſtanding in a pitch barrell, which was taken from the Beacon, being hard by; then a Smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two ſtaples, made him faſt to the ſtake under his arms.

As ſoon as he was thus ſetled, he ſpake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerfull and loud voyce, the laſt verſe of the lxxxvi. Pſalm; Shew ſome good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may ſee it, and be aſhamed; becauſe thou Lord haſt helped me, and comforted me. Neer unto the ſtake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four ſtaves, quadrangle wiſe, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into the which place, as Waid was thus praying at the ſtake, entred a Friar with a book in his hand, whom when Waid eſpied, he cried earneſtly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the Goſpel preached in King Edwards dayes. Whom the Sheriffe, thus ſpeaking to the people, often interrupted, ſaying, be quiet Waid, and die patiently. I am (ſaid he) I thank God, quiet, Maſter Sheriffe, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the Friar ſtood ſtill looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered ſomewhat: but Waid very mightily admoniſhed the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the Friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, with-drew himſelf out of the place immediatly, without ſpeaking any word, and went away down to the Town. Then the Reeds being ſet about him, he pulled them, and imbraced them in his arms, alwayes with his hands making a hole againſt his face, that his voyce might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, alway caſt faggots at the ſame hole, which notwithſtanding he ſtill, as he could, put off, his face bein ghurt with the end of a faggot caſt thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul; without any token or ſigne of impatiency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thorowly kindled, he was heard by no man to ſpeak, ſtill holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead, and altogether roſted, as though they had bin ſtaid up with a prop ſtanding under them.

This ſigne did God ſhew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had according to his prayer ſhewed ſuch a token upon him, even to their ſhame and confuſion. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, this was his end. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirit of dumbneſſe the Friar, that Locuſt which was riſen up to have ſpoken againſt him; and alſo no leſſe wonderfully ſuſtained thoſe hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præſentes, Richardus Fletcher Pater, nunc Miniſter Eccleſiæ Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher filius, Miniſter Eccleſiæ Rienſis.

The apprehenſion, examination, condemnation, and burning of Diricke Carver, and Iohn Launder, who ſuffered Martyrdom for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

The 22 day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the County of Suſſex, one Dirick Carver, late of the pariſh of Brighthamſted in the ſame County. And the next day (being the 23 day of the ſame moneth) was alſo burned at Stening, another named John Launder, late of Godſtone in the County of Surrey. Which two men were (with others) about the end of the moneth of October, Anno 1554. apprehended by Edward Gage, Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling houſe of the ſaid Diricke; and by him were ſent up unto the Queens Councell. Who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attend the leiſure of Boner, Biſhop of London. From whence (upon the Biſhops receit of a letter from the Lord Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, now

July 22 and 23, Dirick Carver, and John Launder, Martyrs.

Edward Gage Gentleman, perſecutor.

Carver and Launder appearing befo Biſhop Bon now Lord Treaſurer) they were brought by the keeper of the priſon, the 8. of June next after, into the Biſhops Chamber at his houſe in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their ſeverall confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning them with their own hands. Which being read, the Biſhop objected unto them certain other Articles, cauſing them to ſwear truly and directly to anſwer thereunto; which Articles they confeſſed to be true, referring themſelves chiefly to their former confeſſions.

This done, after long perſwaſions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would ſtand to their anſwers. To whom Launder ſaid, I will never go from theſe anſwers, ſo long as I live. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory at Pauls, the tenth day of the ſame moneth next following. Which articles and confeſſions, with the aforementioned letter do here enſue.

A Letter from the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer, unto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the examination of the ſaid priſoners.

Theſe funerals were for the Kings grandmother the old Q. of Spain.

After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your livery of black againſt this time; no more I ſhall Maſter Dean, to whom I wrote to make the Sermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my Lord of Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my Letter now ſent, and your Lordſhip muſt command the Sextens of your Church to be in a readineſſe for ringing in the time of ſervice. And if ye be not furniſhed with black apparell for the Altar, and for the Prieſt, Deacon and Subdeacon, I muſt have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the Queens ſtuffe, whereof I pray you let me be advertiſed.

A Significavit to be ſent to the Lord Treaſurer for burning of Bradford.

And ye have ſent Bradford to Newgate, as a man convicted of hereſie before you: but as I perceive ye have not ſent me a Significavit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may proceed with him, and that ſhall I do, as ſoon as I am anſwered of you.

He meaneth Dirick Carver and Joh. Launder.

Lord Treaſurer calleth upon Boner for examination of theſe two perſons.

There be divers like priſoners that came from Suſſex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I pray you they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your Lordſhip heartily for my Conies, truſting to recompence your Lordſhip again ſhortly with twice as many. From my houſe this ſeventh of June, 1555.

Your loving friend, Wincheſt.

The confeſſion of Dirick Carver, before Boner Biſhop of London.

Dirick Carver his confeſsion.

Dirick Carver Beer-brewer of Brighthampſted, in the County of Suſſex, where he hath dwelled by the ſpace of 8. or 9. yeers, born in the Village of Dilſon by Stockom in the land of Luke, 40. yeers of age, or thereabout, and now priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the Councels commandement, ſince Alhalown day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaith, that he hath, and doth beleeve, that the very ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt is not in the ſaid Sacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in the ſaid Sacrament after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, but only the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

The materiall ſubſtance of the Sacrament denied to be the body of Chriſt really.

Item, being examined concerning the Maſſe in Latine now uſed in the Church of England, he beleeveth that there is no ſacrifice in the ſaid maſſe, and that there is in it no ſalvation for a Chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſaid in the mother tongue, that he might underſtand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the Church, he ſaith and beleeveth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

The uſe and ſacrifice of the Latine Maſſe denied.

Item, being examined concerning auricular confeſſion, he anſwereth, that he hath and doth beleeve, that it is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſell; but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtian mans ſalvation. And further he ſaith, that he hath not been confeſſed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, ſince the coronation of the Queen that now is.

Auricular confeſſion and abſolution of the Prieſt rejected.

Item, concerning the faith and religion now taught, ſet forth and beleeved in the Church of England, he anſwereth and beleeveth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid Church of England, is not agreeable to to Gods Word. And furthermore he ſaith, that Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good Chriſtian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Chriſt, as he beleeveth; and ſaith that they did ſhed their bloud in the ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſaith and beleeveth.

The faith of the Church of England in Q. Maries time reproved.

And further being examined he ſaith, that ſince the Queens coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in Engliſh, read in his houſe at Brighthamſted divers times, and likewiſe ſince his coming into Newgate: but the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and ſaith alſo, that about a twelve moneth now paſt, he had the Engliſh proceſſion ſaid in his houſe, with other Engliſh prayers. And further ſaith, that Thomas Iveſon, John Launder, and William Veſie being priſoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this Examinate in his houſe at Brighthamſted, as they were hearing of the Goſpel, then read in Engliſh, a little before Allhalown day laſt paſt, and brought into the Court: and being examined thereupon by the Councell, were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

Iveſon, Launder and Veſie, impriſoned for hearing the Goſpel.

The confeſſion of Iohn Launder, before Boner Biſhop of London.

John Launder his confeſſion.

John Launder Husbandman of the Pariſh of Godſtone, in the County of Surrey, of the age of 25. yeers, born at Godſtone aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſſe and ſay, that about two dayes next before Alhalowntide laſt paſt, this Examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, William Veſie, with divers other perſons, to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their prayers, ſaying the ſervice in Engliſh, ſet forth in the time of King Edward the ſixth, in the houſe of the ſaid Dirick, ſituate at Brighthamſted in Suſſex) were apprehended by one M. Edw. Gage, and by him ſent up hither to London, to the King and Queens Councell, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he with his ſaid other fellows, hath ever ſince remained in priſon.

And further being examined, he doth confeſſe and ſay, that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid Brighthamſted was upon certain buſineſſe there to be ſped for his Father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid Dirick was a man that did much favour the Goſpel, this Examinate did reſort to his houſe and company, whom before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reaſon of that his reſort, he was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſſe and beleeve,

The cauſe of the apprehenſion of John Launder.

Two Sacraments only.

Ceremonies abhorred.

that there is here in earth on whole and univerſall Catholike Church, whereof the members be diſperſed through the world, and doth beleeve alſo, that the ſame Church doth ſet forth and teach only two Sacraments, Videlicet, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And whoſoever doth teach or uſe any more Sacraments, or yet any Ceremonies, he doth not beleeve that they be of the Catholike Church, but doth abhorre them from the bottome of his heart: And doth further ſay and beleeve, that all the ſervice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now uſed in this Realm of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholike Church, whereof he beleeveth that he himſelf is a member.

The reall preſence of Chriſts body under the forms of bread and wine denied.

Alſo he doth confeſſe and beleeve, that in the Sacrament, now called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not really, and truely contained, under the formes of bread and wine, the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, Videlicet, that when he doth receive the materiall bread and wine, he doth receive the ſame in a remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, and ſo receiving it, he doth eat and drink Chriſts body and bloud by faith, and none other ways as he beleeveth.

The Maſſe abominable.

And moreover he doth confeſſe, ſay, and beleeve, that the Maſſe now uſed in the Realm of England, or elſewhere in all Chriſtendome, is naught and abominable, and directly againſt Gods Word, and his Catholike Church; and that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it good and profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the gloria in excelſis, the Creed, Sanctus Pater noſter, Agnus, and other parts of the Maſſe be of themſelves good and profitable, yet the ſame being uſed amongſt other things that be naught and ſuperfluous in the Maſſe, the ſame good things do become naught alſo, as he beleeveth.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary.

Alſo he doth beleeve and confeſſe that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to any other creature, but every perſon ought to acknowledge and confeſſe his ſins only to God; and alſo that no perſon hath any authority to abſolve any man from his ſins; and alſo beleeveth that the right and true way (according to the Scripture) after a man hath falne from grace to ſin, to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confeſſion of them to the Prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſts hands. All which his ſaid opinions he hath beleeved by the ſpace of theſe ſeven or eight yeers paſt, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſaith, &c.

Articles objected by Boner Biſhop of London, againſt Dirick Carver, and Iohn Launder.

Articles laid to Dirick Carver and Iohn Launder.

1 First, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the ſaid priſon of Newgate, and within this ſaid Citie of London are of my juriſdiction (being Biſhop of London) and ſubject unto the ſame, offending and treſpaſſing within the ſaid priſon and Citie in matters of Religion, and concerning the Catholike faith and belief of the Church in any wiſe.

Sacraments of penance, and the altar.

2 Item, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, ſince your firſt coming and entring into the ſaid priſon, and during your abode there, both there and in ſundry places within this Citie and Dioceſſe of London, have holden, maintained, and defended ſundry opinions againſt the Sacraments of the Church, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of penance, and alſo againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Reall preſence.

3 Item, I do likewiſe object that ye, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have (as concerning the ſacrament of the altar) holden, maintained and defended, to the beſt of your power, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar there is not the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, but that in the ſacrament there is only the ſubſtance of naturall bread and wine, and no other ſubſtance.

The Latine Maſſe.

4. Item, I do likewiſe object that you, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have concerning the Maſſe in Latin now uſed in the Church, and the ſacrifice of the ſame, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid Maſſe is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

Ceremonies.

5 Item, I do likewiſe object, that you and every of you, in all, or ſome of the places, have concerning the ceremonies of the Church, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid ceremonies are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtfull and evill.

Auricular confeſſion.

6 Item, I do likewiſe object, that you and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have concerning the Sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended the auricular confeſſion (being a part thereof) albeit it may be made unto a good Prieſt for counſell, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, and doing as is now uſually done in the Church, is nothing profitable to any mans ſalvation, and that therefore ye neither have been confeſſed to the Prieſt after the uſall manner of the Church, nor yet received the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar ſince the coronation of the Queens Majeſty, which is more then the ſpace of one whole yeer and a half.

The faith and doctrine of the Church of England.

7 Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, ſet forth, uſed and beleeved in the Church of this Realm of England, and the doctrine of the ſame, have holden, beleeved and ſaid, that it is not agreeable to Gods Word, but clean contrary to the ſame.

Defending of Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, &c.

8 Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all, or ſome of the ſaid places, have beleeved, ſpoken, and ſaid, and to your power upholden, maintained, and ſaid, that Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this Realm were burnt for hereſie, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeaking and holding againſt the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Chriſt, ſhedding their bloud for the maintenance of the ſaid doctrine.

Engliſh ſervice defending the religion uſed in King Edwards time.

9 Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, have earneſtly laboured and travelled, to the beſt and uttermoſt of your power, to have up again the Engliſh ſervice, and the Communion in all points, as was uſed in the latter days of K. Edward the ſixth, here in this Realm of England.

10 Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, have thought and do think firmely and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo have and do beleeve, that the faith, religion, and doctrine, ſet forth in the ſaid time of the foreſaid King Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Chriſt, in every part.

Abſence from Popiſh ſervice.

11 Item, I do likewiſe object and ſay, that ye, and every of you (for your misbelief, offence, tranſgreſſion, and misbehaviour in the premiſſes, and for that alſo that you would not come to your ſeverall Pariſh Churches, and hear your divine ſervices there, as other Chriſtian people did, and do; but abſent your ſelves from the ſame;

and have your private ſervice in your houſes, eſpecially in the houſe of Dirick Carver) were ſent up unto the King and Queens Majeſties privy Councell, and by them or ſome of them ſent afterward into the priſon of Newgat aforeſaid, having there by their authority remained as priſoners, during all the time ye have been there.

If their putting to death were lawfull by God, why do you excuſe it? If it were not lawfull, why do ye ſo at mans commandement?

12 Item, I do likewiſe object and ſay, that I the ſaid Biſhop of London was commanded by the authoritie of the ſaid Councell, to make proceſſe againſt you, and every of you, ſo that it was not my procuring or ſearching, that ye ſhould be commanded or called before me in this matter of hereſie, but partly by your demerits, and partly the commandement enforced me to call and ſend for you, to make anſwer herein, and hereof to ſhew you the ſaid Letters.

Their anſwers to the Articles.

Their Anſwers

UPon Munday, being the tenth day of June, theſe two perſons (with others) were brought by the Keeper unto the Biſhops Conſiſtory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon, where the Biſhop firſt beginning with the ſaid Dirick Carver, cauſed his confeſſion with the Articles and Anſwers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every priſoner) asking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid Dirick anſwered, that he would: for your doctrine, quoth he, is poyſon and ſorcery. If Chriſt were here, you would put him to a worſe death then he was put to before.

The words of Dirick Carver to Boner.

You ſay that you can make a god; ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Church be beggery and poyſon. And further I ſay, that auricular confeſſion is contrary to Gods Word, and very poyſon: with divers other ſuch words.

The Biſhop ſeeing his conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruell threatnings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his uſuall and generall bleſſing, as well towards this Dirick, as alſo upon the ſaid John Launder) although ſeverally): who (after the like manner of proceſſe uſed with him) remained in the ſame conſtancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the Sheriffs, who were there preſent, but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there moſt joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jeſus Chriſt, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of life.

Dirick Carver and John Launder, ſent down into the Country to be burned.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporall riches, as with his ſpirituall treaſures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true profeſſing of Chriſt, (the Lord by his grace ſo working in him:) of the which, there was ſuch havock made, by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor Wife and children had little or none thereof. During his impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in yeers (and as it were, paſt the time of learning) yet he ſo ſpent his time, that being at his firſt apprehenſion utterly ignorant of any letter of the Book, he could before his death reade perfectly any Printed Engliſh. Whoſe diligence and zeal is worthy no ſmall commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to paſſe it over in ſilence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

The cruell ſpoil of Diricks goods.

Dirick learned to read in the priſon.

Moreover, at his coming into the Town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the like Faith. And when he came to the ſigne of the Starre, the people drew neer unto him, where the Sheriff ſaid, that he had found him a faithfull man in all his anſwers. And as he came to the ſtake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the Sheriff made haſte.

Dirick burned at Lewes.

Then his Book was thrown into the barrell, and when he had ſtript himſelf (as a joyfull member of God) he went into the barrell himſelf. And as ſoon as ever he came in, he took up the Book, and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriff commanded in the King and Queens name, on pain of death, to throw in the Book again. And immediately, that faithfull member ſpake with a joyfull voyce, ſaying:

Diricks Book commanded in the Queens name to be thrown again into the fire.

Dear brethren and ſiſters, witneſſe to you all, that I am come to ſeal with my bloud Chriſts Goſpel, becauſe I know that it is true: it is not unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And becauſe that I will not deny here Gods Goſpel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to dye. Dear brethren and ſiſters, as many of you as do beleeve upon the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, unto everlaſting life, ſee you do the works appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do beleeve upon the Pope of Rome, or any of his laws, which he ſets forth in theſe days, you do beleeve to your utter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burn in hell perpetually.

The teſtimony of Dirick at the ſtake.

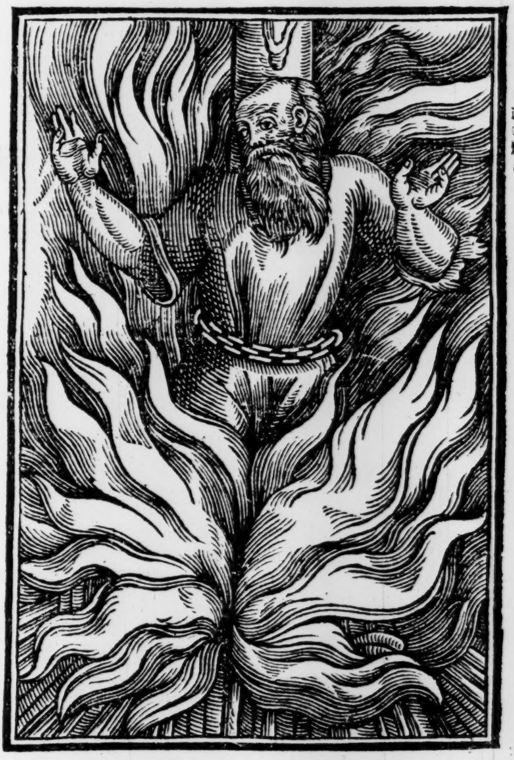
The exhortation of Dirick to the people.

Immediately the Sheriff ſpake unto him, and ſaid, If thou doſt not beleeve on the Pope thou art damned body and ſoul. And further the Sheriff ſaid unto him; ſpeak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or elſe to ſtrike me down to the example of this people; but this faithfull member ſaid, The Lord forgive you your ſayings.

Where finde you that in the Creed, to beleeve on the Pope.

Horrible provoking of Gods judgement.

The Martyrdome of Dirick Carver.



The martyrdom of Dirick Carver, at Lewes, Anno 1555. July 22.

And then ſpake he again to all the people there preſent, with a loud voyce, ſaying; Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lords ſake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you, which have offended me in thought, word, or deed. And he ſaid further in his prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou haſt written, He that will not forſake wife, children, houſe, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy croſſe and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou Lord knoweſt, that I have forſaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my ſpirit; and my ſoul doth rejoyce in thee. Theſe were the laſt words of that faithfull member of Chriſt, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him, he cried, Oh Lord have mercy upon me, and ſprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jeſus, and ſo he ended.

Diricks prayer at his death.

Thomas Iveſon, Martyr.

Tho. Iveſon, or Everſon, apprehended with Dirick and others, and ſuffered at Chicheſter.

AT Chicheſter, about the ſame moneth was burned one Thomas Iveſon of Godſtone in the County of Surrey, Carpenter; whoſe apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation (for as much as it was at one time, and in one form with Dirick Carver, and John Lawnder) I do here omit, referring the Reader to their hiſtory and proceſſe before mentioned, ſaving only this his ſeverall confeſſion, and private anſwers made before Biſhop Boner at his laſt examination in the Conſiſtory, I thought not to pretermit, who being examined upon the foreſaid Articles, anſwered as followeth.

The anſwers of Thomas Iveſon to the objections of Biſhop Boner of London, in a chamber at his houſe, in the mouth of Iuly.

Anſwers of Tho. Iveſon.

1 FIrſt, that I beleeved, that there is but one Catholike, Univerſall and whole Church of Chriſt thorow the whole world, which hath & holdeth the true Faith, and all the neceſſary Articles of Chriſtian belief, and all the Sacraments of Chriſt, with the true uſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.

2 Item, that he is neceſſarily bounden to beleeve and give credit, in all the ſaid faith, Articles of the belief, Religion, and the Sacraments of Chriſt, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.

3 Item, that that Faith, Religion, and adminiſtration of Sacraments, which now is beleeved, uſed, taught, and ſet forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the truth and Faith of Chriſt, nor with the faith of the ſaid Catholike and Univerſall Church of Chriſt.

4 Item, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he beleeveth, that it is a very Idol, and deteſtable before God, as it is now miniſtred.

5 Item, that the Maſſe is naught, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, but that it is of mans invention: and being demanded whether any thing uſed in the Maſſe be good, he ſaid that he would anſwer no further.

6 Item, that he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar, ſince it had been miniſtred as now it is in England, neither was confeſſed at any time within theſe ſeven yeers: nor he hath not heard Maſſe by the ſame place.

7 Item, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to a Prieſt: for that he cannot forgive, nor abſolve him from ſins.

8 Item, concerning the Sacrament of Baptiſme, that it is a ſigne and token of Chriſt, as circumciſion was, and none otherwiſe, and he beleeveth that his ſins are " not waſhed away thereby, but his body only waſhed: for his ſins be waſhed away only by Chriſts bloud.

" He meaneth not by the meer vertue of the Element.

9 Item, that there be in the Catholike Church of Chriſt only two Sacraments, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly uſed at this preſent time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

Two Sacraments.

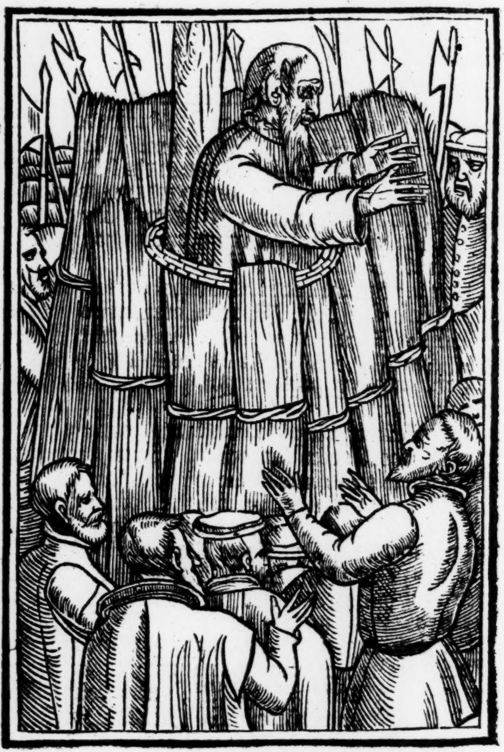
10 Item, he beleeveth, that all the ceremonies now uſed in the Church of England, are vain, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious and naught.

Againſt ceremonies

Furthermore, the ſaid Iveſon being earneſtly travelled withall to recant, ſaid in this wiſe; I would not recant and forſake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London: I do appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor ſubmit my ſelf to the ſame: and that I have ſaid, I will ſay again. And if there came an Angel from Heaven, to teach me any other doctrine then that which I am in now, I would not beleeve him. Which anſwer thus made, he was condemned as an heretick, and with the ſame perſons was committed to the ſecular power (as they term it) and at the place above mentioned was burned; perſevering ſtill in his conſtant faith unto the end.

Tho. Iveſon condemned.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iveſon.



The martyrdome of Tho. Iveſon, at Chicheſter, Anno 1555, July.

John Aleworth.

IN the latter end of this moneth of July, John Aleworth died in priſon, at the Town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cauſe and teſtimony of the truth of the Lords Goſpel. Whom although the Catholike Prelates (according to their uſuall ſolemnity) did exclude out of their Catholike buriall, yet we ſee no cauſe why to exclude him out of the number of Chriſts holy Martyrs and heirs of his holy Kingdom.

John Aleworth died in priſon.

James Abbes, a Martyr of bleſſed memory, ſuffering for the true cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel.

August.

AMong many that travelled in theſe troubleſome days to keep a good conſcience, there was

James Abbes Martyr.

James Abbes relented.

was one James Abbes, a young man, which through compulſion of the tyranny then uſed, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandring, and going from place to place, to avoid the perill of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the Biſhop of Norwich, D. Hopton. Who examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very ſore, both with threats and fair ſpeech, at the laſt the ſaid poor James did yeeld, and relented to their naughty perſwaſions, although his conſcience conſented not thereto.

Mony given to James Abbes by the Biſhop.

A notable example of ſting of conſcience.

James Abbes throweth to the Biſhop his mony again.

Now when he was diſmiſſed, and ſhould go from the Biſhop, the Biſhop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either lx. d. or xx. d. whether I know not; which when the ſaid James had received, and was gone from the Biſhop, his conſcience began to throb, and inwardly to accuſe his fact, how he had diſpleaſed the Lord by conſenting to their beaſtly illuſions: In which combat with himſelf (being pitiouſly vexed) he went immediatly to the Biſhop again, and there threw him his ſaid mony, which he had received at his hand, and ſaid, it repented him that he ever gave his conſent to their wicked perſwaſions, and that he gave his conſent in taking of his mony.

James Abbes made ſtrong by his infirmity.

Now this being done, the Biſhop with his Chaplains did labour afreſh to win him again, but in vain: for the ſaid James Abbes would not yeeld for any of them all, although he had played Peter before through infirmity, but ſtood manfully in his Maſters quarrell to the end, and abode the force of the fire, to the conſuming of his body into aſhes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the ſecond day of Auguſt. Anno 1555.

A diſcourſe of the apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation of John Denly, Gentleman, Iohn Newman, and Patrick Packingham, martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

John Denly, Gentleman, John Newman, Patricke Packingham, Martyrs. Edmund Tyrell, Eſquire, Promoter.

IN the midſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignant adverſaries, perſecuting and deſtroying the poor flock of Chriſt, many there were, which though they were not ſpirituall men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and as one would ſay, to heap up moe coals to this furious flame of perſecution, whether of a blinde zeal, or a paraſiticall flattery, I know not. Amongſt which, one was Edmund Tyrell Eſquire, and at that time a Juſtice of Peace within the County of Eſſex, an aſſiſter (as it ſeemeth) to cruell murtherers of Gods Saints. Who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly Martyrs, met with John Denly, Gentleman, and one John Newman (both of Maidſton in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to viſit ſuch their godly friends, as then they had in the ſaid County of Eſſex. And upon the ſight of them, as he yet braggeth, firſt upon ſuſpicion apprehended, and ſearched them; and at laſt, finding the confeſſions of their faith in writing about them, ſent them up unto the Queens Commiſſioners, directing alſo unto one of the ſame Commiſſioners, theſe his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

A copy of Edmund Tyrels Letter, to one of the Queens Commiſſioners.

A letter of detection, written by Maſter Edmund Tyrel to a Commiſſioner, whom I gheſſe to be ſir Rich. Southwell.

SIr, with moſt hearty commendations unto you, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that I have received a letter from ſir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King and Queens Majeſties Commiſſioners, by a ſervant of the King and Queens, called John Failes, for certain buſineſſe about S. Oſythes, the which I could not immediatly go about, for that I had received a letter from the Councell, to aſſiſt the Sheriffe for the execution of the hereticks, the one at Raleigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tueſday laſt.

M. Denly and John Newman by the way met and apprehended by M. Edmund Tyrell.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Even as I ſaw them, I ſuſpected them, and then I did examine them, and ſearch them, and I did finde about them certain letters which I have ſent you, and alſo a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confeſſed to me that they had forſaken and fled out of their country for religions ſake; and ſince they have been in many countries, by their confeſſion, which I have ſent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have underſtood) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queens Commiſſioners there might trie them, ſo that their lewdneſſe might be thorowly known; for I think theſe have cauſed many to trouble their conſciences. So this hath been ſome let to me, wherefore I could not go about theſe matters expreſſed in your letters: but to morrow at noon I intend by Gods grace to accompliſh your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beſeech you to be ſo good (Maſter) to diſcharge theſe poor men that bring theſe priſoners up, as ſoon as may be. And thus moſt heartily farewell, from Raimeſdon Park the 12. day of June, 1555.

By your aſſured to command,
Edmund Tyrel.

Forſomuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing in paper found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here inſueth.

Certain notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by Iohn Denley, Gentleman, with a confeſſion of his faith, touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, found about him ready written, at his apprehenſion.

Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his Name.

M. Denleys notes touching matter of the Sacrament.

THe difference of doctrine between the faithfull and the Papiſts concerning the Sacrament is; that the Papiſts ſay, that Chriſt is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithfull ſay, that Chriſt is not there, neither corporally nor ſpiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

Figuratively, Spiritually, Really.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and ſpiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

My belief in the Sacrament of the bleſſed Body and Blood of my Saviour Ieſus Chriſt.

The belief of M. Denley of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord.

AS concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed

unto

How bread repreſenteth the body of Chriſt.

unto a Sacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth repreſent unto me the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, not that the bread is the Body, or the wine the Blood, but that I in faith do ſee that bleſſed Body of our Saviour broken on the Croſſe, and his precious Blood plenteouſly ſhed for the redemption of my ſins. Alſo in faith I hear him call us unto him, ſaying; Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you, Eſay 55. a. b.Matth.11, &c. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreſhed, ſo that I beleeve that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being ſorry for his offences, intending earneſtly to lead a godly converſation in this vale of miſery, do receive the fruit of the death of Chriſt, which fruit is our ſalvation.

The fruit of Chriſts death, what it is, and how it is received in the Sacrament.

I do underſtand (ſpiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the materiall bread which comforteth the body, ſo doth the inward man (through faith) eat the body of Chriſt, beleeving that as the bread is broken, ſo was Chriſts body broken on the Croſſe for our ſins; which comforteth our ſouls unto life everlaſting, and ſignifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, ſo ſhould his body and fruit of his paſſion be diſtributed unto as many as beleeved his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the Supper, moniſheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and ſo exciteth us to thankſgiving, to laud and praiſe God for the benefits of our redemption.

How Chriſt is received ſpiritually in the Sacrament.

And thus we there have Chriſt preſent; in the inward eye and ſight of our faith we eat his Body, and drink his blood, that is, we beleeve ſurely that his Body was crucified for our ſins, and his Blood ſhed for our ſalvation.

The groſſe errour of the Papiſts in the real being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Chriſts Body and Blood is not contained in the Sacramentall bread and wine, as the Papiſts have ſaid, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye reade in theſe Scriptures following: Firſt reade in S. Matth.9. Luke 5. Matth.24, and 26. Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13. Luke 23. in the end. John 14. 15, 16, 17. Acts 1. 3. 7. 9. Rom.8. Pſal.8. 1 Corin. 10, 11. Exod. 12. Coloſſ.1. Epheſ.1.4. Phil.2.1. 1 Theſ.1.4. Hebr.1.5.8, 9, 10.12. 1 Pet.3. Pſal. 11.47.103.10.

Chriſts materiall Body is not in all places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtifie hereafter.

Chriſts body not in all places at once.

Firſt, reade St. Matthew the laſt, Marke the laſt, Luke the laſt, John 11.20, 21. Theſe places of the Scriptures do plainly declare, that his Body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in moe places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papiſts have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Idolatry to the creatures of bread and wine

Therefore whoſoever they be that do worſhip the creatures of bread and wine, do commit Idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the minde of God, as theſe Scriptures hereafter do teſtifie, firſt in Exod.20. 22, 23, 24. Lev.19. Deut.4.6.32. Pſal.80. Eſa. 45. Mal.2. Mat.4. Luke 4. Acts 14. Revel.14. Pſal.98. 1 Corin.8. Epheſ.4. 1 Tim.2. 1 John 5. Revel.19.22.

John Denley.

M. Denley and his fellow priſoners ſent to Biſhop Boner.

Now to return to the Commiſſioners again: they receiving theſe priſoners afore mentioned, after they ſaw they could little prevail with their own perſwaſions, ſent them unto Biſhop Boner to be handled after his fatherly and charitable diſcretion. Which how diſcreet and favourable it was, as well the hiſtorie of others, as alſo the ſequele of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the 28 day of June then next following, he cauſed the ſaid Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber within his houſe or palace, there examining them upon their Confeſſions (which Tyrel had found about them) objecting alſo unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all anſwered in effect one thing, although Denley anſwered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought it enough only to manifeſt his, as ſufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Pachingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the reſt had not.

M. Denley, Newman, and Pachingham, had in examination before the Biſhop of London.

This done, the Biſhop uſed with them his accuſtomed perſwaſions, to the which Maſter Denley ſaid; God ſave me from your counſell, and keep me in the minde that I am in, for that you count hereſie, I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the Biſhops Conſiſtory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where theſe articles were objected againſt them.

The words of M. Denley to Biſhop Boner.

The Articles objected by Edmund Boner, Biſhop of London, againſt Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, and Patricke Pachingham, joyntly and ſeverally the 28 of Iune, 1555.

Articles objected.

First, that the ſaid N. now is of the Dioceſſe of London, and the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

Slander of untruth.

Secondly, that the ſaid N. hath not beleeved, nor doth beleeve, that there is any Catholike Church of Chriſt here in earth.

Catholike Church.

Thirdly, that the ſaid N. hath not beleeved, nor doth beleeve, that this Church of England is any part or member of the ſaid Catholike Church.

Maſſe.

Fourthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth beleeve, that the Maſſe now uſed in this Realm of England, is naught, and full of Idolatry and evill, and plain againſt Gods word, and therefore he the ſaid N. hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Auricular Confeſſion.

Fifthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth ſo beleeve, that auricular confeſſion uſed now in this Realm of England, is not good, but contrary to Gods word.

Popiſh abſolution.

Sixthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth ſo beleeve, that abſolution, given by the Prieſt hearing confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but contrary to the ſame.

Mattins, Evenſong, Aneling, with other rites of the Popes Church.

Seventhly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth ſo beleeve, that Chriſtning of Children, as it is now uſed in the Church of England, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but againſt it: likewiſe confirming of Children, giving of orders, ſaying of Mattins and Evenſong, annointing or aneling of ſick perſons, making of holy bread, and holy water, with the reſt of the Church.

Two Sacraments.

Eighthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth ſo beleeve, that there are but two Sacraments in Chriſts Catholike Church, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

Ninthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleeved, and doth ſo beleeve, that foraſmuch as Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, therefore the very Body of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar.

This articles was only objected againſt Patricke Pachingham.

Tenthly, that thou Patricke Packingham now being of the age of 21 at the leaſt, being within the houſe of the Biſhop of London at Pauls, and by him brought to the great Chappell to hear Maſſe there, the ſaid 23 day of June, the yeer of our Lord, 1555. didſt unreverendly ſtand in the ſaid Chappell, having thy cap on thy head all the Maſſe while; and didſt alſo refuſe to receive holy water, and holy bread at the Prieſts hands, there containing and deſpiſing both the Maſſe, and the ſaid holy water and holy bread.

The anſwer of Iohn Denley and the reſt, to the Articles objected.

Their anſwers.

TO the firſt article I anſwer, it is very true.

The true Catholike Church not denied.

To the ſecond article I anſwer, that it is not true: for I beleeve the holy Catholike Church which is builded upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head, which holy Church is the congregation of the faithfull people, diſperſed thorow the whole world, the which Church doth preach Gods holy Word truly, and doth alſo miniſter the two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, according to his bleſſed Word.

A notice of the true Church.

The Church of England now is no member of the true Catholike Church, and the reaſon why.

To the third article I anſwer, that I do beleeve that this Church of England, uſing the faith and religion which is now uſed, is no part or member of the foreſaid Catholike Church, but is the Church of Antichriſt, the Biſhop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain, that they have altered the Teſtament of God, and ſet up a Teſtament of their own deviſing, full of blaſphemy and lies: for Chriſts Teſtament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Matth. 6. and alſo it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Corinth. 14. for he ſaith; That he that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that ſpeaketh with the tongue, profiteth himſelf; he that propheſieth, edifieth the Congregation.

1 Cor. 14.

Alſo he ſaith, Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the ayr, that is as much to ſay, in vain, Alſo he ſaith, Thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I ſpeak with tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the Congregation to ſpeak five words with underſtanding, to the information of other, than ten thouſand words with the tongue. Alſo he ſaith; Let all things be done to edification.

The Popes ſervice in a tongue which edifieth not the people.

Alſo it is written in the Pſalm 46. For God is King of all the earth: O ſing praiſes unto him with underſtanding, &c. So it doth appear, that this Church of England, now uſed, is not builded upon Chriſt, if S. Pauls words be true, and alſo the Pſalms; therefore this Church is not builded upon the Prophets, Apoſtles, nor Chriſt, as I have declared before.

The Maſſe abominable and idolatrous.

To this fourth article I anſwer, and I do beleeve (as I have afore ſaid) that the Maſſe, now uſed in this Realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blaſphemy againſt Gods Word; for Chriſt in his holy Supper inſtituted the Sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worſhipped, and make an idoll of them: for God will not be worſhipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praiſes for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he ſaith in the ſecond Commandement Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven image, nor the likeneſſe of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them. So it appeareth by this Commandement, that we ought not to worſhip the Sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he ſaith, No ſimilitude, therefore, Thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them. I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breſt, putting off the cap, and making curteſie, with other like ſuperſtition? you would make men to be ſo blinde, that this is no worſhipping.

The Maſſe againſt Gods Commandement.

Objection of the Papiſts removed.

Peradventure you will object and ſay, you do not worſhip the bread and the wine, but Chriſts body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lye; for Chriſts body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if S. Pauls words be true, as undoubtebly they are: for he ſaith in the 10 of the Hebrews; But this man, after he hath offered one ſacrifice for ſins, is ſet down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footſtool.

Heb. 10.

Alſo in the 9 chapter he ſaith; For Chriſt is not entred into holy places that are made with hands, which are ſimilitudes of true things, but is entred into very heaven, to appear now in the ſight of God for us, &c. Alſo Phil. 3. but our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, &c. 1. Theſ. 1. For they themſelves ſhew of you, what manner of entring in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from Images, to ſerve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raiſed from death, even Ieſus which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c. Alſo John 16. I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c. John 17. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. All theſe places of the Scripture, with other moe, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Chriſts body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the ſacramentall bread and wine; and therefore it is Idolatry to worſhip them, &c.

Heb. 9.

Phil. 3.

1 Theſ. 1.

Scripture proving Chriſt not to be bodily in the Sacrament.

Iohn 16.

Iohn 17.

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

To this fifth article I anſwer, that I do beleeve as I have afore ſaid, that auricular confeſſion is not good, as it is now uſed. Touching my ſinnes wherein I have offended God, I muſt ſeek to him for remiſſion thereof, for our Saviour Chriſt ſaith in the 11 of S. Matthew, Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you, &c. The riotous ſon, Luke 15. ſaith, I will ariſe and go to my Father, and I will ſay to him; Father, I have ſinned againſt heaven, and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy ſon, &c. Pſalm 31. I ſaid I will knowledge mine offences, and accuſe my ſelf unto the Lord, and ſo thou forgaveſt me the wickedneſſe of my ſinne, &c. Job 13. But I will reprove mine own wayes in his ſight: He ſhall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him. Syrach 34. ſaith: Who can be cleanſed of the unclean? And there was but one of the ten Lepers that were cleanſed, that came to Chriſt to give him thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I muſt reconcile my ſelf to my neighbour: And if I be a notorious ſinner, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the Miniſter of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen perſon, not for a day, or 40 dayes, but unto ſuch time as I do openly in the congregation knowledge my fault, then the Miniſter hath power by the word to preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſins in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, as it is written in the 13 of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and Mat. 18. Other confeſſion I know none.

Math. 11.

Luke 15.

Pſal. 31.

Iob 13.

Syrach 34.

Remiſſion of ſinnes to be ſought only at the hands of Chriſt.

To this ſixth article, I the ſaid John Denley have anſwered in the fifth.

To this ſeventh article I anſwer, that as touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which is the Chriſtening of children, it is altered and changed; for S. John uſed nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Chriſt required to be baptized of him, and others alſo which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matth. 3. Mark 1. Luke 3. And Acts 8. the Chamberlain ſaid; See here is water, what letteth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he ſaid, Here is water. We do not reade that he asked for any cream, nor oyl, not for ſpettle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wrae, nor yet croyſome, nor ſalt, for it ſeemeth that Philip had preached no ſuch things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore. Alſo Act. 10. Then anſwered Peter, Can any man forbid water that theſe ſhould not be baptized? &c. Acts 16. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: and he took them the ſame hour of the night, and waſhed their wounds, and ſo was he baptized, and all they of his houſhold ſtraightway. Where ye ſee nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like alſo is to be ſaid of the reſt of the ceremonies of your Church.

Acts 10.

Acts 16.

The Rainbow as good a ſacrament as ſome of the Popiſh ſacraments.

To the eigth article I anſwer ſhortly, that there be Sacraments no more but two; Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, except ye will make the Rain-bow a Sacrament: for there is no Sacrament but hath a promiſe annexed unto it.

To the ninth article I do anſwer you, that ye have my minde written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and alſo ye know my minde in the fourth article, plainly expreſſed concerning the bodily preſence: For Chriſts body is in heaven, and will not be contained in ſo ſmall a piece of bread. And as the words which Chriſt ſpake are true indeed, ſo muſt they alſo be underſtood by other of the Scriptures which Chriſt ſpake himſelf, and alſo the Apoſtles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

By me, Iohn Denley.

The firſt day of the moneth of July, the ſaid three priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory in Pauls Church, where he proceeded againſt them after the uſuall form and manner of law, reading firſt their confeſſions, articles, and anſwers, and then tempting them, ſometime with fair promiſes, otherwhiles with threatnings, which were alwayes his chiefeſt arguments and reaſons to perſwade withall. In the end, ſeeing their unmoveable conſtancy, upon the fift of July he condemned them as hereticks, and gave them unto the Sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them untill they were commanded by Writ to ſend them to their ſeverall places of ſuffering; which was for Maſter Denley, Uxbridge: where the eighth day of Auguſt he was burned. And being ſet in the fire with the burning flame about him, he ſung in it a Pſalm.

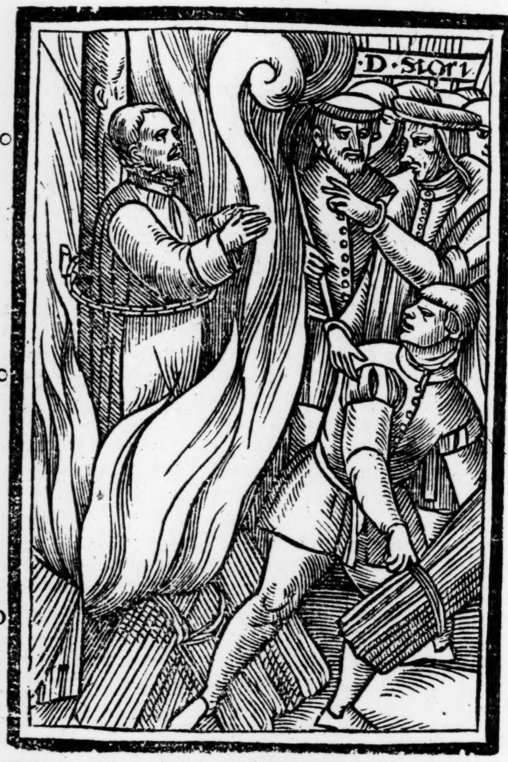
The ungentle dealing of D. Storie againſt M. Denley.

Then cruell Doctor Storie being there preſent, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his ſinging, and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth Doctor Storie to him that hurled the faggot, thou haſt mard a good old ſong.

The ſaid John Denley being yet ſtill in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and ſung again, yeelding at the laſt his ſpirit into the hands of God through his Son Jeſus Chriſt.

After the Martyrdom of Maſter Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8 of Auguſt, ſuffered alſo not long after Patricke Packingham at the ſame town of Uxbridge, about the 28 of the

The Martyrdom of Maſter John Denley.



The Martyrdom of M. Denley, with a aggot caſt in his face, at Uxbridge. Anno 555. Auguſt 8.

ſaid moneth. This Packingham was charged of Boner (as ye heard in the tenth article before) for his behaviour ſhewed in the Biſhops Chappell; who at the Maſſe time there ſtanding, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a hainous offence. The ſaid Packingham alſo being much laboured by Boner to recant, proteſted in theſe words to the Biſhop, that the Church which he beleeved was no Catholike Church, but was the church of Sathan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

The Martyrdom of Patrick Packingham at Uxbridge, Anno 1555. Aug. 28.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, Pewterer, dwelling at Maidſtone in Kent, he was burned the laſt of Auguſt, at Saffron Walden in the county of Eſſex, whoſe examination and confeſſion of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and perſecuted, hereunder followeth.

The martyrdom of John Newman at Saffron Walden, An. 1555. Aug. 31.

The examination of Iohn Newman, Martyr.

The copy of Jo. Newmans words in writing to Doctor Thornton.

John Newman firſt was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidſtone, and there was examined before Doctor Thornetoṇ Suffragan, and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with Maſter Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before ſtoried. But becauſe his examination and anſwers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather than they ſhould utterly be ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwer was by writing to the ſaid Suffragan, after his apprehenſion, you ſhall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

IT may pleaſe you to underſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of King Edwards raigne, we were diligently inſtructed with continuall ſermons, made by ſuch men, whoſe faith, wiſdom, learning, and vertuous living, was commended unto all men under the Kings hand and ſeal, and under the hands of the whole Councell. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſwading us by the allegations of Gods word, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation, nor corporall preſence in the ſacrament. Their doctrine was not beleeved of us ſuddenly, but by their continuall preaching, and alſo by our continuall prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it: and if it were not true, that we might never beleeve it. We weighed that they laboured with Gods word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we finde that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learne, that the Kings Grace and his Councell, and the moſt part of the whole Realme beleeved as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrarie. Alſo wee know that the Preachers were commanded by the King and laws of the Realm, to preach unto us ſuch doctrine, as was to the authoritie of Gods word agreeable, and no other, and by their diligent ſetting forth of it by the Kings commandment, and the whole conſent of the whole Councell, and by the authoritie of the Parliament, we imbraced it, and received it as a verie infallible truth, taught unto us for the ſpace of ſeven yeers. Wherefore, untill ſuch time as our conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by Gods word, we cannot with ſafeguard of our conſciences take it, as many ſuppoſe at this time. And wee truſt in God, that the Queenes mercifull Highneſſe, neither yet her moſt honourable counſell will in a matter of faith uſe compulſion nor violence, becauſe faith is the gift of God, and commeth not of man, neither of mans laws, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch time as God giveth it.

The examination and anſwers of Iohn Newman, Martyr, before Doctor Thornton, and others.

The examination and anſwers of Iohn Newman.

FIrſt, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon or Faucet, or ſome other, whoſe name Iohn Newman doth not expreſſe, beginneth, asking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay you to this? This is my body which is given for you.

Newman. It is a figurative ſpeech, one thing ſpoken, and another meant, as Chriſt ſaith; I am a vine, I am a door, I am a ſtone, &c. Is he therefore a materiall ſtone, a vine, or a door?

Doct. This is no figurative ſpeech. For he ſaith; This is my body which is given for you, and ſo ſaith he not of the ſtone, vine, or doore; but that is a figurative ſpeech.

This cup is the new Teſtament, is a figurative ſpeech.

New. Chriſt ſaith, This Cup is the new Teſtament in my Blood: If ye will have it ſo meant, then let them take and eat the cup.

Doct. Nay, that is not ſo meant; for it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among our ſelves: We ſay to our friend drink a cup of drink, and yet we meant he ſhould drink the drink in the cup.

New. Why if ye will have the one ſo underſtood, ye muſt ſo underſtand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common uſe of ſpeech, to ſay drink a cup of Ale or Beer. And therefore it is no figurative ſpeech.

What is a figurative ſpeech?

New. The often uſing of a thing doth not make that thing otherwiſe than it is; but whereſoever one thing is ſpoken, and another meant, it is a figurative ſpeech.

Doct. Well, we will not ſtand hereabout. How ſay ye by the reall preſence? Is not Chriſts naturall body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not ſo beleeve, neither can I ſo beleeve; for the ſoul of men doth not feed upon naturall things as the body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the ſoul of man doth feed as the Angels in heaven, whoſe feeding is onely the pleaſure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and ſo the ſoul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the Body of Chriſt.

Collins reaſoneth with Newman.

Collins. Yea, but if the body do not feed upon naturall things, the ſoul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body muſt needs feed upon naturall things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true; but yet the ſoul doth live otherwiſe than the body which doth periſh: therefore naturall things do but feed the body onely. I pray you what did Iudas receive at the Supper?

Col. Marry, Iudas did receive the very body of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

New. Why? was the devill entred into him before? Then he had not the devill and Chriſt in him at one time.

Whether Iudas received the body of Chriſt, or no?

Col. Nay, the devill did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before too: what do ye think? Had he but one devill: Nay I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end.

Col. Well, put caſe it be ſo: what ſay you to that?

New. Marry, if Chriſt and the devill were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Col. We grant that they were both in Iudas at that time: for Chriſt may be where the devill is, if he will; but the devill cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſt will not be in an unclean perſon that hath the devill.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with Io. Newman.

Thornton. Why? will ye not beleeve that Chriſt was in hell? and ye will grant that the devill is there; and ſo might he be in Iudas, if it pleaſed him.

New. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, which ſought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much leſſe he will ſuffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

Thorn. Yes, ſeeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will. And doth not the Pſalm ſay; He is in hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places.

Thorn. No, do you not beleeve that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do beleeve that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

The Omnipotency of Chriſt doth not prove him to be really in the Sacrament.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing unpoſſible for him to do.

New. I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a lyer, he cannot deny himſelf, nor can he reſtore virginity once violated and defiled.

Thorn. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile virginity; we ſpeak but of things that God doth.

New. Why, will ye have the humanity of Chriſt in all places as the deity is?

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places as the deity is, if it pleaſe him.

Abſurdity of the Popes doctrine.

New. I will promiſe you that ſeemeth to me a very great hereſie, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye ſay, that whereſoever the deity is, there is alſo the humanity, and ſo ye will make him no body, but a fantaſticall body, and not a body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places as the deity is; but if it pleaſe him he may be in all places with the deity.

The humanity of Chriſt may not be in all places.

New. I promiſe you, that ſeemeth to me as great an hereſie as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very man, and that were againſt all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not beleeve that Chriſt came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Do you beleeve that Chriſt roſe from death, and came thorow the ſtone?

New, I do beleeve that Chriſt roſe from death; but I do not beleeve that he came thorow the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſay.

Note the groſſe ignorance of this Suffragan.

Thorn. Lo, how ſay you, he doth not beleeve that Chriſt came through the ſtone; and if he doth not beleeve this, how ſhall he beleeve the other? If he could beleeve this, it were eaſie for him to beleeve the other.

New. The Scripture doth not ſay he went thorow the ſtone, but it ſaith the Angel of God came down, and rolled away the ſtone, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. A fool, fool, that was becauſe the women ſhould ſee that he was riſen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well, let us not ſtand any longer about this. Back again to the reall preſence. How ſay ye, is the Body of Chriſt really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have anſwered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not beleeve that he is there really.

New. No, I beleeve it not.

Thorn. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſwaded by a further truth.

Thorn. Nay, ye will not be perſwaded, but ſtand to your own opinion.

New. Nay, I ſtand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witneſſe, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſſe with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witneſſe, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that that I do, is onely my conſcience, and if there be a further truth than I ſee, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And ſeeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man elſe: therefore I truſt ye will bear the more with me, ſeeing it muſt be wrought by God, and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receive it with all my heart, and imbrace it.

Thornton had many other queſtions which I did not bear away; but as I do underſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for taunts, fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gifts, and God increaſe in us ſtrength.

The arguments of Iohn Newman.

Argument in the ſecond figure.

If the Body of Chriſt were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then whoſoever received the Sacrament, received alſo the body.

The wicked receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the Body of Chriſt is not really in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the fleſh, and drink the Blood of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.

meſ- The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.

tres. Ergo, the wicked eat not the Fleſh, nor drink the Blood of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, Iohn 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit.

meſ- The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodneſſe.

tres. Ergo, they have not Chriſts Body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Argument in the third figure

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.

ti- Remembrance of Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament, Do this in remembrance of me, &c.

ſi. Ergo, Chriſts Body there is imported to be abſent.

Marry they will ſay, we ſee him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of Bread and wine, and that we ſee is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them ſhew me a quality or an accident without a ſubſtance, and I will beleeve them. And thus much concerning Newmans examinations and arguments.

The faith of Iohn Newman, dwelling at Maidſtone in Kent, who was by occupation a Pewterer.

The Lord is the Protector of my life. The juſt ſhall live by faith, and if he withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him. Abac.1. Heb,10.

My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things viſible and inviſible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and ſet him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gave to Adam his commandements and precepts, and ſaid, Whenſoever thou doſt the thing which I forbid, thou ſhalt ſurely die the death; yet did man for all this diſobey God his Creator, and after his ſinne, he fled from God, hid himſelf, and was in a miſerable deſperate caſe. But God ſeeing man in his miſerable eſtate, becauſe he and all his poſterity ſhould not continue in death, promiſed Adam that the womans ſeed ſhould break the Serpents head, whereby is meant, that the Sonne of God ſhould become man, and deſtroy the devill, which by his ſubtile perſwaſions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of Gods promiſe, and became the ſervant of righteouſneſſe, through the faith which he had in the promiſe of the womans ſeed. So did Abel, Seth, Henoch, and Noah, with faithfull Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and the reſt of the faithfull untill Chriſts time, as St. Paul ſaith; They did eat all of one ſpirituall meat, and did all drink of one ſpirituall drink. They did drink of that ſpirituall rock that followed them, which rock was Chriſt that ſaveth us. And when the time was full come, God ſent his Sonne, made of a woman, that is, he took fleſh of the Virgin Mary, and became man; not the ſhadow of a man, nor a fantaſticall man, as ſome falſly feign, but a very naturall man in all points, ſinne onely excepted, which God and

Gen.1.2. Gen.3. 1 Cor.10. Gal 4.

man

Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11. Heb. 10. Acts. 1. Acts 3. Mat. 24. Coloſſ. 3.

man is Chriſt the promiſed womans ſeed. This Chriſt was here converſant among men for the ſpace of 30 yeers and more, and then the time was come that he ſhould go to his Father, he gave unto us the myſtery of our Redemption, that we through faith ſhould eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith to the end of the world. After this, Chriſt offered up his body on the Croſſe to pacifie his Father, and to deliver us from the thraldom of the devill, in the which we were through ſin originall and actuall. And with that one ſacrifice of his body, once offered on the Croſſe, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are ſanctified. He deſcended into hell, the third day he roſe again from death, and was converſant at certain times with his Diſciples for the ſpace of 40 dayes after he roſe from death. Then in the ſight of all his Diſciples he aſcended into heaven: and as his Diſciples ſtood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men ſtood by them in white apparell, which alſo ſaid; Ye men of Galile, why ſtand ye gazing up into heaven? This ſame Jeſus which is taken up from you into heaven, ſhall ſo come even as ye have ſeen him go into heaven. Saint Peter alſo ſaith, that the heavens muſt receive him, untill the time that all things which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his Prophets ſince the world began, be reſtored again, which is the latter day, when he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do believe in the holy Ghoſt, which is the ſpirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which holy ſpirit is one God with them. I believe that there is an holy Church, which is the company of the faithfull and elect people of God, diſperſed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy Church or Congregation doth not look for Chriſt here, nor Chriſt there, neither in the deſert, nor in the ſecret places whereof Chriſt warneth us, but as S. Paul ſaith, in heaven; where he ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father: they ſet their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Chriſt in God: and when Chriſt, which is their life ſhall ſhew himſelf, then ſhall they alſo appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of Saints, even the fellowſhip of the faithfull people which are diſperſed abroad thorowout all the whole world, and are of one minde: they follow Chriſt their head, they love one another as Chriſt loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Chriſt; which Church or Congregation hath forgiveneſſe of ſins through Chriſt, and ſhall enter without ſpot before the face of God into his glory. For as Chriſt, being their head, hath entred pure and clean, ſo they entring by him, ſhall be like him in glory. And I am certain and ſure, that all they which do die, ſhall riſe again and receive their bodies. In them ſhall they ſee Chriſt come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead. At whoſe coming all men ſhall appear and give a reckoning of their doings: he ſhall ſeparate the good from the bad, he ſhall ſay to them which are his elect; Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning; but to the other that have alwayes reſiſted his will, he ſhall ſay; Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, which is prepared for the devill and his angels.

Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I deſire God to increaſe in me. Praiſe God for his gifts.

¶ And thus have ye the Martyrdom with the confeſſion of this bleſſed man, and witneſſe of the Lords truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook.

Richard Hook martyred at Chicheſter.

Likewiſe Richard Hook about the ſame ſeaſon, and for the ſame matter gave his life at Chicheſter.

The examinations, anſwers, and condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, William Stere, before the Biſhop of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Six Martyrs in Kent.

Thornton, Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, Rob. Collins, perſecutors.

Mention was made a little before in the ſtory of M. Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentiſh-men, who being the ſame time with them called forth and examined by Thornton Biſhop of Dover, Nich. Harpsfield, Rich. Faucet, and Robert Collins: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the later end of the month of Auguſt; coming therefore now to the time of their ſuffering, we will briefly touch ſome part of their examinations and anſwers, as we finde them in the Regiſters. The names of theſe were William Coker, Wil. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, Wil. Stere. What the articles objected to Maſter Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they anſwered for themſelves ſeverally, in effect as followeth.

Wil. Coker condemned.

First, William Coker ſaid, he would anſwer no otherwiſe than he had already anſwered; and being offered to have longer reſpite of ſix dayes after, he refuſed to take it, and ſo upon the ſame, ſentence of condemnation was read againſt him, the eleventh of July.

Wil. Hopper condemned.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Catholike Church; after calling himſelf better to minde, conſtantly ſticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16 of July.

The words of Hen. Laurence.

Henry Laurence examined the ſaid 16 of July, and partly deferred to the 2 of Auguſt, anſwered to the articles objected againſt him; firſt denying auricular confeſſion, and that he neither had nor would receive the Sacrament, becauſe, ſaith he, the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacrament.

Ex Regiſt. Putting of his cap at the mention of the Sacrament.

Moreover, the ſaid Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament, and did reverence to the ſame: the ſaid Laurence anſwering in theſe words, What ſaid he? ye ſhall not need to put off your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Chriſt was ſo his body, as he ſaid he was a doore.

Further, being oppoſed concerning the verity of the Sacrament given to Chriſts Diſciples, he affirmed, that even as Chriſt gave his very body to his Diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame, ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtill, that the Sacrament of the altar is an Idoll, and no remembrance of Chriſts paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt required to put to his hand in ſubſcribing to his anſwers, he wrote theſe words under the bill of their examinations, Ye are all of Antichriſt, and him ye fol. And here his hand was ſtayed to write any further: belike he would have written out (ſo low) &c. And ſo upon the ſame, ſentence was given againſt him the ſecond of Auguſt.

The ſubſcription of Henry Laurence.

Richard Colliar of Aſhford.

Rich Colliar.

The words of Rich. Colliar. Onely in the ſubſtance he meaneth.

RIchard Colliar above mentioned, having the 16 of Auguſt to appear, examined of the ſacrament of the Popiſh altar, anſwered and ſaid, that he did not believe, that after the conſecration there is the reall and ſubſtantiall Body of Chriſt, but onely bread and wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, &c. Upon this the ſentence was read againſt him, and he condemned the 16 of Auguſt. After his condemnation he ſang a Pſalm. Wherefore the Prieſts and their officers railed at him, ſaying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright.

Rich. Wright.

Rich Wright aſhamed to ſpeak of the ſacrament of the altar.

RIchard Wright the ſame place and day, being the 16 of Auguſt, appearing, and required of the Judge what he beleeved of the reall preſence in the ſacrament, anſwered again, that as touching the ſacrament of the Altar and the Maſſe, he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was uſed in the Church. Againſt whom the ſentence was alſo read the day and place aforeſaid.

William Stere.

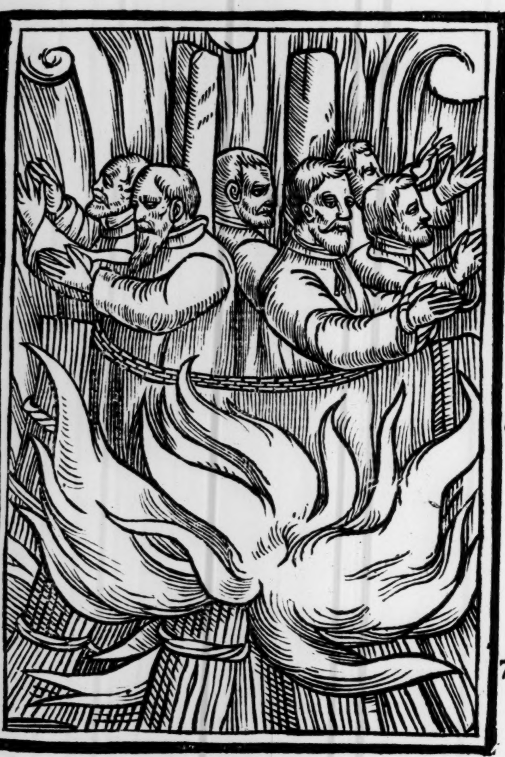
William Stere, Martyr

Dick of Dover, ſo they tearmed then Richard Thornton Biſhop of Dover.

He meaneth D. Cranmer impriſoned at Oxford.

WIlliam Stere of the foreſaid Pariſh of Aſhford, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appear the ſaid 16 day of Auguſt, where he in the ſaid Chapterhouſe of Canterbury, being required to make anſwer to the poſitions laid unto him by the Judge, made anſwer again, that he ſhould command his dogge, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to ſit againſt him in judgement, and asked where his authority was? Who then ſhewed him certain Buls and Writings from Rome, as he ſaid. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſaid Dick ſaid alſo he had authority from the Queen. Then the Martyr alleadging that the Biſhop of Canterbury (who then was in priſon) was his Dioceſan, urged him to ſhew his authority from the Archbiſhop, or elſe he denied his authority to be ſufficient. And as touching the ſacrament of the altar, he found it not (he ſaid) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not anſwer thereunto.

The burning of ſix godly Martyrs in one fire.



The Martyrdom of 6 Martyrs, M. Coker W. Hopper, Hen Laurence Rich. Colliar. Rich. Wright. Wil. Stere, at Canterbury, An. 1555. Aug.

Sentence againſt William Stere.

And moreover, the Judge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he ſaid, That he needed not to reverence that matter ſo highly. And thus (ſaying to the Judge, that he was a bloody man, &c.) the ſentence was pronounced againſt him; after which ſentence being read, he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was the moſt blaſphemous Idoll that ever was, &c.

And thus theſe ſix heavenly Martyrs and Witneſſe-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of Canterbury, Maſter Collins, and Maſter Faucet, were burned all together in the ſame town of Canterbury, at three ſtakes and one fire, about the later end of Auguſt.

The copy of their ſentence condemnatory, you may finde above in the ſtory of John Rogers; for the Papiſts in all their condemnations follow one manner of ſentence of courſe commonly againſt all that be condemned through their unmercifull tyranny.

The perſecution of ten Martyrs together, ſent by certain of the Councell to Boner to be examined.

Ten Martyrs ſent up together to Biſhop Boner.

Apoc. 22.

Saints of the Popes making.

AFter the burniug of theſe ſix above named, next followeth the perſecution of ten other true Servants and Saints of the Lord, not ſuch ſaints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in Legenda Sanctorum, or in Vitis Patrum, or in the fabulous book De vita Sanctorum Wallenſium, &c. but ſuch as are ſpoken of in the holy Apocalyps, of whom it is written, Hij ſunt qui ſequutur Agnum quocunque ierit, quique lavarunt ſtolas ſuas in ſanguine Agni, i. Theſe be they that follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth, and which have waſhed their ſtoles in the blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus theſe Saints be not of the Popes making, or rather, to ſay the trueh, they are of the Popes making; of the Popes making (I ſay) in this reſpect, not that the Saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the Saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: ſo, as by afflictions of Sathan Jobs patience was proved, by Pharaoh Gods power declared, and by Salinator Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth) for except he had loſt it before, M. Fabius could not have recovered it, ſo in like manner, unleſſe by Antichriſt good men had been deſtroyed, otherwiſe they had not been true Martyrs of Chriſt. The names of theſe were,

Ten Martyrs ſent by the Commiſſioners.

Elizabeth Warne,	William Hale,
George Tankerfield,	Thomas Leyes,
Robert Smith,	George King,
Stephen Harwood,	Iohn Wade,
Thomas Fuſt,	Ioan Laſhford.

The priſons of London beginning now to be repleniſhed with Gods Saints, and ſtill moe and moe coming in, the Councell and Commiſſioners, thinking to make ready diſpatch with the poor priſoners, cauſed theſe ten above named, to be ſent with their letter directed to Boner Biſhop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Biſhop of London, Doctor Boner.

The Letter of the Commiſſioners to Biſhop Boner.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here Iohn Wade, Wil.

Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Eſſex; Thomas Fuſt Hoſier, Robert Smith Painter, Stephen Harwood Brewer, George Tankerfield Cook, Elizabeth Warne, Ioan Layſhford of London, ſacramentaries; all which we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, and to order according to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes: praying your Lordſhip to appoint ſome of your officers to receive them at this bearers hand. And thus moſt heartily fare your Lordſhip well. From London this ſecond of Iuly.

Your Lordſhips loving friends,

The names of the Commiſſioners.

Nich Hare. Rich. Rede.
Will. Roper. Will. Cooke.

The Hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne Widow, burnt at Stratford Bowe.

Elizabeth Warne, martyr.

NOw ſeverally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe ten Martyrs aforenamed: firſt we will begin with the hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne, who in this moneth of Auguſt was burnt at Stratford Bowe, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of Iohn Warne Upholſter, and Martyr, who alſo was burned in the end of the moneth of May laſt paſt, as before in his ſtorie is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongſt others, the firſt day of Ianuarie, in a houſe in Bowe Churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was carried to the Counter (as is alſo above ſpecified) where ſhe lay as priſoner untill the 11. day of Iune. At which time ſhe was brought into Newgate, and remained there in like caſe unto the ſecond day of Iuly. Then ſhe was ſent by the King and Queens Commiſſioners unto Boner Biſhop of London, who the ſixth day of the ſame moneth cauſed her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his Palace, and there examined her upon ſundry articles, ſuch as of common order be miniſtred unto the poore Saints and Martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample proceſſes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

Eliza. Warne brought to examination.

The chiefeſt objection that he uſed either towards her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touching the reall and corporall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, as the chiefeſt ground and profitableſt foundation for their Catholike dignitie. Many other matters he objected againſt them, as for not coming to the Church, for ſpeaking againſt the Maſſe, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and new found ſacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toyes, not worthy any mentioning.

The words of Eliza. Warne at her examination.

In the end, when ſhe had beene divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhe ſayd; Do what ye will. For if Chriſt were in an errour, then am I in an errour. Upon which anſwer, ſhe was the 12. day of the ſame moneth of Iuly adjudged and condemned as an heretick, and ſo delivered unto the ſecular power, as they terme it, to be by them (yet at the Clergies appointment) put to death, which thing was accompliſhed in her the ſame moneth abovementioned.

A ſtory of Doc. Story written upon the report of D. Martins own words.

D. Story perſecuteth his kinſfolks.

The chiefe procurer of this her death was Doctor Story, being (as it is thought) of ſome alliance either to her the ſayd Elizabeth, or elſe to her late husband. Who, though he was at the firſt apprehenſion of his ſayd kinſwoman, a very earneſt ſuter for her deliverance to Doctor Martin, then one of the King and Queens Commiſſioners in matters of religion (himſelf being as yet not made Commiſſioner) and had by his ſute obtained her deliverance for that preſent, as Doctor Martin himſelfe (the author hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, upon what occaſion God onely knoweth, except upon ſome burning charity, the ſaid D. Storie obtaining now the room of one of the Commiſſioners, cauſed not onely the ſaid Iohn Warn, but alſo his wife, and afterwards his daughter to be again apprehended, never leaving them untill he had brought them all to aſhes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholike, and white childe of the mother Church, that neither kindred nor any other conſideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his requeſt) with others, who in reſpect of him were but ſtrangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or elſe rid his poor Church from ſuch an Hydra, as thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

George Tankerfield, a faithfull Martyr and Witneſſe of the Goſpel, conſtantly ſuffering for the teſtimony of the ſame.

The ſtory of George Tankerfield, Martyr.

GEorge Tankerfield of London, Cook, born in the City of York, about the age of 27. or 28 yeers, was in King Edwards dayes a very Papiſt, till the time Queen Mary came in, and then, perceiving the great cruelty uſed of the Popes ſide, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doings, and began (as he ſaid) in his heart to abhorre them. And as concerning the Maſſe, whereof he had but a doubtfull opinion before, and much ſtriving with himſelf in that caſe; at length he fell to prayer, deſiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thorowly perſwaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhorre it; which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to deteſt and abhorre the ſame: and ſo he was moved to read the Teſtament, whereby (as is ſaid) the Lord lightned his minde with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to beleeve the ſame, and utterly to deteſt all Papiſtry, and ſo he came no more to their doings: And not onely that, but alſo this lively faith, ſaid he, kindled ſuch a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter it ſelf by confeſſion thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewiſe to convert and turn to the truth with him, and thus he began to be ſmelled out among them, till at the laſt he was ſent for, as followeth.

Tankerfield prayeth to God to know whether the Maſſe be good, or no.

Tankerfield how he was firſt called to the knowledge of the Goſpel.

The order and manner how Tankerfield was firſt apprehended by Beard.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike him with ſickneſſe, whereby he lay long ſick; and on a certain day to take the ayr abroad, he roſe up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to ſee the ſhooters. In the mean ſeaſon came Beard home to his houſe, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came onely to have him to come and dreſſe a banquet at the Lord Pagets. The wife, becauſe of his apparell (which was very brave) took him to be ſome honeſt Gentleman, and with all ſpeed prepared her ſelf to fetch her husband, having a good hope he ſhould now earn ſome money: and leſt this Gentleman ſhould be noyed with tarrying, ſhe fetcht him a cuſhion to ſet him ſoft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and ſet bread thereon, and came to her husband. Who when he heard it, ſaid; A banquet woman? Indeed it is ſuch a banquet as will not be very pleaſant to the fleſh; but Gods will be done. And when he came home he ſaw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall woman would play Peters part, and inſtead of a ſword, took a ſpit, and had runne him thorow, had not the Conſtable, which Beard had ſent for by his man, come in withall, who reſcued him; yet ſhe ſent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And ſo

A falſe Iudas part of Beard.

Beard and Simon Ponder troublers of Gods Saints. Sir Roger Chomley, Doctor Martin.

Tankerfield was delivered to the Conſtable, and brought to Newgate about the laſt day of February, Anno 1555. by the ſayd Beard Yeoman of the Guard, and Simon Ponder Pewterer, Conſtable of Saint Dunſtons in the Weſt, ſent in by Roger Chomley Knight, and by Doctor Martin.

Tankerfield thus being brought to priſon by his adverſaries, at length with the other above named was brought to his examination before Boner. Who, after his accuſtomed manner, ordered his articles and poſitions unto him; the copie and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may reade above expreſſed.

Articles ordinary.

To theſe articles, as above rehearſed, he anſwered againe, conſtantly declaring his minde both touching auricular confeſſion, and alſo the ſacrament of the Popiſh Altar, and likewiſe of the Maſſe, &c. Firſt, that he was not confeſſed to any Prieſt five yeeres paſt, nor to any other but only to God: and farther, denying that he would hereafter be confeſſed to any Prieſt, for that he found it not in Chriſts booke, and tooke it only to be a counſell.

Auricular confeſsion.

And concerning the ſacrament, commonly called here in England of the Altar, he confeſſed that he neither had nor did beleeve, that in the ſayd ſacrament there is the reall body and bloud of Chriſt, becauſe that the bodie is aſcended into heaven, and there doth ſit at the right hand of God the Father.

Sacrament of the altar.

And moreover he ſayd, that the Maſſe now uſed in the Church of England was naught, and full of Idolatry and abomination, and againſt the word of God; affirming alſo, that there are but two ſacraments in the Church of Chriſt, Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, &c. And to theſe aſſertions, he ſayd, he would ſtand: and ſo he did to the end.

The Maſſe abominable.

Two ſacraments.

And when at laſt the Biſhop began to reade the ſentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his profeſſed opinion (which they called damnable and hereticall) he notwithſtanding reſiſted all contrary perſwaſions, anſwering the Biſhop again in this forme of words; I will not, ſayd he, forſake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can refell them by Scriptures; and I care not for your Divinitie: for you condemne all men, and prove nothing againſt them. And after many faire words of exhortation, which Boner then uſed (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he anſwered boldly againe, ſaying moreover; That the Church, whereof the Pope is ſupreme head, is no part of Chriſts Catholike Church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the Biſhop, ſpake to the people, ſaying; Good people beware of him, and ſuch as he is, for theſe be the people that deceive you, &c.

The words of Tankerfield to Boner.

The words of Tankerfield at his condemnation.

Tankerfield giveth the people warning of Boner.

Theſe with other words moe he ſpake; whereupon the Biſhop, reading the ſentence of his Popiſh condemnation, gave him to the ſecular power.

Tankerfield condemned.

And ſo this bleſſed ſervant of God was had to St. Albons, and there with much patience and conſtancy ended his life, the 26. day of Auguſt, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victorie.

The martyrdome of George Tankerfield at S. Albons an. 1555. Aug. 26.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to ſuffer martyrdome at Saint Albons.

IN primis, he was brought unto St. Albons by the high Sheriffe of Hertfordſhire, Maſter Edward Brocket Eſquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under Sheriffe.

Item, their Inne was the croſſe-keyes, whereas there was great concourſe of people to ſee and hear the priſoner: among the which multitude ſome were ſorry to ſee ſo godly a man brought to be burned, others praiſed God for his conſtancie and perſeverance in the truth. Contrariwiſe, ſome there were which ſayd, it was pitie he did ſtand in ſuch opinions: and others, both old women and men cried againſt him; one called him Heretick, and ſayd it was pitie that he lived. But George Tankerfield did ſpeak unto them ſo effectually out of the word of God, in lamenting of their ignorance, and proteſting unto them his unſpotted conſcience, that God did mollifie their hardned hearts, inſomuch that ſome of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

Item, there came unto him a certain Schoolemaſter (which retained unto ſir Thomas Pope Knight) this man had certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming toward St. Albons, as touching their ſacrament of the altar, and other points of Papiſticall religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the Doctors, wreſting them after his own will; ſo on the other ſide Tankerfield anſwered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wreſted after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jeſus, &c. So that as he would not allow ſuch allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the Doctors; ſo again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirme it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in ſuch matters, for his conſcience was eſtabliſhed, &c. and ſo he departed from him, wiſhing him well, and proteſting that he meant him no more hurt than his own ſoule.

Item, when the houre drew on apace that he ſhould ſuffer, he deſired the wine-drawer, that he might have a pinte of Malmſey and a loafe, that he might eate and drink that in remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, becauſe he could not have it miniſtred unto him by others in ſuch manner as Chriſt commanded, and then he kneeled down, making his confeſſion unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after that he had prayed earneſtly unto the Lord, and had read the inſtitution of the holy Supper by the Lord Jeſus out of the Evangeliſts, and out of St. Paul, he ſayd; O Lord, thou knoweſt it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of thoſe which are thy Miniſters, but only becauſe I cannot have it miniſtred according to thy word, &c. and when he had ſpoken theſe and ſuch like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when ſome of his friends willed him to eat ſome meat, he ſayd he would not eat that which ſhould do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his Hoſte to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had ſo, and then he ſitting on a forme before the fire, put off his ſhooes and hoſe, and ſtretched out his legge to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his legge, ſhewing how the fleſh did perſwade him one way, and the ſpirit another way. The fleſh ſayd, O thou foole, wilt thou burn and needeſt not? The ſpirit ſayd, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in reſpect of fire eternall. The fleſh ſaid, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The ſpirit ſayd, The company of Jeſus Chriſt and his glorious preſence doth exceed all fleſhly friends. The fleſh ſayd, Do not ſhorten thy time, for thou mayeſt live if thou wilt much longer. The ſpirit ſayd, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which laſteth for ever, &c And all this time the Sheriffes were at a certain Gentlemans houſe at dinner, not far from the Town, whither alſo reſorted Knights and many Gentlemen out of the Countrie, becauſe his ſonne was married that day, and untill they returned from dinner the priſoner was left with his Hoſte to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly intreated of his Hoſte; and conſidering that his time was ſhort, his ſaying was, That although the day was never ſo long, yet at the laſt it ringeth to evening ſong.

Item, about two of the clock, when the Sheriffes were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his Inne unto the place where he ſhould ſuffer, which is called Romeland, being a græen place nigh unto the weſt end of the Abbey Church: unto the which when he was come, he knæled down by the ſtake that was ſet up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he aroſe, and with a joyfull faith he ſayd, that although he had a ſharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyfull ſupper in heaven.

Item, while the Fagots were ſet about him, there came a Prieſt unto him, and perſwaded him to believe on the Sacrament of the Altar, and he ſhould be ſaved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and ſaid; I defie the Whore of Babylon, I defie the Whore of Babylon: Fie of that abominable Idol: Good people do not believe him, good people do not believe him. And then the Maior of the Town commanded to ſet fire to the Heretick, and ſayd, If he had but one load of Fagots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain Knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and tooke him by the hand, and ſayd, Good brother, be ſtrong in Chriſt, this he ſpake ſoftly; and Tankerfield ſayd, O ſir, I thanke you, I am ſo, I thanke God. Then fire was ſet unto him, and he deſired the Sheriffe and all the people that they would pray for him; the moſt part did ſo. And ſo imbracing the fire, he bathed himſelf in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jeſus he was quickly out of pain, &c.

After the Martyrdome was ended, and that he was fallen aſlæep in the Lord, there were ſome ſuperſtitious old women who did blaſphemouſly ſay, that the Divell was ſo ſtrong with him and all ſuch Hereticks as he was, that they could not feel any pain almoſt, nor yet be ſorry for their ſinnes.

The Hiſtory and examinations of Robert Smith, conſtantly maintaining the truth of Gods word, and ſuffering for the ſame in the moneth of Auguſt.

Robert Smith of London, Martyr.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the firſt and ſecond yeere of the King and Queen, by John Matthew Yeoman of the Guard of the Queens ſide, by the commandement of the Councell. This Smith firſt gave himſelf unto ſervice in the houſe of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, being then Provoſt of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windſor, having there in the Colledge a Clerkſhip of ten pound a yeere. Of ſtature he was tall and ſlender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the Art of painting, which many times, rather for his minds ſake than for any living or lucre, he did practiſe and exerciſe. In religion he was fervent, after he had once taſted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Maſter Turner of Windſor, and others. Whereupon at the comming of Queen Marie he was deprived of his Clerkſhip by her Viſitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Boner, as here followeth, written and teſtified with his own hand.

Robert Smith active in the Art of painting.

The firſt examination of Robert Smith before Biſhop Boner.

The firſt examination of Robert Smith before biſhop Boner.

About 9. of the clock in the morning, I was among the reſt of my brethren brought to the Biſhops houſe; and I firſt of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the Biſhop ſayd as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Boner. How long is it ago ſince the time that ye were confeſſed to any Prieſt?

Confeſsion not needfull.

Smith. Never ſince I had yæers of diſcretion. For I never ſaw it næedfull, neither commanded of God to come to ſhew my faults to any of that ſinfull number, whom ye call Prieſts.

Boner. Thou ſheweſt thy ſelf even at the firſt chop to be a ranke heretick, which being weary of painting, art entred into Divinity, and ſo fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation into hereſie.

Smith. Although I have underſtanding in the ſayd occupation, yet (I praiſe God) I have had little næed all my life hitherto to live by the ſame, but have lived without the ſame in mine owne houſe as honeſtly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet uſed the ſame better than ever you uſed the Pulpit.

Rejectio criminis ingenioſa & divina.

Boner. How long is it ago ſince ye received the ſacrament of the Altar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

The ſacrament of the altar.

Smith. I never received the ſame ſince I had yæers of diſcretion, nor never will, by Gods grace; neither do eſtæem the ſame in any point, becauſe it hath not Gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other uſage, but rather is ſet up and erected to mock God withall.

Bon. Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, ſubſtantially, and really, after the words of conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before it was none of Gods ordinances, as ye uſe it; then much leſſe to be God, or any part of his ſubſtance, but only bread and wine erected to the uſe aforeſayd: yet neverthelesse, if ye can approve it to be the body that ye ſpake of by the Word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a deteſtable Idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Bon. Then after many raging words and vain objections, he ſayd, there was no remedy but I muſt be burned.

Boners argument to prove the ſacrament.

Smith. Ye ſhall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the ſpirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your ſore is too well ſæen to be healed ſo privily with bloud. For even the very children have all your dæeds in deriſion; ſo that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet ſhall it break out in forty to your ſhame.

Bon. Then after much ado, and many railing ſentences, he ſayd, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earneſt, if thou wilt go and be ſhriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith To which I anſwered; it would be too much to his ſhame to ſhew it to men of diſcretion.

After which anſwer, I was carried down to the garden with my Jayler, and there remained untill my brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up before the ſayd Boner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confeſſion, upon theſe articles following.

Ste. Harwood examined before the biſhop.

Bon. What ſay you to the Catholik Church? Doe ye not confeſſe there is one in earth?

Smith examined by the biſhop.

Smith. Yes verily, I beleeve that there is one Catholike Church, or faithfull congregation, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, is builded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the head corner-ſtone: which Church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the ſame for her authoritie, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by grace made a member.

Where was the viſible Church amongſt the Proteſtants? Where was the viſible Church amongſt the Apoſtles?

Bon. Ye ſhall underſtand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your Church be the ſame, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the ſame?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that when the tyrannie of the Biſhops was ſo great againſt the Church in Jury, they were fain to congregate in houſes and privie places, as they now do; and yet were they neverthleſſe the Church of God: and ſeeing they had their matters redreſſed being ſhut up in a corner, may not we do the like now adaies?

Here he would not anſwer me to the Church of Jury, but flyeth to the Church of the Corint.

Bon. Yea, their Church was known full well. For S. Paul writ to the Corinthians, to have the man puniſhed and excommunicate, that had committed evill with his fathers wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known Church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perſecute it as ye do: but as ye ſay the Church of God at Corinth was manifeſt both to God, and Paul; even ſo is this Church of God in England, whom ye perſecute, both known to God, and alſo even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor converſation; yea, and your ſinfull number have profeſſed their veritie, and maintained the ſame a long ſeaſon.

Bon. Well, thou ſayeſt that the Church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul writ unto them, and ſo will I put in writing, ſhall I?

How Boner layeth ſnares to catch the innocent.

Smith. I do marvell greatly, my Lord, that ye are not aſhamed to lay ſnares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third ſnare you have layd for me. Firſt, to make me confeſſe that the Church of England is not the Church of Chriſt. Secondly, to ſay, it is not known. Thirdly, to ſay the Church of God is not univerſall, but particular: and this is not the office of a Biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your beſt, I ſee, to have intangled him.

Harpſ. Well friend, quoth one of my Lords Chaplains, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Bon. Well, quoth my Lord, laughing; tell me, how ſayeſt thou of the Church?

The Church of Chriſt is not univerſally in one particular place.

Smith. I told you whereupon the true Church is builded, and I affirme in England to be the Congregation of God, and alſo in omnem terram, as it is written; Their ſound is gone forth into all lands, and that this is the afflicted and perſecuted Church, which ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the Congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were preſent at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the Church of GOD as many thouſands moe, which alſo communicate in that holy Spirit.

Bon. What call ye Catholike, and what call you Church?

Smith. Catholike is univerſall, and Church is a Congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like vain talke, it was layd to my charge, that my fellow and I ſpake one thing. Whereof I praiſed God, and was ſent again to a garden. Where after a while as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my Lords Chaplaines, that much deſired to commune with me, demanding firſt if I were a priſoner.

Talk between Robert Smith and the biſhops Chaplaine.

Smith. I am in this fleſh a priſoner, and ſubject to my Maſter and yours; but I hope yet the Lords free man through Chriſt Jeſus.

Doct. I do much deſire to talk with you lovingly, becauſe ye are a man that I much lament, with many other ſweet words.

To which I anſwered; Sub melle latet venenum. And after much ado about his God, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needs enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught. To which he anſwered.

Abſurdity granted by the Catholikes, that the body of Chriſt goeth into the belly, and ſo into the draught.

Doct. What derogation was it to Chriſt, when the Jewes ſpit in his face?

Smith. If the Jewes, being his enemies, did ſpit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deſerved the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Chriſt, ſhall have a moſt plenteous ſalvation.

Compariſon between the Jewes that ſpit in Chriſts face, and Papiſts which let fall him into the draught.

Doct. Then ſtart he away, and would have his humanitie incomprehenſible, making a compariſon between our ſoul and the body of Chriſt, bringing in to ſerve his turn, which way Chriſt came in among his Diſciples, the doores being ſhut?

Note this Catholike doctrine, which reſembleth the body of Chriſt, to the incomprehenſible ſoul of man.

Smith. Although it be ſaid, that when he came the doores were ſhut, yet have I as much as to prove, that the doores opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the doore. For that mighty GOD that brought the Diſciples out of priſon, which yet when ſearch came, were found ſhut, was able to let Chriſt in at the doore, although it were ſhut: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe; for they ſaw him, heard him, and felt him, and ſo can we not ſay ye do, neither is he in more then in one place at once. At which anſwer when he had made many ſcoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lords hall, where we were baited of my Lords band, almoſt all the day, untill our Keeper ſeeing their miſorder, ſhut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue to condemne Maſter Denly and John Newman.

The queſtion is not what Chriſt is able to do in the ſacrament, but what he doth therein.

Then brought they up my Lord Maior to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I firſt of all was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to ſup. Where my Lord Maior being ſet with the Biſhop and one of the Sheriffes, wine was walking on every ſide: I ſtanding before them as an out-caſt, which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was ſorry for Joſephs hurt. But after my Lord had well drunk, my Articles were ſent for and read, and he demanded whether I ſaid not, as was written?

Robert Smith brought again before the biſhop and the Lord Maior.

Smith. That I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and what I have ſaid, I do mean utterly.

Boner. Well, my Lord Maior, your Lordſhip hath heard ſomewhat, what a ſtout heretick this is, and that his Articles have deſerved death: Yet neverthleſſe forſomuch as they report me to ſeek bloud, and call me bloudy Boner, whereas God knoweth, I never ſought any mans bloud in all my life, I have ſtayed him from the Conſiſtory this day, whither I might have brought him juſtly: and yet here before your Lordſhip I deſire him to turn, and I will with all ſpeed diſpatch him out of trouble; and this I profeſſe before your Lordſhip and all this audience.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelf of bloudineſſe.

Smith. Why, my Lord, do ye put on this faire viſor before my Lord Maior, to make him beleeve that ye ſeek not my bloud, to cloak your murthers through my ſtoutneſſe, as ye call it?

B. Boner proved to be cruell and bloudy.

Have yee not had my brother Tomkins before you, whoſe hand when you had burned moſt cruelly, ye burnt alſo his body, and not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Chriſt, men that feared God, and lived vertuouſly, and alſo the Queens Majeſties moſt true Subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifeſt? and ſeeing in theſe Saints yee have ſhewed ſo little mercy, ſhall it ſeem to my Lord and this audience, that yee ſhew me more favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean as ye ſay, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to anſwer you unto?

By this queſtion it may appear whether the Biſhop ſought bloud or no.

The Papiſts dead god, having body without bloud.

Boner. Well, what ſaiſt thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? is it not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

Smith. I have anſwered, that it is none of Gods order, neither any Sacrament, but mans own vain invention, and ſhewed him the Lords inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his Hoc eſt corpus meum, to lay in my diſh, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead God, declaring the deſtinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without bloud hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himſelf much offended, and took the tale out of my Lords mouth ſaying,

Harpſ. I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: for it is given in two parts, becauſe there is two things ſhewed, that is to ſay, his body and his paſſion, as ſaith Saint Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the repreſentation of his death and bloudſhedding.

Smith. Yee falſifie the Word, and rack it to ſerve your purpoſe. For the wine was not onely the ſhewing of his paſſion, but the bread alſo: for our Saviour ſaith, So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me. And Saint Paul ſaith, So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come. And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other.

Even as the bread is the body, ſo is the cup the bloud.

Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup muſt be his bloud, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his bloud in the bread. Then up roſe my Lord, and went to the table, where my Lord Maior deſired me to ſave my ſoule. To whom I anſwered, I hope it was ſaved through Chriſt Jeſus, deſiring him to have pitty on his own ſoule, and remember whoſe ſword he carried.

Robert Smith commanded of Boner into Limbo.

At which I was carried into the garden, and there abode untill the reſt of my friends were examined, and ſo were we ſent away with many foule farewels to Newgate again, my Lord Biſhop giving the Keeper a charge to lay me in Limbo.

Another examination of Robert Smith before the ſaid Biſhop.

Another examination of R. Smith.

Boner beginneth with an untruth.

Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth.

Bon. Thou Robert Smith, &c. ſaiſt that there is no Catholike Church here on earth.

Smith. Ye have heard me both ſpeak the contrary, and ye have written it as a witneſſe of the ſame.

Bon. Yea, but I muſt aske thee this queſtion: how ſaiſt thou?

The Church.

Smith. Muſt ye of neceſſity begin with a lie? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to end with the ſame. But there ſhall no liers enter into the Kingdome of God. Neverthеleſſe, if ye will be anſwered, ask mine Articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I have confeſſed a Church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one Church, and one mans members, even Chriſt Jeſus.

Bon. Well, what ſaiſt thou to auricular confeſsion? is it not neceſſary to be uſed in Chriſts Church, and wilt thou not be ſhriven of the Prieſt?

Auricular confeſsion is but a pick-purſe matter.

Smith. It is not needfull to be uſed in Chriſts Church, as I anſwered yeſterday. But if it be needfull for your Church, it is to pick mens purſes. And ſuch pick purſe matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain.

Boner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confeſsion is a pick-purſe matter? Art thou not aſhamed ſo to ſay?

The inconveniences of auricular confeſsion.

Smith. I ſpeak by experience. For I have both heard and ſeen the fruits of the ſame. For firſt it hath been, we ſee, a bewrayer of Kings ſecrets, and the ſecrets of other mens conſciences; who being delivered, and glad to be diſcharged of their ſinnes, have given to Prieſts great ſummes of money to abſolve them, and ſing Maſſes for their ſoules health.

A falſe practice of a Prieſt under confeſſion.

And for enſample, I began to bring in a Pageant, that by report was played at Saint Thomas of Acres, and where I was ſometime a childe waiting on a Gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conſcience through the perſwaſion of the Prieſt, gave away a great ſumme of his goods, and forgave unto Maſter Greſham a great ſumme of money, and to another as much. The Prieſt had for his part a ſumme, and the houſe had an annuity to keep him, the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the Councell, how by the ſubtilty of Prieſt he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds of Maſter Greſham and his other friend; but what he gave to the houſe, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord ſaw it ſavored not to his purpoſe, he began to revile me, and ſaid; By the Maſſe, if the Queens Majeſty were of his minde, I ſhould not come to talke before any man, but ſhould be put into a ſack, and a dog tied unto the ſame, and ſo ſhould be thrown into the water.

Smith. To which I anſwered again, ſaying; I know you ſpeak by practice, as much as by ſpeculation: for both you and your predeceſſors have ſought all meanes poſsible to kill Chriſt ſecretly; record of Maſter Hunne, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and ſaid the ſame Hunne to have hanged himſelf: and alſo a good brother of yours, a Biſhop of your profeſſion, having in his priſon an innocent man, whom becauſe he ſaw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be ſnarled, and his fleſh to be torne and plucked away with a paire of pinſers, and bringing him before the people, ſaid, the Rattes had eaten him. Thus according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oathes open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Example of terrible cruelty ſhewed upon a poore innocent.

Boner. Ah, ye are a generation of lyers; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouthes.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, I have ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt is dead for my ſins, and riſen for my juſtification, and this is no lye.

Boner. Then made he his man to put in my tale of the Gentleman of Northfolke, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not

Sir John Mordant Knight.

not do, he made his man to put in ſuch ſummes as he imagined. At the end of this commeth in Maſter Mordant Knight, and ſate down to hear my examination. Then ſayd my Lord, how ſaiſt thou Smith to the ſeven Sacraments? Beleeveſt thou not that they be Gods order, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of &c.

2. Sacraments

Smith. I believe that in Gods Church are but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of regeneration, and the ſacrament of the Lords Supper: and as for the ſacrament of the altar, and all your ſacraments, they may well ſerve your church, but Gods Church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to anſwer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Boner. Why, is Gods order changed in baptiſme? In what point do we diſſent from the word of God?

Baptiſme in what points it is abuſed by the Catholicks.

Smith. Firſt, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the ſame; in baptizing children with annointing and ſpitting in their mouthes, mingled with ſalt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in Gods order.

Boner. By the Maſſe this is the moſt unſhamefaſte heretick that ever I heard ſpeak.

Smith. Well ſworn my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner. Well, M. Controller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

Mordant. By my troth, my Lord, quoth Maſter Mordant, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you my Lord, marke well his anſwer for baptiſme. He diſalloweth therein holy oyntment, ſalt, and ſuch other laudable ceremonies, which no chriſtian man will deny.

Smith. That is a ſhamefull blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, ſo to uſe any mingle mangle in baptizing yong infants.

Boner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

Smith Ye ſhall never be ſaved by that beliefe. But I pray you my Lord, ſhew me, are we ſaved by water, or by Chriſt?

Boner. By both.

This was ſpoken more to confound the opinion of water, than to let children to have water.

Smith. Then the water dyed for our ſins; and ſo muſt ye ſay, that the water hath life, and it being our ſervant, and created for us, is our Saviour: this (my Lord) is a good doctrine, is it not?

Boner. Why, how underſtandeſt thou the Scriptures? Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God.

And again, Suffer (ſaith our Saviour) theſe children to come unto me: and if thou wilt not ſuffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou letteſt them to come unto Chriſt.

Smith. Where ye alledge Saint John, Except a man, &c. and will thereby prove the water to ſave, and ſo the deed or worke to ſave and put away ſins, I will ſend you to Saint Paul, which asketh of the Galathians, Whether they received the Spirit by the deedes of the Law, or by the preaching of Faith? and there concludeth, that the holy Ghoſt accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entreth into the heart. So now if baptiſme preach to me the waſhing in Chriſts bloud, ſo doth the holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is unto me as a Preacher, and not a Saviour. And where ye ſay, I let the children to come unto Chriſt, it is manifeſt by our Saviours words, that ye let them to come, that will not ſuffer them to come to him without the neceſſitie of water. For he ſaith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water, and therefore if ye condemne them, ye condemne both the merits and words of Chriſt. For our Saviour ſaith, Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. And ſo brought I out many other enſamples, to make manifeſt, that Chriſt hath cleanſed originall ſin, bringing in enſamples out of Scriptures for the ſame.

The water of baptiſme a Preacher and not a Saviour.

Boner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect, and then put away water.

The element of water in baptiſme, bringeth not the holy Ghoſt.

The holy Ghoſt received of ſome before Baptiſme.

Smith. It is not (ſaith Saint Peter) the waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth unto God. And to prove that water onely bringeth not the holy Ghoſt, it is written in the 8 of the Acts, that Simon received water, but would have received the holy Ghoſt for money. Alſo that the holy Ghoſt hath come before Baptiſme; it is written that John had the holy Ghoſt in his mothers womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the Queen of Candaces ſervant, with many others, received the holy Ghoſt before Baptiſme. Yea, and although your generation have ſet at naught the Word of God, and like ſwine turned his Words upſide down, yet muſt his Church keep the ſame in that order which he left them, which his Church dare not break; and to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

Mord. By our Lady ſir, but I believe that if my childe die without water, he is damned.

Boner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all Catholike men, good Maſter Mordant.

Smith. Well, my Lord, ſuch Catholike, ſuch ſalvation.

Boner. Well ſir, what ſay your to the ſacrament of orders?

The ſacrament of Orders.

Smith. Ye may call it the ſacrament of miſorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your ſhaving, annointing, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch things appointed in Gods book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not ſo disfigure your ſelf as ye do.

Boner ſhaveth himſelfe in anger of Robert Smith.

Boner. Saiſt thou ſo? now by my troth I will go ſhave my ſelf to anger thee withall: and ſo ſent for his Barber, which immediatly came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he ſhaved himſelf, deſiring me before he went, to anſwer to theſe articles.

Holy bread. Holy water. Annointing.

Boner. What ſay you to the holy bread and holy water, to the ſacrament of annointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the Church?

Smith. I ſay, they be bables for fools to play withall, and not for the children of God to exerciſe themſelves in; and therefore they may go among the refuſe. Then went away Maſter Mordant, and my Lord went to ſhaving, leaving there certain Doctors, as he called them, to aſſay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I alſo asked this queſtion, Where were all you in the dayes of King Edward, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeak now?

Talke between R. Smith and the Doctors.

Doct. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on Lions faces again, as ſaith S. John, Ye ſhew your ſelves now as full of malice as ye may be. For ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King Edward ſhould ariſe, ye would then ſay, Down with the Pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his Angels.

Then was I all to reviled, and ſo ſent away, and brought in again to come before theſe men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I diſallowed confeſſion?

Smith. To whom I anſwered, Look in mine articles, and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doct. Your articles confeſſe that you allow not auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not, because the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

Doct. Why, it is written, thou ſhalt not hide thy ſinnes and offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confeſſe them to almighty God.

Doct. Why, ye cannot ſay that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you muſt underſtand the words are ſpoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye have made a good anſwer: then muſt the Prieſt confeſſe himſelf to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and ſecrets no more then he knoweth mine. But if ye confeſſe you to the Prieſt, and not unto God, ye ſhall have the reward that Judas had: for he confeſſed himſelf to the Prieſt, and yet went and hanged himſelf by and by; and ſo as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are ſaid to hide them.

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

Doct. What did they that came to John to be baptiſed?

Smith. They came and confeſſed their ſins unto almighty God.

Doct. And not unto John?

Smith. If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation.

Confeſsing unto John in the Wilderneſſe, was not to him, but before him to God.

Doct. Why, John was alone in the Wilderneſſe.

Smith. Why, and yet the Scriptures ſay he had many Diſciples, and that many Phariſees and Sadducees came to his baptiſme. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed themſelves to John, as ye ſay, it was to all the Congregation, as Saint Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that reade his Epiſtle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe he had been a tyrant. But as for ear confeſſion, ye never heard it allowed by the Word. For the Prophet David maketh his confeſsion unto God, and ſaith, I will confeſſe my ſinnes unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confeſsion unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manaſſeh, with all the forefathers did even ſo. For the Lord hath ſaid, Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, ſeek, with ſuch like; and this is the Word of God. Now bring ſomewhat of the Word to help your ſelf withall. Then they raged, and called me dog, and ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are dogs, that becauſe holy things are offered, will ſlay your friends. For I may ſay with Saint Paul, I have fought with beaſts in the likeneſſe of men. For here I have been baited theſe two dayes, of my Lord and his great Buls of Baſan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the reſt of his band. With this came my Lord from ſhaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are even as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhaven.

Boner. How ſtandeth it, Maſter Doctors, have ye done any good?

Doct. No, by my troth my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, How can an evill tree bring forth good fruit?

Boner. Nay, naughty fellow, I ſet theſe Gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, ſuch Chriſts; and as truely as they have that name from Chriſt, ſo truly do they teach Chriſt.

Boner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compell me to follow you.

Boner. Well, thou ſhalt be burned at a ſtake in Smithfield if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And ye ſhall burn in hell, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weary, I will ſtrain courteſie with you. I perceive you will not with your Doctors come unto me, and I am not determined to come unto you, by Gods grace. For I have hardened my face againſt you as hard as braſſe. Then after many railing ſentences I was ſent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine anſwers in writing (gentle Reader) being compelled by my friends to do it: that ye may ſee how the Lord hath according to his promiſe given me a mouth and wiſedom to anſwer in his cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my cauſe not heard.

The marvellous boldneſſe of Robert Smith, given him of God againſt Chriſts enemies.

The laſt examination of Robert Smith.

The twelfth of July I was with my brethren brought into the Conſiſtory, and mine articles read before my Lord Major and the Sheriffs, with all the aſſiſtants; to which I anſwered, as followeth.

The laſt examination of R. Smith before B. Boner, with his condemnation in the Conſiſtory.

Boner. By my faith, my Lord Major, I have ſhewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is loſt, both in him and all his company.

Smith. At this word which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, ſaid, My Lord, it is written, Ye muſt not ſwear.

Boner. Ah, maſter controller, are ye come? Loe, my Lord Major, this is Maſter Speaker, pointing to my brother Tankerfield, and this is Maſter Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articles, he perſevered till he came at my tale of the Gentleman of Northfolk, and then demanded of my Lord Major, if he heard of the ſame before. To which he anſwered, no. To whom I anſwered:

Smith. My Lord Major, will it pleaſe you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and I told it, and then ſhall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.

Boner. How ſay you good Maſter Mordant, ſpake he not this that is here, as it is written? were ye not by?

Mord. Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Sir John Mordant came in after this ſtory was told.

Smith. How heard you me ſay it, and were not preſent when I ſpake it? ſhould ſuch a man make a lie? it is manifeſtly proved that the Prophet ſaith; Even as the King ſaith, ſo ſaith the Iudge, that he may do him a pleaſure again. And ſo was brought out my goaler for triall thereof, who there openly profeſſed, that neither Maſter Mordant nor the Doctors before mentioned were preſent when I ſpake it. At which maſter Mordant with bluſhing cheeks, ſaid, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the ſame, which was alſo not true. Then proceeded my Lord with the reſt of mine articles, demanding of me, if I ſaid not as was written. To which I anſwered, No: and turning to my Lord Major, I ſaid, I require you, my Lord Mayor, in Gods behalf, unto whom pertaineth your ſword and juſtice, that I may here before your preſence anſwer to theſe objections that are laid againſt me, and have the probation of the ſame; and if any thing that I have ſaid or will ſay, to be proved (as my L. ſaith) hereſie, I ſhall not onely with all my heart forſake the ſame, and cleave to the truth, but alſo recant whereſoever ye ſhall aſſigne me, and all this audience ſhall be witneſſes to the ſame.

The words of Rob. Smith to the Lord Major.

Major. Why Smith, thou canſt not deny, but this thou ſaidſt.

Smith. Yes my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, becauſe he hath both added to, and diminiſhed from the ſame: But what I have ſpoken, I will never deny.

Major. Why, thou ſpakeſt againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar.

Smith,

Here my brother Tankerfield recited the ſtory of my L. Biſhops Cook.

Smith. I denied it to be any Sacrament, and I do ſtand here to make probation of the ſame; and if my Lord here, or any of his Doctors be able to approve either the name, or uſage of the ſame, I will recant mine errour. Then ſpake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things, which they called hereſie: to the which the Biſhop anſwered.

Bon. By my troth, Maſter Speaker, ye ſhall preach at a ſtake.

Smith. Well ſworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner no Saint.

Boner. Well, Maſter Controller, I am no Saint.

Smith. No, my Lord, nor yet good Biſhop. For a Biſhop ſaith S. Paul, ſhould be faultleſſe, and a dedicate veſſell unto God; and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in judgement, and be a blaſphemer, condemning Innocents?

Bon. Well, Maſter Controller, ye are faultleſſe.

This Maior was Sir John Lion.

Here my brother Tankerfield pulled out of his boſome a Teſtament, requiring judgement by the ſame, but it would not be heard.

Smith. My Lord Maior, I require you in Gods name, that I may have Juſtice. We be here to day a great many of Innocents, that are wrongfully accuſed of hereſie. And I require you, if you will not ſeem to be partiall, let me have no more favor at your hands, then the Apoſtle had at the hands of Feſtus and Agrippa, which being Heathen and Infidels, gave him leave not onely to ſpeak for himſelf, but alſo heard the probation of his cauſe. This require I at your hands, which being a Chriſtian Judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the Heathen have ſuffered: if ye do, then ſhall all this audience, yea, and the heathen ſpeak ſhame of your fact. For a City (ſaith our Saviour) that is builded on a hill cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light. For all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evill hate the light.

This Sheriff was Maſter Woodrofe.

Juſtice required in the Biſhops conſiſtory but could not be had.

Then my Lord Maior hanging down his head, ſaid nothing, but the Biſhop told me, I ſhould preach at a Stake, and ſo the Sheriffe cryed, with the Biſhop, away with me.

Thus came I in before them foure times, deſiring Juſtice, but could have none: and at length my friends requiring with one voyce the ſame, and could not have it, we had ſentence, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man ſeverally given. But before the Biſhop gave me ſentence, he told me in deriſion of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a Gentleman and his Cook. To which I anſwered, My Lord, ye fill the peoples eares with fantaſies and fooliſh tales, and make a laughing matter at bloud; but if ye were a true Biſhop, ye ſhould leave theſe railing ſentences, and ſpeak the words of God.

Boner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow M. Speaker, your companion the Cook, that my Chancellor ſhould here inſtruct him, but he hath here with great diſdain forſaken it. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou have him inſtruct thee, and leade thee in the right way?

A lawfull requeſt not heard

Smith. My Lord, if your Chancellor ſhall do me any good, and take any paines, as ye ſay, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected againſt me, and either prove one of them hereſie, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praiſe God, of his Sermon: for I come to anſwer for my life, and not to hear a Sermon.

Then began the ſentence, In Dei nomine. To which I anſwered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give ſentence of death againſt any man for his conſcience ſake. To the which he made no anſwer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with me. Then I turned me to the Maior, and ſaid, Is it not enough for you my Lord Maior, and ye that are the Sheriffes, that ye have left the ſtraight way of the Lord, but that ye muſt condemn Chriſt cauſeleſſe?

The Biſhops ſentence beginneth with a wrong name. Where find the Catholikes in the Scripture to put any to death for their conſcience ſake?

Boner. Well, Maſter Controller, now ye cannot ſay, but I have offered you fair, to have inſtruction. And now I pray thee, call me bloudy Biſhop, and ſay, I ſeek thy bloud.

Smith. Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhall theſe ſtones cry it out, rather then it ſhall be hidden.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodrofe. Away with him, take him away.

Robert Smith wrongfully condemned by the Biſhop.

The words of Robert Smith again to the Lord Maior.

Smith. Well, good friends, ye have ſeen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have deſired the probation of our cauſe by Gods Book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not heard. Neverthleleſſe my Lord Maior, for as much as here ye have exerciſed Gods ſword cauſeleſſe, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cauſe to Almighty God, that ſhall judge all men according unto right, before whom we ſhall both ſtand without authority; and there will I ſtand in the right, and have true judgement, to your great confuſion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the reſt of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

Thus gentle Reader, as near as I can, I have ſet out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjuſt condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England, requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and ſpirit of boldneſſe; with hope even ſhortly to ſet to my ſeale, at Uxbridge, the eighth of Auguſt, by Gods grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my ſalvation, and your conſolation, I pray you.

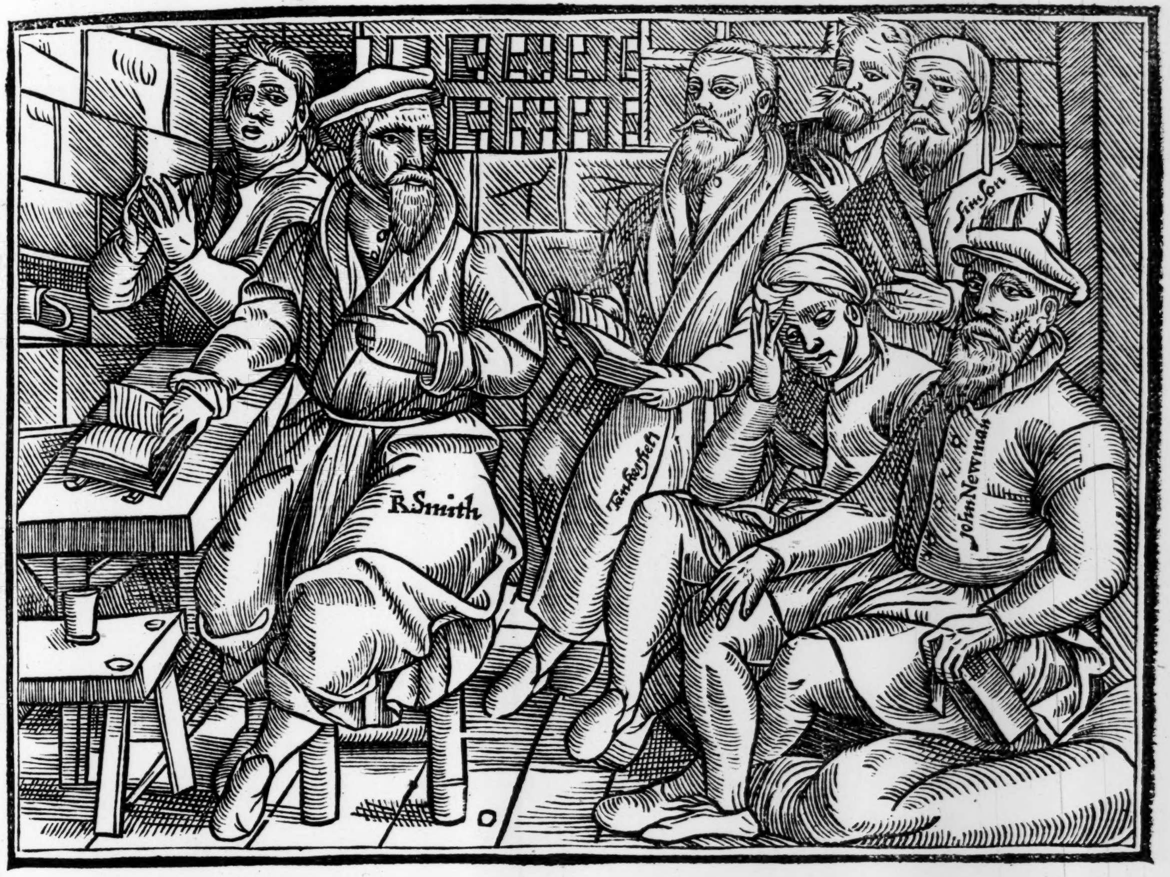
Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus haſt thou (good Reader) not onely to note, but alſo to follow in this man a ſingular example of Chriſtian fortitude, which ſo manfully and valiantly did ſtand in the defence of his Maſters cauſe. And as thou ſeeſt him here boldly ſtand in examination before the Biſhop and Doctors; ſo was he no leſſe comfortable alſo in the priſon among his fellowes. Which alſo is to be obſerved no leſſe in his other priſon fellowes, who being there together caſt in an outward houſe within Newgate, had godly conference, with themſelves, with daily praying, and publike reading, which they to their great comfort uſed in that houſe together; amongſt whom this foreſaid Smith was chief doer. Whoſe induſtry was allwayes ſollicitous, not onely for them of his own company, but alſo his diligence was carefull for other priſoners, whom he ceaſed not to dehort and diſſwade from their old accuſtomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his Religion. Divers letters he wrote there in the priſon to ſundry his friends, partly in metre, partly in proſe. And firſt in metre as followeth.

The godly behaviour of Robert Smith and his fellowes in priſon.

A Picture deſcribing the manner and place of them which were in bonds for the Teſtimony of the truth, conferring among themſelves.



Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, George King, William Halle, Cuthbert Simſon, John Newman.

Queen MARY.

O ye that love the Lord, ſee that ye hate the thing that is evill.

THe God that giveth life and light,
And leadeth into reſt:
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out
The poore that are oppreſt.
And keepeth mercy for the meek,
His treaſure and his ſtore:
Increaſe thy life in perfect love,
Both now and evermore.
That as thou haſt begun to ground
In faith and fervent love:
Thou maiſt be made a mighty mount,
That never may remove.
That thine enſample may be ſhewed
Among all thine encreaſe:
That they may live and learn the like,
And paſſe their time in peace.
Thy ſalutations that were ſent,
I heartily retain:
And ſend thee ſeventy times as much,
To thee and thine again.
And now becauſe I know the goale,
That thou doſt moſt deſire:
I ſend thee here a paper full,
Is fined in the fire:
In hope thou wilt accept it well,
Although it be but ſmall:
Becauſe I have none other good,
To make amends withall.
For all thy free and friendly facts,
Which thy good will hath wrought,
I ſend thee ſurely for a ſhift
The thing that coſt me nought.
Abſtain from all ungodlineſſe,
In dread direct your daies:
Poſſeſſe not ſin in any wiſe,
Beware of wicked wayes.
Hold faſt your faith unfainedly,
Build as you have begun:
And arm your ſelf in perfect faith,
To do as ye have done.
Leſt that the wicked make a mock,
That ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock,
To build upon the ſand.
Beware theſe filthy Phariſees,
Their building is in bloud:
Eat not with them in any wiſe:
Their leaven is not good,
Their ſalt is all unſavoury:
And under good intents
They maintain all their knaverie,
And murder Innocents.
They ſeek to ſit in Chriſts ſeat,
And put him out of place:
And make all means that may be made
His doings to deface.
They keep him down with bils and bats,
That made the blinde to ſee:
They make a god for Miſe and Rats,
And ſay the ſame is hee.
They ſhew like ſheep, and ſweat like Wolves,
Their baits be all for bloud:
They kill and ſlay the ſimple ſouls,
And rob them of their good.
The dark illuſions of the divell
Have dimmed ſo their eyes,
That they cannot abide the truth
To ſtirre in any wiſe.
And if ye keep the perfect path,

Anno 1555.

(As I have hope you do)
Ye ſhall be ſure to have ſuch ſhame,
As they may put you to.
  For, all that leade a godly life,
Shall ſurely ſuffer loſſe :
And eke the world will ſeek their ſhame,
And make them kiſſe the croſſe.
  Ye ſhall be killed all ſaith Chriſt,
Your ſorrowes ſhall not ceaſe :
And yet in your afflictions
I am your perfect peace.
  For in the world ye ſhall have wo,
Becauſe ye are unknown :
And eke becauſe ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.
  Be fervent therefore to the death,
Againſt all their decrees :
And God ſhall ſurely fight for thee
Againſt thine enemies.
  Commit your cauſe unto the Lord,
Revenge not any evill :
And thou ſhalt ſee the wicked want,
When thou ſhalt have thy will.
  For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can ſay or do :
They are not ſure of the wealth,
We ſhall attain unto.
  For I have ſeen the ſinners ſpread
Their branches like a bay :
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were withered clean away.
  Beware that money make ye not
In riches to ariſe
Againſt the goodneſſe of the Lord,
Among the worldly wiſe.
  For many miſchiefes it hath made,
That may not be expreſt :
And many evils it hath begun,
Which may not be redreſt.
  For money maketh many one,
In riches to rebell :
And he that maketh gold a god,
He hath a ſoul to ſell.
  It maketh Kings to kill and ſlay,
And waſte their wits in warre :
In leaving of the Wolfe at home,
To hunt the Foxe afarre.
  And where they ſhould ſee juſtice done,
And ſet their Realm in reſt :
By money they be made a mean
To ſee the poore oppreſt.
  It maketh Lords obey the laws
That they do ill and nought :
It maketh Biſhops ſuck the bloud,
That God hath dearly bought.
  And where they ſhould be faithfull friends
And fathers to the flock :
By money they do turn about,
Even like a weather-cock.
  The Prieſt doth make a mony mean
To have againe his whoors,
To put away his wedded wife,
And children out of doors.
  It holdeth back the Husbandman,
Which may not be forborn :
And will not ſuffer him to ſow,
And caſt abroad his corn.
  In like caſe it doth let again,
When that the ſeed they ſow :
It choketh up the corn again,
So that it cannot grow.
  The husband he would have a wiſe,
With nobles new and old :
The wife would have the husband hang'd,
That ſhe might have his gold.
  It maketh murtherers many a one,
And beareth much with blood :
The child would ſee the parents ſlain,
To ſeiſe upon their good.
  And though it be a bleſſed thing,
Created in the kinde :
It is a neceſſary evill,
Annexed to the minde.
  For whoſo playeth with the pitch,
His fingers are defiled :
And he that maketh gold a god,
Shall ſurely be beguiled.
  Be friendly to the fatherleſſe,
And all that are oppreſt :
Aſſiſt them alwaies out of hand,
And ſee them ſet at reſt.
  In all your doings and your deeds
Let mercie ſtill remain :
For with the meaſure that ye mete,
Shall ye be met again.
  Be alwayes lowly in your life,
Let love enjoy her own :
The higheſt trees are ſeldome ſure,
And ſooneſt overthrown.
  The Lyons lack and ſuffer ſore,
In hunger and in thirſt :
And they that do oppreſſe the poore,
Continue ſtill accurſt.
  The Bee is but a little beaſt
In body or in ſight :
And yet ſhe bringeth more increaſe,
Than either Crow or Kite.
  Therefore beware in any wiſe,
Keep well your watch alway :
Be ſure of oyl within your lamp,
Let not your light decay.
  For death deſpiſeth them that lack,
And hateth them that have :
And treadeth down the rich and poore
Together in the grave.
  Exhort your children to be chaſte,
Rebuke them for their ill :
And let them not at any wiſe
Be wedded to their will.
  Laugh not with them, but keep them low,
Shew them no merrie chear :
Leſt thou do weep with them alſo,
But bring them up in fear.
  And let your light and living ſhine,
That ye be not ſuſpect
To have the ſame within your ſelf,
For which they are correct.
  Be meek and modeſt in a mean
Let all your deeds be done :
That they which are without the Law,
May ſee how right ye run.
  Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your tongue ſee that ye tame :
For out of little ſparks of fire,
Proceedeth out a flame.
  And as the poiſon doth expreſſe
The natures of the Tode :
Even ſo the tongue doth maniſeſt
The heart that feareth God.
  For therewith bleſſe we God above,
And therewith curſe we men :
And thereby murders do ariſe,
Through women now and then.
  And ſeeing God hath given a tongue
And put it under power :
The ſureſt way it is to ſet
A hatch before the door.
  For God hath ſet you in a ſeat,
Of double low degree :
Firſt unto God, and then to man
A ſubject for to be.
  I write not that I ſee in you
Theſe things to be ſuſpect :
But only ſet before your face,
How ſin ſhould be correct.
  For fleſh and bloud I know ye are,

As other women be :
And if ye dwell in fleſh and blood,
There is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly,
That to thy teeth is told :
Accompt the gift of greater price,
Than if he gave thee gold.
A wiſe man ſaith Solomon,
A warning will embrace :
A fool will ſooner (as ſaith he)
Be ſmitten on the face.
And as your members muſt be dead,
From all things that are vain :
Even ſo by baptiſme ye are borne
To live with Chriſt again.
Thus farewell free and faithfull friend :
The Lord that is above
Increaſe in thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large,
Abroad among the briers :
Even ſo I pray thee to prefer
My perſon and my bands,
Vnto the everlaſting God,
That hath me in his hands.
That I may paſſe out of this pond,
Wherein I am oppreſt :
Incloſed in a clod of clay,
That here can have no reſt.
That as he hath begun in me
His mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake,
My brethren that be gone.
That when the death ſhall do his worſt
Where he ſhall point a place,
I may be able like a man
To look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloke,
My bodie into duſt :
Yet am I ſure to have a ſoul,
When death hath done his worſt.
And though I leave a little duſt
Diſſolved without blood :
I ſhall receive it ſafe again,
When God ſhall ſee it good.
For my Redeemer I am ſure
Doth live for evermore,
And ſitteth high upon the heavens,
For whom I hunger ſore.
Even as the Deer with deadly wounds,
Eſcaped from the ſpoyl,
Doth haſte by all the means he may,
To ſeek unto the ſoyl,
Of whom I hope to have a crown,
That alwaies ſhall remain :
And eke enjoy a perfect peace,
For all my wo and pain.
The God that giveth all encreaſe,
And ſeeketh ſtill to ſave,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to have.
And I beſeech the living God,
To hold thee in his hands :
And wiſh thee even with all my heart,
The bleſſing of my bands.
Which I eſteem of higher price,
Than pearle or precious ſtone :
And ſhall endure for evermore,
When earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do conſume
Our treaſure and our ſtore :
Yet ſhall the goodneſſe of the Lord,
Endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him,
That is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends,
When all men ſhall appear.
That hath ſhewed mercy to the meek,
And rid them out of pain.
And thus the Lord poſſeſſe thy ſpirit,
Till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide ſtill in obedience.

The exhortation of Robert Smith, unto his children commonly ſet out in the name of Maſter Rogers.

Give ear my children to my words,
Whom God hath dearly bought : Pro. 5.
Lay up my law within your heart,
And print it in your thought.
For I your father have foreſeen
The frail and filthy way,
Which fleſh and blood would follow fain,
Even to their own decay.
For all and every living beaſt,
Their crib do know full well :
But Adams heirs, above the reſt, Eſay 1.
Are ready to rebell :
And all the creatures on the earth,
Full well can keep their way :
But man above all other beaſts,
Is apt to go aſtray. Sap. 2.
For earth and aſhes is his ſtrength,
His glory and his raign :
And unto aſhes at the length,
Shall he return again.
For fleſh doth flouriſh like a flower, Gen. 3.
And grow up like a graſſe,
And is conſumed in an houre,
As it is brought to paſſe.
In me the image of your years,
Your treaſure and your truſt :
Whom ye do ſee before your face,
Diſſolved into duſt.
For as you ſee your fathers fleſh,
Converted into clay :
Even ſo ſhall ye my children deare,
Conſume and wear away 1 Pet. 3.
The ſun and moon and eke the ſtars
That ſerve the day and night :
The earth and every earthly thing
Shall be conſumed quite.
And all the worſhip that is wrought Sap. 13.
That have been heard or ſeen,
Shall clean conſume and come to nought,
As it had never been.
Therefore that ye may follow me,
Your father and your friend,
And enter into that ſame life, John 7.
Which never ſhall have end.
I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon :
That you may ſee your fathers face,
When I am dead and gone. 1 Cor. 2.
Who for the hope of heavenly things,
While he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years,
In priſon and in pain.
Where I among mine iron bands,
Encloſed in the dark
Not many dayes before my death,
Did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things
Which I have left behinde :
That ye may read and underſtand,
And keep it in your minde.
That as you have been heires of that,
Which once ſhall weare away :
Even ſo ye may poſſeſſe the part,
Which never ſhall decay.

1 Tob.11. In following of your fathers foot,
In truth and eke in love:
That ye may alſo be his heirs,
For evermore above.
And in example to your youth,
To whom I wiſh all good,
I preach you here a perfect faith,
And ſeal it with my blood.
Have God alwayes before your eyes,
In all your whole intents:
John 9. Commit not ſin in any wiſe,
Keep his commandements.
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome,
Apoc.14. And all her blaſphemies:
And drink not of her decretals,
Nor yet of her decrees.
Give honour to your mother dear,
Exod.22. Remember well her pain:
Matth.15. And recompence her in her age,
In like with love again.
Be alwaies aiding at her hand,
And let her not decay:
Remember well your fathers fall,
That ſhould have been her ſtay.
Give of your portion to the poor,
Matth.25. As riches doth ariſe:
And from the needy naked ſoul,
Turn not away your eys.
For he that will not hear the cry
Of ſuch as are in need:
2 Cor.9. Shall cry himſelf and not be heard,
When he would hope to ſpeed.
If God have given you great increaſe,
And bleſſed well your ſtore:
Luke 12. Remember ye are put in truſt,
To miniſter the more.
Beware of foul and filthy luſt,
Let whoredome have no place:
John 2. Keep clean your veſſels in the Lord,
1 Cor.6. That he may you embrace.
Ye are the temples of the Lord,
For ye are dearly bought:
And they that do defile the ſame,
Shall ſurely come to nought.
Poſſeſſe not pride in any caſe,
Build not your neſts too high:
But have alwayes before your face,
That ye be born to dye.
Defraud not him that hired is,
Your labours to ſuſtain:
But give him alwayes out of hand,
His penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men
Matth 7. Againſt you ſhould proceed:
Do ye the ſame again to them,
When they do ſtand in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat:
Heb.13. And feed the fainted feeble ſoul,
Deut.13. With that which ye ſhould eat.
That when your members lacketh meat
And clothing to your back:
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Ask counſell alſo at the wiſe,
Matth.6. Give ear unto the end:
Refuſe not you the ſweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Be thankfull alwaies to the Lord,
Matth.6. With prayer and with praiſe:
Deſire you him in all your deeds,
Eke to direct your waies:
And ſin not like that ſwiniſh ſort,
Whoſe bellies being fed,
Conſume their years upon the earth
From belly unto bed
Pro.4. Seek firſt I ſay the living God:
Set him alwaies before:
And then be ſure that he will bleſſe
Your basket and your ſtore.

Sirac.30. And thus if you direct your daies,
According to this book,
Then ſhall they ſay that ſee your waies;
How like me you do look.
And when you have ſo perfectly,
Tob.2. Upon your fingers ends,
Poſſeſſed all within your book,
Then give it to your friends.
And I beſeech the living God,
Replenish you with grace,
That I may have you in the heavens,
And ſee you face to face.
And though the ſword have cut me off,
Contrary to my kinde,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my minde:
Yet I do hope when that the heavens
Shall vaniſh like a ſcrole:
I ſhall receive your perfect ſhape,
In bodie and in ſoule.
2 Pet.3. And that I may enjoy your love,
And ye enjoy the land,
I do beſeech the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewell my children from the world
Where ye muſt yet remain:
The Lord of hoſts be your defence,
Till we do meet again.
Farewell my love, and loving wife,
My children and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all,
When all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God,
As ye have now begun:
Your courſe I warrant will be ſhort,
Ye have not far to run.
God grant you ſo to end your yeers
As he ſhall think it beſt:
That ye may enter into heaven,
Where I do hope to reſt.

Written at the requeſt of a Ladie in her book.

IF you will walk the way,
That Chriſt hath you aſſign'd:
Then learn this little verſe,
Which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the truth,
Although it bear the blame:
And eke apply your youth,
To ſtick unto the ſame.
That when the age is come,
And death begins to call:
The truth may be your ſtaffe,
To ſtay you up withall.
And though it bring rebuke,
And cauſe you kiſſe the croſſe:
Yet is it a reward,
To all that ſuffer loſſe.
For here we do lay out
The things that be but vain:
But we are ſure to reap
The things that do remain.
For all that ye do loſe,
Is but a ſinfull ſlime,
And like unto a roſe,
That tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Chriſt,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye ſhall poſſeſſe the gold,
That never ſhall decay.
And all your fathers goods
Shalbe your recompence:
If ye confeſſe the word,
With double diligence.

Not onely for to hear
His pure and perfect word:
But alſo to embrace
The fire and eke the ſword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a crook,
Then ſhall ye meet the man,
That writ this in your Book,
In that eternall joy,
That alwayes ſhall remain:
Thus farewell faithfull friend,
Till we do meet again.

Legem pone.

TEach me O Lord to walk thy wayes,
My living to amend:
And I ſhall keep it all my dayes,
Even to my lives end.
Give me a minde to underſtand,
So ſhall I never ſtart:
But I ſhall keep all thy precepts,
Even wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace
In that I have begun:
For all my love and my delight,
Is in thy wayes to run.
Encline my heart unto thy wayes,
Set thou thereon my thought:
And let me not conſume my dayes,
To covet that is naught.
O quicken me in all thy wayes,
The world now to deſpiſe:
And from all fond and fooliſh toyes,
Turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect Word,
Which is to me ſo dear:
Lay up thy Lawes within my heart,
To keep me ſtill in fear.
And rob me of that great rebuke
Which I do fear full ſore:
For all thy judgements and thy law
Endure for evermore.
Behold O Lord in thy precepts,
Is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy wayes,
That I may walk aright.

To his brother.

AS nature doth me binde,
Becauſe thou art my bloud,
According to my kinde
To give me of my good,
That thou mayeſt have in minde
How I have run my race,
Although thou bide behinde
But for a little ſpace.
I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my good,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my bloud.
More worth then all the world,
Or ought that I can note,
Although it be yclad,
In ſuch a ſimple cote.
For when I had obtained
This pearl of ſuch a price,
Then was I ſure I gained
The way for to be wiſe.
It taught me how to fight,
My fleſh for to deſpiſe,
To ſtick unto the light,
And eke to leave the lies.
In ſending out my ſeed
With bonds and bitter teares,
That I might reap with joy
In everlaſting yeers.
And have for all my loſſe
My travaile and my pain,
A thouſand times and more
Of better goods again.
And for becauſe the good
That hath been got and gained,
And that the Lords elect
Hath evermore obtained,
Is cloſed in this book
Which I do give to thee:
Wherein I have my part,
As thou thy ſelf mayſt ſee.
In which I hope thou haſt
A ſtock alſo in ſtore:
And wilt not ceaſe to ſail
Till God have made it more.
I will thee to beware,
Be ſure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it loſe,
Thy part ſhall be in hell.
And here I teſtifie
Before the living God,
That I deteſt to do
The things that are forbod.
And as my judgement is,
My body to be brent,
My heart is ſurely ſet
Therewith to be content.
And ſith it is his will,
To put in me his power,
Vpon his holy hill
To fight againſt this whore,
Full well I am content,
If he allow it ſo,
To ſtand with all my might
The whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing minde,
The death I will outface:
And as I am aſſured,
The battell to embrace.
That they which hear the truth,
How I have paſt the pike,
May ſet aſide their youth,
And learn to do the like.
And though it be my lot, to let her ſuck my bloud,
Yet am I well aſſured, it ſhall do her no good.
For ſhe is ſet to kill the things ſhe thinks accurſt,
And ſhall not have her fill, of bloud untill ſhe burſt.
And when as thou ſhalt ſee, or hear of my deceaſe,
Pray to the living God, that I may paſſe in peace.
And when I am at reſt, and rid out of my pain:
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
And to my wofull wife, and widow deſolate,
Whom I do leave behinde, in ſuch a ſimple ſtate,
And compaſſed with tears, and mournings many one;
Be thou her ſtaying ſtaffe, when I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not expreſſe, the dolors of my minde:
Nor yet my heavineſſe, to leave her here behinde.
But as thou art my bone, my brother and my bloud,
So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.
I took her from the world, and made her like the (croſſe:
But if ſhe hold her own, ſhe ſhal not ſuffer loſſe.
For where ſhe had before, a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire, was ſtrangled at a ſtake,
Now ſhall ſhe have a King, to be her helping hand:
To whom pertain all things, that are within the land.
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C.
That ſhe may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod:
To learn and lead her life, within the fear of God.
And alwayes have in minde, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behinde, a father in my ſtead.
And thou my brother dear, and eke my mothers ſon,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done,
And God ſhall be thy guide, and give thee ſuch increaſe,
That in the flames of fire, thou ſhalt have perfect peace,
Into eternall joy, and paſſe out of all pain:
Where we ſhall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindefull of thy brothers bloud.

To all which love God unfainedly,and intend to leade a godly life according to his Goſpel; and to perſevere in his truth unto the end : grace, and peace from God the Father , and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

This letter is thought of ſome to be M. Hoopers, partly for that in one copy amongſt divers, it is intituled unto him : and alſo by the phraſe and manner of writing, it may be well conjectured ſo to be.

BE not afraid, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at theſe moſt perillous dayes, wherein by the ſufferance of God, the Prince of darkneſſe is broken looſe, and rageth in his members againſt the elect of God with all cruelty, to ſet up again the Kingdom of Antichriſt : againſt whom, ſee that ye be ſtrong in faith to reſiſt his moſt divelliſh doctrine with the pure Goſpel of God, arming your ſelves with patience, to abide whatſoever ſhall be laid to your charge for the truths ſake, knowing that thereunto ye be called, not onely to beleeve in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him. Oh how happy are yee that in the ſight of God are counted worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt ? Quiet therefore your ſelves (O my loving brethren) and rejoyce in him for whom ye ſuffer : for unto you do remain the unſpeakable joyes, which neither the eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wiſe. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the Book of life. And the Prophets do record, that in the ſight of the Lord, precious is the death of his Saints. Watch therefore and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your triall, wherein the waters rage, and the ſtormy windes blow. Now ſhall it appear, whether yee have builded upon the fleeting ſand, or upon the unmoveable rock Chriſt, which is the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets: whereon every houſe that is builded, groweth into an holy Temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the holy Ghoſt. Now approacheth the day of your battell, wherein it is required that ye ſhew your ſelves the valiant Souldiers of Chriſt Jeſus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand faſt againſt all the crafty aſſaults of the Divell. Chriſt is your Captain, and ye be his ſouldiers, whoſe cogniſance is the Croſſe, to the which he willingly humbled himſelf even unto the death, and thereby ſpoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making interceſſion for them that here do remain to ſuffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his myſticall body. It behooveth therefore every one that will be counted his ſcholler, to take up his own Croſſe, and follow him, as ye have him for enſample : and I aſſure you that he being on your ſide, nothing ſhall be able to prevail againſt you. And that he will be with you even to the worlds end, ye have his promiſe in the 28. of Matthew. He will go forth with his hoſt as a conquerer to make a conqueſt. He is the man that ſitteth on the white horſe, crowned with immortality, and ye, brethren, are his fellowſhip whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand as a bow bent after his godly will; he ſhall direct the ſame according to the riches of his glory, into all ſpirituall and heavenly cogitations. He is faithfull, and will not ſuffer you to be further aſſaulted, then he will give you ſtrength to overcome, and in the moſt danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

Apoc. 17.
Pſal. 115.
Matth. 7.
Epheſ. 2.
2 Tim. 2.
Epheſ. 6.
Phil. 2.
Heb. 12.
Coloſ. 1.
1 Pet. 1.
Apoc. 6.
1 Cor. 1.
1 Cor. 10.

Shrink not therefore dear hearts, when ye ſhall be called to anſwer for the hope that is in you : for we have the comforter, even the Spirit of truth which was ſent from the Heavens to teach us: He ſhall ſpeak in us, he ſhall ſtrengthen us : what is he then that ſhall be able to confound us ? Nay, what tyrant is he that now boaſteth himſelf of his ſtrength to do miſchief, whom the Lord ſhall not with the ſame ſpirit, by the mouth of his ſervants, ſtrik down to hell fire ? Yea, ſuddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philiſtimes, by the hands of his ſervant David: Their ſtrength is in ſpear and ſhield, but our help is in the name of the Lord which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and our wall, a ſtrong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He ſhall bring the Councels of the ungodly to nought. He ſhall take them in their own net. He ſhall deſtroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord ſhall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner ſhall they know that there is no counſell againſt the Lord, when their ſecrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be againſt the living God. Work they never ſo craftily, build they never ſo ſtrongly; yet down ſhall their rabble fall, and the builders themſelves ſhall then be ſcattered upon the face of the earth, as accurſed of God. The juſt ſhall ſee this and be glade, and praiſe the name of the Lord, that ſo marvellouſly hath dealt with his ſervants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then ſhall the fearfull ſeed of Cain tremble and quake. Then ſhall the mocking Iſmaelits be caſt out of door. Then ſhall the proud Nembroth ſee his labour loſt. Then ſhall the beaſt of Babylon be troden under foot. Then ſhall the Scribes and Phariſees for madneſſe fret and rage. Then ſhall their painted wiſdome be known, for extreme folly. Then ſhall the bloudy Dragon be void of his prey. Then ſhall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance. Then ſhall they ſcratch their crowns for the fall of their Miſtreſſe harlot, whom they now ſerve for filthy lucre; when no man will buy their wares any more. Then ſhall the Popiſh Prieſthood cry weale away with care, even when the Lord ſhall help his ſervants ; which day is not far off, the day wherein the Kingdom of Antichriſt ſhall have an end, and never riſe any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and ſure hope, cleaving unto the promiſes of God, which in their own time ſhall be fulfilled.

1 Pet. 3.
Luke 13.
Acts 2.
Pſal. 52.
1 Reg. 17.
Pſalm 6.
2 Cor. 6.
Heb. 8.
Pſalm 32.
Pſalm 117.
Pſalm 52.
Pſalm 65.
Gen. 11.
Pſalm 33.
Geneſis 4.
Geneſis 21.
Geneſis 11.
Phil. 3.
Pſalm 2.
1 Cor. 3.
Pſalm 74.
Iob 5.
Apoc. 12.
Apoc. 18.
Pſalm 145.
1 Cor. 6.
1 Cor. 8.
Heb. 9.

Acquit your ſelves like men againſt the enemies of God in all humblenes of mind, be ſtrong in ſpirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Savior Jeſus Chriſt, one only, everlaſting and ſufficient ſacrifice for the remiſſion of ſins, even the precious Body of the Lord Jeſus once offered for all and for ever. Which now ſitteth on the right hand of God, & from thence ſhal he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the laſt day ; and untill that time, occupieth the bleſſed Body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be incloſed in, but onely in the heavens, even in the glorious Majeſty of God, perſonally abiding there in the fleſh, not coming down from thence till the laſt hour. And as he never ceaſeth to be man, ſo doth he never loſe the ſimilitude of man ; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, ſo hath that body there his Higheneſſe, and ſhrinketh not, and his manly ſhape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a naturall man in all conditions, except ſin.

Acts 3.
Heb. 1.
1 Peter 3.
Epheſ. 1.
Epheſ. 2.
Rom. 8.

And what he took of his bleſſed mother, by the working of the holy Ghoſt, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the ſame for any other. He took the ſhape of a man with the ſubſtance of his manhood, in one ſacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the holy Ghoſt, never to be divided aſunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inſeparably. As he will not alter the ſubſtance of his fleſh into the ſubſtance of bread, no more wil he alter the ſhape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater abſurdity againſt the truth, than to think that he would leave the ſhape that he took in the virgins womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and joyn unto the ſame a wa-

Epheſ. 2.

fer cake baken in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, one onely Mediator between God and man, even the man Chriſt Jeſus, he it is that is the propitiation for our ſins. Be bold therefore to confeſſe this moſt pure and Apoſtolicall doctrine: and alſo that all favour, mercy, and forgivenes cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wiſedom, righteouſnes, ſanctification and redemption. All theſe are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Chriſt Jeſus God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; Gifts they are, I ſay, freely given unto us of favour, without our deſert by believing, and not by deſerving. To this do the Law and the Prophets bear witneſſe.

1 Iohn 2.
Coloſſ. 1.
1 Cor. 2.
Epheſ.2.
Abac.2.
Galat.3.
Acts 10.

This Doctrine have all the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt Church witneſſed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the conſciences of all true beleevers ſubſcribed ever ſince the aſcenſion of Chriſt. This witneſſe is not of man, but of God. What better quarrell can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth it ſelf? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readieſt way to life. He that hath the Popes curſe for the truth, is ſure of Chriſts bleſſing. Well then my brethren, what ſhall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun? Nay rather run with the runners that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back, have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and ſo run, that ye may get hold of it. Caſt away all your worldly pelf, and worldly reſpects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, ſenſuall affection, reſpect of perſons, honour, praiſe, ſhame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, poſſeſſions, carnall fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own ſelves; and in reſpect of that heavenly treaſure ye look for, let all theſe be denied, and utterly refuſed of you, ſo that in no condition they doabate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this caſe make no accompt of them, but rather repute them as vile, in compariſon of everlaſting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly ſeed of the Goſpel, where they be ſuffered to grow. They are burdens of the fleſh, which encumber the ſoul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heavenly and immortall treaſure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loſeth that man any thing, which of his carnall father and mother is forſaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his childe and heir in Chriſt? Heavenly for earthly, for mortall immortall, for tranſitory things permanent, is great gains to a Chriſtian conſcience.

Luke 9.
Iohn 14.
Pſal.15.
Epheſ.4.
Coloſſ.5.
Matth.10.
Mark 8.
Phil.3.
Luke 8.14.
Rom.7.
Epheſ.1.
Gal.4.
Phil.3.

Therefore, as I beganne, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not my brethren, miſtruſt not God, be of good comfort, rejoyce in the Lord, hold faſt your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your croſſe, and follow him which is your leadſman, and is gone before. If you ſuffer with him, you ſhall raign with him. What way can you glorifie the Name of your heavenly Father better, than by ſuffering death for his Sons ſake? What a ſpectacle ſhall it be to the world to behold ſo godly a fellowſhip as you ſervants of God, in ſo juſt a quarrell as the Goſpel of Chriſt is, with ſo pure a conſcience, ſo ſtrong a faith, and ſo lively a hope, to offer your ſelves to ſuffer moſt cruell torments at the hands of Gods enemies, and ſo to end your dayes in peace, to receive in the reſurrection of the righteous, life everlaſting?

Heb.6.
1 Cor.2.
Heb.11.

Be ſtrong therefore in your battell. The Lord God is on your ſide, and his truth is your cauſe; and againſt you be none, but the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, as the Serpent and his ſeed, the Dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beaſt, the off-ſpring of the Phariſees, the congregation malignant, the generation of Vipers, Murderers, as their father the devill hath been from the beginning. To conclude, ſuch are they as the Lord God hath alwayes abhorred, and in all ages reſiſted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that ſearcheth the hearts of men, he hath found out them to be crafty, ſubtile, full of poyſon, proud, diſdainfull, ſtiffenecked, devourers, raveners, and barkers againſt the truth, filthy and ſhameleſſe: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy Prophets and Apoſtles, call them by the names of Foxes, Serpents Cockatrices, Lions, Leopards, Buls, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, Swine, Beaſts, teaching us thereby to underſtand, that their naturall inclination is, to deceive, poiſon, and deſtroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithfull and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm ſhall defend his little flock againſt the whole rabblement of theſe worldlings, which have conſpired againſt him: he hath numbred all the hairs of his childrens head, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his fatherly will. He keepeth the ſparrows, much more will he preſerve them whom he hath purchaſed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the Name of God ſhall be glorified in his Saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them maligne, let them blaſpheme, let them curſe, ban, betray, whip, ſcourge, hang, and burn: for by theſe means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by theſe fruits, ſhall they alſo bring themſelves to be known what they be, for all their ſheeps ſkins. For as he that in ſuffering patiently for the Goſpel of God, is thereby known to be of Chriſt; even ſo likewiſe is the perſecutor of him known to be a member of Antichriſt. Beſides this, their extreme cruelty ſhall be a mean the ſooner to provoke God to take pity upon his ſervants, and to deſtroy them that ſo tyrannouſly entreat his people; as we may learn by the hiſtories, as well in the bondage of Iſrael under Pharaoh in Egypt, as alſo in the miſerable captivity of Judah in Babylon: Where, when the people of God were in moſt extreme thraldome, then did the Lord ſtretch forth his mighty power to deliver his ſervants. Though God for a time ſuffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet ſhall they not ſcape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the ſtumps, then will he caſt them into the fire; this ſhall be their finall reward. Our duty is the mean while patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the beſt.

Phil.3.
Matth.3.
Iohn.8.
Pſal.34.
Heb.4.
Iude 1.
Pſal.76.
Matth.20.
Luke 21.
Matth.10.
1 Pet.2.
Matth.10.
Sapien.3.
Pſal.7.
Exod.13.
Eſd.3.13.
2 Macch.7.
Iacob.4.
1 Pet.5.
Apoc.9.
Heb.12.
Iacob.2.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our triall, partly alſo for our ſins, which we moſt grievouſly have committed to the great ſlander of his Goſpel, whereby the Name of God was evill ſpoken of among his enemies; for the which he now puniſheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. By this means ſeeketh he his ſheep that were loſt, to bring them hom to the fold again. By this way ſeeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in all holines and righteouſneſſe before him. Finally, this way uſeth his godly wiſedom, to make us thereby to know him, and our ſelves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praiſed be his name therefore. And as for thoſe Balaamites which now moleſt us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let theſe belly-gods prate. For he is in heaven, and ſleepeth not, that keepeth Iſrael. He is in heaven that made the Seas calm, when the Diſciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us.

2 Cor.12.
Eſdras 3.
Rom.1.
1 Cor.11.
Luke 15.
Epheſ.4.
Oſe 13.
Rom.12.
Phil.2.
Luke 8.
Mark 4.

Pſal.8. Pſal.4. Ieremy 12. Ieremy 18.

Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and mercifull. When we are in trouble he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorifie us. If we come unto him, we ſhall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedneſſe done againſt him, then ſhall he take away the plague that he hath deviſed againſt us.

Matth.12.

Let us therefore earneſtly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us ſtudie to be his, then ſhall we not need to fear what theſe hypocrites do againſt us, which with their pretenſed holineſſe deceive the hearts of the ſimple, and abuſe the authoritie of God in his Princes, causing them (by their procurement) to teſtifie their ambitious Prelacie, and to erect up their Idol again with the Romiſh Maſſe. God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings, open the heart of the Queens Highneſſe to eſpy them out what they be, and ſo to weed them out, that they no longer be ſuffered to trouble the Congregation of God, and to poyſon the Realm with Pope-holy Doctrine. God almighty for his Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake deliver the Queens Highneſſe and this her Church and Realm, from theſe proud Prelates, which are as profitable in the Church of Chriſt as a Polecat in the middeſt of a warren of Conies.

Iob.12. Pro.15 21. Pſal.24.30.

To conclude my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to eſtabliſh you in all truth. His ſpirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindfull of your duties towards him, whoſe ye are both body and ſoule. Whom ſee that ye love, ſerve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conſcience before God. Diſſemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay they that diſſemble with him, deceive themſelves. Such ſhall the Lord deny, and caſt out at the laſt day: ſuch, I ſay, as bear two faces in one hood, ſuch as play on both hands; ſuch as deny the known truth; ſuch as obſtinately rebell againſt him. All ſuch with their partakers ſhall the Lord deſtroy. God defend you from all ſuch, and make you perfect unto the end. Your ſorrow ſhall be turned into joy.

Mark 6. Matth.10. Apoc.5. Iohn 16.

Another letter ſent to his Wife.

THe God and Father eternall, which brought again from death our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, keep thee dear wife now and ever, Amen, and all thy Parents and friends. I praiſe God for his mercy, I am in the ſame ſtate that ye left me in, rather better than worſe, looking dayly for the living God, before whom I hunger full ſore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I truſt thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God moſt hearty thanks therefore, deſiring thee of all loves to ſtand in that faith which thou haſt received, and let no man take away the ſeed that Almighty God hath ſown in thee, but lay hands of everlaſting life which ſhall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends ſhall periſh, deſiring them alſo to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentany and light, and as S. Paul ſaith, not worthie of the things which ſhall be ſhewed on us; that we patiently carrying our croſſe, may attain to the place where our Saviour Chriſt is gone before, to the which I beſeech God of his mercy bring us ſpeedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the perſwaſions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I truſt) finde a mean for you if you be not alreadie provided, deſiring you in any caſe to abide ſuch order, as thoſe my friends ſhall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I ſpake at our departing, that as God hath found us, and alſo elected us worthy to ſuffer with him; we may endeavour our ſelves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, deſiring you to preſent my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in eſpeciall to your Parents, keeping your matter cloſe in any wiſe. Give moſt hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cauſe is come to Windſore. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultleſſe in all things. Beware abominations. Keep you clean from ſin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have ſent you a piece of gold for a token, and moſt entirely deſire you to ſend me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jeſus preſerve you and yours, Amen. From Newgate the 15. of Aprill.

By your husband here and in heaven, Robert Smith.

The martyrdome and comfortable death of Rob. Smith at Urbridge, An. 555. Aug. 8.

This foreſayd Robert Smith the valiant and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, thus repleniſhed, as ye have heard with the fortitude of Gods ſpirit, was condemned at London by Boner their Biſhop, the 12. day of July, and ſuffered at Urbridge the 8. day of Auguſt, who as he had been a comfortable inſtrument of God before to all them that were in priſon with him: ſo now alſo being at the ſtake, he did no leſſe comfort the people, there ſtanding about him, willing them to think well of his cauſe, and not to doubt but that his bodie dying in that quarrell, ſhould riſe again to life. And ſayd he, I doubt not but that God will ſhew you ſome token thereof. At length he being well-nigh half burnt and all black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lump like a blacke cole, all men thinking him for dead, ſuddenly roſe upright before the people, lifting up the ſtumps of his arms, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a rejoycing heart unto them; and ſo bending down again, and hanging over the fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortall life.

A token of comfort and reſurrection given by R Smith at his martyrdome.

Letters.

A Sententious letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his wife.

A letter of R. Smith to his wife, full of ghoſtly inſtruction.

SEeke firſt to love God, deare wife, with your whole heart, and then ſhall it be eaſie to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and eſpecially to your own ſoule.

Be alwaies an enemy to the divel and the world, but ſpecially to your own fleſh.

In hearing of good things joyn the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietnes with all men, but ſpecially with your conſcience; for he will not eaſily be intreated.

Love all men, but ſpecially your enemies.

Hate the ſins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be good to the enemie.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath cleanſed, leſt his blood be layd to your charge.

A double hedge to the tongue.

Remember that GOD hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might ſpeak under correction.

Caſt out the mote in thine own eye firſt.

Be ready at all times to look to your brothers eie, but eſpecially in your own eie. For he that warneth other of that he himſelfe is faulty, doth give his neighbor the cleer wine, and keepeth the dregs for himſelfe.

Covet not to be rich.

Beware of riches and worldly honor: for without underſtanding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare, and alſo poverty, all which are like to conſuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warme him, but if he take too much, it will conſume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his boſome, and not be burnt.

Bleſſed be the mercifull.

Shew mercy unto the Saints for Chriſts ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the Saints ſake. Among all other priſoners viſit your own ſoule: for it is incloſed in a perillous priſon.

If you will love God, hate evill, and ye ſhall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfainedly. I beſeech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am aſſured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then ſhall I not fail but receive you together in the everlaſting Kingdome of God, which I go unto.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forſake not Chriſt for any pain.

Another letter ſent to his wife Anne Smith.

Another letter of Rob. Smith to his Wife.

The grace of Almighty God be alwayes with you and comfort, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you in all things, that what his bleſſed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own ſalvation, and the good enſample to our poſterity.

Commendation of Peter the Keeper.

I have received your Letter, and I praiſe God, without any danger: neverthéleſſe, if Gods marvellous goodneſſe had not brought it to my hands by Peter the Keeper, there might have riſen a great trouble upon the ſame. For will ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the Councell ſure had ſeen it. But Peter like an honeſt man never opened it. Wherefore I deſire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chauncery-lanes end to my ſiſter Tankerfield, and ſhe may deliver them ſafe into my hand. We are very ſtraitly kept, I praiſe God of his mercy. Neverthéleſſe Almighty God is alwayes with us. I have ſent you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegs that ſhould have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I ſend now, and deſire them to accept them as a poore priſoners gift, untill God give more largely. Thomas Iveſon ſendeth you a peny, I pray you give him thankes for the ſame, and Dirick alſo. I have ſent you of that little that I have two peeces of Spaniſh money. The Lord Ieſus have you in his cuſtody, and ſend you good ſpeed. In any caſe keep your ſelf cloſe, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and deſire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer, pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his ſword and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer ſhall bring up the Epiſtle and exhortation I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almoſt done nothing elſe. I would have ſent him the Articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the priſon. The holy Ghoſt keep you. I would ye could make a meanes, for your money, to ſend a cheeſe to Peter, for I finde much kindneſſe at his hands. Ye ſhall alwayes hear of me at Tankerfields houſe. All the congregation ſalute you. Fare you moſt heartily well.

I have not yet (tell my brother) ſpoken with the perſon. There hath come ſo ſtrait a commandement, that no man might come to us, becauſe Tooly curſed the Pope at the gallowes. They thought it to be our counſell.

Yours, and ever yours,
Robert Smith.

Another letter ſent to his wife.

Another letter of Rob. Smith to his Wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you dear Wife, now and ever, Amen: and prevent your wayes through his holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works pleaſe God, and eſchew evill, to his honour and your ſalvation, that they which ſee your converſation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter ſhame and confuſion of the wicked and ungodly, Amen.

Behold here the communion of Saints.

I ſent you by Maſter Alexander a purſe with money. I have certain tokens for you, ſent by my priſon fellows to you, that is, from M. Haukes 12.d. from Maſter Simſon 12.d. from his Wife 4.d. from Maſter Wats five new groats, from M. Ardeley 12.d. from Maſter Bradford 12.d. which men be all gone to death, except Maſter Bradford, he abideth ſtill. There is alſo gone to death Nicholas Chamberlaine, Thom. Oſmund, William Bamford. There is alſo condemned this Munday Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, Iohn Launder, and William Vaſſy is repreeved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my Brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Munday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have ſent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and deſire them for Gods ſake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in minde. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be diſhonoured in your converſation, but like a good Matron, keep your veſſell in holineſſe. The peace of God reſt with you for ever, Amen.

My brother Iveſon ſendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. Iohn Launder ſendeth you a peece of Spaniſh money. Father Herault a peece of ſixe pence. W. Androwes ſendeth you a raſe of Ginger, and I ſend your mother one, and a Nutmeg. I ſend Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have ſent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

A letter ſent to his friend.

Another letter of Rob. Smith to a friend of his.

The eternall God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Chriſt, that ye may be found faultleſſe in the day of the Lord. I have heard ſay, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not onely to hear that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth other, that it is unhurtfull to go to all abomination, which now ſtand in the Idols temples: Neverthéleſſe, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow ſinners; for they have no inheritance with God and Chriſt. But look, that by going into the Idoll temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowſhip with darkneſſe. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to Church were without perſecution, they would not learn you that leſſon. But all things that is ſweet to the fleſh, is allowed of the fleſhly. The Lord ſhall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity, and he that by the fleſhly man is led in the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption. The Lord Ieſus give thee his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have ſent thee an Epiſtle in metre, which is not to be laid up in my coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and inſue it. Feare God, love God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength.

Thy friend and all mens in Chriſt Ieſus, Robert Smith.

Scribled in much haſte from N. the twelfth of May.

Robert Smith to all faithfull ſervants of Chriſt, exhorting them to be ſtrong under perſecution.

Content thy ſelf with patience,
With Chriſt to bear the croſſe of pain:
Which can and will thee recompence,
A thouſand fold with joyes again.
Let nothing cauſe thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy ſail,
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attain,
Vnto the port that ſhall remain
For evermore.

The burning of Stephen Harwood, and Thomas Fuſt, martyred for the teſtimony of the Goſpel.

Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, Martyrs.

ABout this time dyed alſo by cruell fire theſe two Martyrs of God, that is to ſay, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fuſt at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in ſundry places; ſo were they alſo examined and openly condemned together with them. Their proceſſe, becauſe it was joyned all in one with the proceſſe of Robert Smith, and other of the ſame company above mentioned, I thought it ſuperfluous again to repeate the ſame; ſave that of Thomas Fuſt this is to be added, that whereas he in his laſt appearing the 12. of July, was moved by the Biſhop to revoke his opinion, thus he anſwered; No (ſaid he) my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye finde any annointing or greaſing in Gods Book? I ſpeak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I ſpeak. This anſwer of him onely I finde noted by the Regiſter; although how ſlenderly theſe Regiſters have dealt in uttering ſuch matters, that is, in omitting thoſe things which moſt worthy were to be known, by their doings it is eaſie to be ſeen. But to be ſhort, after their anſwers made, both he and Thomas Fuſt were for their faithfull perſeverance condemned together by the Biſhop in his accuſtomed pity, as Heretickes to be burned, and ſo (as before ye have heard) finiſhed they their martyrdome, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the moneth of Auguſt and yeer aboveſaid.

The anſwer of Thomas Fuſt to Biſhop Boner.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Stephen Harwood, and Thomas Fuſt, Anno 1555. Auguſt.

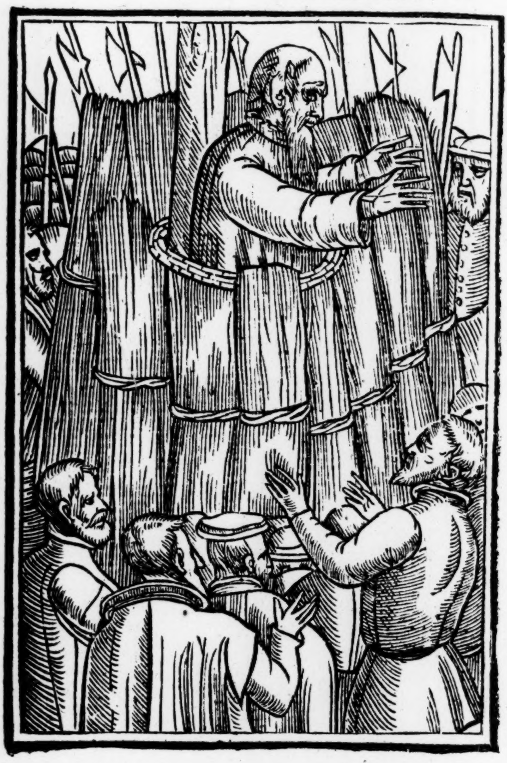
The conſtant Martyrdome of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

William Hale Martyr.

OF the ſame company of theſe ten above recorded, which were ſent up to Biſhop Boner, by Sir Nicholas Hare and other Commiſſioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was alſo William Hale of Thorpe in the County of Eſſex, who likewiſe being examined with the reſt, the 12. of July, received with them alſo the ſentence of condemnation. Giving this exhortation withall to the lookers on: Ah good people, ſaid he, beware of this Idolater, and this Antichriſt, pointing unto the Biſhop of London, and ſo was he delivered to the Sheriffs as an Heretick to be burned, who ſent him to Barnet, where about the later end of Auguſt he moſt conſtantly ſealed up his faith with the conſuming of his body by cruell fire, yeilding his ſoul unto the Lord Jeſus his onely and moſt ſure Redeemer.

Hales words to the people. Ex Regiſt.

The Martyrdome of William Hale.



The Martyrdome of Wil. Hale at Barnet, about the end of Auguſt, An. 1555.

George King, Thomas Leyes, Iohn Wade, ſickned in priſon, and were buried in the fields.

Three Martyrs ſickned in priſon, and buried in the fields.

YE heard before of ten ſundry perſons ſent out of Newgate by Maſter Hare and other Commiſſioners, to be examined of Boner Biſhop of London. Of whom ſix already have been executed in ſeverall places, as hath been ſhewed; whoſe names were Elizabeth Warn, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade ſickning in Lollards Tower, were ſo weak that they were removed into ſundry houſes within the City of London, and there departed, and caſt out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithfull brethren, when none in the day durſt do it, propter metum Iudæorum. The laſt that remained of this foreſaid company was Joan Layſh or Layſhford, the daughter-in-law to John Warn and Elizabeth Warn, Martyrs: but becauſe ſhe was repreived to a longer day, her ſtory and Martyrdome we will deferre till the moneth of January the next yeer following.

George King, Thom. Leyes, John Wade, Martyrs.

The ſtory of Joan Layſhford hereafter followeth among the martyrs of the next yeer.

William Andrew.

William Andrew buried in the fields.

THe like Catholike charity was alſo ſhewed upon William Andrew of Horſley, in the County of Eſſex, Carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the firſt day of April, Anno 1555. by John Motham Conſtable of Mauldon in Eſſex. The firſt and principall promoter of him was the Lord Rich, who ſent him firſt to priſon. Another great doer againſt him alſo ſeemeth to be Sir Richard Southwell Knight, by a letter written by him to Boner, as by the Copy hereof appeareth.

The Lord Rich the firſt ſender up of William Andrew.

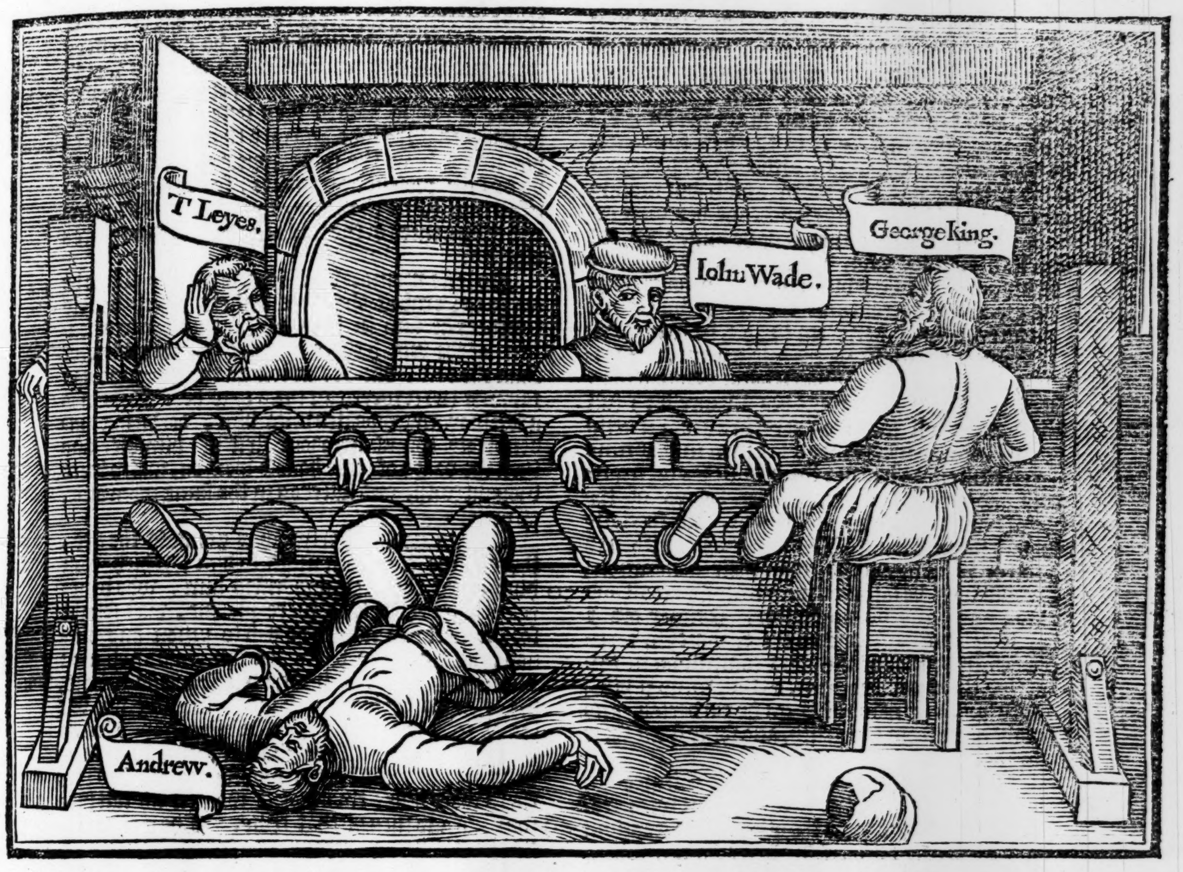
A Letter ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell.

A letter of Sir Rich. Southwell to Biſhop Boner.

PLeaſeth it your Lordſhip to underſtand, that the Lord Rich did about ſeven or eight weeks paſt,

ſend

A Picture deſcribing the ſtrait handling of the cloſe priſoners in Lollards Tower.


T Leyes.
Iohn Wade.
George King.
Andrew.

ſend up unto the Councell, one William Andrew of Thorp, within the County of Eſſex, an arrogant Heretick. Their pleaſure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth ; and as I am informed, hath infected a number in the priſon with his hereſie. Your Lordſhip ſhall do very well, if it pleaſe you to convent him before you, and to take order with him, as his caſe doth require. I know the Councell meant to have writ herein unto your Lordſhip, but by occaſion of other buſineſſe, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleaſure, I did adviſe the Keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with theſe few lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your vertuous conſideration, I remain your good Lordſhips to command, this 12 of Iune, 1555.

Richard Southwell.

W. Andrew twice before B. Boner.

W. Andrew through ſtrait handling died in Newgate.

W. Andrew buried in the fields.

This William Andrew being twice brought before Boner to examination, there manfully ſtood in the defence of his religion. At length through ſtraight handling in the priſon of Newgate, there he loſt his life, which elſe his adverſaries would have taken away by fire: and ſo after the Popiſh manner he was caſt out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithfull brethren.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher, ſuffering for the true defence of Chriſts Goſpel.

Maſter Foſter Juſtice perſecutor of Chriſts people.

MAſter Foſter, Juſtice, dwelling at Cobdock in the County of Suffolk, and a little from Ipſwich, being in continuall hatred againſt the truth and the profeſſors of the ſame, did not onely not ceaſe day nor night to ſtudy how to bring thoſe in thrall and captivity, that were honeſt and godly inclined to religion; but alſo whatſoever they were that once came in his claws, they eaſily eſcaped not without clog of conſcience, or elſe loſſe of life, ſo greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edwards dayes a very godly and right faithfull Preacher of Gods Word, who for his valiant and conſtant behaviour in his Sermons, ſeemeth worthy of high admiration. He was Miniſter at Barfolde in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, ſo long as the time would ſuffer him to do his duty.

Rob. Samuel in K. Edwards dayes a godly Preacher.

Rob. Samuel removed from the Miniſtry.

At the laſt being removed from the Miniſtry, and put from his Benefice (as many other good Paſtors were beſide) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by ſtealth, when he could not openly be ſuffered ſo to do. At what time order was taken by the Queen, to be publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, that all Prieſts which had married in King Edwards dayes, putting their wives from them, ſhould be compelled to return again to their chaſtity and ſingle life. This Decree would not Samuel ſtand unto, for that he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable; but determining with himſelf that Gods Laws were not to be broken for mans traditions, kept his wife ſtill at Ipſwich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the inſtructing of other which were about him, as occaſion ſerved. At laſt Maſter Foſter having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in thoſe quarters, foreſlacked

Rob. Samuel would not conſent to the wicked decree of Q. Mary to put away his wife.

no time nor diligence, but eftſoons ſendeth out his eſpials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to priſon.

In concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him eſpied him at home with his wife, they bringing word to the Officer, came immediatly flocking about his houſe, and beſet it with a great company, and ſo took him in the night ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the day time; for fear of trouble and tumult, although good Samuel did nothing withſtand them at all, but meekly yeilded himſelf into their clouches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipſwich Jayl, where he paſſed his time meekly among his godly brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked ſort) to Norwich, where the ſaid Biſhop Doctor Hopton (whether he or Doctor Dunnings his Chancellor) full like unmercifull Prelates exerciſed great cruelty againſt him, as indeed they were men in that time of perſecution, as had not their matches for ſtraitneſſe and cruell tormenting the bodies of the Saints among all the reſt beſide, and ſpecially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the other were ſharp enough in their generation; yet could they be ſatisfied with impriſonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any beſides theſe, which ſo farre exceeded all bounds of pity and compaſſion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this Biſhop did; in ſuch ſort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wits alſo.

Rob. Samuel apprehended in his houſe by night.

Rob. Samuel put in Ipſwich Jayl.

Rob. Samuel removed to Norwich.

The cruelty of Dunnings the bloody Chancellor.

The Biſhop therefore, or elſe his Chancellor, thinking that he might as eaſily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very ſtrait priſon at his firſt coming, where he was chained bolt upright to a great poſt, in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding onely on tiptoe, he was fain to ſtay up the whole poiſe or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he ſuffered, they added a farre more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirſt; ſaving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three ſpoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reſerved to farther torment, than that they would preſerve his life. O worthy conſtancy of the Martyr. O pitileſſe hearts of Papiſts, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and nature. O the wonderfull ſtrength of Chriſt in his members: Whoſe ſtomack, though it had been made of Adamant ſtone, would not have relented at the intollerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? How oftentimes would he have drunken his own water? but his body was ſo dried up with his long emptineſſe, that he was not able to make one drop of water?

The cruell handling of Rob. Samuel in priſon.

Rob. Samuel famiſhed in priſon.

Rob. Samuel deſirous to drink his own water, and could not.

At the laſt, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe pains that he had paſſed, certain there were that heard him declare what ſtrange things had happened unto him during the time of his impriſonment: to wit, that after he had been famiſhed or pined with hunger two or three dayes together, he then fell into a ſleep, as it were one half in a ſlumber, at which time one clad all in white ſeemed to ſtand before him, which miniſtred comfort unto him by theſe words; Samuel, Samuel, be of good chear, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day ſhalt thou never be either hungry or thirſty. Which thing came even to paſſe accordingly; for ſpeedily after he was burned, and from that time till he ſhould ſuffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirſt. And this declared he to the end, as he ſaid, that all men might behold the wonderfull works of God. Many moe like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Chriſt in his afflictions, he could utter, he ſaid, beſides this, but that ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſty would not ſuffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I would he had been leſſe modeſt in that behalf, that the love and care that Chriſt hath of his might have the more appeared thereby unto us by ſuch preſent arguments, for the more plentifull comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy Scriptures already.

Samuel brought to burning.

Strange viſions that happened to Samuel.

Great comforts miniſtred by the Lord to Samuel in his painfull impriſonment.

No leſſe memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he ſaw in his ſleep, ſet up toward heaven; of the which there was one ſomewhat longer than the reſt, but yet at length they became one joyning (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the Martyrdom firſt of himſelf, and then the death of two honeſt women, which were brought forth, and ſuffered in the ſame town anon after.

Another memorable viſion of Samuel in priſon.

As this godly Martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck and kiſſed him, who being marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next day after to be had to priſon and burned, as the very party her ſelf informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodneſſe would have it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery hands, keeping her ſelf ſecret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Roſe Nattingham, was marvellouſly preſerved by the providence of God; ſo there were other two honeſt women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a Brewers wife, the other was a Shoomakers wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new huſband Chriſt.

The name of this maid was Roſe Nattingham.

Two godly women, the one a Brewers wife, the other a Shoomakers wife, apprehended.

With theſe two was this maid aforeſaid very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counſell to the one of them, that ſhe ſhould convey her ſelf away while ſhe had time and ſpace, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the Queens unjuſt proceedings, had this anſwer at her hands again: I know well, ſaith ſhe, that it is lawfull enough to flie away, which remedy you may uſe, if you liſt. But my caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to an huſband, and have beſide a ſort of young children at home; and then I know not how my huſband, being a carnall man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded for the love of Chriſt and his truth to ſtand to the extremity of the matter.

This godly wife exhorted to flie, would not do ſo, having huſband and children to ſtick to.

And ſo the next day after Samuel ſuffered, theſe two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joane Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, Shoomaker of Ipſwich, were apprehended and had both to priſon together. Which as they were both by ſexe and nature ſomewhat tender; ſo were they at firſt leſſe able to indure the ſtraitneſſe of the priſon, and eſpecially the Brewers wife was caſt into marvellous great agonies and troubles of minde thereby. But Chriſt beholding the weak infirmity of his ſervant, did not fail to help her when ſhe was in this neceſſity. So at the length they both ſuffered after Samuel, Anno 1556. Febr. 19. as ſhall be by the Lords grace declared hereafter. And theſe, no doubt, were thoſe two Ladders, which being joyned with the third, Samuel ſaw ſtretched up into heaven. This bleſſed Samuel, the ſervant of Chriſt, ſuffered the 31 of Auguſt, Anno 1555.

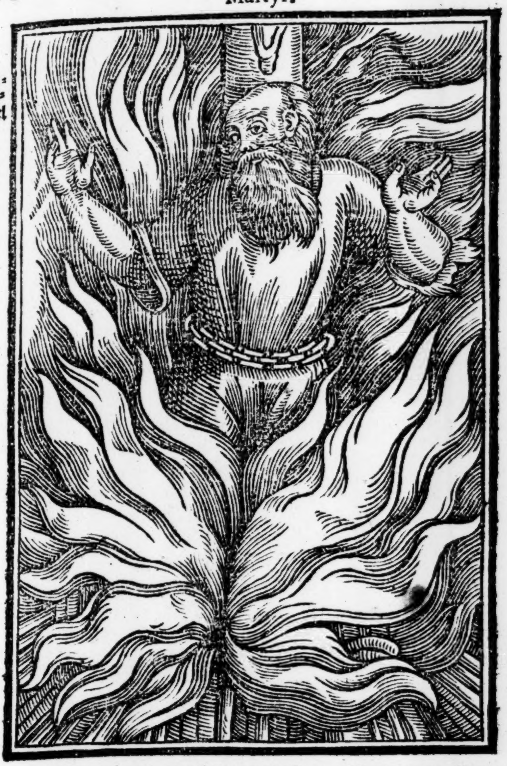
Anne Potten.

Michael Trunchfields wife.

The Lord Jeſus a ready help in time of weakneſſe.

The cruell burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr.

The martyrdome of Robert Samuel burned at Ipſwich. Anno 1555. Auguſt. 31.



The report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſaw him burn, that his body in burning did ſhine as bright and white as new tried ſilver in the eyes of them that ſtood by, as I am informed by ſome which were there, and did behold the ſight.

Letters of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

A letter or exhortation to the patient ſuffering of afflictions for Chriſts cauſe.

Eccleſ. 9.

Eccleſ. 4.

A Man knoweth not his time, but as the fiſh is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the ſnare; even ſo are men caught and taken in the perillous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth neer. Ezechiel 7. Better it were to die (as the Preacher ſaith) then to live and ſee the miſerable works which are done under the Sunne; ſuch ſudden and ſtrange mutation, ſuch wofull, hainous, and lamentable diviſions ſo faſt approach, and none or very few thoroughly repent. Alas for this ſinfull nation, a people of great iniquity and ſeed of ungraciouſneſſe, corrupting their wayes. They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy one of Iſrael to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt, as though all dangers were clean overpaſt? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſt, with ſeeſt me, and ſeeſt me not? Yea, who liveth not now in ſuch felicity, worldly pleaſures and joyes, wholly ſeeking the world, providing and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and all carnall appetites, as though ſinne were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggiſh Gergeſites now are we more affraid and aſhamed of Chriſt our Meſſias, fearing the loſſe of our filthy pigs, I mean our tranſitory goods, and diſquieting of our ſinfull and mortall bodies in this ſhort, uncertain, and miſerable life, then of a legion of Devils, ſeducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and beleeving Chriſt Gods eternall Sonne, and his holy Word, the power to ſave our ſoules, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Iſai. 4.

Complaint againſt England, and that not undeſerved.

Matth. 8.

Engliſh people rightly reſembled to the Gergeſites.

Mark. 5.

Rom. 10.

Abundance of goods is a thing perillous.

Gen. 19.

Oh perillous abundance of goods, too much ſaturity of meats, wealth, and quietneſſe, which deſtroyed with ſo many ſoules, thoſe goodly Cities Sodome and Gomorrah. Jeroboam, ſo long as he was but a poore man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the lawes of God without reprehenſion; but brought once to wealth and proſperous ſtate, he became a wicked and moſt ſhamefull Idolater. And what made the covetous young man ſo loath to follow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto theſe falſe illuſions of the world, baites of perdition, hooks of the Divell, which have ſo ſhamefully deceived and ſeduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-wayes of confuſion and perpetuall perdition.

Matth. 19.

Iob 3.

Iſai. 10.

God hath alwayes a remnant whom he poliſheth with hard adverſities.

1 Cor. 4.

We might now worthily (dear Chriſtians) lament and bewaile our heavy ſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowfull chance: yea, I ſay, we might well accuſe our ſelves, and with Job curſe theſe our troublous, wicked, and bloudy laſt dayes of this world, were it not that we both ſee and beleeve, and finde in Gods ſacred Book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reſerved, I mean the faithfull, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exerciſed, whetted, and poliſhed with divers afflictions, troubles, and toſſings, caſt and daſhed againſt all perils and dangers, as the very droſſe and outcaſts of the earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but caſteth them away as a filthy vomit. Chriſt will not part ſpoile with his mortall enemy the Divel; he will have all, or loſe all: he will not permit the Divell to have the ſervice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the heart and minde: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your ſpirits, which are his, as Saint Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 6. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as Saint Peter ſaith; With his own immaculate body hath he clean diſcharged your bodies from ſin, death, and hell, and with his moſt precious bloud paid your ranſome and full price once for all and for ever.

Two men in one, God abhorreth.

Apoc. 3.

1 Pet. 1.

Now what harme, I pray you, or what loſſe ſuſtaine you by this? Why are you, O vaine men, more affraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his Goſpel of ſalvation, then of a legion of cruell Divels, going about with falſe deluſions utterly to deſtroy you both bodies and ſoules? Think you to be more ſure then under your Captaine Chriſt? Do you promiſe your ſelves to be more quiet in Satans ſervice, then in Chriſts religion? Eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, then God and all his heavenly treaſures? Oh palpable darkneſſe, horrible madneſſe, and wilfull blindneſſe, without compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer. We ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feele, and that our conſcience well knoweth. Oh miſerable and brainleſſe ſoules, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth loſe the royall Kingdome and permanent joyes of God, with the everlaſting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleaſure and wealth; and the Divell, who is their God and Prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Chriſt ſeek and inquire for heavenly things, which by Gods promiſe and mercy in Chriſt ſhall be peculiar unto us. Let, I ſay, the

No true quietneſſe in Satans ſervice.

The miſerable madneſſe of worldly men lamented.

2 Cor. 4.

Iohn 12.

Tranſitory pleaſures of this life not to be paſſed upon.

Cretians, Epicures, and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and carnall people, paſſe for things that be pleaſant for the body, and do appertain to this tranſitory life: Yet ſhall they once (as the Kingly Prophet ſaith) run about the City of God, to and fro howling like dogs, deſiring one ſcrap of the joyes of Gods elect, but all too late, as the rich Glutton did.

Pſal.58.
Luke 16.

Let us therefore paſſe for thoſe things that do pertain to the ſpirit, and be celeſtiall, We muſt be here (ſaith Paul) not as inhabiters, and home dwellers, but as ſtrangers: not as ſtrangers onely, but after the minde of Paul, as painfull ſouldiers appointed of our governour to fight againſt the governour of darkneſſe of this world, againſt ſpirituall craftineſſe in heavenly things. The time is come; we muſt to it; the judgement muſt begin firſt at the houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the green and ſappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy ſpeaking in the perſon of God, ſaith; In the City wherein my Name is invocate, will I begin to puniſh: but as for you (meaning the wicked) ſhall you be as innocents, and not once toucht. Nay, the dregges of Gods wrath, the bottome of all ſorrows, are reſerved unto them in the end: but Gods houſhold ſhall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us ſay with Ezechias; Play the men, and ſhrink not: Let us comfort our ſelves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is (ſaith he) with you, when you be with him; and when you ſeek him, he will be found of you: And again, when you forſake him, he will forſake you.

Coloſ.3.
Heb.13.
John 7.
Epheſ.5.
1 Pet.4.
Jerem.25.
2 Par.3.

Wherefore we ought not to be diſmayed, or diſcourage our ſelves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be ſad, but merry; not ſorrowfull, but joyfull, in that God of his goodneſſe will vouchſafe to take us as his beloved children, to ſubdue our ſinfull luſts, our wretched fleſh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy Word, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlaſting in heaven, with ſuch joyes as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They paſſe all deſires and wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt; eſteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and perſecution the Word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſant tranſitory life and felicity, which the ungodly fooliſhly imagine to procure unto themſelves by perſecuting, and thruſting away the Goſpel, ſhall turn unto their own trouble, and at laſt unto horrible deſtructions and mutations of Realms and Countries, and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetuall infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal and his temporall pleaſures deſcend to the devill, than with poor Chriſt and his bodily troubles, aſcend unto the Kingdom of God his Father. But an unwiſe man (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh underſtand them: that is, theſe bloody perſecutors grow up and flouriſh like the flower and graſſe in the field. But unto this end do they ſo flouriſh, that they might be cut down and caſt into the fire for ever. For as Job ſaith, Their joy laſteth but the twinkling of an eye, and death ſhall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the paſture; yea, the cruell worm, late repentance, (as S. Mark ſaith) ſhall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched conſcience for evermore.

2 Cor.5.
Joyes laid up in Chriſt to mans ſenſe ineſtimable.
Samuel propheſieth of the deſtruction of the perſecutors.
1 Reg.25.
Pſal.40.
To what end the perſecutors do flouriſh in this world.
Job 21.
Mark 9.

Let us therefore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather then men. For although they ſlay our ſinfull bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for Gods verity; yet they cannot do it, but by Gods ſufferance and good will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternall joy and felicitie. For our bloud ſhed for the Goſpel ſhall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, then did our mouthes, lives, and writings, as did the bloud of Abel, Steven, with many other more. What though they laugh Chriſt and his Word to ſcorn, which ſit in the chair of perverſe peſtilent ſcorners? To whom, as to the wiſe Gentiles of the world, the Goſpel of Chriſt is but fooliſhneſſe, as it was to the Jewes, a ſlander and a ſtumbling ſtone, whereat they now being faln; have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

The bloud of Gods martyrs preacheth with more fruit then did their mouthes.

Theſe are the dayes of vengeance, ſaith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſſe then a huge ſtorm of evils that ſhall come upon us, becauſe that a long and curſed obſtinate maliciouſneſſe of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hoſtes, who ſo many times and ſo many wayes have been provoked with the unſpeakable riches of his goodneſſe, his patience and long ſuffering, to amendment, and have nevertheleſſe contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, provoking and ſtirring the preſence of Gods majeſtie unto anger.

Luke 2.
God long looketh for repentance, and we ware worſe and worſe.

Now therefore ſaith God by the mouth of his Prophet, I will come unto thee, and I will ſend my wrath upon thee: Upon thee (I ſay) O England, and puniſh thee according to thy wayes, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou haſt kindled the fire of Gods wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the coales. For thou waſt once lightned, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good Word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the Prophet. Alas, O England, thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſters will, but didſt nothing thereafter; Thou muſt therefore, ſaith he, ſuffer many ſtrips, and many ſharp ſtrokes, and walk on the glittering and hote flame of thine own fire, and in the coales that thou haſt kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, ſaith the Lord, namely, That thou ſhalt ſleep in ſorrow, yea, even ſo thou ſhalt. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable juſtice of the everliving God, and the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the ſame. The joy of our heart, ſaith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry ſinging is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen: Alas and weal away that ever we ſinned ſo ſore: Wo worth all abominations and wickedneſſe; wo worth cloaked hypocriſie; wo worth our carnall liberty; wo worth our moſt curſed Idolatry. For, becauſe of theſe things, ſaith the Lord, ye ſhall periſh with ſword, hunger, and peſtilence.

Iſai.3.
Wickedneſſe of England declared.
Iſai.3.
England worthily rebuked.
Jerem.5.
He bewaileth the ſtate of England.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Chriſt, and all the unbeleevers, look to be tormented and vexed with all helliſh Furies, and clean without hope of Gods accounting day, which know not God in Chriſt to be their very righteouſneſſe, their life, their only ſalvation and alone Saviour, nor beleeve in him. They muſt, ſaith Saint John, needs abide and periſh with their ſinnes in death and in eternall damnation. But we be the children of Saints, as the elder Toby did anſwer, and look for another life, which God ſhall give to all them which change not their faith, nor ſhrink not from him. Rejoyce therefore ye Chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our ſoules and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the boſome of our moſt ſweet and

John 8.
Comfort to the afflicted brethren.

Matth. 10.
John 10.

loving Father: and if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away like Weather-cockes, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying; My ſheep hear my voyce, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no ſtrangers, and I give them everlaſting life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands: no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleaſures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and ſtout brags can once move them out of the way of eternall life. What conſolation and comfort may we have more pleaſant and effectuous then this? God is on our ſide, and fighteth for us; he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away, or deminiſhing of his glory, nor putting him from his celeſtiall throne; ſo can it not harme nor hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, out of his fleſh and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Chriſt himſelf ſuffereth in his members afflicted.
Iſai. 5.
Epheſ. 5.

Let us therefore with an earneſt faith ſet faſt hold and ſure feeling upon the promiſes of God in the Goſpel, and let us not be ſundred from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let us conſider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiſing and giving us his faithfull ſouldiers life eternall. It is he onely that hath deſerved it for us: it is his onely benefit, and of his onely meer mercy, and unto him onely muſt we render thankes. Let not therefore the vain fantaſies and dreams of men, the fooliſh gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty deluſions of the Divell, drive and ſeparate us from our hope of the Crown of righteouſneſſe, that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt day. Oh that happy and merry laſt day, I mean to the faithfull, when Chriſt by his covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſeate with him, as he hath aſcended and ſitteth on throne with his Father. The ſame body and ſoule that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then be with Chriſt glorified: now in the Butchers hands as ſheep appointed to dye, then ſitting at Gods table with Chriſt in his Kingdom, as Gods honourable and dear children; where we ſhall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirſt, ſaturity of the pleaſant preſence of the glory of God; for ſorrowes, troubles, and cold irons, celeſtiall joyes, and the company of Angels; and for a bodily death, life eternall. Oh happy ſoules! Oh precious death and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the ſpring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith Iſaiah) the redeemed ſhall return and come again into Sion, praiſing the Lord, and eternall mercies ſhall be over their heads: they ſhall obtain mirth and ſolace; ſorrow and wo ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed, Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlaſting conſolation. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be glory and praiſe for ever, Amen.

Gods promiſe is immutable.
2 Tim. 2.
O merry laſt day.
Chriſts Saints be here in Butchers hands.
Pſal. 16.
Precious is the death of Gods Saints.

Robert Samuel.

Another letter written to the Chriſtian congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the confeſſion of his Faith.

The belief of the heart juſtifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe, Rom. 10.

Feare not the curſe of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies and revilings; for wormes and mothes ſhall eate them up like cloth and woole, but my righteouſneſſe ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from generation to generation, Iſai. 51.

Conſidering with my ſelf theſe perillous times, periſhing dayes, and the unconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſlander of Gods moſt holy Word, theſe urgent cauſes in conſcience do conſtrain me to confeſſe and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Chriſts holy religion, as S. Peter teacheth me, ſaying, be ready alwayes to give an anſwer to every man that asketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekneſſe and fear, having a good conſcience, that when they backbite you as evill doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed your good converſation in Chriſt.

2 Tim. 3.
Another letter of Robert Samuel, containing his fai
1 Pet. 3.

As touching my doctrine, for that little Talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conſcience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing then I received of the holy Patriarcks, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. For it were not onely ſin, but alſo the very part of a curſed miſcreant, to deny, bely, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſſe and ſtand to the defence of the ſame; ſeeing that Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious bloud, and all good men have more eſteemed the true and infallible Word of God, then all this tranſitory world, or their own mortall lives. And I beleeve this doctrine of the Patriarcks, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtrnct and teach me, and all the holy Church of our duties towards God, the Magiſtrates, and our neighbours.

Mark 8.

Firſt, and principally I do aſſuredly beleeve, without any doubting, that there is one Diety or divine eſſence, and infinite ſubſtance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlaſting, unbodily, unpartible, unmeaſurable in power, wiſedome, and goodneſſe, the maker and preſerver of all things, as well viſible as inviſible; and yet there be three diſtinct perſons, all of one Godhead or divine being, and all of one power, coequall, conſubſtantiall, coeternall, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt.

One God.
Three perſons.

I beleeve in GOD the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of Heaven, I beleeve as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to beleeve. The Father is the firſt perſon in Trinity, firſt cauſe of our ſalvation, which hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſsings in Heavenly things by Chriſt; which hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him; who hath predeſtinate us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus; in him, as it is ſaid, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriſheth, feedeth, and giveth meate to every creature.

Epheſ. 1.
Acts 17.
Pſal. 147.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his onely Sonne our Lord. I beleeve that the Word, that is, the Sonne of God the ſecond perſon in Trinity, did take mans nature in the wombe of the bleſſed Virgin Mary: So that there be in him two natures, a divine nature, and an humane nature, in the unity of one perſon inſeparable, conjoyned and knit in one Chriſt, truly God, and truly man, the expreſſe and perfect Image of the inviſile God, wherein the Will of God the Father ſhineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſſe, may behold what he ought to do, that he may pleaſe God the Father.

The ſecond Article.
Heb. 1.

Borne of the Virgin Mary; truly ſuffering his paſſion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the

Father Almighty, and to be a ſacrifice, hoſte, and oblation, not onely for originall ſin, but alſo for all actuall ſins of the whole generation of mankinde. For all the works, merits, deſervings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthineſſe, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthineſſe and merits of Chriſt Jeſus.

No merits of ſalvation but only in Chriſt.
Iſai. 48. 43.
Gen. 1. 22.
Iſai. 53.
Acts 10.
Matth. 8.

The ſame Chriſt went down to the hels, and truly roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the heavens, that he might there ſtill reign and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence ſhall come, &c.

The Catholike Church is the Communion of Saints.

I beleeve in the holy Ghoſt, coequall with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whoſe vertue, ſtrength, and operation, the true Catholike Church, which is the communion and ſociety of Saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errours and falſe doctrine, the Divell, and all power of ſin. Which Church is ſanctified and hallowed with the precious bloud and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which hath alſo her ſigne and mark, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voice of her onely and true Paſtor Chriſt, and no ſtrangers. This Church alſo is the houſe of God, the congregation of the living God, the Pillar of truth, the lively body of Chriſt, a Church both in name and in deed.

John 10. 8.
Galath. 1.
1 Tim. 2.

Remiſsion of ſins only by the merits of Chriſt apprehended by faith.

I beleeve the remiſsion of ſinnes, by the onely means and merits of Chriſts death and paſſion; who is made unto us of God, that onely ſacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be ſanctified.

I beleeve the reſurrection of the body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall riſe again from death, the ſoules joyned again to the bodies, the good to everlaſting life, the wicked to everlaſting pain and puniſhment. And nothing may more certainly ſtabliſh and confirme our faith, that we ſhall riſe again immortall both in body and ſoul, then the reſurrection of Chriſt our Saviour, and firſt fruits of the dead. Now that Chriſt our head is riſen, we being his body and members muſt follow our head. Death, hell, and ſin cannot ſunder nor pluck us from him. For as the Sonne cannot be divided nor ſundred from the Father, nor the holy Ghoſt from them both, no more may we, being the faithfull members of Chriſt, he ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our reſurrection, Chriſt would be ſeen after his reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look (ſaith Saint Paul) for Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour. which ſhall transfigure our vile bodies, and conforme them to his glorious body by the ſame power and vertue, wherewith he is able to ſubdue all things: even like as the grain of Wheat ſown in the ground is firſt putrified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it ſpringeth up freſhly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty then it had before. The body is ſown in corruption, and riſeth in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, and riſeth in honour.

Confirmation of our reſurrection.
John 10.
John 11.
Phil. 4.
John 12.
1 Cor. 15.

Thus I verily know, and aſſuredly beleeve the reſurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternall by Chriſt, and for Chriſts ſake. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you (ſaith Chriſt) he that heareth my Word, and beleeveth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to life. It is Chriſt that died once for our ſinnes, and is riſen again, never more to die: it is he that ſwallowed up death, and hath caſt it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing elſe, but for a little time ſeparate our precious ſoules from our wretched bodies, that divine ſubſtance from a maſſe of ſin, that eternall life from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſoules out of this miſerable, wretched, and ſorrowfull life, cumbred with all calamities, unto that moſt bleſſed felicity and joyes eternall.

John 5.
Rom. 10.
Oſea. 13.

The ſting of death pluckt out.

His confeſsion touching the Sacraments.

As concerning the holy and reverend Sacraments of Chriſts Church, which be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord; I beleeve them to be as Saint Paul calleth them, confirmations or ſeales of Gods promiſes, which have added to them a promiſe of grace; and therefore they are called viſible ſignes of inviſible grace.

Sacraments are confirmations of Gods grace and acceptation.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme is a mark of Chriſts Church, a ſeal and confirmation of our acception into the grace and favour of God for Chriſts ſake. For his innocency, his righteouſneſſe, his holineſſe, his juſtice, is ours, given us of God, and our ſins and unrighteouſneſſe, by his obedience and abaſing of himſelf to the death of the croſſe, are his, whereof Baptiſme is the ſigne, ſeal, and confirmation.

Baptiſme is alſo a ſigne of repentance, to teſtifie that we be borne to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we ſhould die continually as long as we live from ſinne, and riſe again like new men unto righteouſneſſe, Rom. 6.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

The other Sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Chriſt, whereby the Church of Chriſt is known, I beleeve to be a remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, a ſeal and confirmation of his moſt precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the Croſſe, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from ſin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a viſible Word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the Word worketh in the ears. For like as the Word is a mean to the ears, whereby the holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to beleeve, Rom. 10 ſo this Sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to beleeve: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutuall love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when as Chriſt ſhall appear, which now is in Heaven, and no where elſe as concerning his humane body.

Gods Word to the ear, Gods Word to the eye.
Acts 1. 3.

Chriſts body preſent in the Sacrament to our ſpirituall eyes.

Yet do I beleeve aſſuredly, that his very body is preſent in his moſt holy Supper at the contemplation of our ſpirituall eyes, and ſo verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as ſoon as I hear theſe moſt comfortable and heavenly words ſpoken and pronounced by the mouth of the Miniſter; This is my body which is given for you: when I hear (I ſay) this heavenly harmony of Gods unfallible promiſes and truth: I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and beleeve the words ſimply and plainly, even as Chriſt ſpake them. For hearing theſe words, my ſenſes be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not fleſh, nor the carnall imaginations of our groſſe, fleſhly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Chriſt witneſſeth, Joh. 6. but with a ſorrowfull and wounded conſcience, an hungry and thirſty ſoul, a pure and faithfull minde do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that moſt glorious body of Chriſt in Heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and ſlain, and his bloud ſhed for our ſinnes, there now making interceſsion, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ranſome, for my full price and ſatisfaction, who is my Chriſt, and all that ever he hath; and by this ſpirituall and faithfull eating of this lively and heavenly

How the body of Chriſt is ſpiritually to be eaten.
Rom. 8.
Heb. 9.
Rom. 5.

Phil. 3.

bread, I feel the moſt ſweet ſap and taſte of the fruits, benefits, and unſpeakable joyes of Chriſts death and paſſion, fully digeſted into the bowels of my ſoul. For my minde is quieted from all worldly adverſities, turmoilings, and troubles, my conſcience is pacified from ſinne, death, hell, and damnation; my ſoul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loſſe, vile dung, and droſſe, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord and Saviour.

John 6.

Thus now is Chriſts fleſh my very meat indeed, and his bloud my very drink indeed, and I am become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for through faith in Chriſt, and for Chriſts ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, minde, and fellowſhip with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, Joh. 17. Thus am I aſſured and fully perſwaded, and on this rock have I builded by Gods grace my dwelling and reſting place for body and ſoul, life and death. And thus I commit my cauſe unto Chriſt the righteous and juſt Judge, who will another day judge theſe debates and controverſies; whom I humbly beſeech to caſt his tender and mercifull eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and ſhortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetuall concord, Amen.

Ephes. 5.
Gal. 2.

Mark 8.

Thus do I beleeve, and this is my faith and my underſtanding in Chriſt my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whoſoever is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of him ſhall the Sonne of man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels.

Robert Samuel.

William Allen, Martyr.

William Allen, Martyr.

NExt after the ſuffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walſingham, labouring man, ſervant ſometime to John Houghton of Somerton. He being brought before the Biſhop, and asked the cauſe why he was impriſoned; anſwered, that he was put in priſon, becauſe he would not follow the Croſſe, ſaying, that he would never go on proceſſion.

Then being willed by the Biſhop to return again to the Catholike Church; he anſwered, that he would turn to the Catholike Church, but not to the Romiſh Church: and ſaid, that if he ſaw the King and Queen, and all other follow the Croſſe, or kneel down to the Croſſe, he would not. For the which, ſentence of condemnation was given againſt him the 12. of Auguſt, and he burned at Walſingham about the beginning of September, who declared ſuch conſtancy at his Martyrdome, and had ſuch credit with the Juſtices, by reaſon of his upright and well tried converſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go untied to his ſuffering, and there being faſtened with a chain, ſtood quietly without ſhrinking untill he died.

The Martyrdome of William Allen at Walſingham, Anno 1555. Septem.

The Martyrdome of Roger Coo of Melford in Suffolk, Sheerman, firſt examined before the Biſhop of Norwich, and by him condemned, Anno 1555. Auguſt. 12.

Roger Coo, Martyr.

Talk between Roger Coo and Hopton biſhop of Norwich.

ROger Coo brought before the Biſhop, firſt was asked why he was impriſoned.

Coo. At the Juſtices commandement.

Biſh. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my accuſer, let him declare.

And his accuſer ſaid, that he would not receive the Sacrament.

Biſh. Then the Biſhop ſaid, that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a law.

Coo. But Coo anſwered that there was no law to tranſgreſſe.

Biſh. The Biſhop then asked, what he ſaid to the law that then was?

Coo. He anſwered how he had been in priſon a long time, and knew it not.

No, ſaid his accuſer, nor will not. My Lord, aske him when he received the Sacrament.

Roger Coo to his accuſer.

Coo. When Coo heard him ſay ſo, he ſaid; I pray you my Lord let him ſit down and examine me himſelf.

Biſh. But the Biſhop would not hear that, but ſaid; Coo, why? will ye not receive.

The Biſhop of Rome.

Coo. He anſwered him, that the Biſhop of Rome had changed Gods ordinances, and given the people bread and wine in ſtead of the Goſpel, and the belief of the ſame.

Biſh. How prove you that?

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Coo. Our Saviour ſaid; My fleſh is meat in deed, and my bloud is drink in eeed. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud abideth in me, and I in him, and the bread and wine doth not ſo.

Biſh. Well Coo, thou doſt ſlander our holy fathers. Did not Chriſt take bread, give thanks, and brake it, and ſaid; This is my body?

Coo. Yes, ſaid he, and ſo he went further with the text, ſaying, Which ſhall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

Biſh. You have ſaid the truth.

Coo. Then Coo replied further, and ſaid, Chriſt willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to ſay this in remembrance of him, neither did the holy Ghoſt ſo leade the Apoſtles, but taught them to give thankes, and to break bread from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the Biſhop ſaid.

Biſh. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the ſecond of the Acts.

Then the Biſhops Chaplain ſaid it was true.

Biſh. The Biſhop asked him if he could his belief,

Coo. He anſwered yea, and ſo ſaid part of the Creed, and then after he ſaid, he beleeved more; for he beleeved the ten Commandements, that it was meet for all ſuch as look to be ſaved, to be obedient unto them.

Biſh. Is not the holy Church to be beleeved alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be builded upon the Word of God.

Biſh. The Biſhop ſaid to Coo, that he had charge of his ſoul.

Coo. Have ye ſo my Lord? Then if ye go to the Divell for your ſins, where ſhall I become?

Biſh. Do you not beleeve as your father did? Was not he an honeſt man?

Daniel 9.

Coo. It is written, that after Chriſt hath ſuffered, There ſhall come a people with the Prince that ſhall deſtroy both City and Sanctuary. I pray you ſhew me whether this deſtruction was in my fathers time, or now?

Biſh. The B. not anſwering his queſtion, asked him whether he would not obey the Kings laws?

Coo. As farre as they agree with the Word of God, I will obey them.

(a) Well ſpoken and like the Popes Clerk.

Biſh. (a) Whether they agree with the Word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the King were an Infidell.

Coo. If Sydrach, Myſaac, and Abednago had ſo done, Nabuchodonoſor had not confeſſed the living God.

Biſh. Then the Biſhop told him, that theſe 22. yeers we have been governed with ſuch Kings.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumbe, and did not ſpeak or bark?

Biſh. I durſt not for fear of death: and thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light ſhould not be taken for darkneſſe, nor ſin for holineſſe, and the Divell for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever, Amen.

The Martyrdome of Roger Coo at Perford, An. 1555. Septemb.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his ſundry troubles and conflicts with his adverſaries, at length was committed to the fire at Perford in the County of Suffolk, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged yéers, An. 1555. Menſ. Septem.

Thomas Cob of Haverhill, Butcher, Martyr.

Thomas Cob of Haverhill in Northfolk, Martyr.

OVer and beſides this foreſaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokennayland, Robert Samuel, and other moe, in the ſame yéer upon the 12. of Auguſt, was alſo with them condemned Thomas Cob of Haverhill, Butcher, executed in the moneth of September aforeſaid.

Examination of Thomas Cob.

Who being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings the bloudy Chancellor of Norwich; firſt, whether he beléeved that Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially in the Sacrament of the Altar, anſwered, that the body of Chriſt, borne of the bleſſed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwiſe (he ſaid) he would not anſwer, becauſe he had read it in the Scripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did never deſcend ſince; and therefore ſaid, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the Sacrament.

The reall preſence of Chriſt only in heaven.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the lawes of the Realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no: he anſwered, that his body ſhould be at the King and Quéens commandment ſo farre as the law of God would ſuffer, &c. In fine, the ſaid Thomas Cob being condemned the ſame 12. day of Auguſt, with the other his Fellow-Martyrs, was burned in the Town of Thetford, An. 1555. Menſ. Septemb.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Cob at Thetford, An. 1555. Septem.

The Martyrdome of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

NOw from Northfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, we have to intreat of five worthy Martyrs, whoſe bloud in the ſame yéer and moneth of September was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of Chriſt, and his Goſpels cauſe. The names of the which five Martyrs were theſe:

George Catmer, of Hith.
Robert Streater, of Hith.
Anthony Burward, of Calete.
George Brodbridge, of Bromfield.
James Tutty, of Brenchley.

Examinations of theſe five Martyrs.

Who upon the third day of Auguſt were brought before Thornton the foreſaid Biſhop of Dover and his complices, and there were both joyntly and ſeverally examined upon certain Articles, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, auricular confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

Examination and anſwers of Catmer.

To the which the ſaid Catmer (being firſt examined) made anſwer on this wiſe; Chriſt (quoth he) ſitteth in Heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not beléeve him to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: but he is in the worthy receiver ſpiritually, and the Sacrament, as you uſe it, is an abominable Idoll.

Examination and anſwers of Streater.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who being alſo asked, whether he did beléeve the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, that he did not ſo beléeve; for you do maintain Hereſie and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worſhip a falſe God in the Sacrament, encloſed in a box. It is you that are the malignant Church; for in your Church there are twenty things uſed againſt the Law of God.

Burward examined.

The like objection was articulate alſo againſt Anthony Burward, who alſo ſaid, that their ſacrament was made an Idoll.

Brodbridge examined.

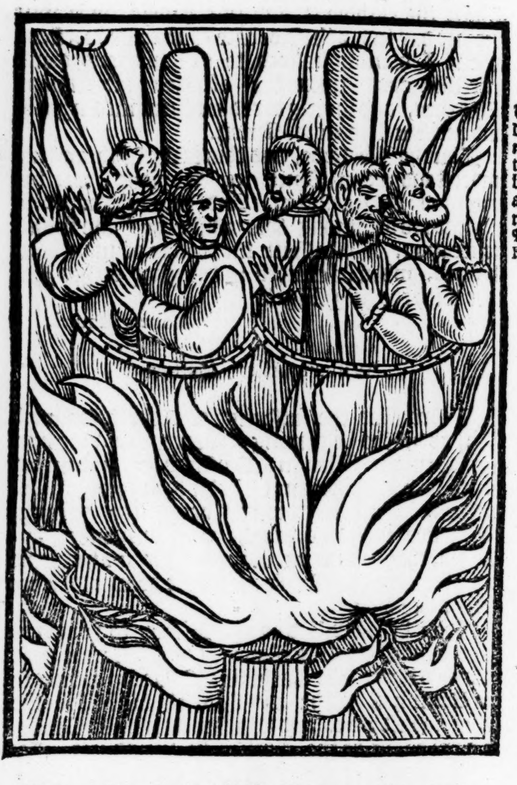
After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he ſaid to thoſe Articles. Who anſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, becauſe he could not forgive his own ſins. And further ſaid, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the reall Body of our Saviour Chriſt, but bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your Maſſe, I do (quoth he) utterly defie them.

James Tutty examined, with his anſwer to the ſame.

And laſt of all, did alſo James Tutty make and confirm their ſaid former anſwers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as hereticks, and ſo were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforeſaid, about the ſixth day of September then next following.

The burning of five Martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdome of Catmer, Streater, Brodbridge, Tutty, at Canterbury, Anno 1555. Septemb. Ex Regiſtro.

Thomas Hayward and Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

Thomas Hayward, John Goreway, Martyrs.

ALthough the rage and vehemency of this terrible perſecution in Quéen Maries dayes did chiefly light in London, Eſſex, Northfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath béen partly already declared; yet notwithſtanding, beſides the ſame, we finde but few parts of this Realm frée from this fatall ſtorme, but ſome good Martyrs or other there ſhed their bloud. And firſt to begin with the Dioceſſe of Liechfield and Coventry, there we finde theſe two to be condemned and alſo burned about the midſt of the ſaid moneth of September at the Town of Liechfield: whoſe names were Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Hayward and John Goreway at Liechfield, An. 1555. Septemb.

The perſecution and ſtory of Maſter Robert Glover Gentleman, and of Iohn Glover his brother, in the Dioceſſe of Liechfield.

The ſtory of Maſter Robert Glover, Martyr, and of M. John Glover his brother.

UNto this preſent time and moneth of September, pertaineth alſo the memorable Martyrdome of Maſter Robert Glover Gentleman, in the Dioceſſe of Liechfield and Coventry. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles, becauſe I cannot well intreate, but I muſt alſo intermixe ſome mention of his brother John Glover, forſomuch as this privy Commiſſion was chiefly ſent down for the ſaid John, and not for Robert Glover, (albeit it pleaſed Almighty God, that John eſcaped, and Robert in his ſtead was apprehended) I thought therefore in one ſtory to comprehend them both, in deſcribing ſome part of their vertuous inſtitution and order of life: and firſt to begin with John the eldeſt brother. Who being a Gentleman, and heir to his Father, dwelling in the town of Mancetor, was endued with fair poſſeſsions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with Gods heavenly grace and inward vertues. Which grace of God ſo working in him, he with his two other brethren, Robert and William, not onely received and embraced the happy light of Chriſts holy Goſpel, but alſo moſt zealouſly profeſſed, and no leſſe diligently in their living and converſation followed the ſame; much unlike unto our table-Goſpellers now adayes, Virtutem qui verba putant, ut lucum ligna, as Horace ſaith.

John Glover, Rob. Glover, Wil. Glover, three godly brethren, and zealous profeſſors of the Goſpel.

And as touching this foreſaid John Glover (who through his manifold afflictions ſeemed to have a deeper taſte and contemplation of ſpirituall things, joyned with mortification from all worldly cares more then the other had) although ſufficient relation be made before in our firſt edition to be ſeen; yet concerning his ſpirituall conflicts, and the Lords gracious working in him, becauſe the conſideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it ſhall not be hurtfull to rehearſe ſome part of the ſame. So it pleaſed God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous paſſions upon this man, that though he ſuffered not the paines of the outward fire, as his brother and other Martyrs did; yet if we conſider what inwardly in ſpirit and minde this man felt and ſuffered, and that of ſo long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a Martyr, being no leſſe deſirous with him of the ſame Martyrdome; yea, and in compariſon may ſeem to be Chronicled for a double Martyr.

Touching further mention of M. John Glover, read in the firſt edition.

The inward conflicts and exerciſes of M. John Glover.

John Glover a double Martyr.

For as the ſaid Robert was ſpeedily diſpatched with the ſharp and extreme torments of the fire in a ſhort time; ſo this no leſſe bleſſed Saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what ſorrowfull torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his ſpirit inwardly he felt and ſuſtained, no ſpeech outwardly is able to expreſſe. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes ſaw to be ſo worne and conſumed by the ſpace of five yeers, that neither almoſt any brooking of meat, quietneſſe of ſleep, pleaſure of life, yea and almoſt no kinde of ſenſes was left in him. And doubtleſſe I have greatly wondred oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Chriſt ſhewed upon him, who unleſſe he had relieved betimes his poor wretched ſervant ſo far worne, with ſome opportune conſolation now and then betwixt, it could not poſſible be, that he ſhould have ſuſtained ſo intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occaſion thereof was not of ſo great moment and weight. But this we ſee common among holy and bleſſed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eies, the more ſuſpicion and miſtruſt they have of themſelves; whereby it cometh to paſſe, that often they are ſo terrified and perplexed with ſmall matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas contrary others there be whom moſt haynous and very ſore crimes indeed do nothing touch or ſtirre at all.

A heavy croſſe of inward torments laid upon John Glover.

The better conſcience the ſooner diſquieted.

The occaſion of this was, that he being firſt called by the light of the holy Spirit to the knowledge of the Goſpel, and having received a wonderous ſweet feeling of Chriſts heavenly Kingdome, his minde, after that falling a little to ſome cogitation of his former affaires belonging to his vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt himſelf upon the occaſion of theſe words written in the ſeventh to the Hebrewes: For it cannot be that they which were once illumined, and have taſted the heavenly gift, &c. Upon the conſideration of which words he fully perſwaded himſelf, that he had ſinned verily againſt the holy Ghoſt: even ſo much, that if he had been in the deepeſt pit of hell, he could almoſt have deſpaired no more of his ſalvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himſelf, what terrors, boilings, and convulſions turmoiled in the mean time in his wofull breaſt: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievouſneſſe thereof, unleſſe he which hath experience of the like.

The firſt occaſion of John Glovers inward affliction.

Heb. 7.

In comparing now the torments of all Martyrs with his paines, I pray you what pains, puniſhment, and flames would not he willingly have ſuffered, to have had ſome refocillation and time of refreſhing? Who in ſuch intolerable griefs of minde, although he neither had, nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat againſt his appetite, to the end to deferre the time of his damnation, ſo long as he might, thinking with himſelf no leſſe, but that he muſt needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Chriſt he thought did pitie his caſe, and was ſorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, becauſe of the verity of the word, which ſaid, It cannot be, &c.

No grief like to the grief of conſcience.

Heb. 7.

And this I rehearſe of him, not ſo much to open his wounds and ſorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorifie the Sonne of God, who ſuffereth none to be tempted above his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperity of evils, that what ſeemeth to us intolerable, not onely he doth allienate the ſame, that we may bear it, but alſo turneth it to our further commodity then we can think. Which well appeared in this good ſervant of God, in no man more. Who albeit (as we have ſaid) he ſuffered many yeers ſo ſharpe temptations and ſtrong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerved him all the while, not onely at laſt did rid him out of all diſcomfort, but alſo framed him thereby to ſuch mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been ſeen, in ſuch ſort as he being like one placed in Heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celeſtiall, abhorring in his minde all prophane doings. Neither was his talk any thing diſcrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vaine language. The moſt part of his lands he diſtributed to the uſe of his brethren, and committed the reſt to the guiding of his ſervants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himſelf to his godly ſtudy, as to a continuall Sabbath reſt. This was about the later end of King Henries reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward the ſixth.

Chriſt a mercifull helper in temptations and hard diſtreſſes.

John Glover by the grace of Chriſt reſtored again to perfect tranquility.

After this, in the perſecuting dayes of Queen Mary, as ſoon as the Biſhop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforeſaid, being ſo ardent and zealous in the Goſpel of Chriſt, effſoones he wrote his letter to the Maior and Officers of Coventry to apprehend him as ſoon as might be. But it chanced otherwiſe by Gods holy providence, diſpoſing all things after his own ſecret pleaſure, who ſeeing his old and truſty zealouſly loved the confeſſion of thy word, ſo ever thought I my ſelf to be moſt unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the ſame.

M. Glover counſelled to put in bonds. Rob. Glover refuſeth to enter into bonds.

Not long after, came unto me M. W. Braſbrige, M. C. Phinees, M. N. Hopkins, travelling with me to be diſmiſſed upon bonds. To whom my anſwer was (to my remembrance) after this ſort: for as much as the Maſters have impriſoned me, having nothing to burthen me withall, if I ſhould enter into bonds, I ſhould in ſo doing accuſe my ſelf; and ſeeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me paſſe without bonds, as with bonds.

Worldly perſwaſions not received.

Secondarily, if I ſhall enter bonds, covenant, and promiſe to appear, I ſhall do nothing but excuſe, colour and cloke their wickedneſſe, and indanger my ſelf nevertheleſſe, being bound by my promiſe to appear. They alleadged many worldly perſwaſions to me to avoid the preſent perill, and alſo how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promiſe. I ſaid unto them, I had caſt my penny-worth by Gods help. They undertook alſo make the bond eaſie.

M. Glover again viſited with Gods holy comfort.

And when they were ſomewhat importune, I ſaid to Maſter Hopkins, That liberty of conſcience was a precious thing, and took as it were a pauſe, lifting up my heart to God earneſtly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might pleaſe him. And ſo when they had let their ſuit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. Maſter Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I anſwered in effect as I did before.

M. Glover reaſoning with himſelf.

Afterward debating the matter with my ſelf, theſe conſiderations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conſcience (God I take to record) moved all ſuch as I had conference withall to be no dalliers in Gods matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a light and knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw my ſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own neck out of the coller, I ſhall give great offence to my weak brethren in Chriſt, and advantage to the enemies to ſlander Gods Word. It will be ſaid, he hath been a great boldner of others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch example.

M. Glover taketh courage, all fear and danger ſet aſide.

Wherefore I though it my bounden duty both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodneſſe of God marvellouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly reſpects and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the meaſure of my ſmall gift within the compaſſe of my vocation, and calling, from the bottome of my heart unfainedly moved, exhorted and perſwaded all that profeſſe Gods Word, manfully to perſiſt in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſuffering and loſſe of life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh abomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt; ſo the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratifie, confirm, and proteſt the ſame to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end by the mighty aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit) I reſolved my ſelf, with much peace of conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather becauſe I underſtood the Biſhops coming to be at hand, and conſidered that poor mens conſciences ſhould be then ſharply aſſaulted. So remained I priſoner in Coventry by the ſpace of 10 or 11 dayes, being never called to my anſwer of the Maſters, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, they having neither ſtatute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandement for my apprehenſion. They would have laid all the matter upon the Sumner. Who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me) ſaying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings againſt me to their charge at the great day.

M. Glover reſolved in himſelf to abide the uttermoſt for the Goſpels cauſe.

The Papiſts proceed with M. Glover againſt the laws of the Realm.

Commandement given to the Sumner againſt John Glover, and not againſt R. Glover.

This Biſhops name was Doctor Banes.

M. Warren of Coventry perſecutor of Rob. Glover.

The ſecond day after the Biſhops coming to Coventry, M. Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief Jaylor to carry me to the Biſhop. I laid to Maſter Warrens charge the cruell ſeeking of my death; and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his hands ſo; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

A Leſſon for all perſecutors.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to beleeve this, which he and all of his inclination ſhall finde (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the members of Chriſt for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimony of Chriſts Word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murthered, without ſpeedy repentance, ſhall dwell with the devill and his angels, in the fierce lake everlaſtingly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion Epulo did) to be refreſhed of them, whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as ſlaves, miſers, and wretches.

Luke 16

When I came before the Biſhop in one Dentons houſe, he began with this proteſtation, that he was my Biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit my ſelf.

R. Glover brought before Banes, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry. M. R. Glover M. of Art in Cambridge. Rob. Glover charged for not coming to the Church.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe my ſelf; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me whether I was learned? I anſwered ſmally learned.

Maſter Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid, I was a Maſter of Art.

Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the Church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been for a long ſeaſon in his Dioceſſe, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any ſuch matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding I anſwered him through Gods mercifull help, that I neither had nor would come at their Church as long as their Maſſe was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to ſhew me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the Maſſe.

He anſwered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo farre as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Biſh. Who ſhall judge the Word?

Glover. Chriſt was content that the people ſhould judge his doctrine by ſearching the Scriptures, and ſo was Paul; me thinketh ye ſhould claim no further priviledge nor preeminence then they had.

The Biſhop refuſeth to be judged by the Primitive Church.

Thus ſpake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the Primitive Church next to the Apoſtles time, ſhould judge betwixt the Biſhop and him. But he refuſed alſo to be judged by that. Then he ſaid he was his Biſhop, and therefore he muſt beleeve him.

Glover. If you ſay black is white, my Lord, (quoth Glover) muſt I alſo ſay as you ſay, and beleeve the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Maſter Chancellor here noted mee to bee arrogant, becauſe I would not give place to my Biſhop.

Glover. If you will be beléeved becauſe you be a Biſhop, why find you fault with the people that beléeved Maſter Latimer, Maſter Ridley, Maſter Hooper, and the reſidue of them that were Biſhops?

Biſh. Becauſe they were heretikes.

Glover. And may not you erre (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lords hand to perſwade me, and he oppreſſed me only with his authority. He ſaid I diſſented from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King Edwards time.

Where was the Church before King Edwards time? The B. could not ſhew where Gods Church was in Iſrael, nor where any Prophet was in all Iuda in Helias time.

I deſired him to ſhew me where their Church was in Helias time, and what outward ſhew it had in Chriſts time.

Biſh. Helias complaint was onely of the tenne Tribes that fell from Davids houſe, whom he called heretikes.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two Tribes had at that ſame time.

My Lord making no anſwer to that, Maſter Rogers, one of the Maſters of the City cometh in the mean ſeaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome Tower if they had any beſides the common gaole, ſaying, He would at the end of his viſitation of his Dioceſſe, weed out ſuch wolves. M. Rogers willed him to content himſelf for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my Lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that time to the common Gaole againe from whence I came.

On the Friday morning being the next day after, I had warning by one of the priſoners to prepare my ſelfe to ride with my fellow priſoners the ſame day to Lichfield, there to be beſtowed at the Biſhops pleaſure. Which tydings at the firſt ſomething diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould by the means of my great ſickneſſe, through extreme handling (which I looked for) have died in the Priſon before I ſhould come to my anſwer. But I rebuked immediately with Gods word this infidelitie in my ſelfe, and by the ſame corrected mine own miſtruſt and fantaſie after this manner. What make I of God? is not his power as great in Lichfield, as in Coventry? Doth not his promiſe extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Abacuck, Daniell, Miſaach, and Ieremy, in their moſt dangerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbred all the hairs of our head. The Sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly fathers will: much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſſe, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his help, neither in priſon, neither in ſickneſſe, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before Kings, nor before Biſhops; not the Divell himſelf, much leſſe one of his miniſters ſhall be able to prevaile againſt us. With ſuch like meditations I waxed chéerfull, of good conſolation and comfort: ſo that hearing one ſay that they could not provide horſes enow for us, I ſayd, let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horſes, if they liſt; I am well content for my part.

R. Glover ſomewhat diſcouraged at the firſt hearing that he ſhould be removed from Coventry to Lichfield.

R. Glover comforted againe with the meditation of the Scripture, and Gods promiſe.

M. Glover waxeth chéerefull again and bold.

R. Glover requireth to make his anſwer at Coventry.

Notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of my friends, I wrote to Maſter Maior, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make anſwer here to ſuch things as ſhould be layd to my charge: The contents of which letter were theſe.

A letter of Maſter Robert Glover, to the Maior of Coventry, and his Brethren.

The contents of M. Glovers letter ſent to the Maior of Coventry and his brethren.

I Beſéech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown as well to the Kéeper of the Goale, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubject to very great ſickneſſe, and have béen by the ſpace of ſeven years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhall be removed without perill and danger of life. And becauſe I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be layd to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cauſe thankfully to reknowledge your indifferencie; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not layd to your charge at the great day, where every man ſhall have juſt judgement without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, alwaies
mindfull of you in my poore prayer,
Robert Glover.

But I received no anſwers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured, that when the Biſhop and the Chancellor had ſéen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in Priſon, then to come openly to my anſwer. The manner of intreating and uſing me at my firſt coming to priſon, did partly declare the ſame.

R. Glover and his fellow priſoners removed from Coventry to Lichfield in the face of the open market.

Certain Sergeants and Conſtables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Iephcot the Chancellors man ſent from Coventry with us for the ſame purpoſe, we were commanded to horſebacke about xj. or xij. of the clocke on Friday, being Market day, that we might be the more gazed and wondred at: and to kindle the peoples hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and diſanulling of all ſuch bookes as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about 4. of the clocke at night, and had leave to repoſe our ſelves for our Supper time. We Inned at the ſigne of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

Iephcot the Chancellors ſervant.

After Supper Iephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon ſureties we might reſt our ſelves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help our ſelves withall in the priſon at that preſent. He was content at the firſt (as he ſéemed) but afterwards, whether it was by perſwaſion, or rather (as it ſéemed to me) he did but of policie put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to ſtare and wonder upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe our ſelves withall, he revoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were had to the priſon, the multitude wondring at us. I willed Iephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they ſhould have judgement without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

Papiſts keep no promiſe.

He put me into a Priſon that ſame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of roomes, ſtrong of building, and very cold, with ſmall light, and there allowed he me a bundle of ſtraw, in ſtead of my bed, without chair, forme, or any other thing elſe to eaſe my ſelfe withall. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, ſo that if it had béen his pleaſure, I could have béen contented to have ended my life: But Iephcot and one Perſey the Biſhops man, which afterwards was my continuall Kéeper for the moſt part, came to me in the morning, to whom I ſaid, This

Iephcot and Perſey cruell and ſtraight againſt Maſter Glover.

is

ſervant ſo many yeers with ſo extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wiſe heap too many ſorrows upon one poor ſilly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and ſcorched with the ſharp fires of inward affliction, and had ſuſtained ſo many burning darts, and conflicts of Sathan ſo many yeers: God therefore of his Divine providence, thinking it too much that one man ſhould be ſo much overcharged with ſo many plagues and torments, did graciouſly provide, that Robert his brother being both ſtronger of body, and alſo better furniſhed with helps of learning to anſwer the adverſaries (being a Maſter of Art in Cambridge) ſhould ſuſtain that conflict, and even ſo it came to paſſe, as ye ſhall hear.

The Major of Coventry ſendeth a privy watch-word to John Glover.

For as ſoon as the Major of Coventry had received the Biſhops letters for the apprehending of M. John Glover, he ſent forthwith a privy watch-word to the ſaid John to convey away himſelf: Who with his brother William was not ſo ſoon departed out of his houſe, but that yet in the ſight of the Sheriff and other, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take him, according to the Biſhops commandement.

M. Robert Glover apprehended lying ſick in his chamber.

But when the ſaid John could in no place be found, one of the Officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, and ſick of a long diſeaſe; who was by him incontinent brought before the Sheriff. Which Sheriff notwithſtanding favouring Robert and his cauſe, would indeed fain have diſmiſſed him, and wrought what means he could, ſaying, that he was not the man for whom they were ſent: Yet nevertheleſſe being feared with the ſtout words of the Officer, contending with him to have him ſtayed till the Biſhops coming, he was conſtrained to carry him away againſt his will, and ſo laid him faſt while the Biſhop came. And thus much by the way of preamble firſt concerning the worthy remembrance of Maſter John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to conſider the ſtory and Martyrdom of M. Robert Glover, forſomuch as the whole narration of the ſame by his own record and teſtimony in writing was ſent unto his wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling: it ſhall therefore ſeem beſt for the more credit of the matter, to exhibite the ſaid his own Letter, the words and contents whereof here enſue as followeth.

A Letter of M. Robert Glover to his wife, containing the whole diſcourſe and deſcription of his troubles ſuſtained in priſon, and of his ſundry conflicts between the Biſhop and him about Religion.

To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

A letter of M. Robert Glover to his wife, certifying his troubles ſince his firſt apprehenſion.

The peace of conſcience which paſſeth all underſtanding, the ſweet conſolation, comfort, ſtrength, and boldneſſe of the holy Ghoſt be continually increaſed in our heart, through a fervent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt faith in our moſt dear and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I thank you heartily (moſt loving wife) for your letters ſent unto me in my impriſonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, with tears (I ſay) for joy and gladneſſe, that God had wrought in you ſo mercifull a work; firſt, an unfained repentance; ſecondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation, thirdly, a willing ſubmiſſion and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottome of your heart; I could not but be thankfull to God, rejoycing with tears for you, and theſe his great mercies poured upon you.

Theſe your letters, and the hearing of your moſt godly proceedings and conſtant doings from time to time, have much relieved and comforted mee at all times, and ſhall bee a goodly teſtimony with you at the great day, againſt many worldly and dainty dames, which ſet more by their owne pleaſure and pelfe in this world, than by Gods glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlaſting health of their owne ſoules or others. My prayer ſhall be whileſt I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finiſh it to the glory of his Name, and by the mighty power and inſpiration of his holy Spirit ſo ſtrengthen, ſtabliſh, and confirme you in all his wayes to the end, that we may together ſhew forth his praiſes in the world to come, to our unſpeakeable conſolation everlaſtingly, Amen.

The worlds wantonneſſe commonly of Engliſh women noted.

1 Tim. 2.

Ghoſtly leſſons and precepts of Chriſtian life.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuance in this miſerable world, above all things give your ſelf continually to prayer, lifting up, as Saint Paul ſaith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he ſaith alſo) if you have any thing againſt any man, as Chriſt forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatneſſe of our ſinnes, which Chriſt daily and hourely pardoneth and forgiveth us, and then we ſhall, as Saint Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never ſo many. And becauſe Gods Word teacheth us, not onely the true manner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do or not to do in the whole diſcourſe and practice of this life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as Chriſt ſaith, The Word of God that he hath ſpoken ſhall judge in the laſt day: Let your prayer be to this end ſpecially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true ſenſe, knowledge, and underſtanding of his moſt holy Word, and give you grace in your living, to expreſſe the fruits thereof.

1 Pet. 4.

Iohn 12.

And foraſmuch as it is, as the holy Ghoſt calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is ſeldome without hatred, perſecution, perill, danger of loſſe of life and goods, and whatſoever ſeemeth pleaſant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time: call upon God continually for his aſſiſtance alwayes, as Chriſt teacheth, caſting your accounts what it is like to coſt you, endeavouring your ſelf, through the help of the holy Ghoſt by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorme or tempeſt ſhall be able to overthrow or caſt it down; remembring alwayes (as Chriſt ſaith) Lots wife, that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothing diſpleaſeth God ſo much as Idolatry, that is falſe worſhipping of God, otherwiſe then his Word commandeth: Look not back (I ſay) nor turn not your face to their idolatrous and blaſphemous maſſing, manifeſtly againſt the word, practice, and example of Chriſt; as it is moſt manifeſt to all that have any taſte of the true underſtanding of Gods Word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the Church and Congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the expreſſe commandement of the holy Ghoſt.

1 Cor. 1.

Luke 17.

Example of Lots wife.

Nothing uſed in Queen Maries time profitable to edification

They object that they be the Church, and therefore they muſt be beleeved. My anſwer was, the Church of God knoweth and reknowledgeth no other head but Jeſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, whom ye have refuſed, and choſen the man of ſin,

The firſt note proving the Church of the Papiſts not t be the true Church.

the ſon of perdition, enemie to Chriſt, the divels deputie and lievetenant, the Pope.

2 Note. John 10.

Chriſt Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he ſaith, My ſheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my diſciples. Their Church repelleth Gods word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

3 Note. Acts 7.

Chriſts Church dare not adde or diminiſh, alter or change his bleſſed Teſtament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Chriſt inſtituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture ſaith) with their own inventions, Et lætari ſuper operibus manuum ſuarum, i. To glory and rejoyce in the works of their own hands.

4 Note to know the Church.

The Church of Chriſt is, hath been, and ſhall be in all ages under the croſſe, perſecuted, moleſted, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, becauſe they be not of the world. But theſe perſecute, murther, ſlay, and kill ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of Chriſt, be they in learning, living, converſation and other vertues never ſo excellent.

5 Note. John 5.

Chriſt and his Church reſerved the triall of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the ſame word, Search the Scriptures: But this Church taketh away the word from the people, and ſuffereth neither learned nor unlearned, to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

6 Note to know the Church.

The true Church of God laboureth by all means to reſiſt and withſtand the luſts, deſires, and motions of the world, the fleſh, and the divell: theſe for the moſt part give themſelves to all voluptuouſneſſe, and ſecretly commit ſuch things, which (as S. Paul ſaith) it is ſhame to ſpeak of.

Epheſ. 5. Compare the proceedings and doings of the Popes church, with the true members of Chriſts Church, and you ſhall ſee what they are. The Church of the valiant Papiſts compared to Nemrod, and why? The Popes church ſtandeth all in lying and murdering.

By theſe and ſuch like manifeſt probations they do declare themſelves to be none of the Church of Chriſt, but rather of the Synagogue of Sathan. It ſhall be good for you oftentimes to conferre and compare their proceedings and doings with the practiſe of thoſe whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the Church of God, and it ſhall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldneſſe to withſtand with ſuffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nemrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mightie hunter, or a ſtout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the ſword, and be the Church whether men will or no, and called them with good conſcience, as Chriſt called their forefathers, the children of the divell; and as their father the divell is a lyar and a murtherer, ſo their Kingdome and Church (as they call it) ſtandeth by lying and murthering.

Have no fellowſhip with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, leſt you be partaker of their ſinnes, for whom is reſerved a heavie damnation, without ſpeedie repentance. Beware of ſuch as ſhall advertiſe you ſomething to bear with the world as they do, for a ſeaſon. There is no dallying with Gods matters, It is a fearfull thing (as Saint Paul ſaith) to fall into the hands of God. Remember the Prophet Helias, Why halt ye on both ſides? Remember what Chriſt ſaith, He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthie of me. And ſeeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good ſouldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rereward. Saint John numbreth among them that ſhall dwell in the fierie lake, ſuch as be fearfull in Gods cauſe. Set before your eyes alwaies the examples of ſuch as have behaved themſelves boldly in Gods cauſe, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widows ſons, and in your dayes, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithfull witneſſes of Chriſt. Be afraid in nothing (ſayth Saint Paul) of the adverſaries of Chriſts doctrine, the which is to them the ſigne of perdition, but to you of everlaſting ſalvation. Chriſt commandeth the ſame, ſaying, Feare them not. Let us not follow the example of him which asked time firſt to take leave of his friends. If we ſo do, we ſhall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our buſineſſe, pleaſe it God never ſo much. We read not that James, and John, Andrew, and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers and friends pleaſure. But the Scripture ſayth, They forſook all, and by and by followed Chriſt. Chriſt likened the Kingdome of God to a precious pearle, the which whoſoever findeth, ſelleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whoſoever hath but a little taſte or glimmering how precious a treaſure the Kingdome of heaven is, will gladly forgo both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the moſt part now adayes be like to Eſops cock, which when he had found a precious ſtone, wiſhed rather to have found a barley corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewell the Word of God is, that they chooſe rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, be leſſe in value than a barley corne.

3 Reg. 18. Luke 9.

The Popes church under pain of damnation is to be avoyded. Apoc. 2.

Phil. 1. He exhorteth to be bold in Chriſt.

Matth. 13.

Worldly Chriſtians reſembled to Eſops cocke.

Worldly allurements and motions of drawing back, by Gods grace withſtanded.

If I would have given place to worldly reaſons, theſe might have moved me: Firſt, the foregoing of you and my children; the conſideration of the ſtate of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to vertue, and learning, and ſo having the more need of my aſſiſtance, being not altogether deſtitute of gifts to help them withall; poſſeſſions above the common ſort of men; becauſe I was never called to be a Preacher, or Miniſter; and (becauſe of my ſickneſſe) fear of death in impriſonment before I ſhould come to my anſwer, and ſo my death to be unprofitable.

Experience of the Lords aſſiſtance in confirming his ſervants.

But theſe and ſuch like, I thank my heavenly father (which of his infinite mercy inſpired me with his holy Ghoſt, for his Sons ſake my onely Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderfull permiſſion of God, fallen into their hands, at the firſt ſight of the Sheriffe, nature a little abaſhed; yet ere ever I came to the priſon, by the working of GOD, and through his goodneſſe, fear departed. I ſayd to the Sheriffe at his coming unto me; What matter have you Maſter Sheriffe to charge me withall? He anſwered, You ſhall know when you come before the Maſters; and ſo taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the Maſters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withall: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the goale, not being called to my anſwer, little juſtice being ſhewed therein. But the leſſe juſtice a man findeth at their hands, the more conſolation in conſcience ſhall he find from God; for whoſoever is of the world, the world will love him.

M. Glover committed to the goale before any cauſe was declared. Gods mighty conſolation upon Rob. Glover in priſon.

M. Glover weepeth for joy in priſon.

After I came into priſon, and had repoſed my ſelf there a while, I wept for joy and gladneſſe, my belly full, muſing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) ſaying to my ſelf after this ſort; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou ſhouldeſt beſtow this thy great mercy, to be numbred among the Saints that ſuffer for the Goſpel ſake? And ſo beholding and conſidering on the one ſide my imperfection, unableneſſe, ſinfull miſerie, and unworthineſſe, and on the other ſide the greatneſſe of Gods mercie, to be called to ſo high promotion, I was as it were amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladneſſe, concluding thus with my ſelf in my heart; O Lord, thou ſheweſt power in weakneſſe, wiſedome in fooliſhneſſe, mercy in ſinfulneſſe; who ſhall let thee to chooſe where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealouſly loved the confeſſion of thy word, ſo ever thought I my ſelf to be moſt unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the ſame.

M. Glover counſelled to put in bonds. Rob. Glover refuſeth to enter into bonds.

Not long after, came unto me M. W. Braſbrige, M. C. Phinees, M. N. Hopkins, travelling with me to be diſmiſſed upon bonds. To whom my anſwer was (to my remembrance) after this ſort: for as much as the Maſters have impriſoned me, having nothing to burthen me withall, if I ſhould enter into bonds, I ſhould in ſo doing accuſe my ſelf; and ſeeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me paſſe without bonds, as with bonds.

Worldly perſwaſions not received.

Secondarily, if I ſhall enter bonds, covenant, and promiſe to appear, I ſhall do nothing but excuſe, colour and cloke their wickedneſſe, and indanger my ſelf nevertheleſſe, being bound by my promiſe to appear. They alleadged many worldly perſwaſions to me to avoid the preſent peril, and alſo how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promiſe. I ſaid unto them, I had caſt my penny-worth by Gods help. They undertook alſo make the bond eaſie.

M. Glover again viſited with Gods holy comfort.

And when they were ſomewhat importune, I ſaid to Maſter Hopkins, That liberty of conſcience was a precious thing, and took as it were a pauſe, lifting up my heart to God earneſtly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might pleaſe him. And ſo when they had let their ſuit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. Maſter Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I anſwered in effect as I did before.

M. Glover reaſoning with himſelf.

Afterward debating the matter with my ſelf, theſe conſiderations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conſcience (God I take to record) moved all ſuch as I had conference withall to be no dalliers in Gods matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a light and knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw my ſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own neck out of the coller, I ſhall give great offence to my weak brethren in Chriſt, and advantage to the enemies to ſlander Gods Word. It will be ſaid, he hath been a great boldner of others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch example.

M. Glover taketh courage, all fear and danger ſet aſide.

M. Glover reſolved in himſelf to abide the uttermoſt for the Goſpels cauſe.

Wherefore I though it my bounden duty both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodneſſe of God marvellouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly reſpects and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the meaſure of my ſmall gift within the compaſſe of my vocation, and calling, from the bottome of my heart unfainedly moved, exhorted and perſwaded all that profeſſe Gods Word, manfully to perſiſt in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſuffering and loſſe of life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh abomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt; ſo the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratifie, confirm, and proteſt the ſame to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end by the mighty aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit) I reſolved my ſelf, with much peace of conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather becauſe I underſtood the Biſhops coming to be at hand, and conſidered that poor mens conſciences ſhould be then ſharply aſſaulted. So remained I priſoner in Coventry by the ſpace of 10 or 11 dayes, being never called to my anſwer of the Maſters, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, they having neither ſtatute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandement for my apprehenſion. They would have laid all the matter upon the Sumner. Who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me) ſaying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings againſt me to their charge at the great day.

The Papiſts proceed with M. Glover againſt the laws of the Realm.

Commandement given to the Sumner againſt John Glover, and not againſt R. Glover.

This Biſhops name was Doctor Banes.

M. Warren of Coventry perſecutor of Rob. Glover.

The ſecond day after the Biſhops coming to Coventry, M. Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief Jaylor to carry me to the Biſhop. I laid to Maſter Warrens charge the cruell ſeeking of my death; and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his hands ſo; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

A Leſſon for all perſecutors.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination ſhall finde (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the members of Chriſt for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimony of Chriſts Word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murthered, without ſpeedy repentance, ſhall dwell with the devill and his angels, in the fierce lake everlaſtingly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion Epulo did) to be refreſhed of them, whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as ſlaves, miſers, and wretches.

Luke 1

When I came before the Biſhop in one Dentons houſe, he began with this proteſtation, that he was my Biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit my ſelf.

R. Glover brought before Banes Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry. M. R. Glover M. of Art in Cambridge. Rob. Glover charged for not coming to the Church.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe my ſelf; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me whether I was learned? I anſwered ſmally learned.

Maſter Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid, I was a Maſter of Art.

Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the Church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been for a long ſeaſon in his Dioceſſe, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any ſuch matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding I anſwered him through Gods mercifull help, that I neither had nor would come at their Church as long as their Maſſe was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to ſhew me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the Maſſe.

He anſwered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo farre as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Biſh. Who ſhall judge the Word?

Glover. Chriſt was content that the people ſhould judge his doctrine by ſearching the Scriptures, and ſo was Paul; me thinketh ye ſhould claim no further priviledge nor preeminence then they had.

The Biſhop refuſeth to be judged by the Primitive Church.

Thus ſpake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the Primitive Church next to the Apoſtles time, ſhould judge betwixt the Biſhop and him. But he refuſed alſo to be judged by that. Then he ſaid he was his Biſhop, and therefore he muſt believe him.

Glover. If you ſay black is white, my Lord, (quoth Glover) muſt I alſo ſay as you ſay, and believe the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Maſter Chancellor here noted mee to bee arrogant, becauſe I would not give place to my Biſhop.

Glover. If you will be beleeved becauſe you be a Biſhop, why find you fault with the people that beleeved Maſter Latimer, Maſter Ridley, Maſter Hooper, and the reſidue of them that were Biſhops?

Biſh. Becauſe they were heretikes.

Glover. And may not you erre (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lords hand to perſwade me, and he oppreſſed me only with his authority. He ſaid I diſſented from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King Edwards time.

Where was the Church before King Edwards time? The B. could not ſhew where Gods Church was in Iſrael, nor where any Prophet was in all Juda in Helias time.

I deſired him to ſhew me where their Church was in Helias time, and what outward ſhew it had in Chriſts time.

Biſh. Helias complaint was onely of the tenne Tribes that fell from Davids houſe, whom he called heretikes.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two Tribes had at that ſame time.

My Lord making no anſwer to that, Maſter Rogers, one of the Maſters of the City cometh in the mean ſeaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome Tower if they had any beſides the common gaole, ſaying, He would at the end of his viſitation of his Dioceſſe, weed out ſuch wolves. M. Rogers willed him to content himſelf for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my Lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that time to the common Gaole againe from whence I came.

On the Friday morning being the next dey after, I had warning by one of the priſoners to prepare my ſelfe to ride with my fellow priſoners the ſame day to Lichfield, there to be beſtowed at the Biſhops pleaſure. Which tydings at the firſt ſomething diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould by the means of my great ſickneſſe, through extreme handling (which I looked for) have died in the Priſon before I ſhould come to my anſwer. But I rebuked immediately with Gods word this infidelitie in my ſelfe, and by the ſame corrected mine own miſtruſt and fantaſie after this manner. What make I of God? is not his power as great in Lichfield, as in Coventry? Doth not his promiſe extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Abacuck, Daniell, Miſaach, and Jeremy, in their moſt dangerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbred all the hairs of our head. The Sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly fathers will: much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſſe, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his help, neither in priſon, neither in ſickneſſe, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before Kings, nor before Biſhops; not the Divell himſelf, much leſſe one of his miniſters ſhall be able to prevaile againſt us.

R. Glover ſomewhat diſcouraged at the firſt hearing that he ſhould be removed from Coventry to Lichfield.

R. Glover comforted againe with the meditation of the Scripture, and Gods promiſe.

With ſuch like meditations I waxed cheerfull, of good conſolation and comfort: ſo that hearing one ſay that they could not provide horſes enow for us, I ſayd, let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horſes, if they liſt; I am well content for my part.

M. Glover wareth cheerefull again and bold.

R. Glover requireth to make his anſwer at Coventry.

Notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of my friends, I wrote to Maſter Maior, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make anſwer here to ſuch things as ſhould be layd to my charge: The contents of which letter were theſe.

A letter of Maſter Robert Glover, to the Maior of Coventry, and his Brethren.

I Beſeech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown as well to the Keeper of the Goale, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubject to very great ſickneſſe, and have been by the ſpace of ſeven years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhall be removed without perill and danger of life. And becauſe I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be layd to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cauſe thankfully to reknowledge your indifferencie; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not layd to your charge at the great day, where every man ſhall have juſt judgement without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, alwaies
mindfull of you in my poore prayer,
Robert Glover.

The contents of M. Glovers letter ſent to the Maior of Coventry and his brethren.

But I received no anſwers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured, that when the Biſhop and the Chancellor had ſeen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in Priſon, then to come openly to my anſwer. The manner of intreating and uſing me at my firſt coming to priſon, did partly declare the ſame.

Certain Sergeants and Conſtables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the Chancellors man ſent from Coventry with us for the ſame purpoſe, we were commanded to horſebacke about xj. or xij. of the clocke on Friday, being Market day, that we might be the more gazed and wondred at: and to kindle the peoples hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and diſanulling of all ſuch bookes as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about 4. of the clocke at night, and had leave to repoſe our ſelves for our Supper time. We Inned at the ſigne of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

R. Glover and his fellow priſoners removed from Coventry to Lichfield in the face of the open market.

After Supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon ſureties we might reſt our ſelves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help our ſelves withall in the priſon at that preſent. He was content at the firſt (as he ſeemed) but afterwards, whether it was by perſwaſion, or rather (as it ſeemed to me) he did but of policie put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to ſtare and wonder upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe our ſelves withall, he revoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were had to the priſon, the multitude wondring at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they ſhould have judgement without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy, And this mercy I found at his hand.

Jephcot the Chancellors ſervant.

Papiſts keep no promiſe.

He put me into a Priſon that ſame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of roomes, ſtrong of building, and very cold, with ſmall light, and there allowed he me a bundle of ſtraw, in ſtead of my bed, without chair, forme, or any other thing elſe to eaſe my ſelfe withall. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, ſo that if it had been his pleaſure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: But Jephcot and one Perſey the Biſhops man, which afterwards was my continuall Keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the morning, to whom I ſaid, This

Jephcot and Perſey cruell and ſtraight againſt Maſter Glover.

is a great extremity, God ſend us patience, and no more.

Then they were content that I ſhould have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtanding my great ſickneſſe, nor yet paper, pen nor ink, or books, ſaving my new Teſtament in Latine, and a prayer book which I privily ſtole in.

Talk between M. Glover, and the Chancellor in priſon.

Within two dayes after, Maſter Chancellor, and one Temſey a Prebendary there, came to me into my priſon. Maſter Chancellor exhorted me to conform my ſelf to my Lord and to the Church. He wiſhed to my ſoul no more hurt than to his own, belike becauſe I had laid to his charge at Coventry the ſeeking of my blood unjuſtly and wrongfully.

Now thus the ſecond time I anſwered Maſter Chancellor to his exhortation, that I refuſed not to be ruled by that Church that was content to be ordered and governed by the Word of God.

Chan. He asked me how I knew the Word of God, but by the Church.

“ The Church giveth witneſſe which be the true books and writings of the Apoſtles: as alſo the old Synagogue of the Jews doth witneſſe which be the true Books of the holy Prophets: yet it followeth not thereby, that the Jews have authority over the Scriptures.

Glover. “ The Church ſheweth which is the Word of God, therefore the Church is above the Word of God. This is no good reaſon in learning, ſaid I to Maſter Chancellor,. For it is like unto this; John ſhewed the people who was Chriſt; Ergo, John was above Chriſt. Or elſe, I have a man that knoweth not the King, and I tell him who was the King: am I therefore above the King?

Maſter Chancellor ſaid, he came not to reaſon with me, and ſo departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the ſpace of eight dayes, and till the Biſhops coming: In the which time I gave my ſelf continually to prayer, and meditation of the mercifull promiſes of God, made unto all, without exception of perſon, that call upon the Name of his dear Sonne Jeſus Chriſt. I found in my ſelf daily amendment of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolations from God, by the help of his holy Spirit, and ſometimes as it were a taſte and glimmering of the life to come; all for his onely Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake: to him be all praiſe for ever and ever.

The comforts and ſweet feeling of M. Glover in priſon.

M. Glover aſſaulted by the enemy in priſon concerning unworthineſſe.

The enemy ceaſed not many times ſundry wayes to aſſault me, oftentimes objecting to my conſcience mine own unworthineſſe, through the greatneſſe of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, for his Goſpels ſake. Againſt him I replied with the Word of God on this ſort, What were all thoſe whom God had choſen from the beginning, to be his witneſſes, and to carry his Name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabes ſaid, Similiter obnoxii peccato, as well ſubject to wickedneſſe, ſinne, and imperfections, as other men be? Even ſuch were Noah, Abraham, David and all the reſt. Quis prior dedit illi, as Paul ſaith, Who gave firſt unto him? And alſo ſpeaking to every man, What haſt thou that thou receivedſt not? Likewiſe John, All have received of his fulneſſe; they were no bringers of any goodneſſe to God, but altogether receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them when they were his enemies, full of ſinne and corruption, and void of all goodneſſe. Eſt Dominus omnium, dives in omnes & ſuper omnes invocantes eum. He is and will be ſtill the ſame God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive ſinnes without reſpect of perſon, to the worlds end, of all them that call upon him. Propè eſt Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum: God is neer, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I ſay) and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time ſoever it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and aſſiſtance in all our perils, dangers and diſtreſſe, calling upon him not in the confidence of our own godlineſſe, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom, and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever boldly approacheth to the mercy ſeat of the father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient, or neceſſary, either for body or ſoul, in more ample wiſe and large manner, than he can well wiſh, or dare deſire. His Word cannot lye, Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.

Acts 24.

Rom. 11.

Rom. 4.

John 1.

Gods election bound to no worthineſſe of perſon.

Rom. 10.

Pſal. 145.

It is no arrogancy to preſume upon Gods promiſe.

Pſal. 50.

R. Glover replieth againſt the tentation of the enemy in that he is a ſinner.

I anſwered the enemy alſo on this manner; I am a ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witneſſe of this truth. What then? Muſt I deny his Word, becauſe I am not worthy to profeſſe it? What bring I to paſſe in ſo doing, but adde ſinne to ſinne? What is greater ſinne than to deny the truth of Chriſts Goſpel? as Chriſt himſelf beareth witneſſe, He that is aſhamed of me or of my words, of him I will be alſo aſhamed before my Father and all his Angels. I might alſo by like reaſon forbear to do any of Gods Commandements.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may ſay to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like manner of all the commandements, I ſhall not forbear ſwearing, ſtealing, murdering, becauſe I am not worthy to do any Commandement of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the Devil, and Sathans ſuggeſtions, which muſt be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the Word of God applied, according to the meaſure of every mans gift, againſt all aſſaults of the devill.

M. Glover brought againe before the Biſhop.

At the Biſhops firſt coming to Lichfield, after mine impriſonment, I was called into a bychamber next to my priſon, to my Lord. Before whom, when I came and ſaw none but his officers, chaplains and ſervants, except it were an old Prieſt, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his mercifull help and aſſiſtance.

Reaſoning between M. Glover and the Biſhop.

My Lord asked me how I liked my impriſonment, I gave him no anſwer touching that queſtion. He proceeded to perſwade me to be a member of his Church, which had continued ſo many yeers. As for our church (as he called it) it was not known he ſaid, but lately in King Edwards time.

I profeſſe my ſelf to be a member of that Church (ſaid I) that is builded “ upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the head corner ſtone; and ſo alleadged the place of S. Paul to the Epheſ. And this Church hath been from the beginning (ſaid I) though it bear no glorious ſhew before the world, being ever, for the moſt part under the croſſe and affliction, contemned, deſpiſed and perſecuted; My Lord on the other ſide, contended that they were the Church.

Glover. So cried all the Clergie againſt the Prophets of Jeruſalem, ſaying; Templum Domini, Templum Domini, The Church, the Church, &c.

Biſhop. And alwayes when I was about to ſpeak any thing, my Lord cried, Hold thy peace I command thee by the vertue of obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant heretick.

“ The true Church is alwayes builded upon the doctrine of the Apoſtles: which though it appear not alwayes alike in outward ſight, the fault is in the time, not in the Church. Times did alter, and with the times the outward face of the Church may alter, ſometimes appearing more, ſometimes leſſe, ſometimes very little, ſometimes nothing at all, according as the perſecution is. Nevertheleſſe, the tenth of the Church abideth always one. Neither doth it goe by number of men, but by ſoundnes of truth. Many agreeing in one make an unity: but the verity of the word maketh the Church, whether it be in few, or in many.

Glover. I willed my Lord to burthen me with ſome ſpecialties, and then to convince me with ſome Scriptures and good learning.

Then my Lord began to move certain queſtions. I refuſed to anſwer him in corners, requiring that I might make my anſwer openly. He ſaid I ſhould anſwer him there. I ſtood with him upon that point untill he ſaid I ſhould to priſon again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had anſwered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the Doctrine of his moſt holy Word.

The firſt queſtion.

Biſh. The firſt queſtion was this, How many Sacraments Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed in the Church?

Glover. The Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſaid I, and the Sacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt Supper.

Biſh. No more, ſaid he?

Power by Gods Word in the Miniſtery, to remit ſin.

Glover. To all thoſe that declare a true and unfained repentance, a ſure hope, truſt and confidence in the death of Chriſt, to ſuch Miniſters (I grant) that they have authority to pronounce by the power of Gods Word, the remiſſion of ſins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, becauſe that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in ſo doing did me wrong, for I called it not a ſacrament.

2 Queſtion.

He asked me further, whether I allowed their confeſſion?

I anſwered, no.

3 Queſtion.

Biſh. Then he would know my minde what I thought of the preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament?

Glover. I anſwered, that their Maſſe was neither ſacrifice nor ſacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you have taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore again, I will tell you my judgement concerning Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leave behinde him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his uſing and intreating in priſon, and alſo of his conflicts had with the Biſhop and his Chancellor. Moe examinations he had (no doubt) with the Biſhop in the publike Conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which alſo he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leaſure of time, or haſte of execution had permitted him to finiſh that he intended; but by reaſon of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did ſerve him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the Records of his laſt examinations, whereſoever they are become.

Onely this which I could learn by relation of one Auſten Bernher, a Miniſter, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death; I can report, that the ſaid bleſſed ſervant of the Lord, Maſter Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the Biſhop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it ſo happened, that two or three dayes before, his heart being lumpiſh and deſolate of all ſpirituall conſolation, felt in himſelf no aptneſſe nor willingneſſe, but rather a heavineſſe and dulneſſe of ſpirit, full of much diſcomfort to bear the bitter croſſe of Martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

R. Glover deſtitute for a time of the Lords comfort.

Whereupon fearing in himſelf leſt the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this Aſten his friend above remembred, ſignifying unto him how earneſtly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the ſaid Auſten anſwering again, willed and deſired him patiently to wait the Lords pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent feeling was, yet ſeeing his cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame, and to play the man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good time would viſit him, and ſatiſfie his deſire with plenty of conſolation, whereof (he ſaid) he was right certain and ſure, and therefore deſired him whenſoever any ſuch feeling of Gods heavenly mercies ſhould begin to touch his heart, that then he ſhould ſhew ſome ſignification thereof, whereby he might witneſſe with him the ſame, and ſo departed from him.

The Lord for a time may withdraw his comforts, but at length he viſiteth his ſervants.

The next day when the time came of his Martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the ſight of the ſtake, although all the night before praying for ſtrength and courage he could feel none, ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with Gods holy comfort and heavenly joyes, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Auſten, and ſaying in theſe words, *Auſten, he is come, he is come, &c.* and that with ſuch joy and alacrity, as one ſeeming rather to be riſen from ſome deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one paſſing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lords hand upon that good man.

R. Glover receiveth again comfort of the Lord.

Cornelius Bongey, fellow Martyr with Maſter Robert Glover.

IN the ſame fire with him was burned alſo Cornelius Bongey, a Capper of Coventry, and condemned by the ſaid Radulph, Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Cornelius Bongey, Martyr.

Firſt, it was articulate againſt him, that theſe three yeers laſt, in the City of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the Prieſt hath no power here to abſolve any ſinner from his ſins.

Articles objected to Cornelius Bongey.

Secondly, that by Baptiſme ſins be not waſhed away, becauſe he ſaid that the waſhing of the fleſh purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoul.

Thirdly, that there be in the Church onely two Sacraments, that is, Baptiſme and the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, that in the ſacrament of their Popiſh altar, was not the reall Body and Blood of Chriſt, but the ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining ſtill, becauſe St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, that he within the compaſſe of the ſaid yeers and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the viſible Church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, that he was of the Dioceſſe and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

Seventhly, that the premiſſes are true, manifeſt and notorious, and that upon the ſame there hath been and is a publike voyce and fame, as well in the places above rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about, &c.

His Anſwer.

Unto the which Articles he anſwered again, to the firſt he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the Popiſh manner of abſolution.

His anſwers to the articles.

To the ſecond he granted firſt, after revoked the ſame.

To the third alſo he granted, adding withall that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the ſacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the Pope likewiſe.

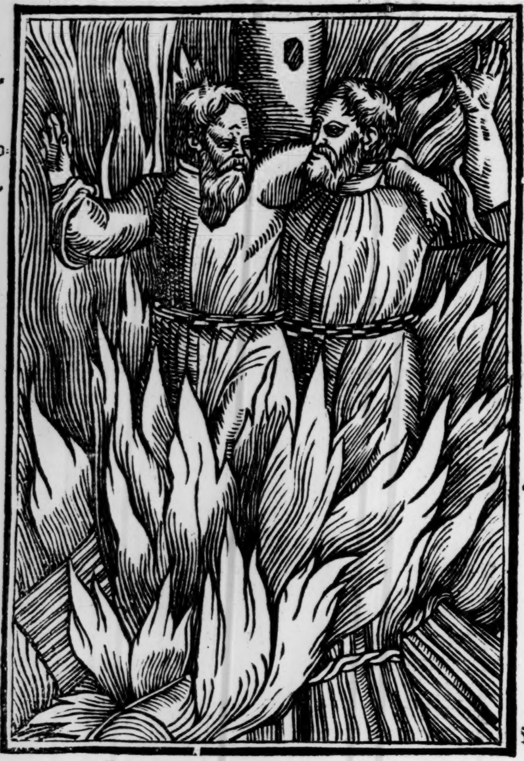
Alſo to the ſixth he granted, and likewiſe to the ſeventh.

Upon theſe articles and his anſwers to the ſame, the ſaid Radulph the Biſhop read the ſentence, and ſo committed him alſo after the condemnation of Maſter Robert Glover, to the ſecular power.

Thus this foreſaid Cornelius, falſely condemned by the Biſhop before mentioned, ſuffered at the ſame ſtake with the Chriſtian Martyr Maſter Robert Glover at Coventry, about the xx day of September.

The burning of Maſter Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bongey, at Coventry.

The Martyrdom of Rob. Glover, and Cornelius Bongey at Coventry. Anno 1555. Sept. 20.



Here followeth the ſtory of Iohn Glover and William Glover, how they were excommunicate and caſt out after their death, and buried in the fields.

John Glover and William Glover after their death condemned and caſt out for hereticks.

Now that we have diſcourſed the ſtory of M. Robert Glover, ſomething alſo would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover. Who albeit they were not called to finiſh their courſe by like kinde of Martyrdom in the fire, as the other did; yet becauſe for their conſtant profeſſion of Gods Goſpel unto the later end, they were exempted after their death, and caſt out of the ſame Church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the ſtory to be joyned together, which in one cauſe and the ſame profeſſion were not ſundred one from the other.

And firſt concerning Maſter John Glover the eldeſt Brother, what inward ſtorms and agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly enemy, partly ye heard before deſcribed: now what his bodily enemies wrought againſt him, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice although God ſo reſtrained, that they could little prevail againſt him ſo long as his life endured, yet after his deceaſe, having power upon him, what they did ye ſhall now underſtand.

After the Martyrdom of Maſter Robert Glover, although John Glover ſeeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had ſmall joy of his life for the great ſorrow of his heart, wherewith he was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly have put himſelf in his brothers ſtead, if friends had not otherwiſe perſwaded him, ſhewing that in ſo doing he might intangle himſelf, but ſhould do his brother no good: He thus in great care and vexation endured, yet notwithſtanding rubbed out as well as he could, till at length about the later end of Queen Mary there was a new ſearch made for the ſaid John Glover.

A new ſearch made for John Glover.

Whereupon the Sheriffs with their under officers and ſervants, being ſent to ſeek him, came into his houſe where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the chamber by himſelf, the Officers bruſting into the houſe, and ſearching other rooms, came to the chamber door where this John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch ſoftly with his hand, perceived and heard the Officers buskeling about the door, amongſt whom, one of the ſaid Officers having the ſtring in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the ſame.

The providence of God again in ſaving John Glover. Agnes Glover wife to John Glove, apprehended.

In the mean time another coming by (whoſe voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, ſaying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the Biſhop, at length after much adoe was conſtrained to give place to their tyranny: John Glover in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an Ague, whereupon not long after he left his life, which the cruell Papiſts ſo long had ſought for.

D. Dracot not ſuffering John Glover to be buried in the Churchyard.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the perſecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembred. Who after that he was dead, and buried in the Churchyard without Prieſt or Clerk, D. Dracot then Chancellor, ſix weeks after, ſent for the Parſon of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The Parſon anſwered that he was then ſick, and knew not of it. Then the Chancellor commanded the Parſon to go home, and to cauſe the body of the ſaid John Glover to be taken up, and to be caſt over the wall into the high way: The Parſon again anſwered, that he had bin ſix weeks in the earth, and ſo ſmelled, that none was able to abide the ſavour of him. Well, quoth D. Dracot, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoul, and a twelve moneth after take up his bones (for then the fleſh will be conſumed) and caſt them over the wall, that Carts and Horſes may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the Church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the Parſon of the Town, who told the ſame to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Fynden in Darbiſhire, and to M. Robert Glovers wife, by whoſe credible information we received the ſame.

John Glover after his death judged of D. Dracot to be a damned ſoule.

Teſtimony of the ſtory.

The manner of handling the body of Will. Glover after his death.

Not much unlike uſage was practiſed alſo by theſe Catholike children of the mother Church, upon the body of William the third brother. Whom after it had pleaſed Almighty God about the ſame ſeaſon to call out of this vale of miſery, the good diſpoſed people of the Town of Weme in Shropſhire, where he died, brought the body unto the Pariſh Church, intending there to have it buried.

Bernard a Popiſh Curate of Weme.

buried. But one Bernard being then Curate of the ſaid Church (and yet is as I hear ſay to this day) to ſtop the buriall thereof, rode to the Biſhop named Rauſe Bane, to certifie him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice a Taylor, would have enterred him. But then came John Thorlyne of Weme with other mo, and would not ſuffer the bodie to be buried; expreſſing to us the contrarie examples of good Tobie: for as he was religious in burying the dead, ſo this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: ſo that after he had laine there two dayes and one night, cometh the foreſaid Bernard the Curate with the Biſhops letter, the contents of which letter being copied out word for word, here followeth.

Io. Thorlyne againſt the burying of William Glovers brother.

A copie of the Biſhops letter written to the Pariſh of Weme.

The letter of Rauſe Baine B. of Cheſter, for the not burying of W. Glovers body.

Vnderſtanding that one Glover an heretick, is dead in the Pariſh of Weme, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this countrey been known for a rebell againſt our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy Sacraments and ceremonies uſed in holy Church, and hath ſeparate himſelfe from the holy communion of all good Chriſtian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy Church, nor in his laſt daies did call for his ghoſtly father, but dyed without all rites belonging to a chriſtian man; I thought it good not only to command the Curate of Weme, that he ſhould not be buried in chriſtian mans buriall, but alſo will and command all the Pariſh of Weme, that no man procure, help, nor ſpeak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the Church-wardens of Weme in ſpeciall, and all the Pariſh of the ſame, that they aſſiſt the ſaid Curate in defending and letting, and procuring that he be not buried either in the Church, or within the wanybles of the church-yard: and likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the bodie to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will anſwer at their peril. At Eccleſch this ſixth of September Anno 1558.

By your Ordinarie, Radulph Coventry and Lichfield.

By the vertue of this foreſaid letter, ſo it fell out, that they which brought the corps thither, were faine at their own charges to carry it backe again. But for ſo much as the bodie was corrupted and ſmelt ſo ſtrongly that unneth any man might come neere it, they were forced to draw it with horſes into a broome field, and there was he buried.

The dead corps of W. Glover dragged with horſe into the fields.

Witneſſes of the godly end of the ſayd Willam Glover, dying in the true faith and confeſſion of Chriſt, Maſter Nowell Deane of Lichfield, George Wileſtone and his Wife, Thomas Conſtantine, Roger Wydhouſe, Iohn Prynne, George Torpelley, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in theſe Catholike Church-men, is alſo to be ſeene and noted in the burying of one Maſter Edward Burton Eſquire, who in the ſame Dioceſſe of Cheſter, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would anſwer for it, that his body ſhould be buried in his Pariſh Church (which was S. Chaddes in Shreſburie) ſo that no Maſſemonger ſhould be preſent thereat. Which thing being declared to the Curate of that Pariſh, named Sir John Marſhall, and the bodie being withall brought to the buriall, upon the ſame day when the Queen was crowned, the Curate being therewith offended, ſayd plainly, that he ſhould not be buried in the Church there. Whereunto one of his friends named George Torpelley anſwering againe, ſayd, that God would judge him in the laſt day, &c. Then the Prieſt, judge God (ſaith he) or Divell, the body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his own Garden, where he is no doubt as neere the Kingdome of Heaven, as if he had been buried in the middeſt of the Church.

M. Edward Burton not ſuffered to be buried in chriſtian buriall, the ſame day when Queene Elizabeth was crowned.

Moreover, in the ſayd County of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the Pariſh of Whitchurch, was burned in Hartford Weſt, Sir John Pgone being Sheriffe the ſame time, which ſeemeth to be about the latter year of King Henry the Eighth. Whoſe name becauſe it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give ſome little touch of him, having now in hand to ſpeak of the perſecution within the Dioceſſe of Coventrie and Lichfield.

Oliver Richardine in Hartford Weſt, Martyr.

The Matyrdome of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

After the ſuffering of Maſter Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bongey at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two bleſſed Martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Elie, by John Fuller the Biſhops Chancellor of Elie, Doctor Sharton his Suffragane, Robert Steward Dean of Elie, John Chriſtopherſon Dean of Norwich, &c. Anno 1555. October 9. the names of which Martyrs, were William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the Town of Wisbich, which William Wolſey being a Conſtable, dwelling and inhabiting in the Town of Well, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard Gentleman, a Juſtice appointed for thoſe dayes, who extremely handled the ſame William Wolſey, and bound him to the good abearing, cauſing him to put in ſureties upon his good behaviour, untill the next generall Seſſions holden within the Ile of Elie: and ſo the ſayd Wolſey being diſpatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his houſe and dwelling place, coming to dwell in the Town of Wisbich. Then being called again at the next Seſſions, he was ſtill conſtrained to put in new ſureties, which at the length he refuſed to do, and ſo was commanded to the Jayle, at the Siſe holden at Elie in Lent.

W. Wolſey, and R. Pygot Martyrs.

R. Everard extreme againſt W. Wolſey.

W. Wolſey commanded to the Jayle.

In the Eaſter weeke following, their repaired to conferre with him, D. Fuller, the Chancellor, with Chriſtopherſon, and one D. Yong, who layd earneſtly to his charge that he was out of the catholike faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become ſuch a Lay-man as he was, to do. The ſayd William Wolſey ſtanding ſtill a great while, ſuffering them to ſay their pleaſures, at the laſt anſwered in this wiſe; Good Maſter Doctor, what did our Saviour Chriſt mean, when he ſpake theſe words written in the 23. Chapter of S. Mathews Goſpel, Wo be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, ye hypocrites, for ye ſhut up the Kingdome of Heaven before men: ye your ſelves go not in, neither ſuffer ye them that come to enter in?

D. Fuller, Chriſtopherſon and D. Yong come to confer with Wolſey.

Wolſey putteth a queſtion to the Doctors.

Yea, ſaith Doctor Fuller, you muſt underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the Scribes and Phariſees.

Nay Maſter Doctor (ſaith Wolſey) Chriſt ſpake even to you, and your fellowes here preſent, and to all other ſuch like as you be.

Away Maſter Doctor (ſayd Chriſtopherſon) for you can do no good with this man. Yet ſaith D. Fuller, I will leave thee a book to read, I promiſe thee of a learned mans doing, that is to ſay of D. Watſons doing (who was then B. of Lincolne,)

D. Watſons book of Sermons or Homilies.

D. Fuller again reſorteth to William Wolſey.

Wolſey receiving the ſame book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifeſtly appear contrary to the known truth of Gods word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the ſayd D. Fuller, reſorting again to the priſon houſe to conferre with the ſayd Wolſey, did aſk him how he liked the ſayd book (thinking that he had wone him by the reading of the ſame:) who anſwered him and ſayd, Sir, I like the book no otherwiſe than I thought before I ſhould finde it. Whereupon the Chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night when D. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book raced with a pen by the ſayd Wolſey. The which he ſeeing, and being vexed therewith, ſayd, Oh this is an obſtinate heretick, and hath quite marred my book.

The Chancellor giveth leave to Wolſey to depart.

Then the Siſe holden at Wisbich drawing nigh, Doctor Fuller commeth againe to the ſayd Wolſey, and ſpeaketh unto him on this manner; Thou doeſt much trouble my conſcience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, ſo that I heare no more complaint of thee, and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, ſo far as I may, I promiſe thee I will not hear of it.

Maſter Doctor (quoth Wolſey) I was brought hither by a law, aud by a law I will be dolivered.

W. Wolſey laid in the Caſtle of Wiſbich

Then being brought to the Seſſions before named, Wolſey was layd in the Caſtle at Wisbitch, thinking to him and all his friends, that he ſhould have ſuffered there at that preſent time, but it proved nothing ſo.

Robert Pygot Painter preſented for not comming to the Church.

Then Robert Pygot the Painter, being at liberty, was there preſented by ſome evill diſpoſed perſons (ſworn men as they called them) for not comming to the Church

Talk between Sir Clement Higham Judge and Robert Pygot.

The ſayd Pygot being called in the Seſſions, would not abſent himſelf, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Hygham being Judge, who ſayd unto him; Ah, are you the holy father the Painter? how chance ye came not to the Church? Sir, quoth the Painter, I am not out of the Church I truſt in God.

No Sir, ſaid the Judge? this is no Church, this is a Hall. Yea ſir, ſayd Pygot, I know very well it is a Hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, is never abſent, but preſent in the Church of God.

Robert Pygot brought to the Jayle, where W. Wolſey lay.

Wolſey and Pygot returned to Ely to priſon.

Ah Sirra, ſayd the Judge, you are too high learned for me to talk withall: wherefore I will ſend you to them that be better learned than I, ſtraightwayes commanding him to the Jayle where Wolſey lay. So the Seſſions being broken up and ended, the ſayd Wolſey and Pygot were carried again to Elie into priſon, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their neighbors of Wisbich aforeſayd, being at Elie, came to ſee how they did.

Tho. Goodrick Biſhop of Ely. The Biſhops Chaplaine a Frenchman confirmeth the priſoners in the truth.

There came thither alſo a Chaplain of Biſhop Gooderikes a Frenchman borne, one Peter Valentius, who ſayd unto the ſayd Wolſey and Pygot; My brethren, according to mine office I am come to talk with you, for I have been Amner here this xx. years and above. Wherefore I muſt deſire you my brethren to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you, I promiſe you, not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and deſire in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of the Goſpel and word, and I beſeech the Almighty God for his Sonne Jeſus Chriſts ſake to preſerve both you and me in the ſame unto the end. For I know not my ſelfe (my brethren) how ſoon I ſhall be at the ſame point that you now are. Thus with many other like words he made an end, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be prayſed therefore.

Pygot and Wolſey called to judgement in the Biſhops conſiſtory.

Then within ſhort time after, Pygot and Wolſey were called to judgement about the ix. day of October, before Doctor Fuller then Chancellor, with old Doctor Sharton, Chriſtopherſon, and others in Commiſſion, who laid earneſtly to their charge for their beliefe in divers articles, but eſpecially of the ſacrament of the altar. Whereunto their anſwer was, that the Sacrament of the altar was an Idol, and that the naturall body and blood of Chriſt was not preſent really in the ſayd Sacrament, and to this opinion they ſayd they would ſtick, beleeving perfectly the ſame to be no hereſie that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would ſtand. Then ſayd the Doctors, that they were out of the Catholike faith.

The words of Nicholas Sharton to the Martyrs.

Wolſeys anſwer to Sharton.

Then Doctor Sharton ſayd unto them; Good brethren remember your ſelves, and become new men, for I my ſelfe was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, ſaid Wolſey, are you become a new man? Woe be to thee thou wicked new man, for God ſhall juſtly judge thee.

D. Fuller then ſpake, ſaying, this Wolſey is an obſtinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the Painter he is a man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive) and is ſoon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evill opinion I finde in him.

M. Chriſtopherſon writeth what he would have Pygot confeſſe of the ſacament.

Then Chriſtopherſon called for pen and inke, and wrote theſe words following; I Robert Pygot do beleeve, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remained no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, the ſelfe ſame that was borne of the Virgin Mary; and reading it to the Painter, he ſayd thus; Doſt thou beleeve all this according as it is written?

Pygot refuſeth to ſubſcribe to Chriſtopherſons faith.

Pygot. No ſir, ſayd the Painter, that is your faith, and not mine.

M. Peacock appointed to preach at the burning of Wolſey and Pygot.

Chriſtopher. Lo, Maſter D. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go, he is as much an heretike as the other. And ſo immediately judgement was given upon them to dye. Which done, after the ſentence read, they were ſent again to the priſon, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock Batchelor of Divinitie being appointed to preach, took his text out of the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Corinth. 5. chapt. of one that had lived unordinately, by abuſing his fathers wife; likening the ſayd Pygot, and Wolſey to the ſame man, oftentimes ſaying, that ſuch members muſt be cut off from the congregation, moſt maliciouſly reporting the ſayd Wolſey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

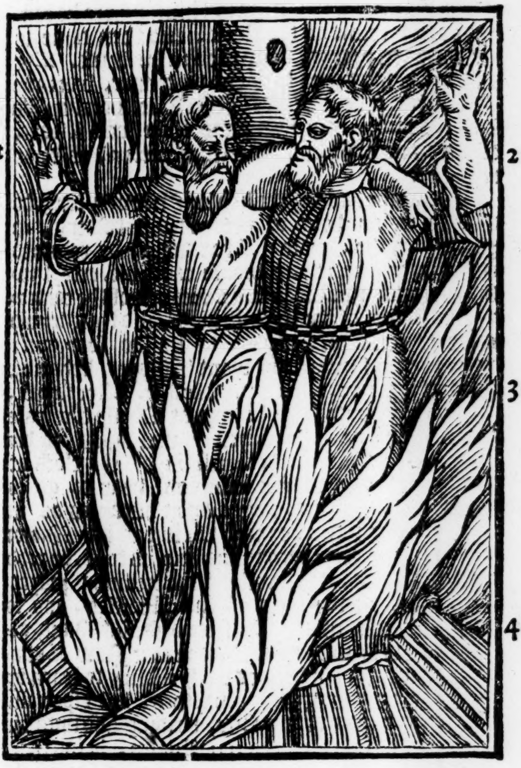
So his Sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolſey being brought to the place of execution, and ſo bound to the ſtake with a chaine, thither commeth one ſir Rich. Collinſon a Prieſt, at that time deſtitute of any biding place or ſtay of benefice, who ſayd unto Wolſey; brother Wolſey, the Preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day, that you are quite out of the Catholike faith, and deny baptiſme, and that you do erre in the holy Scripture; wherefore I beſeech you for the certifying of my conſcience with others here preſent, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do erre or find fault.

W. Wolſey cleareth himſelfe to be found in all points of the Scripture belonging to his ſalvation.

Wolſey. I take the eternall and everlaſting God to witneſſe, that I do erre in no part or point of Gods book the holy Bible, but hold and beleeve in the ſame to be moſt firme and ſound doctrine in all points moſt worthy for my ſalvation, and for all other Chriſtians to the end of the world. Whatſoever mine adverſaries report by me, God forgive them therefore. With that cometh one to the fire with a great ſheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been new Teſtaments. O ſaid Wolſey, give me one of them, and Pygot deſired another, both of them clapping them cloſe to their breſts, ſaying the 106 Pſalm, deſiring all the people to ſay, Amen, and ſo received the fire moſt thankfully.

Books burned with Wolſey and Pygot.

The burning of William Wolſey and Robert Pygot, Martyrs.



The Martyrdom of Will. Wolſey and Rob. Pygot at Ely, 1555. Octob. 16.

Witneſſes and Informers hereof.

Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Beſt, &c.

Concerning the ſtory of William Wolſey, I received moreover from the Univerſity of Cambridge by a credible perſon, and my faithfull friend William Fulke, this relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the Reader in order and form as followeth.

There were burned at Ely two godly Martyrs, the one called Wolſey, the other Pygot. In theſe two appeared a divers diſpoſition of ſpirit. Pygot was milde, humble and modeſt, promiſing that he would be conformable to his perſecutors, if they could perſwade him by the Scripture. The other, Wolſey was ſtout, ſtrong, and vehement, as one having πληροφορίαν of the ſpirit, and deteſted all their doings, as of whom he was ſure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfull jealous over his companion, fearing leſt his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the ſame day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſirous to glorifie God with his ſuffring, that being wonderfull ſore tormented in the priſon with the tooth-ake, he feared nothing more than that he ſhould depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

The natures of Wolſey and Pygot deſcribed.

The jealous ſpirit of Will. Wolſey.

W. Wolſey deſirous of Martyrdom.

Wolſey calleth the day of his Martyrdom his glad day.

This Wolſey being in priſon at Ely, was viſited by Thomas Hodilo Beer-Brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be diſtributed (as he appointed) part to his wiſe, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and eſpecially ſix ſhillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, Smith, dwelling at Wells in Cambridge-ſhire, within the Juriſdiction of the Ile of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried ſo long behinde him, ſeeing that he was the firſt that delivered him the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, deſiring him to make haſte after as faſt as he could.

Tho. Hodilo, Beer-Brewer in Ely witneſſe of the ſtory.

Rich. Denton firſt converter of Wolſey.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witneſſe of his doings herein, delivered the ſaid ſumme of money to one Maſter Laurence Preacher in Eſſex (who then reſorted often to his houſe) to be diſtributed as Wolſey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this ſix ſhillings eight pence was delivered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforeſaid, his anſwer was this; I confeſſe it is true, but alas I cannot burn. This was almoſt one whole year after Wolſey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cauſe of Chriſt, was afterward burned againſt his will, when Chriſt had given peace to his Church. For in the year of our Lord 1564. on Tueſday being the eighteenth of April, his houſe was ſet on fire, and while he went in to ſave his goods, he loſt his life, with two other that were in the ſame houſe.

Money ſent by Wolſey to Denton.

Wolſey exhorting R. Denton to perſiſt in the truth

Denton afraid of burning.

R. Denton burned in his own houſe, which before would not burn for Chriſt, Anno 1564. April 18.

Witneſſed by Thomas Hodilo
and William Fulke.

Not much unlike to this, was alſo the example of M. Weſt, Chaplain to Biſhop Ridley, who refuſing to die in Chriſts cauſe with his Maſter, ſaid Maſſe againſt his conſcience, and ſoon after died.

Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Maſter Hugh Latimer, both Biſhops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Chriſt, with their doings, conferences, and ſufferings deſcribed.

The ſame year, moneth and day in which the foreſaid two Martyrs, William Wolſey and Thomas Pygot ſuffered at Ely, the which was, Anno 1555. Octob. 16. followed alſo at Oxford the ſlaughter of two other ſpeciall and ſingular Captains and principall Pillar of Chriſts Church, Maſter Ridley Biſhop of London, and Maſter Hugh Latimer, Biſhop ſometime of Worceſter, of whoſe famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joyned with no leſſe commendable ſincerity of life, as all the Realm can witneſſe ſufficiently; ſo it needeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this time in ſetting forth a full deſcription of the ſame, but onely to comprehend briefly in a few words touching the order of their lives, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerveth to the due inſtruction of the Reader, and maketh to the uſe of this preſent hiſtory, in declaring firſt their beginning and bringing up, then their ſtudies and acts in the Univerſity, their preferments alſo by their ſtudies to higher dignity, at laſt their trouble and travell in ſetting forth Religion, and in maintaining the ſame to the ſhedding of their blood. And firſt to begin with the life of M. Ridley, whoſe ſtory here enſueth.

D. Nicholas Ridley, martyr.

AMong many other worthy and ſundry hiſtories and notable acts of ſuch as of late dayes have been turmoiled, murthered, and martyred for the true Goſpel of Chriſt in Queen Maries raign, the tragicall ſtory and life of Doctor Ridley, I thought good to commend to Chronicle, and leave to perpetuall memory; beſeeching thee (gentle Reader) with care and ſtudy well to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deeply to print the ſame in thy breſt, ſeeing him to be a man beautified with ſuch excellent qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired and godly learned, and now written doubtleſſe in the book of life, with the bleſſed Saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongſt the glorious company of Martyrs. Firſt deſcending of a ſtock right worſhipfull, he was born in Northumberlandſhire, who being a childe learned his Grammar with great dexterity in Newcaſtle, and was removed from thence to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he in ſhort time became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptneſſe, he was called to higher functions, and offices of the Univerſity, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be Head of Pembroke Hall, and there made Doctor of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who at his return was made Chaplain to King Henry the eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter; and ſo from thence tranſlated to the See and Biſhoprick of London in King Edwards dayes.

Nicholas Ridley born in Northumberland.
Nich. Ridley learned at Newcaſtle.
Nich. Ridley Maſter of Pembroke hall in Cambridge.
Nich. Ridley made Doctor of Divinity.
Nich. Ridley K. Henries Chaplain.
Nich. Ridley made Biſhop of Rocheſter.
Nich. Ridley made Biſhop of London.

In which calling and offices he ſo travelled and occupied himſelf by preaching and teaching the true and wholſome Doctrine of Chriſt, that never good childe was more ſingularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and Dioceſſe. Every holy-day and Sunday he lightly preached in ſome one place or other, except he were otherwiſe letted by weighty affairs and buſineſſe, to whoſe Sermons the people reſorted ſwarming about him like Bees, and coveting the ſweet flowers and wholſome juyce of the fruitfull Doctrine, which he did not onely preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his life, as a glittering Lantern to the eyes and ſenſes of the blinde, in ſuch pure order and chaſtity of life (declining from evill deſires and concupiſcences) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

The fruitfull diligence of B. Ridley in preaching Gods Word.

Beſides this, he was paſſingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of ſuch reading withall, that of right he deſerved to be comparable to the beſt of this our age, as can teſtifie as well divers his notable works, pithy Sermons, and ſundry his diſputations in both the Univerſities, and alſo his very adverſaries, all which will ſay no leſſe themſelves.

B. Ridley of great memory and Reading.

Beſides all this, wiſe he was of counſell, deep of wit, and very politick in all his doings. How mercifull and carefull he was to reduce the obſtinate Papiſts from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleneſſe to winne them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Doctor Heath, late Archbiſhop of York, being priſoner with him in King Edwards time in his houſe one yeer, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a Prelate, and in all points ſo good, godly, and ghoſtly a man, that England may juſtly rue the loſſe of ſo worthy a treaſure. And thus hitherto concerning theſe publike matters.

Now will I ſpeak ſomething further particularly of his perſon and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but ſtraightwayes forgetting all injuries and offences done againſt him. He was very kinde and naturall to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwiſe than right would require, giving them alwayes for a generall rule, yea to his own brother and ſiſter, that they doing evill ſhould ſeek or look for nothing at his hand, but ſhould be as ſtrangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his brother and ſiſter, which uſed honeſty, and a godly trade of life.

B. Ridley comely of proportion and complexion.

The fair conditions of B. Ridley, tender to his kindred, yet no otherwiſe than truth and right required.

He uſing all kindes of wayes to mortifie himſelf, was given to much prayer and contemplation: For duely every morning, ſo ſoon as his apparell was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the ſpace of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his ſtudy (if there came no other buſineſſe to interrupt him) where he continued till tenne of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily uſed in his houſe. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he uſed little talk, except otherwiſe occaſion by ſome had been miniſtred, and then was it ſober, diſcreet and wiſe, and ſometime merry, as cauſe required.

Biſhop Ridley a great mortifier of himſelf.

The order of his ſtudy and diet.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he uſed to ſit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at the Cheſſe: That done, he returned to his ſtudy, and there would continue, except ſuters or buſineſſe abroad were occaſion of the contrary, untill five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the fore-noon: which being finiſhed, he went to ſupper, behaving himſelf there as at his dinner before. After ſupper, recreating himſelf in playing at Cheſſe the ſpace of an hour, he would then return again to his ſtudie; continuing there till 11 of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then ſaying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he roſe. Being at his Manor of Fulham, as divers times he uſed to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apoſtles, and ſo going thorow all the Epiſtles of Saint Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Teſtament, hiring them beſides with money to learn by heart certain principall Chapters, but eſpecially the xiii Chapter of the Acts, reading alſo unto his houſhold oftentimes the 101 Pſalm, being marvellous carefull over his family, that they might be a ſpectacle of all vertue and honeſty to others. To be ſhort, as he was godly and vertuous himſelf, ſo nothing but vertue and godlineſſe raigned in houſe, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

His order after ſupper.

The carefull diligence of B. Ridley in inſtructing his family.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindely pity in the uſage of an old woman called Miſtris Boner, Mother to Doctor Boner ſometime Biſhop of London; which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Doctor Ridley, as the unworthy immanity and ingratefull diſpoſition again of D. Boner. Biſhop Ridley being at his Manor of Fulham, alwayes ſent for this ſaid Miſtreſſe Boner, dwelling in an houſe adjoyning to his houſe, to dinner and ſupper, with one Miſtreſſe Mungey, Boners ſiſter, ſaying, Go for my Mother Boner, who coming, was ever placed in the chair at the tables end, being ſo gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never diſplaced of her ſeat, although the Kings Councell had been preſent, ſaying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) by your Lordſhips favour, this place of right and cuſtome is for my mother Boner. But how well he was recompenced for this his ſingular gentleneſſe, and pitifull pity after, at the hands of the ſaid Doctor Boner, almoſt the leaſt childe that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley, than Boner and his? Who more went about to ſeek his deſtruction

than

The behaviour of B. Ridley to D. Boners mother.

The courteſie of Ridley, and the currishnes of Boner deſcribed and compared together.

B. Ridley good and kinde to Boners mother.

than he? recompenſing this gentleneſſe with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the ſtrait handling of Ridleys own naturall ſiſter, and George Shipſide her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleneſſe of the other did ſuffer Boners mother, ſiſter, and other of his kindred, not onely quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Boner, but alſo entertained them in his houſe, ſhewing much courteſie and friendſhip daily unto them: whereas on the other ſide, Biſhop Boner being reſtored again, would not ſuffer the brother and naturall ſiſter of Biſhop Ridley, and other his friends not onely not to enjoy that which they had by the ſaid their brother Biſhop Ridley, but alſo curriſhly without all order of law or honeſty, by extort power wreſted from them all the livings they had.

Boner unkinde and churliſh to B. Ridleys ſiſter, and ſeeketh the death of his brother in law.

And yet being not therewith ſatisfied, he ſought all the means he could to work the death of the foreſaid Shipſide, ſaying, that he would make twelve Godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to paſſe indeed, at what time he was priſoner at Oxford, had not God otherwiſe wrought his deliverance by means of Doctor Heath, then Biſhop of Worceſter. Teſte Georgio Shipſidio.

Whereby all good indifferent Readers notoriouſly have to underſtand, what great diverſity was in the diſpoſition of theſe two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and piety, ſo the other again as much or more excelled in churliſh ingratitude, and deſpitefull diſdain. But of this matter enough.

B. Ridley firſt converted by Bertrams book.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how Doctor Ridley was firſt called to the ſavouring and favouring of Chriſt and his Goſpel, partly by his diſputation before, and other his Treatiſes it may appear, that the firſt occaſion of his converſion, was by reading of Bertrams book of the Sacrament, whom alſo the conference with Biſhop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being thorowly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blinde and zealous in his old ignorance, ſo was he as conſtant and faithfull in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward) and ſo long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the Church, and proceedings of the Goſpel. But after that it ſo pleaſed the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of our ſtay, and to call from us King Edward that precious Prince, as the whole ſtate of the Church of England was left deſolate and open to the enemies hand: ſo this Biſhop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, eftſoon and with the firſt was laid hands upon, and committed to priſon, as before hath ſufficiently been expreſſed: firſt in the Tower, then after tranſlated from thence with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Maſter Latimer to Oxford, was with them incloſed in the common Jayl, and priſon of Bocardo, while at length, being diſſevered from them, he was committed to cuſtody in the houſe of one Iriſh, where he remained till the laſt day of his death and Martyrdom, which was from the yeer of our Lord, 1554, till the yeer 1555. and 16 day of October.

B. Ridley one of the firſt in trouble after the death of K. Edward.

B. Ridley in the Tower. B. Ridley removed to the priſon of Bocardo in Oxford.

Furthermore, as touching his diſputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and alſo of his determination had at Cambridge, alſo his travels in perſwading and inſtructing the Lady Mary before ſhe was Queen, his reaſons and conference likewiſe had in the Tower at the Lievtenants board, enough hath been ſaid already. Beſides this, other conferences he had in priſon both with D. Cranmer, and M. Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

A Conference had betwixt Maſter Ridley, and Maſter Latimer in priſon, upon the objection of Antonian, meaning by that name ſome popiſh Perſecutor, as Wincheſter, alluding thereby to the ſtory of Victor. lib. 3. De perſecut. Aphri.

M. Ridley.

In writing again ye have done me an unſpeakable pleaſure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not ſo filled withall, but that I thirſt much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleaſant. I pray you good father let me have one draught more to comfort my ſtomack. For ſurely except the Lord aſſiſt me with his gracious aid, in the time of his ſervice, I know I ſhall play but the part of a white livered Knight. But truely my truſt is in him, that in mine infirmity he ſhould trie himſelf ſtrong, and that he can make the coward in his cauſe to fight like a man.

Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors ſhall aſſault me: wherefore I pray you good father, for that you are an old Souldier, and an expert Warriour, and God knoweth I am but a yong ſouldier, and as yet of ſmall experience in theſe fits, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harneſſe. And now I would have you to think, that theſe darts are caſt at my head of ſome one of Diotrephes, or Antonins ſouldiers.

The objection of the Antonian.

Anton. object.

All men marvell greatly, why you, after the liberty which you have granted unto you, more than the reſt, do not go to Maſſe, which is a thing (as you know) now much eſteemed of all men, yea of the Queen her ſelf.

The Anſwer.

M. Ridleys anſwer. Luke 9. Gal. 2.

Becauſe no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the Kingdom of God, and alſo for the ſelf ſame cauſe why Saint Paul would not ſuffer Titus to be circumciſed, which is that the truth of the Goſpel might remain with us uncorrupt, Galat. the ſecond: And again, If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make my ſelf a Treſpaſſer. This is alſo another cauſe, leſt I ſhould ſeem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perſwaded is contrary to ſound doctrine, and ſo ſhould be a ſtumbling ſtock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a millſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the midſt of the Sea.

Matth. 18. Mark 9.

H. Latimer. John 15.

Except the Lord help me, ye ſay. Truth it is. For without me, ſaith he, ye can do nothing, much leſſe ſuffer death of our adverſaries, through the bloody law now prepared againſt us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it ſhall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make anſwer your ſelf ſo well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I beginne now to ſmell what you mean by travelling thus with me, you uſe me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he ſought wayes and means to teach me, and ſo do you. I thank you therefore moſt heartily. For indeed you miniſter armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, ſaving that I give my ſelf to prayer for my refuge.

Anton. object. 2.

What is it then that offendeth you ſo greatly in the Maſſe that you will not vouchſafe once either to hear it or ſee it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? have not you uſed in times paſt to ſay Maſſe your ſelf?

Nich. Ridleys anſwer. He meaneth his own confeſſion openly in preaching. Matth. 26. 1 Tim. 1.

I confeſſe unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for theſe matters I have done penance long ago, both at Pauls Croſſe, and alſo openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be deſirous to know, and will vouchſafe to hear what things do offend me in the Maſſe, I will rehearſe unto you thoſe things which be moſt clear, and ſeem to repugne moſt manifeſtly againſt Gods Word, and they be theſe: the ſtrange tongue; the want of the ſhewing of the Lords death; the breaking of the Lords Commandment of having a Communion; the Sacrament is not communicated to all, under both kindes, according to the Word of the Lord; the ſigne is ſervilely worſhipped for the thing ſignified; Chriſts Paſſion is injured, foraſmuch as this Maſſe ſacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of ſins; to be ſhort, the manifold ſuperſtitions, and trifling fondneſſe which are in the Maſſe, and about the ſame.

H. Latimer. John 19. 1 Cor. 15. 1 Tim. 3. John 15. Coloſ. 1.

Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you ſhall pregail more with praying, than with ſtudying, though mixture be beſt, for ſo one ſhall alleviate the tediouſneſſe of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reaſonable account of my faith given: for it ſhall be but in vain. They will ſay, as their fathers ſaid, when they have no more to ſay: We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die. Be ye ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, ſaith Saint Paul: and again, Perſiſtito, Stand faſt. And how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide, &c. But we ſhall be called obſtinate, ſturdy, ignoront, heady, and what not? ſo that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with ſuch men.

Anton. object. 3.

But you know how great a crime it is to ſeparate your ſelf from the communion or fellowſhip of the Church, and to make a ſchiſme, or diviſion. You have been reported to have hated the Sect of the Anabaptiſts, and allwayes to have impugned the ſame. Moreover this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the Heretikes called (Cathari) that they would not communicate with the Church.

N. Ridleys anſwer. 1 Cor. 11.

I know that the unity of the Church is to be retained by all means, and the ſame to be neceſſary to ſalvation. But I do not take the Maſſe, as it is at this day, for the communion of the Church, but a Popiſh device, whereby both the Commandement and Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miſerably deluded. The Sect of the Anabaptiſts, and the hereſie of the Novatians ought of right to be condemned, foraſmuch as without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe they wickedly ſeparated themſelves from the communion of the Congregation, for they did not alleadge that the Sacraments were unduely miniſtred, but turning away their eyes from themſelves, wherewith according to Saint Pauls rule they ought to examine themſelves, and caſting their eyes ever upon others, either Miniſters, or Communicants with them, they allwayes reproved ſomething for the which they abſtained from the Communion, as from an unholy thing.

H. Latimer. Hilarius contra Axen. Rom. 15.

I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this ſort with this ſaying of Hilary, The name of peace is beautifull, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and onely peace of the Church, which is Chriſts? I would you had that little book, there ſhould you ſee how much is to be given to unity. Saint Paul when he requireth unity, he joyneth ſtraight withall, ſecundum Ieſum Chriſtum, according to Jeſus Chriſt, no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. Yea Sir (quoth I) but in verity, not in Popery. Better is diverſity, than an unity in Popery. I had nothing again but ſcornfull jeers, with commandment to the Tower.

Anton. object. 4. Cypr. l. 1. ep. 2. Aug. ep. 1, 2.

But admit there be in the Maſſe that peradventure might be amended, or at leaſt made better: yea, ſeeing you will have it ſo, admit there be a fault; if you do not conſent thereto, why do you trouble your ſelf in vain? do you not know both by Cyprian and Auguſtine that communion of Sacraments doth not defile a man, but conſent of deeds?

N. Ridleys anſwer.

If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were ſome one thing of it ſelf indifferent (although I would wiſh nothing ſhould be done in the Church, which doth not edifie the ſame) yet for the continuance of the common quietneſſe I could be content to bear it. But foraſmuch as things done in the Maſſe tend openly to the overthrow of Chriſts Inſtitution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to conſent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well ſpoken, if it be well underſtood. But it is meant of them which ſuppoſe they are defiled if any ſecret vice be either in the Miniſters, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which do abhorre ſuperſtition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not ſuffer the ſame to be thruſt upon themſelves, or upon the Church inſtead of Gods Word and the truth of the Goſpel.

H. Latimer.

The very marrow bones of the Maſſe are altogether deteſtable, and therefore by no means to be born withall: ſo that of neceſſity the mending of it is to aboliſh it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon conſecration and tranſubſtantiation, the moſt Papiſts of them all will not ſet a button by the Maſſe, as a thing which they eſteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the Engliſh Communion, which of late was uſed, were as gainfull to them, as the Maſſe hath been heretofore, they would ſtrive no more for their Maſſe; from thence groweth the grief.

Anton. object. 5. Aug. lib. 1. de Simb. [illegible] contra Donat.

Conſider into what dangers you caſt your ſelf, if you forſake the Church; and you cannot but forſake it, if you refuſe to go to maſſe. For the Maſſe is the Sacrament of unity; without the Ark there is no ſalvation. The Church is the Ark and Peters Ship. Ye know this ſaying well enough; He ſhall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the Church to be his Mother. Moreover without the Church (ſaith S. Auguſtine) be the life never ſo well ſpent, it ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of heaven.

N. Ridleys anſwer. 1 Tim. 3. Apoc. 21. Epheſ. 1. Gal. 6. Phil. 3.

The holy Catholike or univerſall Church, which is the communion of Saints, the houſe of God, the City of God, the Spouſe of Chriſt, the body of Chriſt, the pillar and ſtay of the truth; this Church I believe, according to the Creed. This Church I do reverence, and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I ſay with S. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon Iſrael which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this Church is the holy Ghoſt. The marks wherby this Church is known unto me in this darke world, and in the midſt of this crooked and froward generation, are theſe;

The ſincere preaching of Gods holy Word, the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments, charity, and faithfull obſerving of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, according to the Word of God. And that Church or congregation which is garniſhed with theſe markes, is in very deed that heavenly Jeruſalem, which conſiſteth of thoſe that be borne from above. This is the mother of us all, and by Gods grace I will live and and die the childe of this Church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no ſalvation; and I ſuppoſe the reſidue of the places objected are rightly to be underſtood of this Church only. In times paſt (ſaith Chryſoſtome) there were many wayes to know the Church of Chriſt, that is to ſay, by good life, by miracles, by chaſtity, by doctrine, by miniſtring the Sacraments. But from that time that hereſies did take hold of the Church, it is onely known by the Scriptures which is the true Church. They have all things in outward ſhew, which the true Church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.

Apoc. 21.
John 3.
Gal. 4.

In op. im. hom. 49. in Matth.

1.Cor. 10.

And in the end concluded. Wherefore onely by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church. To that which they ſay, that the Maſſe is the ſacrament of unity, I anſwer; The bread which we break, according to the inſtitution of the Lord, is the Sacrament of the unity of Chriſts miſticall body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, forſomuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the Maſſe the Lords inſtitution is not obſerved; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is uſed) it may ſeeme a Sacrament of ſingularity, and of a certain ſpeciall priviledge for one ſect of people, whereby they may be diſcerned from the reſt, rather then a Sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is repreſented.

H. Latimer.

Yea, what fellowſhip hath Chriſt with Antichriſt? Therefore is it not lawfull to beare the yoke with Papiſts. Come forth from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves from them, ſaith the Lord. It is one thing to be the Church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the Church. Would God it were well known what is the forſaking of the Church. In the Kings daies that dead is, who was the Church of England? The King and his fautors, or Maſſemongers in corners? If the King and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the Church abiding in the ſame proceedings? If clanculary Maſſemongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary to the Kings proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church contrarying the Queens proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the Church, are the Church indeed. Separate thy ſelf from them that are ſuch, ſaith S. Paul; from whom? The text hath before. If any man follow other doctrine, &c. he is puft up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious diſputations. But wherefore are ſuch men ſaid to know nothing, when they know ſo many things? You know the old Verſes,

2 Cor. 6.

1 Tim. 6.

Hoc eſt neſcire, ſine Chriſto plurima ſcire:
Si Chriſtum bene ſcis, ſatis eſt, ſi cætera neſcis.

That is, This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Chriſt. If thou knoweſt Chriſt well, thou knoweſt enough, though thou know no more. Therefore would S. Paul know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt crucified, &c. As many as are Papiſts and Maſſemongers, they may well be ſaid to know nothing. For they know not Chriſt, foraſmuch as in their maſſing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Chriſt.

1 Cor. 2.

Anton. object. 6.

That Chriſt which you have deſcribed unto me is inviſible, but Chriſts Church is viſible and known. For elſe why would Chriſt have ſaid, Dic Eccleſiæ, Tell it unto the Church. For he had commanded in vaine to go unto the Church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

M. Ridleys anſwer.

The Church which I have deſcribed is viſible, it hath members which may be ſeen, and alſo I have afore declared, by what markes and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are ſo dazeled, that we cannot ſee, or that Satan hath brought ſuch darkneſſe into the world, that it is hard to diſcern the true Church; that is not the fault of the Church, but either of our blindneſſe, or of Satans darkneſſe. But yet in this moſt deep darkneſſe there is one moſt cleer candle, which of it ſelf alone is able to put away all darkneſſe. Thy word is a candle unto my feete, and a light unto my ſteps.

Anton. object. 7.

The Church of Chriſt is a Catholike or univerſall Church, diſperſed throughout the whole world; this Church is the great houſe of God, in this are good men and evill mingled together, goats and ſheep, corn and chaffe; it is the net which gathereth all kinde of fiſhes: this Church cannot erre, becauſe Chriſt hath promiſed it his ſpirit, which ſhall leade it into all truth, and that the gates of hell ſhall not prevaile againſt it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatſoever it ſhall looſe or binde upon earth, ſhall be ratified in heaven, &c. This Church is the pillar and ſtay of the truth; this is it for the which Saint Auguſtine ſaith, he beleeveth the Goſpel. But this univerſall Church alloweth the Maſſe, becauſe the more part of the ſame alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

M. Ridleys anſwer.

I grant that the name of the Church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometime for the whole multitude of them which profeſſe the name of Chriſt, of the which they are alſo named Chriſtians. But as S. Paul ſaith of the Jew, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Iſrael, are counted the ſeed; even ſo not every one which is a Chriſtian outwardly, is a Chriſtian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his. Therefore that Church which is his body, and of which Chriſt is the head, ſtandeth onely in living ſtones, and true Chriſtians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forſomuch as this Church (which is the ſecond taking of the Church) as touching the outward fellowſhip, is contained within the great houſe, and hath with the ſame, outward ſociety of the Sacraments and miniſtery of the Word, many things are ſpoken of that Univerſall Church (which S. Auguſtine calleth the mingled Church) which cannot truly be underſtood, but only of that pure part of the Church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled Church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole Church that which cannot agree unto the ſame, but by reaſon of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true Church indeed; or for the multitude of evill men, which is the malignant Church and Synagogue of Satan. And there is alſo a third taking of the Church; of the which, although there be ſeldomer mention in the Scriptures, in that ſignification, yet in the world, even in the moſt famous aſſemblies of Chriſtendome, this Church hath borne the greateſt ſwinge. This diſtinction preſuppoſed of the three ſorts of Churches, it is an eaſie matter, by a figure called Synecdoche, to give to the mingled and Univerſall Church, that which cannot truly be underſtood but onely of the one part thereof. But if any man will ſtiffely affirm, that Univerſall doth ſo pertain unto Church, that whatſoever Chriſt hath

Apoc. 2.

promiſed

Exod. 17.
3 Reg. 19.
Ierem. 6.
Theo. eccle. hiſt. lib. 2. ca. 15. 61.
Lyra in Mat.
De pœnit. diſt. 1. cap. eccleſ. lib. 2. cap.

promiſed to the Church, it muſt needs be underſtood of that, I would gladly know of the ſame man, where that univerſall Church was in the times of the Patriarkes and Prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moſes, (at ſuch time as the people would have ſtoned him) of Helias, of Ieremy, in the times of Chriſt, and the diſperſion of the Apoſtles, in the time of Arius, when Conſtantius was Emperour, and Felix Biſhop of Rome ſucceeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The Church (ſaith he) doth not ſtand in men by reaſon of their power or dignity, whether it be Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular. For many Princes and Popes, and other inferiours, have been found to have faln away from God. Therefore the Church conſiſteth in thoſe perſons, in whom is true knowledge and confeſſion of the faith, and of the truth. Evill men (as it is in a gloſſe of the decrees) are in the Church in name, and not indeed. And Saint Auguſtine, contra Creſconium grammaticum, ſaith; Whoſoever is affraid to be deceived by the darkneſſe of this queſtion, let him ask counſell at the ſame Church of it; which Church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulneſſe. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of ſuch Authors as I have reade in this matter, and ſuch like, are come into the hands of ſuch, as will not let me have the leaſt of all my written bookes; wherein I am inforced to complain of them unto God: for they ſpoile me of all my labours, which I have taken in my ſtudy theſe many yeers. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have uſed for the moſt part to gather out notes of my reading, and ſo to place them, that thereby I might have had the uſe of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I ſhould be thus ordered, and ſpoiled of the poore learning I had (as me thought) in ſtore, to the intent that I now deſtitute of that, ſhould from henceforth learn onely to know with Paul, Chriſt, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young Scholler, and to learn this leſſon ſo well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor wo, &c. make me ever to forget that, Amen, Amen.

1 Cor. 2.

H. Latimer.

Mel. de eccleſ.

I have no more to ſay in this matter; for you your ſelf have ſaid all that is to be ſaid. That ſame vehement ſaying of Saint Auguſtine, I would not beleeve the Goſpel, &c. was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have reade it well qualified of Philip Melanchthon; but my memory is altogether ſlippery. This it is in effect; The Church is not a Iudge, but a witneſſe. There were in his time that lightly eſteemed the teſtimony of the Church, and the outward miniſtery of Preaching, and rejected the outward word it ſelf, ſticking onely to their inward revelations. Such raſh contempt of the word provoked and drave Saint Auguſtine into that exceſſive vehemency. In the which after the bare ſound of the words, he might ſeem to ſuch as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the Church farre before the Goſpel, and that the Church hath a free authority over the ſame; but that godly man never thought ſo. It were a ſaying worthy to be brought forth againſt the Anabaptiſts, which think the open miniſtery to be a thing not neceſſary, if they any thing eſteemed ſuch teſtimonies. I would not ſtick to affirm, that the more part of the great houſe, that is to ſay, of the whole Univerſall Church, may eaſily erre. And again, I would not ſtick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the Name of Chriſt, and another thing to come together with a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt going before. For in the firſt Chriſt ruleth, in the later the Divell beareth the ſwing; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this later ſhall our ſix Articles come forth again into the light, they themſelves being very darkneſſe. But it is demnanded, whether the ſounder or better part of the Catholike Church may be ſeen of men, or no? Saint Paul ſaith; The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of ſpeaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text; The ſure foundation of God ſtandeth ſtill, and hath this ſeal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Chriſt depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole Catholike Church of England which depart from iniquity? How many of the Noble men, how many of the Biſhops or Clergy, how many of the rich men, or Merchants, how many of the Queens Counſellors, yea, how many of the whole Realm? In how ſmall room then I pray you is the true Church within the Realm of England? And where is it? And in what ſtate? I had a conceit of mine own well grounded (as they ſay) when I began, but now it is faln by the way.

A queſtion.

Anſwer.

Anton. object. 1.

Generall Councels repreſent the Univerſall Church, and have this promiſe of Chriſt; Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the middeſt of them. If Chriſt be preſent with two or three, then much more where there is ſo great a multitude, &c. But in generall Councels Maſſe hath been approved and uſed: Therefore, &c.

N. Ridleys anſwer.

Of the Univerſall Church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whenſoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the ſame, and to whom the whole miſticall body of Chriſt doth obey, are the lively members of Chriſt, and walk after the guiding and rule of his Word, and go before the flock towards everlaſting life, then undoubtedly Councels gathered together of ſuch guides and paſtours of the Chriſtian flock, do indeed repreſent the Univerſall Church, and being ſo gathered in the name of Chriſt, they have a promiſe of the gift and guiding of his ſpirit into all truth. But that any ſuch Councell hath at any time allowed the Maſſe, ſuch a one as ours was of late, in a ſtrange tongue, and ſtuffed with ſo many abſurdities, errours, and ſuperſtitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impoſſible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkneſſe, between Chriſt and Belial; ſo ſurely ſuperſtition and the ſincere religion of Chriſt, will-worſhip and the pure worſhipping of God, ſuch as God requireth of his, that is, in ſpirit and truth, can never agree together. But ye will ſay, where ſo great company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Chriſt. I anſwer; If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forſomuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the leſſe number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common Proverb; Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

2 Cor. 6.

Iohn 4.

A Proverb

H. Latimer.

As touching generall Councels, at this preſent I have no more to ſay, then you have ſaid. Onely I referre you to your own experience, to think of our Country Parliaments and Convocations, how and what ye have ſeen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth ſix Articles; for then the King would ſo have it, being ſeduced of certain. Afterward the more part did repell the ſame, our good Ioſias willing to have it ſo. The ſame Articles now again (alas)

The inconſtancy of the Engliſh Parliaments and Convocations.

another great, but worſe part hath reſtored. Oh what an uncertainty is this? But after this ſort moſt commonly are mans proceedings, God be mercifull unto us. Who ſhall deliver us from ſuch torments of minde? Therefore is death the beſt Phyſitian, but unto the faithfull, whom ſhe together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You muſt think this written upon this occaſion, becauſe you would needs have your paper blotted.

Death is the beſt Phyſitian to the faithfull.

Anton. object. 9.

If the matter ſhould go thus, that in generall Councels men ſhould not ſtand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices) then ſhould no certain rule be left unto the Church, by the which controverſies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be beleeved, that Chriſt would leave his Church deſtitute of ſo neceſſary a help and ſafegard.

Nich. Ridleys anſwer. Epheſ. 5.

Chriſt, who is the moſt loving ſpouſe of his eſpouſe the Church, who alſo gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctifie it unto himſelf, did give unto it abundantly all things which are neceſſary to ſalvation; but yet ſo, that the Church ſhould declare it ſelf obedient unto him in all things, and keep it ſelf within the bounds of his commandements, and further not to ſeek any thing which he teacheth not, as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Now further, for determination of all controverſies in Chriſts religion, Chriſt himſelf hath left unto the Church not onely Moſes and the Prophets, whom he willeth his Church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counſell at, but alſo the Goſpels, and the reſt of the body of the New Teſtament; in the which whatſoever is heard of Moſes and the Prophets, and whatſoever is neceſſary to be known unto ſalvation, is revealed and opened.

Luke 13. Iſaiah 8.

Rom. 10.

So that now we have no need to ſay, Who ſhall climb up into heaven, or who ſhall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needfull to be done? Chriſt hath done both, and hath commended unto us the Word of faith, which alſo is abundantly declared unto us in his Word written; ſo that hereafter if we walk earneſtly in this way, to the ſearching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Chriſts Spirit, which he hath promiſed unto his, we may finde it, and obtain everlaſting life. Should men ask counſell of the dead for the living, ſaith Iſaiah? Let them go rather to the Law and to the Teſtimony, &c. Chriſt ſendeth them that be deſirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, ſaying, Search the Scriptures. I remember a like thing well ſpoken of Hierome; Ignorance of the Scriptures, is the mother and cauſe of all errours. And in another place, as I remember in the ſame author; The knowledge of the Scriptures, is the food of everlaſting life. But now me thinketh I enter into a very broad Sea, in that I begin to ſhew, either out of the Scriptures themſelves, or out of the ancient Writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Chriſt would have the Church his Spouſe in all doubts to aske counſell at the Word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Teſtaments, the Old and the New. Neither do we read, that Chriſt in any place hath laid ſo great a burthen upon the members of his ſpouſe, that he hath commanded them to go to the Univerſall Church. Whatſoever things are written, ſaith Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Chriſt gave unto his Church, ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome ſhepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the Saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c.

Luke 11. Iſaiah 8. John 5. Hier. 23. in Mat. Rom. 12. Epheſ. 4.

But that all men ſhould meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the Articles of our faith, I neither finde it commanded of Chriſt, nor written in the Word of God.

H. Latimer. 2 Tim. 3.

There is diverſity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politick and civill matters. For in the firſt we muſt ſtand onely to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and inſtructed unto ſalvation, if they well be underſtood. And they offer themſelves to be well underſtood onely to them, which have good wils, and give themſelves to ſtudy and prayer. Neither are there any men leſſe apt to underſtand them, then the prudent and wiſe men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civill or politick matters, oftentimes the Magiſtrates do tolerate a leſſe evill, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this ſaying oft in their mouthes; Better an inconvenience then a miſchief. And it is the property of a wiſe man, ſaith one, to diſſemble many things; and he that cannot diſſemble, cannot rule. In which ſayings they bewray themſelves, that they do not earneſtly weigh what is juſt, what is not. Wherefore forſomuch as mans lawes, if it be but in this reſpect onely, that they be deviſed by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are inforced of neceſſity to ſuffer many things out of ſquare, and are compelled ſometime to winke at the worſt things, ſeeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwiſe, they do ordain that the more part ſhall take place. You know what theſe kindes of ſpeeches mean, I ſpeak after the manner of men; ye walk after the manner of men, all men are lyers. And that of S. Auguſtine, If ye live after mans reaſon, ye do not live after the will of God.

Galath. 5. 1 Cor. 3. Rom. 3. Pſal. 119.

Anton. object. 10.

If ye ſay that Councels have ſometime erred, or may erre, how then ſhould we beleeve the Catholike Church? for that Councels are gathered by the authority of the Catholike Church.

N. Ridleys anſwer.

From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument; but from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a moſt ſure argument. But now that Councels have ſometime erred, it is manifeſt. How many Councels were there in the Eaſt parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene Councell? and all thoſe which would not forſake the ſame, they called by a ſlanderous name (as they thought) Homouſians. Was not Athanaſius, Chryſoſtome, Cyril, Euſtachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, baniſhed and condemned as famous heretickes, and that by wicked Councels? How many things are there in the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Councels, which the Papiſts themſelves do much miſlike? But here peradventure one man will ſay unto me; We will grant you this in provinciall Councels, or Councels of ſome one nation, that they may ſometimes erre, forſomuch as they do not repreſent the Univerſall Church; but it is not to be beleeved, that the generall and full Councels have erred at any time. Here if I had my Books of the Councels, or rather ſuch notes as I have gathered out of thoſe Books, I could bring ſomething which ſhould ſerve for this purpoſe. But now ſeeing I have them not, I will recite one place onely out of S. Auſten, which (in my judgement) may ſuffice in this matter in ſtead of many. Who knoweth not (ſaith he) that the holy Scripture is ſo ſet before us, that it is not lawfull to doubt of it, and that the letters of Biſhops may be reproved by other mens words, and by Councels; and that the Councels themſelves which are gathered by Provinces and Countries, do give place to the authority of the generall and full Councels; and that the former and generall Councels are amended

Soc. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 2. Soc. eccleſ. H 2, 1. cap. 24. 32. Theo. lib. 5. cap. 34. Objection. Anſwer. Lib. 2. de baptiſ. cont. Don. c. 3.

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The Biſhops book.

ded by the later, when as by ſome experience of things, either that which was ſhut up, is opened, or that which was hid, is known. Thus much out of Auguſtine. But I will pleade with our Antoman, upon matter confeſſed. Here with us when as Papiſtry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Biſhops Book, made in the time of King Henry the eighth, whereof the Biſhop of Wincheſter is thought to be either the firſt father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I ſay) ſharply reprove the Florentine Councell, in which was decreed the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, and that with the conſent of the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in thoſe dayes our learned ancient Fathers and Biſhops of England did not ſtick to affirm, that a generall Councell might erre. But me think I hear another man deſpiſing all that I have brought forth, and ſaying, Theſe which you have called Councels, are not worthy to be called Councels, but rather Aſſemblies, and Conventicles of Heretickes. I pray you ſir, why do you judge them worthy of ſo ſlanderous a name? Becauſe (ſaith he) they decreed things hereticall; contrary to true godlineſſe and ſound doctrine, and againſt the faith of Chriſtian religion. The cauſe is weighty, for the which they ought of right ſo to be called. But if it be ſo that all Councels ought to be deſpiſed, which decree any thing contrary to ſound doctrine, and the true Word, which is according to godlineſſe, forſomuch as the Maſſe, ſuch as we had here of late, is openly againſt the Word of God; forſooth it muſt follow of neceſsity, that all ſuch Councels, as have approved ſuch Maſſes, ought of right to be fled and deſpiſed, as conventicles and aſſemblies of men that ſtray from the truth.

1 Tim. 6.

The Biſhop of Romes authority.

Another man alledgeth unto me the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, without which, neither can the Councels (ſaith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning religion. But this objection is onely grounded upon the ambitious and ſhameleſſe maintainance of the Romiſh tyranny, and uſurped dominion over the Clergy, which tyranny we Engliſh men long ago, by the conſent of the whole Realm, have expulſed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book ſet forth de utraque poteſtate (that is, of both the powers) doth cleerly ſhew. I grant that the Romiſh ambition hath gone about to challenge to it ſelf and to uſurpe ſuch a priviledge of old time. But the Councell of Carthage, in the yeer of our Lord 457. did openly withſtand it, and alſo the Councell at Milevite, in the which S. Auguſtine was preſent, did prohibite any appellations to be made to Biſhops beyond the Sea.

England abjured the Popes ſupremacy.

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 22.

Anton. object. 11.

Epheſ. 4. 8.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, the good men are not to be forſaken for the evill, but the evill are to be borne withall for the good. Ye will not ſay (I trow) that in our congregations all be evill.

Nich. Ridleys anſwer.

I ſpeak nothing of the goodneſſe or evilneſſe of your congregations; but I fight in Chriſts quarrell againſt the Maſſe, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Chriſt. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the ſtrife, ſhall be broken down. Now to the place of S. Auſten; for bearing with the evill for the goods ſake, there ought to be added other words, which the ſame writer hath expreſſedly in other places; that is, if thoſe evill men do caſt abroad no ſeeds of falſe doctrine, nor leade other to deſtruction by their example.

Aug. lib. 3. cont. literas Parm. cap. 23.

Anton. object. 12.

It is perillous to attempt any new thing in the Church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perillous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abſtaining from the Church by reaſon of the Maſſe, the example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are clean contrary: Therefore, &c. The firſt part of the argument is evident, and the ſecond part I prove thus. In the times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, all things were moſt corrupt. The people was miſerably given to ſuperſtition, the Prieſts deſpiſed the Law of God; and yet notwithſtanding we read not that Prophets made any ſchiſmes or diviſions, and Chriſt himſelf haunted the Temple, and taught in the Temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the Temple at the ninth houre of prayer; Paul after the reading of the law, being deſired to ſay ſomething to the people, did not refuſe to do it. Yea further, no man can ſhew, that either the Prophets, or Chriſt, and his Apoſtles did refuſe to pray together with others, to ſacrifice, or to be partakers of the Sacraments of Moſes Law.

Luke 21.
Heb. 1.
Acts 13.

N. Ridleys anſwer.

I grant the former part of your argument, and to the ſecond part I ſay, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt ſtate in the times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, and of the Temple being haunted of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding the ſecond part of your argument is not ſufficiently proved: For ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, either Chriſt or his Apoſtles did in the Temple communicate with the people in any kinde of worſhipping, which is forbidden by the Law of God, or repugnant to the Word of God. But that can no where be ſhewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refuſed to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the Word of God, and to do all other things whatſoever may agree with the Word of God. S. Auſten ſpeaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I ſuppoſe in the Epiſtle ad Ianuarium) although he grant they grievouſly oppreſſed that people, both for the number, and bondage of the ſame, yet he calleth them burdens of the Law, which were delivered unto them in the Word of God, not preſumptions of men, which notwithſtanding if they were not contrary to Gods Word, might after a ſort be borne withall. But now, ſeeing they are contrary to thoſe things which are in the Word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Chriſtian or no, let him judge which is ſpirituall, which feareth God more then man, and loveth everlaſting life more then this ſhort and tranſitory life. To that which was ſaid, that my fact lacketh example of the godly Fathers that have gone before, the contrary is moſt evident in the hiſtory of Toby. Of whom it is ſaid, that when all other went to the golden Calves, which Jeroboam the King of Iſrael had made, he himſelf alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jeruſalem unto the Temple of the Lord, and there worſhipped the Lord God of Iſrael. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the Prieſts of Bethel, and to the Altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantaſie? Which plagues King Joſias, the true Miniſter of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we reade, that the Prophets or the Apoſtles did agree with the people in their Idolatry? When as the people went a whoring with their hill-altars, for what cauſe I pray you did the Prophets rebuke the people ſo much, as for their falſe worſhipping of God after their own mindes, and not after Gods Word? For what was ſo much as that was? Wherefore the falſe Prophets ceaſed not to maligne the true Prophets of God: therefore they beate them, they baniſhed them, &c. How elſe I pray you can you underſtand that S. Paul alledgeth, when he ſaith, what

Epheſ. 1. 19.

Tob. 1.

3 Reg. 13.

4 Reg. 13.

Ierm. 20.
Heb. 11.

2 Cor. 6.

concord hath Chriſt with Belial? Either what part hath the Beleever with the Infidell? or how agreeth the Temple of God with Images? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God himſelf hath ſaid; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves from them (ſaith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſonnes and daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty.

Levit. 26.
Iſai. 52.

Judith 12.

Judith that holy woman, would not ſuffer her ſelf to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the Saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods laws, have choſen to die, rather then to forſake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Macchabees put themſelves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the ſame. If we do praiſe (ſaith Saint Auguſtine) the Macchabees, and that with great admiration, becauſe they did ſtoutly ſtand even unto death, for the lawes of their Country; how much more ought we to ſuffer all things for our Baptiſme, for the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, &c. But the Supper of the Lord, ſuch a one (I mean) as Chriſt commandeth us to celebrate, the Maſſe utterly aboliſheth, and corrupteth moſt ſhamefully.

Cont. Epiſt. Gaudent. in cap. 22.

H. Latimer.

Who am I, that I ſhould adde any thing to this which you have ſo well ſpoken? Nay, I rather thank you, that you have vouchſafed to miniſter ſo plentifull armour to me, being otherwiſe altogether unarmed, ſaving that he cannot be left deſtitute of help, which rightly truſteth in the help of God, I onely learn to die in reading of the New Teſtament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Pſal. 9.

Anton. object. 13.

Seeing you are ſo obſtinately ſet againſt the Maſſe, that you affirm, becauſe it is done in a tongue not underſtood of the people, and for other cauſes, I cannot tell what; therefore it is not the true Sacrament ordained of Chriſt: I begin to ſuſpect you, that you think not Catholikely of Baptiſme alſo. Is our Baptiſme, which we do uſe in a tongue unknown to the people, the true Baptiſme of Chriſt, or no? If it be, then doth not the ſtrange tongue hurt the Maſſe. If it be not the Baptiſme of Chriſt, tell me how were you baptized? Or whether will ye (as the Anabaptiſts do) that all which were baptized in Latine, ſhould be baptized again in the Engliſh tongue?

N. Ridleys anſwer.

Although I would wiſh Baptiſme to be given in the vulgar tongue for the peoples ſake which are preſent, that they may the better underſtand their own profeſsion, and alſo be more able to teach their children the ſame, yet notwithſtanding there is not like neceſsity of the vulgar tongue in Baptiſme, as in the Lords Supper. Baptiſme is given to children, who by reaſon of their age are not able to underſtand what is ſpoken unto them, what tongue ſoever it be. The Lords Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in Baptiſme which is accuſtomed to be given to children in the Latine tongue, all the ſubſtantiall points (as a man would ſay) which Chriſt commanded to be done, are obſerved. And therefore I judge that Baptiſme to be a perfect and true Baptiſme; and that it is not only not needfull, but alſo not lawfull for any man ſo chriſtened, to be chriſtened again. But yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be taught the Catechiſme of the Chriſtian faith, when they ſhall come to yeers of diſcretion; which Catechiſme whoſoever deſpiſeth, or will not deſirouſly imbrace and willingly learn, in my judgement he playeth not the part of a Chriſtian man. But in the Popiſh Maſſe are wanting certain ſubſtantials, that is to ſay, things commanded by the Word of God to be obſerved in the miniſtration of the Lords Supper; of the which there is ſufficient declaration made before.

H. Latimer.

Where you ſay (I would wiſh) ſurely I would wiſh that you had ſpoken more vehemently, and to have ſaid, it is of neceſſity, that all things in the congregation ſhould be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are preſent, notwithſtanding that the childe it ſelfe is ſufficiently baptized in the Latine tongue.

Ant object. 14.

Foraſmuch as I perceive you are ſo ſtiffely, I will not ſay obſtinately bent, and ſo wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholſome counſels, no other kinde of means can call you home to a better minde, there remaineth that which in like caſes was wont to be the onely remedy againſt ſtiffe-necked and ſtubborn perſons, that is, you muſt be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or elſe to ſuffer that, which a rebel to the laws ought to ſuffer. Do you not know that whoſoever refuſeth to obey the laws of the Realm, he bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy to his countrey? Do you not know that this is the readieſt way to ſtirre up ſedition and civill warre? It is better that you ſhould bear your own ſin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet ſhould be diſturbed. How can you ſay, you will be the Queens true ſubject, when as you do openly profeſſe that you will not keep her laws?

N. Ridleys anſwer.

O heavenly Father, the Father of all wiſdom, underſtanding, and true ſtrength, I beſeech thee for thy onely Son our Saviour Chriſts ſake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and ſend thine holy Spirit into my breſt, that not onely I may underſtand according to thy wiſedom, how this peſtilent and deadly dart is to be born off, and with what anſwer it is to be beaten back, but alſo when I muſt joyn to fight in the field for the glory of thy Name, that then I being ſtrengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully ſtand in the confeſſion of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the ſame unto the end of my life, through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reaſonable, that he which by words and gentleneſſe cannot be made to yeeld to that is right and good, ſhould be bridled by the ſtrait correction of the laws: that is to ſay, he that will not be ſubject to Gods Word, muſt be puniſhed by the laws. It is true that is commonly ſaid, He that will not obey the Goſpel, muſt be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But theſe things ought to take place againſt him, which refuſeth to do that is right and juſt, according to true godlineſſe, not againſt him, which cannot quietly bear ſuperſtitions, but doth hate and deteſt from his age ſuch kinde of proceedings, and that for the glory of the Name of God, To that which ye ſay, a tranſgreſſor of the common laws bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy of his countrey, ſurely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithfull Chriſtian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that ſaying ought onely truely to be underſtood of ſuch laws as be not contrary to Gods Word. Otherwiſe, whoſoever love their countrey in truth (that is to ſay, in God) they will allwayes judge (if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other) that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwiſe, and

Acts 4.

pretend a love to their Country, forſomuch as they make their country to fight as it were againſt God, in whom conſiſteth the onely ſtay of that country, ſurely I do think that ſuch are to be judged moſt deadly enemies, and traytors to their country. For they that fight againſt God, which is the ſafety of their country, what do they elſe but go about to bring upon their country a preſent ruine and deſtruction? But they that do ſo are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the Realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readieſt way (ye ſay) to ſtirre up ſedition, to trouble the quiet of the Common-wealth; therefore are theſe things to be repreſſed in time, by force of lawes. Behold, Satan doth not ceaſe to practiſe his old guiles, and accuſtomed ſubtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readineſſe to hurl againſt his adverſaries, to accuſe them of ſedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers. For ſo hath he by his Miniſters alwayes charged the Prophets of God. Achab ſaid unto Elias; Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael? The falſe Prophets alſo complained to their Princes of Jeremy, that his words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered: Did not the Scribes and Phariſees falſly accuſe Chriſt as a ſeditious perſon, and one that ſpake againſt Ceſar? Did they not at the laſt cry, If you let this man go, ye are not Ceſars friend? The Orator Tertullus, how doth he accuſe Paul before Felix the high Deputy? We have found this man, ſaith he, a peſtilent fellow, and a ſtirrer of ſedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were theſe men, as they were called, ſeditious perſons? Chriſt, Paul and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were of falſe men falſly accuſed. And wherefore I pray you? but becauſe they reproved before the people their guiles, ſuperſtition, and deceits. And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accuſed them as ſeditious perſons, and troublers of the Common-wealth, that being by this means made hatefull to the people and Princes, they might the more eaſily be ſnatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how farre they were from all ſedition, their whole doctrine, life, and converſation doth well declare. For that which was objected laſt of all, that he cannot be a faithfull ſubject to his Prince, which profeſſeth openly that he will not obſerve the laws which the Prince hath made; here I would wiſh that I might have an indifferent Judge, and one that feareth God, to whoſe judgement in this cauſe I promiſe I will ſtand. I anſwer therefore, a man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never againſt the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince againſt God, doth not a duty to the Prince, but is a deceiver of the Prince, and an helper unto him to work his own deſtruction. He is alſo unjuſt, which giveth not to the Prince that is the Princes, and to God that is Gods. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable ſaying of Valentinianus the Emperour for chaſing the Biſhop of Millain. Set him (ſaith he) in the Biſhops ſeate, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may ſubmit our ſelves. Policarpus the moſt conſtant Martyr, when he ſtood before the chief Ruler, and was commanded to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſwear by the fortune of Ceſar, &c. he anſwered with a milde ſpirit; We are taught (ſaith he) to give honour unto Princes, and thoſe powers which be of God; but ſuch honour as is not contrary to Gods religion.

Satan and his miniſters do alwayes charge the godly with ſedition.
Reg. 18.
Ierem. 26.
Luke 23.
Iohn 18.
Acts 14.

Theod. eccleſ. hiſt. lib 4. c. 5.
Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. c. 4.
Niceph. lib. 3. cap. 35.

Hitherto ye ſee (good Father) how I have in words only made as it were a flouriſh before the fight, which I ſhortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kindes of weapons to fight againſt the adverſary of Chriſt, and to muſe with my ſelf how the darts of the old enemy may be born off, and after what ſort I may ſmite him again with the ſword of the Spirit. I learn alſo hereby to be in ure with armour, and to aſſay how I can go armed. In Tindall where I was born, not far from the Scottiſh borders, I have known my countrey-men to watch night and day in their harneſſe, ſuch as they had, that is, in their Jacks, and their Spears in their hands (you call them Northern gads) eſpecially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And ſo doing, although at every ſuch bickerings ſome of them ſpent their lives, yet by ſuch means, like pretty men, they defended their countrey. And thoſe that ſo died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrell, and their off-ſpring and progeny all the countrey loved them the better for their fathers ſake. And in the quarrell of Chriſt our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrell of faith, and Chriſtian religion, wherein reſteth our everlaſting ſalvation, ſhall we not watch? ſhall we not go alwayes armed? ever looking when our adverſary (which like a roaring Lion ſeeketh whom he may devour) ſhall come upon us by reaſon of our ſlothfulneſſe? yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppreſſe us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he finde us ſleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the houſe knew at what hour the thief ſhould come, he would ſurely watch, and not ſuffer his houſe to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I ſay: Let us not ſuffer our houſe to be broken up. Reſiſt the devill, ſaith Saint James, and he will flie from you. Let us therefore reſiſt him manfully, and taking the croſſe upon our ſhoulders, let us follow our Captain Chriſt, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlaſting joyes. Let us follow, I ſay, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after theſe aflictions which laſt but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlaſtingly raign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the ſame our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen, Amen.

Epheſ. 6.
1 Pet. 5.
Mat. 24.
James 4.
1 Tim. 6.

Good father, forſomuch as I have determined with my ſelf, to pour forth theſe my cogitations into your boſome, here me thinketh I ſee you ſuddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your Propheticall countenance, and ſpeaking unto me, with theſe or like words; Truſt not, my ſonne (I beſeech you vouchſafe me the honour of this name; for in ſo doing I ſhall think my ſelf both honoured, and loved of you.) Truſt not, I ſay, my ſonne, to theſe word-weapons; for the Kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember alwayes the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will ſpeak: for it ſhall be given you, even in that ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you. I pray you therefore father pray for me, that I may caſt my whole care upon him, and truſt upon him in all perils. For I know, and am ſurely perſwaded, that whatſoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he aſſiſt me with his ſpirit when the time is. I beſeech you therefore father, pray for me,

1 Cor. 4.
Mat. 10.
Mark 1
Epheſ. 6.

Pſal.44.
Pſal.147.
Apoc.2.

me, that ſuch accomplete harneſſe of the ſpirit, ſuch boldneſſe of minde may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith ſay with David; I will not truſt in my bow, and it is not my ſword that ſhall ſave me. For he hath no pleaſure in the ſtrength of an horſe, &c. But the Lords delight is in them that fear him, and put their truſt in his mercy. I beſeech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight onely in the Name of God, and that when all is paſt, I being not overcome through his gracious aid, may remain and ſtand faſt in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory ſhall be given the lively Manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Apoc.2.

Now Father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepneſſe of Sathan, being an old ſouldier, and you have collored with him ere now: bleſſed be God, that hath ever aided you ſo well. I ſuppoſe he may well hold you at the bay. But truely he will not be ſo willing (I think) to joyn with you as with us yonglings.

D.Latimer.

Sir, I beſeech you, let your ſervant reade this my babling unto you, and now and then, as it ſhall ſeem unto you beſt, let your pen runne on my book; ſpare not to blot my paper: I give you good leave.

Sir, I have cauſed my man not onely to reade your armour unto me, but alſo to write it out. For it is not onely no bare armour, but alſo well buckled armour. I ſee not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottome of my heart for it, and my prayer ſhall you not lack, truſting that you do the like for me. For indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confuſion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not beſtow much amongſt them, further than to gall them, and ſpur-gall too, when and whereas occaſion were given, and matter came to minde; for the law ſhall be their ſheet-anchor, ſtay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy; Namely, now when they have the maſter bowl in their hand, and rule the roſte, but patience. Better it is to ſuffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incurre Gods high indignation. Wherefore (good my Lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due conſideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promiſe you. Our common enemy ſhall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithfull, which will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, &c. Be at a point what ye will ſtand unto; ſtick unto that, and let them both ſay and do what they liſt. They can but kill the body, which otherwiſe is of it ſelf mortall. Neither yet ſhall they do that when they liſt, but when God will ſuffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To uſe many words with them it ſhall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requiſite that ye give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you: elſe ye know in a wicked place of judgement a man may keep ſilence, after the example of Chriſt. Let them not deceive you with their ſophiſticall Sophiſmes and fallacies: you know that falſe things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be moſt true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likelineſſe of ſpeech. Neither is it requiſite that with the contentious ye ſhould follow ſtrife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the ſubverſion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and oſtentation of the adverſaries. Fear of death doth moſt perſwade a great number. Be well ware of that argument; for that perſwaded Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profeſſion openly before the judgement ſeat. The fleſh is weak, but the willingneſſe of the ſpirit ſhall refreſh the weakneſſe of the fleſh.

1 Cor.10.
1 Pet.3.
Luke 23.
Coloſ.2.
2 Tim.2.

Apoc.6.
Phil.1.

The number of the criers under the altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſegregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greateſt promotion that God giveth in this world, to be ſuch Philippians, to whom it is given not onely to beleeve, but alſo to ſuffer, &c. But who is able to do theſe things? Surely all our ability, all our ſufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiſeth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it ſhall be requiſite, in the time of trouble, yea, in the middeſt of the fire.

1 Theſ.5.
1 Theſ.4.

When that number is fulfilled, which I ween ſhall be ſhortly, then have at the Papiſts, when they ſhall ſay peace, all things are ſafe, when Chriſt ſhall come to keep his great Parliament to the redreſſe of all things that be amiſſe. But he ſhall not come as the Papiſts faign him, to hide himſelf, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he ſhall come gloriouſly, to the terrour and fear of all Papiſts; but to the great conſolation and comfort of all that will here ſuffer for him. Comfort your ſelves one another with theſe words.

Lo ſir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiouſly; but ſo I thought better than not to do your requeſt at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I ſay, pray for me, I ſay. For I am ſometime ſo fearfull, that I would creep into a Mouſe-hole; ſometime God doth viſit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, leſt I ſhould robbe him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the world. Fare ye well.

What credence is to be given to Papiſts, it may appear by their wracking, writhing, wrinching, and monſtrouſly injurying of Gods holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Popes law. But I dwell here now in a ſchool of obliviouſneſſe. Fare you well once again, and be you ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithſtanding he ſaith unto him; Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Goſpel; and again, Harden thy ſelf to ſuffer afflictions. Be faithfull unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, ſaith the Lord.

1 Cor.15.
2 Tim.1.
Apoc.2.

Here followeth the Letters of the reverend Biſhop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.

A Letter ſent from Biſhop Ridley, and his priſon-fellows unto Maſter Bradford and his priſon-fellows, in the Kings Bench in Southwark, Anno 1554.

A letter of B. Ridley to M. Bradford and others.

Welbeloved in Chriſt our Saviour, we all with one heart wiſh to you, with all thoſe that love God in deed and truth, grace, and health, and eſpecially to our dearly beloved companions which are in Chriſts cauſe, and the cauſe both of their brethren, and of their own ſalvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Chriſts croſſe. How joyfull it was to us to hear the report of Doctor Taylor, and of his godly confeſſion, &c. I inſure you, it is hard for me to expreſſe.

Falſe reports ſpread by the [illegible] of the Papiſts.

Bleſſed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly ſtrength and ſtomack in the time of adverſity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or maſſing, we truſt, that they which know God, and their duty towards their brethren in Chriſt, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the ſlanderers evill tongue, but a mans evill deed that can with God defile a man; and therefore with Gods grace, ye ſhall never have cauſe to do otherwiſe than ye ſay ye do: that is, not to doubt but that we will, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here ſpread of the coming of certain learned men, priſoners, hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of theſe rumours is, or ſhall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wiſh you and all the reſt of our foreſaid companions well in Chriſt.

This Letter ſeemeth to be written a little before, about the time of the burning of M. Rogers.

It ſhould do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the ſtate of the reſt of our moſt dearly beloved, which in this troubleſome time do ſtand in Chriſts cauſe, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of Maſter Hoopers matter; but of the reſt never a deal. We long to hear of Father Crome, Doctor Sands, Maſter Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our intreating doth change as ſowre Ale doth in Summer. It is reported to us of our Keepers, that the Univerſity beareth us heavily. A cole chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor; and no more harm was done, the Bayliffs ſervant ſitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Maſter Bayliffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the ſame he was ſet in Bocardo. Upon theſe things (as is reported) there is riſen a rumour in the town and country about, that we ſhould have broken the priſon with ſuch violence, as if Maſter Bayliffs had not played the pretty men, we ſhould have made a ſcape. We had out of our priſon a wall that we might have walked upon, and our ſervants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields, but now both they and we are reſtrained of both.

Whatſoever fault is done, the cauſe is laid upon the poor Chriſtians.

M. Ridley and his fellow priſoners in Bocardo, reſtrained of their liberty.

My Lord of Worceſter paſſed by thorow Oxford, but he did not viſit us. The ſame day began our reſtraint to be more, and the book of the Communion was taken from us by the Bayliffs, at the Majors commandement, as the Bayliffs did report to us. No man is licenſed to come unto us; afore they might, that would ſee us upon the wall, but that is ſo grudged at, and ſo evill reported, that we are now reſtrained, &c. Sir, bleſſed be God, with all our evill reports, grudges, and reſtraints, we are merry in God, and all our cure and care is and ſhall be (by Gods grace) to pleaſe and ſerve him, of whom we look and hope, after theſe temporall and momentany miſeries, to have eternall joy and perpetuall felicity with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the Angels in heaven, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any Scholler, or other that viſited us ſince we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a Colledge of “Quondams. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare ſay, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Fathers fatherly good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We ſhall by Gods grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day aſſuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worſe and worſe. But then all our enemies ſhall be overthrown, and troden under foot; righteouſneſſe and truth then ſhall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truely the truth.

The ingratitude of the Schollers in not viſiting the Biſhops in Bocardo.

“Bocardo a Colledge of Quondams.

We all pray you, as we can, to cauſe all our commendations to be made unto all ſuch as ye know did viſit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon and Miſtreſſe Warcup have not forgotten us, but ever ſince we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that elſe we did lack (for God be bleſſed, he ever hitherto hath provided ſufficiently for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occaſion for us to bleſſe God, when we ſee that he maketh them ſo friendly to tender us, whom ſome of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.

The goodneſſe of Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon and Anne Warcup to help the Biſhops in Bocardo.

Yours in Chriſt, Nich. Ridley.

A Letter of Maſter Ridley, ſent to a Couſin of his.

GOds holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

Another Letter of B. Ridley to his Couſin.

When I call to remembrance (beloved Couſin) the ſtate of thoſe that for fear of trouble, either for loſſe of goods, will do in the ſight of the world thoſe things that they know and are aſſured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no leſſe but lament their caſe, being aſſured the end thereof will be ſo pitifull (without ſpeedy repentance) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon ſome earthly burden, ſo that freedome of conſcience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of preſumption, but onely lamenting the ſtate of thoſe, whom I thought now in this dangerous time ſhould have given both you and me comfortable inſtructions. But alas, inſtead thereof we have inſtructions to follow (I lament to rehearſe it) ſuperſtitious Idolatry. Yea, and that worſt of all is, they will ſeek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts, Amen. Commend me, &c.

M. Ridley lamenteth the ſtate of them, which for fear of trouble do winde with the world, and go contrary to their conſcience.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

To Maſter Bradford.

Another worthy letter of biſhop Ridley to M. Bradford.

BRother Bradford, I wiſh you and your company in Chriſt, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers priſons ſuffereth and beareth patiently Chriſts Croſſe for the maintenance of his Goſpel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Sir, conſidering the ſtate of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be ſet to fight under Chriſts banner, and his croſſe, againſt our ghoſtly enemy the devill, and the old ſerpent Sathan, me think I perceive two things to be his moſt perillous and moſt dangerous engines, which he hath to impugne Chriſts verity, his Goſpel, and his faith; and the ſame two alſo to be the moſt maſſy poſtes, and moſt mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanicall Synagogue. Theſe two, ſir, are they, in my judgement: the one, his falſe doctrine and Idolatricall uſe of the Lords Supper., and the other, the wicked and abominable uſurpation of the primacy of the See of Rome. By theſe two Sathan ſeemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom, by theſe two he driveth down mightily (alas) I fear me, the third part of the ſtarres in heaven. Theſe two poyſonfull rotten poſtes he hath ſo painted over with ſuch a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Chriſts Church, of the Catholike faith, and ſuch like, that the wily ſerpent is able to deceive (if it were poſſible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John ſaid not without great cauſe; If any man know not Satans ſubtilties and the profundities thereof, I will wiſh him no other burden to be laden withall.

Two main pillars holding up the Synogogue of Sathan.

1. Falſe doctrine in the ſacrament.

2. The Popes primacy.

Apoc. 8.

Satans poyſon painted over with fair pretentes of religion.

Apoc. 2.

Sir, becauſe theſe be his principall and main poſtes whereupon ſtandeth all his falſhood, craft, and treachery, therefore according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine Artillery to ſhoot at the ſame. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my ſhot I know they paſſe not. Yet I will not (God willing) ceaſe to do the beſt that I can, to ſhake thoſe cankered and rotten poſts. The Lord grant me good ſucceſſe, to the glory of his Name, and the furtherance of Chriſts Goſpel. I have now already (I thank God) for this preſent time ſpent a good part of my powder in theſe ſcriblings, whereof this bearer ſhall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked ſurmiſe and ſay what they liſt; know you for a certainty, by Gods grace, without all doubt, that in Chriſts Goſpels cauſe, againſt and upon the foreſaid Gods enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell (dear brother) and I beſeech you and all the reſt of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned hereticks (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer ſhall certifie you of our ſtate. Fare well in the Lord. From Bocardo.

Biſh. Ridleyes purpoſe to live and dye upon the enemies of Chriſt, and of the Goſpel.

Yours in Chriſt, Nich Ridley.

Another Letter of Maſter Ridley unto Maſter Bradford, and other his priſon-fellows, Anno, 1555.

Another Letter of B. Ridley anſwering to M. Bradford.

„ This was a treatiſe of the Lords Supper, with other things which M. Bradford ſent to him to peruſe, and to judge thereof.

DEarly beloved I wiſh you grace, mercy, and peace.

According to your minde, I have run over all your “ papers, and what I have done (which is but ſmall) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two looſe leaves. I had much ado to reade that was written in your great leaves, and I ween ſome where I have altered ſome words, becauſe I could not reade perfectly that which was written. Sir, what ſhall be beſt done with theſe things, now ye muſt conſider; for if they come in ſight at this time, undoubtedly they muſt to the fire with their Father: and as for any ſafegard that your cuſtody can be unto them, I am ſure you look not for it. For as you have been partner of the work, ſo I am ſure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the ſame cup. Bleſſed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean ſeaſon, that you may uſe your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear ſay) of many. I bleſſe God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beſeech you commend me heartily. Now I love my country-man in deed and in truth. I mean Doctor Taylor, not for my earthly countries ſake, but for our heavenly Fathers ſake, and for Chriſts ſake, whom I heard ſay, he did ſtoutly in time of perill confeſſe, and yet alſo for our countries ſake, and for all our mothers ſake; but I mean of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of heavenly Jeruſalem, and becauſe of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in your company ſuch bleſſed fruits of boldneſſe in the Lords cauſe of patience and conſtancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, untill his own day come, Amen.

Commendation of Doctor Taylor.

And yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cauſe thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleaſed will and pleaſure to ſuffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truely his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Chriſts to Chriſt, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Fathers hands: except, I ſay, it pleaſe our Father, it pleaſe our Maſter Chriſt to ſuffer them, they ſhall not ſtir one hair of your heads.

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and Maſter Hoopers Letters, would that we ſhould ſay what we think good concerning your “ minde: that is, not to anſwer, except ye might have ſomewhat indifferent Judges. We are (as ye know) ſeparated, and one of us cannot in any thing conſult with another, and much ſtrait watching of the Bayliffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongſt us. And yet, as we hear, the Schollers bear us more heavily than the Townſmen. A wonderfull thing, among ſo many, never yet Scholler offered any of us (ſo farre as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Chriſts cauſe.

“ This matter was concerning the deliberation of the priſoners in London what to do if they were called to open diſputation.

Now as concerning your demand of your counſell, for my part I do not miſlike that which I perceive ye are minded to do. For I look for none other, but if ye anſwer afore the ſame Commiſſioners that we did, ye ſhall be ſerved and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, that occaſion afterward may be given you, and the conſideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwiſe.

Finally, determinately to ſay what ſhall be beſt, I am not able; but I truſt he, whoſe cauſe we have in hand, ſhall put you in minde to do that which ſhall be moſt for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own ſalvation. This Letter muſt be common to you and Maſter Hooper, in whom and in his priſon-fellow good father C. I bleſſe God, even from the bottome of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Maſter Chriſt, true, acceptable, and honorable ſervice, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and conſtancy, and all manner of true godlineſſe. But what ſhall I need to ſay to you; Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare ſay) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatſoever any of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although I ſaid the Bayliffs and our Hoſteſſe ſtraitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us inſtead of our ſervants, faithfull fellows, which will be content to hear and ſee, and to do for us whatſoever they can. It is Gods work ſurely, bleſſed be God for his unſpeakable goodneſſe. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communication of the holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen, Amen.

Communion of Saints in Biſhop Ridley, Biſhop Hooper, D. Taylor, and other.

Gods proviſion for his Saints.

As farre as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and ſhirts, not onely from ſuch as are of our acquaintance, but of ſome (whom this bearer can tell with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whoſe ſake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

The Chriſtian charity of certain godly brethren of London, toward the priſoned Biſhops in Oxford.

And yet I pray you do ſo much as to ſhew them that we have received their benevolence, and (God be bleſſed) have plenty of all ſuch things. This I deſire you to do; for I know they be of Maſter Hoopers and your familiar acquaintance. Maſter Latimer was craſed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of Maſter Ridley unto Maſter Bradford.

This letter of B. Ridley was written to M. Bradford ſoon after his condemnation, when it was thought that he ſhould be had to Lancaſhire. Mat.25.

OH dear brother, ſeeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaſeth the heavenly Father for Chriſt our Saviour his ſake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lords calling. *Euge ſerve bone & fidelis, quia ſuper pauca fuiſti fidelis, ſuper multa te conſtituet, & intrabis in gaudium Domini, i.* Well done good and faithfull ſervant, becauſe thou haſt been truſty in ſmall matters, he ſhall ſet thee over great things, and thou ſhalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are ſent into your own native Country? The wiſedom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I truſt God will ſo order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that ſome great occaſion of Gods gracious goodneſſe ſhall be plentifully powred abroad amongſt his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your Martyrdome, where the Martyrs for Chriſts ſake ſhed their blood, and loſt their lives. Oh what wondrous things hath Chriſt afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that ſanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Chriſt ſanctifie the place; Brother Bradford, then happy and holy ſhall be that place wherein thou ſhalt ſuffer, and ſhalt be with thy aſhes in Chriſts cauſe ſprinkled over withall. All thy country may rejoyce of thee, that it ever brought forth ſuch a one, which would render his life again in his cauſe, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, ſo long as I ſhall underſtand thou art in thy journey, by Gods grace I ſhall call upon our heavenly Father for Chriſts ſake, to ſet thee ſafely home: and then good brother ſpeak you, and pray for the remnant which are to ſuffer for Chriſts ſake, according to that thou then ſhalt know more clearly.

The rejoycing of B. Ridley at the conſtancy of M. Rogers.

We do look now every day when we ſhall be called on, bleſſed be God. I ween I am the weakeſt many wayes of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Chriſt, that ſince I heard of our dear brother Rogers departing, and ſtout confeſſion of Chriſt and his truth even unto the death, my heart (bleſſed be God) rejoyced of it, that ſince that time (I ſay) I never felt any lumpiſh heavineſſe in my heart, as I grant I have felt ſometimes before. Oh good brother, bleſſed be God in thee, and bleſſed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Chriſt, Nicholas
Ridley; Brother farewell.

To the Brethren remaining in captivity of the fleſh, and diſperſed abroad in ſundry priſons but knit together in unity of ſpirit and holy religion in the bowels of the Lord Ieſus.

A Letter of B. Ridley to the perſecuted flock of Chriſt, written in Latine, and tranſlated into Engliſh.

GRace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you my brethren, namely, for the great conſolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithſtanding the rage of Sathan that goeth about by all manner of ſubtill means to beguil the world, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore and ſet up his Kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruine; ye remain yet ſtill unmoveable, as men ſurely grounded upon a ſtrong rock. And now, albeit that Sathan by his ſouldiers and wicked miniſters, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, ſo that it is ſaid of him, that he plucketh even the very Stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into ſome men the fear of death, and loſſe of all their goods, and ſheweth and offereth to otherſome the pleaſant baits of the world: namely, riches, wealth and all kinde of delights and pleaſures, fair houſes, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not? and all to the intent they ſhould fall down and worſhip, not the Lord, but the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the devill, that great Beaſt and his Image, and ſhould be inticed to commit fornication with the Strumpet of Babylon, together with the Kings of the earth, with the leſſer Beaſt, and with the falſe Prophets, and ſo to rejoyce and be pleaſant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath ſo ſtrengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemne as well all the terrors, as alſo the vain flattering and allurements of the world, eſteeming them as vanities, meer trifles, and things of nought: Who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely ſtabliſhed in your hearts, ſo ſtedfaſt a faith and love of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, joyned with ſuch conſtancy, that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they never ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other Jeſus, or any other Chriſt to be forced upon you, beſides him whom the Prophets have ſpoken of before, the Apoſtles have preached, the holy Martyrs of God have confeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their blood.

Apoc.12.

Apoc.17.

He exhorteth the brethren to ſtand faſt.

In this faith ſtand ye faſt my brethren, and ſuffer not your ſelves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and ſuperſtition any more. For ye know (brethren) how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that ſuch ſhould come as would point unto the world another Chriſt, and would ſet him out with ſo many falſe miracles, and with ſuch deceiveable and ſubtill practices, that even the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhould be thereby deceived: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithfull and conſtant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth unto us, that for the elects ſake, the dayes of wickedneſſe ſhall be ſhortned. In the mean ſeaſon abide ye, and endure with patience as ye have begun: endure, I ſay, and reſerve your ſelves unto better times, as one of the Heathen Poets ſaid, ceaſe not to ſhew your ſelves valiant ſouldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travelling faith of the Goſpel.

Gal.5.

Mat.24.

1 Iohn 4.

Virg. Aen. 1.

Phil.1.

Heb.10.

Patience neceſſary for all Chriſtians.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promiſes. For yet a very little while, and he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry. and the juſt ſhall live by faith: but if any withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him (ſaith the Lord.) But we are not they which do withdraw our ſelves unto damnation, but believe unto the ſalvation of the ſoul. Let us not ſuffer theſe words of Chriſt to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terrours or threatnings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body, the reſt ye know. For I write not unto you, as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth, and to this end onely, that we agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of an-

Iohn 10.

other,

The quarrell of the Martyrs is juſt and true

Heb.1.

Coloſſ.1.

Martyrs put to death, becauſe they will acknowledge no more Chriſts but one.

1 Cor. 8.

other, and be the more confirmed and ſtrengthned thereby. We never had a better or more juſt cauſe either to contemne our life, or ſhed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifeſt truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very ſubſtance of our whole religion, yea, even Chriſt himſelf. Shall we, either can we receive and acknowledge any other Chriſt inſtead of him, who is alone the everlaſting Son of the everlaſting Father, and is the brightneſſe of the glory, and a lively image of the ſubſtance of the Father, in whom onely dwelleth corporally the fulneſſe of the Godhead, who is the onely way, the truth, and the life? Let ſuch wickedneſſe (my brethren) let ſuch horrible wickedneſſe be farre from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge.

Iohn 12.

This is life eternall (ſaith S. John) that they know thee to be the onely true God, and whom thou haſt ſent Ieſus Chriſt. If any therefore would force upon us any other God, beſides him whom Paul and the Apoſtles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accurſed.

The profundities of Sathan

Apoc.2.

1 Pet.5.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound ſubtilties of Sathan; for he will not ceaſe to range about you, ſeeking by all means poſſible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adverſaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do ſet upon you; yet be ye not fainthearted, and ſhrink not therefore, but truſt unto your Captain Chriſt, truſt unto the Spirit of truth, and truſt to the truth of your cauſe; which, as it may by the malice of Sathan be darkned, ſo can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praiſe be given to God therefore) moſt plainly, evidently, and clearly on our ſide, all the Prophets, all the Apoſtles, and undoubtedly all the ancient Eccleſiaſticall Writers which have written, untill of late yeers paſt.

The martyrs have all the Prophets, Apoſtles, and ancient Eccleſiaſticall Writers on their ſide.

Phil,1.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thorowly comfort our ſelves in the Lord. Be in no wiſe afraid of your adverſaries; for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſalvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not onely ye ſhould beleeve on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. And when ye are railed upon for the Name of Chriſt, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Chriſt our Saviour alſo, ye are counted with the Prophets, with the Apoſtles, and with the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, happy and bleſſed therefore; for the glory and ſpirit of God reſteth upon you.

1 Pet.4.

On their part our Saviour Chriſt is evill ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they elſe do unto you by perſecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany againſt you, but make your Crowns more glorious, yea beautifie and multiply the ſame, and heap upon themſelves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore (good brethren) though they rage never ſo fiercely againſt us, yet let us not wiſh evill unto them again, knowing that whiles for Chriſts cauſe they vex and perſecute us, they are like mad men, moſt outragious and cruell againſt themſelves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wiſh well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be heirs of the bleſſing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkneſſe of errors, and make the light of his truth to ſhine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindneſſe, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confeſſe him to be the onely true God, which is the Father of light, and his onely Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, worſhipping him in ſpirit and verity, Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Chriſt, Amen.

He exhorteth us not to wiſh evill to our perſecutors.

1 Pet.3.

Your Brother in the Lord, whoſe
name this bearer ſhall ſignifie
unto you, ready alwayes by the
grace of God, to live and die
with you.

To the Brethren which conſtantly cleave unto
Chriſt, in ſuffering affliction with him,
and for his ſake.

Another Letter of B. Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the brethren in captivity, tranſlated out of the Latine.

GRace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be multiplied unto you, Amen.

Although brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this preſent any news to ſend to you; yet we thought good ſomething to write unto you, whereby ye might underſtand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us alſo. When this meſſenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great conſtancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladneſſe, giving thanks to God the Father through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath cauſed his face ſo to ſhine upon you, and with the light of ſpirituall underſtanding hath ſo lightned your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Chriſts cauſe, ye have not ceaſed as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to ſtabliſh and confirm that thing, when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publiſh and ſet abroad by the Word and Doctrine: that is to ſay, holding faſt the Word of Life, ye ſhine as lights in the world, in the middeſt of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with ſo much the greater glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and profit of your brethren, by how much Sathan more cruelly now rageth, and buſily laboureth to darken the light of the Goſpel.

Communion and unity of Saints.

Phil.2.

Reaſons proving the religion in Queen Maries time not to be of God.

And as for the darkneſſe that Sathan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles, Prophets, and Teachers ſpake in the Temple to the people of England in the Engliſh tongue, ſo that they might be underſtood plainly, and without any hardneſſe, of the godly, and ſuch as ſought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of neceſſity of ſalvation pertained to the obtaining of eternall life; but now thoſe things, which once were written of them for the edefying of the Congregation, are read in a ſtrange tongue without interpretation, manifeſtly againſt Saint Pauls commandement, ſo that there is no man able to underſtand them which hath not learned that ſtrange and unknown tongue.

Compariſon between the religion in King Edwards time and the religion ſet out in Queen Maries time.

Of late dayes thoſe heavenly myſteries, whereby Chriſt hath ingraffed us unto his Body, and hath united us one to another, whereby alſo being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nouriſhed, encreaſed, and ſtrengthened us, whereby moreover, either he hath taught and ſet forth an order amongſt them which are whole, Scriptures in king Edwards time known, in Queen Maries time unknown.

or elſe to the ſick in ſoul or body, hath given as it were, wholſome medicines and remedies; thoſe (I ſay) were all plainly ſet forth to the people in their own language; ſo that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by Gods ordinance, what every one had profeſſed in his vocation, and was bound to obſerve, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a deſire and willing heart to underſtand thoſe things, might ſoon perceive and underſtand. But now all theſe things are taught and ſet forth in ſuch ſort, that the people redeemed with Chriſts blood, and for whoſe ſakes they were by Chriſt himſelf ordained, can have no manner of underſtanding thereof at all.

In King Edwards time the people knew what they prayed; in Q. Maries time they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

Of late (foraſmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and alſo the holy Ghoſt in the Pſalmes, Hymnes, and ſpirituall ſongs which are ſet forth in the Bible, did teach and inſtruct all the people of England in the Engliſh tongue, that they might ask ſuch things as are according to the will of the Father, and might joyn their hearts and lips in prayer together; but now all theſe things are commanded to be hid and ſhut up from them in a ſtrange tongue, whereby it muſt needs follow, that the people neither can tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they joyn their hearts and voice together, when they underſtand no more what the voice ſignifieth, than a brute beaſt?

The catechiſm ſet forth in king Edwards time for children, in Queen Maries time forbidden.

Finally, I hear ſay, that the Catechiſme which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh tongue, now in every Pulpit condemned. Oh deviliſh malice, and moſt ſpitefully injurious to the ſalvation of mankinde purchaſed by Jeſus Chriſt. Indeed Sathan could not long ſuffer that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world; he ſaw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his Kingdom ſo much, as if children being godly inſtructed in Religion, ſhould learn to know Chriſt whileſt they are yet yong; whereby not only children, but the elder ſort alſo and aged folks that before were not taught to know Chriſt in their childehood, ſhould now even with children and babes be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what elſe do they (brethren) which ſerve Sathan, and become his miniſters and ſlaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the ſame which they did, to whom Chriſt our Saviour threatneth this curſe in the Goſpel; Woe unto you which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them: you your ſelves have not entred in, neither have ye ſuffered them that would enter, to come in.

Mat. 13,
The Catholike Phariſees neither enter themſelves, nor wil ſuffer other to enter Gods Kingdom.
Apoc. 9.

And from whence ſhall we ſay (brethren) that this horrible and miſchievous darkneſſe proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the ſmoak of the great furnace of the bottomeleſſe pit, ſo that the Sun and the ayr are now darkned by the ſmoke of the pit? Now, even now (out of doubt brethren) the pit is opened againſt us, and the Locuſts begin to ſwarm, and Abaddon now raigneth.

The pit of Locuſts opened.

Apoc. 7.
1 John 5.
Exhortation to ſtand conſtant in Chriſt and his truth.

Ye therefore (my brethren) which pertain unto Chriſt, and have the Seal of God marked in your foreheads: that is to wit, are ſealed with the earneſt of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit your ſelves like men, and be ſtrong; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he which is in the world; and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world, and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never ſo much, be it never ſo cruell and bloody, yet be ye ſure that no man can take us out of the Fathers hands, for he is greater than all; who hath not ſpared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how ſhall he not with him give us all things alſo? Who ſhal lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who then ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt that is dead, yea rather which is riſen again, who alſo is at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for us. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſſe, or perill, or ſword? the reſt ye know, brethren. We are certainly perſwaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that no kinde of thing ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to paſſe by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; ſo (dear brethren in the Lord) with all earneſt and hearty requeſt we beſeech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye will not ceaſe to pray for us. Fare ye well dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all evermore, Amen.

Rom. 8.

A Letter of Biſhop Ridley, anſwering to a certain Letter of one Maſter Weſt, ſometime his Chaplain.

Another letter of B. Ridley anſwering one M. Weſt, ſometime his Chaplain.

I Wiſh you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truely eſtabliſhed in mens hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtand by the truth in Chriſt in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir you know this, that I am (bleſſed be God) perſwaded that this world is but tranſitory, and (as St. John ſaith) The world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof. I am perſwaded Chriſts words to be true; Whoſoever ſhall confeſſe me before men, him will I confeſſe alſo before my Father which is in heaven: And I beleeve that no earthly creature ſhall be ſaved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world ſhall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be ſo graffed, eſtabliſhed, and fixed in my heart, that neither things preſent nor to come, high or low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wiſh, that you wiſh me deeply to conſider the things pertaining unto Gods glory; but if you had wiſhed alſo, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly proſperity ſhould let me to maintain Gods word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You deſire me for Gods ſake to remember my ſelf. Indeed Sir, now it is time ſo to do; for ſo far as I can perceive, it ſtandeth me upon no leſſe danger, than of the loſſe both of body and ſoul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threatneth to caſt both body and ſoul into everlaſting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, faſten thou together our frail fleſh, that we never ſwerve from thy Laws. You ſay, you have made much ſute for me. Sir, God grant that you have not in ſuing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of Gods word and his truth.

1 John 2.
Mat. 10.
No creature can be ſaved, whom Chriſt denieth before his Father.
What it is for a man well to remember himſelf.
Luke 12.
Fear of God.

Biſhop Ridley refuſeth to have ſute made for him.

You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you ſay, to miſlike ſome things. It is true, I grant; for ſudden changes without ſubſtantiall and and neceſſary cauſe, and the heady ſetting forth of extremities,

I did

Confeſſion to the Miniſter in the way of asking counſell not miſliked.

B. Ridley ever a reverend handler of the Sacrament.

I did never love. Confeſſion unto the Miniſter which is able to inſtruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conſcience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Chriſts Congregation, and ſo I aſſure you, I think even at this day. My Doctrine and my Preaching you ſay you have heard often, and after your judgement have thought it godly, ſaving onely for the Sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the reſt (as you ſay) yet in the margent you write warily, and in this world wiſely; and yet me thought all ſounding not well. Sir, but that I ſee ſo many changes in this world, and ſo much alteration, elſe at this your ſaying I would not a little marvell. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainneſſe and faithfulneſſe, as much I aſſure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this ſo cloſe in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I conſider moe things than one, and will not ſay all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I ſhall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good leſſons to ſtand in nothing againſt my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truely Sir, I herein like your counſell very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lives end.

The part of a true Biſhop, only to ſeek the glory of Chriſt his Maſter.

B. Ridley repenteth that he was not more earneſt in eſtabliſhing the conſciences of his family and cure.

To write unto thoſe whom you name, I cannot ſee what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I eſteem nothing available for me, which alſo will not further the glory of God. And now, becauſe I perceive you have an entire zeal and deſire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly miſery, If I ſhould not bear you a good heart in God again, me think I were too blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my diſſolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lords will be fulfilled how ſoon ſoever it ſhall come. I know the Lords words muſt be verified on me, that I ſhall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my ſheet-ancher of eternall ſalvation, yet am I perſwaded, that whoſoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conſcience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conſcience therefore moveth me, conſidering you were one of my family, and one of my houſhold, of whom then I think I had a ſpeciall cure, and of all them which were within my houſe, which indeed ought to have been an example of godlineſſe to all the reſt of my cure, not onely of good life, but alſo in promoting of Gods Word to the uttermoſt of their power, (but alas, now when the triall doth ſeparate the chaff from the corn, how ſmall a deal it is, God knoweth, which the winde doth not blow away) this conſcience (I ſay) doth move me to fear, leſt the lightneſſe of my family ſhall be laid to my charge for lack of more earneſt and diligent inſtruction, which ſhould have been done. But bleſſed be God which hath given me grace to ſee this my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my heart, before my departing hence.

Doctor Harvey charged.

Good monitions of B. Ridley to his old Chaplains.

This conſcience doth move me alſo now to require both you and my friend Doctor Harvey, to remember your promiſes made to me in times paſt, of the pure ſetting forth and preaching of Gods Word and his Truth. Theſe promiſes, although you ſhall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This conſcience and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now ſay unto you both in Gods Name, fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to caſt both body and ſoul into hell fire. When his wrath ſhall ſuddenly be kindled, bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him. And the ſaying of S. John is true, All that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world, and the world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is neceſſarily required unto eternall ſalvation) were truely and unfainedly graffed and firmly eſtabliſhed in mens hearts, they would not be ſo light, ſo ſuddenly to ſhrink from the maintenance and confeſſion of the truth, as is now (alas) ſeen ſo manifeſtly of ſo many in theſe dayes. But here peradventure you would know of me what is the truth. Sir, Gods Word is the truth, as St. John ſaith, and that even the ſame that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the Moon, yet Gods Word is ſtable, and abideth one forevermore: and of Chriſt it is truely ſaid, Chriſt yeſterday and to day, the ſame is alſo for ever.

Pſal. 2.

1 John 2.

What is truth.

John 17.

Eccleſ. 27.

Heb. 13.

Common prayer in the common tongue.

What it is to confeſſe Chriſt.

He that denieth an open truth againſt Gods Word for worldly danger, will be as ready to deny God himſelf.

When I was in office, all that were eſteemed learned in Gods Word, agreed this to be a truth in Gods Word written, that the common prayer of the Church ſhould be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I enſure you, I never found man (ſo farre as I do remember) neither old nor young, Goſpeller nor Papiſt, of what judgement ſoever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods Word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do ſo many men ſhrink from the confeſſion and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, elſe to confeſſe or deny Chriſt in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in Gods Word, or for any worldly reſpect to ſhrink from the ſame? This one thing have I brought for an enſample; other things be in like caſe, which now particularly I need not to rehearſe. For he that will forſake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of Gods Word, if he be conſtrained, he will aſſuredly forſake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himſelf to loſe or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his Word.

Death common to good and bad.

Damnable agreement.

"Apoſtata was he who fled from his Captain to the enemy. He was alſo ſo called that departed from the Chriſtians to the Jews or Gentiles.

I like very well your plain ſpeaking, wherein you ſay, I muſt either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I muſt die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make ſuch an agreement, by the which I could never eſcape this death which is common to all, and alſo incurre the guilt of death and eternall damnation? Lord grant that I may utterly abhorre and deteſt this damnable agreement ſo long as I live. And becauſe (I dare ſay) you wrote of friendſhip unto me this ſhort earneſt advertiſement, and I think verily, wiſhing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no leſſe love of God, than you do me in the world, I ſay unto you in the Word of the Lord (and that I ſay to you, I ſay to all my friends and lovers in God) that if you do not confeſſe and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon Gods Word, but will either for fear or gain of the world ſhrink and play the "Apoſtata, indeed you ſhall die the death; you know what I mean. And I beſeech you all true true friends and lovers in God, remember what I ſay, for this may be the laſt time peradventure that ever I ſhall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the viij
day of April, 1555.

The ſumme of M. Grindals Letter to Biſhop Ridley.

Maſter Grindall now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the City of Frankford, wrote to Doctor Ridley then priſoner, a certain Epiſtle, wherein firſt he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withall to be conſtant. Secondly, he certifieth him of the ſtate of the Engliſh Exiles, being diſperſed in Germany, and of the ſingular providence of God in ſtirring up the favour of the Magiſtrates and Rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writeth to know his minde and will concerning the printing of his book againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of certain other Treatiſes and his diſputations. Whereunto Biſhop Ridley anſwereth again in order, as followeth.

The anſwer of Doctor Ridley to the Letter aboveſaid.

An anſwer of B. Ridley to M. Grindals letter ſent from Frankford.

Bleſſed be God our heavenly Father which enclined your heart to have ſuch a deſire to write unto me, and bleſſed be he again which hath heard your requeſt, and hath brought your letters ſafe unto my hands; and over all this I bleſſe him through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the great comfort I have received by the ſame, of the knowledge of your ſtate, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and country-men in thoſe parts beyond the Sea.

Experience of Gods ſtrength towards his Saints in their impriſonment.

Dearly beloved brother Grindall, I ſay to you and all the reſt of our brethren in Chriſt with you, rejoyce in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend Fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are *Gloria Chriſti*) lament not our ſtate, but I beſeech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his endleſſe mercies and unſpeakable benefits even in the middeſt of all our troubles given unto us, moſt hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his croſſe hath increaſed upon us, ſo he hath not nor doth not ceaſe to multiply his mercies to ſtrengthen us; and I truſt, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will ſo do for Chriſt our Maſters ſake, even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do finde in your exile favour, and grace with the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Citizens at Tigury, Frankford, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that do indeed love Chriſt and his true Word. I enſure you, it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance to name ſome, as Scorie and Coxe, &c. Oh that it had come in your minde to have ſaid ſomewhat alſo of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampſon, of Chambers, but I truſt in God they be all well. And Sir, ſeeing you ſay, that there be in thoſe parts with you of Students and Miniſters ſo good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwiſe than to wiſh that Gods glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come) you, bleſſed be God, are enow through his aid, to light, and ſet us again the lantern of his Word in England. As concerning the copies ye ſay ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could finde the way to come to you. My diſputation, except ye have that which I gathered my ſelf after the diſputation done, I cannot think ye have it truely. If ye have that, then ye have therewithall the whole manner after the which I was uſed in the diſputation.

As for the treatiſe in Engliſh, *Contra tranſubſtantiationem, vix poſſum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Lantinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid ſit nullo modo velim ut quicquam quocunq; modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis dominus conſtituerit fieri, vobis prius certó conſtiterit;* and thus much unto your Letters. Now although I ſuppoſe you know a good part of our ſtate here (for we are forth coming, even as when ye departed, &c. You ſhall underſtand that I was in the Tower about the ſpace of two moneths cloſe priſoner, and after that had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about half a yeer, and then becauſe I refuſed to allow the Maſſe with my preſence, I was ſhut up in priſon again.

B. Ridley priſoner in the Tower half a yeer and more.

Canterbury, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, priſoners together in the Tower.

The laſt Lent ſave one, it chanced by reaſon of the tumult ſtirred up in Kent, there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, M. Bradford, and I were put all together in one priſon, where we remained ſtill almoſt to the next Eaſter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I; were ſuddenly ſent a little before Eaſter to Oxford, and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitſontide following was our diſputations at Oxford, after the which was all taken from us, as pen and ink, &c. Our own ſervants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a ſtrange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in ſeveral places, as we are unto this day.

Cante. Ridley, Latimer removed to Oxford.

D. Weſton condemner of Canterb. Ridley, and Latimer.

Bleſſed be God, we three at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been diſpatched, for we were all three on one day with a day or two of our diſputations, of Doctor Weſton being the head Commiſſioner, condemned for heretikes, and ſince that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lords will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt, but by his grace it ſhall be to his glory, and our endleſſe ſalvation through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Writs for the burning of Jo. Bradford called in again.

Likewiſe the Lord hath hitherto preſerved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Chriſts cauſe a ſtrong champion, John Bradford. He is likewiſe condemned, and is already delivered to the ſecular power, and writs (as we have heard ſay) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerveth whom he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderfull raging of the world. Many (as we hear ſay) have valiantly ſuffered, confeſſing Chriſts truth, and nothing yielding to the adverſary, yea not for the fear or pains of death.

Names of Martyrs.

The names of them which I knew, and have now ſuffered, are theſe: Farrar the Biſhop of S. Davids, Hooper the Biſhop of Worceſter, Rogers *tuus olim comprebendarius*, D, Taylor of Hadley, M. Sanders, and one Tomkins a weaver, and now this laſt day M. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many other in Eſſex and Kent, whoſe names are written in the book of Life, whom yet I do not know.

This Weſt, when he had relented and ſaid Maſſe againſt his conſcience, ſhortly after pined away, and died for ſorrow.

Weſt, your old companion, and ſometime mine officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath ſhortened his dayes, for anon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and caſt into the Marſhalſey, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he eſcaped not without ſome becking or bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal.

“Note how Boner here requited the kindnes of B. Ridley ſhewed to his mother.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley of the Bullhead in Cheap, which was to me the moſt faithfull friend that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo unto God. My brother Shipſide that hath married my ſiſter, hath been almoſt half a yeer in priſon, for delivering (as he was accuſed) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but ſo that the Biſhop hath taken from him his “Park.

Of all us three Concaptives at Oxford, I am kept moſt ſtrait, and with leaſt liberty, *Vel quia* viro, in cujus ædibus ego cuſtodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo ſit præfectus civitatis) mulier vetula, moroſa, & ſuperſtitioſiſſ. quæ etiam hoc ſibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctiſſimè & cautiſſimè cuſtodire, vir autem ipſe Iriſchius nomine, mitis ſatis eſt omnibus, uxori vero pluſquam obſequentiſſ. Licet uxorem (uti noſti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana conſuetudine, quam cum iſtis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil poſſe intelligere quam grave malum & intolerable jugum ſit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Rectè ergo ſapiens dixit, uxor bona donum Dei; & iterum, mulieris bonæ beatis vir. Vel hæc inquam cauſa eſt, vel quia à magnis Magiſtratibus (neſcio quas ob cauſas) illud eſt, ut ita fieret, ipſis mandatum: idque illi ſi quando de mea nimia ſervitute apud eos conqueror, ſedulo ſæpe rurſus mihi inculcant.

All the ſtatutes of reformation in Cambridge broken, and all things reduced again into the old ſtate of Popery.

At Cambridge (as I hear ſay) Omnes ſtudioſorum & ſtatutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc ſunt denuo deformatæ & deletæ, & omnia ſunt in priſtinum chaos & in antiquum papiſmum reducta: omnes collegiorum præfecti qui ſynceritate Evangelij favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti ſunt, & alij Papiſticæ factionis in eorum loca ſurrogati, quod & de ſociis collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum eſſe audio. Nec mirum, nam aliud paſſim factum eſt in univerſo regno Angliæ, in omnibus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Decanis, Prebendariis, Sacerdotibus Eccleſiarum, & in toto clero: **and to tell you much naughty matter in few words**; Papiſmus apud nos ubique in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.

Unthankfull receiving of Gods great gifts and graces.

Coldneſſe of Paſtors, corruption of Magiſtrates, waywardneſſe of the people provoked Gods wrath.

The Lord be mercifull, and for Chriſts ſake pardon us our old unkindeneſſe and unthankfulneſſe: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours (alas) we did not ſerve him, nor render unto him thanks according to the ſame. We Paſtors many of us were too cold, and bare too much (alas) with the wicked world; our Magiſtrates did abuſe, to their own worldly gain, both Gods Goſpel and the Miniſters of the ſame. The people in many places was wayward and unkinde. Thus of every ſide and of every ſort we have provoked Gods anger and wrath to fall upon us: but bleſſed might he be that hath not ſuffered his to continne in thoſe wayes which ſo wholly have diſpleaſed his ſecret Majeſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Sons Croſſe, unto his glory and our endleſſe ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

The prayer of B. Ridley for the Churches abroad, which openly profeſſe the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know) and by Gods grace ſhall be ſo long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren that are fled out of your own Countrey, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly things than the truth of Gods Word. It is even the ſame that I uſe to make to God, for all thoſe Churches abroad thorow the world, which have forſaken the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the purity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; that is, that God our eternall Father, for our Saviour Chriſts ſake, will daily increaſe in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true ſetting forth of his glory and of his Goſpel, and make you to agrée brotherly in the truth of the ſame, that there ariſe no root of bitterneſſe among you that may infect that good ſéed which God hath ſown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the rule of Gods Word and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the Goſpel of Chriſt our Saviour, that the honeſty and purity of the ſame may provoke all that ſhall ſée or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honeſty and vertues ſake, and ſo both in brotherly unity of your true Doctrine, and alſo in the godly vertue of your honeſt life, to glorifie our Father which is in heaven.

B. Ridley prayeth for Queen Mary.

Ex noſtratibus magni aliquot Magiſtratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arundellus, & Dominus Pachetus jam legatione funguntur, una cum Cardinali Polo, in patribus tranſmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem noſtrum, & Francorum regem. Poſt illorum Magiſtratuum noſtrorum redditum, & partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, & jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro ſui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare; nos tunc ſtatim nihil aliud quam noſtræ confeſſionis de hoſte noſtro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium veſtrum precibus me humillimè ex toto corde commendo; In primis, tuis O chariſſ. in Chriſto frater, & dilectiſſ. Grindalle, & chariſſ. fratrum & unice mihi in Domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampſonis, Chamberi, & omnium fratrum noſtrorum & conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, & diligunt Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendiſſ. patres & concaptivos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum jam veri magni Paſtoris & Archipreſulis nomine digniſſ. & veteranum illum Chriſti & noſtræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apoſtolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi frater harum prolixitatem, non enim poſthac credo chariſſime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis, Oxonij.

N. R.

To Auguſtine Bernher.

A Letter of B. Ridley to one Auſten Bernher.

Commemoration of Saints.

BRother Auguſtine, I bleſſe God with all my heart in his manifold mercifull gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Chriſt, ſpecially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleaſed him to ſet forth firſt, no doubt out of his gracious goodneſſe and fatherly favour towards him. And likewiſe bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord likewiſe to ſet in the forefront of the battell againſt his adverſaries, and hath endued them all (ſo far as I can hear) to ſtand in the confeſſion of his truth, and to be content in his cauſe, and for his Goſpels ſake to loſe their life. And evermore and without end bleſſed be even the ſame our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for: for I wéen he will no longer vouchſafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he (for thoſe gifts of grace which the Lord hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath holpen thoſe which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to kéep the high way, & ſic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet again I bleſſe God in our dear brother, and of this time Protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And now becauſe Grindall is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will beſtow him) I truſt to God, it ſhall pleaſe him of his goodneſſe to ſtrengthen me to make up the trinity out of Pauls Church, to ſuffer for Chriſt whom God the Father hath anointed, the holy Spirit doth bear witneſſe unto, Paul and all the Apoſtles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper, I was conſtrained thus to write.

Protomartyr is the firſt martyr whom he ſo calleth, becauſe he was the firſt that ſuffered here in thoſe bloody dayes.

Beſides theſe Letters of Biſhop Ridley, divers other tractations alſo were written by him, partly out of priſon, partly in priſon: as namely among certain other, there remain in my hands certain notes anſwering to the two notable Sermons of Doctor Watſon, Biſhop of Lincoln, &c.

Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Maſter Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Chriſt and his Goſpel.

The ſtory of M. Hugh Latimer, Martyr.

M. Latimer firſt ſet to School.

M. Latimer ſent to Cambridge.

NOw conſequently after the life of Biſhop Ridley, with other his Letters, which partly we have expreſſed, and partly we have deferred to our latter appendix, followeth likewiſe the life and doings of the worthy Champion, and old practiſed ſouldier of Chriſt, Maſter Hugh Latimer: of whoſe acts and long travels even from his firſt yeers and tender age, to begin here to entreat: firſt, he was the ſonne of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeſſon in the County of Leiceſter, a husbandman of right good eſtimation; with whom alſo he was brought up untill he was of the age of four yeers or thereabout. At which time his Parents (having him as then left for their onely ſon, with ſixe other daughters) ſeeing his ready, prompt, and ſharpe wit, purpoſed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he ſo profited in his youth, at the common Schooles of his own Countrey, that at the age of 14. yeers, he was ſent to the Univerſitie of Cambridge. Where, after ſome continuance of exerciſes in other things, he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of ſuch ſchool Divinity, as the ignorance of that age did ſuffer.

M. Latimer a long time was a zealous and ſuperſtitious Papiſt.

M. Latimer declaimed in Cambridge againſt Melancthon.

Zealous he was then in the Popiſh Religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupulous, as himſelf confeſſed, that being a Prieſt, and uſing to ſay Maſſe, he was ſo ſervile an obſerver of the Romiſh Decrees, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mingled his maſſing wine with water: and moreover, that he ſhould never be damned, if he were once a profeſſed Frier, with divers ſuch ſuperſtitious fantaſies. And in this blinde zeal he was a very enemy to the Profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel; as both his Oration made, when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, againſt Philip Melancthon, and alſo his other works did plainly declare. But eſpecially his Popiſh zeal could in no caſe abide in thoſe daies good Maſter Stafford, Reader of the Divinity Lectures in Cambridge, moſt ſpitefully railing againſt him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wiſe to beleeve him.

Latimer converted by M. Bilney.

Read M. Latimers own confeſſion in his firſt Sermon upon the Pater noſter.

M. Latimer a Papiſt, turned to a zealous Chriſtian.

Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the goodneſſe and mercifull purpoſe of God, that when he ſaw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the profeſſors of the Goſpel, and true Church of Chriſt, he was at length himſelf by a member of the ſame pretily caught in the bleſſed net of Gods Word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whoſe ſtory is before deſcribed) being at that time a trier out of Satans ſubtilties, and a ſecret overthrower of Antichriſts Kingdome, ſeeing Maſter Latimer to have a zeal in his wayes (although without knowledge) was ſtricken with a brotherly pitie towards him, and bethought by what means he might beſt win this zealous ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Chriſt. Wherefore, after a ſhort time, he came to Maſter Latimers ſtudy, and deſired him to hear him make his confeſſion. Which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) ſo touched, that hereupon he forſooke his former ſtudying of the Schoole Doctors, and other ſuch fopperies, and became an earneſt ſtudent of true Divinity, as he himſelf, as well in his conference with Maſter Ridley, as alſo in his firſt Sermon made upon the Pater noſter, doth confeſſe. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almoſt a perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zealous ſeeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring, both with Maſter Bilney and others, and came alſo to Maſter Stafford before he dyed, and deſired him to forgive him.

M. Latimer becommeth a Preacher in Cambridge.

After this his winning to Chriſt, he was not ſatisfied with his own converſion onely, but like a true Diſciple of the bleſſed Samaritane, pitied the miſery of others, and therefore became both a publike Preacher, and alſo a private inſtructer to the reſt of his brethren within the Univerſity, by the ſpace of three yeers, ſpending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongſt the ſimple people in his naturall and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Sathan never ſleepeth when he ſeeth his Kingdom to begin to decay, ſo likewiſe now, ſeeing that this worthy member of Chriſt would be a ſhrewd ſhaker thereof, he raiſed up his impious imps to moleſt and trouble him.

Enemies ſtirred in Cambridge againſt M. Latimer.

M. Latimers preaching of the cards in Cambridge.

Amongſt theſe there was an Auguſtine Frier, who took occaſion upon certain Sermons that Maſter Latimer made about Chriſtmas 1529. as well in the Church of S. Edward, as alſo in S. Auguſtines, within the Univerſity of Cambridge to invey againſt him, for that Maſter Latimer in the ſaid Sermons (alluding to the common uſage of the ſeaſon) gave the people certain cards out of the 5, 6, 7. Chapters of S. Matthew, whereupon they might, not onely then, but always elſe, occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principall thing that they ſhould ſerve God withall; whereby he quite overthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wiſhed the Scriptures to be in Engliſh, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſantly applied of him, that not onely it declared a ſingular towardneſſe of wit in the Preacher, but alſo wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of Popiſh ſuperſtition, and ſetting up of perfect religion.

The difference between true and falſe religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Chriſtmas day; on which day coming to the Church, and cauſing the bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, taking for his text the words of the Goſpel aforeſaid, read in the Church that day; Tu quis es, &c. In delivering the which cards (as is aboveſaid) he made the Heart to be triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to ſerve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praiſe of that triumph, that though it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt coat card beſide in the bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of heart and verity, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter onely, or in the gliſtering ſhew of mans traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of ſupererogation, foundations, oblations, the Popes ſupremacy, &c. ſo that all theſe either were needleſſe, where the other is preſent; or elſe were of ſmall eſtimation, in compariſon of the other.

The tenor and effect of theſe his Sermons, ſo farre as they could come to our hands, here follow.

THE
Tenor and effect of certain SERMONS,

Made by M. LATIMER in *Cambridge*, about the yeer of our Lord, 1529.

TU quis es? Which words are as much to ſay in Engliſh, Who art thou? Theſe be the words of the Phariſees, which were ſent by the Jews unto St. John Baptiſt in the wilderneſſe, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they ſpake unto him of an evill intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Chriſt, and ſo they would have had him done with their good wills, becauſe they knew that he was more carnall, and given to their laws, than Chriſt indeed ſhould be, as they perceived by their old propheſies: and alſo, becauſe they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Chriſt or not: wherefore they ſaid unto him, Who art thou? Then anſwered S. John, and confeſſed that he was not Chriſt. Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent anſwer of St. John Baptiſt unto the Phariſees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly anſwer of himſelf, what he was himſelf; but he ſaid he was not Chriſt, by the which ſaying he thought to put the Jews and Phariſees out of their falſe opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exerciſe the office of Chriſt, and ſo declared further unto them of Chriſt, ſaying, He is in the midſt of you, and amongſt you, whom ye know not, whoſe latchet of his ſhoo I am not worthy to unlooſe, or undo. By this you may perceive that Saint John ſpake much in the laud and praiſe of Chriſt his Maſter, profeſſing himſelf to be in no wiſe like unto him. So likewiſe it ſhall be neceſſary unto all men and women of this world, not to aſcribe unto themſelves any goodneſſe of themſelves, but all unto our Lord God, as ſhall appear hereafter, when this queſtion aforeſaid (Who art thou?) ſhall be moved unto them: not as the Phariſees did unto S. John, of an evill purpoſe, but of a good and ſimple minde, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the Preachers minde, let every man and woman, of a good and ſimple minde, contrary to the Phariſees intent, ask this queſtion (Who art thou?) This queſtion muſt be moved to themſelves, what they be of themſelves. on this faſhion, What art thou of thy onely and naturall generation between father and mother, when thou cameſt into this world? What ſubſtance, what vertue, what goodneſſe art thou of by thy ſelf? which queſtion if thou rehearſe oftentimes unto thy ſelf, thou ſhalt well perceive and underſtand, how thou ſhalt make anſwer unto it: which muſt be made on this wiſe; I am of my ſelf, and by my ſelf, coming from my naturall father and mother, the childe of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of ſinne, and working nothing of my ſelf, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of my ſelf. Now we may ſee in what ſtate we enter into this world, that we be of our ſelves the true and juſt inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Chriſt, working all towards hell, whereby we deſerve of our ſelves perpetuall damnation, by the right judgement of God, and the true claim of our ſelves: which unthrifty ſtate that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deſerts, and proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might pleaſe the Kings Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of ſimple degree and birth, not born to any poſſeſſion; whom the Kings Grace favoureth, not becauſe this perſon hath of himſelf deſerved any ſuch favour, but that the King caſteth his favour unto him of his own meer motion and fantaſie: and becauſe the Kings Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto his ſaid man a thouſand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he ſhall take upon him to be the chief Captain, and Defender of his Town of Calice, and to be true and faithfull to him in the cuſtody of the ſame, againſt the French-men eſpecially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promiſing his fidelity thereunto, It chanceth in proceſſe of time, that by the ſingular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this Captain with the French-men, theſe French-men give unto the ſaid Captain of Calice a great ſum of money, ſo that he will be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the ſaid Town of Calice by force of arms, and ſo thereby poſſeſſe the ſame unto the Crown of France: upon this agreement the French-men do invade the ſaid Town of Calice, alonely by the negligence of this Captain.

Now the Kings Grace hearing of this invaſion, cometh with a great puiſſance to defend this his ſaid Town, and ſo by good policy of war overcometh the ſaid French-men, and entereth again into his Town of Calice. Then he being deſirous to know how theſe enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound ſearch and inquiry, by whom this Treaſon was conſpired; by this ſearch it was known and found his own Captain to be the very author and beginner of the betraying of it. The King, ſeeing the great infidelity of this perſon, diſchargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thouſand pounds poſſeſſions. Think you not that the King doth uſe juſtice unto him, and all his poſterity and heirs? Yes truely: the ſaid Captain cannot deny himſelf, but that he had true juſtice, conſidering how unfaithfully he behaved himſelf to his Prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promiſe: ſo likewiſe it was of our firſt father Adam. He had given unto him the ſpirit and ſcience of knowledge, to work all goodneſſe therewith; this ſaid ſpirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and poſterity. He had alſo delivered him the Town of Calice, that is to ſay, Paradiſe in earth, the moſt ſtrong and faireſt Town in the world, to be in his cuſtody: He neverthéleſſe by the inſtigation of theſe Frenchmen, that is to ſay, the temptation of the Fiend, did obey unto their deſire, and ſo he brake his promiſe and fidelity, the commandement of the everlaſting King his Maſter, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the King ſeeing this great treaſon in his Captain, depoſed him of the thouſand pounds of poſſeſſions, that is to ſay, from everlaſting life in glory, and all his heirs and poſterity: for likewiſe as he had the ſpirit of ſcience and knowledge, for him and his heirs; ſo in like manner when he loſt the ſame, his heirs loſt it alſo by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlaſting joy; and by him, and in him again we loſt the ſame.

The heirs of the Captain of Calice could not by any manner of claim ask of the King the right and title of their father, in the thouſand pounds poſſeſſions, by reaſon the King might anſwer, and ſay unto them, that although their father deſerved not of himſelf to enjoy ſo great poſſeſſions, yet he deſerved by himſelf to loſe them, and greater, committing ſo high treaſon, as he did, againſt his Princes commandements; whereby he had no wrong to loſe his title, but was unworthy to have the ſame, and had therein true juſtice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had juſtice to loſe his poſſeſſions, you have wrong to loſe the ſame: In the ſame manner it may be anſwered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true juſtice to be excluded from his poſſeſſion of everlaſting glory in Paradiſe, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in loſing alſo the ſame; yea, we have true juſtice and right. Then in what miſerable ſtate be we, that of the right and juſt title of our own deſerts have loſt the everlaſting joy, and claim of our ſelves to be true inheritors of hell? For he that committeth deadly ſinne willingly, bindeth himſelf to be inheritor of everlaſting pain: and ſo did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was caſt out of the everlaſting joy in Paradiſe, into this corrupt world, amongſt all vileneſſe, whereby of himſelf he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleaſant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections, and beaſtly appetites, transformed into the uncleaneſt and variableſt nature that was made under heaven, of whoſe ſeed and diſpoſition all the world is lineally deſcended, inſomuch that this evill nature is ſo diffuſed and ſhed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themſelves waſh away this abominable vileneſſe: and ſo we muſt needs grant of our ſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our Father Adam was; by reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be of our ſelves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the anſwer to this queſtion, made to every man and woman by themſelves, Who art thou?

And now the world ſtanding in this damnable ſtate, cometh in the occaſion of the Incarnation of Chriſt; the Father in Heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himſelf and of himſelf could do nothing for himſelf, by his prudent wiſedom ſent down the ſecond perſon in Trinity, his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to declare unto man his pleaſure and commandement: and ſo at the Fathers will Chriſt took on him humane nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miſerable way, and was content to ſuffer cruell paſſion in ſhedding his blood for all mankinde, and ſo left behinde for our ſafeguard laws and ordinances, to keep us alwayes in the right path unto everlaſting life, as the Evangelies, the Sacraments, the Commandements, and ſo forth: which if we do keep and obſerve according to our profeſſion, we ſhall anſwer better unto this queſtion, (Who art thou?) than we did before: for before thou diddeſt enter into the Sacrament of Baptiſm, thou wert but a naturall man, a naturall woman; as I might ſay, A man, A woman. But after thou takeſt on thee Chriſts religion, thou haſt a longer name: for then thou art a Chriſtian man, a Chriſtian woman. Now then, ſeeing thou art a Chriſtian man, what ſhall be the anſwer of this queſtion, Who art thou?

The anſwer of this queſtion is, when I ask it unto my ſelf, I muſt ſay that I am a Chriſtian man, a Chriſtian woman, the childe of everlaſting joy, through the merits of the bitter Paſſion of Chriſt. This a joyfull anſwer. Here we may ſee how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and ſaved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well conſider, unleſſe we do remember what we were of our ſelves before we medled with him or his Laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and ſet leſſe by it, the more we ſhall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more that we know what God hath done for us, the leſſe we ſhall ſet by our ſelves, and the more we ſhall love and pleaſe God, ſo that in no condition we ſhall either know our ſelves or God, except we do utterly confeſſe our ſelves to be meer vileneſſe and corruption. Well now it is come unto this point, that we be Chriſtian men, Chriſtian women; I pray you what doth Chriſt require of a Chriſtian man, or of a Chriſtian woman? Chriſt requireth nothing elſe of a Chriſtian man or woman, but that they will obſerve his Rule. For likewiſe as he is a good Auguſtine Frier that keepeth well St. Auguſtines rule, ſo he is a good Chriſtian man that keepeth well Chriſts rule.

Now then, what is Chriſts rule? Chriſts rule conſiſteth in many things, as in the Commandements, and the works of mercy, and ſo forth. And becauſe I cannot declare Chriſts rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply my ſelf according to your cuſtome at this time of Chriſtmas, I will as I ſaid, declare unto you Chriſts rule, but that ſhall be in Chriſts cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Chriſtmas in playing at cards, I intend with Gods grace to deal unto you Chriſts cards, wherein you ſhall perceive Chriſts rule. The game that we will play at, ſhall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth ſhall win; the Players ſhall likewiſe win, and the ſtanders and lookers upon ſhall do the ſame; inſomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with theſe cards, but they ſhall be all winners, and no loſers.

Let therefore every Chriſtian man and woman play at theſe cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; you muſt mark alſo that the Triumph muſt apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatſoever ſuit they be of. Now then take ye this firſt card, which muſt appear and be ſhewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was ſpoken to men of the old Law. Thou ſhalt not kill; whoſoever ſhall kill, ſhall be in danger of judgement. But I ſay unto you of the new Law, ſaith Chriſt, that whoſoever is angry with his neighbour, ſhall be in danger of judgement, and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour Racha, that is to ſay, brainleſſe, or any other like word of rebuking, ſhall be in danger of a Councell; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell fire. This card was made and ſpoken by Chriſt, as appeareth in the fifth Chapter of Saint Matthew.

Now it muſt be noted, that whoſoever ſhall play with this card, muſt firſt before they play with, know the ſtrength and vertue of the ſame: wherefore you muſt well note and mark tearms how they be ſpoken, and to what purpoſe: Let us therefore reade it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and ſee, this card is divided into four parts: The firſt part is one of the Commandements that was given unto Moſes in the old Law, before the coming of Chriſt, which Commandement we of the new law be bound to obſerve and keep, and it is one of our Commandements. The other three parts ſpoken by Chriſt, be nothing elſe but expoſitions unto the firſt part of this Commandement: for in very effect of all theſe four parts be but one Commandement, that is to ſay, Thou ſhalt not kill: yet nevertheleſſe, the three laſt parts do ſhew unto thee how many wayes thou maiſt kill thy neighbour contrary to this Commandement: yet for all Chriſts expoſition, in the three laſt parts of this card, the tearms be not open enough to thee that doſt reade and hear them ſpoken. No doubt the Jews underſtood Chriſt well-enough when he ſpake to them theſe three laſt ſentences, for he ſpake unto them in their own naturall tearms and tongue: wherefore ſeeing that theſe tearms were naturall tearms of the Jews, it ſhall be neceſſary to expound them, and compare them unto ſome like tearms of our naturall ſpeech, that we in like manner may underſtand Chriſt as well as the Jews did. We will begin firſt with the firſt part of this card, and then after with the other three parts: you muſt therefore underſtand that the Jews and the Phariſees of the old Law, to whom this firſt part, this Commandement, Thou ſhalt not kill, was ſpoken, thought it ſufficient and enough for their diſcharge not to kill with any manner weapon of materiall weapon, as ſword, dagger, or with any ſuch weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatſoever they ſaid or did by their neighbour, ſo that they did not harm or meddle with their corporall bodies, which was a falſe opinion in them, as prove well the three laſt other ſentences following the firſt part of this Card.

Now as touching the three other ſententes, you muſt note and take heed what difference is between theſe three manner of offences, To be angry with your neighbour, To call your neighbour brainleſſe, or any ſuch word of diſdain, Or to call your neighbour fool: whether theſe three manner of offences be of themſelves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truely, as they be of themſelves divers offences, ſo they kill diverſly one more than the other, as you ſhall perceive by the firſt of theſe three, and ſo forth: A man which conceiveth againſt his neighbour or brother, ire, or wrath in his minde, by ſome manner of occaſion given unto him, although he be angry in his minde againſt his ſaid neighbour, he will peradventure expreſſe his ire by no manner of ſigne, either in word or deed; yet nevertheleſſe he offendeth againſt God, and breaketh this Commandment in killing his own ſoul; and is therefore in danger of judgement.

Now to the ſecond part of theſe three; That man that is moved with ire againſt his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour brainleſſe, or ſome other like word of diſpleaſure, as a man might ſay in a fury, I ſhall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more repreſent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and ſpake no manner of word, ne ſhewed any countenance to declare his ire: wherefore as he that ſo declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more againſt God, ſo he both killeth his own ſoul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbours ſoul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himſelf, and ſo this man is in danger of a Councell.

Now to the third offence, and laſt of theſe three; That man that calleth his neighbour fool, doth more declare his angry minde toward him, than he that called his neighbour but brainleſſe, or any ſuch words moving ire: for to call a man fool, that word repreſenteth more envy in a man, than brainleſſe doth. Wherefore he doth moſt offend, becauſe he doth moſt earneſtly with ſuch words expreſſe his ire, and ſo he is in danger of hell fire: wherefore you may underſtand now theſe three parts of this Card to be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the ſoul of man than the other.

Now peradventure there be ſome that will marvell that Chriſt did not declare this Commandement by ſome greater faults of ire, than by theſe which ſeem but ſmall faults, as to be angry and ſpeak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainleſſe, and to call his neighbor fool, truly theſe be the ſmalleſt, and the leaſt faults that longeth to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend any kinde of ire: ſeeing that the ſmalleſt be damnable to offend in, ſee that you offend not in the greateſt. For Chriſt thought, if he might bring you from the ſmalleſt manner of faults, and give you warning to avoyd the leaſt, he reckoned you would not offend in the greateſt and worſt, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreſon, whore, drab, and ſo forth, into more blaſphemous names, which offences muſt needs have puniſhment in hell, conſidering how that Chriſt hath appointed theſe three ſmall faults, to have three degrees of puniſhment in hell, as appeareth by theſe three tearms, judgement, councell, and hell fire; theſe three tearms do ſignifie nothing elſe but three divers puniſhments in hell, according to the offences: judgement is leſſe in degree than councell, therefore it ſignifieth a leſſer pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his minde with his neighbour, and doth expreſſe his malice neither by word, ne countenance: councell is a leſſe degree in hell, than hell fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgement; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainleſſe, or any ſuch word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgement. Hell fire is more pain in hell, than councell or judgement, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour fool, by reaſon that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earneſt word of ire. Wherefore hell fire is appointed for it, that is, the moſt pain of the three puniſhments.

Now you have heard that to theſe divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed puniſhments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, ſo ſhall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain ſhall be according: if it be leſſe, there ſhall be leſſe pain for it. I would not now that you ſhould think becauſe that here are but three degrees of puniſhments ſpoken of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Chriſt ſpake of no more here but of theſe three degrees of puniſhments, thinking they were ſufficient enow for example, whereby we might underſtand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and ſo by theſe three offences, and theſe three puniſhments, all other offences and puniſhments may be compared with each other: yet I would ſatiſfie your mindes further in theſe three tearms, of judgement, councell, and hell fire. Where you might ſay, what was the cauſe that Chriſt declared more the pains of hell by theſe tearms, than by any other tearms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he ſpake them; theſe tearms were naturall and known well amongſt the Jews and the Phariſees. Wherefore Chriſt taught them with their own tearms, to the intent they might underſtand the better his doctrine: and theſe tearms may be likened unto three tearms which we have common and uſuall amongſt us, that is to ſay, the Seſſions of enquirance, the Seſſions of deliverance, and the execution day: Seſſions of enquirance is like unto judgement: for when Seſſions of enquiry is, then the Judges cauſe twelve men to give verdit of the fellons crime, whereby he ſhall be judged to be endited: Seſſions of deliverance is much like councell: for at Seſſions of deliverance, the Judges go among themſelves to counſell, to determine ſentence againſt the fellon. Execution day is to be compared unto hell fire: for the Jews had amongſt themſelves a place of execution, named hell fire: and ſurely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greateſt pain in this world: wherefore you may ſee that there are degrees in theſe our tearms, as there be in thoſe tearms. Theſe evill diſpoſed affections and ſenſualities in us are alwayes contrary to the rule of our ſalvation. What ſhall we do now or imagine to thruſt down theſe Turks, and to ſubdue them? It is a great ignominy and ſhame for a Chriſtian man to be bond and ſubject unto a Turk: Nay, it ſhall not be ſo, we will firſt caſt a Trump in their way, and play with them at Cards who ſhall have the better, let us play therefore on this faſhion with this Card. Whenſoever it ſhall happen theſe foul paſſions and Turks to riſe in our ſtomacks againſt our brother, or neighbour, either for unkinde words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our minde, ſtraightwayes let us call unto our remembrance, and ſpeak this queſtion unto our ſelves, Who art thou? The anſwer is, I am a Chriſtian man. Then further we muſt ſay to our ſelves, What requireth Chriſt of a Chriſtian man? Now turn up your Trump, your heart (hearts is trump as I ſaid before) and caſt your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you ſhall learn what Chriſt requireth of a Chriſtian man; Not to be angry, ne moved to ire againſt his Neighbour, in minde, countenance, nor other wayes, by word or deed. Then take up this Card with your heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawfull play: but alas for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by theſe falſe Turks, the ſtrong caſtle faith is decayed, ſo that I fear it is almoſt impoſſible to win it again.

Harts trump.

The great occaſion of the loſſe of this Rhodes is by reaſon that Chriſtian men do ſo daily kil their own Nation, that the very true number of Chriſtianity is decayed: which murther and killing one of another, is increaſed ſpecially two wayes, to the utter undoing of Chriſtendome, that is to ſay, by example and ſilence. By example as thus: When the Father, the Mother, the Lord, the Lady, the Maſter, the Dame, be themſelves overcome with theſe Turks, they be continuall ſwearers, adulterers, diſpoſers to malice, never in patience, and ſo forth in all other vices: Think you not when the father, the mother, the maſter, the dame, be diſpoſed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and ſervants ſhall encline and be diſpoſed to the ſame? No doubt, as the childe ſhall take diſpoſition naturall of his father and mother, ſo ſhall the ſervants apply unto the vices of their maſters and dames; if the heads be falſe in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvell if the children, ſervants, and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and ſhamefull manner of killing Chriſtian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the maſters, and the dames, ſhall not alonely kill themſelves, but all theirs, and all longeth unto them, and ſo this way is a great number of Chriſtian linage murthered and ſpyled. The ſecond manner of killing is ſilence. By ſilence alſo is a great number of Chriſtian men ſlain; which is on this faſhion: although that the Father and Mother, Maſter and Dame of themſelves be well diſpoſed to live according to the Law of God, yet they may kill their children and ſervants in ſuffering them to do evill before their own faces, and do not uſe due correction according unto their offences; the Maſter ſeeth his ſervant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the Kings Laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he ſuffered him to take more of his neighbour than he himſelf would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I ſay, ſuch men kill willingly their children and ſervants, and ſhall go to hell for ſo doing; but alſo their fathers and mothers, maſters and dames, ſhall bear them company for ſo ſuffering. Wherefore I exhort all true Chriſtian men & women to give good example unto your children and ſervants, & ſuffer not them by ſilence to offend: every man muſt be in his own houſe, according to St. Auguſtines minde, a Biſhop, not alonely giving good enſample, but teach according to it, rebuke and puniſh vice, not ſuffering your children and ſervants to forget the lawes of God: you ought to ſee them have their beliefe, to know the commandements of God, to keep their holy dayes, not to loſe their time in idleneſſe; if they doe ſo, you ſhall all ſuffer paine for it, if God be true of his ſaying, as there is no doubt thereof: and ſo you may perceive that there be many one that breake this carde, Thou ſhalt not kill, and playeth therewith oftentimes at the blind trumpe, whereby they be no winners, but great loſers, : but who be thoſe now a dayes that can cleare themſelves of theſe manifeſt murders uſed to their children and ſervants? I thinke not the contrary, but that many have theſe two wayes ſlaine their owne children unto their damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to helpe them when they repent therefore.

Two manner of killings.

Wherefore conſidering that we be ſo prone and ready to continue in ſinne, let us caſt downe our ſelves with Mary Magdalen, and the more wee bow down with her toward Chriſts feete, the more we ſhall be afraid to riſe againe in ſinne, and the more we know and ſubmit our ſelves, the more wee ſhall bee forgiven, and the leſſe wee know and ſubmit our ſelves, the leſſe wee ſhall bee forgiven, as appeareth by this example following.

Chriſt when hee was in the world amongſt the Jewes and Phariſees, there was a great Phariſee whoſe name was Simon; this Phariſee deſired Chriſt on a time to dine with him, thinking in himſelfe that hee was able and worthy to give Chriſt a dinner: Chriſt refuſed not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the houſe a great and a common ſinner named Mary Magdalen. As ſoone as ſhe perceived Chriſt, ſhe caſt her ſelfe downe, and called unto her remembrance what ſhee was of her ſelfe, and how greatly ſhee had offended God, whereby ſhe conceived in Chriſt great love, and ſo came neere unto him, and waſhed his feete with bitter teares, and ſhed upon his head precious oyntment, thinking that by him ſhe ſhould be delivered from her ſins; this great and proud Phariſee ſeeing that Chriſt did accept her oblation in the beſt part, had great indignaiton againſt this woman, and ſaid to himſelfe, if this man Chriſt were a holy Prophet, as he is taken for, he would not ſuffer this ſinner come ſo nigh him. Chriſt underſtanding the naughty minde of this Phariſee, ſayd to him; Simon, I have ſomewhat to ſay unto thee: Say what you pleaſe (quoth the Phariſee.) Then ſaid Chriſt, I pray thee tell me this: If there bee a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this mony is owing, perceiveth theſe two men bee not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of theſe two debters ought to love this man moſt? The Phariſee ſayd, That man ought to love him beſt that had moſt forgiven him: Likewiſe ſayd Chriſt, it is by this woman. Shee hath loved mee moſt, therefore moſt is forgiven her, ſhee hath known her ſins moſt, whereby ſhe hath moſt loved me; and thou haſt leaſt loved me, becauſe thou haſt leaſt knowne thy ſins, therefore becauſe thou haſt leaſt knowne thine offences, thou art leaſt forgiven. So this proud Phariſee had an anſwer to allay his pride: and thinke you not, but that there be amongſt us a great number of theſe proud Phariſees, which thinke themſelves worthy to bid Chriſt to dinner, which will perke and preſume to ſit by Chriſt in the Church, and have diſdaine of this poore Woman Magdalen, their poore Neighbour, with an high diſdainous and ſolemn countenance, and being alwayes deſirous to climbe higheſt in the Church, reckoning their ſelves more worthy to ſit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the boord, and in the belfrey, hath more forgiven of Chriſt than they have: for it is like that theſe Phariſees do leſſe know themſelves and their offences, whereby they leſſe love God, and ſo they be leſſe forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into ſinne, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing our ſelves, and in riſing from ſinne. If we be the true Magdalens, we ſhould be as willing to forſake our ſinne, and riſe from ſinne, as we were willing to commit ſinne, and to continue in it, and we then ſhould know our ſelves beſt, and make more perfect anſwer than ever we did, unto this queſtion, Who art thou? To the which we might anſwer, that we be true Chriſtian men and women: and then I ſay you ſhould underſtand, and know how you ought to play at this Card, Thou ſhalt not kill, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and ſo triumph at the laſt, by winning everlaſting life in glory, Amen.

It would ask a long diſcourſe to declare what a ſtir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of M. Latimer. Belike Sathan began to feel himſelf and his kingdom to be touched too neer, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

D. Delwface playeth at Dice with M. Latimer.

Firſt came out the Prior of the black Friers, called Buckneham, otherwiſe ſurnamed Domine labia, who thinking to make a great had againſt M. Latimer, about the ſame time of Chriſtmas, when M. Latimer brought forth his Cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Chriſtmas Dice, caſting there to his audience cinque and quater, meaning by the cinque five places in the new Teſtament, and the four Doctors by the quater; by which his cinque quater, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in Engliſh, leſt the ignorant and vulgar ſort through the occaſion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or elſe to run into ſome inconvenience: as for example.

Note theſe great reaſons of the Catholikes, why the Scriptures ſhould not come in Engliſh.

The Plowman when he heareth this in the Goſpel, No man that layeth his hand on the Plough, and looketh back, is meet for the Kingdom of God; might peradventure hearing this, ceaſe from his plough. Likewiſe the Baker, when he hears that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percaſe leave our bread unleavened, and ſo our bodies ſhall be unſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple man, when he heareth in the Goſpel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee, may make himſelfe blinde, and ſo fill the world full of beggers. Theſe with other more this Clerkly Frier brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpoſe.

M. Latimer hearing this Frierly Sermon of Doctor Buckneham, cometh again the afternoon, or ſhortly after to the Church, to anſwer the Frier, where reſorted to him a great multitude, as well of the Univerſity as of the Town, both Doctors and other Graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could ſay: among whom alſo, directly in the face of Latimer underneath the Pulpit, ſate Buckneham the foreſaid Frier, Prior of the black Friers, with his black Friers coul about his ſhoulders.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to D. Bucknehams Sermon.

Then Maſter Latimer firſt repeating the Frierly reaſons of Doctor Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, ſo refuted the Frier, ſo anſwered to his objections, ſo dallied with his bald reaſon of the Ploughman looking back, and of the Baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the Frier might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no ſuch fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in Engliſh, as the Frier pretended; at leaſt requiring this, that the Scripture might be ſo long in the Engliſh tongue, till Engliſhmen were ſo mad, that either the Ploughman durſt not look back, or the Baker ſhould leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his Sermon, he began to diſcourſe of the myſticall ſpeeches, and figurative phraſes of the Scripture: which phraſes he ſaid were not ſo diffuſe and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly uſed and unknown: and not onely in the Hebrew tongue, but alſo every ſpeech (ſaith he) hath his like metaphors and figurative ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all men, that the very Painters do paint them on walls, and on houſes.

As for example (ſaith he, looking toward the Frier that ſate over againſt him) when they paint a Fox preaching out of a Friers coul, none is ſo mad to take this to be a Fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocriſie, craft, and ſubtill diſſimulation lieth hid many times in theſe Friers couls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Frier Buckneham with this Sermon was ſo daſhed, that never after he durſt peep out of the pulpit againſt M. Latimer.

Another barking Frier againſt M. Latimer.

Beſides this Buckneham, there was alſo another railing Frier, not of the ſame coat, but of the ſame note and faction, a gray Frier and a Doctor, an Outlandiſhman called Doctor Venetus, who likewiſe in his brawling Sermons railed and raged againſt Maſter Latimer, calling him a mad and brainleſſe man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Maſter Latimer anſwering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Chriſt, Matthew 5. Thou ſhalt not kill, &c. But I ſay unto you whoſoever is angry with his neighbour, ſhall be in danger of judgement; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour Racha (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainleſſe) ſhall be in danger of counſell: And whoſoever ſhall ſay to his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell fire.

Math. 5.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to another railing Frier.

In diſcuſſing of which place, firſt he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand when we uſe any weapon drawn, to ſpill the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we diſdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are when we ſpeak any opprobrious or unſeemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (ſaid he) or brainleſſe, or ſuch like, which are guilty of Councell. Words of ſpite, or reviling, are, when we call him Fool; which Chriſt ſaith is guilty of hell fire, &c.

Sap. 5.

Thus M. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Chriſts words, and the explaining of the ſame, he had ſufficiently born the Frier clean down, then he turned to the fifth Chapter of the book of Wiſedom. Out of the which Chapter he declared to the audience, how the true ſervants and preachers of God in this world commonly are ſcorned and reviled of the proud enemies of Gods Word, which count them here as madmen, fools, brainleſſe, and drunken: ſo did they (ſaid he)

Acts 2.

in the Scripture call them which moſt purely preached, and ſet forth the glory of Gods Word. But (ſaid he) what will be the end of theſe jolly fellows, or what will they ſay in the end? Nos inſenſati, nos inſenſati, &c. We mad men, we mad fools, we, we, our ſelves, &c. And that will be their end, except they repent. And thus ending his Sermon, he ſo confounded the poor Friar, that he drave him not onely out of countenance, but alſo clean out of the Univerſity.

But what ſhould I here ſtand deciphring the names of his adverſaries, when whole ſwarms of Friers and Doctors flockt againſt him on every ſide, almoſt thorow the whole Univerſity, preaching likewiſe and barking againſt him. Amongſt whom was Doctor Watſon, Maſter of Chriſts Colledge, whoſe Scholler Latimer had been afore. Doctor Notaries, Maſter of Clare-hall, Doctor Philo, Maſter of Michael houſe, Doct. Metecalfe, Maſter of St. Johns, Doctor Blithe of the Kings Hall, Doctor Bullock, Maſter of the Queens Colledge, Doctor Cliffe of Clement Houſe, Doctor Donnes of Jeſus Colledge, Doctor Pſalmes, M. of St. Nicholas Hoſtel, Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, Bachelor of Divinity, all three of St. Johns Colledge. Alſo Brikenden Bachelor of Divinity of the ſame houſe, and ſchollar ſometimes to the ſaid Latimer. Briefly, almoſt as many as were Heads there of houſes, ſo many impugners did this worthy ſtandard-bearer of Chriſts Goſpel ſuſtain.

D. West Biſh. of Ely forbidding M. Latimer to preach.

Then came at laſt Doctor Weſt, Biſhop of Ely, who preaching againſt M. Latimer at Barwell Abbey, forbade him within the Churches of that Univerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding ſo the Lord provided, that Doctor Barnes, Prior of the Auguſtine Friers, did licence Maſter Latimer to preach in his Church of the Auguſtines, and he himſelf preached at the Church by, called Saints Edwards Church, which was the firſt Sermon of the Goſpel, which Doct. Barnes preached, being upon Chriſtmas Even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his Sermon, and were commenced againſt him by Maſter Tirell, Fellow of the Kings Hall, and ſo by the Vice-chancellor preſented to the Cardinall, as in his ſtory before hath been declared.

This M. Latimer (as you have heard) being baited by the Friers, Doctors, and Maſters of that Univerſity, about the yeer aforeſaid, 1529. notwithſtanding the maugre and malice of theſe malignant adverſaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the ſpace of three yeers together, with favour and applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the Biſhop himſelf coming in, and hearing his gift, wiſhed himſelf to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the ſame.

Bilney and Latimer joyned companions.

So M. Latimer, with M. Bilney, after this continued yet in Cambridge a certain ſpace, where he with the ſaid Bilney uſed much to confer and company together, inſomuch that the place where they moſt uſed to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretikes hill.

The ſociety of theſe two, as it was much noted of many in that Univerſity, ſo it was full of many good examples, to all ſuch as would follow their doings, both in viſiting the priſoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof ſomewhat is before mentioned in the hiſtory of Maſter Bilney. In a place of his Sermons, Maſter Latimer maketh mention of a certain hiſtory which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then priſoner in the caſtle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembred. The hiſtory is this: It ſo chanced that after Maſter Latimer had bin ſo acquainted with the foreſaid Maſter Bilney, he went with him to viſit the Priſoners in the Tower in Cambridge; and being there, among other priſoners there was a woman which was accuſed that ſhe had killed her own childe, which act ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly denied. Whereby it gave them occaſion to ſearch for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore ſought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A ſtory of a certain woman condemned, who was ſaved by M. Latimer.

A childe of hers had been ſick a whole yeer, and at length died in harveſt time, as it were in a conſumption. Which when it was gone, ſhe went to have her neighbours to help her to the buriall, but all were in harveſt abroad; whereby ſhe was enforced with heavineſſe of heart, alone to prepare the childe to the buriall. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accuſed her of murthering the childe. This was the cauſe of her trouble, and Maſter Latimer, by earneſt inquiſition, of conſcience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediatly after, was he called to preach before King Henry the Eighth, at Windſore; where after his Sermon the Kings Majeſty ſent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Maſter Latimer finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole matter to the King, and begged her pardon, which the King moſt graciouſly granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a childe in the priſon, whoſe Godfather was M. Latimer, Miſtreſſe Cheek Godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confeſſe the truth of the matter. At length the time came when ſhe ſhould look to ſuffer, and Maſter Latimer came as he was wont to inſtruct her: unto whom ſhe made great lamentation and mone, to be purified before her ſuffering, for ſhe thought to be damned if ſhe ſhould ſuffer without purification.

M. Latimer obtained pardon of the King for a woman wrongfully condemned.

Purification of women.

Then Maſter Bilney being with Maſter Latimer, both told her that that Law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civill and politike law, for naturall honeſty ſake, than that they ſhould any thing the more be purified from ſinne thereby, &c. So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length ſhewed her the Kings pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many other at this time happened in Cambridge by Maſter Latimer, and Maſter Bilney. But this was not alone, for many moe like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly ſome are touched before, ſuch eſpecially as concern Maſter Bilney, mention whereof is above expreſſed. But as it is commonly ſeen in the naturall courſe of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, ſo the more ſmoke ariſeth withall, in much like ſort it happened with Maſter Latimer whoſe towardneſſe the more it began to ſpring, his vertues to be ſeen, and his doings to be known, the more his adverſaries beganne to ſpurne and kindle againſt him. Concerning theſe adverſaries, and ſuch as did moleſt him, partly their names be above expreſſed. Among the reſt of this number was Doctor Redman, of whom mention is made before in the raigne of K. Edward, a man ſavouring at that time ſomewhat more of ſuperſtition, then of true Religion, after the zeal of the Phariſees, yet not ſo malignant or harmfull, but of a civill and quiet diſpoſition, and alſo ſo liberall in well doing, that few poor ſchollers were in that Univerſity, which fared not better by his purſe. This D. Redman being of no lit-

D. Redman againſt M. Latimer.

tle authoritie in Cambridge, perceiving and underſtanding the bold enterpriſe of M. Latimer, in ſetting abroad the word and doctrine of the Goſpel, at this time, or much about the ſame writeth to him, ſeeking by perſwaſion to revoke the ſayd Latimer from that kinde and manner of teaching; to whom M. Latimer maketh anſwer again in few words: The ſumme and effect of both their letters, tranſlated out of Latine, here followeth to be ſeen.

The ſumme of the Epiſtle written by D. Redman to M. Latimer.

A letter of D. Redman to M. Latimer.

GRace be with you, and true peace in Chriſt Jeſus. I beſeech you heartily, and require moſt earneſtly, even for charities ſake, that you will not ſtand in your own conceit with a minde ſo indurate, nor prefer your own ſingular judgement in matters of Religion and controverſies before ſo many learned men, and that more is, before the whole Catholike Church, eſpecially conſidering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of GOD to make for you, nor yet the teſtimony of any authenticall Writer. Nay, nay: I beſeech you rather conſider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly bleare your eye, which doth ſometime transforme it ſelfe into an Angel of light.

Judge not ſo raſhly of us, as that wicked ſpirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are carefull for you, and that we wiſh you to be ſaved, and that we are carefull alſo for your own ſalvation. Lay down your ſtomack I pray you, and humble your ſpirit, and ſuffer not the Church to take offence with the hardneſſe of your heart, nor that her unity and Chriſts coat without ſeame (as much as lyeth in you) ſhould be torn aſunder. Conſider what the ſaying of the wiſeman is, and be obedient thereunto: Truſt not your own wiſedome. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

The ſumme of M. Latimers anſwer to Doctor Redman.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to D. Redman.

REverend Maſter Redman, it is even enough for me, that Chriſts Sheep hear no mans voice but Chriſts: and as for you, you have no voice of Chriſt againſt me, whereas for my part I have a heart that is ready to harken to any voice of Chriſt that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

M. Latimer called up to the Cardinall.

After M. Latimer had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the Univerſity of Cambridge, about the ſpace of three yeers, at length he was called up to the Cardinall for hereſie, by the procurement of certaine of the ſaid Univerſity, where he was content to ſubſcribe, and grant to ſuch articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

D. Buts a worthy favorer of Gods word.

After that he returned to the Univerſity again, where ſhortly after by the means of Doctor Buts, the Kings Phyſitian, a ſingular good man, and a ſpeciall favorer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cauſe of the Kings ſupremacy. Then went he to the Court, where he remained a certain time in the ſaid Doctor Buts chamber, preaching then in London verie often. At laſt being weary of the Court, having a benefice offered by the King, at the ſute of the L. Cromwell, and Doctor Buts, was glad thereof, ſeeking by that means to be rid out of the Court, wherewith in no caſe he could agree; and ſo having a grant of the Benefice, contrary to the minde of D. Buts, he would needs depart, and be reſident at the ſame.

M. Latimer Beneficed in Wiltſhire in Weſtkingſton.

This Benefice was in Wiltſhire, under the Dioceſſe of Sarum, the name of which Town was called Weſt Kingſton, where this good Preacher did exerciſe himſelfe with much diligence of teaching to inſtruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but alſo to all the Country about. In fine, his diligence was ſo great, his Preaching ſo mighty, the manner of his teaching ſo zealous, that there in like ſort he could not eſcape without enemies. So true it is that S. Paul foretelleth us, Whoſoever will live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

M. Latimer troubled for preaching.

Chriſt only to be our Savior, and not our Lady.

It ſo chanced, that whereas he Preaching upon the bleſſed Virgin Chriſts Mother (whom we call our Lady) had thereupon declared his minde, referring and reducing all honor only to Chriſt our only Saviour, certain Popiſh Prieſts, being therewith offended, ſought and wrought much trouble againſt him, drawing out Articles and impoſitions which they untruly, unjuſtly, falſly, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

The ſuperſtitious rudeneſſe of blinde Prieſts.

Firſt, that he ſhould preach againſt our Lady, for that he reproved in a ſermon the ſuperſtitious rudeneſſe of certain blinde Prieſts, which ſo held together upon that bleſſed Virgin, as though ſhe never had any ſin, nor were ſaved by Chriſt the only Saviour of the whole world.

Matter deviſed againſt M. Latimer by popiſh Prieſts.

Item, that he ſhould ſay, that Saints were not to be worſhipped.

Item, that Ave Maria was a ſalutation only, and no prayer.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, in ſaying, that he had lever be in Purgatory than in Lollards Tower.

Touching the whole diſcourſe of which Articles, with his reply and anſwer to the ſame, hereafter ſhall follow (by the Lords aſſiſtance) when we come to his letters.

Doct. Wilſon, Doctor Powel, D. Sherwood, Hubberdine, D. Warrham Archb. of Cant. D. Stokeſly, B. of London, troublers of M. Latimer.

The chief impugners and moleſters of him, beſides theſe Country Prieſts, were Doct. Powel of Saliſbury, D. Wilſon ſometime of Cambridge, M. Hubberdin, and D. Sherwood. Of whom ſome preached againſt him, ſome alſo did write againſt him; inſomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before W. Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and John Stokeſly Biſhop of London, Anno 1531. Jan. 29. the copie of which citation here followeth.

The Copie of the Citation ſent to the ſayd M. Latimer by the Chancellor of Sarum, *at the interceſſion of the B. of* London.

RIchardus Hilley decretorum Doctor, reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini, domini Laurentii Dei gratia Sarum Epiſcopi, in remotis extra regnum Angliæ agentis Vicarius in ſpiritualibus generalis, univerſis & ſingulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, Curatis, Clerisque & literatis per Dioceſ. Sarum ubilibet conſtitutis, ſalutem in authore ſalutis. Vobis conjunctim & diviſim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis peremptorie magiſtrum Hugonem Latimer. Vicarium de Weſtkingſton in archimatu Wilteſ. Sarum Dioceſ. quod compareat coram reverendo in Chriſto Patre, & Domino domine Iohanne, Dei gratia London. Epiſcopo, aut ejus Vicario in ſpiritualibus generali, ſive commiſſario in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, in loco conſiſtoriali ibidem, die lunæ, videlicet. 29. die menſis Ianuarii jam inſtantis, inter horam 9. & xi. ante meridiem ejuſdem diei, certis articulis ſive interrogatoriis, crimina ſeu exceſſus graves infra juriſdictionem London. per ipſum commiſſ. concernentibus perſonaliter reſponſur. ulteriuſque factur. & receptur. quod juſtitia in ea parte ſuadebit: & quid in præmiſſis feceritis, nos citra 22. diem ejuſdem menſis Ianuarii vel in eo apud Sarum debite certificari curetis, ut nos

certificatorium hujuſmodi ſupradicto reverendo Patri, domino London Epiſcopo erga dictum 22. diem tranſmittere valeamus, prout idem reverendus pater nos in juris ſubſidium ac mutuæ viciſſitudinis obtentu rogavit, & etiam requiſivit. Datum Sarum, ſub ſigillo antedicti reverendiſſimi patris ad cauſas, 10. die menſis Ianuarii. Anno 1531.

M. Latimer appealed from the B. of Londons citation, to his own Ordinarie.

M. Latimer moleſted by Warrham Archb. of Cant and Tokeſly, B. of London.

Againſt this citation, although Maſter Latimer did appeal to his own Ordinarie, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtanding, he was had up to London before Warrham the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, where he was greatly moleſted, and detained a long ſpace from his Cure at home. There he being called thrice every weeke before the ſaid Biſhops, to make anſwer for his preaching, had certain Articles or propoſitions drawn out and layd to him, whereunto they required him to ſubſcribe. At length he not only perceiving their practicall proceedings, but alſo much grieved with their troubleſome unquietneſſe, which neither would preach themſelves, nor yet ſuffer him to preach and to do his duty, writeth to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, partly excuſing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandement, partly expoſtulating with them for ſo troubling and detaining him from his duty doing, and that for no juſt cauſe, but only for preaching the truth againſt certain vaine abuſes crept into Religion, much needfull to be ſpoken againſt. Which all may appeare by his Epiſtle ſent to a certain Biſhop or Archbiſhop, whoſe name is not expreſſed, the copie of which Epiſtle in Latine is this.

The Copie of the Epiſtle written by Maſter Latimer to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

M. Latimers letter to the Archbiſh.

NOn licet reverendiſſime Præſul per ſupervenientem ægrotationem ad tuum Palatium venire, non novam quidem illam, ſed inveteratam, etſi novis occaſionibus nuper exaſperatam. Certe quantum videre videor, & quantum conjecturis ducor, hodie non licebit, citra meum (inquam) magnum malum non licebit. Et ne meum expectaret adventum diutius tua dominatio fruſtra; en hanc qualemcunque ſchedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitto. velut excuſationis noſtræ certiſſimum judicem. In qua utinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gravedinem, juſtam aliquam expoſtulationem liceret tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habentem, ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines, invitum, & hac quidem tempeſtate detines, qua Paſtores cum gregibus adeſſe oportet vel maxime. Quid ni enim expoſtulem, ſi modo tam vili mancipio cum tanto patre expoſtulare ſit licitum. Nam ſi Petrus arbitrabatur juſtum eſſe ratione officii ſui, quamdiu in hoc foret tabernaculo, ut populum admonere & docere neutiquam ceſſaret, & quo propius morti hoc inſtantius: ergo non poteſt non videri injuſtum, ſi qui hodie neque docent ipſi (ut jam nihil mirer ſi non ante docuerunt) neque cupientes docere permittunt, niſi quos habuerunt votis per omnia & in omnibus obſecundantes. Primum liberum erat meipſum amplitudini veſtræ præſentare & offerre; ſed inde me ipſum eripere & extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum eſſe. Et dum aliud in principio prætenditur, aliud in progreſſu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, noſtri negotii quis aut qualis ſit futurus exitus non immerito dubitatur; ſed veritas tandem liberabit uti ſpero. Dominus qui cuſtodit veritatem in ſeculū liberabit, ſuper quo quid ſcribit Hieronymus utinam nunquam è memoria excideret. Non poterat me moleſtare quicquid eſſem pro veritate paſſurus; ſed vivit Deus, & ipſi cura eſt de nobis. Tum modo ad Lond. miſſus ſum, cæterum coram Cant. interdum multis formidandis patribus ſtipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quoſdam & limites habet, ab eo qui me miſit præſtitutos, verum ſic tractatur cauſa, & ambagibus ducitur, quaſi in infinitum abitura, nullo tandem claudenda termino, dum ſine modo & fine, alia poſt alia ad me, ſive pertinentia, ſive impertinentia, nunc ab hoc, nunc ab illo interrogantur, ſi non egomet modo, & ſi fortè inciviliter, ac non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor) modum imponere, veritus ne inter multa dum multis reſpondet unus, unum aliquod (ut fit) ex inconſulto erumperet, quod cauſam læderet, alioqui juſtiſſimam: & me malum oſtendat oportet nemini volentem male moliri, ſi quid in conſcientia eſt erroris: & meminiſſe omnino illud oportet, nempe ad gehennam ædificare, contra conſcientiam facere, hiis ſat fuerit ſua profiteri, ſua aſſerere, ſua defenſare: mihi vero aſſertiones alienæ obtruduntur, neſcio quo jure aſſerendæ. Sine exemplo, opinor hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intractabilis fere videor, dum nihil aliud quam iniquis efflagitationibus (quod ego judico) acquieſcere detrecto. Adverſus prædicationes meas ſi quis quid intentare conabitur, tanquam vel obſcuriores, vel parum caute pronunciatas, paratus ſum prædicationes prædicationibus illuſtrare, qui nihil adverſus veritatem, nihil adverſus decreta patrum, nil non Catholice (quod ſciam) prædicavi unquam. Id quod per adverſariorum & obloquentium teſtimonia commonſtrare poteram eſſe verum. Optavi & opto judicium vulgi reparari. Optavi & opto diſcrimen rerum deprehendi, & ſua dignitate, ſuo loco, & tempore, ſuo gradu & ordine, unamquamq; rem pollere, gaudere, ut ingenue ſciant omnes, permultū intereſſe inter eà quæ præparavit Deus, ut in eis ambularemus, quiſq; vocationis opera ſedulo facturi, poſtquam quæ omnibus ſunt communia pari ſedulitate ſunt facta, & inter ea quæ ſpontanea ſunt, ut in quibus non niſi noſtropte marte obambulamus. Imaginibus uti licet, peregrinari licet, ſanctos invocare licet, animarum in purgatorio reſidentium memores eſſe licet: ſed ſic temperanda ſunt, quæ voluntaria ſunt, ut præcepta Dei factu neceſſaria (quæ facientibus vitam æternam, non facientibus æternam mortem afferunt) juſta æſtimatione non priventur, ne præpoſtere diligentes Deum ſtulte devoti, Deum contra experiamur non redamantem nos, ſed odio potius proſequentem; cum hoc eſt Deum vere diligere, nimirum præcepta Dei diligenter ſervare, juxta illud Chriſti; Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me, ne quis tam vilia reputet præcepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in ſuis potius adinventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Chriſti ſecundum illa, non ſecundum has, omnes ad unum judicabimur, juxta illud Chriſti, Sermo quem locutus ſum, ipſe judicabit in noviſſimo die. Et quis poteſt unum præceptum Dei ullis additiis inventis quamlibet aut multis, aut ſpecioſis compenſare. O ſi eſſemus ad ea quæ Deo ſunt peragenda tam propenſi, quam ſumus ad noſtra excogitamenta exercenda ſeduli & devoti. Multa ſunt quæ ſimplici fide facta non improbat Deus, ſed probat utcunque ſaltem quorundā infirmitati indulgens, quæ tamen antequâ fierent interrogatus, nec præciperet, nec conſuleret fieri, utpote quæ juſtius toleranda ſunt, dum ſic fiant, quam prædicanda ut fiant; ne occaſione prædicationis (ut fit) omittantur, quæ periculo damnationis fieri debeant, Et quid magis indecorum, quam ad id prædicationē convertere, quod Deus ipſe nec præciperet, nec conſuleret fieri, ſaltem quâ diu negligenter fiunt quæ præcipiuntur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorū Dei ſto hactenus immobilis; ſic non meū ſed Chriſti lucrū, non meam ſed Dei gloriá quæritans, & donec reſpirare licebit, ſtare non deſinam, ſic germanos verbi præcones, quotquot

Indigna Epiſcoporum actio contra Latimerum.

Quid in religione corrigendum.

Diſcrimen inter mandata Dei, & præcepta hominum.

Multa tolerat Deus quæ tamen non erat præcepturus ut fierent

Abuſus in rebus religionis amovendi.

quotquot hactenus fuere, imitaturus Intolerabiles ſane ſunt, & diu fuere quarundam rerum abuſus, ut nemo Chriſtianæ gloriæ ſtudioſus poteſt, niſi abuſibus rerum multo etiam magis improbatis, res ipſas è ſuggeſtu probare, quæ ſi rarius fierent (ut ne dicam nunquam) modo hac occaſione quæ mandantur à Deo fieri, fierent officioſius, quid quæſo pateretur jactura religio Chriſtiana? niſi forte ſic cæcutimus miſeri, ut illa turpi quæſtu noſtro, non cultu Dei vero putentur conſiſtere. Iam non poteſt (opinor) fieri, ut damnabilis ejuſmodi rerum abuſus juſte reprobetur, niſi protinus infrequentior earundem uſus ſequatur. Quanquam præſtiterit quædam nunquam fieri quam tam fiducialiter fieri, ut minus curentur quæ oportuit fieri, cum alia oportet facere, alia oportet non omittere, alia nec oportet facere, & omittere licet. Et quis manifeſtum multarum rerum abuſum non videt? quis videt, & non vehementur dolet? quis dolet deniq; & non laborat amovere? & quando amovebitur, ſi uſus prædicatione celebrabitur, tacebitur abuſus? Imo non poteſt non regnare & dominari abuſus. Aliud eſt, res quæ poſſunt in loco fieri tolerare, aliud eaſdem pro rebus quæ debent fieri, aut paſſim prædicare, aut legibus prædicanda conſtituere. Euntes docete (inquit) omnia. Quænam omnia? omnia quæ ego precepi vobis (inquit) non dicit omnia quæ vobis ipſis videntur prædicanda. Agite igitur per immortalem Deum. Sic nervos intendamus noſtros, ut quæ Dei ſunt, prædicemus ad unum omnes, ne adultararii & caupones prædicationis verius, quam vere prædicatores evadamus: maxime dum homines ad divina ſunt pigerrimi, ad ſua velociſſimi, ut nihil ſit opus calcaribus; injuſta rerum æſtimatione, & innata ſuperſtitione, certè ab ineunte ætate à majoribus contracta miſerabiliter decepti, quibus rebus medere vix ullis prædicationibus quamlibet frequentibus, quamlibet vehementibus, quamlibet ſinceris & puris quimus. Quare prohibeat Deus. Sed in hac dierum malitia, qui debent ipſi potius prædicare (præcepit enim nobis, inquit Petrus, prædicare) vel volentes & potentes prædicare præpediant, contra illud, noli prohibere eum benefacere qui poteſt, vel cauponantes prædicare compellant, ſic miſeram plebeculam in ſuperſtitione & fallaci fiducia damnabiliter detinentes. Quin Deus potius miſereatur noſtri, ut cognoſcamus in terra viam tuam, ne videamur in quos illud quadret dignè, non cogitationes meæ, cogitationes veſtræ, neque viæ meæ, viæ veſtræ, dicit Dominus. Hinc ego nudis ſententiis ſubſcribere non audeo, Domine cum primis obſervande, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, authorculus eſſe nolo, ne mei ipſius damnationis ſimul ſim author. Quod ſi dignus eſſem qui tibi conſilium darem, colendiſſime pater, ſed cohibeo me; quam ſit parvum & intolerabile hominis cor detur vel conjectare. Neque ſane quiſquam novit quæ ſunt hominis, niſi ſpiritus hominis qui eſt in eo. Non ſuperbia detinet ulla ab illa ſubſcriptione toties à tua dominatione cum maxima mei animi moleſtia rogata. Non poteſt non eſſe impium patribus & proceribus Eccleſiæ non obtemperare; ſed videndum interim illis & quid & quibus imperent, cúm in loco, Deo quàm hominibus obedire oportet magis. Sic dolet mihi caput, & relinquum corpus languet, ut nec venire, nec hæc reſcribere licet, & emendare. Sed tua dominatio ſi non judicium meum, certe ſtudium ſpero probabit. Valet dominatio tua.

Multa tolerari poſſunt quum ſint: quæ tamen ut fierent, neceſſitatem nullam habent.

In this foreſaid Epiſtle (as ye hear) he maketh mention of certain articles or propoſitions, whereunto he was required by the Biſhops to ſubſcribe. The copy and effect of thoſe articles or rude propoſitions (as he calleth them) be theſe.

Articles deviſed by the Biſhops, for M. Latimer to ſubſcribe unto.

Articles propounded to M. Latimer to ſubſcribe unto.

I Believe that there is a Purgatory to purge the ſouls of the dead after this life.

That the ſouls in Purgatory are holpen with the maſſes, prayers, and almes of the living.

That the Saints do pray as Mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to call upon the Saints, that they may pray as Mediators for us unto God.

That Pilgrimages and Oblations done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetuall chaſtity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the diſpenſation of the Pope.

That the Keyes of binding and looſing delivered to Peter, do ſtill remain with the Biſhops of Rome, his ſucceſſors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means, nor at any time committed to lay men.

That men may merit and deſerve at Gods hand by faſting, prayer, and other goods works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the Biſhop to preach, as ſuſpect perſons, ought to ceaſe untill they have purged themſelves before the ſaid Biſhops, or their Superiors, and be reſtored again.

That the faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other faſts preſcribed by the Canons, and by cuſtome received of the Chriſtians (except neceſſity otherwiſe require, are to be obſerved and kept.

That God in every one of the ſeven ſacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctifyings, and bleſſings by uſe and cuſtome received in the Church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifixe and other Saints, ſhould be had in the Churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe thoſe Images, and ſet up burning lights before them, to the honour of the ſaid Saints.

M. Latimer whether he ſubſcribed or not it is uncertain.

To theſe articles whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this Epiſtle above written to the Biſhop, that he durſt not conſent unto them, where he writeth in theſe words; His ego nudis ſententiis ſubſcribere non audeo, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, authorculus eſſe nolo, &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruell handling of the Biſhops, it is in doubt. By the words and the title in Tonſtals Regiſter prefixed before the Articles, it may ſeem that he ſubſcribed. The words of the Regiſter be theſe: Hugo Latimerus in ſacra Theologia Bacch. in Vniverſitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepiſc. Ioha. Lond. Epiſcopo, reliquaq; concione apud Weſtmon. vocatus, confeſſus eſt & recognovit fidem ſuam, ſic ſentiendo ut ſequitur in his artic. 21. die Martij. Anno 1531. If theſe words be true, it may be ſo thought that he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no great matter nor marvell, the iniquity of the time being ſuch, that either he muſt needs ſo do, or elſe abide the Biſhops bleſſing, that is, cruell ſentence of death, which he at that time (as he himſelf confeſſed preaching at Stamford) was loath to ſuſtain for ſuch matters as theſe were, unleſſe it were

The crafty handling of the Biſhop in examining Maſter Latimer.

Ex verbis Latimeri.

for articles neceſſary, of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought ſo to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitfull handling of theſe Biſhops in his examinations, what ſubtill devices they uſed the ſame time to entrap him in their ſnares. The truth of the ſtory he ſheweth forth himſelf in a certain Sermon preached at Stamford, An. 1550. Octob. 9. his words be theſe: I was once (ſaith he) in examination before five or ſix Biſhops, where I had much turmoiling; every week thrice I came to examinations, and many ſnares and traps were laid to get ſomething. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me anſwer and wiſdome what I ſhould ſpeak; it was God indeed, for elſe I had never eſcaped them. At the laſt I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with Arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimny, now the fire was taken away, and an Arras hanged over the chimny, and the Table ſtood neer the chimnies end.

There was amongſt theſe Biſhops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he ſate next the tables end.

Then amongſt all other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtill and crafty one, and ſuch a one indeed, as I could not think ſo great danger in. And when I ſhould make anſwer, I pray you M. Latimer, ſaid one, ſpeak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that ſit farre off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden ſpeak out, and began to miſdeem, and gave an ear to the chimny; and ſir there I heard a pen walking in the chimny behinde the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine anſwers; for they made ſure, that I ſhould not ſtart from them: there was no ſtarting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me anſwer, I could never elſe have ſcaped it. The queſtion to him there and then objected was this; Whether he thought in his conſcience, that he hath been ſuſpected of hereſie. This was a captious queſtion. There was no holding of peace would ſerve; for that was to grant himſelf faulty. To anſwer, it was every way full of danger. But God, which alway giveth in need what to anſwer, helped him, or elſe (as he confeſſed himſelf) he had never eſcaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his anſwer he doth not there expreſſe. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly Preacher, in the time not onely of his being in the Univerſity, but eſpecially at his Benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own Letters hereafter following, may better appear.

A ſubtill and captious queſtion put to M. Latimer by the Biſhops.

M. Latimer reſcued by the King.

M. Latimer advanced to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter by the King.

In theſe ſo hard and dangerous ſtraits, and ſuch ſnares of the Biſhops, hard it had been for him and impoſſible to have eſcaped and continued ſo long, had not the Almighty helping hand of the higheſt, as he ſtirred him up, ſo preſerved him through the favour and power of his Prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his meer power ſometime reſcued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length alſo, through the procurement partly of Doctor Buttes, partly of good Cromwell (whoſe ſtory ye heard before) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a Biſhop, making him the Biſhop of Worceſter, which ſo continued a few yeers, inſtructing his Dioceſſe, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Paſtor, with wholſome doctrine and example of perfect converſation duely agreeing to the ſame.

The Paſtorall diligence of M. Latimer in his Dioceſſe.

The time unable for Biſhop Latimer to work in.

It were a long matter to ſtand particularly upon ſuch things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as ſtudy, readineſſe, and continuall carefulneſſe in teaching, preaching, exhorting, viſiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could ſerve, or elſe the time would bear. But the dayes then were ſo dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermoſt of his ſtrength, ſo that although he could not utterly extinguiſh all the ſparkling reliques of old ſuperſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be uſed with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this thing, and in divers other it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy bread muſt needs be received, yet ſo he prepared and inſtructed them of his Dioceſſe, with ſuch informations and leſſons, that in receiving thereof ſuperſtition ſhould be excluded, and ſome remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the Miniſters of his Dioceſſe, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to ſay theſe words following.

Words ſpoken to the people in giving them holy water.

Words uſed in B. Latimers Dioceſſe in giving holy water.

Remember your promiſe in Baptiſm,
Chriſt his mercy and blood-ſhedding.
By whoſe moſt holy ſprinkling,
Of all your ſins you have free pardoning.

What to ſay in giving holy bread.

Words uſed in giving holy bread.

Of Chriſts Body this is a token,
Which on the Croſſe for our ſins was broken.
Wherefore of your ſins you muſt be forſakers,
If of Chriſts death ye will be partakers.

The behaviour of B. Latimer in his office.

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent care of this Biſhop was in doing the duty of a faithfull Paſtor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things elſe to paſſe, if the time then had anſwered to his deſire; for he was not ignorant, how the inſtitution of holy water and holy bread, not onely had no ground in Scripture, but alſo how full of prophane exorciſmes and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Goſpel. Thus this good man behaved himſelf in his Dioceſſe. But (as before) both in the Univerſity, and at his Benefice, he was toſt and turmoiled by wicked and evill diſpoſed perſons; ſo in his Biſhoprick alſo he was not all cleer and void of ſome that ſought his trouble. As among many other evill willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall perſon, which accuſed him then to the King for his Sermons. The ſtory becauſe he himſelf ſheweth in a Sermon of his before King Edward, I thought therefore to uſe his own words, which be theſe:

The troubles of M. Latimer in his Biſhoprick.

Ex verbis Latimeri, pro concione.

B. Latimer accuſed to King Henry for his preaching.

In the Kings dayes that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to ſay our mindes in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuſeth me of ſedition: and that I had preached ſeditious doctrine. A heavy ſalutation, and a hard point of ſuch a mans doing, as if I ſhould name, ye would not think. The King turned to me, and ſaid; What ſay you to that ſir?

M. Latimer anſwereth his accuſer.

Then I kneeled down, and turned me firſt to my accuſer, and required him; Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a King? would you have me preach nothing as concerning a King in the Kings Sermon? have you any commiſſion to appoint me what I ſhall preach? beſides this I asked him divers other queſtions, and he would make me no anſwer to any of them all; he had nothing to ſay.

The words of B. Latimer to the King.

Then I turned me to the King, and ſubmitted my ſelf to his Grace, and ſaid; I never thought my ſelf worthy, nor did I ever ſue to be a Preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you miſlike me) to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room then I am. And if it be your Graces pleaſure ſo to allow them for Preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would deſire your Grace to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached ſo at the borders of your Realm, as I preach before your Grace.

The Kings heart relented toward Biſhop Latimer.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy) that my ſayings were well accepted of the King; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture ſaith; Cor Regis in manu Domini, i. The Lord directeth the Kings heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I ſhould have been in the Tower the ſame night.

B. Latimer taketh the poor mans part againſt his oppreſſor.

Beſides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly Biſhop ſuſtained in his own Country and Dioceſſe, in taking the cauſe of right and equity againſt oppreſſion and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time not farre from the Dioceſſe of Worceſter a certain Juſtice of Peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceaſed. This Juſtice in purchaſing of certain land for his brother, or for himſelf, went about to wrong or damnafie a poore man, who made his complaint to Maſt. Latimer. He firſt hearing, then tendring his rightfull cauſe, wrote his letter to the Gentleman, exhorting him to remember himſelf, to conſider the cauſe, and to abſtain from injury. The Juſtice of Peace not content withall (as the faſhion of men is when they are told of their fault) ſendeth word again in great diſpleaſure, that he would not ſo take it at his hands, with ſuch threatning words, &c. Maſter Latimer hearing this, anſwered again by writing to a certain Gentleman: the Copy whereof among his Letters hereafter followeth in the ſequele of this ſtory to be ſeen.

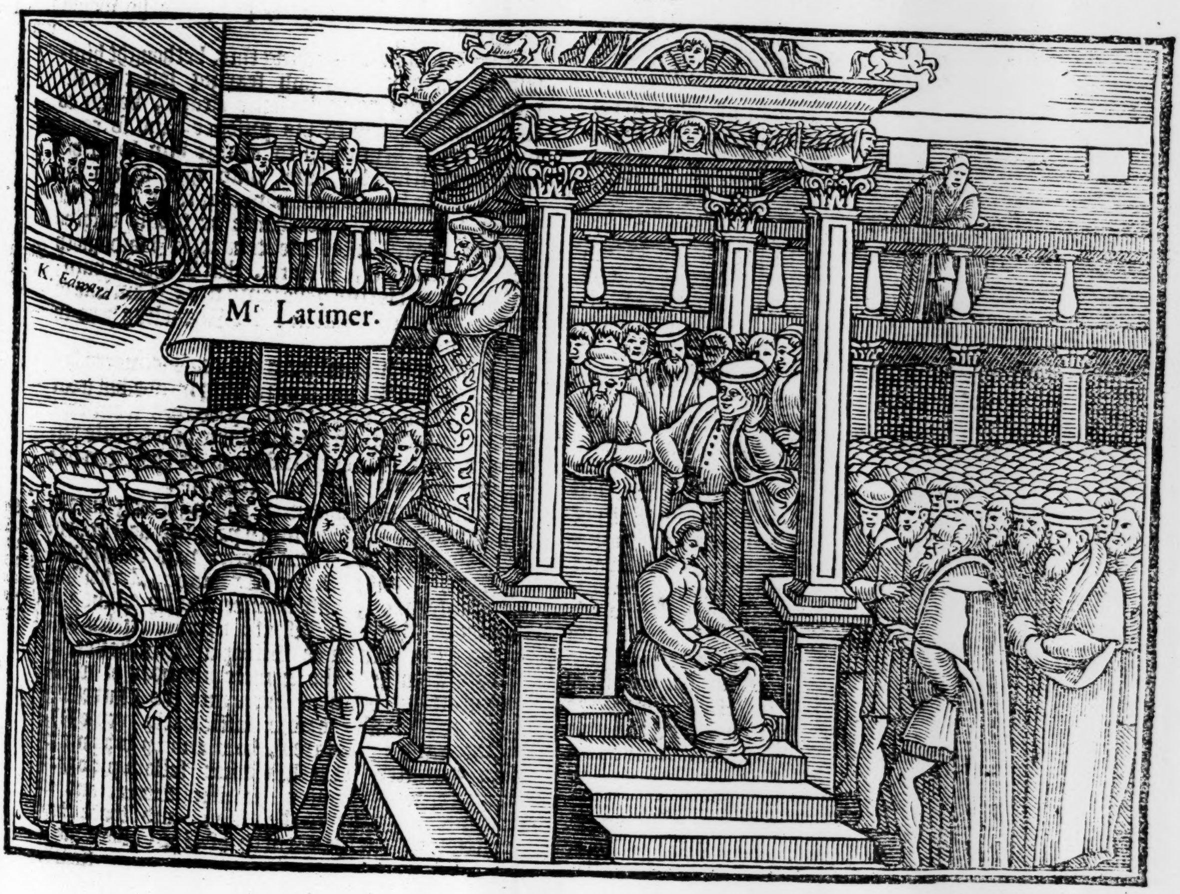
Biſh. Latimer at the coming in of the ſix Articles reſigned his Biſhoprick.

M. Latimer kept ſilence till the time of K. Edward.

The whole life of M. Latimer full of tribulations.

It were a large and long proceſſe to ſtory out all the doings, travels, and writings of this Chriſtian Biſhop, neither yet have we expreſſed all that came to our hands; but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a Biſhop the ſpace of certain yeers, till the coming in of the ſix Articles. Then being diſtreſſed through the ſtraightneſſe of time, ſo that either he muſt loſe the quiet of a good conſcience, or elſe forſake his Biſhoprick, he did of his own free accord reſigne his Paſtorſhip. At which time Sharton the Biſhop of Saliſbury reſigned likewiſe with him his Biſhoprick. And ſo theſe two remained a great ſpace unbiſhopped, keeping ſilence till the time of King Edward of bleſſed memory. At what time he firſt put off his Rochet in his chamber among his friends, ſuddenly he gave a ſkip in the floore for joy, feeling his ſhoulders ſo light, and being diſcharged (as he ſaid) of ſuch an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he ſo lightned, but that troubles and labours followed him whereſoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his

A Deſcription of Maſter Latimer, preaching before King *Edward* the ſixth, in the preaching place at Weſtminſter.



Biſhoprick, firſt he was almoſt ſlain, but ſore bruiſed with the fall of a tree. Then coming up to London for remedy, he was moleſted and troubled of the Biſhops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was caſt into the Tower, where he continually remained priſoner, till the time that bleſſed King Edward entred his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this Preacher, long ſhut up before, was now opened again. And ſo he beginning afreſh to ſet forth his plough again, continued all the time of the ſaid King, labouring in the Lords harveſt moſt fruitfully, diſcharging his talent as well in divers other places of this Realm, as in Stamford, and before the Dutcheſſe of Suffolk (whoſe Sermons be extant and ſet forth in print) as alſo at London in the Convocation houſe; and eſpecially before the King at the Court: in the ſame place of the inward Garden, which was before applied to laſcivious and courtly paſtimes, there he diſpenſed the fruitfull Word of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, preaching there before the King and his whole Court, to the edification of many.

M. Latimer almoſt ſlain with the fall of a tree.

M. Latimer caſt into the Tower.

M. Latimer reſtored by K. Edward to liberty of preaching.

Divers Sermons of M. Latimer in King Edwards time.

M. Latimer preaching before King Edward.

The diligent travelling of M. Latimer in King Edwards time.

IN this his painfull travell he occupied himſelf all King Edwards dayes, preaching for the moſt part every Sunday twice, to no ſmall ſhame of all other loytering and unpreaching Prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that ſo much more to their ſhame, becauſe he being a ſore bruiſed man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above 67 yeers of age, took ſo little eaſe and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. Now to ſpeak here of his indefatigable travell and diligence in his own private ſtudies, who notwithſtanding both his yeers, and other pains in preaching, every morning ordinarily, winter and ſummer, about two of the clock in the morning was at his book moſt diligently. How carefull his heart was of the preſervation of the Church, and the good ſucceſſe of the Goſpel, his letters can teſtifie, wherewith he admoniſhed ſuch as then were in authority of their duty, and aſſiſted them with his godly counſell.

The early waking of Maſter Latimer to his Book.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceaſed all the time of King Edward, to profit the Church both publikely and privately, ſo among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpaſſed, but worthy to be obſerved, that God not onely gave unto him his Spirit plentiouſly and comfortably to preach his Word unto his Church, but alſo by the ſame Spirit he did ſo evidently foreſhew and prophecy of all thoſe kindes of plagues afore, which afterward enſued, that if England ever had a Prophet, he might ſeem to be one. And as touching himſelf, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the Goſpel would coſt him his life, to the which he no leſſe cheerfully prepared himſelf, than certainly was perſwaded that Wincheſter was kept in the Tower for the ſame purpoſe, as the event did too truely prove the ſame. For after the death of the ſaid bleſſed King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a Purſivant was ſent down (by the means no doubt of Wincheſter) into the country, to call him up, of whoſe coming although Maſter Latimer lacked no fore-warning, being premoniſhed about ſixe hours before by one John Careles (whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth) yet ſo far off was it that he thought to eſcape, that he prepared himſelf towards his journey before the ſaid Purſuivant came to his houſe.

M. Latimer propheſieth what plagues are to be come in Q. Maries time.

M. Latimer called up to London by Wincheſter.

M. Latimer being premoniſhed before, yet refuſeth to eſcape.

M. Latimers words to the Queens Purſivant.

At the which thing when the Purſivant marvelled, ſeeing him ſo prepared towards his journey, he ſaid unto him; My friend, you be a welcome meſſenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this preſent, being called by my Prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his Word before two excellent Princes, ſo will he able me to witneſſe the ſame unto the third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally, &c. At the which tims the Purſivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandement not to tarry for him. By whoſe ſudden departure it was manifeſt that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the Realm. They knew that his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their Popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

M. Latimer cometh up to London not compelled.

M. Latimers words coming through Smithfield.

Thus M. Latimer being ſent for, and coming up to London, thorow Smithfield (where merrily he ſaid, that Smithfield had long groaned for him) was brought before the Councell, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the ſcornfull Papiſts, was caſt again into the Tower, where he being aſſiſted with the heavenly grace of Chriſt, ſuſtained moſt patient impriſonment a long time, notwithſtanding the cruell and unmercifull handling of the lordly Papiſts, which thought then their kingdome would never fall; yet he ſhewed himſelf not onely patient, but alſo cheerfull in and above all that which they could or would work againſt him; yea, ſuch a valiant ſpirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not onely to deſpiſe the terribleneſſe of priſons and torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to ſcorn the doings of his enemies. As it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he anſwered to the Lievtenant being then in the Tower. For when the Lievtenants man upon a time came to him, the aged Father kept without fire in the froſty Winter, and well nigh ſtarved for cold, merrily bade the man tell his Maſter, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

M. Latimer cheerfull in impriſonment.

M. Latimers merry meſſage to the Lievtenant.

The Lievtenant hearing this, bethought himſelf of theſe words, and fearing leſt that indeed he thought to make ſome eſcape, began to look more ſtraitly to his priſoner, and ſo coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the ſame unto him which his man had told him before; how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, &c. Yea, Maſter Lievtenant, ſo I ſaid, quoth he, for you look, I think, that I ſhould burn; but except you let me have ſome fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarve for cold.

The anſwer of M. Latimer to the Lievtenant.

Many ſuch like anſwers and reaſons, merry, but ſavoury, coming not from a vain minde, but from a conſtant and quiet reaſon, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and ſtable heart, little paſſing for all this great bluſtering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the ſame.

Thus Maſter Latimer paſſing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his caſe could do, from thence was tranſported to Oxford, with Doctor Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Maſter Ridley Biſhop of London, there to diſpute upon Articles ſent down from Gardiner Biſhop at Wincheſter, as is before touched, the manner and order of which diſputations between them and the Univerſity Doctors, is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſaid Latimer with his other fellow-priſoners were condemned after the diſputations, and ſo committed again to the priſon, and there they continued from the moneth of April above mentioned,

M. Latimer with Doctor Cranmer and Biſhop Ridley removed from the Tower to Oxford.

Queen MARY.

Anno 1555

tioned, to this preſent moneth of October; where they were moſt godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitfull writing.

October 16.

Albeit Maſter Latimer by reaſon of the feebleneſſe of his age wrote leaſt of them all in this later time of his impriſonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes ſo long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without help: and amongſt other things, theſe were three principall matters he prayed for.

Three requeſts of M. Latimers prayer.

Firſt, that as GOD had appointed him to be a Preacher of his Word, ſo alſo he would give him grace to ſtand to his doctrine untill his death, that he might give his heart bloud for the ſame.

Once againe, once againe.

Secondly, that God of his mercy would reſtore his Goſpel to England once again, and theſe words once againe, once againe, he did ſo inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had ſeen God before him, and ſpoken to him face to face.

M. Latimers prayer for M. Elizabeth.

The third matter was, to pray for the preſervation of the Queens Majeſtie that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accuſtomably to name, and even with tears deſired God to make her a comfort to this comfortleſſe Realm of England. Theſe were the matters he prayed for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe things of him deſired in vain, as the good ſucceſſe thereof after following did declare; for the Lord moſt graciouſly did grant all thoſe his requeſts.

All three requeſts of Maſter Latimer granted of the Lord.

Firſt, concerning his conſtancy, even in the moſt extremitie the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted him. For when he ſtood at the Stake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormenters about to ſet the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Biſhop Maſter Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards Heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, ſaying theſe words, Fidelis eſt Deus, qui non ſinit nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus, God is faithfull, which doth not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength; and ſo afterward by and by ſhed his bloud in the cauſe of Chriſt, the which bloud ran out of his heart in ſuch abundance, that all thoſe that were preſent, being godly, did marvell to ſee the moſt part of the bloud in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with ſuch violence to guſh out, his bodie being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing GOD moſt graciouſly granted his requeſt, which was, that he might ſhed his heart bloud in the defence of the Goſpel.

The unthankfulneſſe of England.

How mercifully the Lord heard his ſecond requeſt, in reſtoring his Goſpel once again unto this Realm, theſe preſent dayes can bear record. And what then ſhall England ſay now for her defence, which being ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the word of God, ſo ſlenderly and unthankefully conſidereth either her own miſerie paſt, or the great benefit of God now preſent? The Lord be mercifull unto us, Amen.

Gods gracious help in time of need, upon the Realme of England.

Queen Elizabeth granted of God to England.

Again, concerning his third requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectuouſly granted, to the great praiſe of God, the furtherance of his Goſpel, and to the unſpeakable comfort of this Realm. For whether at the requeſt of his prayer, or of other Gods holy Saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a deſperate caſe, and ſo deſperate that the enemies mightily flouriſhed and triumphed, Gods Word was baniſhed. Spaniards received, no place left for Chriſts ſervants to cover their heads, ſodainly the Lord called to remembrance his mercie, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all theſe miſeries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof the ſayd Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed Father ſo earneſtly prayed in his impriſonment: through whoſe true, naturall, and Imperiall Crown, the brightneſſe of Gods Word was ſet up again to confound the dark and falſe vizoured kingdom of Antichriſt, the true temple of Chriſt re-edified, the captivity of ſorrowfull Chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the prayers of ſo many good men, ſpecially of this faithfull and true ſervant of the Lord, Maſter Latimer.

God for Chriſts ſake to grant.

The ſame God, which at the requeſts of his holy and faithfull Saints hath powred upon us ſuch benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity: aſſiſt our moſt vertuous and Chriſtian Princeſſe, and her Subjects, that we may every one in his ſtate and calling ſerve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we loſe not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulneſſe, to build and keep up the houſe and Temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlaſting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travels of Maſter Latimer. Now after theſe things thus finiſhed and diſcourſed pertaining to the ſtory of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and ſundrie times from the firſt beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latine, lack of ſpace and place at this preſent will not permit: nevertheleſſe certain we will take, and firſt concerning the Articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the Prieſts of the Country about his Benefice at Weſt Kington; which he writeth thereof to Maſter Morice, the copie thereof here followeth.

Letters of Maſter Latimer.

A letter of Maſter Latimer to Maſter Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falſly and untruly laid againſt him.

A letter of M. Latimer to M. Morice.

RIght Worſhipfull, and mine own good Maſter Morice, ſalutem in Chriſto Ieſu. And I thanke you for all hearty kindneſſe, not only heretofore ſhewed unto me, but alſo that now of late you would vouchſafe to write unto me ſo poore a wretch, to my great comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and ſupply abundantly mine unabilitie, &c. Maſter Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been intreated at Briſtow, I mean of ſome of the Prieſts, which firſt deſired me, welcomed me, made me chear, heard what I ſayd, and allowed my ſaying in all things whiles I was with them; when I was gone home to my Benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me ſo greatly, and that the Maior had appointed me to Preach at Eaſter, privily they procured an Inhibition for all them that had not the Biſhops licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and ſo craftily defeated Maſter Maiors appointment, pretending that they were ſorry for it, procuring alſo certaine Preachers to blatter againſt me, as Hubberdine, and Powel, with other moe, whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wiſe Councell of the Town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declaimed againſt me, they ſayd they ſpake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing: So that they had place and time to belie me ſhamefully, but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge when I was preſent and readie to make them anſwer. God amend them, and ſwage their malice that they have againſt the truth and me, &c.

Note the diſſembling inconſtancy of popiſh Prieſts.

Inhibition procured againſt M. Latimer not to preach.

Hubberdine, and Powel preach againſt M. Latimer.

Our Ladie was a ſinner.

What the Papiſts do giue to our Lady.

Our Lady not without ſin.

So they did belie me to haue ſayd, when I had ſaid nothing ſo, but to reproue certain both Prieſts and beneficed men, which do giue ſo much to our Ladie, as though ſhe had not been ſaued by Chriſt, a whole Sauiour both of her, and of all that be and ſhall be ſaued; I did reaſon after this manner, that either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner: if a ſinner, then ſhe was deliuered from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that he ſaued her, either by deliuering or preſeruing her from ſin, ſo that without him neither ſhe, nor none other, either be, or could be ſaued. And to auoyd all offence, I ſhewed how it might be anſwered, both to certain Scriptures which maketh all generally ſinners, and how it might be anſwered unto Chryſoſtome, and Theophilact, which make her namely, and ſpecially a ſinner. But all would not ſerue, their malice was ſo great; notwithſtanding that fiue hundred honeſt men can and will bear record. When they cannot reproue that thing that I do ſay, then they will belie me, to ſay that thing that they can reproue; for they will needs appear to be againſt me.

Papiſts depraue when they cannot diſproue.

Saints are not to be worſhipped.

Difference betwixt Images and Saints.

So they lied when I had ſhewed diuers ſignifications of this word (Saints) among the vulgar people: Firſt, images of Saints are called Saints, and ſo they are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither Mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of interceſſion. And yet they may be well uſed, when they be applied to that uſe that they were ordained for, to be Lay-mens books for remembrance of heauenly things, &c.

M. Latimers errour in thoſe dayes.

Take Saints for inhabiters of heauen, and worſhipping of them for praying to them, I neuer denyed, but that they might be worſhipped, and be our Mediators, though not by way of redemption (for ſo Chriſt alone is a whole Mediator, both for them, and for us) yet by the way of interceſſion.

Pilgrimage.

Pare away the ſcurfe, and clea take all popery.

And I neuer denied Pilgrimage. And yet I haue ſayd that much ſcurfe muſt be pared away, ere euer it can be well done, ſuperſtition, idolatry, falſe faith and truſt in the image, unjuſt eſtimation of the thing, ſetting aſide Gods ordinance for doing of the thing; debts muſt be payd, reſtitutions made, wife and children be prouided for, duty to our poore neighbors diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man to be done. And wiues muſt counſell with husbands, and husbands and wiues with Curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

Ave Maria.

Ave Maria.

Ave Maria, no prayer.

As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I ſayd it was an heauenly greeting, or ſaluting of our bleſſed Ladie, wherein the Angel Gabriel, ſent from the Father of heauen, did annunciate and ſhew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had choſen her. But I ſaid, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noſter, which our Sauiour Chriſt himſelfe made for a proper prayer, and bade us ſay it for a prayer, not adding that we ſhould ſay, ten or twenty Aue Maries withall: and I denied not but that we may well ſay Ave Maria alſo, but not ſo that we ſhall think that the Pater noſter is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well ſayd without Ave Maria; ſo that I did not ſpeak againſt well ſaying of it, but againſt ſuperſtitious ſaying of it, and of the Pater noſter too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that, which Chriſt made to be ſayd for a Prayer.

No fire in hell.

Whether the fire in hell be a materiall fire, or ſpirituall.

The worme of conſcience, is ſo called by a metaphoricall ſpeech.

Who euer could ſay or think ſo? Howbeit good Authors do put a difference betwixt a ſuffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The ſoul without the bodie is a ſpirituall ſubſtance, which they ſay cannot receiue a corporall quality; and ſome make it a ſpirituall fire, and ſome a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worme, and it is thought of ſome not to be a materiall worme that is a liuing beaſt, but it is a metaphor, but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worme it is, pain it is, a torment it is, an anguiſh it is, a grief, a miſerie, a ſorrow, a heauines inexplicable, intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in euery point who can tell, but he that is of Gods priuie Councell, ſaith St. Auſten? God giue us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to diſcuſſe the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little eaſe, yea none at all, but weeping, wayling, and gnaſhing of teeth, which be two effects of extreme pain, rather certaine tokens what paine there is, than what manner of pain there is.

No Purgatory.

M. Latimer had rather be in Purgatory, than in Lollards Tower. Cauſes declared why it is better to be in Purgatory, than in Lollards Tower.

He that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in Lollards Tower, the Biſhops priſon, for diuers skils and cauſes.

Firſt, in this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might die ghoſtly for fear of pain, or lack of good counſell, there I could not.

Item, in this I might be in extreme neceſſity; in that I could not, if it be perill of periſhing.

Item, in this I might lacke charity; there I could not.

Item, in this I might loſe my patience; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be in perill and danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be without ſurety of ſaluation; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſhonour God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might murmure and grudge againſt God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſpleaſe God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be diſpleaſed with God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be judged to perpetuall priſon, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be brought to bear a fagot; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be diſcontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be ſeparated and diſſeuered from Chriſt; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be a member of the diuel; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be an inheritor of hell, in that I could not.

Item, in this I might pray out of charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, in this my Lord and his Chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, in this they might ſtrangle me, and ſay that I had hanged my ſelf; in that they could not.

Item, in this they might have me to the Conſiſtory, and judge me after their faſhion; from thence they could not.

As they did with Hunne.

Ergo, I had rather to be there then here. For though the fire be called never ſo hot, yet if the Biſhops two fingers can ſhake away a peice, a Friers cowl another part, and ſcala cœli altogether, I will never found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chauntrey, for that purpoſe.

For ſeeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of deſperation, or from ſuretie of ſalvation, that can ſeparate me from Chriſt, or Chriſt from me, I care the leſſe for it. John Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the greateſt pain that damned ſoules have, is to be ſeparate and cut off from Chriſt for ever: which pain he ſaith is greater then many hels; which pains the ſoules in Purgatory neither have nor can have.

Chryſoſt. What is the greateſt pain to damned ſoules.

Conſider Maſter Morice, whether proviſion for Purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hell. Debts have not been paid; reſtitution of evill gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Chriſtian people (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoever we do, Chriſt reputeth done to himſelf, to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for our ſelf) are neglected and ſuffered to periſh; laſt wils unfulfilled and broken; Gods ordinance ſet aſide: and alſo for Purgatory, foundations have been taken for ſufficient ſatisfaction; ſo we have trified away the ordinance of God, and reſtitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with Maſſes, Dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull Pilgrimages from Idolatry, and purge Purgatory from Robbery, but he ſhall be in perill to come in ſuſpicion of hereſie with them? ſo that they may pill with Pilgrimage, and ſpoyl with Purgatory. And verily the abuſe of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage ſhall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuſe, then lack the ſame with uſe; and that is the Waſpe that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſide reſtitution, and robbing of Chriſt, it would be but a poore Purgatory; ſo poore that it ſhould not be able to feed ſo fat, and trick up ſo many idle and ſlothfull Lubbers.

Proviſion for Purgatory bringeth many to hell.

What the waſpe is that ſtingeth the papiſts, and maketh them to ſwell.

I take God to witneſſe, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy. I cannot underſtand what they mean by the Popes pardoning of Purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage; and as for ſuffrage, unleſſe he do his duty, and ſeek not his own, but Chriſts glory, I had rather have the ſuffrage of Jack of the Skullery, which in his calling doth exerciſe both faith and charity; but for his Maſſe. And that is as good of another ſimple Prieſt as of him. For as for authority of Keyes, it is to looſe from guiltineſſe of ſinne and eternall pain, due to the ſame, according to Chriſts Word, and not to his own private will. And as for Pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get mony withall. I dwell within a half mile of the Foſſeway, and you would wonder to ſee how they come by flockes out of the Weſt country to many Images, but chiefly to the bloud of Hailes. And they beleeve verily that it is the very bloud that was in Chriſts body, ſhed upon the Mount of Calvary for our ſalvation, and that the ſight of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in ſtate of ſalvation without ſpot of ſin, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you ſhould commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Chriſtian brethren, they cannot away withall; for the ſight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

The Popes pardoning out of Purgatory, a vain invention.
Suffrage.
Maſſe.
Authority of keyes.

Pilgrimage. This bloud of Hailes was ſhewed before the King, and openly ſhewed at Pauls croſſe by the Biſhop of Rocheſter that then was, to be but the bloud of a Duck.

I read in Scripture of two certifications; one to the Romans. Iuſtificati ex fide, pacem habemus, i. We being juſtified by faith, have peace with God.

Two certifications of our remiſſion out of the Scripture.

If I ſee the bloud of Chriſt with the eye of my ſoul, that is, true faith, that his bloud was ſhed for me, &c.

Another in the Epiſtle of John, Nos ſcimus quod tranſlati ſumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres, i. We know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we love the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am tranſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the bloud of Hailes. It is very probable, that all the bloud that was in the body of Chriſt, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof ſhall return to his corruption. And I marvell that Chriſt ſhall have two reſurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriouſly pluck it out of his body when they ſcourged him and nailed him to the Croſſe, did ſee it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we ſee the ſelf ſame bloud in form of wine, when we have conſecrate, and may both ſee it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many do ſee it at Hailes without confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the Divel in our time is not dead.

The bodily ſeeing of Chriſts bloud profiteth little.

Chriſt hath left a doctrine behinde him, wherein we be taught how to beleeve, and what to beleeve; he doth ſuffer the Divel to uſe his crafty faſhion for our triall and probation. It were little thank worthy to beleeve well and rightly, if nothing ſhould move us to falſe faith, and to beleeve ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vain that Chriſt when he had taught truly, by and by bade, beware of falſe Prophets, which would bring in errour ſlyly. But we be ſecure and uncarefull, as though falſe prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Chriſt were no more earneſt and effectuall, then is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the Bugge, &c.

Warning againſt falſe prophets.

Lo ſir, how I runne at ryot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget my ſelf ever when I write to a truſty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

As for Doct. Wilſon, I wote not what I ſhould ſay; but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his Countrey-men did ever love me ſince I did inveigh againſt their factions, and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him then I? That is the Byle that may not be touched, &c.

D. Wilſon againſt M. Latimer, and why.

A certain friend ſhewed me, that Doctor Wilſon is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holdernes, and from thence he will go a progreſſe through Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and ſo from thence to Briſtow. What he intendeth by this progreſſe God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Briſtow I ſhall hear tell, &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable wit. He is here ſervus hominum; for he will preach whatſoever the Biſhops will bid him preach. Verily in my minde they are more to be blamed then he. He doth magnifie the Pope more then enough.

Hubberdin a great railer againſt M. Latimer.

As for our Saviour Chriſt and Chriſtian Kings, they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did miſſe the cuſhion in many things. Howbeit they that did ſend him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter againſt me, intending ſo either to deliver him by me, or elſe to rid us both together, and ſo they would think him well beſtowed, &c.

D. Powel a ſtout Preacher a Popery.

As touching Doctor Powel, how highly he took upon him in Briſtow, and how little he regarded the ſword, which repreſenteth the Kings perſon, many can tell you. I think there is never an Earl in this Realm that knoweth his obedience by Chriſts Commandement to his Prince, and wotteth what the ſword doth ſignifie, that would have taken upon him ſo ſtoutly. Howbeit Maſter Maior, as he is a profound wiſe man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our Pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occaſion the people to them, he alledged this text:

Scripture applied of the Papiſts.

Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, uxorem, i. Whoſoever leaveth father, houſe, wife, &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgement, &c. Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſh that it would pleaſe the Kings Grace to command me to preach before his Highneſſe a whole yeer together every Sunday, that he himſelf might perceive how they belye me, ſaying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

A brief digreſſion touching the railing of Hubberdin againſt Maſter Latimer.

A note touching Hubberdin.

Hubberdin a right image of hypocriſie.

Hubberdin a great rayler againſt the ſervants of Chriſt.

FOraſmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old Divine of Oxford, a right painted Phariſæ, and a great ſtrayer abroad in all quarters of the Realm to deface and impeach the ſpringing of Gods holy Goſpel, ſomething would be added more touching that man, whoſe doings and pageants if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any Enterlude for the Reader to behold. Who in all his life and in all his actions (in one word to deſcribe him) ſeemeth nothing elſe but a right Image or counterfeit, ſetting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocriſie. But becauſe the man is now gone, to ſpare therefore the dead (although he little deſerved to be ſpared, which never ſpared to work what villany he could againſt the true ſervants of the Lord) this ſhall be enough for examples ſake, for all Chriſtian men neceſſarily to obſerve, how the ſaid Hubberdin after his long railing in all places againſt Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindall, Latimer, and all other like Profeſſors, after his hypocriticall open almes given out of other mens purſes, his long prayers, pretenced devotions, devout faſtings, his woolward going, and other his prodigious demeanour, riding in his long gown down to the horſe heels like a Phariſæ, or rather like a Sloven, dirted up to the horſe belly, after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dauncings, hoppings and leapings, with other like hiſtrionicall toyes and geſtures uſed in the Pulpit, and all againſt Hereticks, at laſt riding by a Church ſide, where the Youth of the Pariſh were dauncing in the Churchyard, ſuddenly this Silenus lighting from his horſe, by the occaſion of their dauncing came into the Church, and there cauſing the bell to toll in the people, thought in ſtead of a fit of mirth to give them a ſermon of dauncing. In the which ſermon after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the Doctors, firſt to Auguſtine, then to Ambroſe, ſo to Jerome, and Gregory, Chryſoſtome, and other Doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to anſwer to his call, and to ſing after his tune for the probation of the Sacrament of the Altar againſt John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindall, Latimer, and other hereticks (as he called them) at laſt to ſhew a perfect harmony of all theſe Doctors together; as he had made them before to ſing after his tune, ſo now to make them dance alſo after his pipe, firſt he calleth our Chriſt and his Apoſtles, then the Doctors and ancient Seniours of the Church, as in a round ring all to dance together; with pipe up Hubbert in. Now dance Chriſt, now dance Peter, Paul, now dance Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Jerome; and thus old Hubberdin as he was dancing with his Doctors luſtily in the Pulpit againſt the Hereticks, how he ſtampt and took on I cannot tell, but craſh quoth the Pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin not dancing, but ſprawling in the middeſt of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he ſo brake his leg the ſame time, and bruiſed his old bones, that he never came in Pulpit more, and died not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the Church-wardens were called, and charged for the Pulpit being no ſtronger, they made anſwer again, excuſing themſelves, that they had made their Pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to ſpend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpoſe again.

A dauncing ſermon of Hubberdin.

Hubberdin dancing in the Pulpit, fell with the Pulpit, and brake his leg.

Anſwer of the Church-wardens.

Amongſt many other impugners and adverſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort which did infeſt this good man in ſermons; ſome alſo there were, which attempted the pen againſt him. In the number of whom was one Doctor Sherwood, whom upon the ſame occaſion of preaching of the Virgin Mary (or as they thought, againſt the Virgin) did invade him with his pen, writing againſt him in Latine, whoſe long Epiſtle, with Maſter Latimers anſwer alſo in Latine to the ſame hereunder followeth.

D. Sherwood writeth againſt M. Latimer.

Epiſtola Gulielmi Sherwodi adverſus Dominum Latimerum expoſtulatoria.

Gulielmus Sherwodus Presbiter, D. Latimero Kingtoniæ Rectori, gratiam & pacem à Deo Patre voſtro, & Domino Jeſu Chriſto.

NIhil moleſtè feres ſat ſcio, vir egregiè, ab homine chriſtiano chriſtianè admoneri, quæ res una (eſt Deus teſtis) nos hoc tempore animavit liberius tecum per literas (quando coram fandi copia negatur) confabulari ſuper nonnullis, quæ parum chriſtianè in concione illa tua (ſi modo concio & non verius multo Satyra quædam inſana dicenda) Magnes feldiæ effudiſſe mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem proverbio illo de fure & paſtore (quanquam proverbii vocem parabolæ vice mihi uſurpaſſe videtur Evangeliſta) carpſit, ut recte & vere aiebas, Chriſtus Scribarum & Phariſæorum (utpote Deus, eóque καρδιογνώςης) veſaniam obduratamque incredulitatem, ſed clam, ſed tectè, ſed in genere. Non aiebat, Scribæ & Phariſæi ad unum fures ſunt & latrones. Sed quid? Amen dico vobis qui non intrat per oſtium in ſtabulum ovium, ſed aſcendit aliunde, ille fur eſt & latro. Tu contra homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator. Epiſcopi omnes, Papæ omnes, Rectores eccleſiarum omnes (te uno pauciſque aliis, quos

Prælatos omnes eſſe latrones.

neſcio, tuæ farinæ hominibus, id enim ſenſiſſe videris, exceptis) Vicarij omnes fures ſunt, & latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus ſuffocandis ne Angliæ totius quidem canabum ſufficere prædicabas, aut verius dementabas hyperbole forſan, ut ſemper uſus, ſed temeraria, ſed audaci ſupra modum, ſed truci, ſed impia. Non eſt mi frater, non eſt ſic temerè ſi divo credimus Paulo, ante tempus judicandum, quod veniat Dominus qui & illuminabit abſcondita tenebrarum, & manifeſtabit conſilia cordium: Chriſtus quoque ipſe, Iudex vivorum & mortuoum à Deo Patre conſtitutus, temerariam ejuſmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matthæum, chriſtiano homini mihi ſuſtuliſſe videtur, quum inquit; Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini, nec tanti flagitij ſubticens pœnam. Quo enim (inquit) judicio judicatis, eo judicabitur de vobis, & qua menſura metimini, ea metientur vobis & alij. Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo ſua ſcelera populo prædicari, annunciari, revelari, & ſi fieri poſſit, ob oculos poni, non debacchari in homines eoſque abſentes, non poni lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem, non dici bonum malum, & malum bonum, dulce amarum, & amarum dulce. Quod ſi fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus & devoramus, viciſſim alius ab alio conſummetur. An iſta parcius, imo modeſtia viris objicienda, ipſe videto. Novimus, & qui te tranſverſa tuentibus hirquis, & quo, ſed faciles, nymphæ riſere ſacello. Heu, heu, Latimere, quæ te dementia cæpit, ut mentireris, dixiſſem prædicares plures longe in Chriſti eccleſia fures eſſe, quam paſtores, plures hœdos quam oves? Non ſic Cyprianus ille, non ſic. Sed quid? Eſt, inquit, Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax. Stat confeſſorum, hoc eſt (ut ipſe intelligit pie) Chriſtianorum pars major & melior in fidei ſuæ robore, & in legis ac diſciplinæ dominicæ veritate, nec ab eccleſiæ pace diſcedunt, qui ſe in eccleſia gratiam conſequutos de Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipſi ampliorem conſequuntur fidei ſuæ laudem, quod ab eorum perfidia ſegregati, qui juncti confeſſionis conſortio fuerint, à contagionis crimine receſſerunt. Vero illuminati evangelij lumine, pura & candida domini luce radiati, tam ſunt in conſervanda Chriſti pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in diaboli congreſſione victores. Quæ ſanctiſſimi hominis ſanctiſſima verba, auſim, te etiam reclamante, de ea ipſa quæ nunc eccleſia, prædicare, vereq; affirmare; quam ubi ex confeſſoribus Chriſti filij Dei vivi depinxiſſes, ſtatim ubi eſſet gentium te neſcire prædicabas. Dicebas enim, Quiſquis cum Petro Chriſtum Dei viventis filium fatetur, Petrus eſt, & de eccleſia, ſeu uti ipſe interpretabaris, congregatione (ſubdola nimirum uſus arte, ac cæco potius præſtigio) ac ſi hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Chriſti in terris ſummum Vicarium, attineret, quam ex chriſtianis alium quemlibet. Eſto, ſimus nos, ut Origenis utar verbis, aliquo modo Petrus; ſi dixerimus quod dixit Petrus; Tu es Chriſtus, Filius Deus vivi, non carne & ſanguine nobis revelante, ſed Patre qui eſt in cœlis mentem noſtram illuminante, non alio dicendi genere dicemus hæc nobis Petri competere verba, quam ipſi Petro? Abſit procul, abſit. Nam ſecundum Chriſti nomen omnes qui ſunt illius Chriſti dicuntur, dicente propheta; Vt ſalvos faciat Chriſtus ſuos. Item. Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos, & tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi unctionis vocabulo inſigniuntur. Sanius certe Roterodamus, cujus imitatorem, & ſequacem ſtrenuum in nonnullis video. Is (tu es Petrus & mox quæ ſequuntur) in primis in Romanum pontificem, ut in Chriſtianæ fidei principem competere ait, omnium ſemoto dubio, annotatione in 16 Matthæi caput; quanquam plus æquo Origianæ ſententiæ inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quod ſi dexerimus te authore æqualiter, & indiſcriminatim hæc de Petro, & omnibus chriſtianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam ſententiam; Omnes Chriſtianos eſſe ſacerdotes, & ordinatam nullam poteſtatem accipere, quam antea non habebant, ſed deputari tantum ad licite utendum poteſtate prius habita; quæ ſententia jam olim eſt ab eccleſia damnata.

Ad hæc aiebas Chriſtum, quum minima vocaret præcepta, Scribarum & Phariſæorum alluſiſſe impietati, qui ut ſua eveherent, & amplificarent, minima dicebant divina. Multum hic diſcors es ab Origene, Scripturarum interprete, ſaneq; vigilantiſſimo, qui Homilia in Matthæum quinta adeo non negat revera quædam Dei præcepta dici, & eſſe minima, ut ex ſolutione, & obſervatione eorum minimum & magnum dici in regno cœlorum nihil obſcure prædicet. Simul pugnat quod tum Chriſtus ipſe ſeorſum à plebe & populo cum pauculis Diſcipulis, ſuæ cæleſtis tum ſolis, doctrinæ capacibus in monte verſabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Phariſæis tractans, ut divina illa concione ſua prorſus indignis.

Subjunxiſti chriſtianè parum ut mihi videbatur, hominem chriſtianum carnis acquieſcentem deſideriis, non majus chriſtianum eſſe, quam ſit Iudæus, quam ſit Turcus. Hoc mihi non chriſtianum, ſed Oecolampadianum.

* De ſunt nonnulla, quæ conjecturis forſan utcunq; ſuppleri poſſunt ex ſequenti Latimeri reſponſione.

Sit opus, quám ad beneficam Petri confeſſionem germanis fructibus referendam. Quid tu hic tibi velis neſcio. Si eſt aliquis Petri primatus, is certe Catholico cuilibet pro viribus defendendus eſt. Eſt aliquis Petri primatus; alioqui Chriſti verbum inefficax eſt (tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, &c.) Si nihil eſt opus ut defenſetur Petri primatus, nihil eſt opus ut defenſetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem uſque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quenquam germanis fructibus referre poſſe beneficam Petri confeſſionem, negando Petri primatum: benefica Petri confeſſio, an non eſt Ieſum eſſe Chriſtum filium Dei viventis? Dei filius eſt veritas. At non Chriſtus, ſi nullus eſt Petri primatus. Hic fœdè lapſus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum eſſe puto à benefica Chriſti confeſſione, ſi quis pro virili ſedem tueatur & defenſet apoſtolicam.

Apertiſſimum mendacium eſſe clamitas, Chriſtum cum pauculis Diſcipulis in monte ſeorſum à turba verſatum fuiſſe. Apertiſſime tum mecum mentitus eſt Origenes, Scripturarnm interpres vigilantiſſimus, qui Homilia in Mattheum 5. inquit; Deſcendente Ieſu de monte, ſequutæ ſunt eum turbæ multæ, Docente vero Domino in monte, Diſcipuli erant cum ipſo, quibus datum erat cœleſtis doctrinæ non eſſe ſecreta, per quæ ſalutis ſcientia brutorum corda ſalirent, cœcorumque oculis per mundanæ delectationis tenebras caligantibus, lucem patefacerunt veritatis, Vnde & Dominus ad eos: Vos eſtis (inquit) ſal terræ, vos eſtis & lumina mundi. Nunc vero deſcendente eo de monte, turbæ ſecutæ ſunt eum. In montem ſcilicet aſcendere nequaquam poterant, quia quos delictorum ſarcinæ deprimunt, ad myſteriorum ſublimia, niſi abjecto onere, ſcandere nimine valent. Audis noſtram, non tuam ab Origene probari ſententiam.

Notas præterea, quos neſcio, tibi tum notiſſimos; alij nonnulli pſeudoprædicatores, qui populo ſuadent chriſtiano ſat eſſe, ſi credit quemadmodum credit eccleſia, & neſcire interim quid, aut quomodo credat, ita miſerum vulgus ab ampliore Dei agnitione quærenda dehortando. Iniqua, & præceps ſatis cenſura in verbi Dei miniſtros. Tales ſiqui ſunt, debemus Lutheranæ & Hæreticorum eccleſiæ: in noſtra eſſe nequeunt, quum polliticus ſit ſponſus ad conſummationem uſque ſeculi ſe non deſerturum ſponſam ſuam eccleſiam. Quæ dicis reliqua, quum ſint mera convitia tranſeo.

Quod ſatis declarat, quod poſtremo penè dicis argutè philoſophatum me de juſtificatione fidei, interim mea nihil convellens. An hoc eſt argutè philoſophari de juſtificatione fidei, dicere fidem juſtificare, ſed non ſolam, imo & opera ſuam habere juſtitiam, ſed in fide, ſed in charitate? Hoc ego arguebam quod opera diceres non juſtificare. Si hoc eſt philoſophari, ego ſum philoſophatus, & non ego tantum, ſed & Iacobus Apoſtolus. Fides eſt, fateor, ut recte dixit Auguſtinus, Fundamentum & radix juſtæ vitæ, qua conſequimur bonorum operum voluntatem, ac ita juſtitiam. Tantum ne putet quis juſtitiam ſola animi exiſtimatione finiri, omni bono & pio excluſo opere. Cætera, quum non agnoſcis, ego ſepelio. Vnum id adjiciens, ſi bene feceris, bene recipies; ſin autem malè, ecce in foribus aderit peccatum tuum. Alias nacto otio abundantius. Interim vale. Derhamia.

Salutem plurimam.

This letter is an anſwer of M. Latimers unto this that goeth before.

NOn equidem ſum ego vel adeo ferox, quod ſciam, vir item eximie, ut ab homine Chriſtiano chriſtianè admoneri moleſtè feram, vel adeo inſenſatus, & à communi ſenſu alienus (ni fallor) ut me prius ſuggillatum fuiſſe abs te & inter pocula, neque ſemel ſuggillatum, quam admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem ſed acerrimè, potius redargutum, ſed conviciis & mendaciis malè habitum potius, ſed calumniis iniquè affectum potius, ſed falsó condemnatum potius, conſtanter probem. Quod ſi tuis hiſce literis pro illarum jure & mei animi ductu ego jam reſponderem. Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moveam homini vel citra ſtumulum (ut præ ſe ferunt literæ) plus quam oportet bilioſo. Imò det utrique Deus, quod ipſe utrique norit commode fore, & mihi videlicet vel in mediis calumniis patientiam Chriſtiano homine dignam, & tibi judicium aliquando tam rectum, quam nunc habes zelum tuopte marte bene fervidum. Conducibilius, opinor, fuerit ſic orare, quam ejuſmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quum & ego jam negotioſior ſum pro concione mihi perendie dicenda, quam ut commode poſſim reſpondere; & mendaciora ſint tua omnia, quam ut jure debeam ea confutare. Sed ut pauci, tamen multis, ſi fieri poſſit, ſatisfaciam, primum operæpretium fuerit in medium ſtatuere, & quid ego dixi, & quid tu ex dictis collegiſti. Collegiſti quidem multa veluti ſanguinem è ſilice colligendo excuſſurus Sed ſic eſt affectus, uti video, erga me tuus, quem ob rabiem ejuſdem ægrè noſti diſſimulare. Eſto, dixerim ego omnes Papas, omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes, per oſtium non intrantes, ſed aſcendentes aliunde, fures & latrones eſſe. Dum ſic dixi, ex introitu & aſcenſu, non ex perſonis & titulis, cum Chriſto ſum rem metitus. Hinc tu tua Minerva colligis, omnes Papas. omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes, ſimpliciter fures eſſe, ſaltem ſic me dixiſſe. Num juſta hic (mi frater) collectio? An non juſte in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? ſic aiunt nos dicere, ſic male loquuntur de nobis, ſed quorum damnatio juſta eſt (inquit:) & tamen juſtius videri poſſunt ex Paulo collegiſſe adverſarij, quam tu ex me. Iam ſi idem Dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus Deo gratum acceptumque quiſquis interim Miniſter verbi fuerit, nonne & eadem damnatio calumniatores Miniſtri nunc manet quæ olim? Longe intereſt dicas omnes per oſtium non intrantes fures eſſe, & omnes ſimpliciter fures eſſe. Sed unde (quæſo) dum ego dico omnes per oſtium non intrantes fures eſſe, videor tibi dicere omnes ſimpliciter fures eſſe? niſi forte plærique omnes videnter tibi aliunde aſcendere, & non per oſtium intrare? Quod ſi ſenſeris, at nolito dicere ſi ſapis (ſapis autem plurimum) quod ſentis. Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo, ipſe videris. Et niſi id ſenſeris, cur per Deum immortalem ego non poſſum dicere omnes eſſe fures, qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde, quibuſcunque interim titulis ſplendeſcant, niſi videar tibi dicere ſtatim omnes ad unum fures eſſe, & tum quæ te potius cœpit dementia, dum ſic colligis, ut plures fures quam paſtores colligendo eſſe feceris. Nam velis nolis verum eſt quod ego dixi, nempe quotquot per oſtium non intrant, ſed aliunde aſcendunt, fures & latrones eſſe, ſeu Papæ, ſeu Epiſcopi fuerint. Quare dum ſic in ipſo exorbitas limine, quorſum attinet reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi arridet plurimum, quod Phariſæi ſunt tam tecte à Chriſto reprehenſi, & non palam, quomodo tum non diſplicebit è regione tibi acerbiſſima illa, ſimul & apertiſſima criminatio, in os & coram turba illis objecta, (Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi hypocritæ) ubi nominati taxantur? Sed Chriſtus, inquis, Deus erat pervicaciam cordis conſpicatus. Tu vero homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator: Sum ſane homo (uti dicis) id quod citra tuam operam jam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) ſum, non labem in alieno corde deliteſcentem, ſed vitam omnibus patentem & expoſitam intuitus, adeóque ex fructibus cognoſcens, quos Chriſtus admonuit ex fructibus cognoſcendos, ipſum quorundam vivendi genus libenter damnans denique, quod in ſacris literis, ſacriſque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio, nihil id quidem moratus, quæcunque ipſum amplectuntur perſonæ: quod dum ego facio, neque cordium latebras ulterius penetro, nonne immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum, ſed pluſquam homo es, dum mei animi emphaſim melius noſti per arrogantiam, quam egomet novi, utpote qui non ſat habes quæ dico noviſſe, ſed quæ ſentio nondum dicta noveris, abditiſſima cordis mei penitiſſime rimatus, ne non ſcire in te ipſum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es; nimirum noli ante tempus judicare, noli condemnare, ut diſcas quam oportet mendacem non eſſe immemorem, ne proprio forſan gladio juguletur, & in foveam incidat ipſe, quam ſtruxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuncio fures eſſes, quotquot per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde, tibi non verba ſolum audienti, ſed & corculum meum contemplanti omnes ad unum fures eſſe pronuntio, excepto meipſo videlicet & aliis meæ farinæ hominibus neſcio (inquis) quos. Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem niſi tu qui cognoſcens occulta cordium, ſic inquis, ſenſiſſe videris? Sed tibi ſic ſenſiſſe videor, cui & dixiſſe videor, quod (ut liquidiſſime conſtat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare eſt alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, ut ipſe intuearis ſolus quicquid eſt in corde, acie videlicet tam perſpicaci, ut videas in corde, quod in corde nondum eſt natum: id quod ibi facis, dum quod ego de eccleſia recte dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris iniquè, quaſi ego quod ad uſum clavium attinet, æquaſſem omnes cum Petro, cum ne unum quidem verbum de clavium poteſtate ſit dictum; imo ne cogitatum quidem, neque Petri primatui derogatum, ut cujus nulla ſit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore ſic colligis, dum ego nil aliud quam admonui auditores eccleſiam Chriſti ſupra petram non ſuper arenam fundatam, ne mortua fide plus ſatis hæreant, tum perituri & portis inferorum fœdiſſime ceſſuri, ſed fidem operibus oſtendant, tum demum vitam æternam habituri. Quid ego minus quam omnes Chriſtianos, ut ego ſum, ſacerdotes dixerim eſſe? Sed oculatiſſimi ſunt invidi ad colligendum quod venantur, Nonne hic optimo jure cogor nonnihil chriſtianæ charitatis in tuo pectore deſiderare? qui dum neſcis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod poſſis confutare. Tu vero optime noſti quid ſentit Lutherus de eccleſia. Et ego non gravabor ſubſcribere, quid ſentit poſt multos alios Lyranus ſuper 16 Matthæi, ex quo pater inquit, quod eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus, ratione poteſtatis vel dignitatis eccleſiæ, ſeu ſecularis, quia multi principes & ſummi pontifices, inquit, inventi ſunt apoſtataſſe à fide, propter quod eccleſia conſiſtit, inquit, in illis perſonis, in quibus eſt notitia vera & confeſſio fidei & veritatis. Hic conſenſit & cum Hieronimo Chryſoſtomus. Sic enim dicunt; (neſcio an applaudant tibi quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te prodis eſſe:) Qui promptiores ſunt ad primatum Petri defenſandum, etiam cum nihil ſit opus, quam ad beatificam Petri confeſſionem germanis fructibus referendam. Sed tu mittis me ad Auguſtinum, bene liberalis conſultor. Ego optem te eundem legere ſi libeat in Epiſt. Iohannis tractatu tertio. Videris enim in Auguſtianis operibus non adeo excercitatus, cum de fidei juſtificatione tam argute Philoſopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bedæ exercitatiorem fore, cum tua ipſius collectanea Auguſtinum non ſpirent, ut jam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum authorum locis quærendis te gravem. Sed illud non omittam tamen, etſi aliò etiam me evocent negotia, non alluſiſſe videlicet Chriſtum Phariſæorum impietati, cum præcepta vocaret minima. Sic enim tu audes dicere, quia aliam in Origene interpretationem legiſti, Pulchrè admodum objectum, quaſi unus & idem Scripturæ locus non ſit ab aliis aliter fere expoſitus: Origines de illuſione non meminit, igitur nemo: qualis conſecutio? ſed nihil, inquis, ibi Chriſti cum Phariſæis: & id quoque non minus, pulchrè abs te dictum, quaſi non ſtatim poſt ſubderet Chriſtus de Scribis & Phariſæis mentionem, populum ab illorum juſtitia humanis. i. ſuis ipſorum traditionibus ſtabilita revocans. Niſi abundaverit juſtitia veſtra inquiens plus quam Scribarum, &c. At verſabatur tum, inquis, Chriſtus cum pauculis Diſcipulis ſeorſum â turba: imo hoc apertiſſimum mendacium eſt, id quod verbum Matthæi caput ſeptimum claudentia luce clarius commonſtrât, ut tolerabiliora ſint mihi de me mendacia tua, qui audes de ipſo Chriſto & ejus ſermone mentiri. Et factum eſt, inquit, ut cum finiſſet Ieſus ſermones hos, obſtupuerunt ſuper doctrina ejus. Ecce autem, ſi Chriſtus ſeorſum à turba ſit locutus, quomodo obſtupuerunt ſuper doctrina, quam per te non audiverunt? Sed Lucas Evangeliſta, ſive de eodem, ſive de conſimili Chriſtus ſermone locutus, teſtatur turbam audiiſſe, ca. capite ſeptimo. Cum conſummâſſet Ieſus ſermones hos (inquit) audienti populo. En quo prolabitur præceps judicium tuum invidia male deformatum? Scilicet tu ipſe hic non toto erras cælo? dignius videlicet quia aliorum errores expiſceris & notes, & ad palinodiam revoces: Tu tuo ſenſui hic non fidis? Medice cura te ipſum, & diſce quid ſit illud; Hypocrita cur vides feſtucam, &c. Diſce ex tus trabibus alienis feſtucis parcere. Ego nihil dixi, teſtor Deum, non mentior, quod vel Oecolampadio, vel Luthero, vel Melancthoni acceptum referre debeam; & tamen tu, quæ eſt tua charitas, non vereris id meo aſſuere capiti. Ego ſi feci iſtud, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis. Sed neſcis tu quidem opinor cujus ſpiritus ſis, dum mavis miniſtrum verbi impudentiſſimis mendaciis laceſſere, quam teſtimonium veritati perhibere, quod quantum ſit piaculum in conſpectu Dei, tu abſque doctore non ignorans, in cumulum damnationis tuæ niſi reſipiſcas. Iam vero num ego vitupero, ut quis credat quemadmodum eccleſia credit? Non ſane vitupero, niſi quod malevolentia erga me tua tam ſurdas reddidit aures tuas, ut ne audiens quidem audias quæ dicuntur. Sed hoc vitupero, ut quis cui chriſtianorum ſuadeat, quemadmodum ſuadere ſolent pſeudoprædicatores non pauci, ſat per omnia eſſe, credere quemadmodum eccleſia credit, & neſcire interim quid aut quomodo credit eccleſia, & ſic miſerum populum ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærenda dehortari? Quod poſtremo mihi obtrudis, mendacium eſt & illud plus quam dici poſſit inhumanum, neque eo mea verba ſenſu accipis, ſenſu quo ſint à me dicta, ideoque Hieronymo ſuper 26 Matthæi teſte falſus teſtis coram Deo futurus. Lege locum, & relinque falſum teſtimonium. Ego dico Chriſtianum, id eſt, baptiſmo in Chriſtianorum numerum receptum, ſi profeſſioni non reſpondeat, ſed carnis deſideriis ſeſe dedat, non magis Chriſtianum eſſe quod ad conſecutionem æternæ vitæ ſpectat, quæ promittitur Chriſtianis, quàm Iudæum aut Turcam: inquam hujus conditionem in illo die deteriorem fore, ſi verum tibi dixit; melius eſſe viam veritatis non agnoſcere, quam poſt agnitam, &c. Et quibus dicit Chriſtus nunquam novi vos? Nonne his qui per nomen ejus prophetantes, virtutes præſtiterint? nonne negabet Chriſtus nos, illum prænegantes coram hominibus? Nonne ſtatuemur inter oves Chriſti à dextris, ſi non vitam Chriſto dignam retulerimus profeſſi Chriſtum, ſed profeſſionem mala vita contaminantes. Sunt verius pſeudo-Chriſtiani quam Chriſtiani habendi: & ab Auguſtino & Chriſto vocantur Antichriſti. Non nego quin obligatio manet, ſed in majorem damnationem manet, ſi non ſatisfacit obligationi. Officium concionatoris eſt hortari auditores ut ſic ſint Chriſtiani, ut compatientes hic cum Chriſto, cum Chriſto conregnent in cœlo, ut aliter Chriſtianum eſſe non ſit illis Chriſtianum eſſe. Sic Scripturæ, ſic interpretes Scripturæ loquuntur, ut verbis hæretica tibi videatur loquutio: ſed avarus, fornicator, homicida, inquis, catholicus eſt & Chriſti ſervus: tamen ſic animi gratia tecum ludam. Fornicator per te eſt Chriſti ſervus, ſed idem eſt peccati & Diaboli ſervus; ergo idem poteſt duobus dominis ſervire, quod Chriſtum latuit. Et ſi fides mortua efficit catholicum, & Dæmones pertinent ad eccleſiam catholicam, utpote qui juxta Iacobum credunt & contremiſcunt. Fornicator (inquis) fidit Chriſto; ſpes non pudefacit, qui fidit Chriſto non peribit, ſed habebit vitam æternam. Neque me latet ad Galathas ſcripſiſſe Paulum fide aberrantes eccleſiam tamen vocaſſe; ſic idem ad Corinthios ſcribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei templum, Corinthios nimirum intelligens, ſed alios atque alios. Neque enim templum Dei erant qui carnales erant; quanquom nec me latet eccleſiam, i. multitudinem profitentium Chriſtum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis conflatam eſſe, nempe rete Evangelicum ex omni generi congregari. Quid hoc adverſum ea quæ ego dixi, qui conabar omnes bonos non malos efficere, & ideo laborabam ut auditores mei non putarent magnum eſſe ſi in malis eccleſiaſtici invenirentur: ſed non viſum eſt tibi piam prædicationem piè interpretari, dum exiſtimas ad pietatem pertinere, ſi piè dicta impiè revocarentur. Si colloquia tua non ſunt quam ſcripta clementiora, neutra ego optem mihi contingere, ſed omnis amarulentia, tumor, ira, vociferatio, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitia; & tamen neque colloquiis, neque ſcriptis me gravabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te præſtiteris. Sed Deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quàm longiſſimè ableget. Vale.

Spiritum Veritatis.

Flammis, ſumoque quam lectione, aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tua ipſius ſcelera in nos torquere ſubdolè, & aſtutè admodum moliris. Et quo firmius iſta tua ſtatuas, veterem inter pocula me tui ſuggillatorem facis. Quod quam vere (ut omnia) dicas, jam vide. Narravit nobis preſentibus jam olim Marchfieldiæ unus & idem alter, qui tuæ interfuerant concioni, te palam ſummaque ut præ te ferebas, cum authoritate dixiſſe, indignos eſſe miſeros homunculos, qui angelica ſalutatione ſalutem deiparam Virginem, ni velint ipſam rurſum ut pariat Chriſtum. Ego hæc dixi, parum Chriſtiane & religioſe abs te dicta, cavendumque diligenter piis quibuſque Chriſtianis, ne hujuſmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc eſt te ſuggillare, an magis & tibi & illis pie, & religioſe conſulere? Nihil ego tibi & tu mihi, necdum viſo, bilis impingo, ſed ſumma raraque te eſſe modeſtia, & tolerantia hominem (ut videri vis) gaudeo, ſed & gaudebo, nec retorqueo in te convitia, & probra, quibus tuæ ſcatent literæ. At iſtud non video quomodo dicas (imo nec admonitum, tandem, ſed acerrime potius redargutum, ſed convitiis & mendaciis habitum potius, ſed calumniis iniquè affectum potius, ſed falſo condemnatum potius) Redargui fateor, at ea redargutio quam admonitio, aliud nihil. Convitium nullum, mendacium nullum, calumnia nulla, quod ſciam, in meis conſpicitur literis, niſi mentitus eſt Paulus, Niſi calumniatus eſt Paulus, Niſi convitiatus eſt Paulus, quum diceret quoſdam ſic dixiſſe, facienda mala ut venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo ſpiritu, tua tibi retulimus verba, id quod norunt probe omnes, qui te illic una audiere, Vtinam tu nil tale effudiſſes, ego tum certè nihil tibi tale adſcripſiſſem. Abſit à me ut ego (quod dicere videris) ullo te animi odio, ullo te impio mentis affectu perſequar. Didici ex Chriſto diligere etiam inimicos: tantum abeſt ut hominem fratrem, ejuſdemque domini conſervum odio habeam. Sed plus quam hoſtilia, plus quam cruenta tua verba ne quicquam me movent. Tantum quam poſſum pauciſſimis tuis reſpondebo, poſthac te tuo relicturus judici.

Primum quod dicis (Eſto dixerim ego, omnes Papas, omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes per oſtium non intrantes, ſed aſcendentes aliunde, fures eſſe & latrones, dum ſic dixi, ex aſcenſu non ex perſonis & titulis cum Chriſto ſum rem metitus.) Si id dixiſſes, nihil nobis tecum ea de re negotij fuiſſet. Sed (quod tu mea Minerva collegiſſe dicis) dicebas, Papæ videlicet omnes, Epiſcopi omnes, Vicarij omnes, Rectores omnes fures ſint, & latrones, nulla, quam audivi neque aſcenſus, neque deſcenſus, neque per oſtium, neque per feneſtram mentione facta. Nec ego adeo ſurdis eram auribus, ut ſi quid tale ſuo loco dixiſſes, continuò non excepiſſem. Eum quem nunc adfers ſenſum catholicum veneror, & exoſculor; priorem rejicio & deteſtor. Sacræ Scripturæ authoritas (Principi populi tui non maledices) non ſinit me ut ſentiam, ut tu mihi aſcribere videris, pleroſque omnes aliunde aſcendere. Quis ſum ego ut judicem alienum ſervum (unuſquiſque enim propriam ſarcinam bajulabit.) Non ego, ſed nec alius quiſquam vetuit unquam quo minus diceres, omnes eſſe fures qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde quibuſcunque interim titulis ſplendeſcant: ſed qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde, jam primum audio, quod ſi prius (ut jam dixi) adieciſſes, verbum nullum. Quod dicis, quæ me dementia cœperit, ſic collegiſſe, ut plures fures quam paſtores, plures hœdos quam oves eſſe in Eccleſia, dixiſti. Quod quam dixeris, ut prius dixi, verè, ipſi videto. Iam prioribus literis ſaniorem fuiſſe diui Cypriani Martyris de Eccleſia cenſuram docuimus. Fruſtra dicis apertam illam & in os objectam criminationem, væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſei, hypocritæ, mihi è regione diſplicituram, quum adeo, ut dicis arrideat tecta & parabolica illa, Qui non intrat per oſtium in ſtabulum ovium, &c. Non poteſt profecto mihi unquam diſplicere aliquod ſacrum Chriſti factum. Præſentes reprehendebat ipſe impios Scribas & Phariſæos, juxta id, Annuncia populo meo ſcelera ſua, non aliena; abſentes tu Papas & Epiſcopos; qui talia fecerant væ futurum prædixit; tu vocabula, quo neſcio afflatu, tantum reſpiciebas. Nullius ego hominis animum judico unquam, ſed ne judicabo, tantum abeſt ut animi tui emphaſin mihi arrogaverim unquam. Deſine mihi objicere talia. Quod audivimus loquimur, quod vidimus teſtamur. Si ſanè, & rectè ad quemlibet Chriſtianum interpritatus es id Matthæi, Tu es Petrus æqualiter, ut dicis, de Eccleſia, nihil omnino de vi clavium locutus, gaudeo. Mihi certe non arridet. Nec dixi te dixiſſe omnes Chriſtianos, ut tu es, Sacerdotes eſſe, ſed ejuſmodi nudam & confuſam interpretationem non parum fovere & nutrire hujuſmodi aſſertionem Lutheranam, id quod credo, ipſe vides. Me illorum adjicies numero, qni promptiores ſunt ad Primatum Petri defenſandum etiam, ut ais, quum nihil *

ſed hæreticum dictum videtur. Chriſtianus enim conditionem ſignificat non actionem ſine actu. Signa latet quippiam, &c.

Beſides theſe Latine letters above expreſſed, other letters alſo he wrote in Engliſh, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton Knight, which letters becauſe they do contain much fruitfull matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here preſently to inſert, which albeit may ſeem ſomewhat prolixe in reading; yet the fruit thereof I truſt ſhall recompence the length of them.

The Copy of a Letter ſent by Maſter Latimer, Parſon of Weſtkington, in the County of Wilteſhire, to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight.

Salutem in Chriſto.

Right worſhipfull Sir, I recommend me unto your Maſterſhip with hearty thanks for your ſo friendly, ſo charitable, and ſo mindefull remembrance of me ſo poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Maſter Bonnam perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in caſe, I muſt needs come up, which your goodneſſe towards me with all other ſuch like to recompence, whereas I my ſelf am not able, I ſhall not ceaſe to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and alſo doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his ſake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man ſhall anſwer another day. And I deſire favour neither of your Maſterſhip, neither of any man elſe, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witneſſe, which knoweth all. In very deed Maſter Chancellor did ſhew me that my Lord biſhop of London had ſent letters to him for me; and I made anſwer that he was mine Ordinary, and that both he might and ſhould reform me as farre as I needed reformation, as well and as ſoon as my Lord of London. And I would be very loath (now this deep winter) being ſo weak and ſo feeble (not onely exerciſed with my old diſeaſe in my head and ſide, but alſo with new, both the colick and the ſtone) to

take ſuch a journey; and though he might ſo do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound ſo to do: notwithſtanding I ſaid, if he to do my Lord of London pleaſure to my great diſpleaſure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandement, yea though it ſhould be never ſo great a grievance and painfull to me, with the which anſwer he was content, ſaying, he would certifie my Lord of London thereof, truſting his Lordſhip would be content with the ſame: but as yet I hear nothing from him. M. Chancellor alſo ſaid, that my Lord of London maketh as though hee were greatly diſpleaſed with me, for that I did contemne his authority, at my laſt being in London. Forſooth I preached in Abbe-Church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his Dioceſſe or no, intending nothing leſſe than to contemne his authority, and this I did not of mine own ſwinge, or by mine own procuration, but at the requeſt of honeſt Merchant men (as they ſeemed to me) whoſe names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their ſakes, leſt if I knew them, I ſhould be compelled to utter them ſo, and their godly deſire to hear godly preaching, ſhould return to their trouble: for they required me very inſtantly, and to ſay the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that Pariſh or no, I was not certain: But they ſhewed not onely themſelves, but alſo many other to be very deſirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirſt of the Word of God, and ghoſtly Doctrine. And upon conſideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refuſed them twice or thrice, till at the laſt they brought me word that the Parſon and Curate were not onely content, but alſo deſired me, notwithſtanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and alſo that I had not the Biſhops ſeal to ſhew for me, but onely a licence of the Univerſity; which Curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I ſhould go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; ſo that I had not been alone uncharitable, but alſo charliſhly uncharitable, if I ſhould have ſaid nay. Now all this ſuppoſed to be truth (as it is) I marvell greatly how my Lord of London can alleadge any contempt of him in me.

Firſt, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibite his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any ſute to the Curate deceitfully, nor did it appear to me very likely that the Curate would ſo little have regarded my Lords inhibition, which he maintaineth ſo vigilantly, not knowing my Lords minde before. Therefore I conjectured with my ſelf, that either the Curate was of ſuch acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or elſe (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himſelf, or other pertaining to him, was appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my Sermon: which conjecture both occaſioned me ſomewhat to ſuſpect thoſe men which deſired me, though they ſpeak never ſo fair and friendly, and alſo rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be ſo, I would my Lord himſelf might hear me every Sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the Curate gain-ſaying and withſtanding) preſumed to have gone into the Pulpit, there had been ſomething wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent alſo, at the inſtant requeſt of a Curate; yet hear I not that his Ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the Curate. I marvell not a little, how my Lord Biſhop of London having ſo broad, wide, and large Dioceſſe committed unto his Cure, and ſo peopled as it is, can have leiſure for preaching and teaching the Word of God, opportunè, importunè, tempeſtivè, intempeſtivè, privatum, publicè, to his own flock, inſtando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate & doctrina, have leiſure (I ſay) either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his Cure, but as every man pertaineth to every mans cure, ſo intermixing and intermedling himſelf with another mans Cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as ſome men ſay my Lord doth, gather up my joyſe, as we call it, warily and narrowly and yet neither preach for it in mine own Cure, nor yet otherwhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me. In very deed I did moniſh Judges and Ordinaries to uſe charitable equity in their judgements towards ſuch as be accuſed, namely, of ſuch accuſers, which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to ſay amiſſe, and to take mens words in the meaning thereof, and not to wreſt them in another ſenſe than they were ſpoken in: for all ſuch accuſers and witneſſes do falſe before God, as St. Hierome ſaith upon the xxvi. Chapter of Matthew. Nor yet do I accompt thoſe Judges well adviſed, which wittingly will give ſentence after ſuch witneſſes, much leſſe thoſe which procure ſuch witneſſes againſt any man: nor do I think Judges now adayes ſo deeply confirmed in grace, or ſo impeccable, but that it may behoove and become Preachers, to admoniſh them to do well, as well as other kindes of men, both great and ſmall. And this I did, occaſioned of the Epiſtle which I declared, Rom. 6. wherein is this ſentence, Non eſtis ſub lege, ſed ſub gratia, Ye Chriſtian men that believe in Chriſt, are not under the Law. What a ſaying is this (quoth I) if it be not rightly underſtood, that is, as St. Paul did underſtand it? for the words ſound as though he would go about to occaſion Chriſtian men to break law, ſeeing they be not under the law: and what if the Pſeudapoſtles, adverſaries to Saint Paul would have ſo taken them, and accuſed Saint Paul of the ſame to my Lord of London; if my ſaid Lord would have heard Saint Paul declare his own minde of his own words, then he ſhould have eſcaped, and the falſe Apoſtles put to rebuke; if he would have rigorouſly followed utcunque allegata & probata, and have given ſentence after relation of the accuſers, then good Saint Paul muſt have born a faggot at Pauls Croſſe, my Lord of London being his Judge. O, it had been a goodly ſight to have ſeen Saint Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Pauls Croſſe, my Lord of London Biſhop of the ſame, ſitting under the Croſſe. Nay, verily I dare ſay, my Lord ſhould ſooner have burned him, for Saint Paul did not mean that Chriſtian men might break law, and do whatſoever they would, becauſe they were not under the law: but he did mean, that Chriſtian men might keep the law, and fulfill the law, if they would, becauſe they were not under the law, but under Chriſt, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to ſay, able to fulfill the law to the pleaſure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own ſtrength, and without Chriſt: ſo that to be under the law, after Saint Pauls meaning, is to be weak to ſatisfie the law; and what could Saint Paul do withall, though his adverſaries would not ſo take it? But my Lord would ſay peradventure that men will not take the Preachers words otherwiſe than they mean therein. Bona verba, as though Saint Pauls words were not otherwiſe taken, as it appeareth in the third Chapter to the

Romanes, where he ſaith, quod injuſtitia noſtra Dei juſtitiam commendat, that is to ſay, our unrighteouſneſſe commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteouſneſſe of God which ſoundeth to many as though they ſhould be evill, that good ſhould come of it, and by unrighteouſneſſe to make the righteouſneſſe of God more excellent. So Saint Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing ſo, but ſhewed the ineſtimable wiſedome of God, which can uſe our naughtineſſe to the manifeſtation of his unſpeakable goodneſſe; not that we ſhould do naughtily to that end and purpoſe. Now my Lord will not think (I dare ſay) that Saint Paul was too blame that he ſpake no more circumſpectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evill offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed, and attendance of Pauls ſpeaking, to the underſtanding of the ſame: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been ſo long nuzled in the doctrine of the Phariſees, and wallowed ſo long in darkneſſe of mans traditions, ſuperſtitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightneſſe of the truth, and wholeſome Doctrine of God, uttered by Saint Paul. Nor do I think that my Lord will require more circumſpection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errours in me, than was in Saint Paul, when he did not eſcape malevolous corrections, and ſlanderous reports of them that were of perverſe judgments, which reported him to ſay whatſoever he appeared to them to ſay, or whatſoever ſeemed to them to follow of his ſaying: but what followeth? ſic aiunt nos dicere, ſic male loquuntur de nobis: ſo they report us to ſay, ſaith Saint Paul, So they ſpeak evill of us: ſed quorum damnatio juſta eſt, but ſuch, whoſe damnation is juſt, ſaith he; and I think the damnation of all ſuch that evill report Preachers now adayes, likewiſe juſt; for it is untruth now and then. Yea Chriſt himſelf was miſ-reported, and falſly accuſed, both as touching his words, and alſo as concerning the meaning of his words. Firſt he ſaid, deſtruite, that is to ſay, deſtroy you; they made it poſſum deſtruere, that is to ſay, I can deſtroy: he ſaid templum hoc, this temple, they added manu factum, that is to ſay, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary ſenſe. So they both inverted his words, and alſo added unto his words, to alter his ſentence: for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wreſted it to Salomons Temple. Now I report me whether it be a juſt fame raiſed up, and diſperſed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of perſons which can make no credible information. Firſt, adverſaries, enemies: Secondly, ignorant and without judgement: Thirdly, ſuſurrones, that is to ſay, whiſperers, and blowers in mens ears, which will ſpew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The firſt will not, the ſecond cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of ſuch is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawfull, nor occaſion any indifferent Judge to make proceſſe againſt any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themſelves that report of any man, whether well or evill: for it is a great commendation to be evill ſpoken of. of them that be naught themſelves, and to be commended of the ſame, is many times no little reproach. God ſend us once all grace to wiſh well one to another, and to ſpeak well one of another. Me ſeems it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to ſay ſo) to be a Preacher himſelf, having ſo great a Cure as he hath, than to be a diſquieter and a troubler of Preachers, and to preach nothing at all himſelf. If it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to take ſo great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little Biſhoprick at Weſtkingſton, whether I were preſent or abſent my ſelf, I would thank his Lordſhip heartily, and think my ſelf greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodneſſe would go ſo farre to help to diſcharge me in my cure, or elſe I were more unnaturall than a beaſt unreaſonable, nor yet would I diſpute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority ſo to do, as long as his predication were fruitfull, and to the edification of my Pariſhioners. As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaſeth his Lordſhip. I pray God he do alwayes as well as I would wiſh him ever to do: but I am ſure Saint Paul, the true Miniſter of God, and faithfull diſpenſer of Gods myſteries, and right exemplar of all true and very Biſhops, ſaith in the firſt Chapter to the Philippians, that in his time ſome preached Chriſt for envy of him, thinking thereby ſo to grieve him withall, and as it were to obſcure him, and to bring his authority into contempt, ſome of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: notwithſtanding (ſaith he) by all manner of wayes, and after all faſhions, whether it be of occaſion or of truth, as ye would ſay for truths ſake, ſo that Chriſt be preached and ſhewed, I joy and will joy: ſo much he regarded more the glory of Chriſt, and promotion of Chriſts Doctrine, to the edification of Chriſtian ſouls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation and dignity, conſidering right well (as he ſaid) that what authority ſoever he had, it was to edification, and not to deſtruction. Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Chriſt be preached quovis modo, yea though it were for envy, that is to ſay, in diſdain; deſpite and contempt of his Lordſhip (which thing no man well adviſed will enterpriſe or attempt) then when the preaching cannot be proved juſtly, to demand of the Preacher auſterely, as the Pariſees did of Chriſt, qua authoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi iſtam authoritatem? As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his alſo, if it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to be ſo good Lord unto me. For the Univerſity of Cambridge hath authority Apoſtolick to admit twelve yeerly, of the which I am one: and the Kings Highneſſe, God ſave his Grace, did decree that all admitted of Univerſities ſhould preach thorow out all his Realm as long as they preached well, without diſtrein of any man, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Dureſme, with ſuch other not a few, ſtanding by, and hearing the decree, nothing gain-ſaying it, but conſenting to the ſame. Now to contemne my Lord of Londons authority, were no little fault in me; ſo no leſſe fault might appear in my Lord of London to contemne the Kings authority and decree, yea ſo godly, ſo fruitfull, ſo commendable a decree pertaining both to the edification of Chriſtian ſouls, and alſo to the regard and defence of the Popiſh grace and authority Apoſtolike. To have a book of the King not inhibited, is to obey the King, and to inhibite a Preacher of the King admitted, is it not to diſobey the King? Is it not one King that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that reſiſteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not reſiſt the ordinance of God? We low ſubjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the higheſt ſubjects alſo, who ought to give us enſample of ſuch obedience? As for my preaching it ſelf, I truſt in God, my Lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor juſtly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumſtance thereof, and as I ſpake it, or elſe it is not my preach-

Evill will never ſaith well.

Diffamation.

Nay, my Lord will none of that.

Latimer admitted by the Univerſity of Cambridge to preach.

preaching, but his that falſly reporteth it, as the Poet Martiall ſaid to one that depraved his book;

Quem recitas meus eſt, O Fidentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit eſſe tuus.

But now I hear ſay that my Lord of London is informed, and upon the ſaid information hath informed the King, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cauſe, againſt his Ordinaries and Judges, which I enſure is not ſo: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his Judges, except his Judges did him wrong; for I did nothing elſe but moniſh all Judges indifferently to do right, nor am I altogether ſo fooliſh as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a Preacher to ſay as I ſaid, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than ever did my Lord of London: for I have been his ghoſtly father many a time; and to tell you the truth, what I have thought alwayes in him, I have known hitherto few ſuch ſo prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friends and foe, noyſome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy ſo charitable; ſo ſeeking to reconcile them, as he did, I have known yet not many, and to be ſhort, in ſumme, a very ſimple good ſoul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whoſe blinde faſhion and miſerable ſtate (yea farre from Chriſts Doctrine) he could as evill bear, and would ſorrow, lament, and bewail it as much as any man that ever I knew: as for his ſingular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not ſpeak of it. Notwithſtanding if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Chriſtian man doth owe either to his Prince or to his Biſhop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that ſtandeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or miſordered himſelf in judgement, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withall; God knoweth, whoſe judgements I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living ſo mercifully, ſo charitably, ſo patiently, ſo continently, ſo ſtudiouſly and vertuouſly, and killing his old Adam, that is to ſay, mortifying his evill affections, and blinde motions of his heart ſo diligently, ſhould die an evill death, there is no more, but let him that ſtandeth, beware that he fall not: for if ſuch as he ſhall die evill, what ſhall become of me, ſuch a wretch as I am? but let this go, as little to the purpoſe, and come to the point we muſt reſt upon. Either my Lord of London will judge my outward man onely, as it is ſaid, Omnes vident quæ foris ſunt, or elſe he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is ſaid, Deus autem intuetur cor: if he will have to do onely with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward converſation, how that I have ordered my ſelf toward my Chriſtian brethren, the Kings liege people, I truſt I ſhall pleaſe and content both my Lord God, and alſo my Lord of London: for I have preached and teached but according to holy Scripture, holy Fathers, and ancient Interpreters of the ſame, with the which I think my Lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing elſe in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is neceſſary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reproved the abuſe, the ſuperſtition of them, without condemnation of the things themſelves, as it becometh Preachers to do: which thing if my Lord of London will do himſelf (as I would to God he would do) he ſhould be reported (no doubt) to condemne the uſe of ſuch things, of covetous men which have damage, and finde leſſe in their cofers by condemnation of the abuſe, which abuſe they ſaw rather ſhould continue ſtill, than their profit ſhould not continue (ſo thorny be their hearts.) If my L. would needs coaſt and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I ſhall either diſpleaſe my Lord of London, which I would be very loath, or elſe my Lord God, which I will be more loath: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Chriſtian man ought to believe: but peradventure my Lord knoweth and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance though my Lord of London may if he will be diſcontent, yet I truſt my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withall, and ſay to him with diligent ſtudy, and daily prayer, Paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum, ſo ſtudying, preaching, and tarrying the pleaſure and leiſure of God: And in the mean ſeaſon, Acts 8. as Apollo did, when he knew nothing of Chriſt, but Baptiſmum Iohannis, teach and preach mine, even Chriſtian that, and no farther than I know to be true. There be three Creeds, one in my Maſſe, another in my Matins; the third common to them that neither ſay Maſſe, nor Matins, nor yet know what they ſay when they ſay the Creed: and I believe all three with all that God hath left in holy Writ, for me and all other to believe: yet I am ignorant in things which I truſt hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever learn, and ever to be learned, to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times paſt, that the Pope, Chriſts Vicar, had been Lord of all the world as Chriſt is, ſo that if he ſhould have deprived the King of his Crown, or you of the Lordſhip of Bromeham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hyred to think otherwiſe; notwithſtanding I have both ſeen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpoſe. I have thought in times paſt, that the Popes diſpenſations of pluralities of Benefices, and abſence from the ſame, had diſcharged conſciences before God: foraſmuch as I had heard, Ecce vobiſcum ſum, & qui vos audit, me audit, bended to corroborate the ſame. Now I might be eaſily intreated to think otherwiſe, &c.

No man ſo c but he may learn.

I have thought in times paſt that the Pope could have ſpoyled Purgatory at his pleaſure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perſwade me otherwiſe, or elſe I would marvell why he would ſuffer ſo much money to be beſtowed that way, which ſo needfull is to be beſtowed otherwiſe, and to deprive us of ſo many patrones in heaven as he might deliver out of Purgatory, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that if I had been a Frier, and in a Cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death, and by occaſion of the ſame, I have been minded many times to have been a Frier, namely, when I was ſore ſicke and diſeaſed: Now I abhorre my ſuperſtitious fooliſhneſſe, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that divers images of Saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diſeaſes: Now I know that one can help as much as another. And it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and ſuch as my Lord is, can ſuffer the people to be ſo craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindneſſe I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forſake ſuch folly, it was ſo corporate in me: but by continuall prayer, continuall ſtudy of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgement, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my Lord himſelf hath thought in times paſt, that by Gods Law a man might marry his brothers wife, which now both dare think and ſay contrary; and yet this his boldneſſe might have chanced, in Pope Julius dayes, to ſtand him either in a fire, or elſe in a faggot. Which thing deeply conſidered, and pondered of my Lord, might ſomething ſtirre him to charitable equity, and to be ſomething remiſſe toward men, which labour to do good as their power ſerveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater diſtance, than between Gods Law, and not Gods Law; nor is it ſo, or ſo, becauſe any man thinketh it ſo, or ſo: but becauſe it is ſo or ſo indeed, therefore we muſt think it ſo, or ſo, when God ſhall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either ſo or not, it is ſo or not ſo, though all the world hath thought otherwiſe theſe thouſand yeers, &c.

And finally as ye ſay, the matter is weighty, and ought ſubſtantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look ſubſtantially upon it, otherwiſe know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath emboldened me to preach his truth, ſo he will ſtrengthen me to ſuffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him fruit thereby, and even ſo I deſire you, and all other that favour me for his ſake, likewiſe to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have truſt that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the Ocean Sea, I think, ſhould have divided my Lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a Preacher to have favour at his hand which is no Preacher himſelf, and yet ought to be, I pray God that both he and I may both diſcharge our ſelves, he in his great Cure, and I in my little, to Gods, pleaſure, and ſafety of our ſouls, Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write no more diſtinctly, nor more truely: for my head is ſo out of frame, that it ſhould be too painfull for me to write it again; and if I be not prevented, ſhortly I intend to make merry with my Pariſhioners this Chriſtmas, for all the ſorrow, leſt perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard ſay, that a Doe is as good in winter, as a Buck in ſummer.

A Letter of Sir *Edward Baynton*, Knight, anſwering to the Letter of Maſter *Latimer*, ſent to him before.

The copy of Sir Edward Bayntons Letter to Maſter Latimer.

Maſter Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your Letters to divers of my friends, ſuch as for Chriſtian charity (as they ſay) rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it ſwerve from the truth) or at the leaſt in your manner and behaviour, in as much as it giveth occaſion of ſlander and trouble, in let of your good purpoſes, than any other inconvenience to your perſon or good name. And foraſmuch as your ſaid Letter miſliked them in ſome part, and that I have ſuch confidence in your Chriſtian breſt, as in my judgement ye will conformably and gladly both hear that may be reformed in you, and alſo (as it is worthy) ſo knowledge and confeſſe the ſame: I have therefore deſired them to take the pain to note their mindes in this Letter which I ſend to you, as aggregate of their ſayings, and ſent from me your aſſured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of Gods Word: wherein nevertheleſſe, as I truſt you your ſelf will temper your own judgement, and in a ſoberneſſe affirm no truth of your ſelf, which ſhould divide the unity of the Congregation in Chriſt; and the received truth agreed upon by holy Fathers of the Church, conſonant to the Scripture of God, even ſo whatſoever ye will do therein (as I think ye will not do otherwiſe than ye ſhould do) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give ſentence in this alteration and contention, muſt rather of good congruence ſhew my ſelf in that you diſagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unleſſe it may pleaſe Almighty God to inſpire and confirm the hearts of ſuch people to teſtifie the ſame in ſome honeſt number as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Theſe friends of M. Baynton ſeem to be ſome Popiſh Prieſts, and enemies to the Goſpel, as Powell, Wilſon, Sherwood, Hubberdine, &c.

The Papiſts will not have unity diſturbed. Papiſtry coloured with authority of holy Fathers.

M. Baynton will follow the moſt number

Onely God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicate unto us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is per ſpeculum in ænigmate. And there hath been qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Among which I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having ſenſus exercitatos, as S. Paul ſaith, ad diſcernendum bonum & malum: and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, is not of God, by the Doctrine of Saint John in his Epiſtle, where he ſaith, Omnis qui confitetur Chriſtum in carne, &c. ex Deo eſt. And like as the Word of God hath alwayes cauſed diſſention among men unchriſtened, whereupon hath enſued and followed Martyrdome to the Preacher, ſo in Chriſts Congregation, among them that profeſſe Chriſts Name, In uno Domino, uno Baptiſmate, & una fide, they that preach and ſtirre rather contention than charity, though they can defend their ſaying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Chriſtian charity, and maketh diviſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an unity of faith and baptiſm. But for this point I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may be agreement, but alſo ſuch ſoberneſſe and uniform behaviour uſed in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expreſſe (as they may) the charity of God, tending onely to the union and love of us all, to the profit and ſalvation of our ſouls.

Note the proceeding of the Popes church, which would not have the people certain of Gods truth and religion.

Error and falſe doctrine would fain lie ſtill in peace, and not be ſtirred.

Unity in the Lord, in Baptiſm, in Faith.

The chain of Chriſtian charity.

The anſwer of M^r. *Latimer* to the Letter of Sir *Edward Baynton* above prefixed.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to M. Bayntons Letter.

Right worſhipfull Sir, and my ſingular good Maſter, *ſalutem in Chriſto Ieſu*, with due commendation and alſo thanks for your great goodneſſe towards me, &c. And whereas you have communicate my laſt Letters to certain of your friends, which rather deſire this or that in me, &c. what I think therein I will not now ſay, not for that there could be any perill or danger in the ſaid Letters (well taken) as farre as I can judge, but for that they were raſhly and unadviſedly ſcribled, as ye might well know both by my excuſe, and both by themſelves alſo, though none excuſe had been made. And beſides that, ye know right well, that whereas the Bee gathereth honey, even there the Spinner gathereth venome, not for any diverſity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that ſuck the flower: As in times paſt, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in it ſelf, was to ſome offence, to ſome fooliſhneſſe, to other otherwiſe diſpoſed, the wiſedom of God. Such diverſity was in the redreſſe of hearers thereof.

The Bee. The Spinner.

Every thing as it is taken.

But this notwithſtanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtfull to me; if it be otherwiſe, why ſhould you not communicate it to them, which both could and would inſtruct you in the truth, and reform my errour? Let this paſſe, I will not contend: had I wiſt cometh ever out of ſeaſon. Truely I were not well adviſed if I would not either be glad of your inſtruction, or yet refuſe mine own reformation, but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye ſhould be addict and ſworn to me ſo wretched a fool, that you ſhould not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, ſo great learned men as they appear to be, then the opinions of me, having never ſo Chriſtian a breaſt.

Had I wiſt.

Wherefore do as you will: for as I would not if I could, ſo I cannot if I would, be noyſome unto you, but yet I ſay, I would my Letters had been unwritten, if for none other cauſe, at leaſt way, in as much as they cauſe me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head: and as touching points which in my foreſaid Letters miſlike your friends, I have now little leaſure to make an anſwer thereto, for the great buſineſſe that I have in my little Cure, I know not what other men have in their great Cure, ſeeing that I am alone without any Prieſt to ſerve my Cure, without any Scholler to reade unto me, without any Book neceſſary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counſell withall. All which things other have at hand abundantly, but ſome thing muſt be done, howſoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgement, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. Firſt yee miſlike, that I ſay I am ſure that I preach the truth, ſaying in reproof of the ſame, that God knoweth certain truth. In deed God alone knoweth all certain truth, and God alone knoweth it as of himſelf, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and thoſe which be taught of God, as ſaith Saint Paul; *Deus enim illis patefecit:* And Chriſt himſelf; *Erunt omnes docti a Deo:* And your friends deny not but that certain truth is communicate to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacitie; now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacitie, &c.

Example of a true diligent Paſtor.

M. Latimer unfurniſhed with outward help.

M. Latimer blamed for ſaying he was ſure of the truth which he preached.

As God alone knoweth all truth, ſo ſome truth he revealeth to be certain to his ſervants.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I ſay ſo, to encourage my hearers to receive the ſame more ardently, and enſue it more ſtudiouſly? If I be uncertain, why dare I be ſo bold to preach it? And if your friends in whom you truſt ſo greatly, be Preachers themſelves, after their Sermon I pray you ask them whether they be certain and ſure that they taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learn to ſpeak after them. If they ſay they be ſure, yee know what followeth: if they ſay they be unſure, when ſhall you be ſure that have ſo doubtfull teachers and unſure? And you your ſelf, whether are you certain or uncertain that Chriſt is your Saviour, and ſo forth of other Articles that yee be bounden to beleeve, or whether be ye ſure or unſure, that civill ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God ſervice in doing of them, if yee do them for a good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your ſure friend that heareth you ſay ſo, and then with what conſcience do ye doubt; *Cum quicquid non eſt ex fide, peccatum ſit?* But contrary ſay you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but *per ſpeculum in ænigmate*; and there have been, *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam:* And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, conſidering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having *ſenſus exercitatos* (as Paul ſaith) *ad diſcernendum bonum & malum*, as ye reaſon againſt me, and ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, *omni vento doctrinæ, &c.* Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but *per ſpeculum in ænigmate:* What then? *Ergo*, it is not certain and ſure.

It is no preſumption in a Preacher being certain of that which he preacheth, to ſhew it to the people. Let not man preach, except that he be certain of that which he preacheth.

Every true Chriſtian ought to be certain of his faith.

The doubting doctrine of the Catholikes.

Arguments.

I deny your argument by your leave; yea if it be by faith, as yee ſay, it is much ſure, *Quia certitudo fidei eſt maxima certitudo:* Becauſe the certainty of faith is the moſt ſureſt certaintie, as Dun and other School Doctors ſay: that there is a great diſcrepance between certain knowledge, and clear knowledge: for that may be of things abſent that appear not, this requireth the preſence of the object, I mean of the thing known, ſo that I certainly and ſurely know the thing which I perfectly beleeve, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your School ſubtilties, as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmaticall knowledge, that is to ſay, dark and obſcure knowledge might not be certain and ſure knowledge, becauſe it is not clear, manifeſt, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (ſay they) *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. Truth it is, there have been ſuch, and yet be too many to the great hinderance of Chriſts glory, which nothing doth more obſcure, then an hote zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgement. There have been alſo, *Qui ſcientiam habuerunt abſque zelo Dei, qui veritatem Dei in injuſtitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoſcentes, nihil minus quam faciunt:* i. Which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteouſneſſe, ſhall be beaten with many ſtrips, while they knowing the Will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Sarazens that be unchriſtened, but of them that be chriſtened. And there have been alſo that have loſt *Scientiam Dei, id eſt, ſpiritualem divini verbi ſenſum, quem prius habuerunt:* i. The ſpirituall knowledge of Gods Word which they had before, becauſe they have not enſued after it, nor promoted the ſame, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wiſedome of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, *ut juſtificetur Chriſtus in Sermonibus ſuis, & vincat cum judicatur*, threatning Matth. 13. *Ei vero, qui non habet, etiam quod habet, id eſt, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo, cum abuti habito, vel non bene uti, ſit non habere, nec non ſit verum illud quoque, non habitaturam, videlicet ſapientiam in corpore peccatis ſubdito, qui adhuc & ſi carnaliter ſapiant plus ſatis, atſtat ſententia, nempe carnalem & Philoſophicam Scripturarum intelligentiam, non eſſe ſapientiam Dei, quæ a ſapientibus abſconditur, parvulis revelatur:* i. To him that hath not, that alſo which he hath, that is, that which he ſeemeth to have, ſhall be taken from him: when as to abuſe that which a man hath, or not to uſe it well, is as not to have it. And alſo ſeeing it is true, that Gods wiſedome will not dwell in a body ſubject to ſinne, albeit he abound in carnall wiſedome too much: yet the ſame carnall and Philoſophicall underſtanding of Gods Scriptures, is not the Wiſedome of God which is hid from the wiſe, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or elſe no man can call this or that truth: and it behooveth every Preacher to have ſo deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth, and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach

Anſwer.

Certain knowledge.

Clear knowledge.

M. Latimer not ignorant of the School ſubtilties.

Every Preacher ought to be ſure of the truth.

There be many truths, whereof a good man may well be ignorant.

There be many things in Scripture in the profundities whereof a man may wade too farre.

Againſt preachers which take upon them to define great ſubtilties and high matters in the Pulpit.

Vain ſubtilties and queſtions to be declined.

Simple and plain preaching of faith, and of the fruits thereof.

preach for the truth. And as for my ſelf, I truſt in God, I may have *ſenſus exercitatos*, well enough, *ad diſcernendum bonum & malum: Senſus* exerciſed to diſcerne good and evill in thoſe things which without deep and profound knowledge in many things I preach not, yea there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly diſcern *bonum & malum*, I mean *verum & falſum*, not with all the exerciſe that I have in Scripture, nor yet with the help of all Interpreters that I have, to content my ſelf and other in all ſcrupuloſity, that may ariſe: but in ſuch I am wont to wade no further into the ſtream, then that I may either go over, or elſe return back again, having ever reſpect, not to the oſtentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as farre forth as I can, neither paſſing mine own nor yet their capacity.

And ſuch manner of arguments might well ſerve the divell *contra puſillanimos*, to occaſion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or elſe it may appear to make and ſerve againſt ſuch Preachers which will define great ſubtilties and high matters in the Pulpit, which no man can be certain and ſure of by Gods Word to be truth, *ne ſenſus quidem habens ad diſcernendum bonum & malum exercitatiſſimos*; as whether, if Adam had not ſinned, we ſhould have had Stockfiſh out of Iſeland: how many Larks for a penny if every Starre in the Element were a flickering Hobby: How many yeers a man ſhall lye in Purgatory for one ſinne, if he buy not plenty of the oyl that runneth over our Lamps to ſlake the ſinne withall, and ſo forget hell which cannot be ſlaked, to provide for Purgatory.

Such argumentation (I ſay) might appear to make well againſt ſuch Preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the ſame, which be the good works of God, *quæ præparavit Deus ut in eis ambularemus*: i. which he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the Word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with ſoberneſſe, having *ſenſus ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos*. For it is but fooliſh humility, willingly to continue alwayes *infantulus in Chriſto & in infirmitate*: i. An infant ſtill in Chriſt, and in infirmity: in reproof of which it was ſaid, *Facti eſtis opus habentes lacte non ſolido cibo*. For Saint Paul ſaith not, *Eſtote humiles, ut non ſapiatis*. For though he would not that we ſhould think arrogantly of our ſelves, and above that that it becometh us to think of our ſelves, but ſo to think of our ſelves, *ut ſimus ſobrii ac modeſti*, yet he biddeth us ſo to think of our ſelves, *ut cuique Deus partitus eſt menſuram fidei*: i. As God hath diſtributed to every one the meaſure of faith. For he that may not with meekneſſe think in himſelf what God hath done for him, and of himſelf as God hath done for him, how ſhall he, or when ſhall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the ſame, I pray you enquire of them whether they may *cum ſobrietate & modeſtia*, be ſure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, *cum ſobrietate & modeſtia*, follow Saint Pauls bidding, where he ſaith unto us all, *Nolite fieri pueri ſenſibus, ſed malitia infantes eſtote*: i. Be not children in underſtanding, but in maliciouſneſſe be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of our ſelves neither too high nor too low, but ſo that we may reſtore unto him, *qui peregre profectus eſt*, his gifts again *cum uſura*, that is to ſay, with good uſe of the ſame, ſo that *ædificemus invicem* with the ſame, *ad gloriam Dei*, Amen.

Fooliſh humility.

A mean between too hye, and too low.

For my life, I truſt in God that I neither (by Gods grace) ſhall, neither in ſoberneſſe, nor yet in drunkenneſſe affirm any truth of my ſelf, therewith intending to divide that unitie of the Congregation of Chriſt, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy Fathers of the Church conſonant to the Scripture of God, though it be ſhewed you never ſo often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saint Iohn in his Epiſtle, where he ſaith, *Omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt*: i. Every one that confeſſeth Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God. Firſt, not every thing whereupon followeth diſſention, cauſeth diſſention, as I would they that ſhewed you that, would alſo ſhew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as Gamaliel ſaid, *diſſolvetur*; if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends alſo, *quis poteſt diſſolvere niſi qui videbitur Deo repugnare?* i. Who can diſſolve it but ſhall ſeem to repugne againſt God? And yet there be many not heathens, but in Chriſtendome, that diſſent from the ſame, which could bear full evill to hear ſaid unto them, *Vos ex patre Diabolo eſtis*. So that ſuch an opinion might ſeem to ſome to make a diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, ſaving that they may ſay perchance with more liberty then other, that an occaſion is ſometime taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuſe for my defence, ſaving that, *non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate*.

Not every thing whereupon diſſention cometh, is the cauſe of diſſention.

He meaneth the Pope and his Papiſts, which could not abide the diſſolving of the Marriage between King Henry and his brothers wife.

Occaſion may be taken where none is given.

The Church of the Galathians

The Galathians having for Preachers and Teachers the falſe Apoſtles, by whoſe teaching they were degenerate from the ſweet liberty of the Goſpel into the ſowre bonds of ceremonies, thought themſelves peradventure a Chriſtian Congregation when Saint Paul did write his Epiſtle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of maſterly Curates, ſo that the falſe Apoſtles might have objected to Saint Paul that his Apoſtleſhip was not of God, foraſmuch as there was diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation by occaſion thereof, while ſome would renue their opinions by occaſion of the Epiſtle, ſome would *opinari*, as they were wont to do, and follow their great Lords and Maſters, the falſe Apoſtles, which were not heathen and unchriſtened, but Chriſtened, and high Prelates of the Profeſſors of Chriſt. For your friends I know right well what Eraſmus hath ſaid in an Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſes of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, which Eraſmus hath cauſed no ſmall diſſention with his pen in a Chriſtian Congregation, in as much as many have diſſented from him, not onely in Cloyſters (men more then chriſtened men) of high perfection, but alſo at Pauls Croſſe, and Saint Mary Spittle, beſides many that with no ſmall zeal have written againſt him, but not without anſwer.

Eraſmus in his Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſe, in 1 Cor.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that Saint Hieromes writing were of God, which cauſed diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the Prologue before the Canonicall Epiſtles, which be theſe: *Et tu Virgo Chriſti Euſtochium, dum a me impenſius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo ſenectutem invidorum dentibus vel morſibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falſarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: ſed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimeſco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poſcentibus denegabo*. I pray you what were they that called Saint Hierome *falſarium*, and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? unchriſten, or chriſten? what had the unchriſten to do with Chriſtian doctrine? They were worſhipfull Fathers of a Chriſtian Congregation, men of much more hotter ſtomackes then right judgement, of a greater authority then good charity: but Saint Hierome

Hierome in prologo ſuper Canon. Epiſt.

Hierome noted of ſome to be a falſifier and a corrupter of the Scripture.

Worſhipfull fathers of greater authority then of good charity.

would not ceaſe to do good for the evill, ſpeaking of them that were naught, giving in that an enſample to us of the ſame; and if this diſſention were in Saint Hieromes time, what may be in our time? *de malo in peius ſcilicet.*

It is not enough to be chriſtened, but to keep our promiſe made when we be chriſtened.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a Chriſtian Congregation? All thoſe (trow ye) that have been chriſtened? But many of thoſe be in worſe condition, and ſhall have greater damnation, then many unchriſtened. For it is not enough to a Chriſtian Congregation that is of God, to have been chriſtened: but it is to be conſidered what we promiſe when we be chriſtened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: Which thing if we buſie not our ſelves to do, let us not crake that we profeſſe Chriſts name in a Chriſtian Congregation, *in uno baptiſmo*, i. in one baptiſm.

Unitie in baptiſme, is not enough.

And where they adde *in uno Domino*, i. in one Lord, I read in Matth. 17. *Non omnis qui dicit, Domine, Domine, &c.* i. Not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch Profeſſors and Confeſſors, ſaying to them, *Cur dicitis, Domine, Domine, & non facitis quæ dico?* i. Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Chriſtian man, or to a Chriſtian Congregation to ſay every day, *Domine, Dominus noſter*, and to ſalute Chriſt with a double *Domine*. But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chryſoſtome *ſuper Matthæum hom. 49 cap.* 24. to learn to know a Chriſtian Congregation if it will pleaſe them to learn at him. And where they adde, *in una fide*, i. in one faith, Saint Iames ſaith boldly, *Oſtende mihi fidem ex operibus:* i. Shew me thy faith by thy works. And Saint Hierome, *Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem oſtendimus:* i. If we beleeve, we ſhew the truth in working. And the Scripture ſaith, *Qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis:* i. He that beleeveth God, attendeth to his Commandements: And the divels beleeve to their little comfort. I pray God to ſave you and your friends from that beleeving Congregation, and from that faithfull company.

To pretend unitie under the title of one Lord, is not enough.

To be in unity of faith except the faith be ſound, is not enough.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchriſtened, but them that be chriſtened, and anſwer not unto their Chriſtendome. For Saint Hierome ſheweth how true Preachers ſhould order themſelves, when evill Prieſts and falſe Preachers, and *populus ab his deceptus*, i. the people that be by them deceived, ſhould be angry with them for preaching the truth, *Tom 5. in Hieremiam Caput.* 26. exhorting them to ſuffer death for the ſame, of the evill Prieſts and falſe Preachers, and the people deceived of them, which evill Prieſts and falſe Preachers with the people deceived, be chriſtened as well as other: and I fear me that Saint Hierome might appear to ſome Chriſtian Congregation, as they will be called, to write ſeditiouſly, to divide the unity of a great honeſt number, confeſſing Chriſt, *in uno baptiſmate, uno Domino, una fide*, ſaying, *populus qui ante ſub magiſtris conſopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant, ſed montes veteris & novi Teſtamenti, Prophetas, Apoſtolos, & Evangeliſtas, & cum eiuſmodi montium lectione verſatus, ſi non invenerit doctores (meſſis enim multa, operarii autem pauci) tunc & populi ſtudium comprobabitur, quo fugerit ad montes, & magiſtrorum deſidia coarguetur. Tom. 6. in Naum. cap.* 30. i. The people which before were brought aſleep by their Maſters, muſt go up to the Mountains, not ſuch mountains which ſmoak when they are touched, but to the Mountains of the Old and New Teſtament, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts. And when thou art occupied with reading in theſe Mountains, if then thou finde no inſtructors, (for the harveſt is great, and the workmen be few) yet ſhall the diligent ſtudy of the people be fleeing to the Mountains, and the ſloathfulneſſe of the Maſters ſhall be rebuked.

How true Preachers ſhould order themſelves, when the wicked Prieſts be againſt them.

I do marvell why our Chriſtian Congregations be ſo greatly grieved that lay people would read Scripture, ſeeing that S. Hierome alloweth and approveth the ſame, which compareth not here the unchriſtened to the chriſtened, but the lay people chriſtened to their Curates Chriſtened, under the which they have been rocked and locked aſleep in a ſubtile trade a great while full ſoundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain, at the leaſt way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the Word of God; and it is properly ſaid of Saint Hierome to call them Maſters and not ſervants, meaning that ſervants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their Maſter Chriſt, to his glory. Maſters teach not Chriſts doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which Maſterly Curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people aſleep again: but Chriſt the very true Maſter ſaith, *Vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes veſtræ, neque viæ meæ viæ veſtræ, dicit Dominus:* and there have been, *qui cogitaverunt conſilia, quæ non potuerunt ſtabilire*, i. which have gone about counſels, which they could not eſtabliſh. I pray God give our people grace ſo to wake, *ut ſtudium illorum comprobetur*, and our Maſters ſo to ſleep, *ut non deſidia illorum coarguatur.* For who is ſo blinde that he ſeeth not how farre our Chriſtian Congregation doth gainſay Saint Hierome, and ſpeaketh after another faſhion? God amend that is amiſſe; for we be ſomething wide, ywis.

But now your friends have learned of Saint Iohn, that *omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt:* i. Every one that confeſſeth Ieſus Chriſt in fleſh, is of God: And I have learned of Saint Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Chriſten, *qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant:* i. which confeſſe Chriſt with their mouth, and deny him with their acts: So that Saint Paul ſhould appear to expound Saint Iohn, ſaving that I will not affirm any thing as of my ſelf, but leave it to your friends to ſhew you *utrum qui factis negant Chriſtum & vita, ſint ex Deo necne per ſolam oris confeſſionem:* for your friends know well enough by the ſame Saint Iohn, *qui ex Deo eſt non peccat:* and there both have been, and be now too many, *Qui ore tenus confitentur Chriſtum veniſſe in carne:* i. Which with mouth onely confeſſe Chriſt to be come in the fleſh; but will not effectually hear the Word of God by conſenting to the ſame, notwithſtanding that Saint Iohn ſaith, *qui ex Deo eſt, verbum Dei audit, vos non auditis quia ex Deo non eſtis:* and many ſhall hear *nunquam novi vos:* i. I never knew you, which ſhall not onely be chriſtened, but alſo ſhall *prophetare*, and do puiſſant things *in nomine Chriſti:* And Saint Paul ſaid there ſhould come *Lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi:* i. Ravening Wolves which will not ſpare the flock, meaning it of them that ſhould *confiteri Chriſtum in carne* in their lips, and yet uſurp by ſucceſſion the office, which Chriſt calleth *pſeudoprophetas*, i. falſe Prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, ſaying, they ſhall come *in veſtimentis ovium* i. in ſheeps clothing, and yet they may wear both Satten, Silk and Velvet, called afterwards *ſervi nequam, non paſcentes, ſed percutientes conſervos, edentes & bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis:* i. Naughty ſervants, not feeding but ſmiting their fellow-ſervants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which ſhall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called *ſervi*, ſervants I trow, *quod ore confitentur Chriſtum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem:* i. Becauſe they confeſſe Chriſt in fleſh: and naughty they are called, becauſe they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due ſeaſon, and exerciſing maſterſhip over the flock. And yet your friends reaſon as though there could none bark and bite at true Preachers, but they that be unchriſtned, notwithſtanding that Saint Auguſtine upon the ſame Epiſtle of Iohn, calleth ſuch confeſſors of Chriſt, *qui ore confitentur, & factis negant, Antichriſtos*; a ſtrange name for a Chriſtian Congregation : and though Saint Auguſtine could defend his ſaying, yet his ſaying might appear not to be of God, to ſome mens judgement, in that it breaketh the chain of Chriſts charity, ſo to cauſe men to hate *Antichriſtianiſmum*, Antichriſts, according to the doctrine of Saint Paul, *Sitis odio perſequentes quod malum eſt*: i. Hate that is evill; and ſo making diviſion, not between chriſtened and unchriſtened, but between Chriſtians and Antichriſtians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the Antichriſtians from their blinde folly. And I would you would cauſe your friends to reade over Saint Auguſtine upon the Epiſtle of S. Iohn, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it, as I remember it is *Tractatu* 3. but I am not ſure nor certain of that, becauſe I did not ſee it ſince I was at Cambridge; and here have I not Saint Auguſtines works to look for it, but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Chriſtians from the Antichriſtians, which both be chriſtened, and both confeſſe, *Ieſum eſſe Chriſtum*, if they be asked the queſtion : and yet the one pert denieth it in very deed : But to know whether, *Non linguam, ſed facta attendamus, & vivendi genus, num ſtudeamus officia vocationis præſtare annon ſtudeamus, immo perſuaſi forte ſumus non neceſſe eſſe ut præſtemus, ſed omnia in primitivam Eccleſiam & tempora præterita, &c. quaſi nobis ſat ſit dominari, & ſecularibus negotiis nos totos volvere, ac voluptatibus & pompæ inhiare* : i. Let us not ſtand upon our talks, but attend to our doings and converſation of life, whether we, not onely do not put our endeavour thereto, but alſo perſwade our ſelves as though it were not neceſſary for us to accompliſh ſuch things, &c. but that it is enough to bear rule and authority over them, and to beſtow our ſelves wholly upon ſecular matters, pleaſures, and pomp of this world. And yet we will appear, *vel ſoli ex Deo eſſe; ſed longe aliter Chriſtum confitentur, qui confitendo ex Deo eſſe comprobantur.*

Aug. in Ioan. Tract. 3.

Both Chriſtians and Antichriſtians confeſſe the Name of Chriſt.

And yet as long as they miniſter the Word of God or his Sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the ſalvation of mankinde, wherewith God hath promiſed to be preſent, to work with the miniſtration of the ſame to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for Gods Ordinance ſake, which is effectuall and fruitfull, whatſoever the Miniſter be, though he be a devill, and neither Church nor member of the ſame, as Origen ſaith, and Chryſoſtome, ſo that it is not all one to honour them, and truſt in them, Saint Hierome ſaith : but there is required a judgement, to diſcern when they miniſter Gods Word and Ordinance of the ſame, and their own, leſt peradventure we take chalk for cheeſe, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digeſtion. For as it is commonly ſaid, The blinde eateth many a flye, as they did which were perſwaded *a principibus ſacerdotum ut peterent Barrabbam, Ieſum autem crucifigerent* : i. Of the high Prieſts, to ask Barrabas, and to crucifie Ieſus : and ye know that to follow the blinde guides is to come into the pit with the ſame. And will you know, ſaith Saint Auguſtine, how apertly they reſiſt Chriſt, when men begin to blame them for their miſliving, and intolerable ſecularity, and negligence? they dare not for ſhame blaſpheme Chriſt himſelf, but they will blaſpheme the Miniſters and Preachers of whom they be blamed.

In the people is required a judgement to diſcern, whether they took of their miniſters chalk for cheeſe.

The blind eateth many a fly. Intolerable ſecularity and negligence in Church-men.

Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when ſhall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but diſquiet with crafty conveyance the Preachers of the truth, becauſe they reprove our evilneſſe with the truth? And, to ſay the truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, ſo that ſome would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word (as Lyranus ſaith in his time few did, what they do now adayes, I report me to them that can judge) than to have ſuch an uniformity, that the ſilly people ſhould be thereby occaſioned to continue ſtill in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgement, ſuperſtition and idolatry, and eſteem things as they do all, prepoſterouſly, doing that, that they need not to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done, and ſo ſhew their love to God, not as God biddeth (which ſaith, *Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſervate*: i. If ye love me, keep my Commandements. And again, *Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me* : i. He that knoweth my Precepts, and doth them, he loveth me.) but as they bid, *Qui quærunt quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Ieſu Chriſti*: i. Which ſeek their own things, not Chriſts : as though to tythe mynt were more than judgement faith and mercy.

Better is in the Church a deform diſgracement, ſo that Chriſt be truly preached, than uniform ignorance agreeing in idolatry.

And what is to live in ſtate of Curates, but that he taught which ſaid, *Petre amas me? Paſce, paſce, paſce*; Peter loveſt thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now ſet aſide, as though to love were to do nothing elſe, but to wear Rings, Myters and Rochets, &c. And when they erre in right living, how can the people but erre in loving, and all of the new faſhion, to his diſhonour that ſuffered his paſſion, and taught the true kinde of loving, which is now turned to piping playing, and curious ſinging, which will not be reformed (I trow) *niſi per manum Dei validam*. And I have both Saint Auguſtine, and Saint Thomas, with divers other, that *lex* is taken not onely for Ceremonies, but but alſo for Moralls, where it is ſaid, *Non eſtis ſub lege*, though your friends reprove the ſame. But they can make no diviſion in a Chriſtian Congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a ſoberneſſe in our preaching, I pray God ſend it unto us, whatſoever ye mean by it. For I ſee well, whoſoever will be happy, and buſie with *væ vobis*, he ſhall ſhortly after come *coram nobis*.

The ſtate of Curates, what it is.

The true honour of Chriſt turned to piping, playing, and ſinging.

He that will be buſie with *væ vobis*, let him look ſhortly for *coram nobis*.

And where your friends think that I made a lye, when I ſaid that I have thought in times paſt that the Pope had been Lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet I am ſure that they know not what either I think, or have thought better than I, *juxta illud, Nemo novit quæ ſunt homines, &c.* as though better men than I have not thought ſo, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Octavus, the great learned man Iohn of the Burnt Tower; Presbyter Cardinalis in his book where he proveth the Pope to be above the Councell Generall and Special, where he ſaith that the Pope is *Rex Regum*, And *Dominus Dominantium*, i. King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and that he is, *Verus Dominus totius orbis, jure, licet non facto* : i. The true Lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not ſo; and that Conſtantinus did but reſtore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, ſo that *in propria venit*, as Saint Iohn ſaith Chriſt did, *& ſui eum non receperunt* : i. He came unto his own, and his own received him not : and yet I hear not that any of our Chriſtian Congregations hath reclaimed againſt him, untill now of late diſſention began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would deſire them to be my good Maſters, and if they will do me no good, at the leaſt-way do me no harm; and though they can do you more good than I, yet I am ſure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

Iohannes de curre Cremata.

The Pope great Maſter, Lord and King over all the world.

And as for the Popes high Dominion over all, there

The Popes Dominion.

Purgatory. Worſhipping of Saints.

there is one Raphael Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in times paſt a Merchant of diſpenſations, which I ſuppoſe would die in the quarrell, as Gods true Knight, and true Martyr. As touching Purgatory, and worſhipping of Saints, I ſhewed to you my minde before my Ordinary: and yet I marvelled ſomething, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my minde before him, not giving me warning before, ſaving I cannot interpret your evill doings towards me; and yet neither mine Ordinary, nor you diſallowed the thing that I ſaid, and I looked not to eſcape better than Doctor Crome: but when I have opened my minde never ſo much, yet I ſhall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belyed my preaching, as he was. *Sed opus eſt magna patientia ad ſuſtinendas calumnias malignantis Eccleſiæ*: i. I ſhall have need of great patience to bear the falſe report of the malignant Church.

A pretty nip to ſuch as have many cures, and are reſident on none.

Sir, I have had more buſineſſe in my little Cure, ſince I ſpake with you, what with ſick folkes, and what with Matrimonies, than I have had ſince I came to it, or than I would have thought a man ſhould have in a great Cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which have great Cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I ſaid ſo fooliſhly, leſt I make a diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, and divide a ſweet and a reſtfull union, or *tot quot*, with *hæc requies mea in ſeculum ſeculi*. Sir, I had made an end of this ſcribling, and was beginning to write it again more truely and more diſtinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lord of Farleys, with a Citation to appear before my Lord of London in haſte, to be puniſhed for ſuch exceſſes as I committed at my laſt being there, ſo that I could not performe my purpoſe; I doubt whether yee can reade it as it is. If yee can, well be it: if not, I pray you ſend it me again, and that you ſo do, whether you can reade it or not. Ieſus mercy, what a world is this, that I ſhall be put to ſo great labour and pains, beſides great coſts, above my power, for preaching of a poor ſimple Sermon? But I trow our Saviour Chriſt ſaid true, *Oportet pati, & ſic intrare: tam periculoſum eſt in Chriſto pie vivere velle*: i. I muſt needs ſuffer, and ſo enter: ſo perillous a thing it is to live vertuouſly with Chriſt. Yea in a Chriſtian Congregation. God make us all Chriſtians, after the right faſhion, Amen.

Here followeth another Letter of M. Latimer written to King Henry the eighth upon this occaſion. We heard before of two ſundry Proclamations, ſet out by the Biſhops in the name of King Henry, the one in the yeer 1531, and the other ſet out An. 1546. In the which Proclamations, being authorized by the Kings name, were inhibited all Engliſh books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where alſo we have expreſſed at large the whole Catalogue of all the errors and hereſies, which the ſaid Biſhops falſly have excerpted, and maliciouſly imputed to godly writers, with their places and quotations, above aſſigned in the place aforeſaid. Now M. Latimer growing in ſome favour with the King, and ſeeing the great decay of Chriſts religion by reaſon of theſe Proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conſcience, directeth unto King Henry this Letter hereunder enſuing, thereby intending by all means poſſible to perſwade the Kings minde to ſet open again the freedome of Gods holy Word amongſt his ſubjects. The copy and tenor of his Letter here followeth.

The Letter of Maſter Latimer, written to King Henry, for the reſtoring again of the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.

TO THE
Moſt Mighty Prince, King
OF
ENGLAND,
HENRIE the Eighth,
Grace, Mercy, and Peace
from God the Father,
by our Lord Jeſus
Chriſt.

Another Letter of M. Latimer to K. Henry. Auguſt. ad Caſulanum, Chryſoſt.

THe holy doctor Saint Auguſtine in an Epiſtle which he wrote to Caſalanus, ſaith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the ſame, the holy man Saint John Chryſoſtome ſaith, that he is not onely a traytor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye, but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce and ſhew the truth that he knoweth. Theſe ſentences (moſt redoubted King) when I reade now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievouſly in my conſcience, and at the laſt drave me to this ſtrait, that either I muſt ſhew forth ſuch things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or elſe be of that ſort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhment.

M. Latimer touched in conſcience to write to the King.

What it is to be a traytor to truth.

For what other thing is it to be a traytor unto the truth, than to be a traytor and a Judas unto Chriſt, which is the very truth and cauſe of all truth? the which ſaith, that whoſoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread, than the loſſe of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſlander, hurts, baniſhments, and all manner of torments, and cruelties, yea, and death it ſelf, be it never ſo ſhamefaſt and painfull. But alas, how little do men regard thoſe ſharp ſayings of theſe two holy men? and how little do they fear the terrible judgement of Almighty God? and ſpecially they which boaſt themſelves to be guides and captains unto other, and challenging unto themſelves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither ſhew the truth themſelves (as they be bound) neither ſuffer them that would. So that unto them it may be ſaid, that which our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſees, Matthew 23. Wo be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, which ſhut up the Kingdome of Heaven before men, and neither will you enter in your ſelves, neither ſuffer them that would, to enter in. And they will, as much as in them lyeth, debarre, not onely the Word of God, The ſubtill wilineſſe and practiſes of the Phariſees.

which David calleth, a light to direct and ſhew every man how to order his affections and luſts, according to the Commandements of God, but alſo by their ſubtill wilyneſſe they inſtruct, move, and provoke, in a manner, all Kings in Chriſtendome, to ayd, ſuccour, and help them in this their miſchief; and eſpecially in this your Realm they have ſo blinded your liege people, and ſubjects with their Laws, Cuſtomes, Ceremonies, and banbery Gloſes, and puniſhed them with curſings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would ſay) and now at the laſt when they ſee that they cannot prevail againſt the open truth (which the more it is perſecuted, the more it encreaſeth by their tyranny) they have made it treaſon to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in Engliſh.

Here I beſeech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be ſo that as concerning your high Majeſty and Regall power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man. For you be here to me and to all your ſubjects, in Gods ſtead, to defend, aid, and ſuccour us in our right, and ſo I ſhould tremble and quake to ſpeak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortall man, in danger of ſinne, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born: ſo have you no leſſe need of the merits of Chriſts paſſion for your ſalvation, than I and other of your ſubjects have, which be all members of the myſticall Body of Chriſt. And though you be an higher member, yet you muſt not diſdain the leſſer. For as Saint Paul ſaith, Thoſe members that be taken to be moſt vile, and had in leaſt reputation, be as neceſſary as the other, for the preſervation and keeping of the body. This, moſt gracious King, when I conſidered, and alſo your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and ſimple Letter unto your Grace, truſting that you will accept my true and faithfull minde even as it is.

Pſal.5.
Epheſ.2.
Kings ſtand as much in need of Chriſts paſſion as any inferior ſubject.
Rom.12.
1 Cor.2.
Epheſ.4.
1 Cor.12.

First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and proceſſe of our Saviour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, in preaching and ſetting forth of the Goſpel, and to note alſo the words of our Maſter Chriſt, which he had to his Diſciples when he ſent them forth to preach his Goſpel, and to theſe have ever in your minde the golden rule of our Maſter Chriſt; The tree is known by the fruit. For by the diligent marking of theſe, your Grace ſhall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Chriſt, and teachers of his Goſpel, and who be not. And concerning the firſt, all Scripture ſheweth plainly that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts life was very poor.

Matth.7.

The rule of Chriſt.

Beginne at his birth, and I beſeech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and ſo poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joſeph and the bleſſed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethelem, in the cold and froſty winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both maſter and man, and ſhe both miſtreſſe and maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they intreated in the Innes and lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing neceſſary for a woman in that plight? Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truely. And according to this beginning was the proceſſe and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure, when and where he would.

The poverty of Chriſts life expreſſed.

But this he did to ſhew us, that his followers and Vicars ſhould not regard nor ſet by the riches and treaſures of this world, but after the ſaying of David we ought to take them, which ſaith thus, if riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not ſet his affianee, pleaſure, truſt, and heart upon them. So that it is not againſt the poverty in ſpirit which Chriſt praiſeth in the Goſpel of Saint Matthew, Chapter 5. to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, ſo that their hearts be not fixed and ſet upon them ſo much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in ſpirit, have they never ſo little, that have greedy and deſirous mindes to the goods of this world, onely becauſe they would live after their own pleaſure and luſts. And they alſo be privy enemies (and ſo much the worſe) which have profeſſed, as they ſay, wilfull poverty, and will not be called worldly men. And they have lords lands, and Kings riches, yea, rather than they would loſe one jot of that which they have, they will ſet debate between King and King, Realm and Realm, yea between the King and his ſubjects, and cauſe rebellion againſt the temporall power, to the which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf obeyed, and payed tribute, as the Goſpel declareth; unto whom the holy Apoſtle Saint Paul teacheth every Chriſtian man to obey. Yea and beſide all this, they will curſe and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gain-ſay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities ſhould decay.

The poor condition of Chriſts life, is an example to us to caſt down our pride, not to ſet by riches.

It is not againſt the poverty of the ſpirit, to be rich.

What is to be poor in ſpirit, and what not.

Privy enemies to ſpirituall poverty.

Againſt monks and friers, and prelates of the ſpiritualty.

Mat.17.

Subjection to ſuperiour powers.

Your Grace may ſee what means and craft the ſpiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withſtand the acts which were made in your Graces laſt Parliament againſt their ſuperfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Chriſt. And although I named the ſpiritualty to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be ſome good of them. Neither will I that your Grace ſhould take away the goods due to the Church, but take away all evill perſons from the goods, and ſet better in their ſtead.

Ambition of the ſpiritualty.

I name nor appoint no perſon nor perſons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Chriſt, as in Matthew the ſeventh Chapter, By their fruits you ſhall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to his Diſciples when he ſent them to preach his Goſpel, they be read in Matthew the fifteenth Chapter, where he ſheweth, that here they ſhall be hated and deſpiſed of all men worldly, and brought before Kings and Rulers, and that all evill ſhould be ſaid by them, for their preaching ſake, but he exhorteth them to take patiently ſuch perſecution by his own example, ſaying, It becometh not the ſervant to be above the maſter. And ſeeing they called me Belzebub, what marvell is it, if they call you devilliſh perſons and heretikes. Reade the fourteenth Chapter of St. Matthews Goſpel, and there your Grace ſhall ſee that he promiſed to the true Preachers no worldly promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kindes of puniſhment, and that they ſhould be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John alſo he ſaith, In the world ye ſhall have oppreſſion, and the world ſhall hate you: but in me you ſhall have peace. And in the tenth Chapter of S. Matthews Goſpel ſaith our Saviour Chriſt alſo, Lo I ſend you forth as ſheep among Wolves. So that the true Preachers go like Sheep harmleſſe, and be perſecuted, and yet they revenge not their

Chriſt promiſeth no promotions, but perſecution to his followers.

Iohn 16

their wrong, but remit all to God; ſo far is it off that they will perſecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And ſo this is the moſt evident token that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt would that his Goſpel and the Preachers of it ſhould be knowen by, that it ſhould be deſpiſed among thoſe worldly wiſemen, and that they ſhould repute it but fooliſhneſſe, and deceiveable doctrine, and the true Preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, and driven from Towne to Towne, yea, and at the laſt loſe both goods and life.

Gods word only is the weapon of ſpirituall Paſtors.

And yet they that did this perſecution, ſhould think that they did well, and a great pleaſure to God. And the Apoſtles remembring this leſſon of our Saviour Chriſt, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may reade in the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtles. But we never read that they ever perſecuted any man. The holy Apoſtle Saint Paul ſaith, That every man that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution. And alſo he ſaith further in the Epiſtle written to the Philipians in the firſt chapter, That it is not only given to you to beleeve in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.

The Apoſtles were perſecuted, but never no perſecutors.

Wherefore take this for a ſure concluſion, that there, where the Word of God is truly preached, there is perſecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and whereas is quietneſſe and reſt in worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be ſhort, S. Paul calleth the Goſpel, the word of the croſſe, the word of puniſhment. And the holy Scripture doth promiſe nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and perſecution, which theſe worldly men cannot ſuffer, nor away withall.

Perſecution a ſure mark of true preaching. The word of the croſſe.

Therefore pleaſeth it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our Maſter and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is this, By their fruits you ſhall know them. For where you ſee perſecution, there is the Goſpel, and there is the truth; and they that do perſecute, be voyd and without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which (as our Savior Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in the third chapter of S. Johns Goſpel) is come into the World, and which ſhall utter and ſhew forth every mans workes. And they whoſe works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to ſtop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holy Scripture ſhould not be read in our mother tongue, ſaying that it would cauſe hereſie and inſurrection, and ſo they perſwade, at the leaſt way they would faine perſwade your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, which be not aſhamed, contrary to Chriſts doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of buſhes, and to call light darkneſſe, and darkneſſe light, ſweet ſowre, and ſowre ſweet, good evill, and evill good, and to ſay, that that, which teacheth all obedience, ſhould cauſe diſſention and ſtrife: but ſuch is their belly wiſedome, wherewith they judge and meaſure every thing, to hold and keep ſtill this wicked Mammon, the goods of this world, which is their God, and hath ſo blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot ſee the clear light of the ſacred Scripture, though they babble never ſo much of it.

John 3.

Crafty pretenſes of the Prelates to ſtop the reading of holy Scripture.

Belly wiſdom.

But as concerning this matter, other men have ſhewed your Grace their mindes, how neceſſarie it is to have the Scripture in Engliſh. The which thing alſo your Grace hath promiſed by your laſt Proclamation: the which promiſe I pray GOD that your gracious Highneſſe may ſhortly performe, even to day before to morow. Nor let the wickedneſſe of theſe worldly men detain you from your godly purpoſe and promiſe. Remember the ſubtle worldly wiſe Counſellors of Hammon the Sonne of Naas, King of the Ammonites, which, when David had ſent his ſervants to comfort the yong King for the death of his Father, by crafty imaginations counſelled Hammon, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them moſt ſhamefully and cruelly, ſaying, That they came not to comfort him, but to eſpie and ſearch his land, ſo that afterward they bringing David word how every thing ſtood, David might come and conquer it. And they cauſed the yong King to ſhear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and ſent them away like fooles; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. Oh wretched counſellors. But ſee what followed of this carnall and worldly wiſedome. Truly nothing but deſtruction of all the whole Realm, and alſo of all them that took their parts.

Perſwaſion to let the Scripture to be read in Engliſh.

Siniſter counſell about Princes.

Wicked policy turned to his own deſtruction.

Therefore good King, ſeeing that the right David, that is to ſay, our Savior Chriſt hath ſent his ſervants, that is to ſay, his true Preachers, and his owne word alſo to comfort our weake and ſick ſoules, let not theſe worldly men make your Grace beleeve that they will cauſe inſurrections and hereſies, and ſuch miſchiefes as they imagine of their owne mad brains; leſt that he be avenged upon you and your Realme, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obſtinately withſtood and gaine-ſayd his word. But peradventure they will lay this againſt me, and ſay that experience doth ſhew how that ſuch men as call themſelves followers of the Goſpel, regard not your Graces commandement, neither ſet by your Proclamation, and that was well proved by theſe perſons which of late were puniſhed in London for keeping ſuch bookes as your Grace had prohibited by Proclamation: and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regard or eſteeme other your Graces lawes, ſtatutes, or ordinances. But this is but a craftie porſwaſion. For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, ſpecially that loveth worldly promotion, that is ſo fooliſh to ſet forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemie, whereby he ſhould be let of his worldly pleaſures and fleſhly deſires; but rather he will ſeeke all the wayes poſſible that he can, utterly to confound, deſtroy, and put him out of the way. And ſo as concerning your laſt Proclamation, prohibiting ſuch bookes, the very true cauſe of it, and chiefe Counſellors (as men ſay, and of likelihood it ſhould be) were they whoſe evill living and cloked hypocriſie theſe books uttered and diſcloſed. And howbeit that there were three or foure, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in Engliſh, yet it happened there, as it is evermore ſeen, that the moſt part overcommeth the better, and ſo it might be that theſe men did not take this Proclamation as yours, but as theirs ſet forth in your name, as they have done many times moe, which hath put this your Realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if GOD had not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falſhood and privy treaſon, which their head and Captain was about; and be ye ſure not without adherents, if the matter be duly ſearched. For what marvell is it, that they being ſo nigh of your Counſell, and ſo familiar with your Lords, ſhould provoke both your Grace and them to prohibite theſe books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Teſtament, under pain of everlaſting damnation: for ſuch is their manner,

Under the pretence of inſurrections and hereſies, the Prelates ſtop the liberty of Chriſts Goſpel.

Objection prevented and anſwered.

The cauſe and cauſers of the Kings Proclamation againſt the reading of ſcripture books in Engliſh.

He meaneth of Cranmer, Cromwel, and one or two mo, againſt whom the B. of Wincheſter and his faction did prevaile.

A practice of Prelates to convey their own Proclamations under the Kings name and authority.

He meaneth of the pope, which went about to drive K. Henry out of his kingdome, and that not without ſome adherents neere about the King to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the new Teſtament (and ſo I think by the other) was meekely offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will ask them the cauſes of all inſurrections, which have been in this Realm heretofore. And whence is it that there be ſo many Extortioners, Bribers, Murderers, and Theeves, which daily do not break only your Graces lawes, ordinances, and ſtatutes, but alſo the lawes and Commandements of Almighty God? I thinke they will not ſay theſe books, but rather their pardons which cauſeth many a man to ſin in truſt of them. For as for thoſe malefactors which I now rehearſed, you ſhall not finde one amongſt a hundred, but that he will cry out both of theſe books, and alſo of them that have them, yea and will be glad to ſpend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon Fagots to burn both the books, and them that have them.

The cauſe of inſurrections is falſly laid upon Engliſh books, but rather is to be layd upon the Popes pardons. Extortioners, Bribers, Theeves, be the greateſt enemies to the Goſpel to be in Engliſh.

And as touching theſe men that were lately puniſhed for theſe books, there is no man, I hear ſay, that can lay any word or deed againſt them that ſhould ſound to the breaking of any of your Graces lawes, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it ſo that there be ſome that have theſe books, that be evill, unruly, and ſelfe willed perſons, not regarding Gods lawes, nor mans, yet theſe books be not the cauſe thereof, no more than was the bodily preſence of Chriſt and his words, the cauſe that Judas fell, but their owne froward minde and carnall wit, which ſhould be amended by the vertuous example of living of their Curates, and by the true expoſition of the Scripture. If the Lay people had ſuch Curates, that would thus do their office, neither theſe books, nor the Divel himſelf could hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame, ſo that the lack of good Curats is the deſtruction and cauſe of all miſchiefe. Neither do I write theſe things becauſe that I will either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirme all to be true written in theſe books, which I have not all read, but to ſhew that there cannot ſuch inconvenience follow of them, and ſpecially of the Scripture as they would make men beleeve ſhould follow.

The froward life of the Goſpellers, is not to be laid to the Goſpel.

Lack of good Curats, is the cauſe of all miſchiefe in the Realm.

And though it be ſo that your Grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture it ſelfe, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in Sheepes clothing, yet I think my ſelf bound in conſcience to utter unto your Grace ſuch things as GOD put in my mind to write. And this I do (God ſo judge me) not for hate of any perſon or perſons living, nor for that I think the Word of GOD ſhould go forth without perſecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your Realme ſhould have it in his Mothers tongue. For the Goſpel muſt needs have perſecution unto the time that it be preached throwout all the World, which is the laſt ſigne that Chriſt ſhewed to his Diſciples ſhould come before the day of Judgement: ſo that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture ſhould be put forth, the Divel would ſet forth ſome wile or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the love that I have to GOD principally, and the glory of his Name, which is only known by his Word, and for the true allegeance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increaſe to the pleaſure of GOD, to exhort your Grace to avoyd and beware of theſe miſchievous flatterers, and their abominable waies and counſels.

The Goſpel will not go forth without perſecution, though the K. would permit the reading thereof to be free.

The laſt ſigne before the judgment day, is that the Goſpel ſhould be preached throw the world.

M. Latimer chaffereth forth his talent. He meaneth this belike by ſir Tho. More, who for the biſhops pleaſure ſet his pen againſt the Goſpel.

And take heed whoſe counſels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be ſome that for fear of loſing of their worldly worſhip and honor, will not leave off their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withall by whom they had great promotion they took upon them to defend by writing, ſo that now they think that all their felicitie, which they put in this life, ſhould be mard, and their wiſdome not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they have ſo ſlanderouſly oppreſſed ſhould be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember Saint Paul, how fervent he was againſt the truth (and that of a good zeale) before he was called; he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhment, and great perſecutions for that which before he deſpiſed and called hereſie. And I am ſure that their living is not more perfect than S. Pauls was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

S. Paul a good example for all perſecutors to follow.

Alſo the King and Prophet David was not aſhamed to forſake his good intent in building of the Temple, after that the Prophet Nathan had ſhewed him that it was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhould build any houſe for him; and notwithſtanding that Nathan had before allowed and praiſed the purpoſe of David, yet he was not aſhamed to revoke and eat his words againe, when he knew that they were not according to Gods will and pleaſure.

K. Davids good example to all kings to ſubmit their intents and purpoſes to Gods word

Wherefore they be ſore drowned in worldly wiſdome, that think it againſt their worſhip to knowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may eſpie, and take heed of their worldly wiſedome, which is fooliſhneſſe before God, that you may do that that God commandeth, and not that ſeemeth good in your own ſight without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his ſight, and one of the members of his Church; and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithfull miniſter of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or mans power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above mans power or reaſon, as all the ſtories of the Bible make mention.

By Nathan we may learn not to be aſhamed to call back our words when we know Gods pleaſure to be otherwiſe.

Wherefore gracious King remember your ſelf, have pitie upon your ſoule, and thinke that the day is even at hand when you ſhall give accounts of your office, and of the bloud that hath beene ſhed with your ſword. In the which day that your Grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and readie in your reckoning, and to have (as they ſay) your Quietus eſt, ſealed with the bloud of our Savior Chriſt which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that ſuffered death for our ſins, which alſo praieth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praiſe for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preſerve your Grace. Anno Domini 1530. 1. die Decembris.

In this Letter of Maſter Latimer to the King above prefixed, many things we have to conſider: Firſt, his good conſcience to God, his good will to the King, the dutie of a right Paſtor unto truth, his tender care to the common wealth, and ſpecially to the Church of Chriſt. Further, we have to conſider the abuſe of Princes Courts, how Kings many times be abuſed with flatterers and wicked counſellers about them, and ſpecially we may note the ſubtle practices of Prelates, in abuſing the name and authoritie of Kings, to ſet forth their own malignant proceedings. We may ſee moreover, and rather marvell at in the ſaid Letter, the great boldneſſe and divine ſtoutneſſe in this man, who as yet being no Biſhop, ſo freely and plainly without all fear of death, adventuring his owne life to diſcharge his conſcience, durſt ſo boldly, to ſo mighty a Prince, in ſuch a dangerous caſe, againſt the

Divers things in this letter of M. Latimer to the King to be conſidered.

The heavenly courage of M. Latimer in di charging his conſcience.

the Kings Law and Proclamation ſet out in ſuch a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admoniſh that, which no Counſellor durſt once ſpeak unto him in defence of Chriſts Goſpel. Whoſe example if the Biſhops and Prelates of this Realm, for their parts likewiſe in like caſes of neceſſity would follow (as indeed they ſhould) ſo many things peradventure would not be ſo out of frame as they be, and all for lack that the Officers of Gods Word do not their duty.

The King well pleaſed with the plainneſſe of M. Latimer.

Finally, this moreover in the ſaid Letter is to be noted, how bleſſedly Almighty God wrought with his faithfull ſervant, whoſe bold adventure, and wholeſome counſell, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet notwithſtanding God ſo wrought with his ſervant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the Prince; for not long after the ſame he was advanced by the King to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, as is above declared.

Seeing Maſter Latimer was ſo bold and plain with the King (as is afore ſpecified) no great marvell if he did uſe the like freedome and plainneſſe toward other meaner perſons in admoniſhing them of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were given, where truth and equity required his defence againſt injury and oppreſſion. For example whereof we have another Letter of his, written to a certain Juſtice of Peace in Warwickſhire, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhall be here unnamed. The Letter, although it may ſeem ſomewhat long and tedious; yet I thought here not to overpaſſe the ſame for divers and ſundry reſpects: Firſt, that the vertue and faithfull conſcience of this good Paſtor may appear more at large; alſo for that all other Biſhops and Paſtors by this example may learn with like zeal and ſtomack to diſcharge their duty and conſcience in reforming things amiſſe, and in powdering with the Salt of Gods Word the ſores of the people. Which thing if every Biſhop for his part within his Dioceſſe had done in King Edwards dayes, in redreſſing ſuch corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I ſuppoſe that the perſecution of Queen Mary had not ſo plagued the Realm as it did: but whereas never a man almoſt liveth in due order, and yet never a Biſhop will ſtirre to ſeek redreſſe, what can become of the Realm? Item, another reſpect is, becauſe of the Juſtices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuſe their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong through extortion or partiality: And finally, that all injurious oppreſſors whatſoever, by the ſaid Letter may take ſome fruit of wholeſome admonition. What the argument and occaſion was of this Letter, I ſhewed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as followeth.

Example for Biſhops, and all good Paſtors to follow.

Warning to Juſtices of Peace.

A fruitfull Letter of Maſter Latimer, written to a certain Gentleman.

A Letter of M. Latimer to a certain Gentleman.

RIght Worſhipfull, ſalutem in Domino. And now ſir I underſtand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievouſly my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the beſt Biſhop in England, &c.

Ah ſir? I ſee well I may ſay as the common ſaying is, Well have I fiſhed and caught a Frog; brought little to paſſe with much ado. You will not bear it with me, you ſay. Why ſir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It may ſeem unſeemly for a Juſtice of Peace to be a breaker of peace, I am glad the doting time of my fooliſh youth is gone and paſt. What will you then do with me, in that you ſay you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before ſome Judge, and call me into ſome Court. Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuſo judicium ullum. Accuſemus invicem, ut emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat juſtitia in judicio, i. God turn it to good. I refuſe no judgement. Let us accuſe one another, that one of us may amend another in the Name of the Lord. Let juſtice proceed in judgement. And then and there, do beſt, have beſt, for club half penny. Or peradventure ye will ſet pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a Letter, wherein confuting me you will defend your ſelf and your brother againſt me. Now that would I ſee, quoth long Roben, ut dicitur vulgariter. Non potero ſane non vehementer probare ejuſmodi induſtriam, i. I cannot chuſe but muſt allow ſuch diligence. For ſo ſhould both your integrities and innocencies beſt appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brothers doings in this matter to be upright. Et ego tum juſtis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confeſſurus, i. And then will I gladly give place, confeſſing my fault humbly, as one conquered with juſt reaſons. But I think it will not be. But now firſt of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand treſpaſſed you? Forſooth, that can I tell, no man better: For I have charitably moniſhed you in a ſecret Letter, of your ſupper dealing, and ſuch like miſbehaviour. O quam grave piaculum? i. What a ſore matter is this? And will ye not bear ſo much with me? Will ye not take ſuch a ſhew of my good will towards you, and toward the ſaving of your ſoul at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would have thought that Maſter N. had been ſo impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his ſoul? I have in uſe to commit ſuch treſpaſſes many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lords and Ladies, and the beſt of the Realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have ſaid in their diſpleaſure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and priviledge of a Preacher? What is it elſe, but even arguere mundum de peccato, i. to rebuke the world of ſin, without reſpect of perſons; Quod quidem ipſum eſt ipſius Spiritus ſancti peculiare in eccleſia munus & officium, ſed non niſi per Prædicatores legitimos exequendum, i. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the holy Ghoſt in the Church of God, ſo that it be practiſed by lawfull Preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the Pulpit, which cannot bear the ſame in a ſecret ſealed up Letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truely; Niſi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, ſit jam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere, i. Unleſſe perhaps to rebuke ſin ſharply, be now to lack all charity, friendſhip, and truth. But Maſter N. if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be ſo plunged in worldly purchaſings, and ſo drowned in the manifold dregges of this deceiveable world, that I ween you have forgotten your Catechiſme. Reade therefore again the opening of the firſt Commandement, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you have juſt cauſe to complain, &c.

As may well appear by his Letter ſent to the King before.

Item ſir, you ſaid further, that I am wonderfully abuſed by my neighbour, &c. How ſo, good Maſter N.? Wherein? Or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you ſaid, that he had abuſed you, and given you wrong information, but the contrary is found true by good teſtimony of M. Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour ſaid, and hath teſtified the ſame, both to you, and againſt you, full like himſelf. Maſter N, to forge and feigne (which argueth an ill cauſe) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth ſay, that is another thing. As though you were priviledged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what they liſt, as may ſeem to make ſome maintenauce for your naughty cauſe. Truſt me Maſter N. I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him ſo conformable to honeſty, upright in his dealings, and ſo true in his talk, that I eſteem him better than I do ſome other whom I have perceived and found otherwayes. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but eſteem all men as I finde them, allowing what is good, and diſallowing what is bad: In omnibus hominibus ſive amicis ſive inimicis, juxta præceptum Paulinum, à filiis hujus ſeculi in precio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, proſequentes quod malum eſt, adhærentes autem ei quod bonum eſt: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus unquam, id quod filii hujus ſeculi vulgó faciunt, ut eſt videre ubique, i. Among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Pauls precept, not eſteemed of the children of this world; Hate you, ſaith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not at any time for the favour of men, call good evill, and evill good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be ſeen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Maſter N. when you note me to be ſo much abuſed by ſo ignorant a man, ſo ſimple, ſo plain, and ſo farre without all wrinkles? Have I lived ſo long in this tottering world, and have I been ſo many wayes turmoiled and toſſed up and down, and ſo much as it were ſeaſoned with the powder of ſo many experiences to and fro, to be now ſo farre bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not diſcern cheeſe from chalk, truth from falſhood, but that every ſilly ſoul, and baſe witted man might eaſily abuſe me to that enterpriſe he liſted at his pleaſure? Well, I ſay not nay, but I may be abuſed. But why do you not tell me how your brother abuſed me, promiſing before me and many moe, that he would ſtand to your awardſhip, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how thoſe two falſe faithleſſe wretches abuſe me, promiſing alſo to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your ſelf have abuſed me, promiſing me to redreſſe the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promiſe? Theſe notable abuſes be nothing with you, but onely you muſt needs burthen me with my neighbours abuſing me, which is none at all, as farre forth as ever I could perceive, ſo God help me at my need. For if he had abuſed me as you and other have done, I ſhould be ſoon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

M. Latimer flattereth no man.

Item ſir, you ſaid further, that I ſhall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agreed to ſtand to your award, &c. No ſir? Maſter N. you ſay belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have perſwaded you to think it to be, ſo inducing you to do their requeſt to your own ſhame and rebuke, if you perſevere in the ſame, beſide the perill of your ſoul, for conſenting at leaſt way, to the maintenance by falſhood of your brothers iniquity. For in that you would your awardſhip ſhould take none effect, you ſhew your ſelf nothing inclinable to the redreſſe of your brothers unright dealing with an honeſt poor man, which hath been ready at your requeſt to do you pleaſure with his things, or elſe he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

Bolſtring of falſhood and iniquity.

Brother ought not to bear with brother, to bear down right and truth, eſpecially being a Juſtice.

Ah Maſter N. what manner of man do you ſhew your ſelf to be? or what manner of conſcience do you ſhew your ſelf to have? For firſt, as touching your brother, you know right well that ſir Thomas Coking with a Letter of his own hand-writing, hath witneſſed unto your brothers agreement, which Letter he ſent to me unſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour, and other moe ere I ſealed it, and perchance have a copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. With what conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oathes make a ſufficient proof, trow you? Vel ipſo Dicente Domino; In ore duorum vel trium, &c. i, The Lord himſelf ſaying; in the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true I dare ſay, in your conſcience, if you have any conſcience though I were in my grave, and ſo unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I truſt to ſee them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare ſwear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what ſhould we look for at ſuch mens hands, when you your ſelf play the part you do? Verum vivit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia, & judicat juſtè, &c. i. But God is yet alive, which ſeeth all, and judgeth juſtly.

Corrupt tenants.

Item ſir, you ſaid yet further, that the Juſtices of Peace in the country think you very unnaturall, in taking part with me before your brother, &c. Ah Maſter N. what a ſentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and miniſtring of juſtice is another thing: and a worthy miniſter of juſtice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to miniſter juſtice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of Juſtices be they, I pray you, which would ſo fain have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and ſhould reform and amend your brother? as you your ſelf know, no man better. What? Juſtices? no, Jugglers you might more worthily call ſuch as they be, than Juſtices. Be they thoſe Juſtices which call you unnaturall, for that you will not take your brothers part againſt all right and conſcience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the finall hearing and determining of my neighbours cauſe, after your ſubſtantiall and finall award making? Verily I think no leſſe. Forſooth he is much beholding to you, and I alſo for his ſake. Is that the wholeſome counſell that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you ſhew your ſelf a worthy Juggler: Oh, I would have ſaid a Juſticer, among other of your juggling and partaking Juſtices. Deum bonum, i. O good God, what is this world? Marry ſir, my neighbour had ſpun a fair thred, if your partaking Juſtices through your good counſell had had his matter in ordering and finiſhing. I pray God ſave me and all my friends, with all Gods flock, from the whole fellowſhip of your ſo naturall and partaking Juſtices, Amen.

Were not here good ſort of Juſtices, trow you?

Juſtices turned to Jugglers.

Partaking Juſtices.

Lord God, who would have thought that there had been ſo many partaking Juſtices, that is to ſay, unjuſt Juſtices in Warwickſhire, if Maſter N. himſelf one of the ſame order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it beſt, had not told us the tale? But theſe call you, you ſay, very unnaturall, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much naturall? For we reade de natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat juſtitiæ plena: hæc niſi reparata, ſemper manet injuſta, injuſtitiæ fructus alios poſt alios paritura, i. Of a double nature, ſound and corrupt. That was full of juſtice: this unleſſe it be reſtored, abideth alwayes unjuſt, bringing forth the fruits of wickedneſſe one after another: So that he that will not help his brother, having a juſt cauſe in his need, may be juſtly called unnaturall, as not doing juxta inſtinctum naturæ, ſive integræ, ſive reparatæ, i. according to the inſtinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was reſtored. But he that will take his brothers part againſt right, as to ratifie his brothers wrong deceiving, he is too much naturall, tanquam ſequeus ingenium ſive inclinationem naturæ corruptæ, contra voluntatem Dei, i. as one following the diſpoſition and inclination of corrupt nature againſt the will of God; and ſo to be naturall may ſeem to be cater-couſin, or couſin-germaine with, to be diabolicall.

I fear me we have too many Juſtices that be too much naturall, to their own periſhment both body and ſoul. For worthy Juſtices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (quales ſunt pauciores apud nos, quam vellem, i. Of which ſort we have a fewer amongſt us, than I would) will have no reſpect at all in their judgements and proceedings, ad propinquitatem ſanguinis, i. to vicinitie of bloud; but altogether ad dignitatem & æquitatem cauſæ, ut quod juſtum eſt ſemper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injuſtum eſt intuitu hominum; of which number I pray GOD make you one, Amen. Iuſtus eſt (ſayth John) qui facit juſtitiam. At qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quiſquis injuſte facit in gratiam & favorem ullius hominis) ex diabolo eſt, i. He is juſt that doth juſtice. But he that ſinneth (as they all do, which do unjuſtly for favour and pleaſure of men) is of the Divell (ſaith he) of which ſort all our partaking and naturall Juſtices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dignum & juſtum eſt, that as many as be ſuch Juſtices, juſte priventur munere, & amplius quoque plectantur pro ſui quique facinoris quantitate, ut vel ſic tandem abſcindantur, tanquam nati in incommodum reipublicæ noſtræ, qui nos conturbant, cum adjuvare debeant, i. Be juſtly deprived of their offices, and further alſo be puniſhed, according to the quantity or quality of their crime, ſo that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the Common-wealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us, Amen.

Quare ſeponite juſtitiam, & ſequimini naturam, as your naturalls and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as juſt as Germains lips, which came not together by nine mile, Vt vulgo dicunt, &c.

Item ſir, finally and laſt of all you added theſe words following: Well, quoth you, let Maſter Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to finde as crabbed and as froward a peece of him, as ever he found in his life, &c. Ah ſir? and is your brother ſuch a one as you ſpeak of indeed? mercifull God, what a commendation is this for one brother to give another? Eſtne ejuſmodi gloriatio tua, mi amice? i. Is this your glorying my friend? And were it not poſſible trowe you, to make him better? It is written Vexatio dat intellectum, i. Vexation giveth underſtanding. And again, Bonum mihi, Domine, quod humiliaſti me, i. It is good, O Lord, that thou haſt humbled me. At leaſt way, I may pray to God for him as David did for ſuch like, Ad hunc modum; Chamo & frœno maxillas eorum conſtringe, qui non approximant ad te, i. After this ſort; Binde faſt Aſſes with bridle and ſnaffle, that they approach not neere unto thee. In the mean ſeaſon, I would I had never known either of you both; for ſo ſhould I have been without this inward ſorrow of my heart, to ſee ſuch untowardlineſſe of you both to godlineſſe; for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to ſee ſuch men ſo wickedly minded. Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you ſay, I ſhall finde him as crabbed and as froward a peece, &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the ſame it plainly appeareth, that you confeſſe your brothers cauſe wherein he ſo ſtiffely ſtandeth, to be unjuſt and very naught. For he that ſtandeth ſo ſtiffely in a good quarrell and a juſt cauſe, as many good men have done, is called a faſt man, a conſtant, a truſty man. But he that is ſo obſtinate and untractable in wickedneſſe and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward peece, as you name your brother to be.

Wherefore knowing ſo well your brothers cauſe to be ſo naughty, why have you not endavoured your ſelfe, as a worthy Juſtice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promiſed me to do, now almoſt twelve moneths ago, if not altogether? Summa Summarum, Maſter N. if you will not come off ſhortly, and apply your ſelf thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well aſſured thereof, I ſhall detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedneſſe and frowardneſſe, as your colourable ſupportation of the ſame, that I truſt I ſhall be able thereby either to bring you both to ſome goodneſſe, or at leaſt way I ſhall ſo warne my friends and all honeſt hearts to beware of your ilneſſe, that they ſhall take either no hurt at all, or at leaſt way leſſe harme by you through mine advertiſement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoyd and ſhun your company. You ſhall not ſtay me, Maſter N. no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. Ego nolo tam juſtam cauſam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare, i. I will not forſake ſuch a juſt cauſe, neither will I communicate with other mens ſinnes. For whether it be per deteſtabilem ſuperbiam, i. by deteſtable pride: whether per abominabilem avaritiam, i. by abominable avarice: or by both two linked together, it is no ſmall iniquity to keep any poore man ſo long from his right and duty ſo ſtiffe-neckedly and obſtinately, or whether ye will crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of waies to conſent to the ſame? You know, I trow, Maſter N. Furtum quid ſit, nempe, quoviſmodo auferre vel retinere alienam rem invito Domino, ut quidam definiunt. Si fur ſit qui ſic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuſcunque ambagibus ſuffulcit? id eſt. What theft is, that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another mans good againſt his will that is the owner, as ſome define it. If he be a theef that ſo doth openly, what ſhall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and ſupporteth him by any manner of colour? Conſider with your ſelf good Maſter N. Quid ſit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrem, i. What is to oppreſſe and to defraud your brother in his buſineſſe: and what followeth thereof. It is truly ſayd, Non tollitur peccatum, niſi reſtituatur ablatum, i. The ſin is not forgiven, except the thing be reſtored again that is taken away. No reſtitution, no ſalvation; which is as well to be underſtood, de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, ut de rebus per manifeſtum furtum & latrocinium partis, i. Of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother Maſter N. by cavillation continue in the Divels poſſeſſion. I will do the beſt I can, and wraſtle with the Divel, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one ſtone unmoved to have both you and your brother ſaved. There is neither Archbiſhop nor Biſhop, nor yet any learned man either in Univerſities or elſewhere, that I am acquainted withall, that ſhall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this Realm that I am acquainted withall, but they ſhall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither Lord nor Ladie, nor yet any noble perſonage in this Realm, that I am acquainted withall, but they ſhall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

Godly threats of M. Latimer to ſave the ſoul of his friend.

I will do all this; yea, and kneele upon both my knees before the Kings Majeſty, and all his honourable Councell, with moſt humble petition for your reformation, rather than the Divell ſhall poſſeſſe you ſtill, to your finall damnation. So that I do not deſpair, but verily truſt, one way or other, to pluck both you, and alſo your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you ſay he is, out of the Divels clawes, maugre the Divels heart.

Theſe premiſſes well conſidered, looke upon it, good Maſter N. that we have no further ado: Gods plague is preſently upon us; therefore let us now diligently looke about us, and in no wiſe defend, but willingly reknowledge, and amend whatſoever hath been amiſſe. Theſe were the capitall points of your talke, as I was informed, after you had peruſed that my nipping and unpleaſant letter; and I thought good to make you ſome anſwer to them, if perchance I might ſo move you, the rather to call your ſelfe to ſome better remembrance, and ſo more earneſtly apply your ſelf to accompliſh and perform what you have begun and promiſed to do, namely, the thing it ſelf being of ſuch ſort, as apparently tendeth both to your worſhip, and alſo to Gods high pleaſure.

Thus lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long ſcribling I wot not well what (but I know you can reade it, and comprehend it well enough) I bid you moſt heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleaſure, Amen. From Baxterley the 15. of June.

During the time that the ſayd Maſter Latimer was priſoner in Oxford, we reade not of much that he did write, beſides his conference with Doctor Ridley, and his proteſtation at the time of his diſputation. Otherwiſe, of letters we finde very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, ſave only theſe few lines, which he wrote to one Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon of London, a godly Matron, and an exile afterward for the Goſpels ſake. Who ſo long as ſhe remained in England, was a ſingular Patroneſſe to the good Saints of God, and learned Biſhops, as to Maſter Hooper, to the Biſhop of Hereford, to Maſter Coverdale, Maſter Latimer, Doctor Cranmer, with many other. The copie and effect of which his letter to Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon here followeth.

A letter ſent to Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon of London, widow, from Maſter Hugh Latimer out of Bocardo, in Oxford.

If the gift of a pot of cold water ſhall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountifull gifts, when he ſhall ſay to you; I was in priſon, and you viſited me. God grant us all to do and ſuffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleaſure, Amen.

Yours in Bocardo, Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in ſending to King Henry a preſent, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and yet remaineth ſtill an old cuſtome received from the old Romanes, that upon New-yeers day being the firſt day of January, every Biſhop with ſome handſome New-yeers gift ſhould gratifie the King; and ſo they did, ſome with gold, ſome with ſilver, ſome with a purſe full of money, and ſome one thing, ſome another: but Maſter Latimer being Biſhop of Worceſter then, among the reſt, preſented a New Teſtament for his New-yeers gift, with a napkin having this poſie about it, Fornicatores & adulteros judicabit Dominus.

New-yeers gift ſent to King Henry.

And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the whole life, both of Maſter Ridley, and of Maſter Latimer, two worthy doers in the Church of Chriſt, ſeverally and by themſelves ſet forth and deſcribed, with all their doings, writings, diſputations, ſufferings, their painfull travels, faithfull preachings, ſtudious ſervice in Chriſts Church, their patient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, ſince their firſt ſpringing yeers, to this preſent time and moneth of Queen Marie, being the moneth of October, Anno 1555. In the which moneth they were both brought forth together, to their finall examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their lives ſeverally and diſtinctly one from the other, ſo now joyntly to couple them both together, as they were together both joyned in one ſociety of cauſe and martyrdome, we will by the grace of Chriſt proſecute the reſt that remaineth concerning their later examination, degrading, and conſtant ſuffering, with the order and manner alſo of the Commiſſioners, which were Maſter White Biſhop of Lincolne, Maſter Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter, with others, and what were their words, their objections, their Orations there uſed, and what again were the anſwers of theſe men to the ſame, as in the proceſſe here followeth to be ſeen.

B. Ridley and M. Latimer brought forth to examination.

October.

M. White biſh. of Lincoln. M. Brooks biſhop of Gloceſter, the Popes Deputies.

The order and manner of the examination of Doctor Ridley, and M. Latimer had the 30. day of September, 1555.

FIrſt, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury before the Popes Delegate, and the Queens Commiſſioners in Saint Maries Church at Oxford, about the 12, day of September, whereof more ſhall be ſayd (by the Lords grace) when we come to the death of the ſayd Archbiſhop; ſhortly after, upon the 28. of the ſayd moneth of September, was ſent down to Oxford another Commiſſion from Cardinall Poole Legate à latere, to John White Biſhop of Lincoln, to Doctor Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter, and to Doctor Holiman Biſhop of Briſtow. The contents and vertue of which Commiſſion was, that the ſayd John of Lincolne, James of Gloceſter, and John of Briſtow, they, or two of them, ſhould have full power and authority, to aſcite, examine, and judge Maſter Hugh Latimer, and Maſter Doctor Ridley, pretenſed Biſhops of Worceſter, and London, for divers and ſundry erroneous opinions, which the ſaid Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas

The laſt examination of Maſt. Ridley, and M. Latimer.

The effect of the Cardinals Commiſſion ſent down to Oxford.

Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open diſputations had in Oxford, in the Moneths of May, June, and July, in the yeer of our Lord, 1554. as long before in the time of perdition, and ſince. The which opinions if the named perſons would now recant, giving and yeelding themſelves to the determination of the Univerſall and Catholike Church, planted by Peter in the bleſſed See of Rome, that then they deputed Judges, by the ſayd authority of their Commiſſion, ſhould have power to receive the ſayd penitent perſons, and forthwith miniſter unto them the reconciliation of the holy Father the Pope; but if the ſaid Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley would ſtoutly and ſtubbornly defend and maintain theſe their erroneous opinions and aſſertions, that then the ſayd Lords by their Commiſſion ſhould proceed in forme of judgement, according to the law of Heretikes, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Biſhops, Prieſts, and all other Eccleſiaſticall orders, ſhould pronounce them as Heretikes; and therefore cleane cut them off from the Church, and ſo yeeld them to receive puniſhments due to all ſuch hereſie and ſchiſme.

D. Ridley and M. Latimer aſcited to appear the laſt of September.

Wherefore the laſt of September, the ſayd two perſons, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, were aſcited to appear before the ſayd Lords, in the Divinity Schoole at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the Lords, placing themſelves in the high ſeate, made for publike Lectures and diſputations, according to the uſage of that Schoole, being then fair ſet, and trimmed with cloth of Tiſſue, and cuſhions of Velvet: and after the ſayd Lords were placed and ſet, and the ſayd Latimer and Ridley were ſent for; and firſt appeared Maſter Doctor Ridley, and anon Maſter Latimer. But becauſe it ſeemed good ſeverally to examine them, Maſter Latimer was kept backe, untill Doctor Ridley was throughly examined. Therfore, ſoon after the coming of Doctor Ridley into the Schoole, the Commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed Notarie, and openly read. But Doctor Ridley ſtanding bare-headed, humbly expecting the cauſe of that his appearance, eft-ſoons as he had heard the Cardinall named, and the Popes holineſſe, put on his cap. Wherefore after the Commiſſion was publiſhed, in form and ſenſe above ſpecified, the Biſhop of Lincoln ſpake in ſenſe following.

D. Ridley putteth on his cap, at the hearing of the Popes name.

The words of the Biſhop of Lincoln to D. Ridley for not putting off his cap.

Lincoln. Maſter Ridley, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in reſpect of our owne perſons, do looke for cap or knee, yet becauſe we bear, and repreſent ſuch perſons as we do, that is my Lord Cardinals Grace, Legate à latere to the Popes holineſſe, as well in that he is of a notable Parentage (and therewith Maſter Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeyſance) deſcending from the regall bloud, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly life, and eſpecially in that he is here in England Deputy to the Popes holineſſe, it ſhould have becommed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your own ſelf take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſayd Cardinall, as of the Popes holineſſe, uncover the ſame, leſt that this your contumacie exhibited now before us, ſhould be prejudiciall to the ſayd moſt reverent perſons (which thing we may in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhall cauſe us to take the pain, to cauſe ſome man to pluck off your cap from you. To whom Maſter Ridley making his petition for licence, anſwered:

Anſwer of D. Ridley to the biſhop of Lincolne.

Ridley. As touching that you ſayd (my Lord) that you of your own perſons deſire no cap nor knee, but only require the ſame, in conſideration that you repreſent the Cardinals Graces perſon, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my proteſtation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the Cardinals Grace, neither for any contumacie that I bear towards your own perſons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the Lord Cardinals Grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the moſt regall bloud, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and vertue, and as touching theſe vertues and points, I with all humility (therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) and obeyſance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the Biſhop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whoſe uſurped ſupremacie, and abuſed authority, I utterly refuſe and renounce, I may in no wiſe give any obeyſance or honour unto him, leſt that my ſo doing and behaviour might be prejudiciall to mine oath, and derogation to the verity of Gods word: and therefore that I might not only by confeſſion profeſſe the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to Gods word, but alſo in geſture, in behaviour, and all my doings expreſſe the ſame, I have put on my cap, and for this conſideration only; and not for any contumacie to your Lordſhips, neither contempt of this worſhipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the Cardinall his Grace, both for his noble Parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap.

D. Ridley reverenceth the perſon of the Cardinall, but not his Legacy.

D. Ridley oweth not reverence to the Pope.

D. White biſhop of Lincoln replieth again.

Lincoln. Maſter Ridley, you excuſe your ſelfe of that, with the which we preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacie towards us (which looke for no ſuch honour of you) neither for any contempt of this audience: which although juſtly they may, yet (as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe do not require any ſuch obeyſance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinals Grace, for his regall diſcent (at which word Maſter Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premiſſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinals Grace is here in England, Deputie of the Popes holineſſe (at which word the Lords and others put off their caps, and Maſter Ridley put on his) and therefore we ſay unto you the ſecond time, that except you take the pains your ſelf, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you ſhall put us to the pain, to cauſe ſome man to take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmity and ſickneſſe, or other more reaſonable cauſe, upon the conſideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Putting off caps at the naming of the Pope.

D. Ridley anſwereth.

Ridley. The premiſſes I ſayd only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordſhips, as to this worſhipfull audience, why and for what conſideration I uſed ſuch kinde of behaviour, in not humbling my ſelfe to your Lordſhips with cap and knee: and as for my ſickneſſe, I thanke my Lord God, that I am as well at eaſe, as I was this long ſeaſon; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appeare by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that uſurped ſupremacy of Rome, and therefore contemne and utterly deſpiſe all authoritie coming from him. In taking of my cap, do as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips, and I ſhall be content.

The uſurped ſupremacie of Rome denied.

D. Ridleys cap plucked off per force.

Then the Biſhop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the Bedles (that is an officer of the Univerſity) to pluck his cap from his head. M. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the Biſhop of Lincoln in a long Oration exhorted Maſter Ridley to recant, and ſubmit himſelf to the univerſall faith of Chriſt, in this manner:

Lincoln. Maſter Ridley, I am ſure you have ſufficiently pondered with your ſelf the effect of this our Commiſsion with good adviſement, conſidering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you ſhall receive the true doctrine of the Church (which firſt was founded by “ Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Chriſt, and from him by lineall ſucceſsion hath been brought to this our time) if you will be content to renounce your former errours, recant your hereticall and ſeditious opinions, content to yeild your ſelf to the undoubted faith, and truth of the Goſpel, received and allwayes taught of the Catholike and Apoſtolike Church, the which the King and Queen, all the Nobles of this Realm, and Commons of the ſame, all Chriſtian people have and do confeſſe, you onely ſtanding alone by your ſelf: You underſtand and perceive, I am ſure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoyn and aſſociate you again into the number of the Catholikes and Chriſts Church, from the which you have ſo long ſtraied, without the which no man can be ſaved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea and all, as well Nobles and Commons of this Realm moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part (wherewith he put off his cap) moſt earneſtly exhort you to do.

“ Nay the faith of Chriſt may be proved to have been at Rome in Tiberius time before Peter came there.

Remember (Maſter Ridley) it is no ſtrange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the School. You were made a Prieſt, and became a Preacher, ſetting forth the ſame doctrine which we do now. You were made Biſhop according to our lawes; and to be ſhort, it is not ſo long agone, ſince you ſeparated your ſelf from us, and in the time of hereſie became a ſetter forth of that diveliſh and ſeditious doctrine, which in theſe later dayes was preached amongſt us. For at what time the new doctrine of “ onely faith began to ſpring, the Councell willing to winne my Lord Chancellor, ſent you to him (I then being in my Lords houſe unknown as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my Lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your perſwaſion, and amongſt other this was one, that you ſhould ſay, (a) tuſh my Lord, this matter of juſtification is but a trifle, let us not ſtick to condeſcend herein to them; but for Gods love my Lord, ſtand ſtoutly in the verity of the Sacrament: for I ſee they will aſſault that alſo. If this be true (as my Lord is a man credible enough in ſuch a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touching the truth of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament.

Though the countrey of Rome be not ſtrange, yet the doctrine of Rome is ſtrange.

“ Another untruth in biſhop White, for onely faith, is no new doctrine.

(a) The words of D Ridley falſly reported.

Alſo in a Sermon of yours at Pauls Croſſe, you as effectually and as Catholikely ſpake of that bleſſed Sacrament, as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtrange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to return thither from whence you came: that is, together with us to acknowledge the truth, to acknowledge the Church of GOD, wherein no man may erre, to acknowledge the ſupremacy of our moſt reverend Father in God the Popes Holineſſe, which (as I ſaid) lineally taketh his deſcent from Peter, upon whom Chriſt promiſed before his death, to build his Church; the which ſupremacy or prerogative, the moſt ancient Fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: and here he brought a place or two out of the Doctors, but eſpecially ſtayed upon a ſaying of Saint Auguſtine, which writeth in this manner, Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris, Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubjectus eſt, i. All the Chriſtian countries beyond the Sea are ſubject to the Church of Rome. Here you ſee, Maſter Ridley, that all Chriſtendome is ſubject to the Church of Rome. What ſhould ſtay you therefore to confeſſe the ſame with S. Auſten, and the other Fathers?

The biſhop of Lincoln perſwadeth Doct. Ridley to return to the Popes Church.

Dubitatur utrum hæc forma verborum ſit Auguſtini.

Then Maſter Ridley deſired his patience, to ſuffer him to ſpeak ſomewhat of the premiſſes, leſt the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he ſaid in this manner:

Ridley. My Lord, I moſt heartily thank your Lordſhip, as well for your gentleneſſe, as alſo for your ſobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked eſpecially three points, which you uſed to perſwade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am throughly perſwaded to be grounded not upon mans imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Chriſts Goſpel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romiſh See, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and Crown of this Realm, and eſpecially (which moveth me moſt) contrary to the expreſſed Word of God.

Anſwer of D. Ridley to the B. of Lincoln. 3. Points noted in the Biſhop of Lincolns oration.

The firſt point is this, that the See of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you ſay Chriſt hath builded his Church, hath in all ages lineally from Biſhop to Biſhop been brought to this time.

1. The See of Rome founded upon Peter.

Secondly, that even the holy Fathers from time to time have in their writings confeſſed the ſame.

2. The See of Rome confirmed by old Doctors.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the ſame opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

3 Doct. Ridley once of the ſame See.

Firſt, as touching the ſaying of Chriſt, from whence your Lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the Church upon Peter, truly the place is not ſo to be underſtood as you take it, as the circumſtance of the place will declare. For after that Chriſt had asked his Diſciples whom men judged him to be, and they had anſwered, that ſome had ſaid he was a Prophet, ſome Helias, ſome one thing, ſome another, then he ſaid, Whom ſay ye that I am? Then Peter ſaid, I ſay that thou art Chriſt, the Sonne of God. To whom Chriſt anſwered, I ſay, Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, i. Thou art Peter, and upon this ſtone I will build my Church, that is to ſay, upon this ſtone, not meaning Peter himſelf, as though he would have conſtitute a mortall man, ſo frail and brickle a foundation of his ſtable and unfallible Church; but upon this Rock-ſtone, that is, this confeſſion of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Chriſtianity, with word, heart, and minde to confeſſe that Chriſt is the Son of God. Whoſoever beleeveth not this, Chriſt is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Chriſt printed in his forehead, which confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the Son of God.

The Church not builded up on Peter.

The Church builded upon faith, not upon any perſon.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confeſsion, that he was Chriſt the Sonne of God, he would build his Church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Chriſt: ſo that this belief, that Chriſt is the Sonne of God, is the foundation of our Chriſtianity, and the foundation of our Church. Here you ſee upon what foundation Chriſts Church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the ſtable and infallible Word of God.

The words of Chriſt to Pete in Matth 16. expounded. Faith is the foundation of the Church.

Now as touching the lineall deſcent of the Biſhops in the See of Rome, true it is, that the Patriarchs

Lineall deſcent of the Biſhop of Rome.

triarks of Rome in the Apoſtles time, and long after, were great maintainers and ſetters forth of Chriſts glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there eſpecially was preached the true Goſpel, the Sacraments were moſt duely miniſtred; and as before Chriſts coming it was a city ſo valiant in proweſſe, and martiall affairs; that all the world was in a manner ſubject to it, and after Chriſts Paſſion, divers of the Apoſtles there ſuffered perſecution for the Goſpels ſake: ſo after that the Emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the Goſpel, and became Chriſtians, the Goſpel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flouriſhed moſt, whereby the Biſhops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, moſt eſteemed in all Councels and Aſſemblies; not becauſe they acknowledge them to be their Head, but becauſe the place was moſt reverenced and ſpoken of, for the great power and ſtrength of the ſame. As now here in England, the Biſhop of Lincoln in ſeſſions and ſittings hath the preheminence of the other Biſhops, not that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the Biſhoprick (and therewith the people ſmiled.) Wherefore the Doctors in their writings have ſpoken moſt reverently of this See of Rome, and in their writings preferred it, and this is the prerogative which your Lordſhip did rehearſe the ancient Doctors to give to the See of Rome.

Why the Biſhops of Rome have bin more eſteemed than the Biſhops of other Cities.

The prerogative that the Doctors give to the See of Rome, and for what cauſe.

The See of Rome ſo long as it continued in ſound doctrine, was worthy to be reverenced.

Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the See of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion, and ſetting forth of Gods glory, and in due preaching of the Goſpel, as it did many yeers after Chriſt. But after that the Biſhops of that See, ſeeking their own pride, and not Gods honour, began to ſet themſelves above Kings and Emperours, challenging to them the title of Gods Vicars, the dominion and ſupremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory a Biſhop of Rome alſo, confeſſe that the Biſhop of that place is the very true Antichriſt, whereof Saint John ſpeaketh by the name of the Whore of Babylon, and ſay with the ſaid St. Gregory; He that maketh himſelf a Biſhop over all the world, is worſe than Antichriſt.

The Biſhop of Rome proved to be Antichriſt.

Now whereas you ſay that Saint Auguſtine ſhould ſeem not onely to give ſuch a prerogative, but alſo ſupremacy to the See of Rome, in that he ſaith, all the Chriſtian world is ſubject to the Church of Rome, and therefore ſhould give to that See a certain kinde of ſubjection: I am ſure that your Lordſhip knoweth, that in Saint Auſtens time there were four Patriarks, of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which Patriarks had under them certain countries; as in England the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath under him divers Biſhopricks in England and Wales, to whom he may be ſaid to be their Patriark. Alſo your Lordſhip knoweth right well, that at what time Saint Auſten wrote this book, he was then Biſhop in Africa. Farther you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the Sea called *Mare mediterraneum*, ſo that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called *Tranſmarinæ*, countries beyond the Sea. Hereof St. Auſten ſaith, *Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis & longe remotis terris, Eccleſiæ Romanæ ſubjectus eſt*, i. All the Chriſtian countries beyond the Seas and far regions, are ſubject to the See of Rome. If I ſhould ſay all countries beyond the Sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the Sea. In this ſenſe Saint Auſten ſaith, All the countries beyond the Sea are ſubject to the See of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the Sees of the four Patriarks, and under it Europe, by what ſubjection I pray you? onely for a preheminence, as we here in England ſay, that all the Biſhopricks in England are ſubject to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury and York.

The place of Saint Auſten anſwered.

Patriarks in the church in Auſtens time.

Countries beyond the Sea ſubject to Rome, how and in what reſpect.

For this preheminence alſo the other Doctors (as you recited) ſay, that Rome is the mother of Churches, as the Biſhoprick of Lincoln is mother to the Biſhoprick of Oxford, becauſe the Biſhoprick of Oxford came from the Biſhoprick of Lincoln, and they were both once one, and ſo is the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury mother to the other Biſhopricks which are in her Province. In like ſort the Archbiſhoprick of York is mother to Northbiſhopricks; and yet no man will ſay, that Lincoln, Canterbury or York, is ſupreme Head to other Biſhopricks; neither then ought we to confeſſe the See of Rome to be ſupreme Head, becauſe the Doctors in their writings confeſſe the See of Rome to be mother of Churches.

Rome may be mother of churches and yet no ſupreme head of churches.

Now where you ſay, I was once of the ſame religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confeſſe the ſame. Yet ſo was Saint Paul a perſecutor of Chriſt. But in that you ſay, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I doing my meſſage to my Lord of Wincheſter, ſhould deſire him to ſtand ſtout in that groſſe opinion of the Supper of the Lord, in very deed I was ſent (as your Lordſhip ſaid) from the councell to my Lord of Wincheſter, to exhort him to receive alſo the true confeſſion of Juſtification; and becauſe he was very refractorious, I ſaid to him; Why, my Lord, what make you ſo great a matter herein? You ſee many Anabaptiſts riſe againſt the ſacrament of the Altar; I pray you my Lord be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my Lord of Wincheſter and I had to do with two Anabaptiſts in Kent. In this ſenſe I willed my Lord to be ſtiff in the defence of the Sacrament againſt the deteſtable errours of Anabaptiſts, and not in the confirmation of that groſſe and carnall opinion now maintained.

In like ſort, as touching the Sermon which I made at Pauls Croſſe, you ſhall underſtand that there were at Pauls, and divers other places, fixed railing bils againſt the Sacrament, tearming it Jack of the Box, the ſacrament of the halter, round Robbin, with like unſeemly tearms; for the which cauſes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evill diſpoſed perſons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what eſtimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger enſued the miſhandling thereof, affirming in that ſacrament to be truely and verily the body and blood of Chriſt, effectuouſly by grace and ſpirit: which words the unlearned underſtanding not, ſuppoſed that I had meant of the groſſe and carnall being which the Romiſh decrees ſet forth, that a body having life and motion, ſhould be indeed under the ſhapes of bread and wine.

D. Ridley falſely charged to preach tranſubſtantiation at Pauls Croſſe.

Doctor Ridley miſtaken in his Sermon.

With that the Biſhop of Lincoln ſomewhat interrupting him, ſaid:

Linc. Well, M. Ridley, thus you wreſt places to your own pleaſure, for whereas S. Auguſtine ſaith, that the whole Chriſtian world is ſubject to the See of Rome without any limitation, and uſeth theſe words, *In tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris*, only to expreſſe the latitude of the dominion of the See of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea Countries farre diſtant from Rome, yet nevertheleſſe are ſubject to that See, yet you would wreſt it, and leave it only to Europe. I am ſure ye will not deny, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe.

Lincoln againe replieth.

D. Ridley again anſwereth to the words of Auſten.

Rid. Indeed, my Lord, if St. Auſten had ſaid ſimpliciter totus mundus, and not added in tranſmarinis, it had been without limitation; but in that he ſaid, totus mundus in tranſmarinis partibus, all the countries beyond the ſeas, he himſelf doth limit the univerſall propoſition, declaring how far he meant by totus mundus.

The Biſhop not ſtaying for his anſwer, did proceed, ſaying:

Linc. Well, if I would ſtay upon this place, I could bring many moe places of the Fathers, for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain inſtructions, according to the which we muſt proceed, and came not hither to diſpute the matter with you, but onely to take your anſwers to certain Articles, and uſed this in the way of diſputation, in the which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

Lincoln returneth again to his Oration.

“And why then do you alligate it to the city of Rome?

Ye muſt conſider that the Church of Chriſt lieth not hidden, but is a City on the mountain, and a candle on the candleſtick. Ponder with your ſelf, that the Church of Chriſt is catholica, catholike, which is deducted of κατὰ ὅλον, that is, per omnia: ſo that Chriſts Church is univerſally ſpread thorowout the world, not contained in the “allegation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compaſſe of Germany and Saxony, as your Church is.

Two powers, of the keys and of the ſword.

England how ſubject to the King, and how to the Pope.

Wherefore (Maſter Ridley) for Gods love be ye not ſingular; acknowledge with all the Realm the truth, it ſhall not be (as you alleadge) prejudiciall to the Crown; for the King and Queen their Majeſties have renounced that uſurped power taken of their predeceſſors, and juſtly have renounced it. For I am ſure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the ſword, the other by the keyes. The ſword is given to Kings and Rulers of countries; the keyes were delivered by Chriſt to Peter, and of him left to all the ſucceſſors. As touching our goods, poſſeſſions, and lives, we with you acknowledge us ſubjects to the King and Queen, who hath the temporall ſword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching Gods quarrell and his Word, we acknowledge another head: and as the King and the Queen their Highneſſe do in all worldly affairs juſtly challenge the prerogative and primacy, ſo in Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall matters they acknowledge themſelves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Chriſts body. Why therefore ſhould ye ſtick at that matter, the which their Majeſties have forſaken and yeelded?

D. Ridley exhorted to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope.

Fear of puniſhment ſet before him.

Wherefore (Maſter Ridley) you ſhall not onely not do injury to the Crown, and be prejudiciall to their Majeſties honour, in acknowledging with all Chriſtendom the Popes Holineſſe to be ſupreme Head of Chriſts Church here militant in earth, but do a thing moſt dilectable in their ſight, and moſt deſired of their Holineſſe. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errours, acknowledging with the reſidue of the Realm the common and the publike fault, you ſhall do that all men moſt heartily deſire; you ſhall bring quietneſſe to your conſcience, and health to your ſoul; then ſhall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the Cardinals Grace, receive you into the Church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the ſame: but if you ſhall ſtill be ſingular, if you ſhall ſtill and obſtinately perſevere in your errours, ſtubbornly maintaining your former hereſies, then we muſt againſt our will, according to our Commiſſion, ſeparate you from us, and cut you off from the Church, leſt the rottenneſſe of one part in proceſſe of time putrifie and corrupt the whole body, then muſt we confeſſe and publiſh you to be none of ours; then muſt we yeeld you up to the temporall Judges, of whom, except it otherwiſe pleaſe the King and Queens Highneſſe, you muſt receive puniſhment by the Laws of this Realm, due for hereticks.

“But that office you your ſelves have aſſigned unto them.

Wherefore M. Ridley conſider your ſtate, remember your former degrees, ſpare you body, eſpecially conſider your ſoul, which Chriſt ſo dearly bought with his precious blood, do not you raſhly caſt away that which was precious in Gods ſight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not onely to publiſh you to be none of us, to cut you off from the Church: we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as moſt untruely hath been reported of us) but that is the temporall Judges “office; we onely declare you to be none of the Church, and then muſt you, according to the tenor of them, and pleaſure of the Rulers, abide their determination, ſo that we, after that we have given you up to the temporall Rulers, have no further to do with you.

But I truſt (Maſter Ridley) we ſhall not have occaſion to do that we may. I truſt you will ſuffer us to reſt in that point of our Commiſſion, which we moſt heartily deſire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoyn you to the unity of the Church.

Anſwer of D. Ridley to Lincoln.

Then Maſter Ridley, with often interruption, at length ſpake.

“He meaneth, in which no generall errour can be finally.

The church tyed to no place.

The catholikes do binde the church to a certain place, and that onely to Rome.

The Proteſtants binde the church to no one certain place, but followeth the confeſſion of the Word.

The counſell of Lyrinenſis what church to follow.

Ridley. My Lord, I acknowledge an unſpotted Church of Chriſt, in the which “no man can erre, without the which no man can be ſaved, the which is ſpread thorowout all the world, that is, the Congregation of the faithfull; neither do I alligate or binde the ſame to any one place, as you ſaid, but confeſſe the ſame to be ſpread thorowout all the world; and whereas Chriſts Sacraments are duely miniſtred, his Goſpel truely preached and followed, there doth Chriſts Church ſhine as a City upon an hill, and as a candle in the candleſtick: but rather it is ſuch as you, that would have the Church of Chriſt bound to a place, which appoint the ſame to Rome, that there and no where elſe is the foundation of Chriſts Church. But I am fully perſwaded that Chriſts Church is every where founded, in every place where his Goſpel is truely received, and effectually followed. And in that the Church of God is in doubt, I uſe herein the wiſe counſell of Vincentius Lyrinenſis, whom I am ſure you will allow, who giving precepts how the Catholike Church may be in all ſchiſmes and hereſies known, writeth in this manner: When (ſaith he) one part is corrupted with hereſies, then preferre the whole world before that one part; but if the greateſt part be infected, then preferre antiquity.

The greateſt part of chriſtianity infected with the church of Rome, and in what points.

In like ſort now, when I perceive the greateſt part of Chriſtianity to be infected with the poyſon of the See of Rome, I repair to the uſage of the Primitive Church, which I finde clean contrary to the Popes decrees, as in that the Prieſt receiveth alone, that it is made unlawfull to the Laity to receive in both kindes, and ſuch like: Wherefore it requireth, that I preferre the antiquity of the Primitive Church, before the novelty of the Romiſh Church.

“The Bohemians required that, and were ſhent for their labour.

Lincoln. Maſter Ridley, theſe faults which you charge the See of Rome withall, are indeed no faults. For firſt, it was never forbid the Laity, but that they might if “they demanded, receive under both kindes. You know alſo, that Chriſt after his reſurrection, at what time, he went with his Apoſtles to Galilee, opened himſelf by breaking of bread. You know that Saint Paul after his long ſayling towards

Great reaſons of the catholikes to prove the Communion under one kinde.

Rome brake bread, and that the Apoſtles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawfull to mininſter the ſacrament under the form of bread onely: and yet the Church had juſt occaſion to decree, that the Laity ſhould receive in one kinde onely, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Chriſt was not wholly both fleſh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the peoples faith, the holy Ghoſt in the Church thought fit to decree, that the Laity ſhould receive onely in one kinde; and it is no news for the Church upon juſt conſideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you reade in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that Saint Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, which had received the Goſpel, biddeth them to abſtain à ſuffocato & ſanguine, from things ſtifled, and from blood, ſo that this ſeemeth be an expreſſe commandement; yet who will ſay but that it is lawfull to eat bloodings? how is it lawfull, but by the permiſſion of the Church.

Argument. The church did abrogate the precept of the Apoſtles of ſtrangled and bloodings: Ergo, the church likewiſe hath authority touching the miniſtration under both kindes.

Anſwer. The precept of the Apoſtles was but for a time, and for a purpoſe, by little and little to win the Jews.

Ridley. My Lord, ſuch things as St. Paul enjoyned to the Gentiles for a ſufferance, by a little and little to winne the Jews to Chriſt, were onely commandements of time, and reſpected not the ſucceſſors: but Chriſts Commandement, Do this (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to miniſter in one kinde onely) was not a commandement for a time, but to perſevere to the worlds end.

But the Biſhop of Lincoln, not attending to this anſwer, without any ſtay proceeded in this Oration.

So that the Church ſeemeth to have authority by the holy Ghoſt, whom Chriſt ſaid he would ſend after his aſcenſion, which ſhould teach the Apoſtles all truth, to have power and juriſdiction to alter ſuch points of the Scripture, ever reſerving the foundation: but we came not, as I ſaid before, in this ſort to reaſon the matter with you, but have certain inſtructions miniſtred unto us, according to the tenor of the which we muſt proceed, propoſing certain Articles, unto the which we require your anſwer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without farther diſputations or reaſoning; for we have already ſtretched our inſtructions, in that we ſuffered you to debate and reaſon the matter, in ſuch ſort as we have done: the which Articles you ſhall hear now, and to morrow at eight of the clock in Saint Maries Church we will require and take your anſwers; and then according to the ſame proceed: and if you require a copy of them, you ſhall have it, pen, ink, and paper, alſo ſuch books as you ſhall demand, if they be to be gotten in the Univerſity.

The Articles.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolne, Iacobus Glioceſt. & Iohannes Briſtol, Epiſcopi. per reverendiſſ. dominum Reginaldum miſeratione divina S.Mariæ in Coſmedin, &c.

Articles joyntly and ſeverally miniſtred to D. Ridley and D. Latimer by the Popes Deputies.

1 We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and ſeverally, firſt, that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high Univerſity of Oxford, Anno 1554. in the moneths of April, May, June, July, or in ſome one or moe of them, haſt affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places beſides, that the true and naturall body of Chriſt, after the conſecration of the Prieſt, is not really preſent in the ſacrament of the Altar.

2 Item, that in the yeer and moneths aforeſaid thou haſt publikely affirmed and defended, that in the ſacrament of the Altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

3 Item, that in the ſaid yeer and moneths thou haſt openly affirmed, and obſtinately maintained, that in the Maſſe is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4 Item, that in the yeer, place, and moneths aforeſaid, theſe thy foreſaid aſſertions ſolemnly have been condemned, by the ſcholaſticall cenſure of this ſchool, as hereticall and contrary to the Catholike faith, by the worſhipfull Maſter Doctor Weſton, Prolocutor then of the Convocation houſe, as alſo by other learned men of both the Univerſities.

5 Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by publike fame, as well to them neer hand, and alſo to them in diſtant places far off.

Examination upon the ſaid Articles.

ALl theſe articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearſall ſhall be of any of them, the Reader may have recourſe hither, and peruſe the ſame, and not to trouble the ſtory with ſeverall repetitions thereof.

D. Ridley examined upon the articles aforeſaid.

Lincoln. After theſe Articles were read, the Biſhops took counſell together. At the laſt the Biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, Theſe are the very ſame Articles which you in open diſputation here in the Univerſity did maintain and defend. What ſay you unto the firſt? I pray you anſwer affirmatively, or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I ſuppoſed your gentleneſſe had been ſuch, that you would have given me ſpace untill to morrow, that upon good adviſement I might bring a determinate anſwer.

Linc. Yea, M. Ridley, I mean not that your anſwers now ſhall be prejudiciall to your anſwers to morrow. I will take your anſwers at this time, and yet notwithſtanding it ſhall be lawfull to you to adde, diminiſh, alter, and change of theſe anſwers to morrow what you will.

The catholikes promiſe fair, but they perform nothing.

Rid. Indeed, in like manner at our laſt diſputations I had many things promiſed, and few performed. It was ſaid, that after diſputations I ſhould have a copy thereof, and licenſe to change mine anſwers, as I ſhould think good. It was meet alſo that I ſhould have ſeen what was written by the Notaries at that time. So your Lordſhip pretended great gentleneſſe in giving me a time; but this gentleneſſe is the ſame that Chriſt had of the high Prieſts. For you, as your Lordſhip ſaith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: ſo in like ſort the high Prieſts ſaid, that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death, but committed Chriſt to Pilate, neither would ſuffer him to abſolve Chriſt, although he ſought all the means therefore that he might. Then ſpake Doctor Weſton, one of the audience.

The high prieſts had not power to put Chriſt to death but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they ſuffer him to abſolve Chriſt.

West. What? do you make the King Pilate?

D. Weſton ſhooteth his bolt.

Rid. No, Maſter Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas his deeds and the high Prieſts, which would condemne no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not ſuffer Pilate to abſolve and deliver Chriſt.

Linc. Maſter Ridley, we minde not but that you ſhall enjoy the benefit of anſwering to morrow, and will take your anſwers now as now, to morrow you ſhall change, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the mean ſeaſon we require you to anſwer directly to every Article, either affirmatively or negatively.

The proteſtation of D. Ridley.

Rid. Seeing you appoint me a time to anſwer to morrow, and yet will take mine anſwers out of hand: firſt, I require the Notaries, to take and write my proteſtation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my Judges, in that point you are authorized from the Pope. Therefore whatſoever I ſhall ſay or do, I proteſt, I neither ſay it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the Pope; and if your Lordſhip will give me leave, I will ſhew the cauſes, which move me thereunto.

Linc. No, M. Ridley, we have inſtructions to the contrary. We may not ſuffer you.

Rid. I will be ſhort; I pray your Lordſhips ſuffer me to ſpeak in few words.

D. Ridley cannot be ſuffered to ſpeak.

Linc. No, Maſter Ridley, we may not abuſe the hearers ears.

Rid. Why, my Lord, ſuffer me to me to ſpeak three words.

Linc. Well, Maſter Ridley, to morrow you ſhall ſpeak forty. The time is far paſt; therefore we require your anſwer determinately. What ſay you to the firſt article? and thereupon rehearſed the ſame.

The reall preſence in the ſacrament may have a double ſenſe.

Equivocation in the word really.

How the body of Chriſt may be ſaid to be really, and how not really in the ſacrament.

Rid. My proteſtation alwayes ſaved, that by this mine anſwer I do not condeſcended to your authority, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I anſwer thus: In a ſenſe the firſt article is true, and in a ſenſe it is falſe; for if you take really for verè, for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the naturall body and blood of Chriſt is in the Sacrament verè & realiter, indeed and really; but if you take theſe tearms ſo groſly, that you would conclude thereby a naturall body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine verè & realiter, then really is not the body and blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, no more than the holy Ghoſt is in the element of water in our Baptiſm. Becauſe this anſwer was not underſtood, The Notaries wiſt not how to note it; wherefore the Biſhop of Lincoln willed him to anſwer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

2 Queſtions under one.

The Papiſts & Proteſtants in granting the preſence do agree only in the manner of being they differ.

How Chriſts body is effectually received in the Sacrament.

Ridley. My Lord, you know that where any equivocation (which is a word having two ſignifications) is, except diſtinction be given, no direct anſwer can be made; for it is one of Ariſtotles fallacies, containing two queſtions under one, the which cannot be ſatiſfied with one anſwer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and naturall body and blood of Chriſt, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which aſcended into heaven, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which ſhall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, onely we differ in modo, in the way and manner of being: we confeſſe all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and diſſent in the manner of being there. I being fully by Gods Word thereunto perſwaded, confeſſe Chriſts naturall body to be in the Sacrament indeed by ſpirit and grace, becauſe that whoſoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuouſly Chriſts body, and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his paſſion; and you make a groſſer kinde of being, encloſing a naturall, a lively, and a moving body, under the ſhape or form of bread and wine.

How Chriſt may be granted to be really in the ſacrament, and how not.

Now, this difference conſidered, to the queſtion thus I anſwer, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the naturall body and blood of Chriſt verè & realiter, indeed and really, if you take theſe tearms indeed and really for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy; for ſo every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Chriſt: but if you mean really and indeed, ſo that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that ſenſe is not Chriſts body in the Sacrament really and indeed.

This anſwer taken and penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Lincoln propoſed the ſecond queſtion or article. To whom he anſwered:

What change is in the ſacramentall bread. Sacramentall mutation.

The ſubſtance of bread and wine in the ſacrament not changed.

Rid. Alwayes my proteſtation reſerved, I anſwer thus; that in the Sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively preſentation of Chriſts body, and not onely a figure, but effectuouſly repreſenteth his body, that even as the mortall body was nouriſhed by that viſible bread, ſo is the internall ſoul fed with the heavenly food of Chriſts body, which the eyes of faith ſeeth, as the bodily eyes ſeeth onely bread. Such a Sacramentall mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truely is no ſmall change, but ſuch a change as no mortall man can make, but onely that Omnipotency of Chriſts Word.

Then the Biſhop of Lincoln willed him to anſwer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he anſwered:

Compariſon between the ſacrament of the Communion and of Baptiſm.

Rid. That notwithſtanding the Sacramentall mutation of the which he ſpake, and all the Doctors confeſſed, the true ſubſtance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the body is in like ſort nouriſhed, as the ſoul is by grace and ſpirit with the body of Chriſt. Even ſo in Baptiſme the body is waſhed with the viſible water, and the ſoul is cleanſed from all filth by the viſible holy Ghoſt, and yet the water ceaſeth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water ſtill: In like ſort in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper the bread ceaſeth not to be bread.

What difference the Papiſts put between the ſacrament of the Communion and Baptiſm.

Then the Notaries penned, that he anſwered affirmatively to the ſcond article. The Biſhop of Lincoln declared a difference between the ſacrament of the Altar and Baptiſm, becauſe that Chriſt ſaid not by the water, this is the holy Ghoſt, as he did by the bread; This is my body.

Then M. Ridley recited S. Auſten which conferred both the ſacraments the one with the other: but the Biſhop of Lincoln notwithſtanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct anſwer. To whom Ridley ſaid:

Anſwer to the third article.

Propitiatory ſacrifice of the Maſſe is a derogation to Chriſts paſſion.

Rid. Chriſt, as Saint Paul writeth, made one perfect ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that ſacrifice of his, and yet is the Communion an acceptable ſacrifice to God of praiſe and thankſgiving; but to ſay that thereby ſins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Chriſts paſſion, of the which the Communion is onely a memory) that is a great derogation of the merits of Chriſts paſſion: for the Sacrament was inſtituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recogniſing and remembring his paſſion, ſhould be partakers of the merits of the ſame. For otherwiſe doth this Sacrament take upon it the office of Chriſts paſſion, whereby it might follow, that Chriſts died in vain.

The Notaries penned this his anſwer to be affirmatively. Then ſaid the Biſhop of Lincoln:

Unbloody ſacrifice.

Lin. Indeed as you alleadge out of Saint Paul, Chriſt made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody ſacrifice upon the Croſſe: yet neverthelesse he hath left this ſacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that, by the which ſins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Chriſts paſſion.

Then recited the Biſhop of Lincoln the fourth article. to the which M. Ridley anſwered:

Anſwer to the fourth article.

Rid. That in ſome part the fourth was true, and in ſome part falſe; true, in that thoſe his aſſertions were condemned as hereſies, although unjuſtly; falſe, in that it was ſaid they were con-

demned

Queen Mary.

demned ſcientia ſcholaſtica, in that the diſputations were in ſuch ſort ordered, that it was far from any ſchool act.

This anſwer penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Lincoln rehearſed the fifth article. To the which he anſwered:

Rid. That the premiſſes were in ſuch ſort true, as in theſe his anſwers he had declared. Whether that all men ſpake evill of them, he knew not, in that he came not ſo much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This anſwer alſo written of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Lincoln ſaid:

Doctor Ridley aſſigned to appear again the next day.

Linc. To morrow at eight of the clock you ſhall appear before us in S. Maries Church, and then becauſe we cannot well agrée upon your anſwer to the firſt article (for it was long before he was underſtood) if it will pleaſe you to write your anſwer, you ſhall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, ſuch as you ſhall require; but if you write any thing ſaving your anſwers to theſe articles, we will not receive it: ſo he charging the Major with him, declaring alſo to the Major that he ſhould ſuffer him to have a pen and ink, diſmiſſed M. Ridley, and ſent for M. Latimer, who being brought to the Divinity ſchool, there tarried till they called for him.

Maſter Latimer appeareth before the Commiſſioners.

M. Latimer appeareth before the deputies.

Now after Maſter Ridley was committed to the Maior, then the Biſhop of Lincoln commanded the Bayliffs to bring in the other priſoner, who eftſoons as he was placed, ſaid to the Lords:

Lat. My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to ſend for me untill you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry ſo long gazing upon the cold wals. Then the Biſhop of Lincoln ſaid:

Lin. M. Latimer, I am ſorry you are brought ſo ſoon, although it is the Bayliffs fault, and not mine; but it ſhall be amended.

The order of M. Latimers apparell.

Then Maſter Latimer bowed his knée down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (ſuch as towns-men uſe, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old thred-bare Briſtow frize gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long ſtring of leather his Teſtament, and his ſpectacles without caſe, depending about his neck upon his breſt. After this the Biſhop of Lincoln began on this manner:

The Oration of Lincoln to M. Latimer.

Linc. Maſter Latimer, you ſhall underſtand, that I and my Lords here have a Commiſſion from my Lord Cardinall Pools Grace, Legate à latere, to this Realm of England, from our moſt reverend Father in God, the Popes Holineſſe, to examine you upon certain opinions and aſſertions of yours, which you as well here openly in diſputations in the yéer of our Lord, 1554. as at ſundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obſtinately defend. In the which Commiſſion be ſpecially two points; the one which we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, revoke, and diſannull theſe your errours, and together with all this Realm, yea all the world confeſſe the truth, we upon due repentance of your part ſhould receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a ſtrayed ſhéep, but adjoyn you again to the unity of Chriſts Church, from the which you in the time of ſchiſme fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I deſire you to return thither from whence you went.

Anno 1555.

But this church then ſtandeth upon the truth of Gods word, and not upon the fantaſie of man.

Conſider Maſter Latimer, that without the unity of the Church is no ſalvation, and in the Church can be no errours. Therefore what ſhould ſtay you to confeſſe that which all the Realm confeſſeth, to forſake that which the King and Quéen their Majeſties have renounced, and all the Realm recanted: it was a common errour, and it is now of all confeſſed; it ſhall be no more ſhame to you, than it was to us all. Conſider, Maſter Latimer, that within theſe twenty yéers this Realm alſo with all the world confeſſed one Church, acknowledged in Chriſts Church an Head, and by what means and for what occaſion it cut off it ſelf from the reſt of Chriſtianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confeſſed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the Sée of Rome was forſaken, ſave that we muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the reherſall would be opprobrious: it is no uſurped power, as it hath béen tearmed, but founded upon Peter by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient Fathers, as by the expreſſe Word of God may be proved.

How you ſpared the dead, your own acts can bear witneſſe.

The Popes authority.

With that M. Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began ſomewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears.

ποιμαίνειν, ſignifieth to feed, or to rule.

The Biſhop proceeded, ſaying; for Chriſt ſpake expreſly to Peter, ſaying; Paſce oves meas, & rege oves meas, the which word doth not onely declare a certain ruling of Chriſts flock, but includeth alſo a certain preheminence and government; and therefore is the King called Rex à regendo: ſo that in ſaying rege, Chriſt declared a power which he gave to Peter, which juriſdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and ſo in all ages hath it remained in the Sée of Rome. This if you ſhall confeſſe with us, and acknowledge with all the Realm your errours and falſe aſſertions, then ſhall you do that which we moſt deſire, then ſhall we reſt upon the firſt part of our Commiſſion, then ſhall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the Church, and according to the authority given unto us, miniſter unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of abſolution, to the which the King and Quéen their Majeſties were not aſhamed to ſubmit themſelves, although they of themſelves were unſpotted, and therefore néeded no reconciliation: yet leſt the putrifaction and rottenneſſe of all the body might be noyſome, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſaid) moſt humbly ſubmitted themſelves to my Lord Cardinall his Grace, by him, as a Legate to the Popes Holineſſe, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you ſhall ſtubbornly perſevere in your blindeneſſe, if you will not acknowledge your errours, if you as you ſtand now alone, will be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſme and hereſie you will divide your ſelf from your Church, then muſt we procéed to the ſecond part of the Commiſſion, which we would be loath to do, that is, not to condemne you, for that we cannot do (that the temporall ſword of the Realm, and "not we, will do) but to ſeparate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the Church, to declare that you are filius perditionis, a loſt childe, and as you are a rotten member of the Church, ſo to cut you off from the Church, and ſo to commit you to the temporall Judges, permitting them to procéed againſt you, according to the tenor of their laws.

Benefit of the Popes abſolution offered to M. Latimer.

" Qui tradiderunt me tibi majus peccatum habent, ſaith Chriſt.

Perſwaſſons uſed to M. Latimer to return to the unity of the Popes Church.

Therefore Maſter Latimer, for Gods love conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrées in the School, Reaſons to perſwade the fleſh, but not to ſatisfie conſcience.

borne the office of a Biſhop, remember you are an old man, ſpare your body, accelerate not your death, and ſpecially remember your ſoules health, quiet of your conſcience, conſider that if you ſhould die in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God; for it is the cauſe that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you dye in this ſtate, you dye without grace, for without the Church can be no ſalvation. Let not vaine glory have the upper hand, humiliate your ſelf, captivate your underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the Church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us reſt in that part which we moſt heartily deſire, and I, for my part (then the Biſhop put off his cap) again with all my heart exhort you.

After the Biſhop had ſomewhat pauſed, then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and asked whether his Lordſhip had ſaid; and the Biſhop anſwered, Yea.

Lat. Then will your Lordſhip give me leave to ſpeak a word or two?

Linc. Yea, Maſter Latimer, ſo that you uſe a modeſt kinde of talk, without railing or taunts.

M. Latimer hath leave to ſit down.

Lat. I beſeech your Lordſhip, licence me to ſit down.

Linc. At your pleaſure, Maſter Latimer, take as much eaſe as you will.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to the B. of Lincolne.

The univerſall church hath not his foundation onely in Rome.

Argument. Chriſt bade Peter regere, govern his people: Ergo, the Pope muſt play the Rex, to raign over Kings and Emperors.

Lat Your Lordſhip gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the Church. I confeſſe (my Lord) a Catholike Church, ſpread thorowout all the world, in the which no man may erre, without the which unity of the Church no man can be ſaved: but I know perfectly by Gods Word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome onely, as you ſay; and me thought your Lordſhip brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the ſame, that there was a juriſdiction given to Peter, in that Chriſt bade him regere, govern his people. Indeed, my Lord, Saint Peter did well and truely his office, in that he was bid regere: but ſince the Biſhops of Rome have taken a new kinde of regere. Indeed, they ought to regere, but how my Lord? not as they will themſelves: but this regere muſt be hedged in and ditched in. They muſt regere, but ſecundum Verbum Dei; they muſt rule, but according to the Word of God.

Regere ſeeundum verbum, turned to regere ſecundum vnluntatem. Deut. 21.

But the Biſhops of Rome have turned regere ſecundum Verbum Dei, into regere ſecundum voluntatem ſuam: they have turned the rule according to the Word of God, into the rule according to their own pleaſures, and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a book ſet forth which hath divers points in it, and amongſt other, this point is one, which your Lordſhip went about to prove by this word regere, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid; if there ariſeth any controverſie among the people, the Prieſts, Levitici generis, of the order of Levi, ſhall decide the matter ſecundum Legem Dei, according to the Law of God; ſo it muſt be taken. This book perceiving this authority to be given to the Prieſts of the old Law, taketh occaſion to prove the ſame to be given to the Biſhops and other the Clergy of the new Law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was ſaid there, as the Prieſts of the order of Levi ſhould determine the matter according to Gods Law, that (according to Gods Law) is left out, and onely is recited, as the Prieſts of the order of Levi ſhall decide the matter, ſo it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I enſure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of Gods coin? With the which tearms the audience ſmiled. This is much like the regere which your Lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give ſuch authority to the Clergie, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themſelves within their Commiſſion. Now I truſt, my Lord, I do not rail yet.

Clipping of Gods Scriptures by the Catholikes.

Lincoln. No, Maſter Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame ſo much, nor know not of any ſuch, I can ſay nothing therein.

The author of this book was D. Brooks, which there was in the Commiſſion.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, the book is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is Biſhop of Gloceſter, whom I never knew, neither did at any time ſee him to my knowledge. With that the people laughed, becauſe the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſate there in Commiſſion.

Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſtood up, and ſaid it was his book.

Lat. Was it yours, my Lord, Indeed I knew not your Lordſhip, neither ever did ſee you before, neither yet ſee you now, through the brightneſſe of the Sun ſhining betwixt you and me. Then the audience laughed again; and Maſter Latimer ſpake unto them, ſaying; Why, my Maſters, this is no laughing matter. I anſwer upon life and death. Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.

The Biſhop of Lincoln commanded ſilence, and then ſaid:

Linc. Maſter Latimer, if you had kept your ſelf within your bounds, if you had not uſed ſuch ſcoffs and taunts, this had not been done.

Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter ſpeaketh.

After this the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſaid in excuſing of his book.

Gloceſter. Maſter Latimer, hereby every man may ſee what learning you have.

Then M. Latimer interrupted him, ſaying:

The catholikes how unreaſonable they are in uſing of men.

Lat. Loe you look for learning at my hands which have gone ſo long to the ſchool of oblivion, making the bare walls my Library, keeping me ſo long in priſon without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me looſe to come and anſwer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour is cheriſhed, and hath good counſell given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is ſet in the ſtocks. In the morning when they ſhall meet, the one is in ſtrength and luſty; the other is ſtark of his limbs, and almoſt dead for feebleneſſe. Think you, that to run thorow this man with a Spear is not a goodly victory?

But the Biſhop of Gloceſter interrupting his anſwer, proceeded, ſaying:

The catholikes alleadge the Scriptures, but take not all.

Gloc. I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had juſt occaſion of reprehenſion: but I onely in that place formed an argument à majore, in this ſenſe; that if in the old Law the Prieſts had power to decide matters of controverſies, much more then ought the authority to be given to the Clergie in the new Law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearſall, ſecundum legem Dei?

Lat. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the ſpiritualty to decide matter of religion, and as my Lord ſaid even now, to regere: but they muſt do it ſecundum Verbum Dei, and not ſecundum voluntatem ſuam, according to the Word and Law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantaſies.

The Biſhop of Gloceſter would have ſpoken more, ſaving that the Biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with Maſter Latimer, but to take his determinate anſwers to their articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame articles which were propoſed to Maſter Ridley. But Maſter Latimer interrupted him, ſpeaking to the Biſhop of Glocester: Well my Lord, I could wiſh more faithfull dealing with Gods word, and not to leave out a part, and ſnatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearſe the whole faithfully.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne, not attending to this ſaying of Maſter Latimer, proceeded in rehearſing the Articles in forme and ſenſe as I declared before in the examination of the Articles, propoſed to Maſter Ridley, and required Maſter Latimers anſwer to the firſt. Then Maſter Latimer making his proteſtation, that notwithſtanding theſe his anſwers it ſhould not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, ſaying that he was the King and Queen their Maieſties ſubiect, and not the Popes, neither could ſerve two Maſters at one time, except he ſhould firſt renounce one of them; required the Notaries ſo to take his proteſtation, that whatſoever he ſhould ſay or do, it ſhould not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the Biſhop of Rome.

The proteſtation of M. Latimer.

1 Article.

Linc. The Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that his proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken; but he required him to anſwer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the firſt Article, and ſo recited the ſame again: and Maſter Latimer anſwered as followeth.

The body of Chriſt in the Sacrament received by the ſpirit and grace.

Lati. I do not deny (my Lord) that in the Sacrament by ſpirit and grace is the very bodie and blood of Chriſt, becauſe that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, ſpiritually receiveth the bodie and blood of Chriſt, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Chriſts paſſion: but I denie that the bodie and blood of Chriſt is in ſuch ſort in the Sacrament as you would have it.

M. Latimer againſt the groſſe and carnall being of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Linc. Then Maſter Latimer, you anſwer affirmatively.

Lati. Yea, if you mean of that groſſe and carnall being, which you do take.

The Notaries tooke his anſwer to be affirmatively.

2 Article.

Linc. What ſay you M. Latimer to the ſecond Article? and recited the ſame.

What change is in the bread and wine in the ſacrament, not in the nature but in the dignity of repreſenting.

Lati. There is, my Lord, a change in the bread and wine, and ſuch a change as no power, but the omnipotencie of God can make, in that that which before was bread, ſhould now have that dignitie to exhibit Chriſts bodie, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the wine ſtill wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, becauſe now that which was common bread hath the dignitie to exhibit Chriſts bodie: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy bread ſanctified by Gods word.

With that the Biſhop of Lincolne ſmiled, ſaying:

Linc. Lo Maſter Latimer, ſee what ſtedfaſtneſſe is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſh: for whereas you moſt rayled at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Lati. Tuſh, a ruſh for holy bread. I ſay the bread in the communion is an holy bread indeed.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne interrupted him, and ſaid:

Subſtance of bread and wine in the ſacrament unchanged.

Linc. O, you make a difference between holy bread and holy bread (with that the audience laughed.) Well Maſter Latimer, is not this your anſwer, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of conſecration?

Difference between Chriſts holy bread, and the Popes holy bread.

Lati. Yes verily, it muſt needs be ſo. For Chriſt himſelf calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the Doctors confeſſe the ſame, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Chriſts bodie, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the Notaries penned his anſwer to be affirmatively.

3 Article.

Linc, What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Lati. No, no, my Lord, Chriſt made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the Prieſt offer up Chriſt again for the ſinnes of man, which he took away by offering himſelfe once for all (as Saint Paul ſaith) upon the croſſe, neither is there any propitiation for our ſins, ſaving his croſſe only.

So the Notaries penned his anſwer to this Article alſo to be affirmatively.

4 Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the fourth, Maſter Latimer? and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when Maſter Latimer anſwered not, the Biſhop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Lati. Yes, but I do not underſtand what you mean thereby.

Linc. Marie onlie this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by Maſter Doctor Weſton as hereſies; is it not ſo M. Latimer?

Lati. Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how unjuſtly, he that ſhall be Judge of all, knoweth.

So the Notaries took his anſwer, to this Article alſo to be affirmatively.

5 Article.

Linc. What ſay you M. Latimer to the fift Article? and recited it.

Lati. I know not what you meane by theſe termes. I am no Lawyer, I would you would propoſe the matter plainly.

Linc In that we proceed according to the Law, we muſt uſe their termes alſo. The meaning only is this, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, evill ſpoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouthes of the people.

Lati. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talke of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I have been ſecluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This anſwer taken, the Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid:

M. Latimer aſſigned to appeare the next day again.

Linc. Maſter Latimer, we mean not that theſe your anſwers ſhall be prejudiciall to you. To morrow you ſhall appeare before us again, and then it ſhall be lawfull for you to altar and change what you will. We give you reſpite till to morrow, truſting that after you have pondered well all things againſt to morrow, you will not be aſhamed to confeſſe the truth.

Lati. Now my Lord I pray you give me licence in three words to declare the cauſes why I have refuſed the authoritie of the Pope.

Linc. Nay M. Latimer, to morrow you ſhall have licence to ſpeak 40. words.

Lati. Nay my Lords, I beſeech you to do with me now as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow again.

Linc. Yes Maſter Latimer, you muſt needs appear again to morrow.

Lati. Truly my Lord, as for my part I require no reſpite, for I am at a point; you ſhall give me reſpits in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow.

Linc. Yes, for we truſt, God will worke with you againſt to morrow. There is no remedie you muſt needs appear again to morrow at eight of the clock in Saint Maries Church. And forthwith the Biſhop charged the Maior with Maſter Latimer, and diſmiſſed him, and then brake up their Seſſion for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

Here followeth the ſecond Seſsion.

The next daies Seſſion.

THe next day following (which was the firſt day of October) ſomewhat after eight of the clock, the ſayd Lords repaired to Saint Maries Church, and after they were ſet in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tiſſew and ſilke, then appeared Maſter Ridley, who was ſet at a framed table a good ſpace from the Biſhops feet, which table had a ſilk cloth caſt over it, the which place was compaſſed about with framed ſeats in quadrate forme, partly for Gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the Seſſion day alſo of goale delivery) and heads of the Univerſity to ſit, and partly to keep off the preaſſe of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the Univerſitie as of the Town, came thither to ſee the end of theſe two perſons. After Maſter Ridleyes appearance, and the ſilence of the audience, the Biſhop of Lincolne ſpake in manner following:

D. Ridleys appearance before the deputies.

The words of M. White B. of Lincolne, to B. Ridley about his cap.

Linc. Maſter Ridley, yeſterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excuſed your ſelf of that whereof no man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your cap for any obſtinacie towards us, which as touching our own perſons deſired no ſuch obedience of you, but only in reſpect of them whoſe perſons we bear; neither (you ſayd) for any contempt that you bear to this worſhipfull audience, which although juſtly may, yet in this caſe require no ſuch humility of you; neither for any derogation of honor to my Lord Cardinals grace, in that he is deſcended from the regall blood, in that he is a man moſt noble, both for his excellent qualities and ſingular learning: for as touching thoſe points, you ſayd you with all humilitie would honor, reverence, and worſhip his grace; but in that he is Legate to the moſt reverend Father in God the Popes holineſſe (with that the Biſhop with all then preſent, put off their caps, but Maſter Ridley moved not his) you ſayd you ne could, ne would by any means be induced to give him honor: but foraſmuch as this is the point as we told you yeſterday, why we require honor and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonet, we will take the pains to cauſe your bonet to be taken from you, except you pretend ſickneſſe, as yeſterday you did not.

Capping again at the name of the Pope.

B. Ridley refuſeth to put off his cap to the Pope, or to them which come from the Pope.

Rid. I pretend now none other cauſe, than I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authoritie or power that ſhall come from the Pope, and not for any pride of minde (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your Lordſhips, or of this worſhipfull audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my Lord Cardinals grace as concerning thoſe points which your Lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble Parentage and ſingular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your Lordſhip may do as it ſhall pleaſe you; it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhall be content with your ordinance in that behalfe.

Linc. Foraſmuch as you do anſwer now as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we did then, and forthwith one of the Bedles very haſtily ſnatched his cap from his head.

After this the Biſhop of Lincolne began the examination in ſenſe following.

The laſt examination of B. Ridley.

The words of the B. of Lincolne.

Linc. Maſter Ridley, yeſterday we took your anſwer to certain articles, which we then propoſed unto you: but becauſe we could not be throughly ſatisfied with your anſwer then to the firſt Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate anſwer of you, we (you requiring the ſame) granted you licence to bring your anſwer in writing, and thereupon commanded the Maior that you ſhould have pen, paper and inke, yea any books alſo that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenced you then alſo to alter your former anſwers this day at your pleaſure: Therefore we are come now hither, to ſee whether you are in the ſame mind now that you were in yeſterday, (which we would not wiſh) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former aſſertions, and in al points content to ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the univerſall Church, and I for my part moſt earneſtly exhort you (and therewith he put off his cap) not becauſe my conſcience pricketh me, as you ſaid yeſterday, but becauſe I ſee you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

Yeſterday I brought forth amongſt other St. Auſten, to prove that authoritie hath alwaies been given to the See of Rome, and you wreſted the words far contrarie to St. Auſtens meaning, in that you would have totus mundus to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas indeed the proceſſe of St. Auguſtines words will not admit that your interpretation. For he ſaith not totus mundus Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis, &c. but firſt totus mundus Chriſtianus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubjectus eſt: all the Chriſtian world is ſubject to the Church of Rome, and afterward addeth, in tranſmarinis partibus, beyond the ſea, but only to augment the dominion of the See of Rome.

The place of S. Auſten again repeated, Totus mundus, &c.

Anſwer of D. Ridley to the place of S. Auſten, as before.

Rid. But M. Ridley ſtill perſevered in his former anſwer, ſaying; I am ſure my Lord you have ſome skill in Coſmographie, in the which you ſhall underſtand that there is a Sea called Mare mediterraneum, caſt between Europe, and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the Sea, even as I ſhould ſay the whole world beyond the ſea, excepting England in the which I ſtand: and here many words were ſpent upon the interpretation of the ſame place of St. Auſten

Linc. After long diſceptation, the B. of Lincoln ſaid, that the meaning of St. Auguſtine might be known by the conſent of other the Doctors, and rehearſed divers.

How the Catholikes uſe to alledge the Doctors.

Rid. But M. Ridley required the rehearſall of the places, and to read the very words of the Doctors, ſaying; that perhaps thoſe which the Biſhop rehearſed, being proponed in other terms in the Doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the Biſhop rehearſed them, was none of the Doctors, but only the ſentences drawn out of the Doctors by ſome ſtudious man: he could not recite the very words of the Doctors.

A place of Cyrillus alledged by Melancthon. Scripture books burned at Oxford.

Linc. Then after, he came to Cyrillus, which (as he ſayd) made againſt M. Ridley in the Sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his own alleadging in his common places, and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vain, becauſe all ſuch books were burned a little before, wherefore he paſſed it over.

" Argumentum a contrario ſenſu ex Cyrillo contra Iudæos. Altars be erected in Chriſts remembrance in Britaine. Ergo, Chriſt is come. Altars be now placked down in Britaine: Ergo, Chriſt is not come.

Cyrillus alſo in another place, proving to the Jewes that Chriſt was come, uſeth this reaſon, " Altars are erected in Chriſts name in Britaine, and in far Countries: Ergo, Chriſt is come. But we may uſe the contrary, of that reaſon; Altars are placked down in Britaine: Ergo, Chriſt is not come. A good argument á contrariis; I will ſtand to it in the ſchooles by and by with any man. Ye ſee what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jewes, to prove that Chriſt is not come.

Doctor Ridley ſmiling, anſwered; your Lordſhip is not ignorant that this word Altare in the Scripture ſignifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jewes were wont to make their burnt ſacrifices, as the table of the Lords Supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this word Altare, not that the Jewiſh Altar, but the Table of the Lord, and by that ſaying (Altars are erected in Chriſts name, Ergo Chriſt is come) he meaneth that the Communion is miniſtred in his remembrance, Ergo Chriſt is come: for the ſtrength of his argument is, becauſe the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except it ſelf be paſt: then could not all Countries celebrate the Communion in remembrance of Chriſts paſſion, except Chriſt had been come and ſuffered. As for the taking down of the Altars, it was done upon juſt conſiderations, for that they ſeemed to come too nigh to the Jewes uſage. Neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better miniſtred, more duely received, than in thoſe latter dayes when all things were brought to the rites and uſage of the Primitive Church.

Answer. This argument is not a ſenſu contrario for erecting of altars in the Antecedent, and plucking down altars in the conſequent, be not contrary. In the Antecedent, Cyrill meaneth the table, or elſe the celebration of the Lords ſupper in his remembrance. In the conſequent by plucking down of altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments ſerving not to the Lords ſupper, but to idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lords ſupper, in his remembrance may be erected againe.

Linc. A goodly receiving I promiſe you, to ſet an “ Oyſter table inſtead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Weſtminſter to receive: and yet when your Table was conſtituted, you could never be content, in placing the ſame now Eaſt, now North, now one way, now another, untill it pleaſed God of his goodneſſe to place it clean out of the Church.

“ B. White blaſphemouſly calleth the boord of the Lords ſupper, an oyſter table.

Rid. Your Lordſhips unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps ſome men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things.

Linc. As for that M. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reaſoning you cauſe us to ſtretch and inlarge our inſtructions. We came not to reaſon, but to take your determinate anſwers to our articles, and eftſoones he read the firſt article in manner above ſpecified.

The articles read again to M. Ridley.

Now, M. Ridley, what ſay you to the firſt Article? if you have brought your anſwer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Rid. Then Maſter Ridley took a ſheet of paper out of his boſoom, and began to read that which he had written: but the Biſhop of Lincolne commanded the Bedle to take it from him. But he deſired licence to read it, ſaying that it was nothing but his anſwers, but the Biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him.

B. Ridley not ſuffered to read his own anſwer.

Rid. Why my Lord, will you require my anſwer, and not ſuffer me to publiſh it? I beſeech you my Lord, let the audience bear witneſſe in this matter. Your Lordſhips may handle it at your pleaſures: therefore let the audience be witneſſe to your doings.

Linc, Well, M. Ridley, we will firſt ſee what you have written, and then if we ſhall think it good to be read, you ſhall have it publiſhed: but except you will deliver it firſt, we will take none at all of you.

Note the extreme dealing of theſe Catholike men.

With that M. Ridley, ſeeing no remedy, delivered it to an Officer, which immediately delivered it to the Biſhop of Lincolne, who after he had ſecretly communicated it to the other two Biſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not read it as it was written, ſaying, that it contained words of blaſphemie: therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithall, and ſo abuſe their patience: notwithſtanding M. Ridley deſired very inſtantly to have it publiſhed, ſaying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient Doctors ſaying for the confirmation of his aſſertions.

The deputies durſt not read out the writing of B. Ridley.

After the ſayd Biſhops had ſecretly viewed the whole, then the Biſhop of Lincolne ſayd: In the firſt part M. Ridley, is nothing contained but your proteſtation, that you would not have theſe your anſwers ſo to be taken, as though you ſeemed thereby to conſent to the authoritie or juriſdiction of the Popes holineſſe.

Rid. No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it: but the Biſhop of Lincoln would in no wiſe, becauſe (he ſaid) there were contained words of blaſphemy.

Then the Biſhop of Lincoln recited the firſt Article, and required M. Ridleyes anſwer to it. Then M. Ridley ſayd, that his anſwer was there in writing, and deſired that it might be publiſhed: but the Biſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the Notaries took his anſwer, that he referred him to his anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation, M. Doctor Weſton being Prolocutor.

1. Article.

In likewiſe the Biſhop of Lincolne recited the ſecond Article, and required an anſwer, and M. Ridley referred him to his anſwer in writing, exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation: and like anſwers were taken to all the reſidue of the Articles.

2. Article.

Theſe anſwers in this manner rehearſed, taken and penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Gloceſter began an exhortation to move M. Ridley to turn.

Glo. If you would once emptie your ſtomack, captivate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with us conſider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might eaſily be perduced to acknowledge one Church with us, to confeſſe one faith with us, and to beleeve one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble ſtay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the ſingularity of his own wit: ſo that if you overthrow the ſingularity of Ridleys wit, then muſt needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall alſo. You remember well M. Ridley, that the Prophet ſpeaketh moſt truly, ſaying; Væ, væ, Wo, wo be to them which are ſingular and wiſe in their own conceits.

The words of exhortation of Brooks B. of Gloceſter to M. Ridley.

But you will ſay here, it is true that the Prophet ſaith: but how know you that I am wiſe in mine own conceit? Yes M. Ridley, you refuſe the determination of the Catholike Church; you muſt needs be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your aſſertions, and we alſo bring Scriptures; you underſtand them in one ſenſe, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then you are ſingular in your own conceit: but if you ſay you will follow the minds of the Doctors and ancient Fathers, ſemblably you underſtand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will ye know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own judgement, then are you ſingular in your own conceit, then can you not avoyd the væ, and wo which the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no ſtay but the Catholike Church in matters of controverſie, except you will reſt upon the ſingularitie and wiſedome of your own brain, if the Prophet moſt truely ſaith, væ, væ, wo, wo be to them that are wiſe in their own conceit: then for Gods love Maſter Ridley ſtand not ſingular, be not you wiſe in your own conceit, pleaſe not your ſelf over much. How were the Arrians, the Manichees, the Eutichians, with other divers heretiks which have been in the Church, how I pray you were they ſuppreſſed and convinced? By reaſoning in diſputations? No truly, the Arrians had no moe places of Scripture for the confirmation of their hereſie, than the Catholikes for the defence of the truth.

The determination of the Church is only that, whereupon our Catholike men do ground their faith.

How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the Church. And indeed except we do conſtitute the Church our foundation, ſtay, and judge, we can have no end of controverſies, no end of diſputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and Doctors for the probation of our aſſertions, who ſhould be judge of this our controverſie? If we our ſelves, then be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceits, then cannot we avoyd the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

It remaineth therefore that we ſubmit our ſelves to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promiſed to remain to the worlds end, to whom he promiſed to ſend the holy Ghoſt which ſhould teach it the truth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you will avoyd the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of, be not you wiſe in your judgement: if you will not be wiſe and ſingular in your own judgement, captivate your own underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the ſum of the Oration of the Biſhop of Gloceſter, by the which he endeavoured in many mo words, amplifying and inlarging the matter eloquently with ſundry points of Rhetorick to move affections, to perſwade M. Ridley to recant and forſake his religion.

A brief anſwer of B. Ridley to B. Brooks tale.

To whom M. Ridley anſwered in few words, that he ſayd moſt truly with the Prophet, wo be to him that is wiſe in his own conceit, but that he acknowledged no ſuch ſingularity in him, ne knew any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to himſelfe. And whereas he ſayd M. Cranmer leaned to him, that was moſt untrue, in that he was but a yong Scholler in compariſon of M. Cranmer: for at what time he was a yong ſcholler, then was M. Cranmer a Doctor, ſo that he confeſſed that M. Cranmer might have been his ſchoolemaſter theſe many yeares. It ſeemed that he would have ſpoken more, but the B. of Gloceſter interrupted him ſaying:

Glo. Why M. Ridley, it is your own confeſſion, for M. Latimer at that time of his diſputations confeſſed his learning to lie in M. Cranmers books, and M. Cranmer alſo ſayd, that it was your doing.

Linc. Likewiſe the B. of Lincolne with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, deſired him to turn. But Maſter Ridley made an abſolute anſwer, that he was fully perſwaded, the religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great perill and dammage of his ſoul, he could not forſake his Maſter and Lord God, but deſired the Biſhop to perform his grant, in that his Lordſhip ſayd the day before, that he ſhould have licence to ſhew his cauſe why he could not with a ſafe conſcience admit the authority of the Pope: but the Biſhop of Lincolne ſayd, that whereas then he had demanded licence to ſpeake three words, he was contented then that he ſhould ſpeake forty, and that grant he would performe.

B. Ridley could not for his conſcience yeeld to the Popes doctrin.

D. Weſton ſhooteth his bolt.

Then ſtepped forth Doctor Weſton, which ſate by and ſayd, why my Lord, he hath ſpoken foure hundred already.

Maſter Ridley confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed number, neither of that matter. The Biſhop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he ſhould ſpeak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and eftſoones M. Ridley began to ſpeak: but before he had ended half a ſentence, the Doctors ſitting by cried and ſayd, that his number was out, and with that he was put to ſilence.

B. Ridley limited no more but forty words to ſpeake. Note Reader the extreme dealing of the Papiſts.

After this the Biſhop of Lincoln, which ſate in the middeſt, began to ſpeak as followeth.

Linc. Now I perceive Maſter Ridley, you will not permit ne ſuffer us to ſtay in that point of our Commiſſion which we moſt deſired: for I enſure you, there is never a word in our Commiſſion more true than, dolentes & gementes. For indeed I for my part, I take God to witneſſe, am ſorry for you, Whereupon Maſter Ridley anſwered.

Rid. I beleeve it well my Lord, foraſmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your ſoul.

Linc. Nay, not ſo M. Ridley, but becauſe I am ſorry to ſee ſuch ſtubbornneſſe in you, that by no means you may be perſwaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth: but ſeeing it is ſo, becauſe you will not ſuffer us to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of neceſſitie proceed to the other part of our Commiſſion. Therefore I pray you hearken what I ſhall ſay, and forthwith he did reade the ſentence of condemnation, which was written in a long proceſſe: the tenor of which, becauſe it is ſufficiently already expreſſed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, foraſmuch as they are rather words of courſe, than things deviſed upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that foraſmuch as the ſayd Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and ſtubbornly defend certain opinions, aſſertions and hereſies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the Church, as in denying the true and naturall bodie of Chriſt, and his naturall blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondarily, in affirming the ſubſtance of bread and wine to remaine after the words of the conſecration: Thirdly, in denying the Maſſe to be a lively ſacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no meanes would be perduced and brought from theſe his hereſies: they therefore the ſaid I. of Lincoln, James of Gloceſter, John of Briſtow, did judge and condemne the ſaid Nicholas Ridley, as an heretike, and ſo adjudged him preſently both by word, and alſo in deed to be degraded from the degree of a Biſhop, from Prieſthood and all Eccleſiaſticall order, declaring moreover the ſayd Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the Church, and therefore committed him to the ſecular powers, of them to receive due puniſhment according to the tenor of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

Sentence of condemnation, read againſt D. Ridley.

The effect of the condemnation, whereof reade before.

The laſt appearance and examination of Maſter Latimer before the Commiſsioners.

The laſt appearance and examination of M. Latimer before the Commiſſioners.

This ſentence being publiſhed by the Biſhop of Lincolne, Maſter Ridley was committed as a priſoner to the Maior, and immediately Maſter Latimer was ſent for: but in the mean ſeaſon the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Maſter Ridley ſtood, was removed becauſe (as men reported) M. Latimer had never the degree of a Doctor, as M. Ridley had. But eftſoones as Maſter Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he layd his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbowes, and imediately ſpake to the Commiſſioners, ſaying.

Lati. My Lords, I beſeech your Lordſhips to ſet a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evill back, ſo that the preaſſe of the multitude doth me much harme.

Linc. I am ſorry Maſter Latimer for your hurt. At your departure we will ſee to better order.

With that M. Latimer thanked his Lordſhip, making a very low courteſie. After this the Biſhop of Lincoln began on this manner.

Linc. Maſter Latimer, although yeſterday after we had taken your anſwers to thoſe Articles which we propoſed, we might have juſtly proceeded to judgement againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame, yet we having a good hope of your returning, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the Catholike Church, deferred farther proceſſe till this day, and now according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your hereticall aſſertions, and ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the Church, as we moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly do exhort you, or to know whether you perſevere ſtill the man that you were, for the which we would be ſorry.

The Biſhop of Linc. words to M. Latimer.

It ſeemed that the Biſhop would have further proceeded, ſaving that M. Latimer interrupted him, ſaying.

Lati. Your Lordſhip often doth repeat the Catholike Church, as though I ſhould deny the ſame. No, my Lord, I confeſſe there is a Catholike Church, to the determination of which I will ſtand, but not the Church which you call Catholike, which ſooner might be termed diabolike. And whereas you joyn together the Romiſh and Catholike Church, ſtay there I pray you. For it is one thing to ſay Romiſh church, and another thing to ſay Catholike Church: I muſt uſe here in this mine anſwer, the counſell of Cyprianus, who at what time he was aſcited before certain Biſhops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counſell, to trie and examine his opinion, he anſwereth them thus: in ſticking and perſevering in the truth, there muſt no counſell nor deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them ſitting in judgement, which was moſt like to be of the Church of Chriſt, whether he which was perſecuted, or they which did perſecute? Chriſt, ſayd he, hath foreſhewed, that he that doth follow him, muſt take up his croſſe, and follow him. Chriſt gave knowledge that the Diſciples ſhould have perſecution and trouble. How think you then my Lords, is it like that the See of Rome, which hath been a continuall perſecutor, is rather the Church, or that ſmall flock which hath continually been perſecuted of it, even to death? Alſo the flock of Chriſt hath been but few in compariſon to the reſidue, and ever in ſubjection: which he proved beginning at Noes time even to the Apoſtles.

M. Latimer ſhort with the Commiſſioners.

The Catholike Church and the Romiſh church be two things.

Cyprians counſell in truth no deliberation to be taken.

M. Latimers queſtion to the Biſhops. Whether is more like, the See of Rome, which perſecuteth, or the little flock which is perſecuted, to be the true Church.

Linc. Your cauſe and St. Cyprians is not one, but clean contrary: for he ſuffered perſecution for Chriſts ſake and the Goſpel; but you are in trouble for your errors and falſe aſſertions, contrary to the Word of God, and the received truth of the Church.

Lat. Maſter Latimer interrupting him, ſayd; Yes verily, my cauſe is as good as Saint Cyprians: for his was for the Word of God, and ſo is mine.

The cauſe of the Martyrs of the Primitive time, and of the latter time all one.

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talke.

Alſo at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the Apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great perſecution. Further, before Chriſts comming, continually there were very few which truly ſerved God: but after his coming began the time of grace, then began the Church to increaſe, and was continually augmented, untill it came unto this perfection, and now hath juſtly that juriſdiction which the unchriſtian Princes before by tyrannie did reſiſt: there is a divers conſideration of the eſtate of the Church now in the time of grace, and before Chriſts coming. But, Maſter Latimer, although we had inſtructions given us determinately to take your anſwer to ſuch articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any reaſoning or diſputations, yet we hoping by talke ſomewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yeſterday in the Divinity School, a place for diſputations. And whereas then notwithſtanding you has licence to ſay your minde, and were anſwered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors: We thinking that from that time ye would with good adviſement conſider your eſtate, gave you reſpite from that time yeſterday when we diſmiſſed you, untill this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your anſwers to learn whether you are the ſame man you were then or no? Therefore we will propoſe unto you the ſame articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate anſwer, without further reaſoning, and eftſoons recited the firſt Article.

The image of the Church before Chriſts coming compared with the Church after his coming.

The articles propounded again to M. Latimer.

Lat. Alwaies my proteſtation ſaved, that by theſe mine anſwers it ſhould not be thought that I did condiſcend and agree to your Lordſhips authority, in that you are legaced by authority of the Pope, ſo that thereby I might ſeem to conſent to his juriſdiction: To the firſt article I anſwer now as I did yeſterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood by the ſpirit and grace. But after a corporall being, which the Romiſh Church preſcribeth, Chriſts body and blood is not in the ſacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

M. Latimer again anſwereth with proteſtation, as before.

The very body of Chriſt received in the ſacrament by the ſpirit and

The Notaries took his anſwer to be affirmatively. For the ſecond article he referred himſelf to his anſwers made before.

Linc. After this the Biſhop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate anſwer.

Lati. Chriſt made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatorie ſacrifice.

Anſwer to the ſecond and third articles.

The Notaries took his anſwer to be affirmatively.

In like manner did he anſwer to the other articles, not varying from his anſwers made the day before.

After his anſwers were penned of the Notaries, and the Biſhop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like ſort to recant as he did Maſter Ridley, and revoke his errors and falſe aſſertions, and Maſter Latimer had anſwered that he ne could, ne would deny his Maſter Chriſt, and his verity, the Biſhop of Lincoln deſired Maſter Latimer to hearken to him: and then, Maſter Latimer hearkning for ſome new matter and other talk, the Biſhop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the ſayd three Biſhops brake up their Seſſions, and diſmiſſed the audience.

M. Latimer wil not deny his Maſter Chriſt.

Condemnation read againſt M. Latimer.

But M. Latimer required the Biſhop to perform his promiſe in ſaying the day before, that he ſhould have licence briefly to declare the cauſe why he refuſed the Popes authority.

The Papiſts falſe in their promiſes.

Linc. But the Biſhop ſayd that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Maſter Latimer asked him whether it were not lawfull for him to appeal from this his judgement. And the Biſhop asked him again to whom he would appeale. To the next generall Councell (quoth M. Latimer) which ſhall be truly called in Gods name. With that appellation the Biſhop was content: but he ſayd it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a convocation as he meant would be called.

M. Latimer appealeth to the next generall Councell truly called in the Lords name, but that councell is long a coming.

Then the Biſhop committed Maſter Latimer to the Maior, ſaying; now he is your priſoner Maſter Maior. Becauſe the preaſſe of the people was not diminiſhed, each man looking for farther proceſſe, the Biſhop of Lincoln commanded avoydance, and willed Maſter Latimer to tarry till the preaſſe were diminiſhed, leſt he ſhould take hurt at his egreſſion, as he did at his entrance. And ſo continued Biſhop Ridley, and Maſter Latimer, in durance till the 16. day of the ſayd month of October.

A communication between D. Brooks, and D. Ridley, in M. Iriſh his houſe, the xv. day of October, at which time he was degraded.

The talke between Doctor Brooks B. of Gloceſter, and D. Ridley upon his degradation.

No mercy to be had without conſenting to iniquity.

IN the mean ſeaſon upon the 15. day in the morning, and the ſame year aboveſayd, the Biſhop of Gloceſter, Doctor Brooks, and the Vicechancellor of Oxford D. Marſhall, with divers other of the chief and heads of the ſame Univerſity, and many other moe accompanying them, came unto Maſter Iriſh his houſe then Maior of Oxford, where Doctor Ridley late Biſhop of London was cloſe priſoner. And when the Biſhop of Gloceſter came into the chamber where the ſayd D. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpoſe their coming was unto him, ſaying; that yet once again the Queens Maieſtie did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the ſame, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the deſtruction of many. And further ſayd, that if he would not recant and become one of the Catholike Church with them, then they muſt needs (againſt their wills) proceed according to the Law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But ſayth he, we have been oftentimes with you, and have requeſted that you would recant this your fantaſticall and divelliſh opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in ſo doing win many, and do much good Therefore, good Maſter Ridley, conſider with your ſelf the danger that ſhall enſue both of body and ſoul, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt your ſelf away in refuſing mercy offered unto you at this time.

Anſwer of D. Ridley to B. Brooks.

O worthy champion of Chriſts church.

My Lord, quoth D. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conſcience aſſureth me that it was ſound, and according to Gods word (to his glory be it ſpoken) the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain ſo long as my tongue ſhall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof ſeal the ſame with my blood.

With that their caps went off, but D Ridley held on his cap.

Brook. Well, you were beſt M. Ridley not to do ſo but to become one of the Church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoſoever is out of the Catholike church, cannot be ſaved: Therfore I ſay once again, that whiles you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confeſſe with us the Popes holineſſe to be the chief head of the ſame Church.

B. Ridley commanded to ſilence, when otherwiſe he could not be convinced.

Rid. I marvell that you will trouble me with any ſuch vain and fooliſh talke. You know my minde concerning the uſurped authority of that Romiſh Antichriſt. As I confeſſed openly in the ſchools, ſo do I now, that both by my behavior and talke, I do no obedience at all unto the Biſhop of Rome, nor to his uſurped authority, and that for divers good and godly conſiderations. And here D. Ridley would have reaſoned with the ſaid Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter, of the Biſhop of Romes authority, but could not be ſuffered, and yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly againſt the Pope therein, that the Biſhop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he ſhould be compelled againſt his will. And ſeeing, ſaith he, that you will not receive the Queens mercy now offered unto you, but ſtubbornly refuſe the ſame, we muſt, againſt our wills, proceed according to our Commiſſion to degrading, taking from you the dignity of Prieſthood. For we take you for no Biſhop, and therefore we will the ſooner have done with you: ſo committing you to the ſecular power, you know what doth follow.

Rid. Do with me as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abide the ſame with all my heart.

D. Ridley refuſeth to put on the ſurples.

Brook. Put off your cap M. Ridley, and put upon you this Surples.

Rid. Not I truly.

Brook. But you muſt.

Rid. I will not.

Brook. You muſt, therefore make no more ado but put this Surples upon you.

Rid. Truly if it come upon me, it ſhall be againſt my will.

Brook. Will you not do it upon you?

Rid. No, that I will not.

Brook. It ſhall be put upon you by one or other.

Rid. Do therein as it ſhall pleaſe you, I am well contented with that, and more than that; the ſervant is not above his Maſter. If they dealt ſo cruelly with our Saviour Chriſt, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he ſuffered the ſame patiently, how much more doth it become us his ſervants? and in ſaying of theſe words, they put upon the ſaid Doctor Ridley the ſurples, with all the trinkets appertaining to the Maſſe. And as they were putting on the ſame, Doctor Ridley did vehemently inveigh againſt the Romiſh Biſhop, and all that fooliſh apparell, calling him Antichriſt, and the apparell fooliſh and abominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play, inſomuch that Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rayle. Doctor Ridley anſwered him again, and ſayd; So long as his tongue and breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeak againſt their abominable doings, whatſoever happened unto him for ſo doing.

B. Ridley inveyeth againſt the B. of Rom and his foolis apparell

The ſurples here is called fooliſh apparel

Brook. Well, you were beſt to hold your peace, leſt your mouth be ſtopped. At which words one Edridge, the Reader then of the Greeke lecture ſtanding by, ſaid to Doctor Brooks: Sir, the law is he ſhould be gagged, therfore let him be gagged. At which words Doctor Ridley looking earneſtly upon him that ſo ſayd, wagged his head at him, and made no anſwer again, but with a ſigh ſayd: Oh well, well, well.

M Edridge giveth counſel that B. Ridl ſhould be gagged.

Degrading of B. Ridley.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheleſſe D. Ridley was ever talking things not pleaſant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, leſt he ſhould be cauſed againſt his will.

Ridley would not let come his hand the chalice and wa fer-cake.

When as they came to that place whereas D. Ridley ſhould hold the Chalice and the wafer-cake (called the ſinging bread) they bade him hold the ſame in his hands. And D. Ridley ſayd, they ſhall not come in my hands: for if they do, they ſhall fall to the ground for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Biſhop Brooks read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of ſpirituall perſons according to the Popes law.

D. Ridley degraded from preaching.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before ſayd) a certain thing in Latine, the effect whereof was: We do take from you the office of preaching the Goſpel, &c. At which words D. Ridley gave a great ſigh, looking up towards heaven, ſaying; O Lord God forgive them this their wickedneſſe.

And as they put upon him the Maſſe-geare, ſo they began with the uppermoſt garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latine, according to the order contained in the ſayd booke of the Popes law. Now when all was taken from him, ſaving onely the Surples left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Doctor Ridley ſaid unto them, Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never ſinger in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.

All the glittering of Antichriſts kingdome conſiſteth in apiſh toyes.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very ſolemnly, D. Ridley ſaid unto Doctor Brooks, have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talke with you a little concerning theſe matters. Brooks anſwered and ſaid; M. Ridley, we may not talke with you, you be out of the Church, and our law is that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church. Then Maſter Ridley ſaid; ſeeing that you will not ſuffer me to talk, neither will vouchſafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I referre my cauſe to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiſſe, when it ſhall pleaſe him.

A praiſe of Bertrams book upon the Sacrament.

At which words they would have been gone, but Maſter Ridley ſaid; My Lord, I would wiſh that your Lordſhip would vouchſafe to reade over and peruſe a little Book of Bertrams doings, concerning the Sacrament. I promiſe you, you ſhall finde much good learning therein, if you will reade the ſame with an indifferent judgement. Doctor Brooks made no anſwer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Maſter Ridley ſaid; Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will ſay no more, I will ſpeak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore my Lord hear me, and be a mean to the Queens Majeſty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and eſpecially for my poor ſiſter and her huſband which ſtandeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the See of London, and the ſame is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the ſame room, without all law or conſcience.

Note the charity of the Papiſts.

Here I have a ſupplication to the Queens Majeſty in their behalfes. You ſhall hear the ſame read, ſo ſhall you perceive the matter the better. Then he read the ſame, and when he came to the place in the ſupplication, that touched his ſiſter by name, then he wept, ſo that for a little ſpace he could not ſpeak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he ſaid; This is nature that moveth me. But I have now done, and with that read out the reſt, and delivered the ſame to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the Queens Majeſty, and to ſue, not onely for himſelf, but alſo for ſuch as had any leaſes or grants by him, and were put from the ſame by Doctor Boner, then Biſhop of London. Whereunto Brooks ſaid, indeed M. Ridley, your requeſt in this ſupplication is very lawfull and honeſt: therefore I muſt needs in conſcience ſpeak to the Queens Majeſty for them.

B. Ridleys ſiſter put from her Leaſe by D. Boner.

Rid: I pray you for Gods ſake do ſo.

Brooks. I think your requeſt will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is (I fear) becauſe you do not allow the Queens proceedings, but obſtinately withſtand the ſame, that it will hardly be granted.

Rid. What remedy? I can do no more but ſpeak and write: I truſt I have diſcharged my conſcience therein, and Gods will be done.

Brook. I will do what lieth in me.

The Copy of this ſupplication written to the Queen here followeth.

A ſupplication of B. Ridley to Q. Mary in the behalf of certain poor mens Leaſes.

Maſter Ridley to the Queens Majeſty.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty for Chriſt our Saviours ſake, in a matter of Conſcience (and now not for my ſelf, but for other poor men) to vouchſafe to hear and underſtand this humble ſupplication. It is ſo (honorable Princeſſe) that in the time whiles I was in the Miniſtry of the See of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new Leaſes of their tenantries, and holdings, and ſome have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have payed fines and ſums of money, both to me, and alſo to the Chapter of Pauls, for the confirmation of the ſame.

This Biſh. was D. Boner.

Now I hear ſay, that the Biſhop which occupieth the ſame room now, will not allow the foreſaid Leaſes, which muſt redound to many poor mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble ſupplication unto your honorable grace, that it may pleaſe the ſame for Chriſts ſake to be unto the foreſaid poor men their gracious Patroneſſe and Defender, either that they may enjoy their foreſaid Leaſes and yeers renewed, as I ſuppoſe when their matter ſhall be heard with conſcience, both juſtice, conſcience, and equity, ſhall require, for that their Leaſes ſhall be found (I truſt) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and alwayes alſo the old rents reſerved to the Sea without any kinde of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may pleaſe your gracious highneſſe, to command that the poor men may be reſtored to their former Leaſes and yeers, and to have rendred to them again ſuch ſums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-houſe for their Leaſes and yeers, ſo now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to command ſome portion of thoſe goods which I left in my houſe when I fled in hope of pardon for my treſpaſſe towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reſerved in the ſame houſe, I ſuppoſe that half of the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and ſpecially in an Iron Cheſt in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to reſtore all ſuch fines received, the true ſummes and parcels whereof, are not ſet in their Leaſes: and therefore if that way ſhall pleaſe your highneſſe, they muſt be known by ſuch wayes and means, as your Majeſty by the advice of men of wiſedome and conſcience ſhall appoint: but yet for Chriſts ſake I crave and moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty of your moſt gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

If to ſuccour the widow and fatherleſſe, is pure and undefiled religion, as S. James ſaith, then is Boner and his religion filthy and abominable, which doth ſuch wrong to the widow and fatherleſſe.

I have alſo a poor ſiſter that came to me out of the North, with three fatherleſſe children, for her relief, whom I married after to a ſervant of mine own houſe: ſhe is put out of that I did provide for them. I beſeech your honorable grace, that her caſe may be mercifully conſidered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which ſuffered indurance at my entrance into the See of London, not one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almoſt half a yeer after his depoſition, afore I entred into that place: yea, and alſo if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to cary it away, or there for his uſe it did lie ſafe, as his officers do know. I paid for the Lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the Church, or of the houſe. And moreover, I had not onely no part of his moveable goods, but alſo (as his old receiver, and then mine, called M Stanton, can teſtifie) I paid for him towards his ſervants common liveries and wages, after his depoſition, 53 or 55 pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all theſe matters I beſeech your honorable Majeſty to hear the advice of men of conſcience, and in eſpeciall the Archbiſhop of York, which for that he was continually in my houſe a yeer and more, before mine impriſonment, I ſupoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome part of theſe things, and alſo his Grace doth know my ſiſter, for whoſe ſuccour, and ſome relief, now unto your highneſſe I make moſt humble ſute.

Notwithſtanding theſe godly and juſt requeſts, no juſtice could be had, untill that now of late ſome of theſe ſhamefull injuries, by order of law have bin redreſſed.

The 16 of October, Anno, 1555. N. R.

This degradation being paſt, and all things finiſhed, Doctor Brooks called the Bayliffs, delivering to them Maſter Ridley with this charge, to keep him ſafely from any man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then M. Ridley in praiſing God, braſt out with theſe words, and ſaid; God I thank thee, and to thy praiſe be it ſpoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it ſhould ſurely be laid in my lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto Brooks ſaid, he played the part of a proud Phariſee, exalting and praiſing himſelf.

The life of M. Ridley, ſuch as could not with any notorious crime be charged.

But Maſter Ridley ſaid, No,no,no, as I have ſaid before, to Gods glory be it ſpoken I confeſſe my ſelf to be a miſerable wretched ſinner, and have great need of Gods help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the ſame: therefore I pray you have no ſuch opinion of me. Then they departed, and in going away, a certain Warden of a Colledge, of whoſe name I am not very ſure, bade Doctor Ridley repent him, and forſake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. Ridley ſaid; Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it be his bleſſed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the underſtanding of his Word. Then the Warden being in a chaſe thereat, ſaid; I truſt that I ſhall never be of your erroneous and deviliſh opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you ſhall go. He is, ſaith he, the moſt obſtinate and wilfull man that ever I heard talk ſince I was born.

The words of a certain Warden, or Head of a Colledge.

The behaviour of D. Ridley at his ſupper, the night before his ſuffering.

THe night before he ſuffered, his beard was waſhed, and his legs, and as he ſate at ſupper, the ſame night at M. Iriſhes (who was his Keeper) he bade his hoſteſſe, and the reſt at the board to his marriage: for, ſaith he, to morrow I muſt be married, and ſo ſhewed himſelf to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wiſhing his ſiſter at his marriage, he asked his brother ſitting at the table, whether ſhe could finde in her heart to be there or no: and he anſwered, Yea, I dare ſay, with all her heart: at which word he ſaid, He was glad to hear of her ſo much therein. So at this talk Miſtreſſe Iriſh wept.

D. Ridley biddeth gueſts to his marriage.

Miſtriſſe Iriſh a great Papiſt before, weepeth for D. Ridley.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and ſaid; O Miſtreſſe Iriſh, you love me not now, I ſee well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not ſo much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet your ſelf, though my breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharp and painfull, yet I am ſure, my ſupper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet, &c.

When they aroſe from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he ſaid, No,no, that you ſhall not. For I minde (God willing) to go to bed, and to ſleep as quietly to night, as ever I did in my life. So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his croſſe quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

B. Ridley careles of his death

The behaviour of D. Ridley and Maſter Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the 16 of October, 1555.

UPon the North ſide of the Town, in the ditch over againſt Baily Colledge, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might ariſe, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded by the Queens Letters, and the houſholders of the City to be there aſſiſtant, ſufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in a readineſſe, the priſoners were brought forth by the Major and the Bayliffs.

The order and manner of B. Ridley and M. Latimer going to the ſtake.

Maſter Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, ſuch as he was wont to wear being Biſhop, and a tippet of Velvet furred likewiſe about his neck, a Velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the ſame, going in a pair of ſlippers to the ſtake, and going between the Major and an Alderman, &c.

After him came M. Latimer in a poor Briſtow freeze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long ſhrowd hanging over his hoſe down to the feet: which at the firſt ſight ſtirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one ſide, the honor they ſometime had, on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Maſter Doctor Ridley, as he paſſed toward Bocardo: looked up where Maſter Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have ſeen him at the glaſſe window, and to have ſpoken unto him. But then Maſter Cranmer was buſie with Frier Soto, and his fellows diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that occaſion. Then Maſter Ridley, looking back, eſpied Maſter Latimer coming after. Unto whom he ſaid: Oh be ye there? Yea, ſaid Maſter Latimer, have after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the ſtake, the one after the other, where firſt Doctor Ridley entring the place, marvellouſly earneſtly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then ſhortly after, eſpying M. Latimer, with a wondrous cheerfull look he ran to him, imbraced and kiſſed him, and as they that ſtood neer reported, comforted him, ſaying; Be of good heart, brother, for God will either aſſwage the fury of the flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it.

D. Ridley and M. Latimer brought together to the ſtake.

The behaviour of D. Ridley and M. Latimer at the ſtake.

With that went he to the ſtake, kneeled down by it, kiſſed it, and effectuouſly prayed, and behinde him Maſter Latimer kneeled, as earneſtly calling upon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to ſee the execution removed themſelves out of the Sun. What they ſaid, I can learn of no man.

Then Doctor Smith, of whoſe recantation in King Edwards time ye heard before, began his Sermon to them, upon this Text of Saint Paul, in the thirteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians; Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio; that is, If I yeeld my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I ſhall gain nothing thereby. Wherein he alleadged that the goodneſſe of the cauſe, and not the order of death, maketh the holineſſe of the perſon; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her ſelf, for that they and ſuch like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which deſperately ſundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that thoſe men that ſtood before him would do. But he cried ſtill to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the Church. And on the other ſide, he declared their diverſities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which ſect they were he ſaid, and that was the worſt: but the old Church of Chriſt, and the Catholike faith beleeved farre otherwiſe. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling

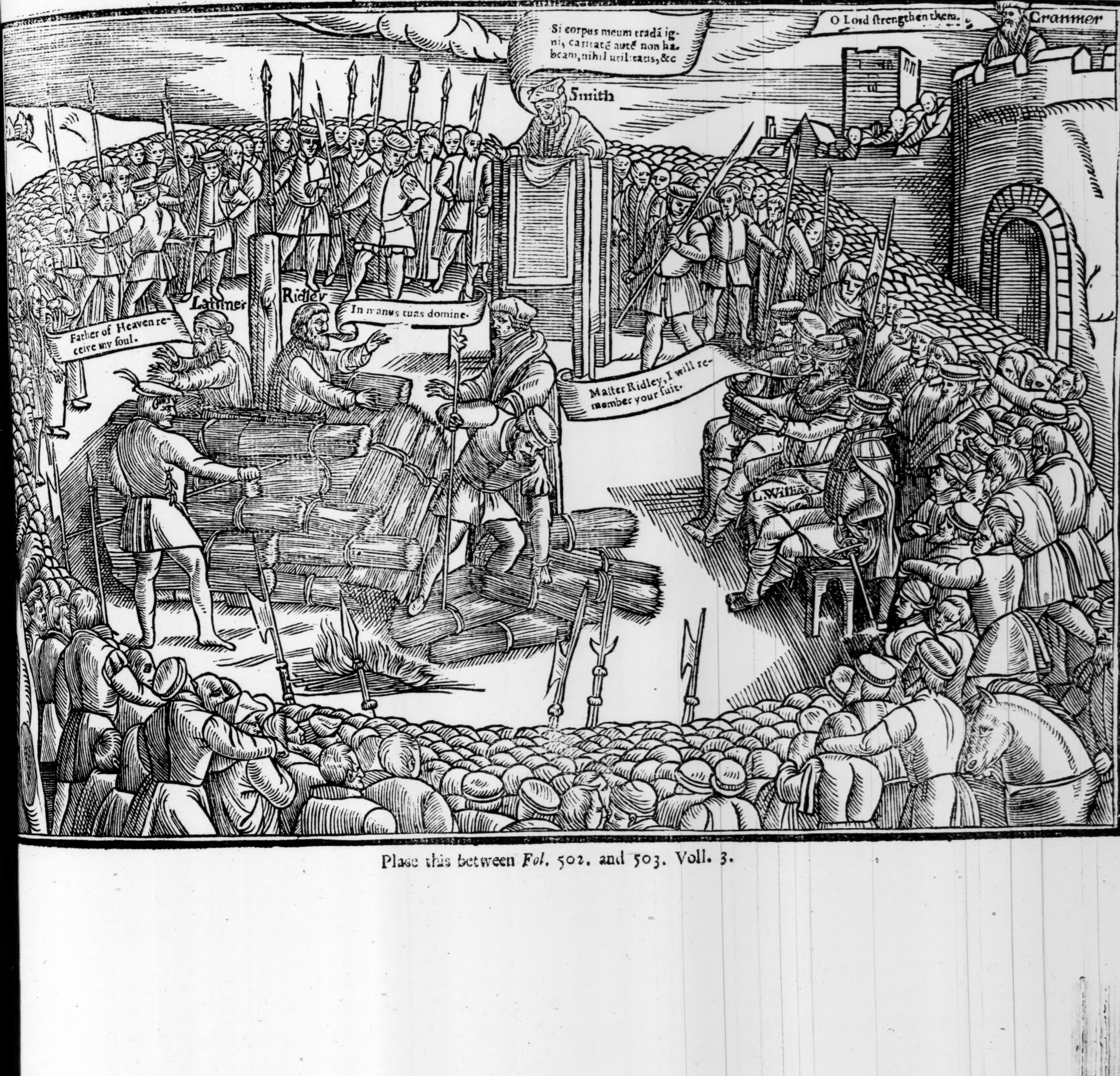
D. Smith preaching at the burning of B. Ridley, and M. Latimer.

D. Smith raileth againſt the Martyrs.

Chriſts Congregation burdened with diverſity of opinions.

God

A Table deſcribing the burning of B. Ridley, and Father Latimer at Oxford, D. Smith there preaching at the time of their Martyrdome.


Si corpus meum tradā igni, caritatē autē non habeam, nihil utilitatis, &c
Smith
O Lord ſtrengthen them.
Cranmer
Latimer
Ridley
Father of Heaven receive my ſoul.
In manus tuas domine.
Maſter Ridley, I will remember your ſuit.
L. Williams

Plaſe this between *Fol.* 502. and 503. Voll. 3.

God to witneſſe of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he ſpake amiſſe. He ended with a very ſhort exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the Church, and ſave their lives and ſouls, which elſe were condemned. His Sermon was ſcant in all a quarter of an hour.

Doctor Ridley ſaid to Maſter Latimer, will you begin to anſwer the Sermon, or ſhall I? M. Latimer ſaid, begin you firſt I pray you. I will, ſaid M. Ridley.

D. Ridley ready to anſwer D. Smiths Sermon, but could not be ſuffered.

D. Marſhall Vice-chancellor of Oxford, ſtoppeth D. Ridleys mouth.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Doctor Ridley, and Maſter Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, which ſate upon a fourm thereby. Unto whom M. Ridley ſaid; I beſeech you my Lord, even for Chriſts ſake, that I may ſpeak but two or three words: and whileſt my Lord bent his head to the Major and Vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to ſpeak, the Bayliffs and Doctor Marſhall Vice-chancellor, ran haſtily unto him, and with their hands ſtopped his mouth, and ſaid; Maſter Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the ſame, you ſhall not onely have liberty ſo to do, but alſo the benefit of a ſubject, that is, have your life. Not otherwiſe, ſaid Maſter Ridley? No, quoth Doctor Marſhall: therefore if you will not ſo do, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſerts. Well (quoth M. Ridley) ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Chriſt, and his known truth: Gods will be done in me. And with that he roſe up, and ſaid with a lowd voice, Well, then I commit our cauſe to Almighty God, which ſhall indifferently judge all.

B. Ridley committeth his cauſe to God.

M. Latimers words when he could not be ſuffered to anſwer D. Smith

“This was no Popiſh tippet, but made onely to keep his neck warm.

To whoſe ſaying, Maſter Latimer added his old Poſie, Well, there is nothing hid but it ſhall be opened: and he ſaid, he could anſwer Smith well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekneſſe obeyed. M. Ridley took his gown and his “tippet, and gave it to his brother in law M. Shipſide, who all his time of impriſonment, although he might not be ſuffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him neceſſaries, which from time to time he ſent him by the Sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparell that was little worth, he gave away, other the Bayliffs took.

B. Ridley giveth away his apparell and other gifts to the people about him.

He gave away beſides, divers other ſmall things to Gentlemen ſtanding by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to divers of my Lord Williams Gentlemen, ſome napkins, ſome nutmegs, and races of Ginger, his Diall, and ſuch other things as he had about him, to every one that ſtood next him. Some plucked the points off his hoſe. Happy was he that might get any ragge of him.

M. Latimer ſtanding at the ſtake in his ſhirt.

Maſter Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly ſuffered his Keeper to pull off his hoſe, and his other array, which to look unto was very ſimple: and being ſtripped into his ſhrowd, he ſeemed as comely a perſon to them that were there preſent, as one ſhould lightly ſee; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked ſilly old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Maſter Ridley, ſtanding as yet in his truſſe, ſaid to his brother, It were beſt for me to go in my truſſe ſtill. No, quoth his brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truſſe will do a poor man good. Whereunto Maſter Ridley ſaid: Be it, in the Name of God, and ſo unlaced himſelf. Then being in his ſhirt, he ſtood upon the foreſaid ſtone, and held up his hands and ſaid: Oh heavenly Father, I give unto thee moſt hearty thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto death. I beſeech thee Lord God take mercy upon this Realm of England, and deliver the ſame from all her enemies.

B. Ridley thanketh God for his martyrdom and prayeth for England.

Then the Smith took a chain of Iron, and brought the ſame about both Doctor Ridleyes, and Maſter Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a ſtaple, Doctor Ridley took the chain in his hand, and ſhaked the ſame, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aſide to the Smith, ſaid; Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have his courſe. Then his brother did bring him Gun-powder in a bag, and would have tied the ſame about his neck, Maſter Ridley asked what it was. His brother ſaid, Gun-powder. Then ſaid he, I will take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent of him. And have you any ſaid he, for my brother, meaning Maſter Latimer? Yea Sir, that I have (quoth his brother:) Then give it unto him (ſaid he) betime, leſt ye come too late. So his brother went, and carried of the ſame Gun-powder unto Maſter Latimer.

Gun-powder given to the Martyrs.

B. Ridleys ſute to the Lord of Tame, for leaſes of poor men.

In the mean time Doctor Ridley ſpake unto my Lord Williams, and ſaid; My Lord, I muſt be a ſuter unto your Lordſhip in the behalf of divers poor men, and ſpecially in the cauſe of my poor ſiſter: I have made a ſupplication to the Queens Majeſty in their behalfes. I beſeech your Lordſhip for Chriſts ſake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your Lordſhip to certifie you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conſcience (I praiſe God) this onely excepted. Whileſt I was in the See of London, divers poor men took leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now I hear ſay the Biſhop that now occupieth the ſame room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrary unto all law and conſcience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not ſuffer them to injoy the ſame. I beſeech you my Lord, be a mean for them: you ſhall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

D. Boner taketh away the leaſes from poor men, granted before by B. Ridley.

Then they brought a Faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the ſame down at D. Ridleyes feet. To whom M. Latimer ſpake in this manner; Be of good comfort, M. Ridley, and play the man, we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle by Gods grace in England, as I truſt ſhall never be put out.

The Church lightned by the Martyrdom of Saints.

And ſo the fire being given unto them, when Doctor Ridley ſaw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderfull lowd voyce; In manus tuas Domine, commenda ſpiritum meum: Domine recipe ſpiritum meum, and after repeated this later part often in Engliſh, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit: Maſter Latimer crying as vehemently on the other ſide, Oh Father of Heaven receive my ſoul: who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had ſtroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and bleſſed ſervant of God, Maſter Latimer, for whoſe laborious travells, fruitfull life, and conſtant death, the whole Realm hath cauſe to give great thanks to Almighty God.

M. Latimers prayer and Martyrdom.

The order of B. Ridleys burning.

But Maſter Ridley by reaſon of the evill making of the fire unto him, becauſe the wooden faggots were laid about the goſſe, and over high built, the fire burned firſt beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when he felt, he deſired them for Chriſts ſake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother in law heard, but not well underſtood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cauſe he gave attendance) as one in ſuch ſorrow, not well adviſed what he did, heaped faggots upon him, ſo that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often deſire them to let the fire come unto him, ſaying; I cannot burn. Which indeed appeared well: for after his legges were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtruggling through the pain (whereof he had no releaſe, but onely his contentation in God) he ſhewed that ſide toward us clean, ſhirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgat not to call unto God ſtill, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the ſtanders by with his bill pulled off the Faggots above, and where he ſaw the fire flame up, he wreſted himſelf unto that ſide. And when the flame touched the Gun-powder, he was ſeen ſtirre no more, but burned on the other ſide, falling down at Maſter Latimers feet. Which ſome ſaid, happened by reaſon that the chain looſed, other ſaid that he fell over the chain by reaſon of the poiſe of his body, and the weakneſſe of the neather lims.

D. Ridley long in burning.

The death and Martyrdom of D. Ridley.

Some ſaid that before he was like to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, ſurely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible ſight. For I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire ſo to rage upon their bodies. Signes there were of ſorrow on every ſide. Some took it grievouſly to ſee their deaths, whoſe lives they held full dear. Some pitied their perſons, that thought their ſouls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, ſeeing his miſerable caſe, ſeeing (I ſay) him compelled to ſuch infelicity, that he thought then to do him beſt ſervice, when he haſtened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to ſee his endeavour, who moſt dearly loved him, and ſought his releaſe, turn to his greater vexation, and increaſe of pain. But whoſo conſidered their preferments in time paſt, the places of honour that they ſometime occupied in this Common-wealth, the favour they were in with their Princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not chooſe but ſorrow with tears, to ſee ſo great dignity, honour and eſtimation, ſo neceſſary members ſometime accounted, ſo many godly vertues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, ſuch excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and conſumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in Heaven, the day of the Lords Glory, when he cometh with his Saints, ſhall ſhortly I truſt, declare.

The lamenting hearts of the people at the Martyrdom of theſe two Saints.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatiſes, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the ſtory of the Martyrs, unto the later appendix in the end of this volume; thinking alſo to have done the like with theſe fare-wells and exhortations following of B. Ridley, yet for certain purpoſes moving me thereunto, and eſpecially conſidering the fruitfull admonitions, wholſome doctrine, and neceſſary exhortations contained in the ſame, I thought beſt here to beſtow, and conſequently to adjoyn the ſaid tractations of that learned Paſtor, with the life and Story of the Author. Whereof the two firſt be in a manner his fare-wels, the one to his kinsfolks, and generally to all the faithfull of the number of Chriſts Congregation: the other more ſpeciall to the priſoners, and baniſhed Chriſtians in the Goſpels cauſe: the third containeth a fruitfull and a generall admonition to the City of London, and to all other, with neceſſary precepts of Chriſtian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be ſeen.

A Treatiſe or Letter written by D. Ridley, in ſtead of his laſt fare-well, to all his true and faithfull friends in God, with a ſharp admonition withall unto the Papiſts.

At the Name of Jeſus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confeſſe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

The firſt fare-well of B. Ridley to his friends.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a deſire to bid his friends farewell before his departure: ſo likewiſe now I looking daily, when I ſhould be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearly beloved brethren and ſiſters in our Saviour Chriſt, that dwell here in this world) having alike minde towards you all (and bleſſed be God for ſuch time and leiſure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodneſſe) to bid you all my dear brethren and ſiſters (I ſay in Chriſt) that dwell upon the earth, after ſuch manner as I can, Farewell.

Farewell my dear brother, George Shipſide, whom I have ever found faithfull, truſty, and loving in all ſtates and conditions, and now in the time of my croſſe, over all other to me moſt friendly and ſtedfaſt, and that which liked me beſt, over all other things, in Gods cauſe ever hearty.

Commendation of George Shipſide his brother in law.

Farewell my dear ſiſter Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou doſt take Chriſts croſſe which is laid now (bleſſed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: ſee thou honour him and obey him, according to Gods Law. Honour thy mother in law his mother, and love all thoſe that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it ſhall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, ſhall alſo make him friendly and beneficiall unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

Farewell my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and loving ſiſter Elizabeth: whom beſides the naturall league of amity, your tender love, which you were ſaid ever to bear towards me above the reſt of your brethren, doth binde me to love. My minde was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle ſpirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the ſight of God.

To his brother John Ridley.

Farewell my beloved ſiſter of Unthank, with all your children, nephews and neeces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my minde was to have been unto them inſtead of their father, but the Lord God muſt and will be their father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his Law.

To his ſiſter in law of Unthank, wife to Hugh his brother.

Farewell my welbeloved and worſhipfull Couſins, Maſter Nich. Ridley of Willimountſwike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindeneſſe

To his couſin M. Nicholas Ridley.

neſſe ſhewed both to me, and alſo to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good couſin, as God hath ſet you in our ſtock, and kindred (not for any reſpect of your perſon, but of his abundant grace and goodneſſe) to be as it were the bell-weather to order and conduct the reſt, and hath alſo indued you with his manifold gifts of grace both heavenly and worldly above others: ſo I pray you good couſin (as my truſt and hope is in you) continue and increaſe in the maintenance of the truth, honeſty, righteouſneſſe, and all true godlineſſe, and to the uttermoſt of your power, to withſtand falſhood, untruth, unrighteouſneſſe, and all ungodlineſſe, which is forbidden and condemned by the Word and Laws of God.

To his couſin Ralph Whitfield.

Farewell my yong couſin Ralph Whitfield. Oh your time was very ſhort with me. My minde was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loſſe, but I truſt it ſhall be recompenced, as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God.

To all his kindred.

Farewell all my whole kindred and countrey-men, farewell in Chriſt all together. The Lord, which is the ſearcher of ſecrets, knoweth that according to my hearts deſire, my hope was of late that I ſhould have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Chriſts bleſſed Goſpel, according to the duty of that office and miniſtery, whereunto amongſt you I was choſen, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerleſſe Prince, King Edward, and ſo alſo denounced openly in his Court, by his privy Councell.

B. Ridley appointed to be B. of Durham.

Martyrdom, Gods ſingular and rare promotion.

I warn you all my welbeloved kinsfolk and country-men, that ye be not amazed or aſtonied at the kinde of my departure and diſſolution: for I enſure you, I think it the moſt honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleaſed him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to ſuffer death willingly for his ſake, and his cauſe; unto the which honour he hath called the holy Prophets, and dearly beloved Apoſtles, and his bleſſed choſen Martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the cauſes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods cauſes, and the cauſes of the truth, than I doubt that the Goſpel which John wrote is the Goſpel of Chriſt, or that Pauls Epiſtles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and ſtand in Gods cauſe, and in Chriſts quarrell even unto death, I enſure thee (O man) it is an ineſtimable and an honorable gift of God, given onely to the true Elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the holy Apoſtle and alſo Martyr in Chriſts cauſe, Saint Peter, ſaith, If ye ſuffer rebuke in the Name of Chriſt, that is, in Chriſts cauſe, and for his truths ſake, then are ye happy and bleſſed, for the glory of the Spirit of God reſteth upon you. If for rebukes ſake ſuffered in Chriſts Name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that holy Apoſtle, bleſſed and happy: how much more happy and bleſſed is he that hath the grace to ſuffer death alſo? Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoyce, and rejoyce with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Sons ſake my Saviour and Redeemer Chriſt, he hath vouchſafed to call me, being elſe without his gracious goodneſſe, in my ſelf but a ſinfull and vile wretch, to call me (I ſay) unto this high dignity of his true Prophets, of his faithfull Apoſtles, and of his holy elect and choſen Martyrs, that is, to die and to ſpend this temporall life in the defence and maintenance of his eternall and everlaſting truth.

1 Pet. 4.

A bleſſed thing to ſuffer death for Chriſt.

Ye know that be my country-men dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man ſuffereth oftentimes much wrong at the theeves hand, if it chance a man to be ſlain of a thief (as it often chanceth there) which went out with his neighbour to help him to reſerve his goods again, that the more cruelly he be ſlain, and the more ſtedfaſtly he ſtuck by his neighbour in the fight againſt the face of the thief, the more favour and friendſhip ſhall all his poſterity have for the ſlain mans ſake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of this fact, and his poſterity doth endure: Even ſo ye that be my kinsfolk and country-men, know ye (howſoever the blinde, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter ſhall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worſe than their fathers did, of the death of Chriſt our Saviour, of his holy Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs:) know ye (I ſay) that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truely know, and follow the Laws of God, ye have, and ſhall have by Gods grace, ever cauſe to rejoyce, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God to rejoyce of me your fleſh and blood, whom God of his gracious goodneſſe hath vouchſafed to aſſociate unto the bleſſed company of his holy Martyrs in heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodneſſe of my Lord God, nor in the faithfull fellowſhip of his elect and choſen people, but at both their hands in my cauſe, ye ſhall rather finde the more favour and grace: for the Lord ſaith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thouſand generations: the Lord is ſo full of mercy to them (I ſay) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Chriſt ſaith again, that no man can ſhew more love than to give his life for his friend.

If it be a point of a faithfull friend to die with his friend upon theeves for worldly goods, how much more then to die in Chriſts quarrel upon the enemies of his Church?

Deut. 7.

John 15.

Now alſo know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and country-men, that the cauſe wherefore I am put to death, is even after the ſame ſort and condition, but touching more neer Gods cauſe, and in more weighty matters, but in the generall kinde all one: For both is Gods cauſe, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the Common-wealth, and both for the weal alſo of the Chriſtian brother, although yet there is in theſe two no ſmall difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods ſtoln, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truely gotten (whereupon he and his houſhold ſhould live) he is greatly wronged, and the thief in ſtealing and robbing with violence the poor mans goods, doth offend God, doth tranſgreſſe his Law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the Common-wealth: ſo I ſay, know ye that even here in the cauſe of my death, it is with the Church of England, I mean the Congregation of the true choſen children of God in this Realm of England, which I knowledge not onely to be my neighbors, but rather the Congregation of my Spirituall brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, yea, members of one body, wherein by Gods grace, I am and have been grafted in Chriſt. This Church of England had of late of the infinite goodneſſe, and abundant grace of Almighty God, great ſubſtance, great riches of heavenly treaſure, great plenty of Gods true ſincere Word, the true and wholeſome adminiſtration of Chriſts holy Sacraments, the whole profeſſion of Chriſts Religion, truely and plainly ſet forth in Baptiſm, the plain declaration and underſtanding of the ſame, taught in the holy Catechiſm, to have been learned of all true Chriſtians.

To die in any right whatſoever it be is to die in Gods cauſe.

To die in the truth againſt theeves, and to die for the truth againſt Chriſts enemies, compared.

Truth taught in the Church of England.

The Church had alſo a true and ſincere form and manner of the Lords Supper, wherein according to Jeſus Chriſts own ordinance, and holy Inſtitution, Chriſts Commandements were

True miniſtration of the Lords Supper.

executed and done. For upon the bread and wine, ſet upon the Lords Table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lords death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Chriſts body torn upon the croſſe, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Chriſts blood ſhed, was diſtributed, and both communicated unto all that were preſent and would receive them, and alſo they were exhorted of the miniſter ſo to do.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, ſo that every thing might be moſt eaſily heard, and plainly underſtood of all the people, to Gods high glory, and the edification of the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole divine ſervice, all common and publike prayers ordained to be ſaid and heard in the common Congregation, not onely framed and faſhioned to the true vein of holy Scripture, but alſo ſet forth according to the commandement of the Lord, and St. Pauls doctrine for the peoples edification, in their vulgar tongue.

Homilies in the Church of England.

Articles ſet forth for matters of controverſie.

It had alſo holy and wholſome Homilies in commendation of the principall vertues, which are commended in Scripture: and likewiſe other Homilies againſt the moſt pernicious and capitall vices that uſe (alas) to raigne in this Realm of England. This Church had, in matters of controverſie, articles ſo penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true underſtanding of Gods Word, that in ſhort time if they had been univerſally received, they ſhould have been able to have ſet in Chriſts Church much concord and unity in Chriſts true religion, and to have expelled many falſe errours and hereſies, wherewith this Church, alas, was almoſt overgone.

Theeves of Samaria in Chriſts church, Sabei, Chaldei.

Robbing of Chriſts church.

Baptiſme mixt with mens fantaſies.

But alas, of late into this ſpirituall poſſeſſion of the heavenly treaſure of theſe godly riches, are entred in theeves, that have robbed and ſpoyled all this heavenly treaſure away. I may well complain on theſe things, and cry out upon them with the Prophet, ſaying, Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, &c. Pſal. 72. O Lord God, the Gentiles, Heathen Nations, are come into thy heritage: They have defiled thy holy Temple, and made Jeruſalem an heap of ſtones, that is, They have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy City. This Heatheniſh generation, theſe theeves of Samaria, theſe Sabei and Chaldei, theſe robbers have ruſhed out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the foreſaid holy treaſure of God; they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and inſtead of Gods holy Word, the true and right adminiſtration of Chriſts holy Sacraments, as of Baptiſme, and others, they mixt their Miniſtery with mens fooliſh fantaſies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withall.

The Lords ſupper turned to the Maſſe.

Luke 22.

1 Cor. 11.

The Lords cup robbed.

In ſtead of the Lords holy Table, they give the people with much ſolemne diſguiſing a thing which they call their Maſſe, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty jugling, whereby theſe falſe theeves and juglers have bewitched the mindes of the ſimple people, that they have brought them from the true worſhip of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to beleeve that to be Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in it ſelf, but in ſubſtance is the creature of bread and wine, and in uſe of the Lords Table is the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood: and for this holy uſe, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his Table, to repreſent unto us his bleſſed Body torn upon the croſſe for us, and his Blood there ſhedde, it pleaſed him to call them his Body and Blood: which underſtanding Chriſt declareth to be his true meaning, when he ſaith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, Saint Paul likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame Sacrament, after the words of conſecration, ſaying, as often as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſet forth (he meaneth with the ſame) the Lords death untill his coming again. And here again theſe theeves have robbed alſo the people of the Lords Cup, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt, written in his Goſpel.

Prayers turned into an unknown tongue.

Now for the common publike prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, theſe theeves have brought in again a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people underſtand not one word. Wherein what do they elſe, but rob the people of their Divine Service, wherein they ought to pray together with the Miniſter? and to pray in a ſtrange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarouſneſſe, childiſhneſſe, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madneſſe.

In ſtead of Homilies the Popes decrees ſet up.

The Popes doctrine containeth blaſphemy to God, treaſon to Chriſt, is contrary to Gods Word, is a ſubverſion of true godlineſſe, and deſtruction to mans ſoul.

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholeſome Homilies, what do theſe theeves place in the ſtead of them, but the Popes Laws and Decrees, lying Legends, fained Fables, and Miracles to delude and abuſe the ſimplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not onely committed, nay, ſacriledge and wicked ſpoyl of heavenly things, but alſo in the ſtead of the ſame, is brought in and placed the abominable deſolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the ſhameleſſe-faced King, and of the Babylonicall Beaſt. Unto this robbery, this theft and ſacriledge, for that I cannot conſent, nor (God willing) ever ſhall ſo long as the breath is in my body, becauſe it is blaſphemy againſt God, high treaſon unto Chriſt our heavenly King, Lord, Maſte, and our onely Saviour and Redeemer, it is plain contrary to Gods Word, and to Chriſts Goſpel, it is the ſubverſion of all true godlineſſe, and againſt the everlaſting ſalvation of mine own ſoul, and of all my brethren and ſiſters, whom Chriſt my Saviour hath ſo dearly bought, with no leſſe price than with the affuſion and ſhedding forth of his moſt precious Blood: Therefore all ye my true lovers in God, my kinſfolks and countrey-men, for this cauſe (I ſay) know ye that I am put to death, which by Gods grace I ſhall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at Gods hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlaſting life.

Compariſon between popiſh perſecutors and wrong theeves.

Although the cauſe of the true man ſlain of the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cauſe wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I ſaid before) yet know ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe theeves againſt whom I do ſtand, are much worſe than the robbers and theeves of the borders. The goods which they ſteal are much more precious, and their kindes of fight are farre divers. Theſe theeves are worſe (I ſay) for they are more cruell, more wicked, more falſe, more deceitfull and crafty: for thoſe will but kill the body, but theſe will not ſtick to kill both body and ſoul. Thoſe, for the generall theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, theeves and robbers: but theſe, for their ſpirituall kinde of robbery, are called Sacrilegi, as ye would ſay, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for thoſe go about to ſpoyl men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and ſilver, and worldly ſubſtance; theſe go about in the wayes of the devill their ghoſtly father, to ſteal from the univerſall Church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treaſure, true faith, true charity, and hope of ſalvation in the Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, yea to ſpoyl us of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, of his Goſpel, of his heavenly ſpirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the Kingdom of heaven, ſo dearly purchaſed unto us, with the death of our Maſter and Saviour Chriſt. Theſe be the goods and godly ſubſtance whereupon the Chriſtian before God muſt live, and without the which he cannot live: Theſe goods (I ſay) theſe theeves, theſe Church-robbers go about to ſpoyl us of. The which goods, as to the man of God, they excell and far paſſe all worldly treaſure; ſo to withſtand even unto the death ſuch theeves as go about to ſpoyl both us and the whole Church of ſuch goods, is moſt high and honourable ſervice done unto God.

Popiſh perſecutors when they are falſe theeves, yet will they be called true Catholikes.

Theſe Church-robbers be alſo much more falſe, crafty, and deceitfull than the theeves upon the borders; for theſe have not the craft ſo to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themſelves to be evill, they ſteale commonly upon the night, they dare not appear at judgements and Seſſions, where juſtice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft times hanged for their faults. But theſe Church-robbers can ſo cloake and colour their ſpirituall robberie, that they can make people to beleeve falſhood to be truth, and truth falſhood, good to be evill, and evill good, light to be darkneſſe, and darkneſſe light, ſuperſtition to be true religion, and Idolatry to be the true worſhip of God, and that which is in ſubſtance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other ſubſtance but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falſhood and craft they can ſo juggle and bewitch the underſtanding of the ſimple, that they dare avouch it openly in Court and in Towne, and feare neither hanging nor heading, as the poore theeves of the borders do, but ſtout and ſtrong like Nembroth dare condemne to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whoſoever will go about to bewray their falſhood.

The fight with ſpirituall theeves, is worſe than with temporall theeves.

The kinde of fight againſt theſe Church-robers is alſo of another ſort and kinde, than is that which is againſt the theeves of the borders. For there the true men go forth againſt them with ſpear and launce, with bow and bill, and all ſuch kinde of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here as the enemies be of another nature, ſo the watch-men of Chriſts flock, the warriours that fight in the Lords war, muſt be armed and fight with another kinde of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the ſouldiers of Antichriſt, although the battell is ſet forth againſt the Church by mortall men, being fleſh and blood, and neverthe leſſe members of their father the Divell, yet for that their graund Maſter is the power of darkneſſe, their members are ſpirituall wickedneſſe, wicked ſpirits, ſpirits of errours, of hereſies, of all deceit and ungodlines, ſpirits of Idolatry, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſie, which are called of Saint Paul, Principates and and powers, Lords of the world, Rulers of the darknes of this world, and ſpirituall ſubtleties concerning heavenly things, therefore our weapons muſt be fit and meet to fight againſt ſuch, not carnall nor bodily weapons, as ſpear and launce, but ſpirituall and heavenly: we muſt fight againſt ſuch with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errours their falſe craft and hereſies, their Idolatry, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſie, and to ſave (as much as lyeth in us) both their bodies and ſouls.

Epheſ. 6.

And therefore as S. Paul teacheth us, we fight not againſt fleſh and blood, that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errours and vice, and to ſave both bodie and ſoule.

Epheſ. 6.

Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charitie, righteouſneſſe, truth, patience, prayer unto God, and our ſword wherewith we ſmite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falſhood, is the word of God. With theſe weapons, under the banner of the Croſſe of Chriſt, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our graund Maſter, Duke and Captain Chriſt; and then we reckon our ſelves to triumph and to win the Crown of everlaſting bliſſe, when induring in this battell without any ſhrinking or yeelding to the enemies, after the example of our graund Captain Chriſt our Maſter, after the example of his holy Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlain in our mortall bodies of our enemies, and are moſt cruelly and without all mercie murthered down like a many of ſheep. And the more cruell, the more painfull, the more vile and ſpitefull is the kinde of death whereunto we be put; the more glorious in God, the more bleſſed and happie we reckon (without all doubts) our martyredome to be.

The weapons of a chriſtian warriour.

And thus much deare lovers and friends in God, my Countrimen and kinsfolk, I have ſpoken for your comfort, leſt of my death (of whoſe life you looked peradventure ſometimes to have had honeſty, pleaſures, and commodities) ye might be abaſhed or think any evill: whereas ye have rather cauſe to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) for that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rocheſter, or in the See of London, or ever ſhould have had in the See of Durham, whereunto I was laſt of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to dye in his cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporall promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be Gods, to be Chriſts quarrell, and of his Goſpel, to be the common weale of all the elect and choſen children of God, of all the inheritors of the Kingdome of heaven, who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by Gods word, and the teſtimony of his own conſcience (as I through the infinite goodneſſe of God, not of my ſelf, but by his grace acknowledge my ſelfe to do) who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God indeed and in truth, loveth and beleeveth his Maſter Chriſt and his bleſſed Goſpel, loveth his brotherhood, the choſen children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for everlaſting life, who is he (I ſay againe) that would not or cannot finde in his heart in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this minde, will, and affection by his holy ſpirit in my heart, to ſtand againſt the face of the enemie in his cauſe, and to chuſe rather the loſſe of all my worldly ſubſtance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, ayd me, and ſtrengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yeelding up of my ſpirit and ſoul into his holy hands, whereof I moſt heartily beſeech his moſt holy ſacred Majeſtie of his infinite goodneſſe and mercie, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

D. Ridley named to the See of Durham.

The cauſe of Martyrs is the common cauſe, of Chriſt, and of all his elect Saints.

Let no man ſhrink to die in ſuch a bleſſed and common quarrell.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrimen and kinsfolke, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leiſure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places alſo, farewell. And whom firſt or before other, then the Univerſitie of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithfull and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my naturall Parents

To his friends in Cambridge.

rents only excepted) than ever I did even in mine own native Country wherein I was born.

Benefits ſhewed to D. Ridley in Cambridge.

Farewell therefore (Cambridge) my loving Mother and tender Nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I ſhould not for thy benefits at the leaſt love thee again, truly I were to be counted too ungrate and unkinde. What benefits hadſt thou ever, that thou uſeſt to give and beſtow upon thy beſt beloved children, that thou thoughteſt too good for me? Thou didſt beſtow on me all thy ſchoole degrees, the common offices, the Chaplainſhip of the Univerſitie, the office of the Proctorſhip, and of a common Reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in Colledges, what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſt to be Scholler, then to be Fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me again to a Maſterſhip of a right worſhipfull Colledge. I thanke thee my loving Mother for all this thy kindneſſe, and I pray God that his lawes, and the ſincere Goſpel of Chriſt may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Pembroke-Hal in Cambridge.

Commendation of Pembroke-Hall to be a ſetter-forth ever of the Goſpel.

Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine own Colledge, my Cure and my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt ever named ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great ſetter forth of Chriſts Goſpel, and of Gods true word; ſo I found thee, and bleſſed be God ſo I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee mine own dear Colledge, if ever thou ſuffer thy ſelfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the wals, buts, and trees, if they could ſpeak, would beare me witneſſe) I learned without booke almoſt all Pauls Epiſtles, yea, and I ween all the Canonicall Epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalyps. Of which ſtudie, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life time ever after, and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeale and love toward that part of Gods word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy Scripture, may ever abide in that Colledge ſo long as the World ſhall endure.

D. Ridley learned the Epiſtles of Saint Paul and Peter without book in Pembroke-Hall.

D. Ridley called into Kent by Archbiſhop Cranmer, to the Pariſh of Hern in Kent.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Arch-biſhop of Canterburie Thomas Cranmer, that moſt reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by ſent to be Vicar of Herne in Eaſt Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worſhipfull and wealthy pariſh, the firſt Cure whereunto I was called to preach Gods word. Thou haſt heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the Popiſh trade, but after Chriſts Goſpel: Oh that the fruit had anſwered to the ſeed. And yet I muſt acknowledge me to be thy debter for the doctrine of the Lords Supper, which at that time I acknowldege God had not revealed unto me: but I bleſſe God in all that godly vertue and zeal of Gods word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifeſtly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Phines; the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other mo.

The godly Lady Phines in Hern Pariſh.

To the metropolitick See of Canterbury.

Farewell thou Cathedrall Church of Canterburie, the Metropolitike See, whereof once I was a member. To ſpeake things pleaſant unto thee I dare not for danger of conſcience, and diſpleaſure of my Lord God, and to ſay what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I feare were able to do thee now but little good. Neverthleſſe, for the friendſhip I have found in ſome there, and for charitie ſake I wiſh thee to be waſhed cleane of all worldlineſſe and ungodlineſſe, that thou maiſt be found of God after thy name Chriſts Church in deed and in truth.

To the See of Rocheſter.

Farewell Rocheſter, ſometime my Cathedrall See, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did finde much gentleneſſe and obedience, and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary, but I did uſe it to Gods glory and thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadſt and mightſt have continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods law wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden ſhould not have been ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verily it is like to be (alas) in the later day.

To Weſtminſter.

To Weſtminſter other advertiſement in God I have not now to ſay, then I have ſaid before to the Cathedrall Church of Canterbury, and ſo God give thee of his grace, that thou maiſt learn in deed and in truth to pleaſe him after his own laws: and thus fare you well.

To the See of London.

Oh London, London, to whom now may I ſpeak in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewell? Shall I ſpeak to the Prebendaries of Pauls? Alas, all that loved Gods Word, and were the true ſetters forth thereof, are now (as I hear ſay) ſome burnt and ſlain, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome holden in hard priſon, and appointed daily to be put to moſt cruell death for Chriſts Goſpel ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Biſhop Ridley depoſed from the See of London without right or judgement.

Shall I ſpeak to the See thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully by the ſpace of three years? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I hear ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by judgement as unjuſt uſurper of that room. O judgement, judgement. Can this be juſt judgement to condemn the chief Miniſter of Gods Word, the Paſtor and Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, and never bring him into judgement, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever ſuffer him to have any place or time to anſwer for himſelf? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter, when true Juſtice ſhall have place, this judgement can ever be allowed either of God or of man? Well, as for the cauſe and whole matter of my depoſition, and the ſpoil of my goods which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I referre it unto God which is a juſt Judge; and I beſeech God, if it be his pleaſure, that that which is but my perſonall wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the later day, this onely I can pray for.

The See of London worthily rebuked.

O thou now wicked and bloudy See, why doeſt thou ſet up again many altars of Idolatry, which by the Word of God were juſtly taken away? Why haſt thou overthrown the Lords Table? Why doeſt thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy Maſſes in ſtead of the Lords holy Supper, which ought to be common as well (ſaith Chryſoſtome, yea the Lord himſelf) to the people as to the Prieſt? How dareſt thou deny to the people of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſſe commandement in the Goſpel, his holy Cup? Why bableſt thou to the people the Common-Prayer in a ſtrange tongue, wherein Saint Paul commandeth in the Lords name, that no man ſhould ſpeak before the Congregation, except it ſhould be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken thou Whoriſh Bawde of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Antichriſt, thou bloudy Wolf, why ſlayeſt thou down, and makeſt havock of the Prophets of God? Why murthereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſts poor ſeely ſheep, which will not hear thy voice, becauſe thou art a ſtranger, and will follow none other but their own Paſtor Chriſt his voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require the bloud of his Saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I ſay) will not indeed,

The bloudy See of London.

nor

Biſh. Ridleys propheſie upon the Epiſcopall ſee of London.

nor can (although thou art not aſhamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to eſcape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou aſſured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which ſitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he ſeeth all thy wicked waies and crueltie done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou Whoriſh Drab) ſhalt thou never eſcape. Inſtead of my farewell to thee now I ſay fye upon thee, fye upon thee filthy Drab, and all thy falſe Prophets.

To the City of London.

Yet thou (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy Epiſcopall See, now being joyned in league with the ſeat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the Saints of God: yet I do not doubt but in that great City there be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that miſchief, the which never did nor ſhall conſent to that wickedneſſe, but do deteſt and abhorre it as the wayes of Satan. But theſe privy mourners here I will paſſe by, and bid them farewell with their fellowes hereafter, when the place and occaſion ſhall more conveniently require. Among the worſhipfull of the City, and ſpecially which were in office of Maioralty, yea, and in other Cities alſo (whom to name now it ſhall not be neceſſary) in the time of my Miniſtery, which was from the later part of Sir Rowland Hils yeer, unto Sir George Barnes yeer, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanity and gentleneſſe, as me thought: but (to ſay the truth) that I do eſteem above all other for true Chriſtian kindneſſe, which is ſhewed in Gods cauſe, and done for his ſake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs Alderman and Knight, thou in thy yeer diddeſt win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that moſt bleſſed work of God of the erection and ſetting up of Chriſts holy Hoſpitals, and truly religious houſes, which by thee, and through thee were begun. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Chriſts poore ſilly members to be holpen from extream miſery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I ſay, was moved with pietie, and as Chriſts high honourable officer in that cauſe, thou calledſt together thy brethren the Aldermen of the Citie, before whom thou brakeſt the matter for the poore; thou diddeſt pleade their cauſe, yea, and not onely in thine own perſon thou diddeſt ſet forth Chriſts cauſe, but to further the matter, thou broughteſt me into the councell chamber of the City before the Aldermen alone, whom thou haddeſt aſſembled there together to hear me ſpeak what I could ſay, as an Advocate by office and duety, in the poore mens cauſe. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the conſent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common Councell, and ſo to the whole body of the Citie; by whom with an uniforme conſent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and deviſed by a certain number of the moſt witty Citizens and politique, endued alſo with godlineſſe, and with ready hearts to ſet forward ſuch a noble act, as could be choſen in all the whole City: and they like true and faithfull Miniſters both to their City and their Maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deviſed, and brought forth the matter, that thouſands of ſilly poore members of Chriſt, which elſe for extream hunger and miſery ſhould have famiſhed and periſhed, ſhall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and ſhall have cauſe to bleſſe the Aldermen of that time, the common Councell, and the whole body of the City, but ſpecially thee O Dobs, and thoſe choſen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that ſo long throughout all ages, as that godly work ſhall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the worlds end, Amen.

Commendation of ſir Richard Dobs, Alderman and Knight.

The erecting of the Hoſpitall by B. Ridley and ſir Richard Dobs, Maior of London.

Commendation of ſir George Barnes, Maior of London.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confeſſed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other, thou waſt in thy yeer not onely a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predeceſſor was well begun; but alſo diddeſt labour ſo to have perfited the work, that it ſhould have been an abſolute thing and perfect ſpectacle of true charitie and godlineſſe unto all Chriſtendome. Thine endeavour was to have ſet up an houſe of occupations, both that all kinde of poverty being able to work ſhould not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief and to the profit and commodity of the Common-wealth of the City, and alſo to have retired thither the poore babes brought up in the Hoſpitals, when they had come to a certain age and ſtrength, and alſo all thoſe which in the Hoſpitals aforeſaid had been cured of their diſeaſes. And to have brought this to paſſe, thou obtainedſt, not without great diligence and labour both of thee and of thy brethren of that godly King Edward, that Chriſtian and peereleſſe Princes hand, his Princely place of Bridewell, and what other things to the performance of the ſame, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like ſucceſſe, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and ſtate of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchſafe to amend when it ſhall be his gracious will and pleaſure.

Bridewell obtained of King Edward by ſir George Barnes to ſet poor people a work.

To the citizens of London.

Farewell now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what ſtate and condition ſoever yee be. Undoubtedly in London ye have heard Gods Word truly preached. My hearts deſire and daily prayer ſhall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am countable, that yee never ſwerve, neither for loſſe of life nor worldly goods, from Gods holy Word, and yeild unto Antichriſt: whereupon muſt needs follow the extream diſpleaſure of God, and the loſſe both of your bodies and ſoules into perpetuall damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any ſpace in the time of my pilgrimage here upon Earth, remembring that for the ſpace of King Edwards raigne, which was for the time of mine office in the Seas of London and Rocheſter, I was a member of the higher houſe of the Parliament; therefore (ſeeing my God hath given me leiſure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the temporalty farewell. They ſhall have no juſt cauſe (by Gods grace) to take it that I intend to ſay in ill part. As for the ſpirituall Prelacy that now is, I have nothing to ſay to them, except I ſhould repeat again a great part of that I have ſaid before now already to the See of London. To you therefore my Lords of the temporalty will I ſpeak, and this would I have you firſt to underſtand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I ſhould be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing ſhould not come to your knowledge, before the time of the diſſolution of my body and ſoul ſhould be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes onely the fear of God, and Chriſtian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure. If my talk ſhall do you never ſo much pleaſure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I diſpleaſe you can ye hurt me or harm me: for I ſhall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that ſeeketh nothing

To the higher houſe and temporall Lords of the Parliament.

at

Galath. 3.

A good warning or leſſon to the temporall Lords.

Ezek. 3.

Luk. 6.

Ignorance will not excuſe the temporalty, being ſeduced in religion.

The Lords of the Parliament be fallen from Chriſt to Chriſts enemy.

at your hands, but to ſerve God, and to do you good: hearken what I ſay. I ſay unto you as S. Paul ſaith to the Galathians; I wonder my Lords what hath bewitched you, that yee ſo ſuddenly are fallen from Chriſt unto Antichriſt, from Chriſts Goſpel unto mans traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the Biſhop now of Rome. I warne you of your perill; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly conſenters unto your own death. For if you think thus; We are Lay-men, this is a matter of religion, we follow as we are taught and led, if our Teachers and Governors teach us and lead us amiſſe, the fault is in them, they ſhall bear the blame: My Lords this is true (I grant you) that both the falſe teachers, and the corrupt governour ſhall be puniſhed for the death of their Subject, whom they have falſly taught and corruptly lead, yea, and his bloud ſhall be required at their hands: but yet neverthleſſe ſhall the ſubject dye the death himſelf alſo, that is, he ſhall alſo be damned for his own ſinne; for if the blind lead the blind, Chriſt ſaith, not the leader onely, but he ſaith, both ſhall fall into the Ditch. Shall the Synagogue and the Senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forſook Chriſt, and conſented to his death, therefore be excuſed, becauſe Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Phariſees and their Clergy, did teach them amiſſe? yea and alſo Pilate their Governor and the Emperors Lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cauſe put him to death: Forſooth no my Lords, no. For notwithſtanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates waſhing of his hands, neither of both ſhall excuſe either that Synagogue and Seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lords hand, for the effuſion of that innocent bloud, on the later day all ſhall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty and underſtand what I mean; therefore I will paſſe over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his adverſary the Biſhop of Rome.

Acts 26.

Many good men in the See of Rome.

So long as the See of Rome followed the rules of the Apoſtles, it might be called Peter or Pauls Chair. The Church received of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. Tertul.

And leſt (my Lords) ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Biſhop of Rome Chriſts adverſary, or (to ſpeak in plain termes) to call him Antichriſt, that it is done in mine anguiſh, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate man do not care what I ſay, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your Lordſhips may perceive my minde, and thereby underſtand that I ſpeak the words of truth and ſobriety (as Saint Paul ſaid unto Feſtus) be it known unto your Lordſhips all, that as concerning the Biſhop of Rome, I neither hate the perſon nor the place. For I enſure your Lordſhips (the living Lord beareth me witneſſe, before whom I ſpeak) I do think many a good holy man, many Martyrs and Saints of God have ſit and taught in that place Chriſts Goſpel truly, which therefore juſtly may be called Apoſtolici, that is, true Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and alſo that Church and Congregation of Chriſtians to be a right Apoſtolike Church: yea, and that certain hundreth yeers after the ſame was firſt erected and builded upon Chriſt, by the true Apoſtolicall doctrine taught by the mouthes of the Apoſtles themſelves. If ye will know how long that was and how many hundreth yeers, to be curious in pointing the preciſe number of the yeers I will not be too bold, but thus I ſay; So long and ſo many hundreth yeers as that See did truly teach and preach that Goſpel, that religion, exerciſed that power, and ordered every thing by thoſe lawes and rules which that See received of the Apoſtles, and (as Tertullian ſaith) the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God, ſo long (I ſay) that See might well have been called Peter and Pauls Chair and See, or rather Chriſts Chair, and the Biſhop thereof Apoſtolicus, or true Diſciple and Succeſſour of the Apoſtles, and a Miniſter of Chriſt.

The See of Rome hath degenerated from the Apoſtles rules, and hath ſet up another religion.

That is, hath exerciſed another power.

Hath ordained ſtrange laws.

If true doctrine make the See Apoſtolike, then contrary doctrine maketh the See to be Antichriſtian.

But ſince the time that that See hath degenerated from the Trade of truth and true Religion, the which it received of the Apoſtles at the beginning, and hath preached another Goſpel, hath ſet up another religion, hath exerciſed another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the Church of Chriſt by other ſtrange Laws, Canons, and Rules then ever it received of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles of Chriſt, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued ſo doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time; ſince the time (I ſay) that the ſtate and condition of that See hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the See and of the ſitter therein. For underſtand my Lords, it was neither for the priviledge of the place or perſon thereof, that that See and Biſhop thereof were called Apoſtolike; but for the true trade of Chriſts Religion which was taught and maintained in that See at the firſt, and of thoſe godly men. And therefore as truly and juſtly as that See then, for that true trade of religion, and conſanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Chriſts Apoſtles, was called Apoſtolike; ſo as truly and as juſtly for the contrariety of religion, and diverſity of doctrine from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that See and the Biſhop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed Antichriſtian.

Apoc. 17.

Apoc. 1

Kings committing adultery with the whore of Babylon, what it meaneth.

Apoc. 1

Daniel 7.

The See is the ſeat of Satan, and the Biſhop of the ſame, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is Antichriſt himſelf indeed. And for the ſame cauſes this See at this day is the ſame which Saint John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the Whore of Babylon, and ſpirituall Sodoma and Egyptus, the Mother of fornication and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this Whore doth ſpiritually meddle, and lyeth with her, and committeth moſt ſtinking and abominable adultery before God, all thoſe Kings and Princes, yea and all Nations of the Earth which do conſent to her abominations, and uſe or practiſe the ſame; that is (of the innummerable multitude of them to rehearſe ſome for example ſake) her diſpenſations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of Saints, her worſhipping of Images, her falſe counterfeit religion in her Monkery and Frierage, and her traditions, whereby Gods Laws are defiled; as her maſſing and falſe miniſtring of Gods Word and the Sacraments of Chriſt cleane contrary to Chriſts Word and the Apoſtles doctrine, (whereof in particularity I have touched ſomething before in my talk had with the See of London, and in other treatiſes more at large: wherein (if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring the ſame to light) it ſhall appear I truſt by Gods grace plainly to the man of God, and to him whoſe rule in judgement of religion is Gods Word, that that Religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this Whore of Babylon, and the Beaſt whereupon ſhe doth ſit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and ſword, with ſpoyl and baniſhment (according to Daniels propheſie) and finally with all falſehood, deceit, hypocriſie, and all kinde of ungodlineſſe, are as clean contrary to Gods Word, as darkneſſe is unto light, or light unto darkneſſe, white to black, or black to white, or as Belial unto Chriſt, or Chriſt unto Antichriſt himſelf.

He ſpeaketh to the Lords temporall.

I know my Lords, and foreſaw when I wrote this, that ſo many of you as ſhould ſee this my writing, not being before endued with the Spirit of grace and the Light of Gods Word, ſo many (I ſay) would at theſe my words Lordlike ſtampe and ſpurn, and ſpit thereat. But ſober your ſelves with patience, and be ſtill, and know ye that in my writing of this, my minde was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witneſſe) both to do you profit and pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your diſpleaſure, by that time this ſhall come to your knowledge, I truſt by Gods grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, (as Saint John ſaith) the greateſt of all, and then I ſhall not need (I trow) to fear what any Lord, no nor what King or Prince can do unto me.

My Lords, if in times paſt ye have been contented to hear me ſometimes in matters of religion before the Prince in the Pulpit, and in the Parliament houſe, and have not ſeemed to have deſpiſed what I have ſaid (when as elſe if ye had perceived juſt occaſion, ye might then have ſuſpected me in my talk, though it had been reaſonable, either deſire of worldly gain, or fear of diſpleaſure) how hath then your Lordſhips more cauſe to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, ſeeing now ye cannot juſtly think of me being in this caſe appointed to dye, and looking daily when I ſhall be called to come before the eternall Judge, otherwiſe but that I onely ſtudy to ſerve my Lord God, and to ſay that thing which I am perſwaded aſſuredly by Gods Word ſhall and doth pleaſe him, and profit all them to whom God ſhall give grace to hear and beleeve what I do ſay? And I do ſay even that I have ſaid heretofore both of the See of Rome and of the Biſhop thereof, I mean after this their preſent ſtate at this day, wherein if ye will not beleeve the Miniſters of God, and true Preachers of his Word, verily I denounce unto you in Verbo Domini, except ye do repent betime, it ſhall turn to your confuſion, and to your ſmart on the later day. Forget not what I ſay my Lords, for Gods ſake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I muſt be countable of this my talk, and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternall Judge (who will judge nothing amiſſe) ſo ſhall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you ſhall be charged, if yee will not hearken to Gods Word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be perſwaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordſhips had been perſwaded indeed ſufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed ſo uniformly with one conſent to aboliſhment of the uſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the Prince muſt be obeyed; how is it now made a matter wherein (as your Clergy ſaith now, and ſo ſaith the Popes laws indeed) ſtandeth the unitie of the Catholike Church, and a matter of neceſſity of our ſalvation? Hath the time, being ſo ſhort ſince the death of the two laſt Kings, Henry the eighth, and Edward his ſonne, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the ſame nature and danger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is ſaid by the Popes laws, and the inſtructions ſet forth in Engliſh to the Curates of the Dioceſſe of York) indeed a matter of neceſſity to ſalvation: how then chanced it that ye were all (O my Lords) ſo light, and ſo little paſſed upon the Catholike faith and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be ſaved) as for your Princes pleaſures which were but mortall men, to forſake the unity of your Catholike faith, that is, to forſake Chriſt and his Goſpel? And furthermore, if it were both then and now is ſo neceſſary to ſalvation, how chanced it alſo that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not onely aboliſh and expell the Biſhop of Rome, but alſo did abjure him in your own perſons, and did decree in your acts great oathes to be taken of both the ſpiritualty and temporalty, whoſoever ſhould enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the Common-wealth? But on the other ſide, if the law and decree which maketh the ſupremacy of the See and Biſhop of Rome over the univerſall Church of Chriſt, be a thing of neceſſity required unto ſalvation by an Antichriſtian law (as it is indeed) and ſuch inſtructions as are given to the Dioceſſe of York, be indeed a ſetting forth of the power of that Beaſt of Babylon, by the craft and falſehood of his falſe Prophets (as of truth, compared unto Gods Word, and truly judged by the ſame, it ſhall plainly appear that they be) then my Lords never think other, but the day ſhall come when ye ſhall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgement, juſtice, and truth agreeable to Gods law. The Whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you ſo drunken with the wine of her filthy ſtews and whoredome (as with her diſpenſations and promiſes of pardon à pœna & culpa) that for drunkenneſſe and blindneſſe ye may think your ſelves ſafe. But be ye aſſured, when the living Lord ſhall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his Word, when all her abominations ſhall appear what they be; then ye my Lords, (I give your Lordſhips warning in time) repent if ye be happy, and love your own ſoules health, repent, I ſay, or elſe without all doubt, ye ſhall never eſcape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury and breach of your oath. As ye have banquetted and lain by the Whore in the fornication of her whoriſh diſpenſations, pardons, idolatry, and ſuch like abominations; ſo ſhall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lords indignation and everlaſting wrath, which is prepared for the Beaſt, his falſe Prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredome and abominations, muſt alſo be partner with them of their plagues, and in the later day ſhall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimſtone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well my Lords all. I pray God give you underſtanding of his bleſſed will and pleaſure, and make you to beleeve and embrace the truth, Amen.

Pſal. 4.

If the unity of the Popes Church ſtandeth upon neceſſity of ſalvation, why did the Lords of this Realm abjure this unity in King Henry and King Edwards dayes? If it be otherwiſe, why then do they exjure themſelves, turning to it again?

Ierem. 6.

Another farewell to the priſoners in Chriſts Goſpels cauſe, and to all them which for the ſame cauſe are exiled and baniſhed out from their own country, chooſing rather to leave all worldly commodity, then their Maſter Chriſt.

Another farewell of biſhop Ridley to the priſoners, &c.

Farewell my dearly beloved brethren in Chriſt, both ye my fellow priſoners, and ye alſo that be exiled and baniſhed out of your countries, becauſe ye will rather forſake all worldly commodity, then the Goſpel of Chriſt.

Farewell all ye together in Chriſt; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the triall of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience ſhall make us perfect, whole and ſound on every ſide, and ſuch after triall (ye know) ſhall receive the Crown of life, according to the promiſe of the Lord made to his dear beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and later rain for the encreaſe of his crop, ſo let us be patient and pluck up our hearts; for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us (my dear brethren) take example of patience in tribulation of the Prophets, which ſpake likewiſe Gods Word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord ſuffered, which is full of mercy and pitie. We know my brethren by Gods Word, that our

James 5.

1 Pet. 1.
1 Pet. 2.

faith is much more precious then any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even ſo our faith is therfore tried likewiſe in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord ſhall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Chriſts cauſe do ſuffer, that is gratefull before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our ſtate and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Chriſt we know ſuffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his footſteps; for he committed no ſinne, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evill intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the puniſhment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Matth. 5.
Luke 21.

Let us ever have in freſh remembrance thoſe wonderfull comfortable ſentences ſpoken by the mouth of our Saviour Chriſt; Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven. Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, perſecute you, and ſpeak all evill againſt you for my ſake: rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for ſo did they perſecute the Prophets which were before you. Therefore let us alway bear this in our mindes, that if any commodity do chance unto us for righteouſneſſe ſake, happy are we whatſoever the world doth think of us. Chriſt our Maſter hath told us before hand, that the brother ſhould put the brother to death, and the father the ſonne, and the children ſhould riſe againſt their parents and kill them, and that Chriſts true Apoſtles ſhould be hated of all men for his names ſake; but he that ſhall abide patiently unto the end, ſhall be ſaved.

Luke 6.
Matth. 10.
Matth. 10.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently after the example of our Maſter Chriſt, and be contented therewith, for he ſuffered being our Maſter and Lord: how doth it not then become us to ſuffer? For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant above his Lord. It may ſuffice the Diſciple to be as his Maſter, and the ſervant to be as his Lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Maſter of the houſhold, Bælzebub, how much more ſhall they call ſo them of his houſhold? Fear them not then (ſaith our Saviour) for all privities ſhall be made plain; there is now nothing ſecret, but it ſhall be ſhewed in light. Of Chriſts words let us neither be aſhamed, nor afraid to ſpeak them; for ſo Chriſt our Maſter commandeth us, ſaying: That I tell you privily, ſpeak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the houſe top. And fear not them which kill the body; for the ſoul they cannot kill, but fear him which can caſt both body and ſoul into hell fire.

Matth. 10.
To confeſſe Chriſt, and not to fear danger.

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and reſpect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, ſo that without his knowledge and permiſſion nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore caſt all our care upon him, and he ſhall provide that which ſhall be beſt for us. For if of two ſmall ſparrowes which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your father, and all the hairs of our head are numbred, fear not them (ſaith our Maſter Chriſt) for ye are more worth then many ſmall ſparrows. And let us not ſtick to confeſſe our Maſter Chriſt for fear of danger, whatſoever it ſhall be, remembring the promiſe that Chriſt maketh, ſaying; Whoſoever ſhall confeſſe me before men, him ſhall I confeſſe before my Father which is in Heaven: but whoſoever ſhall deny me, him ſhall I likewiſe deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Chriſt came not to give unto us here a carnall amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in eaſe and peace, but rather to ſeparate and divide them from the world, and to joyn them unto himſelf: in whoſe cauſe we muſt, if we will be his, forſake father and mother, and ſtick unto him. If we forſake him or ſhrink from him for trouble or deaths ſake, which he calleth his croſſe; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cauſe we ſhall loſe our temporall lives here, we ſhall finde them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if in his cauſe we will not be contented to leave nor loſe them here, then ſhall we loſe them ſo, that we ſhall never find them again, but in everlaſting death. What though our troubles here be painfull for the time, and the ſting of death bitter and unpleaſant? yet we know that they ſhall not laſt in compariſon of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Chriſts cauſe, ſhall procure and get us unmeaſurable heaps of Heavenly glory, unto the which theſe temporall pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be eſteemed, but to be rejoyced upon. Wonder not, ſaith Saint Peter, as though it were any ſtrange matter that ye are tried by the fire, he meaneth of tribulation, which thing, ſaith he, is done to prove you; nay rather in that ye are partners of Chriſts afflictions, rejoyce, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoyce with merry hearts. If ye ſuffer rebukes in Chriſts name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and diſhonoured, but of you he is glorified.

2 Cor. 4.
1 Pet. 3.

Let no man be aſhamed of that he ſuffereth as a Chriſtian, and in Chriſts cauſe; for now is the time that judgement and correction muſt begin at the houſe of God: and if it begin firſt at us, what ſhall be the end of thoſe, think ye, which beleeve not the Goſpel? And if the righteous ſhall be hardly ſaved, the wicked and the ſinner where ſhall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the Will of God, let them lay down and commit their ſouls to him by well doing, as to a truſty and faithfull Maker. This, as I ſaid, may not ſeem ſtrange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Chriſts congregation in this world is ſerved with the like, and by the ſame is made perfect. For the fervent love that the Apoſtles had unto their Maſter Chriſt, and for the great commodities and increaſe of all godlineſſe which they felt by their faith to inſue of afflictions in Chriſts cauſe, and thirdly for the heaps of heavenly joyes which the ſame do get unto the godly, which ſhall endure in heaven for evermore; for theſe cauſes (I ſay) the Apoſtles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoyced in that they were had and accounted worthy to ſuffer contumelies and rebukes for Chriſts name. And Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and ſtood in by faith; ſo he rejoyced in his afflictions for the heavenly and ſpirituall profits which he numbred to riſe upon them: yea, he was ſo far in love with that that the carnall man loatheth ſo much, that is, with Chriſts croſſe, that he judged himſelf to know nothing elſe but Chriſt crucified; he will glory (he ſaith) in nothing elſe but in Chriſts croſſe, yea and he bleſſeth all thoſe, as the onely true Iſraelites and elect people of God with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

The cauſes why the Apoſtles ſo rejoyced in their afflictions.
1 Cor. 2.
2 Cor. 11.

O Lord, what a wonderfull ſpirit was that that made Paul in ſetting forth of himſelf againſt the vanitie of Satans Pſeudo-apoſtles, and in his claim there, that he in Chriſts cauſe did excell and paſſe them all? what wonderfull ſpirit was that (I ſay) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and ſcourgings, his ſhipwracks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger,

ger, nakedneſſe, and cold, with many moe, and the dayly care of all the congregations of Chriſt, among whom every mans pain did pierce his heart, and every mans grief was grievous unto him?

2 Tim. 2.

The glory of Paul wherein it conſiſteth.

O Lord, is this Pauls primacy, whereof he thought ſo much good that he did excell other? Is not this Pauls ſaying unto Timothy his own ſchollar? and doth it not pertain to whoſoever will be Chriſts true ſouldiers? Bear thou (ſaith he) affliction like a good ſouldier of Jeſus Chriſt.

2 Tim. 2.

This is true: If we die with him (he meaneth Chriſt) we ſhall live with him; if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall raigne with him; if we deny him, he ſhall deny us; if we be faithleſſe, he remaineth faithfull, he cannot deny himſelf. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Chriſt and his way: and all that will live godly in Chriſt, ſhall (ſaith Saint Paul) ſuffer perſecution.

2 Tim 3.

By this way went to Heaven the Patriarks, the Prophets, Chriſt our Maſter, his Apoſtles, his Martyrs, and all the godly ſince the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him which was born after the ſpirit, for ſo it was in Iſaacs time: ſo ſaid St. Paul, it was in his time alſo.

Gal. 4.

And whether it be ſo or no now, let the ſpirituall man, the ſelf ſame man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge.

The way to heaven is by afflictions.

Of the croſſe of the Patriarks, as ye may reade in their ſtories, if ye reade the book of Geneſis, ye ſhall perceive.

Heb. 11.

Of other Saint Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, ſpeaking in a generality of the wonderfull afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God in Gods cauſe, and for the truths ſake willingly and gladly did ſuffer. After much particular rehearſall of many, he ſaith; Other were racked and deſpiſed, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better reſurrection. Other again were tried with mockings and ſcourgings, and moreover with bonds and impriſonment; they were ſtoned, hewn aſunder, tempted, fell, and were ſlain upon the edge of the ſword, ſome wandred to and fro in ſheeps pilches, in goats pilches, forſaken, oppreſſed, afflicted, ſuch godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandring in wilderneſſe, in mountains, in caves, and in dens, and all theſe were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the ſervants of God, and for thoſe their brethren which are to be ſlain as they were for the Word of Gods ſake, that none be ſhut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Maſter Chriſt in the ayre at his coming, and ſo to be in bliſſe with him in body and ſoul for evermore.

Heb. 12.

Therefore ſeeing we have ſo much occaſion to ſuffer and to take afflictions for Chriſts Names ſake patiently, ſo many commodities thereby, ſo weighty cauſes, ſo many good examples, ſo great neceſſity, ſo pure promiſes of eternall life and heavenly joyes of him that cannot lye: Let us throw away whatſoever might let us, all burden of ſin, and all kinde of carnality, and patiently and conſtantly let us runne for the beſt game in this race that is ſet before us, ever having our eyes upon Jeſus Chriſt the King-leader, Captain, and Perfiter of our faith, which for the joy that was ſet before him endured the croſſe, not paſſing upon the ignominy and ſhame thereof, and is ſet now at the right hand of the Throne of God.

Reaſons to move us to patience under the croſſe.

Conſider this, that he ſuffered ſuch ſtrife of ſinners againſt himſelf, that ye ſhould not give over, nor faint in your mindes. As yet brethren we have not withſtood unto death, fighting againſt ſinne. Let us never forget (dear brethren) for Chriſts ſake, that fatherly exhortation of the wiſe man that ſpeaketh unto us as unto his children, the godly wiſedome of God, ſaying thus; My ſon, deſpiſe not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and ſcourgeth every childe whom he receiveth.

Prov. 3.

What childe is he whom the father doth not chaſten? If ye be free from chaſtiſement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards and no children.

Heb. 12.

Seeing then, when as we have had carnall parents which chaſtened us, we reverenced them, ſhall not we much more be ſubject unto our ſpirituall father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own minde; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holineſſe. All chaſtiſement for the preſent time appeareth not pleaſant but painfull; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteouſneſſe on them which are exerciſed in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer (good brethren) and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the reſt, and let us walk upright and ſtraight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be preſent, but with the eyes of our faith let us ſtedfaſtly behold the things that be everlaſting in Heaven, and ſo chooſe rather in reſpect of that which is to come, with the choſen members of Chriſt to bear Chriſts Croſſe, than for this ſhort life time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleaſures of the broad world. Why ſhould we Chriſtians fear death? Can death deprive us of Chriſt, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forſooth. But contrary, death ſhall deliver us from this mortall body, which loadeth and beareth down the ſpirit, that it cannot ſo well perceive heavenly things; in the which ſo long as we dwell, we are abſent from God.

2 Cor. 5.

Wherefore underſtanding our ſtate in that we be Chriſtians, that if our mortall body, which is our earthly houſe, were deſtroyed, we have a building, a houſe not made with hands, but everlaſting in heaven, &c. therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are abſent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear ſight.

2 Cor. 5.

Neverthleleſſe we are bold, and had rather be abſent from the body, and preſent with God. Wherefore we ſtrive, whether we be preſent at home, and abſent abroad, that we may alwayes pleaſe him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Chriſt, whereby he knoweth ſomewhat truely what Chriſt our Saviour is, that he is the eternall Son of God, life, light, the wiſedome of the Father, all goodneſſe, all righteouſneſſe and whatſoever is good that heart can deſire, yea infinite plenty of all theſe, above that that mans heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulneſſe of the Godhead corporally) and alſo that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wiſedome, our righteouſneſſe, our holineſſe, and our redemption: who (I ſay) is he that beleeveth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Maſter Chriſt? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been looſed from the body, and to have been with Chriſt, for that he counted it much better for himſelf, and had rather to be looſed than to live.

1 Cor. 1.

Phil. 1.

Therefore theſe words of Chriſt to the thief on the Croſſe, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and ſolace: This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe. To die in the defence of Chriſts Goſpel it is our bounden duty to Chriſt, and alſo to our neighbour. To Chriſt, for he died for us, and roſe again that he might be Lord over all. And ſeeing he died for us, we alſo (ſaith Saint John) ſhould jeopard, yea give our life for our brethren. And this kinde of giving and loſing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loſeth his life thus, getteth and winneth it forevermore. Bleſſed are they therefore that die in the Lord,

Luke 24.

Rom. 9.

1 John 3.

Apoc. 14.

To covet to be with Chriſt, and not to fear death.
John 11.
John 5.
2 Pet. 1.
2 Cor. 5.
Acts 14.
Luke 17.

and if they die in the Lords cauſe, they are moſt happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwiſe than for a moment to make the fleſh to ſmart: but that our faith, which is ſurely faſtened and fixed unto the Word of God, telleth us that we ſhall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in ſolace, and that from death we ſhall go ſtraight unto life. For Saint John ſaith, He that liveth, and beleeveth in me, ſhall never die. And in another place, He ſhall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Chriſtian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlaſting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a diſſolution and reſolution, and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling houſe: meaning thereby the mortall body, as wherein the ſoul or ſpirit doth dwell here in this world for a ſmall time. Yea this death may be called to the Chriſtian, an end of all miſeries. For ſo long as we live here, we muſt paſſe thorow many tribulations before we can enter in the Kingdome of Heaven. And now, after that death hath ſhot his bolt, all the Chriſtian mans enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich mans gate? His former penury and poverty? his miſery, beggery, and horrible ſores and ſickneſſe? For ſo ſoon as death had ſtricken him with his dart, ſo ſoon came the Angels, and carried him ſtraight up into Abrahams boſome. What loſt he by death, who from miſery and pain is ſet by the miniſtery of Angels, in a place both of joy and ſolace.

Farewell (dear brethren) farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the Word of God, for heaven and earth ſhall periſh, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell Chriſts dearly beloved Spouſe here wandring in this world in a ſtrange land, farre from thine own country, and compaſſed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which ceaſe not to aſſault thee, ever ſeeking thy deſtruction.

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and univerſall Congregation of the choſen of God here living upon earth, the true Church militant of Chriſt, the true myſticall Body of Chriſt, the very houſhold and family of God, and the ſacred temple of the holy Ghoſt Farewell.

Luke 12.

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly Paſtor Chriſt, for to thee it hath pleaſed the heavenly Father to give an everlaſting and eternall Kingdome. Farewell.

Farewell thou ſpirituall houſe of God, thou holy and royall Prieſthood, thou choſen generation, thou holy nation, thou won Spouſe. Farewell, Farewell.

N. R.

Another Treatiſe of Biſhop Ridley, vvherein is contained firſt a lamentation for the change of Religion in England: then a compariſon betvveen the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Romiſh religion; vvith vvholſome inſtructions in the end to all Chriſtians, hovv to behave themſelves in time of triall.

The ſtate of the Church of England deſcribed and lamented.

ALas what miſery is thy Church brought unto (O Lord) at this day? Where of late the Word of the Lord was truely preached, was read and heard in every town, in every Church, in every village, yea and almoſt in every honeſt mans houſe: Alas now it is exiled and baniſhed out of the whole Realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of Gods Word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the ſame? And now (alas) who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but ſuch as are content in Chriſts cauſe, and for his words ſake to ſtand to the danger and loſſe of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kinde of people, that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of Gods Word, the articles of the Chriſtian faith, the commandements of God, and the Lords Prayer: The Babes and young Children were taught theſe things of their parents, of their Maſters, and weekly of their Curates in every Church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindeneſſe, and in ignorance of thoſe things, which every Chriſtian is bound to know, when otherwiſe they could not, yet they learned the ſame by often hearing their children, and ſervants repeating the ſame: but now (alas, and alas again) the falſe Prophets of Antichriſt which are paſt all ſhame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the Catechiſm is to be counted hereſie; whereby their old blindneſſe is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abaſhed and aſhamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be Gods Word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every Congregation thorowout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities; from all falſe doctrine and hereſie; and now alas, ſathan hath perſwaded England by his falſhood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the ſame, and provoke the fearfull wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

The lamentable change of religion in the Church.
Ierem. 4.

Of late by ſtrait laws and ordinances, with the conſent of the Nobles and Commonalty, and full agreement and counſell of the Prelates and Clergy, was baniſhed hence the Beaſt of Babylon, with laws (I ſay) and with oathes and all means that then could be deviſed for ſo godly a purpoſe: but now (alas) all theſe laws are trodden under foot; the Nobles, the Commonalty, the Prelates and Clergy are quite changed, and all thoſe oathes, though they were made in judgement, juſtice, and truth, and the matter never ſo good, doth no more hold than a bond of ruſhes or of a barley ſtraw, nor publike perjury no more feareth them, than a ſhadow upon the wall.

1 Cor. 14.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Pauls Doctrine, and Chriſts Commandement (as Paul ſaith plainly) that nothing ought to be done in the Church, in the publike congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could underſtand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or any other thing belonging to publike miniſtery of Gods holy and wholeſome Word: but (alas) all is turned upſide down, Pauls Doctrine is put apart, Chriſts commandement is not regarded: For nothing is heard commonly in the Church, but a ſtrange tongue, that the people doth nothing underſtand.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late all men and women were taught after Chriſts doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could underſtand, that they might pray with heart that which they ſhould ſpeak with their tongue: now (alas) the unlearned people is brought into that blindneſſe again, to think that they pray, when they ſpeak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindefull at all, for that it can underſtand never a whit thereof.

Abuſe in the Lords Supper.

Of late the Lords Supper was duely miniſtred and taught to be made common to all that were true Chriſtians with thankſgiving and ſetting forth of the Lords death and paſſion untill his returning again, to judge both quick and dead: but now (alas) the Lords Table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kinde of thankſgiving, or any ſetting forth of the Lords death at all, that the people is able to underſtand.

The ſacrament turned out of his right uſe and kinde.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of underſtanding of Gods holy Myſteries, did bleſſe God which had brought them out of that horrible blindeneſſe and ignorance, whereby in times being ſeduced by Sathans ſubtilties, they believed that the Sacrament was not the Sacrament, but the thing it ſelf whereof it is a Sacrament; that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor ſenſe (alas ſuch was the horrible blindeneſſe) was the Lord himſelf, which made the eye to ſee, and hath given all ſenſes and underſtanding unto man: but now, alas, England is returned again like a Dogge to her own vomit and ſpuing, and is in worſe caſe than ever ſhe was: For it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forſake the truth once received and known: and now, not onely that light is turned into darkneſſe, and Gods grace is received in vain, but alſo laws of death are made by high Court of Parliament, maſterfully to maintain by ſword, fire, and all kinde of violence that haynous Idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the liveleſſe and dumb creature, which is onely due unto the everliving God: yea, they ſay they can, and do make of bread both man and God, by their tranſubſtantiation. O wicked men, and Sathans own brood.

Idolatry in worſhipping the creature for the Creator.

The Cup debarred from the miniſtration of the Lords Supper.

Of late was the Lords Cup at his Table diſtributed according to his own Commandement, by his expreſſe words in the Goſpel, as well to the Laity as to the Clergie, which order Chriſts Church obſerved ſo many hundred yeers after, as all the ancient Eccleſiaſticall Writers do teſtifie, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be ſhewed unto this day: but now (alas) not onely the Lords Commandement is broken, his Cup is denied to his ſervants, to whom he commanded it ſhould be diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet up a new blaſphemous kinde of ſacrifice to ſatisfie and pay the price of ſins both of the dead and of the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Chriſt our Saviour his death and paſſion, which was and is the one onely ſufficient and everlaſting available ſacrifice ſatisfactory for all the elects of God, from Adam the firſt, to the laſt that ſhall be born in the end of the world.

Blaſphemous ſacrifice for ſin.

Deut. 5.

Of late the Commandement of God, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image, nor any ſimilitude or likeneſſe of any thing in Heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them. nor worſhip them: This Commandement of God, I ſay, was graven almoſt every where in Churches, was learned of every body both young and old; whereupon Images that provoked the ſimple and ignorant people unto Idolatry, as the wiſe man ſaith, were taken out of the Churches, and ſtraightly forbidden that none ſhould any where either bow down to them or worſhip them: but now (alas) Gods holy word is blotted and razed out of Churches, and ſtocks and ſtones are ſet up in the place thereof. God commanded his Word ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continuall remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other ſide he forbade Images and Idols ſo to be either made or ſet in any place, where any ſhould bow or worſhip them: but now (alas) that which God commanded is not paſſed upon, and that which he forbiddeth, is maſterfully maintained by falſhood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Idolatry to ſtocks and ſtones.

Of late all Miniſters that were admitted to the publike office and miniſtery of Gods holy Word, in their admiſſion made a ſolemne profeſſion before the Congregation, that they ſhould teach the people nothing, as doctrine neceſſary to attain eternall ſalvation, but that which is Gods own holy Word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vaniſhed and melted away of themſelves many vain, yea wicked traditions of man, as ware before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope alſo to return again in as great ſtrength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you muſt alſo receive the whole body withall, or elſe how can the head abide? The head, under Sathan, of all miſchief is Antichriſt and his brood, the ſame is he which is the Babylonicall Beaſt. The Beaſt is he, whereupon the Whore ſitteth. The Whore is that City, ſaith John in plain words, which hath empire over the Kings of the earth. This Whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof ſhe maketh to drink the Kings of the earth, and of the wine of this Harlot have of all nations drunk, yea and Kings of the earth have lyen by this Whore, and Merchants of the earth by vertue of her pleaſant merchandiſe have been made rich.

The Whore of Babylon with her cup of abominations expounded.

Apoc. 17.

Now what City is there in all the whole world, that when John wrote, ruled over the Kings of the earth; or what City can be read of in any time, that of the City it ſelf challenged the Empire over the Kings of the earth, but onely the City of Rome, and that ſince the uſurpation of that See hath grown to her full ſtrength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient Writers underſtand Peters former Epiſtle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the ſame Epiſtle in plain tearms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I underſtand all the whole trade of the Romiſh religion, under the name and title of Chriſt, which is contrary to the onely rule of all true religion, that is, Gods Word. What Word of God hath that devilliſh Drabbe for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to ſet to ſale ſuch merchandiſe, wherewith (alas) the madneſſe of man, the wicked Harlot hath bewitched almoſt the whole world? Did not Peter the very true Apoſtle of Chriſt (of whom this ſtinking ſtrumpet beareth her ſelf ſo high, but faſly and without all juſt cauſe) did not he, I ſay, give all the world warning of her pelf and traſh, of her falſe Doctors and Apoſtles (for this Whore and Beaſt will be called Dominus Apoſtolicus, whoſoever ſay nay) after this manner in his latter Epiſtle? There was among the people in times paſt falſe Prophets, as there ſhall be among you in time to come falſe Teachers, which ſhall privily bring in peſtilent ſects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themſelves ſwift damnation, and many ſhall follovv their damnable vvayes, by vvhom the vvay of truth ſhall be railed upon, and through covetouſneſſe by counterfeit tales or ſermons, they ſhall (ſaith Peter) make merchandiſe upon you, &c. And doth not John likewiſe in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this Whores myſticall merchandiſe, at the laſt (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any miſt at all, ſetting out the Whores merchandiſe) reckon up amongſt the reſt, and concludeth, ſaying; Et animas hominum, that is to ſay, and the ſouls of men too? Whereupon I pray you elſe roſe this true Proverb in Latine,

2 Pet. 2.

The myſticall merchandiſe of the Babylonicall Strumpet.

All things at Rome for mony.

Omnia Romæ venalia, **All things for mony are ſet to ſale at Rome. Was not that a worthy commendation of Chriſts Vicar in earth, that was written of our holy Father, one of the Alexanders, a Biſhop of Rome, thus I ween in Latine:**

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Chriſtum:
Vendere jure poteſt; emerat ille prius.

Theſe two Verſes in Latine, I have read thus of one tranſlated into Engliſh rime.

Verſes againſt Pope Alexander.

Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,
  ſelleth for money both right and doom:
And all kinde of holines the holy father doth not ſtick
  to ſet to ſale, ready money for to get.
And eke Chriſt himſelf he dare be bold,
  to chop and change for ſilver and gold.
And why ſhould any think this to be ſore?
  for vvhat doth he ſell but that he bought before?

I grant theſe Verſes to be light gear, and the Verſe is but rude, but (alas) ſuch conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could expreſſe. If theſe had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been leſſe pernicious, and might have been taken for perſonall crimes, and not to be imputed unto that See: but now (alas) the matter is more than evident to all that have godly underſtanding, that theſe crimes be grounded upon laws, be eſtabliſhed by cuſtome, and ſet forth by all kinde of wicked doctrine, falſhood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be eſteemed for any one mans or a few mens perſonall crimes, but are now by laws, cuſtome, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked See, and maketh indeed the body of the Beaſt whereupon the abominable Whore doth ſit.

Abominations and wicked abuſes of the See of Rome declared.

But you would know which be thoſe Merchandiſe which I ſaid this Whore ſetteth for to ſell, for the which all her falſe Prophets with all their jugglings and crafty gloſſes cannot bring one jot of Gods Word. Surely, ſurely, they be not onely all theſe abominations which are come into the Church of England already (whereof I have ſpoken ſomewhat before) but alſo an innumerable rablement of abominations and wicked abuſes, which now muſt needs follow; as Popiſh Pardons, Pilgrimages, Romiſh Purgatory, Romiſh Maſſes, Placebo **and** Dirige, **with Trentals and** Scala cœli, **diſpenſations and immunities from all godly diſcipline, laws and good order, pluralities, unions, and tot quottes, with a thouſand moe. Now ſhall come in the flattering Friers and the falſe pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now ſhall you have (but of the See of Rome onely, and that for money) canonizing of ſuch Saints as have ſtood ſtout in the Popes cauſe, ſhrining of reliques, and from any kinde of wickedneſſe (if you will pay well for it) cleer abſolution** à pœna & culpa, **for thouſands of yeers, yea, and at every poor Biſhops hand and Suffragan, ye ſhall have hallowing of Churches, Chappels, Altars, Superaltars, Chalices, and of all the whole houſholdſtuff and adornment which ſhall be uſed in the Church after the Romiſh guiſe, for all theſe things they muſt be eſteemed of ſuch high prize, that they may not be done but by a conſecrate Biſhop onely. O Lord, all theſe things are ſuch as thy Apoſtles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and ſalt, of chriſtning of bels and ſuch like things, what need I to ſpeak? for every Prieſt that can but read, hath power (they ſay) not onely to do that, but alſo hath ſuch power over Chriſts Body, as to make both God and man once at the leaſt every day of a wafer cake.**

The true word of God, and the office of the ſame declared.

After the rehearſal of the ſaid abominations, and remembrance of a number of many mo, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to deſcribe; when I conſider on the other ſide the eternall Word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled Law of the Lord which turneth the ſoul from all wickedneſſe, and giveth wiſedome unto the innocent babes, I mean that milk that is without all guil, as Peter doth call it, that good Word of God, that Word of truth which muſt be graven within the heart, and then is able to ſave mens ſouls, that wholeſome ſeed, not mortall, but immortall, of the eternall and everlaſting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the childe of God, that ſeed of God, whereby the man of God ſo being born, cannot ſin, as John ſaith (he meaneth ſo long as that ſeed doth abide in him) that holy Scripture which hath not been deviſed by the wit of man, but taught from Heaven by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to inſtruct, and give order in all righteouſneſſe, that the man of God may be whole and ſound, ready to perform every good work: when (I ſay) I conſider this holy and wholſome true Word that teacheth us truely our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his bleſſed will and pleaſure is, what his infinite great goodneſſe and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given his own onely dearly beloved Son to death for our ſalvation, and by him hath ſent us the revelation of his bleſſed will and pleaſure, what his eternall Word willeth us both to believe, and alſo to do, and hath for the ſame purpoſe inſpired the holy Apoſtles with the holy Ghoſt, and ſent them abroad into all the world, and alſo made them and other diſciples of Chriſt inſpired by the ſame Spirit, to write and leave behinde them the ſame things that they taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, ſo by the confeſſion of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were ſufficient to the obtaining of eternall ſalvation:) and likewiſe when I conſider that all that man doth profeſſe in his regeneration when he is received into the holy Catholike Church of Chriſt, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Chriſts own Body, all that is grounded upon Gods holy Word, and ſtandeth in the profeſſion of that faith, and obedience of thoſe Commandements which are all contained and compriſed in Gods holy Word: And furthermore, when I conſider whom our Saviour Chriſt pronounceth in his Goſpel to be bleſſed, and to whom Moſes giveth his benedictions in the Law, what wayes the Law, the Prophets, the Pſalms, and all holy Scriptures both new and old do declare to be the wayes of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in Gods favour, which is that faith that juſtifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth paſſe and excell all, which be the properties of heavenly wiſedome, and which is that undefiled Religion which is allowed of God, which things Chriſt himſelf called the weighty matters of the Law, what thing is that which is onely available in Chriſt, and what knowledge is that that Paul eſteemed ſo much, that he counted himſelf onely to know, what ſhall be the manner of the extreme judgement of the latter day, who ſhall judge, and by what he ſhall judge, and what ſhall be required at our hands at that fearfull day, how all things muſt be tried by the fire, and that that onely ſhall ſtand for ever which Chriſts words ſhall allow, which ſhall be the Judge of all fleſh to give ſentence upon all fleſh and every living ſoul, either of eternall damnation or of everlaſting ſalvation

vation, from which ſentence there ſhall be no place to appeal, no wit ſhall ſerve to delude, nor any power to withſtand or revoke: When (I ſay) I conſider all theſe things, and conferre to the ſame again and again all thoſe wayes wherein ſtandeth the ſubſtance of the Romiſh religion (whereof I ſpake before) it may be evident and eaſie to perceive, that theſe two wayes, theſe two religions, the one of Chriſt, the other of the Romiſh See, in theſe latter dayes be as farre diſtant the one from the other, as light and darkneſſe, good and evill, righteouſneſſe and unrighteouſneſſe, Chriſt and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himſelf the places of holy Scriptures which be appointed in the Margent, whereupon this talk is grounded, and by Gods grace he may receive ſome light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to ſay, but to rehearſe the ſaying of the Prophet Eſay, which Paul ſpake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apoſtles. After he had expounded unto them the truth of Gods Word, and declared unto them Chriſt out of the Law of Moſes and the Prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he ſaid unto them that would not beleeve: Well (ſaid he) ſpake the holy Ghoſt unto our Fathers, ſaying; Go unto this people and tell them; ye ſhall hear vvith your ears, and not underſtand, and ſeeing you ſhall behold, and not ſee the thing: for the heart of this people is vvaxed groſſe and dull, and vvith their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have ſhut together their eyes, that they ſhould not ſee, nor hear vvith their ears, nor underſtand vvith their hearts, that they might return, and I ſhould heal them, ſaith the Lord God.

Note here that theſe Scriptures were written by M. Ridley in the Margent but were not in the copy which we followed.

Acts 28.

Alas, England, alas, that this heavy plague of God ſhould fall upon thee. Alas my dearly beloved Country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is ſo great, that it is utterly uncurable, but by the bottomleſſe mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas my dear Country, what haſt thou done, that thou haſt provoked the wrath of God, and cauſed him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deſerts? Canſt thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou haſt heard oft, and wouldſt never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and ſorts of men, of Magiſtrates, of the Miniſters, and of the common people, were never more plainly told ſince thou bareſt that name, than thou didſt hear them of late, even before the Magiſtrates in King Edwards dayes, but thou heardeſt them onely and didſt amend never a whit. For even of thy greateſt Magiſtrates, ſome (the Kings Highneſſe then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerleſſe young Chriſtian Prince excepted) evermore unkindely and ungently, againſt thoſe that went about moſt buſily, and moſt wholſomely to cure their ſore backs, ſpurned privily, and would not ſpare to ſpeak evill of them, even unto the Prince himſelf, and yet would they towards the ſame Preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

Cranmer and Ridley ſtanding in the Duke of Somerſets cauſe. Cranmer repugning againſt the ſpoil of the Church goods. Latimer, Bradford, Lever, Knoxe.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high diſpleaſure, the one for ſhewing his conſcience ſecretly, but plainly and fully in the Duke of Somerſets cauſe, and both of late, but eſpecially Cranmer for repugning, as they might, againſt the late ſpoyl of the Church goods, taken away onely by commandement of the higher powers, without any Law or order of Juſtice, and without any requeſt or conſent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knoxe, their tongues were ſo ſharp, they ripped in ſo deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was feſtered in their hearts, of inſatiable covetouſneſſe, of filthy carnality and voluptuouſneſſe, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathſomeneſſe to hear poor mens cauſes, and to hear Gods Word, that theſe men, of all other, theſe Magiſtrates then could never abide. Other there were very godly men, and well learned, that went about by the wholeſome plaiſters of Gods Word, howbeit after a more ſoft manner of handling the matter, but (alas) all ſped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their diſeaſe did not miniſh, but daily did increaſe, which (no doubt) is no ſmall occaſion in that ſtate of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common ſort of other inferiour Magiſtrates, as Judges of the Laws, Juſtices of peace, Sergeants, common Lawyers, it may be truely ſaid of them, as of the moſt part of the Clergy, of Curates, Vicars, Parſons, Prebendaries, Doctors of the Law, Archdeacons, Deans, yea, and I may ſay, of Biſhops alſo, I fear me, for the moſt part, although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every ſtate knew and knoweth to be his, but for the moſt part, I ſay, they were never perſwaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the Kings ſake, in the truth of Gods Word, and yet all theſe did diſſemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been ſound within.

The corrupt life of Goſpellers in K. Edwards time.

And this diſſimulation Sathan knew well enough, and therefore deſired, and hath ever gone about, that the high Magiſtrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he being of counſell with the diſſimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he ſhould bring to paſſe, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocriſie a double evill.

Hypocriſie and diſſimulation S. Hierome doth call well a double wickedneſſe; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evill) and alſo falſly it pretendeth to deceive the ſimple for another thing. This hypocriſie and diſſimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly alſo provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received Gods true Word and high benefits with unthanfull hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to have ſeen in many places the people ſo loathſomely and unreligiouſly to come to the holy Communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common Prayers, and other divine Service, which were according to the true vein of Gods holy Word, and in all points ſo godly and wholeſomely ſet forth, in compariſon of that blinde zeal, and undiſcreet devotion which they had aforetimes to thoſe things, whereof they underſtood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

The ſlackneſſe that was in that time to good works

And again, as for our almſdeeds, which are taught in Gods Word, whereby we are certain that God is pleaſed with them) and doth and will require ſuch at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St James ſaith, and ſuch as he ſaith himſelf, he ſetteth more by than by ſacrifice, as to provide for the fatherleſſe, infants and orphanes, for the lame, aged and impotent poor needy folk, and to make publike proviſion that the poor that might labour, ſhould have wherewith to labour upon, and ſo be kept from ſhamefull beggery and ſtealing in theſe works, I ſay how way-ward were many, in compariſon (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times paſt they ſpared not to ſpend upon flattering Friers, falſe pardoners, painting and gilding of ſtocks and ſtones, to be ſet up, and honoured in Churches, plainly againſt Gods Word. And yet becauſe no place is to be defrauded of their juſt commendation, London, I muſt confeſſe, for ſuch godly works in ſir Richard Dobbes, Knight, then Lord Maior, his yeer began marvellous well: the Lord grant the ſame may ſo likewiſe perſevere, continue, yea and increaſe, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpleſſe, that was ſo godly begun, Amen.

Gods plague upon England juſtly deſerved.

All theſe things do miniſter more matter of mourning and bewailing the miſerable ſtate that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deſerved this juſt plague of God. And alſo it is greatly to be feared that thoſe good things, whatſoever they were that had their beginning in the time when Gods word was ſo freely preached, now with the exile and baniſhment of the ſame, will depart again.

But to return again to the conſideration of this miſerable ſtate of Chriſts Church in England, and to leave farther and more exquiſite ſearching of the cauſes thereof unto Gods ſecret and unſearchable judgements, let us ſee what is beſt now to be done for Chriſts little flock. This is one maxime and principle in Chriſt Law; He that denieth Chriſt before men, him ſhall Chriſt deny afore his Father, and all his Angels in Heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Chriſt our Saviour everlaſting life, let him prepare himſelf ſo, that he deny not his Maſter Chriſt, or elſe he is but a caſt-away, and a wretch, howſoever hee be counted or taken here in the world.

He exhorteth to conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt.

Now then ſeeing the doctrine of Antichriſt is returned again into this Realm, and the higher powers (alas) are ſo deceived and bewitched, that they are perſwaded it to be truth, and Chriſts true Doctrine to be errour and hereſie, and the old laws of Antichriſt are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for by reaſon to the man of God, and true Chriſtian, abiding in this Realm, but extreme violence of death, or elſe to deny his Maſter? I grant the hearts of Princes are in Gods hands, and whitherſoever he will he can make them bow: and alſo that Chriſtian Princes in old time uſed a more gentle kinde of puniſhment, even to them which were Hereticks indeed, as degradation, and depoſition out of their rooms and offices, exile and baniſhment out of their Dominions and Countries, and alſo (as it is read) the true Biſhops of Chriſts Church were ſometime interceſſors for the Hereticks unto Princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of Saint Auguſtine. But as yet Antichriſts kingdome was not ſo erected at that time, nor is now accuſtomed ſo to order them that will not fall down and worſhip the Beaſt and his Image (but even as all the world knoweth) after the ſame manner that both John and Daniel hath propheſied before, that is, by violence of death; and Daniel declareth farther, that the kinde of death accuſtomably ſhould be by ſword, fire, and impriſonment.

Puniſhment of hereticks more gentle in the old time how it was uſed.

Therefore if thou, O man of God, doſt purpoſe to abide in this Realm, prepare and arm thy ſelf to die: for both by Antichriſts accuſtomable laws, and theſe propheſies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Maſter Chriſt, which is the loſſe at the laſt both of body and ſoul unto everlaſting death. Therefore my good brother or ſiſter in Chriſt, whatſoever thou be, to thee that canſt and maiſt ſo do, that counſell that I think is the beſt ſafeguard for thee, both for thy body, and moſt ſurety for thy ſouls health, is that which I ſhall ſhew thee hereafter. But firſt I warn thee to underſtand me to ſpeak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confeſſe Chriſt, but are at liberty abroad.

Counſell given in theſe dayes of perſecution what to do.

My counſell, I ſay, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I conſider not onely the ſubtilties of Sathan, and how he is able to deceive by his falſe perſwaſions (if it were poſſible) even the choſen of God, and alſo the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himſelf, which in the time of temptation then will utter it ſelf: I do not onely conſider theſe things, I ſay, but that our Maſter Chriſt, whoſe life was and is a perfect rule of the Chriſtian mans life, that he himſelf avoided oftentimes the fury and madneſſe of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewiſe when he was ſought in Damaſco, and the gates of the City were laid in wait for him, was conveighed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Helias the Prophet fled the perſecution of wicked Jeſabel: And Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in the Goſpel; When they perſecute you in one City, flye unto another: and ſo did many good, great, learned, and vertuous men of God, which were great and ſtout Champions nevertheleſſe, and ſtout confeſſors and maintainers of Chriſt and his truth, in due time and place. Of ſuch was the great Clerk Athanaſius. But this is ſo plain to be lawfull to Gods word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to ſtand in it.

Such as remained out of captivity counſelled to void the Realm.

Having this for my ground, I ſay to thee, O man of GOD, this ſeemeth to me to be the moſt ſure way for thy ſafeguard, to depart and flie farre from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truely before GOD, I think that the abomination that Daniel* propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichriſt, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Chriſt, and to the true ſerving and worſhipping of God, I underſtand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in England for thoſe words of Chriſt, *Tunc inquit qui in Iudea ſunt, fugiant ad montes.* Then (ſaith he) mark this Chriſts (then) for truely I am perſwaded, and I truſt by the Spirit of God, that this (then) is commanded; Then (ſaith Chriſt) they that be in Iewry, let them flie into the mountains, and he that is on the houſe top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his houſe, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Wo be to the great bellied women, and to them that give ſuck, but pray (ſaith Chriſt) that your flight be not in winter, or on the Sabbath day.

The abomination of deſolation ſet up in England.

Theſe words of Chriſt are myſticall, and therefore have need of interpretation. I underſtand all thoſe to be in Jewry ſpiritually, which truely confeſſe one true living God, and the whole truth of his Word, after the doctrine of the Goſpel of Chriſt. Such are they whom Chriſt here biddeth, in the time of the raigne of Antichriſts abominations to flye unto the mountains; which ſignifieth places of ſafeguard, and all ſuch things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the houſe top, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his clothes, he meaneth that they ſhould ſpeed them to get them away betime, leſt in their tarrying and trifling about worldly proviſion, they be trapped in the ſnare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of ſmall worldly things, endanger and caſt themſelves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he ſaith, Wo be to the great bellied women, and to them that

Chriſt commandeth to flie to the mountains.

give ſucke; women great with childe and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travell, and alſo thoſe women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes ſucke: By theſe therefore Chriſt ſpiritually underſtandeth all ſuch to be in extreme danger, which this word (wo) ſignifieth: all ſuch, I ſay, as are ſo letted by any manner of means, that they no wayes be able to flie from the plague. And where Chriſt ſaith, Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath day: In winter, the common courſe of the year teacheth us, that the waies be foule, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a farre journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the waies in that time of the yeare; and on the Sabbath day it was not lawfull to journey, but a little way. Now Chriſt therefore meaning that we ſhould have need, both to ſpeed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the waies, and alſo to go farre, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day; he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath day; that is, to pray that we may flie in time and alſo far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould flie, folleth in the ſame place of Saint Mathewes Goſpel, which I now paſſe over; thou maiſt reade them there.

And in the eighteenth Chapter of the Revelation, the Angel is ſaid to have cried mightily with a lowd voyce, Fly my people out of Babylon, leſt you be infected with her faults, and ſo be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and ſins are grown ſo great, that they ſwell and are come unto the heavens: certainly the time doth approach, and the Lords day is at hand. Hear I beſeech you, alſo holy Paul, that bleſſed Apoſtle, he plainly forbiddeth us, Ducere jugum cum incredulis, that is, To joyn or couple our ſelves with the unfaithfull: for what fellowſhip can there be, ſaith he, of righteouſneſſe with unrighteouſneſſe, what company hath light with darkneſſe, or what agreement hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part can the faithfull have with the unfaithfull? or how doth the Temple of God agree with Images or Idols? for you are the Temple of the living God: as God hath ſayd, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people: wherefore depart from amongſt them, and get you from them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the ſtead of your father, and you ſhall be unto me as my ſonnes and daughters, ſaith the Almightie God.

2 Cor. 6.

This counſell to depart the Realme, I do not marvell it do ſeem to divers (even of them I mean that bear favor to God-ward) diverſly. Many (I truſt) that be learned ſhall think the counſell good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by Gods word lawfully done, rather than to be counſelled to be done, for they will peradventure ſay, we ſhould counſell a man alwaies to do that, which is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection: but boldly in Chriſts cauſe to ſpend a mans life, is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection, and to flee it may ſeem to ſmell of cowardlineſſe. In many things, that which is beſt for one at ſometimes, is not beſt for all at all times, and it is not moſt perfection, nor meet for a childe to covet to run, before he can go. I will not make here a diſcourſe in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be anſwered again; I leave that to the wittie and eloquent men of the world.

Counſell to depart the realm. Doubts whether to flie or to tarry, debated.

This is my minde, which I would thou ſhouldſt know, O man of God, as I would wiſh, and I do pray to Almighty GOD it may be, that every true Chriſtian, either brother or ſiſter (after they be called, and brought into the wreſtling place, to ſtrive in Chriſts cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to confeſſe the truth of the Goſpel, and of the Chriſtian faith, in hope of everlaſting life) ſhould not ſhrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatſoever ſhall befall, but to ſtand to their tackle, and ſtick by it even unto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſtick by them at the latter day: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſh nor counſell any, either brother or ſiſter, of their own ſwinge, to ſtart up into the ſtage, or to caſt themſelves either before, or farther in danger than time and need ſhall require: for undoubtedly when God ſeeth his time, and his pleaſure is, that his glory ſhall be ſet forth, and his Church edified by thy death and confeſſion, means ſhall be found by his fatherly univerſall providence, that thou without thine own preſumptuous provocation ſhalt be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miſerable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearefull example for all men to beware of preſumption, and raſhneſſe in ſuch tings (as Euſebius writeth in Eccleſiaſt. hiſtoria) for evermore.

Preſumptuous provocation and raſh running in danger forbidden.

Euſeb. Eccle. hiſt. lib. 4. ca. 15

But a third ſort of men there be, which alſo will be counted favorers of Gods words, and are (I feare) in number farre moe, and worſe to be perſwaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of ſuch as will peradventure ſay or think, that my former counſell, which was to flee the infection of the Antichriſtian doctrine by departing out of the Realm, is more than needeth, and other waies and means may be found, both to abide, and alſo to be cleere out of danger of the foreſaid plague. If that could be found both to abide, and alſo to be cleere out of danger of the foreſayd plague, truly agreeable to Gods word, I would be as glad to heare it, God is my witneſſe, as who is the other. Yes, peradventure will ſome ſay, thus it may be: Thou maiſt keep thy ſelf, thy faith, and thy religion cloſe to thy ſelfe, and inwardly and privately worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, and outwardly ſee thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſor of common order: ſo maiſt thou be ſuffered in the common-wealth, and yet uſe thy religion without offence of thy conſcience. In other Countries ſomewhere this peradventure might be uſed, but in England what ſhall be, God wot: but it was never yet, ſo far as ever I have knowen or heard. And alſo how can it be, but either thou muſt tranſgreſſe the common order, and the Romiſh lawes and cuſtomes, which have beene uſed in England, in the times paſt of Poperie, and now (it is certain) they return again: I ſay, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe rites, lawes, and cuſtomes, and ſo bewray thy ſelfe, or elſe if thou be indeed a man of GOD, thou ſhalt offend thy conſcience: for in obſerving of them, thou ſhalt be compelled to break Gods Law, which is the rule of conſcience to the man of God. For how canſt thou reſort every holy-day to the Church, and beare a face to worſhip the creature for the Creator, as thou muſt do, and peradventure confeſſe it too with thy mouth, and to ſprinkle thy ſelf with the conjured water.

Conſcience in religion would not be diſſembled.

Thou muſt be contributor alſo to the charges of all their Poperie, as of books of Antichriſts ſervice, of lights of the Roode loft, of the Sepulchre for ſetting up and painting of Images (nay indeed of Idols) and thou muſt beare a face to worſhip them alſo, or elſe thou muſt be had by the backe. Thou muſt ſerve the turne, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing elſe but a very mockerie of the Lords holy Table. Thou muſt be a contributor to the charges of all the diſguiſed apparell, that the Popiſh ſacrificing Prieſt, like unto Aaron muſt play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering Frier to beg for the mainteance of ſuperſtition, except thou do as thy neighbors do, look not long to live in reſt. If any of thy houſhold dye, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing, and ſinging, for Requiem, Maſſes, Dirige, and commendations, and ſuch like trumpery of the Antichriſtian Religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckoned for a Catholike man, or for amicus Cæſaris? A hundred things mo may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident ſuperſtition and idolatrie, than ſome of theſe which I have now rehearſed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but theſe are enow to declare, and to ſet before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou muſt either do theſe, and many other mo contrary to Gods word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evill, but alſo ſaith, Ab omni ſpecie mali abſtinete vos, Abſtain from all things that have any appearance of evill; or elſe if thou wilt not do them, how thou canſt live in England in reſt ſafe from the ſtake, truly I cannot tell.

A hard dwelling in England for a good man, either without danger of conſcience, or perill of life.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find, and invent ſome colour to cloake his conſcience, to do that thing that his heart deſireth) thou wilt ſay, though at any time I ſhall be forced to do any of theſe things and ſuch like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body, I will keepe mine heart unto God, and will not to that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I truſt therefore God will hold me excuſed, for he ſhall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for Gods ſake, and know that the ſubtilties of Sathan are deep. He that is not able by Gods word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David; Lord let me not have a mind to invent excuſes to cloake my ſin: examine my dear friend, theſe thy wily waies with the word of GOD, and if they do agree, thou maiſt uſe them: if not, know, though they may ſeem never ſo fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Sathans brood. Gods Word is certain, that forbiddeth to worſhip the creature for the Creator: for that is hainous idolatrie, and againſt the firſt commandement of God, and it is alſo againſt the ſecond Commandement of the firſt table to bow down, or to do worſhip unto any images of God, or of any other thing: And Gods word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but alſo the confeſsion of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy ſo doing, a conſent to the thing done? Now conſenters and the doers, Gods word accounteth to be guilty both. And it is not lawfull, by St. Pauls doctrine, which was inſpired him by the Spirit of GOD, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Invent not excuſes to cloak ſinne.

Confeſsion of mouth muſt go with belief of heart.

Thy heart, thou ſaiſt, God ſhall have, and yet wilt ſuffer thy bodie to do the thing that GOD doth abhorre. Beware O man, take heed what thou ſaiſt. Man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιογνώστης, that is to ſay, the ſearcher of the heart. Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to truſt in him above all other things. He that hath my Commandements, ſaith Chriſt, and obſerveth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me: and to dread God above all other, is rather willingly to incurre the danger and perill of all fearefull things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrarie to his bleſſed will and Commandement; and to truſt in him above all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodneſſe and mercie, and to preferre that above all things in the world, ſeeme they never ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, how canſt thou ſay truly, that GOD hath thy heart after this manner of ſort (which is to have thy heart indeed) when thy deeds do declare farre another thing? Thy bodie, O man, is Gods, and all the parts thereof, even as thy ſoule is: he made them both, and Chriſt with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly, and dareſt thou ſuffer any part of either of them to do ſervice to Sathan? Surely in ſo doing, thou committeſt ſacriledge and doeſt rob God, thou defileſt the living Temple of the living God, if thou ſuffer thy bodie to do Sathan ſervice. Do you not know (ſaith St. Paul) that your body is a lively temple of God? And may a man then take and uſe any part thereof but in the ſervice of God? No ſurely, it is not lawfull ſo to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor foot, nor any part of the whole body.

To truſt in God, what it is.

1 Cor.

1 Cor.6

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Chriſtian ſoule; As you have in times paſt, ſayth he, given your members to do ſervice unto uncleanneſſe and wickedneſſe, from one wickedneſſe to another; ſo now give your members to do ſervice unto righteouſneſſe, that you may be ſanctified. And I pray thee, good brother, what doeſt thou think is to bear the mark of the beaſt in the forhead, and in the hand that Saint John ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warily to ſpeak of Gods myſteries, which he ſhewed by the ſpirit of prophecying to his ſervant John, yet to reade them with reverence, and to pray for the ſame ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſarie for our time to know, I thinke it neceſſary and good. Wherefore what I ſuppoſe is to beare the beaſts mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgement of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the ſpirituall man. I ſuppoſe he beareth the beaſt of Babylons marks in his forehead, which is not aſhamed of the beaſts waies, but will profeſſe them openly to ſet forth his Maſter the beaſt Abaddon. And likewiſe he beareth his marke in his head, that will and doth practiſe the works of the beaſt with his power and hand. And likewiſe I will not let to tell thee, what I thinke to be ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God is, whereof John alſo ſpeaketh, reckoning up many thouſands ſo to have been ſigned of every Tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodneſſe, and hath given him grace and ſtrength ſtoutly to confeſſe him, and his truth before the world. And to have grace and ſtrength to confeſſe Chriſt, and the doctrine of the Croſſe, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichriſt, I ſuppoſe is to be ſigned with Tau, whereof Ezechiel the Prophet doth ſpeak. Thus I ſuppoſe theſe prophecies are ſpiritually to be underſtood: and to look for other corporall marks, to be ſeen in mens foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing elſe but to look that there ſhould come ſome brute beaſt out of Babylon, or ſome Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camel, or ſome other ſuch monſtrous beaſt with ten horns, that ſhould do all the wonderfull things ſpoken in John; and yet of a beaſt ſpeaketh John, but I underſtand him ſo to be called, not for that he ſhall be any ſuch brute beaſt, but for that he is, and ſhall be the childe of perdition, which for his cruelty and beaſtly manners, is well called a beaſt.

Rom.6.

To bear the beaſts mark, what it is.

Apoc. 13. 14. 20.

The carnall Jewes knew there was a promiſe made, that Helias ſhould come before Chriſt the Meſſias, the annointed of GOD, to prepare his

The literall taking of the Scripture made the Jews Infidels.

his wayes; they knew alſo there was a promiſe of Meſſias, that he ſhould come, and be a King, and Reigne in the houſe of David for evermore: but they underſtood all ſo groſly, and ſo carnally, that they neither knew Helias, nor Meſſias when they came: for they looked for Helias to come down from heaven in his own perſon, and for Meſſias to come and reign in worldly pompe, power, riches, and glory, when as the propheſies of both were ſpiritually to have been underſtood of Helias, that he ſhould come not in perſon, but in ſpirit, that is, one that ſhould be indued with the ſpirit and gifts of grace of Aelias, which was indeed John Baptiſt, as Chriſt himſelf did declare to his Apoſtles. And of Meſſias reigne, all the Prophets were to be underſtood of the reign of his ſpirituall Kingdome over the houſe of Jacob, and the true Iſraelites for evermore. And ſo by that their groſſe and carnall underſtanding, they miſtooke both Helias, and the true Meſſias, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewiſe I fear me, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, ſaith John) neither doth, nor ſhall know the beaſt, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly and live never ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in number like the ſand of the ſea. The Lord therefore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blinde with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceive, and underſtand the words of God, after the minde of his Spirit. Amen.

The Popes marked men.

Here remain two objections, which may ſeem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counſell. The former reaſon is, A man will ſay, O Sir, it is no ſmall matter ye ſpeak of, to depart from a mans owne native Country into a ſtrange Realme. Many men have ſo great lets, as how is it poſſible that they can, or may do ſo? Some have lands and poſſeſſions, which they cannot carrie with them: Some have Father, Mother, wife, children, and kinsfolke, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almoſt) as to ſuffer death, and to go to a ſtrange Country that thou knoweſt not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayſt away either with the people or with the Country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a ſtrange people, whoſe tongue thou doſt not underſtand, &c.

Carnall objections anſwered.

I grant here thou mayſt heape a number of worldly incommodities, which are ſurely very like to enſue the departure out of a mans owne native Country, I mean out of the whole Realm into a ſtrange land: but what of all theſe, and a thouſand mo of the like ſort? I will ſet unto them one ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt, which unto the faithfull childe of God, and to the true Chriſtian, is able to countervaile all theſe, yea and to weigh them down. Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in Luke; If any come to me, and do not hate his Father and Mother (he meaneth, and will not in his cauſe forſake his Father and Mother) his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life to, he cannot be my Diſciple: and whoſoever doth not beare my croſſe and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple. And in the ſame place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a King that is a warriour, that every man that will not in Chriſts cauſe forſake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his Diſciple. Look the places who will; the matter is ſo plainly ſet forth, that no gloſſes, nor cloaking of conſcience to the man of God, can ſerve to the contrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe, for the imbracing of Chriſt Croſſe, when Chriſt and his cauſe layeth it upon our back, but this is ſo plain that I need here to rehearſe no more.

This later reaſon and objection, whereof I ſpake before, is of more force, and includeth a neceſſitie, which after the common ſaying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good anſwer. This may be objected of ſome, Alas Sir, I grant all theſe things do grieve me, and becauſe I underſtand they do not agree with Gods word, which is the rule of my conſcience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But Sir, alas I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſicke man, a lame man, or I have ſo many ſmall infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my proviſion: if I leave them they ſhall ſtarve, and I am not able to carry them with me, ſuch is my ſtate. Alas Sir, what ſhall I do? And theſe cauſes may chance to ſome men of God, whereby either it ſhall be for them utterly impoſſible to depart the Country, or elſe in departing they ſhall be inforced to forſake ſuch in extreme neceſſities, of whom both God, and Nature hath committed unto them the care.

Another worldly objection anſwered.

Alas, what counſell is here to be given? O lamentable ſtate. O ſorrowfull heart, that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and perill is not able to tarry ſtill. And theſe are they whom our Saviour Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them in his propheſie of the later time, great bellied or travelling women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their ſmall babes ſuck. Of the ſtate of ſuch as are not able to flie the infection of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſts abominations, Chriſt lamenting, and not curſing, ſaith, Wo be to the great bellied and travelling women, and women that give ſuck in thoſe dayes. For theſe alas, my heart mourneth the more, the leſſe I am able to give any comfortable counſell, but this: that alwaies, as they look for everlaſting life, they abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoever ſhall befall, and for the reſt to put their truſt now wholly in God, which is able to ſave them againſt all appearance: and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at higheſt, then unto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercie, to be moſt readie to put his helping hand. Daniel, God ſuffered to be caſt into the Den of Lyons, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he ſaved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the Lyon (as he ſaith of himſelf) and in Aſia he was brought into ſuch trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for preſent death. and yet he that raiſed the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all other that be in troubles for Chriſts cauſe, not to truſt to themſelves, but in Almighty God.

A leſſon to truſt to the Lord, who is alwaies a help in extremity of need.

Of Gods gracious ayd in extreme perils toward them that put their truſt in him, all Scripture is full both of old and new. What dangers were the Patriarches oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, but of all other Joſeph, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was Moſes when he was fain to flie for the ſafegard of his life? And when was he ſent again to deliver the Iſraelites from the ſervile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme miſery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh his ſword? Not before they were brought into ſuch ſtraights, that they were ſo compaſſed on every ſide (the maine ſea on the one ſide, and the maine hoſt on the other) that they could look for none other (yea what did they indeed elſe look for?) but either to have been drowned in the ſea, or elſe to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh his ſword. Thoſe Judges, which wrought moſt wonderfull things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to moſt miſery before, as

Examples of Gods readie help in extreme perils.

Othoniel, Ehud, Samgar, Gedeon, Jephthe, Samſon. And ſo was Saul endued with ſtrength and boldneſſe from above, againſt the Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Amalechites, for the defence of the people of GOD. David likewiſe felt Gods help moſt ſenſibly ever in his extreme perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeak of the Prophets of God, whom God ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extreme perils, and ſo mightily delivered them again; as Helias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micheas, and Jonas, and many other, whom it were but too long to rehearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord uſe his ſervants otherwiſe in the new Law after Chriſts incarnation? Reade the Acts of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall ſee no. Were not the Apoſtles caſt into priſon, and brought out by the mightie hand of God? Did not the Angel deliver Peter out of the ſtrong priſon, and bring him out by the yron gates of the Citie, and ſet him free? And when, I pray you? Even the ſame night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgement to have ſlain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner priſon, and there were laid faſt in the ſtocks, I pray you what appearance was there that the Magiſtrates ſhould be glad to come the next day themſelves to them, to deſire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the Emperors Deputy, when as both the high Prieſt, the Phariſees, and Rulers of the Jewes had conſpired to require judgement of death againſt him, he being faſt in Priſon, and alſo more than fortie men had ſworne each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drinke, untill they had ſlain Paul? A thing wonderfull, that no reaſon could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his owne ſiſters Son a yong man, that diſappointed that conſpiracie, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to paſſe, thou mayſt read in the twentie three of the Acts. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearſall thereof.

Examples of Gods deliverance.

Now to deſcend from the Apoſtles to the Martyrs that followed next in Chriſts Church, and in them likewiſe to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his caſe have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanaſius the great Clerke and godly men ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſts cauſe againſt the Arrians, and that holy woman Blandina, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extreme pains, in the ſimple confeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt have examples of mo, look and thou ſhalt have both theſe and an hundred mo in Eccle. hiſtoria of Euſebius, and in Tripartita hiſtoria.

But for all theſe examples both of holy Scripture, and of other Hiſtories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbred with the frailty and infirmitie of the fleſh, will have now and then ſuch thoughts and quaumes (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: All theſe things which are rehearſed out of the Scripture I beleeve to be true, and of the reſt truly I do think well, and can beleeve them alſo to be true; but all theſe we muſt needs grant were ſpeciall miracles of God, which now in our dayes are ceaſed, we ſee; and to require them at Gods hands, were it not to tempt God?

Welbeloved brother, I grant ſuch were great wonderfull works of God, and we have not ſeen many of ſuch miracles in our time, either for that our ſight is not cleer (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times) or elſe becauſe we have not the like faith of them for whoſe cauſe God wrought ſuch things, or becauſe, after that he had ſet forth the truth of his doctrine by ſuch miracles then ſufficiently, the time of ſo many miracles to be done was expired withall. Which of theſe is the moſt ſpeciall cauſe of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my welbeloved in God, that Gods hand is as ſtrong as ever it was, he may do what his gracious pleaſure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth, But God our heavenly Father is even the ſame now that he was, and ſhall be for evermore.

God worketh great miracles in our time, although every man doth not ſee them.

The world without doubt (this I do beleeve, and therefore I ſay) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his ſecret and unſearchable wiſedome, to uſe his elect, ſometimes to deliver them and to keep them ſafe, and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drink of Chriſts cup, that is, to feele the ſmart, and to feel of the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feeleth eaſe in the other, is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no leſſe when he ſuffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, that when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguiſh of the torments he ſtandeth by them, and ſtrengthneth them in their faith, to ſuffer in the confeſſion of the truth and his faith, the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the priſon doore and letteth them go looſe: for here he doth but reſpite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like perill again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or perill, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howſoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he ſuffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter, and Paul, when (after they had, according to his bleſſed will, pleaſure and providence, finiſhed their courſes, and done their ſervices appointed them by him here in preaching of his Goſpel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruell tyrant Nero, as the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory ſaith, as when he ſent the Angel to bring Peter out of priſon, and for Pauls delivery he made all the doores of the priſon to flie wide open, and the foundation of the ſame like an earthquake to tremble and ſhake.

The Lords favor no leſſe in adverſity, than in proſperity.

Thinkeſt thou, O thou man of God, that Chriſt our Saviour had leſſe affection to the firſt Martyr Stephen, becauſe he ſuffered his enemies even at the firſt conflict to ſtone him to death? No ſurely, nor James Johns brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth Primates or Principalls amongſt the Apoſtles of Chriſt. He loved him never a whit the worſe than he did the other, although he ſuffered Herod the tyrants ſword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel ſay, ſpeaking of the cruelty of Antichriſts time, Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, & ruent in gladio & in flamma, & in captivitate, & rapina dierum, &c. Et de eruditis ruent ut conflentur & eligantur, & dealbentur, &c. That is, and the learned (he meaneth truly learned in Gods law) ſhall teach many, and ſhall fall upon the ſword, and in the flame (that is, ſhall be burned in the flaming fire) and in captivity (that is, ſhall be in priſon, and be ſpoyled and robbed of their goods for a long ſeaſon.) and after a little in the ſame place of Daniel it followeth; and of the learned there be, which ſhall fall or be overthrowne, that they may be known, tried, choſen, and made white; he meaneth, be bourniſhed and ſcoured anew, picked and choſen, and made freſh and luſty. If that then

Dan. 12.

Dan. ibid.

was foreſeen to be doue to the godly learned, and for ſo gracious cauſes, let every one to whom any ſuch thing by the will of GOD doth chance, be merry in God, and rejoyce, for it is to Gods glorie, and to his own everlaſting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciouſly God hath provided, having grace of GOD, and ſtrength of the holy Ghoſt to ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the heigth of the ſtorm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorifie him, and to edifie his Church by the effuſion of his blood.

Martyrdom an high honour.

To dye in Chriſts cauſe is an high honor, to the which no man certainly ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to preſume to take unto himſelf any office of honor, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John ſaith well ſpeaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lambe, and by the word of his teſtimonie, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

Apoc. 12.

And our Saviour Chriſt ſayth; He that ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe ſhall finde it. And this manner of ſpeech pertaineth not to one kinde of Chriſtians (as the worldly doth wickedly dream) but to all that do truly pertain unto Chriſt. For when Chriſt had called unto him the multitude together with his Diſciples, he ſayd unto them (mark that he ſayd not this to the Diſciples and Apoſtles only, but he ſayd it to all) whoſoever will follow me, let him forſake or deny himſelfe, and take up his croſſe and follow me: for whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it) he meaneth whoſoever will, to ſave his life, forſake or leave him and his truth) and whoſoever ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe and the Goſpels ſake, ſhall ſave it. For what ſhall it profit a man if he ſhall win the whole world, and loſe his owne ſoule, his own life? or what ſhall a man give to recompence that loſſe of his own life, and of his own ſoule? Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my words (that is, to confeſſe me and my Goſpel) before this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, when he commeth in the glory of his Father, with the holy Angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoofe, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy ſalvation. All things, ſaith Paul, worketh with the good to goodneſſe, even the enemies of God, and ſuch kinde of puniſhments whereby they go about to deſtroy them, ſhall be forced by Gods power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them ſervice.

Mat. 16.

Mark. 8.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty adverſitie, ſickneſſe, tribulation, yea painfull death of the godly be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole courſe of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have ſuffered his moſt dearly beloved the Patriarches to have had ſuch troubles, his Prophets, his Apoſtles, his Martyrs, and chiefe Champions and maintainers of his truth and Goſpel, ſo cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and ſlain. Of the which ſome were racked (as the Apoſtle ſaith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better reſurrection. Some were tried by mockings and ſcourgings, yea moreover by bonds and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, they were hewen and cut aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlain with the ſword, they wandred up and down in Sheepes skins and Goates skins, being forſaken, afflicted, and tormented, ſuch men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wilderneſſe, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All theſe were approved by the teſtimonie of faith, and received not the promiſe, becauſe God did provide better for us, that without us they ſhould not be conſummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (ſayth the Lord) a little while untill the number of their fellow ſervants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be ſlain, as they were.

Heb. 11.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lords ſake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occaſion of delay of that glorious conſummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which alſo the living indued with Gods Spirit, ought ſo earneſtly to deſire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the ſervant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Chriſt, Veni Domine Ieſu, Come Lord Jeſus, come. For then when Chriſt, which is our life, ſhall be made manifeſt, and appear in glory, then ſhall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Chriſt: for this our weak body ſhall be transfigured and made like unto Chriſts glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to ſubdue unto himſelfe all things. Then, that which is now corruptible, ſhall be made incorruptible: that which now is vile, ſhall then be made glorious; that which is now weak, ſhall riſe then mighty and ſtrong; that which is groſſe and carnall, ſhall be made fine and ſpirituall: for then we ſhall ſee and have the unſpeakable joy and fruition of the glorious Majeſty of our Lord even as he is.

Apoc. 22.

Who, or what then ſhall let us to jeopard, to jeopard? yea, to ſpend this life which we have here in Chriſts cauſe? in our Lord God his cauſe? O thou therefore man of God, thou that art loaden, and ſo letted like unto a great bellied woman, that thou canſt not flie the plague, yet if thou luſt after ſuch things as I have ſpoken of, ſtand faſt whatſoever ſhall befall, in thy Maſters cauſe: and take this thy letting to flie, for a calling of God to fight in thy Maſter Chriſt his cauſe. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreſeen before: they can do no more than it ſhall pleaſe him to ſuffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his Church, and thine own ſalvation. Let them then do what they ſhall, ſeeing to thee (O man of God) all things ſhall be forced to ſerve, and to work with thee unto the beſt before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

Nothing happeneth without Gods foreſight.

All this which I have ſpoken for the comfort of the lamentable caſe of the man whom Chriſt called great bellied woman, I mean to be ſpoken likewiſe to the captive and priſoner in Gods cauſe: for ſuch I count to be as it were alreadie ſummoned and preſſed to fight under the banner of the Croſſe of Chriſt, and as it were ſouldiers allowed and taken up for the Lords wars, to do their Lord and Maſter good and honorable ſervice, and to ſtick to him, as men of truſty ſervice in his cauſe, even unto death, and to think their life loſt in his cauſe, is to winne it in eternall glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and to make an end of this treatiſe, I ſay unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Chriſt Jeſus our Redeemer and Saviour; that love to follow the waies of the holy Ghoſt which is our comforter and ſanctifier of all; unto all that love Chriſts ſpouſe and bodie, the true Catholike Church of Chriſt, yea, that love life and their own ſoules health; I ſay unto all theſe, hearken my dear brethren and ſiſters, all you that be of God, of all ſorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſpoken to his Apoſtles, and meant to all his in St. Mathews Goſpel, Feare

Math. 10.

not them which kill the bodie, for they cannot kill the ſoule; but fear him more which may deſtroy and caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. Are not two ſmall Sparrowes ſold for a mite, and one of them ſhall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbred. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little Sparrowes. Every one that confeſſeth me before men, him ſhall I likewiſe confeſſe before my Father which is in heaven. But whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, I ſhall deny him likewiſe before my Father which is in heaven.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſſe him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinfull generation, that he may confeſſe us again at the latter day before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory and everlaſting comfort, joy, and ſalvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the holy Ghoſt, be all glory and honor now and for ever, Amen.

Thus with the death and Martyrdome of theſe two learned Paſtors and conſtant ſouldiers of Chriſt, Maſter Latimer and Biſhop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expreſſed, with the farewels alſo of Biſhop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdome of heaven. Divers and ſundry other Treatiſes of his remain alſo in my hand both in Latine and Engliſh, to be remembred by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The death of Stephen Gardiner, enemy to Gods word.

The next moneth after the burning of Doctor Ridley, and Maſter Latimer, which was the moneth of November, Stephen Gardiner Biſhop and Chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and diſpoſition of which man, forſomuch as ſomewhat hath been declared before in the ſtory of King Edwards Reign, I ſhall need therefore the leſſe now to ſtand greatly upon the ſame. Firſt, this Vipers bird crept out of the Town of Bury in Suffolke, was brought up moſt part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other indowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed and rightly applied the ſame; wherein there was no great want of Gods part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the goodneſſe of his gifts. Through this promptneſſe, activity, and towardneſſe of his, he profited not a little in ſuch ſtudies as he gave his head unto, as firſt in the Civill Law, then in languages and ſuch other like, eſpecially in thoſe Arts and faculties, which had any proſpect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other ornaments or helps of nature, memorie chiefly ſeemed in him very beneficiall, rather than diligence of ſtudy.

The vices of Wincheſter deſcribed.

To theſe gifts and qualities were joyned again his great or greater vices, which not ſo much followed him, as overtooke him, not ſo much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole Realm. He was of a proud ſtomack, and high minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himſelf too much; in wit, crafty, and ſubtile, toward his ſuperiours flattering and fair ſpoken, to his inferiors fierce, againſt his equall ſtout and envious, namely, if in judgement and ſentence he any thing withſtood him, as appeared between the good Lord Cromwell and him in the Reign of King Henry, being of like hautineſſe of ſtomack, as the Poets write of Pelides, Cedere neſcius. Who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithſtanding I wiſh he would have given place to truth, according as he ſeemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evident, partly to underſtand as well by his book De vera obedientia, as alſo by his Sermon before King Edward, alſo by his anſwers to the Counſell the ſame time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in ſundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his eſtimation and fame he ſtood too too much, more than was meet for a man of his Coat and calling, whoſe profeſsion was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him ſo ſtiffe in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here ſpeak of that which hath been conſtantly reported to me touching the monſtrous making and miſhaped faſhion of his feet and toes, the nayles whereof were ſayd not to be like to other mens, but to crook downward, and to be ſharp like the clawes of ravening beaſts. What his learning was in the Civill and Canon Law I have not to ſay. What it was in other liberall Sciences and Arts this I ſuppoſe, that neither his continuance in ſtudie, nor diligence of reading was ſuch (by reaſon of his too much intermedling in Princes matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning ſoever it was he had, ſo it fared in him, as it doth in Butchers, which uſe to blow up their fleſh: even ſo he with boldneſſe and ſtoutneſſe, and ſpecially with authority made thoſe gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, uſe peradventure alſo and experience abroad brought no little helps, rather than either quickneſſe of wit, or happineſſe of education.

Wincheſter not worthy the title of a learned man.

And as touching Divinitie, he was ſo variable, wavering with time, that no conſtant cenſure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conſcience, no man can rightly ſay whether he was a right Proteſtant or Papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep diſſembler before God and man, to ſay, and unſay, to write and unwrite, to ſweare and forſweare ſo as he did. For firſt in the beginning of Queen Annes time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſie in the matter of the Kings divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was firſt ſent to Rome, and then to the Emperor with Edward Foxe, as chiefe agent in the behalfe of Ladie Anne? By whom alſo he was preferred to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and Edward Boner was preferred to the Biſhoprick of London. Againe, at the aboliſhing of the Pope, who ſo ready to ſweare, or ſo vehement to write againſt the Pope as he, as not only by his ſermons, but alſo by his booke de obedientia may appeare? In which booke de obedientia, leſt any ſhould thinke him drawne thereunto otherwiſe than by his own conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor upon a ſudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertiſement in himſelf about the matter, he at length uttered his judgement: Whereof reade before. And moreover, ſo he uttered his judgement in writing againſt the uſurped ſupremacie of the Pope, that comming to Lovane, afterward he was there accounted for a perſon excommunicate and a Schiſmatick, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their Church to ſay Maſſe; and moreover in their publike Sermons they openly cried out againſt him. Whereof reade hereafter following.

The mutability of S. Gardiner in religion.

Touching the doings of Wincheſter at Lovane, reade the letter of Oſiander to Criſpine.

And thus long continued he firme and forward, ſo that who but Wincheſter during all the time

The firſt turning of Wincheſter from the Goſpel, and why?

Another halfe-turn from popery to the Goſpel. Wincheſter turned to a full Papiſt.

and raign of Queen Anne? After her deceaſe that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwels eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much favouring of Boner (whom Wincheſter at that time in no caſe could abide) made him an utter enemy both againſt him, and alſo his religion: till again in King Edwards dayes, he began a little to rebate from certain points of Popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the Goſpel, as both by his Sermon before King Edward, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain articles, may appear: and this was an half turn of Stephen Gardiner from Popery again to the Goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the Duke of Somerſet clean turned him away from true Divinity, to plain Popery; wherein he continued a cruell perſecutor to his dying day.

Wincheſter never conſtant in himſelf, nor agreeing with other Papiſts.

A great part of Wincheſters Divinity is to be found in Pereſeus.

And thus much concerning the trade and profeſſion of Stephen Gardiners Popiſh Divinity. In which his Popiſh trade, whether he followed more true judgement, or elſe time, or rather the ſpirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtfull to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtfull, becauſe in his doings and writings a man may ſee him not onely contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other Papiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own ſenſe, as the minde and meaning of Pereſeus; out of whoſe Book the greateſt part of Wincheſters Divinity ſeemeth to be borrowed.

Wincheſters ſtile unpleaſant.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of Gods holy Word and Scripture he appeareth no body; ſo in his pen and ſtyle of writing no leſſe farre is he from commendation, than he is from all plainneſſe and perſpicuity. In whoſe obſcure and perplex kinde of writing, although peradventure ſome ſenſe may be found with ſome ſearching, yet ſhall no reader finde any ſweetneſſe in his reading.

What moved him to be ſo ſturdy againſt M. Cheek, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they pleaſe: I ſpeak but what I think, that ſo he did, for that he ſaw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the diſpoſition of that man (as it ſeemeth) that of purpoſe he ever affected to ſeem to be a patron of all old cuſtomes, though they were never ſo rotten with age. Amongſt other matters, this one thing I cannot but marvell at in my minde, when I ſee how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himſelf (as well in his letters to the Lord Protector, and others of King Edwards Councell, as alſo in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other the Kings Commiſſioners) of the high favour he had of the noble King of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, when indeed nothing was leſſe true; neither did the King leſſe favour any of his Councell, than him, affirming very often, that he greatly ſuſpected the ſaid Biſhop to be a ſecret maintainer of the Biſhop of Romes uſurped authority, and a ſtout diſturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of Religion And therefore he did ſo much diſlike him, that he did not onely minde (if the Lord had ſent his Highneſſe longer life) to have uſed the extremity of law againſt him, upon very ſore and juſt matter of old, committed by him (and yet not taken away by any pardon) commanding thereupon often the Lord Paget, then his Secretary, to keep ſafe certain writings which he had againſt him; but alſo commanded that he ſhould be put clean out of his laſt Will and Teſtament, not ſuffering him either to be any of his executors, or elſe in any caſe of his Sons counſell, no, although he were earneſtly entreated to the contrary by ſundry of the Lords, and others of his highneſſe Councell, ſaying, he was a wilfull, troubleſome, and head ſtrong man, and not meet to be about his Sonne, or to have any thing to do by his will. Now amongſt other cauſes that moved the King thus to ſuſpect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I finde this to be one. It pleaſed his Majeſty after his aboliſhing of the Biſhop of Romes uſurped authority (amongſt other Embaſſages to forraign Princes) to ſend the ſaid Biſh. of Wincheſter, and ſir Henry Knevet, Knight, as joynt Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, being then at a Diet or Counſel at Ratisbone, appointing alſo Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, Knights, and Maſter Andrew Bainton, Eſquire (his highneſſe ſervants) to give their attendance upon the ſaid Sir Henry Knevet, for the more honouring of his Embaſſage. It happened alſo at that time, that Sir Henry Knevet entertained into his ſervice (as Steward of his houſhold) one Will. Wolfe, who had in the ſame place and room before ſerved Sir Thomas Wyat, Knight, the Kings former Ambaſſadour there, and by that means had good acquaintance in thoſe parts, as well in the Emperours Court, as elſe where. This Wolfe, towards the later end of that Diet or Councell, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the Emperours Palace to hear ſome news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian Merchant of Banker, one of his old acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid Wolfe to have attended upon the Biſhop of Wincheſter (not knowing of any other joynt Ambaſſadour) required Wolfe for old acquaintance, to do him a pleaſure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico ſhewed him, that the Popes Legate, or Ambaſſadour to the Emperour (which was Cardinall Contarene) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leiſure to end his buſineſſe himſelf, had put the ſaid Ludovico in truſt for the accompliſhing of them: and amongſt all other things he had eſpecially charged him that he ſhould repair to the Ambaſſadour of England, and require of him an anſwer of the Popes Letters, which the Legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from Rome, and that upon the receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with all ſpeed; and therefore if his L. Ambaſſadour would write by that currour, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the currour went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abaſhed, and yet partly gheſſing which Ambaſſadour he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe ſervant he was, but by other ſoothing talk perceived that he meant the Biſhop of Wincheſter. And to the end that Ludovico ſhould ſuſpect nothing, he anſwered him, that he being not the Ambaſſadours Secretary, could ſay little therein, howbeit he would not miſſe to put his Secretary in remembrance of it: which thing Ludovicke alſo deſired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the Ambaſſador, and ſo for that time they departed. This matter ſeeming to Wolfe of ſome importance, did ſtraightwayes reveal it to Sir Henry Knevet his Maſter, Who weighing alſo the greatneſſe of the caſe, and what diſadvantage it were upon one mans ſo bare a report to attempt ought, in a place and time, whereby ſuch a perſon was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to adviſe himſelf, that no affect of hate, diſpleaſure, or other paſſion, did move him to diſcloſe this, but truth onely. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightines of the cauſe, meet, as to his own reſpect, to be paſſed over in ſilence, for avoyding of his private diſpleaſure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwiſe. But Sir (quoth he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be ſufficient, I warrant you to deviſe means, that ſome others of your ſervants ſhall hear the like words at Ludovickes own mouth as well as I. Upon which talk Sir Henry Knevet deviſed which of his ſervants he might uſe to that purpoſe, and at laſt reſted upon M. Tho. Chalenor his Secretary, becauſe he had the Italian tongue. Not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning being ſunday, Wolfe came to Chalenors chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or market-ſtead, which he gladly granting, ſo did, not knowing of any ſpeciall cauſe why. When they came to the Piazza, over againſt the Emperors Palace, (neer whereunto alſo the Popes Legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the ſaid Ludovico, and eſpying Wolfe, ſaluted him very friendly, and entred into talk about the Exchange, and ſundry other matters, Chalenor being ſtill with them. At laſt upon occaſion, they entred into like talk about the former Letters that the Ambaſſadour of England had received from Rome by the Popes Legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an anſwer, affirming, that the Poſte did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the Ambaſſadours Secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe anſwered, that he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which Ambaſſadour he meant, for that there were two: one, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other, a Gentleman of the Kings privy Chamber. To whom Ludovick replied, that he meant not the Gentleman of the privy chamber, but the Biſhop. By which talk and more ſuch like (as upon the former day) M. Chalenor being moved (and not knowing yet of his Maſters and Wolfes purpoſe) after the departure of Ludovico from them, ſaid unto Wolfe, that Ludovicke had had but homely talk with him, not to be paſſed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his Maſter of it. To whom Wolfe anſwered, do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knevet what ſpeech he had heard at Ludovicks mouth. Sir Henry Knevet, being thus further aſcertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, and to M. Bainton; who all agreed, yet to make a farther triall thereof. And therefore deviſed that Wolfe ſhould procure Ludovicke to bring certain Velvet, and other ſilks, unto Sir Henry Knevets lodging, as well for himſelf, as for the other Gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accompliſh, and brought Ludovicke unto Sir Henry, where alſo were the other Gentlemen: After they had a while viewed the ſilks, and had had ſome talk about the prices, Wolfe took occaſion again to aſke Ludovicke, if Sir Henry were the Ambaſſadour of whom he was to demand an anſwer of the Letters ſent by the Popes Legate? To whom the Merchant anſwered, No, it was not his ſeignory, but it was a Biſhop, tearming him Reverendiſſimo, whereby they eaſily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knevet, hereupon ſomewhat diſſembling the matter, entred into further talk thereabouts, whereby Ludovicke opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at laſt perceiving that as well Sir Henry, as alſo the other Gentlemen, did behold him ſomewhat fixedly, he brake of his talk. Wherewith Sir Henry Knevet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly diſmiſſe him, praying him, that when he had received the Biſhops Letters, he would alſo repair to him for a packet to an Engliſh Gentleman of his acquaintance at Millan; which he promiſed to do, and ſo departed again. When Sir Henry had thus made ſufficient triall of this matter, he forthwith wrote his Letters unto the Kings Majeſty, ſignifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while Ludovicke the next morning repaired unto the Biſhop of Wincheſters lodging, to demand an anſwer of thoſe Letters the Legate had ſent unto him: but how he uſed himſelf, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir Henry Knevet and with Wolfe, whom he ſuppoſed at the firſt to be the Biſhops man, it is not certainly known. But the Biſhop, perceiving that by miſtaking one for another (and in ſuppoſing Wolfe to be the Biſhops ſervant) Ludovicke had uttered all his meſſage from the Legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practiſes would come to light; in great haſty rage, cauſed Ludovicke to be ſtayed in his own houſe, while in the mean time himſelf went to Grabela, one of the Emperors Councell, and ſo practiſed with him, that Ludovicke was ſecretly committed unto priſon, in the cuſtody of one of the Emperors Marſhals, ſo as he could be no more talked withall, all the time of their abode there. And then ſending in great haſte to Sir Henry Knevet to come and ſpeak with him (which he did) he fell into very hot ſpeech with him, ſaying, that he had poyſon in his diſh, and that a knave was ſuborned to be his deſtruction; with many ſuch like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he underſtood it, and prayed him, that Ludovick might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their preſence. Which the Biſhop would in no caſe agree unto, affirming, that he had ſo declared the caſe to Grabela, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovicke, nor ſpeak with him: but that the Emperors Councell ſhould examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir Henry Knevet again very earneſtly objected, that he marvelled that the Biſhop in matter touching the Kings Majeſty, their Maſter, would uſe the aid or means of Grabela, a forraign Princes Miniſter, to make him privy of their queſtion. But ſay and do what he could, he would never come to the ſpeech of Ludovicke any more ever after. Whereupon there roſe great and long controverſies between them (both writing Letters unto the King about that matter) untill at laſt the Kings Majeſty perceiving his affairs otherwiſe to ſlack thereby, wrote unto them both that they ſhould lay all thoſe things under foot, and joyn together in his ſervice as before; which they did accordingly. But howſoever this matter was afterward ſalved here with the Kings Majeſty, as either by the death of Sir Henry Knevet (which I think was not long after) or by other friends the Biſhop had here at home I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two moneths after died of a long cough of the Longues, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premiſſes to be moſt true; and therefore in the preſence of Sir Henry Knevet, and divers other of his ſervants, he proteſted, that he had not invented, ſought, or procured this at Ludovickes hands, for any malice or diſpleaſure born to them but only for diſcharge of his faith and duty unto the Kings Majeſty, deſiring that the ſame his proteſtation might be inſerted in the end of his laſt Will and Teſtament, which was then preſently done, and thereunto ſet his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the King moved ſo often M. Secretary Paget (being after Lord Keeper) to keep ſafe as ſore matter againſt the Biſhop, I know not; but yet it appears by ſome depoſitions of the Nobility, and others, in the proceſſe againſt him had in King Edwards dayes, that the Kings Maieſty, Henry the 8. had this matter ever in his mind: for in every generall pardon that he granted by Parliament after this practice, he did ſtill except all treaſons committed beyond the Seas; meaning thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, that the B. ſhould not take any benefit by any generall pardon, if at any time his Maieſty would call him to accompt: and therfore all things well weighed, he had ſmall cauſe to vaunt of his great favour he had with King Henry his Maſter. Howbeit, it ſeemeth he was brought into this fools paradiſe, by the Lord Paget: who (as he himſelf reporteth in his depoſitions) in his meſſages from the King to the ſaid Biſhop, deluded him, telling him much otherwiſe than the King had ſpoken, and concealing alwayes the Kings hard ſpeeches againſt him which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraſo not a little. All which premiſſes appear more at large by the depoſitions of the nobles and others, examined in the long proceſſe againſt him in King Edwards raigne, as appears in our firſt edition of Acts and Monuments, from the 804. page, unto the end of that proceſſe, in that book at large mentioned.

But whoſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I referre him to his judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat would teſtifie to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that England hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord therefore: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt in perverting his Princes, in bringing in the 6 Articles, in murdering Gods Saints, in defacing Chriſts ſincere religion, &c. but alſo and eſpecially for that he had thought to have brought to paſſe in murdering alſo our Noble Queen that now is. For whatſoever danger it was of death, that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from that bloody Biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highneſſe being in the Tower, a Writ came down from certain of the Councell, for her execution, it is out of controverſie, that wily Wincheſter was the onely Dædalus and framer of that engine. who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole Realme into wofull ruine, had not the Lords moſt gracious Councell, through M. Bridges, then the Lievtenant, coming in haſte to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophels bloody deviſes. For the which, thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all Engliſh Churches, Amen.

Ste. Gardiner ſpecially hunting for the life of the Lady Elizabeth.

Q. Elizabeth preſerved.

M. Bridges, Lievtenant, the Lords organe in ſaving the Lady Elizabeths life.

Of things uncertain, I muſt ſpeak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or elſe pe adventure they be in the Realm that can ſay more than here I have expreſſed. For as Boner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with other, were occupied in putting the poor branches of Gods Saints to death: ſo this Biſhop for his part bent all his deviſes, and had ſpent all his powder in aſſayling the root, and in caſting ſuch a plat-form (as he himſelf in words at his death is ſaid to confeſſe) to build his Popery upon, as he thought ſhould have ſtood for ever and a day. But (as I ſaid before) of things uncertain I can ſpeak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he dyed, what words he ſpake, what little repentance he ſhewed, whether he died with his tongue ſwoln and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundell, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or whether he ſtunk before he died, as Cardinall Wolſey did, or whether he died in deſpair, as Latomus and other did, &c. All this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Tho. Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Notwithſtanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foreſaid Biſhop, I thought not to overpaſſe a certain hear-ſay, which not long ſince came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible Gentlewoman, and another Gentleman of the ſame name and kindred, which Miſtreſſe Munday, being the wife of one Maſter Munday, Secretary ſometime to the old L. Thomas, D. of Northfolk, a preſent witneſſe of this that is teſtified, thus openly reported in the houſe of a worſhipfull Citizen, bearing yet office in this City, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame day, when as Biſhop Ridley and M. Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the 19 day of October, there came to the houſe of Stephen Gardiner, the old D. of Northfolk with the foreſaid M. Munday his Secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the Biſh. being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time to 3 or 4 of the clock at afternoon. At length, about 4 of the clock cometh his ſervant poſting in all poſſible ſpeed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the B. what he had heard and ſeen: of whom the ſaid B. diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoycing to the Duke; Now ſaith he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon, they being ſet down, meat immediately was brought, and the Biſhop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody Tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God his terrible hand fell upon him in ſuch ſort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of 15 dayes in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while, during the 15 dayes, he could not avoid by order of urine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he received: wherby his body being miſerably inflamed within (who had inflamed ſo many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his tongue from his mouth ſo ſwolne and black, with the inflamation of his body, A ſpectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all ſuch bloody burning perſecutors.

But to proceed farther in the ſequele of our ſtory: I could name the man (but I abſtain from names) who being then preſent, and a great doer about the ſaid Wincheſter, reported to us concerning the ſaid Biſhop, that when Doctor Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter came to him, and began to comfort him with words of Gods promiſe, and with the free juſtification in the blood of Chriſt our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Wincheſter hearing that, What my Lord (quoth he) will you open that gap now? then farewell all together. To me and ſuch other in my caſe you may ſpeak it, but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether.

Moreover, what D. Boner then ſaw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words paſſed between them about the time of this extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If Boner did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolons Epitaph which was made of his death, deviſed of a Papiſt for a Popiſh Biſhop: but I pretermit it, and inſtead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his Sermons, words, and writings, wherein may appear firſt, what an earneſt and vehement enemy he was to the Pope, if he would have been conſtant in himſelf; then how inconſtantly he varied from himſelf; and thirdly how he ſtanding upon a ſingularity of his own wit, varied alſo from other Papiſts in certain points. In the gathering whereof albeit there be ſome pains, and tediouſneſſe alſo in reading; yet I thought not to pretermit the ſame, upon certain conſiderations, namely, for that ſo many yet to this day there be, which ſtick ſo much to Gardiners wit, learning, and religion, taking him for ſuch a doughty pillar of the Popes Church. To the intent therefore, that ſuch as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abuſed therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, ſermons, writings, diſputations; or elſe will be judged by his own witneſſes of his own party produced, we have here collected ſuch manifeſt probations, which may notoriouſly declare how effectuouſly firſt he withſtood the Popes ſupremacy: and likewiſe afterward may declare manifeſt contrariety and repugnancie of the ſaid Gardiner, firſt with other writers, and laſtly with himſelf: firſt beginning with his Sermon preached before King Edward. The ſumme and effect of which Sermon briefly collected by M. Udal, hereunder followeth to be ſeen.

The ſumme and effect of the Sermon which *Gardiner*, B. of Wincheſter preached before King Edward, An. 1550.

The effect of Ste. Gardnier B of Wincheſters ſermon.

MOſt honorable audience, I purpoſe, by the grace of God, to declare ſome part of the Goſpel that is accuſtomably uſed to be read in the Church at this day. And becauſe that without the ſpeciall grace of God, neither can I ſpeak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſire you all, that we may joyntly pray all together for the aſſiſtance of his grace. In which prayer I commend to Almighty God, your moſt excellent Majeſty, our Soveraign Lord, King of England, France and Ireland, and of the Church of England and Ireland, next and immediatly under God here on earth, the ſupreme Head, Queen Katharine Dowager, my Lady Maries Grace, my Lady Elizabeths Grace, your Majeſties moſt dear ſiſters, my Lord Protectors Grace, with all others of your moſt honourable Councell, the ſpiritualty and temporalty, and I ſhall deſire you to commend unto God with your prayer, the ſouls departed unto God in Chriſts faith, and amongſt theſe, moſt eſpecially our late Soveraign Lord, King Henry the Eighth, your Majeſties moſt Noble Father. For theſe and for grace neceſſary, I ſhall deſire you to ſay a Pater noſter, and ſo forth.

Supreme Head.

Matth. 16.

Divers judgements of Chriſt

The Goſpel beginneth, Cum veniſſet Ieſus in partes Cæſareæ Philippi, &c. When Jeſus was come into the parts of Ceſarea, a City that Philippus builded, he asked his Diſciples, and ſaid; Whom do men ſay that the Sonne of man is? They ſaid, Some ſay that thou art John the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Ely, ſome that thou art Jeremy, or ſome one of the Prophets. He ſaid to them, But whom ſay ye that I am? Then anſwered Simon Peter, and ſaid, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God, &c. I cannot have time, I think, to ſpeak of the Goſpel thorowly, for other matters that I have here now to ſay, but I ſhall note unto you ſuch things as I may, and firſt of the diverſity of opinions concerning Chriſt, which were among the people variable: but among this, that is, the diſciple of Chriſts ſchool, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when Peter had for all the reſt, and in the name of all the reſt made his anſwer, that Chriſt was the Sonne of God, they all confeſſed with one conſent, that he had ſpoken the truth Yet theſe opinions of Chriſt that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet were they honorable and not ſlanderous: for to ſay that Chriſt was Ely, and John the Baptiſt, was honorable. For ſome thought him ſo to be, becauſe he did frankly, ſharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremy, had alſo an honorable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be, becauſe of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that ſaid he was ſome of the Prophets, had an honorable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

Man can do nothing of himſelf.

But there was another ſort of people that ſpake evill of him, and ſlandered him, and railed on him, ſaying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine, that he had a devill in him, that he was a deceiver of the people, that he was a Carpenters ſonne, as though he were the worſe for his fathers craft. But of theſe he asked no queſtion: for among theſe none agreed with the other. Wherein ye ſhall note that man of his own power and ſtrength can nothing do: no, nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth; when he is left to his own invention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and ſo ſtout of his own courage, that he deviſeth nothing well, whenſoever he is left to himſelf without God; and then never do any ſuch agree in any truth, but wander and erre in all that they do. As men of law if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in opinion: in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in opinion, one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they ſhould anſwer all one thing, they fear leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed and thought to have no learning. Therefore be they never ſo many of them, they will not agree in their anſwers, but deviſe each man a ſundry anſwer in any thing that they are asked.

Diſagreement amongſt men of law.

Diſagreement among Philoſophers.

The Philoſophers that were not of Chriſts ſchool erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Diſagreement among ſimple people.

Yea, men of ſimplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Chriſts ſchool, they agree not, but vary in their opinions. As theſe ſimple people here ſpoken of, becauſe they were not perfect Diſciples of Chriſts ſchool, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſaid he was John, ſome Ely, ſome Jeremy, but none made the right anſwer. He that anſwered here, was Simon the ſon of Jonas, and he ſaid; Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God.

Simon ſignifieth obedience. Jonas ſignifieth a Dove.

Obedience.

Simplicity.

Where ye ſhall note the properties that were in Peter. He was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a Dove; ſo that in him that is of Chriſts ſchool, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicity. He muſt be humble and innocent as a Dove, that will be of Chriſts ſchool. Pride is a let of Chriſts ſchool: for as the wiſeman ſaith, God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek. And according to the ſame doth Chriſt in the Goſpel ſay, Oh Father, I confeſſe unto thee, that is, I laud and magnifie thee, for that thou haſt hidden theſe things from the wiſe, and haſt opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon ſaith Saint Auguſtine, that the gifts of learning and knowledge of Sciences are no let to Chriſts ſchool, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied and uſed as they ought to be: but he that is proud, and feedeth himſelf with his own conceit and opinion of himſelf, and abuſeth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the ſatisfying and following of his own fantaſie, is no right Diſciple of Chriſt, but falleth into errour. Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt: When they ſaid and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made fools.

Learning wit out humility never hindereth Chriſts ſcho

Humility the Porter of Chriſts ſchool.

The Philoſophers had every one a ſect of his own, and had many gay ſentences for the commendation of their opinions, and every man thought his own opinion to be beſt: but becauſe they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themſelves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fantaſie, they erred, and fell out of the way, and were not of Chriſts School: and all that have gone out of Chriſts School, pride hath brought them out of it; and ſuch as have not entred, have kept themſelves out of it with pride likewiſe: therefore all ſuch as will be Schollers of Chriſts School and diſcipline, muſt be humble and meek; otherwiſe, Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt.

Hee that cannot learn this leſſon of Peter, and humbly confeſſe with Peter, that Chriſt is the Sonne of the living God, is no Scholler of Chriſts School, be hee otherwiſe never ſo well learned, never ſo well ſeen in other ſciences. But now concerning the anſwer of Peter, Matthew here in this place ſaith he anſwered, Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei vivi. Saint Luke ſaith he anſwered, Tu es Chriſtus Dei. And Saint Mark ſaith he anſwered, Tu es Chriſtus. But in all that is no variety: for to ſay Chriſtus filius Dei vivi, and to ſay Chriſtus Dei, and to ſay Chriſtus, is in effect all one, and no diverſity in it, for Chriſtus alone is the whole, and he that confeſſeth thorowly Chriſt, is thorowly a Chriſtian man, and doth therein confeſſe him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world. But now we muſt conſider what Chriſt is. Chriſt was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Saviour: he was ſent to be our Biſhop and alſo our ſacrifice: he was ſent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father, he was the Biſhop that offered for our ſins, and the ſacrifice that was offered: and as he is our Biſhop, ſo is he our mean to pacifie God for us, for that was the office of a Biſhop, to ſacrifice for the ſins of the people, and to make interceſſion for the people; and as he was our ſacrifice, ſo was he our reconcilitation to God again.

The office of Chriſt declared.

But we muſt confeſſe and beleeve him thorowly I ſay: for as he was our Biſhop then, ſo is it he that ſtill keepeth us in favour with God, and like as his ſacrifice then made was ſufficient as to deliver us from our ſinnes, and to bring us in favour with God, ſo to continue us in the ſame favour of God, he ordained a perpetuall remembrance of himſelf, he ordained himſelf for a memory of himſelf at his laſt Supper, when he inſtituted the Sacrament of the Altar, not for another redemption, as though the world needed a new redemption from ſinne, but that we might thorowly remember his moſt holy paſſion, he inſtituted the Sacrament by his moſt holy Word, ſaying: This is my Body, which word is ſufficient to prove the ſacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the ſubſtance thereof. And this dayly ſacrifice he inſtituted to be continued among Chriſtian men, not for need of another redemption or ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of the world, for that was ſufficiently performed by the ſacrifice of his Body and Blood done upon the Croſſe; neither that he is now our Biſhop for need of any further ſacrifice to be made for ſinne, but to (a) continue us in the remembrance of his paſſion ſuffered for us, to make us ſtrong in beleeving the fruit of his paſſion, to make us diligent in thankſ-giving for the benefit of his paſſion, to eſtabliſh our faith, and to make it ſtrong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and paſſion ſuffered for us. And this is the true underſtanding of the Maſſe, not for another redemption, but that wee may be ſtrong in beleeving the benefits of Chriſts death and blood-ſhedding for us upon the Croſſe. And this it is that we muſt beleeve of Chriſt, and beleeve it thorowly: and therefore by your patience, as Peter made his confeſſion, ſo will I make confeſſion, wherein by your Majeſties leave and ſufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the ſtate of the Church of England at this day, how I like it, and what I think of it.

To beleeve Chriſt thorowly.

Note here Wincheſter: The ſacrament was ordained to keep us in the perpetuall favour of God.

Wincheſters daily ſacrifice.

(a) Note here Wincheſter contrary to himſelf: for before he ſaid the ſacrament was ordained to keep us in the favour of God, and now he ſaith it is to keep us in remembrance of his paſſion.

What Wincheſter thinketh of the Church of England.

Where I ſaid of the Maſſe, that it was a ſacrifice ordained to make us the more ſtrong in the faith and remembrance of Chriſts paſſion, and for commending unto God the ſouls of ſuch as be dead in Chriſt (for theſe two things are the ſpeciall cauſes why the Maſſe was inſtituted) the Parliament very well ordained Maſſe to be kept; and becauſe we ſhould be the more ſtrong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the Sacrament ſhould be received in both kindes. Therefore I ſay that the Act of Parliament for receiving of the ſacrament of the Altar in both kindes, was well made.

What Wincheſter thinketh of the Maſſe.

Wincheſter alloweth the ſacrament in both kindes.

I ſay alſo, that the Proclamation which was made, That no man ſhould unreverently ſpeak of the Sacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this Proclamation ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as will unreverently ſpeak of the ſacrament: for in Scripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing againſt the ſacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not uſe any unreverent talk againſt the ſacrament, nor blaſpheme the holy ſacrament. For no word of the Scripture maketh any thing againſt it.

But here it may be ſaid unto me, Why ſir, is this your opinion? It is good you ſpeak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your minde plainly, without any colouring or covert ſpeaking. The Act for the diſſolving and ſuppreſſing of the Chaunteries ſeemeth to make againſt the Maſſe, how like you that Act? What ſay you of it? or what would you ſay of it, if you were alone? I will ſpeak what I think of it, I will uſe no colourable or covert words, I will not uſe a deviſed ſpeech for a time, and afterward (b) go from it again. If Chaunteries were abuſed by applying the Maſſe for the ſatisfaction of ſinne, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away ſinne, or to make men of wicked juſt, I like the Act well, and they might well be diſſolved, for the Maſſe was not inſtituted for any ſuch purpoſe: yet neverthеleſſe for them that were in them (I ſpeak now, as in the cauſe of the poor) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The Act doth graciouſly provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majeſty, and the Lords of your moſt honorable Councell have willed and taken order, that they ſhould be well looked unto, but yet how they ſhall be uſed at the hands of under officers, God knoweth; full hardly, I fear. But as for the Chaunteries themſelves, if there were any ſuch (c) abuſe in them concerning the Maſſe, it is no matter if they be taken away.

The opinion of Wincheſter of Chaunterey Maſſes.

(b) Whether ye did [illegible] not, let D. Maries time judge. Note Wincheſter doth not allow Maſſe for ſatisfaction to bring men to heaven, to take away ſin, or to make men juſt, &c.

King Henry the Eigth, a noble and wiſe Prince, not without great pain maintained the Maſſe, and yet in his doctrine it was confeſſed that Maſſes of Scala Cœli were not to be uſed, ne allowed, becauſe they did pervert the right uſe and inſtitution of the Maſſe. For when men adde unto the Maſſe an opinion of ſatisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another uſe than it was ordained for. I that allow Maſſe ſo well, and I that allow praying for the

(c) As there was indeed Maſſes of Scala Cœli. Wincheſter craftily ſpeaketh againſt the abuſe of the Maſſe not againſt the Maſſe.

Wincheſter againſt chaunteries.

dead (as indeed the dead are of Chriſtian charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the Realm in that matter of putting down Chaunteries.

But yet ye would ſay unto me, There be fewer Maſſes by putting away the Chaunteries. So were there when Abbeyes were diſſolved: ſo be there when ye unite many Churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the Maſſe; it conſiſteth not in the number nor in the multitude, but in the thing it ſelf: ſo that the decay of the Maſſe by taking away the Chaunteries, is anſwered by the Abbeyes. But yet I would have it conſidered for the perſons that are in them. I ſpeak of the poor mens livings.

Wincheſter alloweth the Proclamation ſet forth for receiving in both kindes.

I have now declared what I think of the Act of Parliament made for the receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Savour Ieſus Chriſt in both kindes. Ye have my minde and opinion concerning a Proclamation that came forth for the ſame Act, and I have ſhewed my minde therein even plainly as I think, and I have ever been agreeable to this point, I have oftentimes reaſoned in it, I have ſpoken and alſo written in it, both beyond the Seas, and on this ſide the Seas; my books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kindes, and it was a conſtitution Provinciall, ſcarce two hundred yeers agone, made by Peckam, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it ſhould be received in both kindes, or at leaſtwiſe in Eccleſiis majoribus, that is, in the greater Churches, for in the ſmaller Churches it was not thought to be ſo expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter, I have never been of other minde, nor have I changed my conſcience, but I have obeyed and followed the order of the Realm, and I pray you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

It was a conſtitution provinciall of Peckam to receive in both kindes, in Eccleſiis majoribus: in ſmaller Churches it was thought not ſo expedient.

Matth. 16.

Now I will return to the Text. When Simon had anſwered, Tu es Chriſtus, filius Dei vivi, Thou art Chriſt, the Sonne of the living God: Then Chriſt ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou Simon Barjona, for fleſh and blood have not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven; and I ſay unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. Bleſſed art thou (ſaith he) for fleſh and blood have not opened that unto thee. For otherwiſe in Iohn, Andrew told of Chriſt, and ſaid, I have found the Meſſias, which is Chriſt. But that is not enough. He that ſhall confeſſe Chriſt, muſt have an inward teaching, and muſt be ſpiritually taught by the Father of Heaven, for Andrews confeſſion was nothing but a carnall confeſſion, and ſuch a one as any other might have made by naturall reaſon: but the confeſſion of Peter was above reaſon of man: for Chriſt was there a very man, and Peters eyes told him that he was a man, and nothing elſe; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of Heaven, and had a ſecret knowledge given him from Heaven, not by fleſh and blood, that is to ſay, by mans reaſon, but inwardly by the Father of Heaven: and ſeeing this was above reaſon, it is a marvellous thing that reaſon ſhould be uſed to impugne faith, which is not within the precinct of carnall men, and ſuch as uſe groſſe reaſon.

Iohn 1.

Outward confeſſing without inward teaching is not enough.

Petrus, what it ſignifieth.

Note what Wincheſter here ſaith: That upon the confeſſion of Peter the Church is builded.

But Peter had another reaſon inwardly taught him, and becauſe he could his leſſon, Chriſt gave him a new name: for Petra is a ſtone, a new name of a Chriſtian man, for upon this confeſſion of thy faith, here I will build my Church, that is, I will ſtabliſh all thoſe which I intend to gather unto thee; Et Dæmones non prævalebunt adverſus eam, that is, and the devills ſhall not prevail againſt it: for he that with a good heart, and ſure faith confeſſeth this, he is ſure from all evill: this world nor Sathan can do him no harm.

S. Gardiner againſt the popes ſupremacy.

Peter called Sathan.

Peters name no foundation for ſupremacy.

How Peter might be called the head of the church as is the head of a river.

But now for a farther declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon theſe words the Biſhop of Rome ſhould found his ſupremacy: for whether it be ſuper Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpoſe to make a foundation of any ſuch ſupremacy. For otherwiſe when Peter ſpake carnally to Chriſt (as in the ſame Chapter a little following) Sathan was his name, where Chriſt ſaid, Go after me Sathan: ſo that the name of Peter is no foundation for the ſupremacy, but as it is ſaid in Scripture, Fundati eſtis ſuper fundamentum Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum, that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth names of things) he might be called the head of the Church, as the head of the river is called the head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this confeſſion of Chriſt, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the firſt man is not evermore the beſt. The Head-man of a Queſt is not alwayes the beſt man in the Queſt, but is choſen to be the Head-man for ſome other quality that is in him. Vertue may allure men, ſo that the inferiour perſon in dignity may be the better in place, as the King ſometime chooſeth a mean man to be of his Counſell, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the King the King ſtill. And in ſome caſe the King of England might ſend to Rome, and if the Biſhop of Rome were a man of ſuch wiſedome, vertue, and learning, that he were able in matters of controverſie concerning Religion, to ſet a unity in the Church of England, the King might well enough ſend to him for his counſell and help, and yet ſhould not in ſo doing give the Biſhop of Rome any ſuperiority over the King. For if a King be ſick, he will have the beſt Phyſitian; if he have war, he will have the beſt Captain, and yet are not theſe the ſuperiours, but the inferiors.

A headman is not alwayes of dignity, but rather of quality.

Tu es Petrus maketh nothing for the B. of Rome.

A Schoolmaſter is a ſubject, a Phyſitian is a ſubject, a Captain is a ſubject, Counſellors are ſubjects, yet do theſe order and direct the King. Wherefore leaving the Biſhop of Rome, this I ſay to declare of what opinion I am of. I do not now ſpeak what I could ſay. I have ſpoken beyond the ſeas, I have written, my books be abroad. But this is not the place here, I ſay that this place maketh nothing for the Biſhop of Rome, but for Chriſt onely, for none can put Aliud fundamentum niſi id quod poſitum eſt, qui eſt Chriſtus Ieſus.

Wincheſter againſt the pope, againſt abbeyes and images.

Maſter of Ceremonies.

Wincheſters opinion of Ceremonies.

But now to go forth declaring my minde, in my time have come many alterations. Firſt a great alteration it was to renounce the Biſh. of Romes authority, and I was one that ſtood in it. A great alteration it was that Abbeyes were diſſolved. A great alteration it was that Images were pulled down: and to all theſe I condeſcended, and yet have I been counted a maintainer of ſuperſtition, and have been called a Maſter of Ceremonies and of outward things, and I have bin noted to take that religion which conſiſteth in outward things, as though he were a right Chriſtian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, whereof I promiſed to declare my conſcience, and ſo will I, and how I have eſteemed ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning ceremonies, and mine opinion I have gathered of Auguſtine, and Ierome, ancient fathers and Doctors of the Church.

Ceremonies ſerve to move men to ſerve God, and as long as they be uſed for that purpoſe, they may be well uſed in the Church: but when man maketh himſelf ſervant to

them,

Ceremonies, how, and when they are abuſed.

Ceremonies ſervants to men, not men to Ceremonies.

them, and not them to ſerve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by over much familiarity of them men abuſe them, they do evill. For we muſt not ſerve creatures, but Deo. We had Monkery, Nunnery, Friery, of a wonderous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many ſundry orders and faſhions in moving of the body. Theſe things were firſt ordained to admoniſh them of their duty to God, to labour for the neceſſity of the poor, and to ſpare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe things, and ſet them in an higher place than they ought to do, not taking monition thereby the better to ſerve God, but eſteeming perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolved, their houſes and garments were taken away.

Vow of chaſtity.

But one thing King Henry would not take away, that was the vow of chaſtity. The vow of obedience he converted to himſelf; the vow of chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remain with them.

Wincheſter never againſt the taking down of Images, being abuſed with Idolatry.

We had many Images whereto Pilgrimages were done, and many Tombes that men uſed to viſite, by reaſon whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and ſuperſtition, above the things that they might have been taken for; and becauſe they had not the uſe that they were ordained for, they were left. When men put the Images in a higher place than they ſerved for, then were they taken clean away: as give a childe a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeouſneſſe of his book, and learn not his leſſon, according to the intent that that book was given for, the book is taken away from him again: So the Images, when men deviſed and fell to have them in higher place and eſtimation than they were firſt ſet up in the Church for, then they might be taken away: and I was never of other minde, nor ever had other opinion of them. Divers things there be in the Church which be in the liberty of the Ruler to order as he ſeeth cauſe; and he that is Ruler, may either let them ſtand, or elſe may cauſe them to be taken away.

Two manner of reformations: one where the things cannot be taken away, but the abuſe: the other where both the things and the abuſe may be taken away.

To take away all Images lyeth in the liberty of the rulers.

If abuſing of images be idolatry becauſe ſufficient to take away Images, why did Wincheſter hold with them before? if it be not cauſe ſufficient, why doth he now grant to the taking of them away, being no more wantonly abuſed, than they were before time?

There be two manner of reformations. We have had of both ſorts. There be things in the Church, the which if they be abuſed, may not be taken away. As for Baptiſm, if it be abuſed, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing muſt be reformed, and brought to the right uſe again. Alſo preaching, if it be abuſed, may not be taken away, but muſt be reformed, and brought to the right uſe: but there be other things uſed in the Church, in which the Rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. And becauſe it was an eaſier way to take them away, than to bring them to the right uſe that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away, and ſo they might be. Yea ſir, will ye ſay, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have preached againſt ſuch perſons as deſpiſed them. It is truth I have preached againſt the deſpiſers of them, and have ſaid, that Images might be ſuffered and uſed in the Church as Lay-mens books, yet I never otherwiſe defended them, but to be uſed for ſuch purpoſe as they were firſt ſet up in the Church for, but now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our religion is no more touched, than when books were taken away for abuſing of them.

There was an order taken for books not to be uſed, wherein ſome might have ſaid, the books are good, and I know how to uſe them, I may therefore uſe them well enough. I will therefore uſe them though they be forbidden: But if thou have any charity, thou oughteſt to be contented rather to have them clean taken away, than to declare thy ſelf to have another opinion then thou oughteſt to have.

As touching Ceremonies, I eſteem them all as Paul eſteemeth them, things indifferent, where he ſaith, Regnum Dei non eſca & potus. So of Ceremonies. Nevertheleſſe we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of Pſalms to be ſaid at times, which may be done without ſuperſtition; but theſe things muſt ſerve us, and not we ſerve them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as have power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the rulers that appoint ſuch time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not ſay, if the time will ſerve me, then I will come an hour after. No ſir, ye muſt keep this time, and this hour, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the Rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is ſet. I have been ever of this opinion.

Taking away of Palms and Candles.

We had Palms and Candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations above ſaid. When they were in place, they ſhould have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Chriſt is not in thoſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them the religion of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But men muſt in ſuch things be conformable, not for the Ceremony, but for obedience ſake. Saint Paul ſaith, that we ſhould rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine opinion, and my conſcience telleth me that I have ſpoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be ſlandered in me, nor make any further ſearch to know my heart.

B. Gardiner ſpeaketh according to his unconſtant conſcience.

Wincheſter liketh well the Communion.

B. Gardiner liketh well King Edwards proceedings.

I like well the Communion, becauſe it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the Proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as unreverently ſpeak or rail againſt the Sacrament. I like well the reſt of the Kings Majeſties proceedings concerning the ſacrament. I have now told you what I like. But ſhall I ſpeak nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeak not plainly. I will therefore ſhew you my conſcience plainly.

B. Gardiner miſliketh the Preachers in K. Edwards time, and why?

B. Gardiner compareth preachers to Poſts, carrying truth in their Letters, and lies in their mouthes.

I miſlike thoſe Preachers which preach by the Kings licence, and thoſe Readers which by the Kings permiſſion and ſufferance do reade open Lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talk againſt the Maſſe, and againſt the Sacrament. And to whom may I liken ſuch readers and Preachers? I may liken them unto Poſtes, for the Proverb ſaith, that Poſtes do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouthes: and ſo do they, and to ſpeak ſo againſt the Sacrament, it is the moſt marvellous matter that ever I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therefore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order or rule; for as the Poet ſaith (I may uſe the Verſe of a Poet well enough, for ſo doth Paul of the great Poet) οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the King. They call it going before the King, and ſuch make themſelves Kings. Well, what miſliketh me elſe?

B. Gardiner miſliketh the breaking of a vow of chaſtity.

It miſliketh me that Prieſts, and men that vowed chaſtity, ſhould openly marry, and avow it openly: which is a thing that ſince the beginning of the Church hath not been ſeen at any time, that men that have been admitted to any Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration ſhould marry. We reade of married Prieſts, that is to ſay, of married men choſen to be Prieſts and Miniſters in the Church. And in Epiphanius we reade, that ſome ſuch for neceſſity were winked at. But that men being

Prieſts already ſhould marry, was never yet ſeen in Chriſts Church from the beginning of the Apoſtles time. I have written in it, and ſtudied for it; and the very ſame places that are therein alledged to maintain the maraiage of Prieſts being diligently read, ſhall plainly confound them that maintain your Prieſts to marry, or at the fartheſt within two lines after.

B. Gardiner againſt mariage of Prieſts.

Thus have I ſhewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the inferiours, and in order proceeding from the higher powers. And thus I have (as I truſt) plainly declared my ſelf, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty to eſteem and take me as I am, and not to be ſlandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conſcience unto you. I have not played the Poſte with you, to carry truth in my letters, and lyes in my mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place; but I have diſcloſed the plain truth as it lieth in my minde. And thus I commit your moſt excellent Majeſty and all your moſt honorable Counſellors, with the reſt of the devout audience here preſent, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

B. Gardiner agreeing to reformation of religion, how far, and wherein.

Thus having compriſed the ſumme and chief purpoſe of his Sermon, with other ſuch matter above ſtoried, wherein may appear the double faced doings of this Biſhop in matters of religion: now for the more fortification of that which hath been ſaid, if any ſhall deny this foreſaid Sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the ſame, we will here adjoyn certain brief notes and ſpecialities in manner of a ſummary table, collected as well out of the teſtimonies and depoſitions of his own friends and ſervants, and other which were ſworn truely to declare their knowlege in this behalf, as alſo out of his own writings and works agreeing with the ſame. In all which foreſaid allegations it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how in what points, and how far the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter agreed with the reformation of religion received, not onely in King Henries, but alſo in King Edwards dayes.

And becauſe it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all the words and teſtimoniall ſayings of every witneſſe particularly, the ſame being expreſſed ſufficiently in our firſt impreſſion before; it ſhall therefore ſuffice by quotations briefly to aſſigne the place to the Reader, where he may finde all thoſe points of reformation, whereunto the ſaid Biſhop Gardiner fully agreed with the Doctrine now received, and firſt in withſtanding the Popes ſupremacy, as is hereunder noted.

The Popes ſupremacy impugned by Biſhop Gardiner.

Places in Biſh. Gardiners books and ſermons expreſſed, where he impugneth the Popes ſupremacy.

FIrſt, as touching the confeſſion and judgment of Stephen Gardiner againſt the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, reade in his book de vera obedientia, fol.6.

Item, concerning the diſputations and defenſions of Biſhop Gardiner at Lovane againſt the Popes ſupremacy, reade in our firſt impreſſion, page 802. alſo in this preſent Volume.

Item, how the ſaid Biſhop Gardiner in his ſermons and preachings, as where he expoundeth the place (Tu es Petrus) nothing at all to make for the authority of the Romiſh Biſhop, marvelling how the Pope could uſurp ſo much to take up that place to build upon, when Chriſt had taken it up before to build his Church, reade in the old book, pag.845. col.1. p.647. col.1. p.846. col.1. and the depoſitions of Doctor Redman, p.853. col.1.

Reade in the firſt impreſſion of Acts and Monuments.

Item, how the confeſſion of Peter was the confeſſion of all the Apoſtles, like as the bleſſing given to Peter pertained as well to all the Apoſtles as to Peter, reade ibid. pag.847. col.1.

Item, that the place, Paſce oves meas, was not ſpeciall to Peter alone, but generall to all the Apoſtles. Alſo that the Greek Church did never receive the ſaid Biſhop of Rome for their univerſall head, reade in the ſame book, pag.847. col.1. pag.836. col.2.

Item, that the authority of the Biſhop of Rome was not received of the moſt part of Chriſtian Princes, reade the depoſitions of Sir Thomas Smith, pag.827. col 2.

Item, how the ſaid Biſhop Gardiner would not grant that the ſaid authority was received generally. Ibid. pag.827. col.2.

Item, that the Church was builded upon Chriſts faith, and not upon Peter, reade the depoſitions of Robert Willanton, p.836. col.2.

The head-man of Enqueſt.

And though Peter was called Princeps Apoſtolorum, that was nothing elſe, bnt like as it is in an Enqueſt, where the fore-man or head-man is not ſo called, becauſe he is beſt or chiefeſt of that company, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt, reade in the depoſition of M. Baſſet, p.850, c.2. p.836. col.2.

Item, that when the keyes were given, they were given generally to all the Apoſtles, reade the depoſitions of Robert Willanton, p.836. col.2.

Item, how the ſaid Biſhop taketh away all ſuch Scriptures which are thought to ſerve for the Popes ſupremacy, as Super hanc Petram, Paſce oves meas, Princeps Apoſtolorum, &c. proving that they ſerve nothing for his authority, reade likewiſe in the ſame book in the depoſitions of M. Baſſet, his own ſervant, p.850 col.2.

Item, how the ſaid Biſhop in his book de vera obedientia, did not onely write againſt the Popes ſupremacy, but alſo did defend the ſame at Lovane, p.802. And moreover, in his ſermons did alleadge and preach the ſame, p.774. col.2. and that alſo Vehemently, pag.850. col.2. l.50. Pithily, pag.846. col 1. l.31.
Earneſtly, p.843. col.1. l.75.
Very earneſtly, p.843. col.1. l 44.
Very forwardly, p.827. col.2. l.82.

Wincheſters Vehement, Pithy, Earneſt, forward againſt the Pope.

And not onely did ſo vehemently, pithily, earneſtly, and forwardly preach himſelf againſt the Popes ſupremacy, but alſo did cauſe M. White then Schoolmaſter, after Biſhop of Wincheſter, to make certain Verſes extolling the Kings ſupremacy againſt the uſurped power of the Pope, incouraging alſo his ſchollers to do the like, reade the depoſitions of John White, Schoolmaſter of Wincheſter, p.845. col.2.

Winch. cauſed Verſes to be written againſt the Pope.

Item, how he for the ſpace of 14 yeers together preached againſt the Popes ſupremacy in divers ſermons, and eſpecially in one ſermon before King Henry, reade the depoſitions of John Potinger, p.844 col.1. l.1.

Win. 14 yeers preached againſt the popes authority.

Places noted wherein Biſhop Gardiner impugned Ceremonies, Monkery, Images, Chaunteries, &c.

Win. againſt Ceremonies.

ITem, for Ceremonies and Images which were abuſed, to be taken away by publike authority, he did well allow it, as a childe to have his book taken from him, when he abuſeth it, or delighteth onely in the golden cover. Reade in the foreſaid old book the depoſitions of Chriſtopher Malton, p.846. col.2. p.849. col.2. p.841. col.1.

Item, the diſſolving of Monaſteries and religious houſes, he alloweth and granteth that they were juſtly ſuppreſſed, reade the depoſitions of Doctor Weſton, p.845. col.1. p.837. col.1. pag.851. col.1.

Concerning Images being by King Edwards injunctions aboliſhed, how the ſaid Biſhop exhorted the people in his Sermons to be contented, therewith, reade the depoſitions of W. Lorking page 840.col.1.

Wincheſter againſt Images abuſed.

Monkes and Friers hee calleth flattering knaves, reade the depoſitions of Sir Thomas Smith, page 827.col.2.

Winch. againſt Monks and Friers.

Friers he never liked in all his life, page 827. col.2. Monks he counted but belly-gods. Ibid. page 827.col.2.

The going about of S. Nicholas, S. Katherine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth to be childrens toyes. Ibid.p.827.col.2.

Winch. againſt the going about of St. Nicholas, &c.

The taking away or tranſpoſing of Chauntrey Obits, he referreth to the arbitrement of the politick Rulers, granting that if they did diſſolve them, it might well be done. Reade the depoſitions of Maſter Baſſet, his own ſervant, page 850. col.2.

Wincheſter againſt Chauntery Obits.

Item, he wiſheth them to be committed to a better uſe, and that Monaſteries were juſtly taken away. Reade the depoſitions of George Bullock, page 847.col.1.

The obſerving of dayes, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publikely commanded by the Rulers, it is but to ſet the Church in an outward and publike order; but if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the ſame, thinking his prayer otherwiſe not available, but by obſerving thereof, it is an errour. Reade the depoſitions of Doctor Redman, pag.853.col.2. page 854.

Winch. would not that a man ſhould be addicted to days, hours, number, time, and place, &c.

The Communion ſet out by King Edward he liketh well, Ibid.page 833.col.2.p.854.

Winch. liketh the Communion.

Winch. liketh the book of common ſervice.

The book of common Service he was content both to keep himſelf, and cauſe it to be kept of others. Reade the depoſitions of the Duke of Somerſet, page 818 .col.2.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the Church to hear them. Reade the depoſitions of M. Potinger his own ſervant, p.843.col 1.

Wincheſter exhorteth to come and hear the homilies read.

In ſumme, to all Injunctions, Statutes, and Proclamations ſet forth by the King and ſuperiour powers, he yeelded and granted. Reade in the depoſitions of George Bullock, page 847. col.2.

Item, Cardinall Pool coming to the French King, to ſtir him up againſt England, Wincheſter cauſed him to be expelled out of France. Witneſſe Cuth. B. of Dureſme, p.828.col.2.

Winch. cauſed Cardinal Pool to be expelled France.

Item, the ſaid Wincheſter ſworn againſt the Pope by expreſſe clauſes in his prorie. Reade in the depoſitions of John Cook, Regiſt. pag. 160. col.1.lin.13.

Winch. ſworn and forſworn.

Now (gentle Reader) lay theſe writings, preachings, and doings of this Biſhop in the dayes of King Henry and King Edward, with his doings in Queen Maries time, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable he was, how inconſtant and contrary to himſelf, how perjured and falſe, and farre differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain Engliſh book ſet out in Queen Maries time, which ſaith that there were three onely in England, whoſe conſcience had been never diſtained in religion: of whom he falſly ſaith, the foreſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter was one.

The book of Jo. Elder, ſent into Scotland.

Although Biſhop Gardiner in granting to theſe points of religion (as ye have heord) and other ſome again denying, could not therefore deſerve the name and fame of a perfect Chriſtian: yet notwithſtanding, if he had continued in his judgment ſtill, and been conſtant in himſelf, he might have won more commendation both with God & man. But as ſoon as the time began to alter, he likewiſe altering with the time, was ſo farre changed from that he ſeemed, that neither he agreed with other Papiſts, nor yet with himſelf, as Doctor Ridley in certain Treatiſes hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glaſſe may be ſeen the manifeſt contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of Gods bleſſed Word, but alſo how the ſaid Biſhop ſtanding ſo much in ſingularity by himſelf, neither agreeth with other his fellow writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himſelf in certain caſes of the Sacrament, as the foreſaid Doctor Ridley in examining his words and works hath well ſet out in this table hereunder enſuing.

Wincheſter neither agreeth with the Proteſtants in the Goſpel, neither in Popery with the Papiſts, neither with himſelf.

Certain matters wherein St. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wint. varieth from other of the Papiſts, touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Other Catholikes ſay, that the body of Chriſt is made of bread. Thomas vult ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia, q.75, art.4. Wincheſt. ſaith that the body of Chriſt is not made of the matter of bread, nor ever was ſo taught, but is made preſent of bread, page 89.lin 8.p.228.l.44.

1 Ex pane, non de pane.

Confutation of Winch. againſt Cranmer.

2 Wincheſt. ſaith, that Chriſt called bread his body, when he ſaid, This is my body, p.292.l.19. And in the devils Sophiſtry, fol.27. Other ſay contrary. And Smith, fol.53. Marc.Anton.object. 13,14,20.

This confutation, with leaf and line here aſſigned, is in Cranmers book againſt Wincheſter.

Wincheſter ſaith, that bread is my body, is as much to ſay, as bread is made my body. And ſo he taketh (eſt) for (fit) pag.333.l.25.p.120.l.23. 28.30. Confutation. Other ſay that (eſt) is taken there ſubſtantively, that is to ſay, onely for is, and not for is made. Marc.Anton.fol.171.fac.2.

Wincheſter ſaith, that Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament carnally and corporally, after the ſame ſignification that he is in heaven, page 161. l. 6. Confutation.

3 Wincheſt ſaith alſo, that when we ſpeak of Chriſts body, we muſt underſtand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, pag. 81.l.5. Marc. Ant. object.77. Smith ſaith that Chriſts body in the Sacrament hath not his proper form and quantity, fol.106. And the contrary he ſaith, fol.105. Chedſey in diſputatione cum Petro Mart. fol.41.fac.2.

Simplicitatem ſermonis ſequenter, &c. vid. fol. 171.

4 Winch. ſaith, we beleeve ſimply that Chriſt is naturally and corporally in the ſacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding, page 367.l.41. Smith ſaith, we ſay that Chriſts body is in the ſacrament againſt nature, with all his qualities and accidents, fol.105.

5 Wincheſter ſaith, that Gods works be all ſeemlineſſe without confuſion, although he cannot locally diſtinguiſh Chriſts head from his feet, nor his legges from his arms, page 70.line 5.13,14. page 69.line 34. Confutation. Other ſay, that Chriſts head and feet and other parts be not indeed locally diſtinct in the ſacrament, but be ſo confounded, that whereſoever one is, there be all the reſt, tert. parte ſum. q.76.art.3. Innoc.ter.lib.48.

6 Winch. ſaith, that Chriſts body is in the Sacrament ſenſibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally, page 181 l.13 22, &c. Confutation. Other ſay contrary, Smith, fol 39.

7 Other ſay that Chriſts feet in the ſacrament be there where his head is. Wincheſter ſaith, that whoſoever ſaith ſo, may be called mad, p.70.l.13. 14. Confutation.

8 Other ſay, that corporall Chriſt goeth into the mouth or ſtomack, and no farther, Bonaventura Hugo, Innoc.13.lib.4.cap.15. Gloſ. de conſecrat. diſt.2.cap.tribus, & in gloſ. non iſte Thom. parte 3. quæſt.80.art.3. Tamdiu manet dum eſt in digeſtione. Smith, fol.64. He ſaith contrary, p.59.l.30 and p.60.l.3 8,12. Confutation.

9 Wincheſt. ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the ſacrament worthily, ſo long as he remaineth a member of Chriſt, p.64 l.22. confutation. Other ſay contrary, Smith, fol.64. &c. as before in the 7 line above.

10 Winch. ſaith, that no creature can eat the body of Chriſt, but onely man, pag.75.l.24. Confutation. Other ſay clean contrary, Thomas, part.3. q.8.art.3. hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis Chriſti. Perin. in his Sermon of the Sacrament. What inconvenience is it though the impaſſible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beaſt, &c. M. Sententiarum. Qui dicit corpus Chriſti non poſſe à mure manducari aut à bruto, is condemned.

A Mouſe may eat Chriſts body, ſaith the Maſter of ſentences.

A Mouſe cannot eat it, ſaith Wincheſter. Within him, that is, within his ſoul.

11 Winch. ſaith, that an unrepentant ſinner receiving the Sacrament, hath not Chriſts body nor ſpirit within him, p.256 l.18,25,26. Smith ſaith, that he hath Chriſts body and ſpirit within him, fol.136.

12 Winch. ſaith, that of the figure it may not be ſaid, Adore it, worſhip it; and that it is not to be adored which the bodily eye ſeeth, p.202, l.38. p.272.l.6. Marc, Anton. fol.175. fac.2. Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis. Smith ſaith contrary, fol.145 fac 2.

13 Winch. ſaith, that reaſon will agree with the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation well enough. pag.30 l.12. Confutation. Smith ſaith, that Tranſubſtantiation is againſt reaſon, and naturall operation, fol.60.

14 Other ſay, that worms in the Sacrament be gendred of accidents. Ex ſpeciebus Sacramentalibus generantur vermes. Thom. par. q. 67. art. 5. Winch. ſaith, that they be wrong born in hand to ſay ſo, p.400.l.1, Confutation.

15. Wincheſter ſaith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, ſowre, and waxe vinegar, p.300.l.24. and p.400 l.6. Confutation, & Marc. Ant. object 73. But he anſwereth ſo confuſedly, that the Reader cannot underſtand him, be he never ſo attentive. Smith ſaith; Thus I ſay, that the conſecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the conſecrated bread mouldeth, nor ingendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poyſon, as long as Chriſts body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there ſo long as the naturall qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their naturall diſpoſition and condition, and the bread and wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Chriſts body and blood, and alſo as long as the hoſte and conſecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by Gods power as it pleaſeth him; and then a new ſubſtance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, ingendereth Worms, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth Rats and Mice, receiveth poyſon, &c. fol. 64. and fol.105.

16 Wincheſter ſaith, every yea containeth a nay in it naturally: So as whoſoever ſaith, this is bread, ſaith it is no wine. For in the rule of common reaſon, the grant of one ſubſtance is the deniall of another. And therefore reaſon hath theſe concluſions thorowly; whatſoever is bread, is no wine; whatſoever is wine, is no milk, and ſo forth So Chriſt ſaying; This is my body, ſaith it is no bread, p.291.lin.22. and page.300. lin. 17. Smith ſaith, that a boy which hath onely learned Sophiſtry, will not diſpute ſo fondly, fol.77.

The Maſſe taketh his ſatiſfaction by the devotion of the prieſt & people, and not of the things offered.

17 Other ſay, that the Maſſe is a ſacrifice ſatiſfactory by the devotion of the Prieſt, and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered, Tho. par. 3.9.79.art.5. Wincheſter ſaith otherwiſe, p.92 l.5. Confutation.

18 Winch. ſaith, that the onely immolation of Chriſt in himſelf upon the altar of the Croſſe, is the very ſatisfactory ſacrifice for the reconciliation of mankinde unto the favour of God, p.437. l.31. Smith ſaith, what is it to offer Chriſts body and blood at Maſſe, to purchaſe thereby everlaſting life, if the Maſſe be not a ſacrifice to pacifie Gods wrath from ſin, and to obtain his mercy? fol.24, 148. 164. where he ſaith further, Prieſts do offer for our ſalvation, to get heaven, and to avoid hell.

Matters wherein the Biſhop of Wincheſter varieth from himſelf.

1 Propoſition.

The body of Chriſt in the ſacrament is not made of bread, but is made preſent of bread, pag.89.l.9.&c. and pag.228.lin.44. Confutation againſt Cranmer.

Contradiction.

Of bread is made the body of Chriſt, pag.388. lin.42.

The Catholike faith hath from the beginning confeſſed truely Chriſts intent, to make bread his body, pag.29.l.2. Confutation.

And of many breads is made one body of Chriſt, page 167.l.2. Confutation.

And faith ſheweth me, that bread is the body of Chriſt, that is to ſay, made the body of Chriſt, pag. 333.l.23.25. Confutation.

Chriſt gave that he made of bread, page 292. line 34.

2 Propoſition.

Chriſt ſpake plainly; This is my body, making demonſtration of the bread, when he ſaid, This is my body. In the devils ſophiſtry, 27.

Contradiction.

The demonſtration (this) may be referred to the inviſible ſubſtance, p.120.l.41. Confutation.

The verbe (is) was of the body and of his blood, and not of the bread and wine, page 284. line 43.

Illis verbis (Hoc eſt corpus meum) ſubſtantia corporis ſignificatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de ſubſtantia ſua non aliena prædicitur. Mar. Anton. fol 24. fac.2.

3 Propoſition.

When Chriſt ſaid; This is my body, the truth of the literall ſenſe hath an abſurdity in carnall reaſon, pag. 157.l.34. Confutation.

Contradiction.

What can be more evidently ſpoken of the preſence of Chriſts naturall body and blood in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, than is in theſe words; This is my body? In the devils ſophiſtry, fol.51.

4 Propoſition.

Where the body of Chriſt is, there is whole Chriſt, God and man, and when we ſpeak of Chriſts body, we muſt underſtand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, p.81.l.5. Mar. Ant. object.77. Smith, fol.105.

And he is preſent in the ſacrament, as he is in heaven, p.161.l.4.&c. Confutation.

We beleeve ſimply the ſubſtance of Chriſts body to be in the ſacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding, p.397.l.41. Confutation.

Contradiction.

Chriſt is not preſent in the ſacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the forme and quantities of bread and wine, p.81.l.89. and pag. 101.l.22.

5 Propoſition.

In ſuch as receive the ſacrament worthily, Chriſt dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally, page 190. line 7. pag. 197 line 27. pag. 217. line 10.

Contradiction.

The manner of Chriſts being in the ſacrament, is not corporall, not carnall, not naturall, not ſenſible, not perceptible, but onely ſpirituall, page 181. line 18, &c. and line 25. page 223 line 21. Confutation.

6 Propoſition.

We receive Chriſt in the ſacrament of his fleſh and blood, if we receive him worthily, page 190. line 7. page 197 line 27. Confutation.

When an unrepentant ſinner receiveth the ſacrament cramẽt, he hath not Chriſts Body within him, page 256.l.18. Confutation.

He that eateth verily the Fleſh of Chriſt, is by nature in Chriſt, and Chriſt is naturally in him, page 18.l.51. Confutation.

Contradiction.

An evill man in the Sacrament receiveth indeed Chriſts very Body, page 18.l.24,25.

Evill men eat verily the Fleſh of Chriſt, p.261. l.24.25, &c. Confutation.

7 Propoſition.

Chriſt giveth us to be eaten the ſame Fleſh that he took of the Virgin Mary, page 274. line 25.

Contradiction.

We receive not in the Sacrament Chriſts Fleſh that was crucified, page 276, line 1. Confutation.

8 Propoſition.

Saint Auguſtines rule in his book de Doctrina Chriſtiana, pertaineth not to Chriſts Supper, page 132, line 40.

Contradiction.

S. Auguſtine meaneth of the Sacrament, ibid. and page 10.l.44. Confutation.

9 Propoſition.

Reaſon in the place of ſervice (as being inferiour to faith(will agree with the faith of Tranſubſtantiation well enough, page 300.l.12. Confutation.

And as reaſon received into faiths ſervice doth not ſtrive with Tranſubſtantiation, but agreeth well with it; ſo mans ſenſes be no ſuch direct adverſaries to Tranſubſtantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the ſenſes cannot skill of ſubſtances, page 307.l.11, &c.

Contradiction.

Thine eyes ſay there is but bread and wine, thy taſte ſaith the ſame, thy feeling and ſmelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnall mans underſtanding, which becauſe it taketh the beginning of the ſenſes, proceedeth in reaſoning ſenſually. In the Devils ſophiſtry, fol. 6.

The Church hath not forborn to preach the truth, to the confuſion of mans ſenſes and underſtanding, fol.15.

10 Propoſition.

It is called bread, becauſe of the outward viſible matter. page 327. line.

Contradiction.

When it is called bread, it is meant Chriſt the ſpirituall bread, page 320. line 41.

11 Propoſition.

And the Catholike faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward ſigne, and not in the body of Chriſt, p.165.l.1. and p.392.l.47. and in the devils ſophiſtry, fol.17.

Contradiction.

That which is broken is the body of Chriſt, page 392.l.49.

12 Propoſition.

The inward nature of the bread is the ſubſtance, page 323.l.14.

Contradiction.

Subſtance ſignifieth in Theodoret (he ſaith) the outward nature, page 404.l.40.

13 Propoſition.

The ſubſtances of bread and wine be viſible creatures, p.322.l.30. and 323.l.32.

Contradiction.

Accidents be the viſible natures and viſible elements, p.405.l.16. and 25, &c.

14 Propoſition.

Chriſt is our ſatisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father, for the appeaſing of his wrath againſt us, page 92.l.6,7.

Contradiction.

The act of the Prieſt done according to Gods commandement muſt needs be propitiatory, and ought to be truſted on, to have a propitiatory effect, page 437.l.13.

15 Propoſition.

The ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt was never reiterate, page 416.l.8.

Contradiction.

Prieſts do ſacrifice Chriſt, page 431.l.16.

And the Catholike doctrine teacheth the daily ſacrifice to be the ſame in eſſence, that was offered on the Croſſe, page 439.l.11.

The Neſtorians granted both the Godhead and manhood alwayes to be in Chriſt continually, page 348.l.11,12.

The Neſtorians denied Chriſt, conceived God, or born God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not born a Biſhop, is after made a Biſhop. So the Neſtorians ſaid, that the Godhead was an acceſſion after by merit, and that he was conceived onely man, p.347.l.47, 50, 51, and page 148.l.47.

16 Propoſition.

Chriſt uſeth us as familiarly as he did his Apoſtles, page 93.l.21.

Contradiction.

Chriſt is not to be ſaid converſant in earth, page 114.l.11. &c.

Certain things that Wincheſter granted unto.

Notes declaring wherein Wincheſter granted to the ſpirituall uſe of the ſacrament.

Chriſt declared eating of himſelf to ſignifie beleeving, page 29. line antepenultima. Confutation.

Chriſt muſt be ſpiritually in man, before he receive the ſacrament, or elſe he cannot receive the ſacrament worthily, p.54. l.44. p. 160. l. ultima, p.196.l,3. p.105.l.32.

How Chriſt is preſent, p.69.l.29. &c. p. 81.l. 12. p.181.l.26. p.65.l.15.

By faith we know onely the being preſent of Chriſts moſt precious body, not the manner thereof, page 70.l.15.

When we ſpeak of Chriſts body, we muſt underſtand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, page 81.l.5.l.35.

Although Chriſts body have all thoſe truths of form and quantity, yet it is not preſent after the manner of quantity, ibidem l.8,9.

The demonſtrative (this) may be referred to the inviſible ſubſtance, page 120.l.42.

All the old Prayers and Ceremonies ſound as though the people did communicate with the Prieſt, p.165.l.46.

The manner of Chriſts being in the ſacrament is not corporall nor carnall, not naturall, not ſenſible, not perceptible but only ſpirituall, page 181. l.19. &c. l.25. p.223.l.21.

When the unrepentant ſinner receiveth the ſacrament, he hath not Chriſts Body within him, page 256. line 18.

We eat not Chriſt as he ſitteth in Heaven raigning, page 276.l.18.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt ſpoken of.

The word (Tranſubſtantiation) was firſt ſpoken of in a generall Councell, where the Biſhop of Rome was preſent, p.284.l.11.

In the ſacrifice of the Church, Chriſts death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of his death; ſo as Chriſts offering on the Croſſe once done and conſummate, is now onely remembred, p.440.l.40. &c.

To theſe notes and places of Doctor Ridley, let us alſo adjoyn other twelve places or articles of the like affinity, taken out of his book called the examination of the proud Hunter, noted in the later end of Doctor Turners ſecond courſe. By theſe Articles it may appear how this Biſhop ſwerveth no leſſe from the ſound truth of Chriſts Goſpel, than he did in the other, both from himſelf, and alſo from other his fellow-brethren of his own Catholike mother Church of Rome. The Articles in ſumme are theſe;

Twelve new found Articles of Stephen Gardiners Creed, taught in his book called the examination of the Hunter.

Alleadged out of the book of D. Turner, intituled, The rescuer of the Romiſh Fox.

1 The ceremonies and traditions which the Biſhop of Rome hath ordained, and are now allowed in England, are the pale of the Church of England, fol.7.

2 The Popes ceremonies and traditions are good and politick laws, whereby God hath incloſed

cloſed the Kings ſubjects under his Majeſty alone, ibid.

One vmpyer well compared with another.

3 As King Richard, an evill man, made a good politick Law for the body and Common-wealth of England; ſo can the Pope, an evill man, make good Laws and wholeſome doctrine for mans ſoul, and Chriſts Church, fol.23.

" Note here blaſphemous Winchester, preferring the words ſpoken by man, before Chriſts Doctrine.

4 " Whatſoever is good, ſpoken and uſed by man, is much more of God, than Chriſts Doctrine is his Fathers Doctrine, fol.33.

5 He that ſaith that the Law of the Goſpel ought onely to be holden in Chriſts Church, and is ſufficient alone for it, ſpeaketh ſo farre out of reaſon, that he is not worthy to be reaſoned withall, fol.37.

6 They that hold that the Croſſe of ſilver or gold ought not to be worſhipped with kiſſing of it, and bowing and kneeling to it, are enemies to Chriſts true Croſſe, and take away the means that might ſet out the glory of Chriſts Croſſe, fol.49.

7 Neither Paul nor the Croſſe can be worſhipped with godly honour, fol.61.

Chriſt never made clay to be an inſtrument for ſalvation of mans ſoul.

8 As Chriſt uſed clay for an inſtrument to heal the blinde mans eyes withall, and hath ſaved divers by faith, and made it an inſtrument of ſalvation; and as God hath ordained Timothy to be an inſtrument of ſalvation both to himſelf, and for other; ſo may the Pope ordain holy water to be an inſtrument of ſalvation, both of body and ſoul, to all them that are ſprinkled with it, fol.64.

9 No man can commit Idolatry with his body alone, and in onely kiſſing of an Image or Idoll; and in onely kneeling to it can no Idolatry be committed, fol.52.

Even both alike.

10 Foraſmuch as God underſtandeth them that ſing in Latine, though they underſtand not themſelves, their prayer is acceptable before God, fol.76.

11 As a father may forbid certain of his children to marry; ſo may a King in his Kingdome forbid certain of his ſubjects to marry, that is to ſay, all the Prieſts of this Realm, fol.83.

The B. of Wincheſter maker of ceremonies.

12 He that would take away the Popes ceremonies out of the Church, ſhould drive away all godlineſſe and ſeemlineſſe, all religious and devout behaviour out of the Church, fol.94.

Here haſt thou (good Reader) this ſtout Prelate of Wincheſter, with all his proſperities, doings, and qualities, as in a certain Anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou maiſt boldly judge (and nothing erre in thy judgement) what is to be eſteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true Proteſtant, nor right Papiſt; neither conſtant in his errour, nor yet ſtedfaſt in the truth; neither friend to the Pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Chriſt: falſe in King Henries time, a diſſembler in King Edwards time, double perjured, and a murtherer in Queen Maries time, mutable and inconſtant in all times. And finally, where in his letters to the Lord Protector and others, uſually he vaunteth ſo much of his late Soveraigne Lord King Henry the Eighth, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, reade, I beſeech thee, and behold in the depoſitions of the Lord Paget, in the old book, pag. 806. fol. 1. and alſo in the depoſitions of the Earl of Bedford, page 824. and there you ſhall ſee the King before his death, both excepting him out of his Pardons, and quite ſtriking him out of his laſt will and teſtament, ſo deteſted and abhorred him, as he did no Engliſh man more. And whereas the Lord Paget being ſent in meſſage from the King to the Biſhop, by other words than the Kings minde and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words, which indeed the King neither knew, nor yet were ſent by him: the Biſhop perſwading himſelf otherwiſe of the Kings favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fools paradiſe; whereof reade both in the old book before, and alſo in this preſent volume.

The Biſhop of Winch. falſly pretendeth the favour of King Henry towards him.

Wincheſter unſtable in religion.

To deſcribe and paint out the unſtable mutability of this Biſhop aforeſaid, albeit here need no more to be added beſides that which is already declared: yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing the matter is not long, it ſhall not be out of the way to annex withall unto the premiſſes, a piece of Drianders Letter, written to one Criſpine Phyſitian in Oxford, ſent from Antwerp, concerning the doings and behaviour of this Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe ſtory we have now in hand. The copy of which Drianders Letter, written to the ſaid Criſpine his friend, beginneth thus.

Reade in the firſt edition, pag. 802.

Doctiſſimo viro Edmundo Criſpino, amico integerrimo Oxoniæ.

ANte meam ex Leutetia profectionem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum communem amicum noſtrum, &c.

The Engliſh whereof, as much as to the preſent purpoſe pertaineth, here followeth tranſlated.

A letter of Driander to one Criſpine, concerning the doings of the Biſhop of Wincheſter at Lovane.

BEfore my departure from the City of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Engliſhman, &c.

Now you ſhall be contented onely with the narration of your Biſhop of Wincheſter, who (as appertained to the Ambaſſadour of ſo noble a Prince) came to Lovane with a great bravery, and was there received at one Jeremies houſe, and moſt honourably entertained, where the faculty of Divines, for honours ſake, preſented him wine in the name of the whole Univerſity. But our famous Doctors, and learned Maſters, for that they would more deeply ſearch and underſtand the learning and excellency of the Prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certain Oration, made by him, and now extant, intituled de vera Obedientia, in the which his Oration he did impugne the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, and preferred his Lords and Kings authority before the holy Apoſtolike See (as they term it) which being read and conſidered by them, they did not onely repent them for giving him ſuch honour, but alſo recanted that which they had done: and did not ſo much honour him afore, but now they were as earneſt and as ſpitefull againſt him. Richard Lathomus, Interpreter of tearms, with the favourers of that fraternity, and other Champions of the falling Church, diſputed with him concerning the Popes ſupremacy. This Biſhop ſtoutly defended his ſaid Oration. The Divines contrary ſtiffely maintained their opinion, and divers times openly with exclamations, called the ſaid Biſhop an excommunicate perſon, and a ſchiſmatike, to no little reproach and infamy of the Engliſh Nation. The Biſhop not long after minding to ſay Maſſe in Saint Peters Church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate perſon, the Ornaments and Veſtiments meet for the ſame; wherewith he being highly offended, ſuddenly haſted his journey from thence. The Dean the next day after made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly diſgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true ſtory, for our Doctor was a beholder of the whole Tragedy, &c.

B. Gardiner defendeth his book de vera obedientia at Lovane. Wincheſter counted for excommunicate perſon, and a ſchiſmatick at Lovane.

And this now being ſufficient for Gardiners

ſtory,

Anno 1555.

ſtory, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we ſhall returne and proceede (by the grace and leave of the Lord) as the courſe of theſe dolefull daies ſhall lead us, to proſecute the reſidue of Chriſts martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The burning of Iohn Webbe Gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke at Canturbury, as followeth.

November 30 M. Webbe, George Roper, Gregory Park, Martyrs.

NExt after the death and conſtant martyrdome of the two moſt worthy champions and ſtanderd-bearers of Chriſts army, Doctour Nicholas Ridley, and Maſter Hugh Latimer, (of whom yee have heard at large) followed three other ſtout and bold ſouldiers, that is to ſay, John Webbe Gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

The appearance of Maſter Webbe before the biſh. of Dover.

This John Webbe was brought before the Biſhop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, or ſome other deputed in their roome, long before the other two, videlicet, the 16 day of September, and there had propounded unto him ſuch ordinary Articles as (it ſeemeth were commonly miniſtred by Boner to thoſe of his juriſdiction: and being willed for that preſent to depart, and to deliberate with himſelfe upon the matter, againſt the next time of his appearance, he made anſwer that he would no otherwiſe ſay (by Gods grace) than he had already ſaid, which was this: As touching the Sacrament of Chriſts body, I doe beleeve (quoth he) it to be left unto his Church (with thankſgiving) in commemoration of his death and paſſion, untill his comming againe. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and not by the words of conſecration to be made his body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame body that was borne of the Virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

Anſwer of M. Webbe to the Biſhops articles.

After this (beſides ſundry other times) the third day of October, the ſaid John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the ſaid Judges: who there and then agreeing,* and ſtedfaſtly allowing the former anſwer made before by Maſter Webbe, were by the bloody Prelates adjudged Hereticks, and therefore about the end of the ſame moneth of October, or elſe as I otherwiſe finde, in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of priſon to the place of martyrdome. Who by the way going towards the ſtake, ſaid certaine Pſalmes mournfully.

George Roper leapeth at the ſtake.

George Roper ſtood in the fire like a Roode.

Roper was a yonger man of a freſh colour, courage, and complexion, the other two were ſomewhat more elderly, all going in white linnen, with their gownes upon. Roper, at his comming to the ſtake putting off his gowne, fet a great leape. So ſoone as the flame was about him, the ſaid Roper put out both his armes from his body like a Rood, and ſo ſtood ſtedfaſt, continuing in that manner, not plucking his armes in, till the fire had conſumed them, and burnt them off.

The martyrdome of Web, Roper, & Park, at Canterbury.

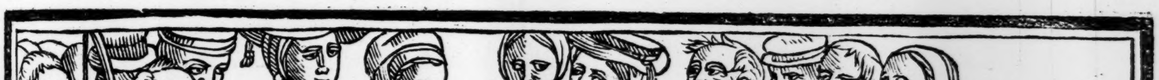
And thus theſe foreſaid Martyrs of Chriſt, being brought (as I ſaid) to the ſtake, and there compaſſed about with a chaine, were burnt and conſumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding moſt patiently their torments, and counting themſelves happy and bleſſed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſts Goſpell ſake.

William Wiſeman.

December 13.

THe 13. of December in the Lollards Tower died William Wiſeman, a Clothworker of London, where hee was in priſon and bands for

The order and manner of burying in the fields ſuch as died in priſon, and namely, *Will. Wiſeman.*



the Goſpell and Word of God. How, and whereupon he deceaſed, it is not fully certaine. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of ſome murthering Papiſts, he was made away. By reaſon whereof the Crowner, named Iohn Gibbes, Gentleman, with an Inqueſt of twelue men, were faine to ſit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were ſaid to find nothing in him elſe but onely GODS viſitation, yet what other priuie cauſes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I haue not to ſay.

Wil. Wiſeman dead in Loll. Tower, and caſt into the fields.

After the ſaid William was departed (as is ſaid) in the Tower, the holy Catholique Church men caſt him out into the fields, commanding that no man ſhould bury him, according as their deuout manner is to doe with all ſuch as die in like ſort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no buriall, but to be caſt to Dogges and Birds, ἑλώρια κύνεσσι, as the Pope ſaith. And yet all this their mercileſſe commandement notwithſtanding, ſome good Tobies there were, which buried him in the euening, as commonly they did all the reſt, throwne out in like ſort, whom they were wont priuily by night to couer, and many times the Archers in the Fields ſtanding by, and ſinging together Pſalmes at their buriall.

Iames Gore.

Iames Gore, martyr, dyed in Colcheſter priſon.

IN the ſame moneth, about the 7. day of December, deceaſed alſo Iames Gore in the priſon at Colcheſter, laid there in bands for the right and truth of Gods Word.

The proceſſe and Hiſtory of Maſter Iohn Philpot, examined, condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Goſpels cauſe, againſt the Antichriſtian See of Rome.

The Hiſtory of M. I. Philpot, martyr.

John Philpot a Knights ſon, ſtudent of law in New Colledge in Oxford.

NExt followeth the conſtant martyrdome of Maſter Iohn Philpot, of whom partly yee heard before in the beginning of Queene Maries time, in proſecuting the diſputation of the Conuocation houſe. He was of a worſhipfull houſe, a Knights ſonne, borne in Hampſhire, brought up in the new Colledge in Oxford, where he ſtudied the Ciuill law the ſpace of 6 or 7 yeeres, beſides the ſtudy of other liberall arts, eſpecially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly hee profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a ſingular courage, in ſpirit feruent, in religion zealous, and alſo well practiſed and exerciſed in the ſame (which is no ſmall matter in a true Diuine) of nature and condition plaine and apert, farre from all flattery, farther from all hypocriſie and deceitfull diſſimulation. What his learning was, his owne examinations penned of his owne hand can declare.

John Philpot went over to Italy.

J. Philpot in danger by an Italian Frier.

The returne of John Philpot into England.

From Oxford, deſirous to ſee other Countries as occaſion ſerued thereunto, hee went ouer into Italy, and places thereabouts, where hee comming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certaine Franciſcan Frier, accompanying him in his journey, who comming to Padua, ſought to accuſe him of hereſie. At length returning into England his Countrey againe, as the time miniſtred more boldneſſe to him in the daies of King Edward, he had diuers conflicts with Gardiner the Biſhop in the City of Wincheſter, as appeareth by diuers of Wincheſters letters, and his examinations. Whereof read before.

Anno. 1555.

John Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter. This Doctour Poinet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, fled afterward into Germany, & there deceaſed, An. 155[illegible].

After that, hauing an aduouſon by the ſaid Biſhop, he was made there Archdeacon of Wincheſter, under Doctour Poinet, who then ſucceeded Gardiner in that Biſhopricke. Thus during the time of K. Edward, he continued to no ſmall profit of thoſe parts thereabout. When that bleſſed King was taken away, and Mary his ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudie was wholy bent to alter the ſtate of religion in the woefull Realme of England, firſt ſhe cauſed a Conuocation of the Prelats and learned men to be congregate to the accompliſhment of her deſire.

In the which Conuocation, Maſter Philpot being preſent according to his roome and degree, with a few other ſuſtained the cauſe of the Goſpel manfully againſt the aduerſary part (as is aboue recited) for the which cauſe notwithſtanding the liberty of the houſe promiſed before, hee was called to account before Biſhop Gardiner the Chancellor, then being his Ordinary, by whom he was firſt examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence againe he was remoued to Boner and other Commiſſioners, with whom he had diuers and ſundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appeare.

J. Philpot ſent from Gardiner to Boner.

The firſt examination of Maſter Iohn Philpot before the Queenes Commiſſioners, Maſter Cholmley, M. Roper, and D. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Seſſions hall, Octob. 2. 1555.

The firſt examination of M. Philpot before the Commiſſioners.

Doct. Stories words to M. Philpot.

DOctour Story, before I was called into an inner Parlour where they ſate, came out into the Hall where I was, to view me among other that there were, and paſſing by me ſayd; Ha, M. Philpot, and in returning immediately againe, ſtared againſt me, beholding me, and ſaying that I was well fed indeed.

Phil. If I be fat, and in good liking (M. Doctor) it is no maruell, ſince I haue been ſtalled up in priſon this twelue moneths and a halfe, in a cloſe corner. I am come to know your pleaſure wherefore you haue ſent for me.

Story. We heare that thou art a ſuſpect perſon, and of hereticall opinions, and therefore wee haue ſent for thee.

John Philpot impriſoned for the diſputation in the Conuocation houſe.

Phil. I haue beene in priſon thus long, onely upon the occaſion of diſputation made in the Conuocation houſe, and upon ſuſpition of ſetting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt reuoke the ſame, and become an honeſt man, thou ſhalt be ſet at liberty, and doe right well; or elſe thou ſhalt be committed to the Biſhop of London. How ſayſt thou, wilt thou reuoke it or no?

Phil. I haue already anſwered in this behalfe to mine Ordinary.

Story. If thou anſwereſt thus when thou commeſt before us anon, thou ſhalt heare more of our minds, and with that hee went into the Parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Iohn Philpot. And ſo he intituled my name.

Story. This man was Archdeacon of Wincheſter, of Doctor Poinets preſentment.

Philpot. I was Arch-deacon indeed, but none of his preſentment, but by vertue of a former aduouſon, given by my Lord Chancellour that now is.

Story. Ye may be ſure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any ſuch as he is Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to mee Maſter Philpot.

We

Wee heare ſay that you are out of the Catholique Church, and haue beene a diſturber of the ſame; out of the which whoſo is, he cannot be the childe of ſaluation. Wherefore, if you will come into the ſame, you ſhall be receiued, and finde fauour.

Phil. I am come before your worſhipfull Maſterſhips at your appointment, underſtanding that you are Magiſtrates authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſtie, to whom I owe and will doe my due obedience to the uttermoſt. Wherefore I deſire to know what cauſe I haue offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the lawes of this Realme, I deſire your Maſterſhips that I may haue the benefit of a ſubiect, and be deliuered out of my long wrongfull impriſonment, where I haue lyen this twelue month and this halfe, without any calling to anſwer before now, and my liuing taken from mee without all law.

John Philpot lying in priſon a yeere and a halfe before he was called to his anſwer.

Roper. Though we haue no particular matter to charge you withall, yet wee may by our Commiſſion and by the Law driue you to anſwer to the ſuſpition of a ſlander going on you: and beſides this, we haue Statutes to charge you herein withall.

No particular matter againſt M. Philpot but onely ſuſpition.

Phil. If I haue offended any Statute, charge me therewithall, and if I haue incurred the penalty thereof, puniſh me accordingly. And becauſe you are Magiſtrates and Executors of the Queenes Maieſties lawes, by force whereof you do now ſit, I deſire that if I be found no notorious tranſgreſſor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I haue done.

Cholmley. If the Juſtice doe ſuſpect a felon, he may examine him upon ſuſpition thereof, and commit him to priſon though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceiue whereabout this man goeth. He is plaine in Cardmakers caſe, for he made the ſelfe ſame allegations. But they will not ſerue thee; for thou art an hereticke, and holdeſt againſt the bleſſed Maſſe: how ſaieſt thou to that?

Phil. I am no Hereticke.

Story. I will proue thee an Hereticke. Whoſoeuer hath holden againſt the bleſſed Maſſe, is an Hereticke: but thou haſt holden againſt the ſame, therefore thou art an Heretick.

The Maior is not univerſally true, for in the time of King Edward they that ſpake againſt the Maſſe as M. Philpot did, by thoſe lawes, was no Hereticke, but a perfect Chriſtian.

Phil That which I ſpake, and which you are able to charge me withall, was in the Conuocation, where by the Queenes Maieſties will and her whole Councell, liberty was giuen to euery man of the houſe to utter his conſcience, and to ſay his minde freely of ſuch queſtions in religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor, for the which now I thought not to be moleſted and impriſoned as I haue been, neither now be compelled of you to anſwer to the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt goe to the Lollards Tower, and be handled there like an Hereticke as thou art, and anſwer to the ſame that thou there didſt ſpeake, and be judged by the Biſhop of London.

Phil. I haue already beene conuented of this matter before my Lord Chancellour mine Ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in priſon: therefore if his Lordſhip will take my life away, as hee hath done my liberty and liuing, hee may; the which I think he cannot doe of his conſcience, and therefore hath let mee lie thus long in priſon: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine Ordinary, and doe refuſe the auditory of the Biſhop of London, becauſe hee is an uncompetent Judge for mee, and not mine Ordinary.

John Philpot appealeth to his Ordinary.

Story. But ſir, thou ſpakeſt words in the Conuocation houſe, which is of the biſhop of Londons Dioceſſe, and therefore thou ſhalt be carried to the Lollards Tower to be judged by him for the words thou ſpakeſt in his Dioceſſe againſt the bleſſed Maſſe.

M. Philpot, hauing publike leaue, ſpake in the Conuocation. Ergo, he muſt be committed to Lollards Tower by D. Stories Logicke.

Phil. Sir, you know by the Law, that I may haue Exceptionem fori: and it is againſt all equity, that I ſhould be twice vexed for one cauſe, and that by ſuch as by the law haue nothing to doe with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you ſpake againſt the Maſſe in the Conuocation houſe.

Story. Doſt thou denie that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Phil. I cannot deny that I haue ſpoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to ſuffer whatſoeuer I ſhall be adjudged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain-glory.

Cholm. Play the wiſe Gentleman and be conformable, and be not ſtubborne in your opinions, neither caſt your ſelfe away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I deſire you ſir with the reſt here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the Law chargeth mee, for that I haue done, ſince there was no Law directly againſt that wherewith I am now charged. And you Maſter Doctour (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I truſt will ſhew me ſome friendſhip, and not extremity.

John Philpot charged further by the commiſſioners than the Law would beare.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldeſt be a good Catholique man, I would be thy friend, and ſpend my Gowne to doe thee good; but I will be no friend to an Hereticke, as thou art, but will ſpend both my Gowne and my Coate, but I will burne thee. How ſaieſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Now commeth in the butchers axe.

Phil. Sir, I am not come now to diſpute with your Maſterſhip, and the time now ſerueth not thereto, but to anſwere to that I may be lawfully charged withall.

Story. Well, ſince thou wilt not reuoke that thou haſt done, thou ſhalt be had into the Lollards Tower.

Phil. Sir, ſince you will needs ſhew me this extremity, and charge me with my conſcience, I doe deſire to ſee your Commiſſion, whether you haue this authority ſo to doe, and after the view thereof I ſhall (according to my dutie) make you further anſwer, if you may by the vertue thereof burthen me with my conſcience.

M. Philpot requireth to ſee their Commiſſion.

Roper. Let him ſee the Commiſſion: is it here?

Story. Shall wee let euery vile perſon ſee our Commiſſion?

Cholm. Let him goe from whence he came, and on Thurſday he ſhall ſee our Commiſſion.

Story. No, let him lie in the meane while in the Lollards Tower; for I will ſweepe the Kings Bench and all other Priſons alſo of theſe Hereticks, they ſhall not haue that reſort as they haue had, to ſcatter their hereſies.

Philpot. You haue power to transferre my body from place to place at your pleaſure; but you haue no power ouer my ſoule. And I paſſe not whither you commit mee, for I cannot be worſe intreated than I am; kept all day in a cloſe Chamber: wherefore it is no maruell that my fleſh is puft up, wherewithall Maſter Doctor is offended.

Story. Marſhall, take him home with you again, and ſee that you bring him againe on Thurſday, and then we ſhal rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other Heretickes.

Phil. God hath appointed a day ſhortly to come, in the which he wil judge us with righteouſneſſe, howſoeuer you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by M. Doctor, and ſhew your ſelfe a Catholike man.

Philpot will not diſſemble againſt his conſcience.

Phil. Sir, if I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe than my conſcience is, I ſhould but diſſemble with you: and why be you ſo earneſt to have mee ſhew my ſelfe a diſſembler both to God and you, which I cannot doe?

Roper. We do not require you to diſſemble with us, but to be a Catholike man.

Phil. If I doe ſtand in any thing, againſt that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the Scripture, I ſhall be content to be counted no Catholique man, or an Heretique, as you pleaſe.

Story. Have we Scripture, Scripture? and with that hee roſe up, ſaying; Who ſhall bee Iudge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing elſe but Scripture. And this is the beginning of this Tragedie.

The ſecond examination of Maſter Philpot before the Queenes Commiſſioners, M. Cholmley, Roper, D. Story, Doct. Cooke, and the Scribe, the 24. day of October, 1555. at Newgate Seſſions Hall.

The ſecond examination of M. Philpot before the commiſſioners.

AT my comming, a man of Algate of mine acquaintance ſaid unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for D. Story ſaid, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to doe you away. After a little conſultation had betweene them, M. Cholmley called me unto him, ſaying:

Cholm. Maſter Philpot ſhew your ſelfe a wiſe man, and be not ſtubborne in your owne opinion, but be conformable to the Queenes proceedings, and live, and you ſhall be well aſſured of great favour and reputation.

Phil. I ſhall doe as it becommeth a Chriſtian man to doe.

Story. This man is the rankeſt Heretike that hath beene in all my Lord Chancellors Dioceſſe, and hath done more hurt then any man elſe there: and therefore his pleaſure is, that he ſhould have the Law to proceede againſt him, and I have ſpoken with my Lord herein, and hee willeth him to be committed to the Biſhop of London, and there to recant or elſe burne. He howled and wept in the Convocation houſe, and made ſuch adoe as never man did, as all the Heretikes doe when they lacke learning to anſwer. He ſhall goe after his fellowes. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou recant?

Phil. I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant.

Story. Well, then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards Tower, there to remaine untill hee be further examined before the Biſhop of London; for hee is too fine fedde in the Kings bench, and he hath too much favour there. For his Keeper ſaid at the doore yeſterday, that hee was the fineſt fellow and one of the beſt learned in England; and with this hee roſe up and went his way.

Cook. This man hath moſt ſtoutly maintained hereſies ſince the Queens comming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is moſt meete he ſhould be adjudged by the Biſhop of London, for the hereſies he hath maintained.

Phil. I have maintained no hereſies.

Cooke. No have? Did yee not openly ſpeake againſt the Sacrament of the Altar in the Convocation houſe? Call you that no hereſie? wilt thou recant that, or not?

Phil. It was the Queenes Majeſties pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſeeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the Councell.

Cooke. Did the Queene give you leave to be an hereticke? you may be ſure her Grace will not ſo doe. Well, we will not diſpute the matter with you; my Lord of London ſhall proceed by inquiſition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

Phil. My Lord of London is not mine Ordinary in this behalfe, and I have already anſwered unto mine Ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I have ſaid before) you ſhall doe me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, ſince I have ſuſtained this long impriſonment, beſides the loſſe of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeete man to be an Archdeacon.

Phil. I know I was as meete a man as he that hath it now.

Cooke. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled M. Roper and the whole Countrey.

Phil. There was never poore Archdeacon ſo handled at your hands as I am, and that without any juſt cauſe ye be able to lay unto me.

Cooke. Thou art no Archdeacon.

John Philpot deprived of his Archdeaconry without any law.

Phil. I am Archdeacon ſtill, although another be in poſſeſſion of my living; for I was never deprived by any Law.

Cooke. No ſir, that needeth not: for a notorious Hereticke ſhould have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the Biſhop may upon knowledge thereof proceede to deprivation.

Whether an hereticke ſuſpected may without ordinary proceſſe be deprived of his living by his Ordinary before his death and by what law.

Phil. Maſter Doctour, you know that the common law is otherwiſe: and beſides this, the Statutes of this Realme be otherwiſe, which give this benefit to every perſon, though he be an hereticke, to enjoy his living untill hee be put to death for the ſame.

Cholm. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I paſſe not. But the unjuſt dealing grieveth me, that I ſhould be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to all Law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the Queenes Majeſty may cauſe you to be examined of your faith?

Phil. Aſke you Maſter D. Cooke, and he will tel you that the temporall Magiſtrates have nothing to doe with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And S. Ambroſe ſaith Divina Imperatoriæ majeſtati non ſunt ſubjecta; That the things of God are not ſubject to the power and authority of Princes.

Cooke. No? may not the temporall power commit you to be examined of your faith to the Biſhop?

Phil. Yea ſir, I deny not that; but you will not grant that the ſame may examine any of their owne authority.

Cooke. Let him be had away.

John Philpot again requireth to ſee their commiſſion, and yet it could not be ſeene, and that alſo againſt the law.

Phil. Your Maſterſhip promiſed mee the laſt time I was before you, I ſhould ſee your Commiſſion by what authority you doe call me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to anſwer to ſo much as you demand.

Roper. Let him ſee the Commiſſion.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to M. Roper, and was about to open the ſame.

Cooke. No, what will ye doe? he ſhall not ſee it.

Phil. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not ſhewing your authority in this behalfe.

Cooke. If we doe you wrong, complaine on us; and in the meane while thou ſhalt lie in the Lollards Tower.

Phil.

Anno 1555.

Phil. Sir, I am a poore Gentleman; therefore I truſt of your gentleneſſe you will not commit me to ſo vile and ſtraight a place, being found no haynous treſpaſſer.

Cooke. Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil. Yes, that I am.

Cooke. An hereticke is no Gentleman; for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Phil. The offence cannot take away the ſtate of a Gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traytor: but I meane not to boaſt of my Gentlemanſhip, but will put it under my foote, ſince you doe no more eſteeme it.

Story. What, will you ſuffer this heretike to prate with you all this day?

Cooke. He ſaith he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretike knave: for an heretike is no Gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards Tower come in, and have him away.

The keeper. Here ſir.

John Philpot commanded to Lollards tower by D. Story.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards Tower, or elſe to the Biſhops Colehouſe.

Phil. Sir, if I were a Dogge you could not appoint me a worſe and more vile place: but I muſt be content with whatſoever injury you doe offer me. God give you a more mercifull heart; you are very cruell upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Maſter Cholmley, ſhew me ſome friendſhip, that I be not carried to ſo vile a place. And hee called me aſide, and ſayd:

Cholmley talketh with M. Philpot apart.

Cholm. I am not ſkilfull of their doings, neither of their lawes; I cannot tell what they meane. I would I could doe you good.

Phil. I am content to goe whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without juſt cauſe knowne ſhould thus be entreated.

Story. Shall we ſuffer this hereticke thus to reprove us? have him hence.

Phil. God forgive you, and give you more mercifull hearts, and ſhew you more mercy in the time of need; Et quod facis, fac citius, Do quickly that you have in hand.

Story. Doe you not heare how he maketh us Judaſſes?

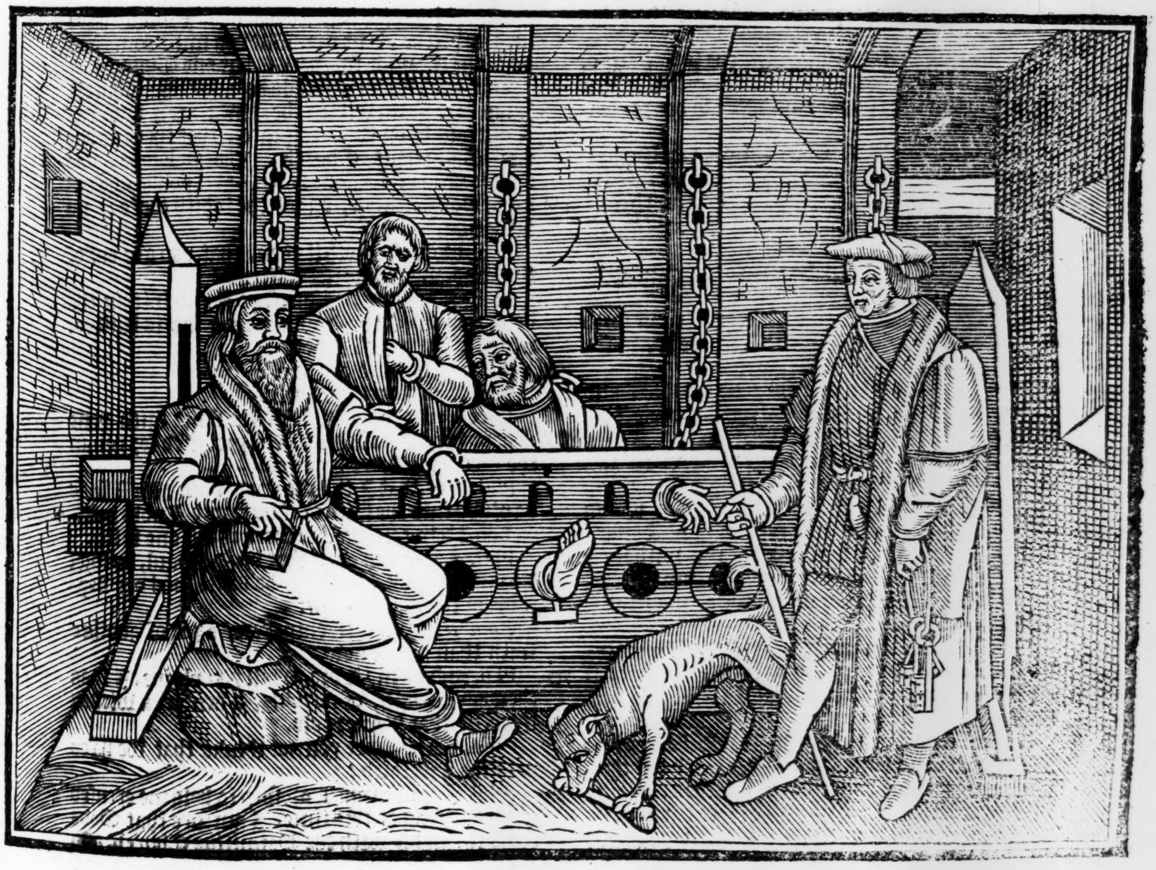
Phil. That is after your owne underſtanding.

After this, I with foure other moe were brought to the Keepers Houſe in Paternoſter-Row, where we ſupped, and after ſupper I was called up to a chamber by the Archdeacon of Londons ſervant, and that in his maſters name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thankes, ſaying; that it ſhould be a griefe to me to lie well one night, and the next worſe: wherefore I will begin (ſaid I) as I am like to continue, to take ſuch part as my fellowes doe. And with that we were brought through Paternoſter-Rowe to my Lord of Londons Colehouſe; unto the which is joyned a little blinde houſe, with a great paire of Stockes appointed both for hand and foote: but thankes be to God we have not played of thoſe Organs yet, although ſome before us have tried them, and there wee found a Miniſter of Eſſex, a married Prieſt, a man of godly zeale, with one other poore man. And this Miniſter (at my comming) deſired to ſpeake with me, and did greatly lament his owne infirmity, for that through extremity of impriſonment he was conſtrained by writing to yeeld to the Biſhop of London: whereupon wee was once ſet at liberty, and afterward felt ſuch a Hell in his conſcience, that he could ſcarce refraine

M. Philpot laid in B. Boners Colehouſe.

This godly man was Thomas Whittle whoſe ſtory followeth.

Maſter *Philpots* being in the Cole-houſe, where he found *Thomas Whittle* Prieſt, ſitting in the Stockes.



Examples what an unquiet conſcience doth. Thomas Whittle after his recantation repenteth, and tare his ſubſcription. B. Boner pluckt away a great part of Whittles beard, & made his face blacke and blew.

from deſtroying himſelfe, and never could be at quiet untill he had gone unto the Biſhops Regiſter, deſiring to ſee his bill againe, the which as ſoone as he had received, he tare it in peeces; and after he was as joyfull as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had underſtanding, he ſent for him, and fell upon him like a Lyon, and like a manly Biſhop buffeted him wel, ſo that he made his face blacke and blew, & pluckt away a great peece of his beard: but now thankes be to God, he is as joyfull under the croſſe as any of us, and very ſorry of his former infirmity. I write this, becauſe I would all men to take heed how they doe contrary to their conſcience; which is, to fall into the paines of Hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling firſt before the Biſhop of London, the ſecond night of mine impriſonment in his Cole-houſe.

The firſt appearing of M. Philpot before B. Boner. B. Boners charity ſent to M. Philpot.

THe Biſhop ſent unto me Maſter Johnſon his Regiſter, with a meſſe of meat and a good pot of drinke, and bread, ſaying, that my Lord had no knowledge erſt of my being here, for which he was ſory: therefore he had ſent me and my fellowes that meat, knowing whether I would receive the ſame.

I thanked God for my Lords charity, that it pleaſed him to remember poore priſoners, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe the ſame in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuſe his beneficence, and therewith tooke the ſame unto my brethren, praying GOD for his providence towards his afflicted flocke, that he ſtirred our adverſaries up to helpe the ſame in their neceſſity.

Iohnſon. My Lord would know the cauſe of your ſending hither (for hee knoweth nothing thereof) and wondereth that he ſhould be troubled with priſoners of other Dioceſſe than his owne.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cauſe. After the which he ſayd, my Lords will was that I ſhould have any friendſhip I would deſire, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lords Gentlemen commeth for me, and I was brought into his preſence, where he ſate at a table alone, with three or foure of his Chaplaines waiting upon him, and his Regiſter.

B. Boner entertaining M. Philpot.

Boner. Maſter Philpot, you are welcome, give me your hand.

Phil. With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his hand, I to render curteſie for curteſie, kiſſed my hand, and gave him the ſame.

Boner. I am right ſorry for your trouble, and I promiſe you before it was within theſe two houres, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cauſe of your ſending hither; for I promiſe you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you ſhould thinke, that I was the cauſe thereof: and I marvell that other men will trouble me with their matters, but I muſt be obedient to my betters, and I wis, men ſpeake otherwiſe of me than I deſerve.

B. Boner made the common Inquiſitor againſt his will.

Phil. I ſhewed him the ſumme of the matter; that it was for the diſputation in the Convocation houſe, for the which I was againſt all right moleſted.

Boner. I marvell that you ſhould be troubled therefore, if there was none other cauſe but this. But peradventure you have maintained the ſame ſince, and ſome of your friends of late have asked whether you doe ſtand to the ſame, and you have ſaid, Yea; and for this you might be committed to priſon.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I am burdened none otherwiſe than I have told you, by the Commiſſioners, who ſent me hither, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Boner. A man may ſpeake in the Parliament houſe, though it be a place of free ſpeech, ſo as he may be impriſoned for it, as in caſe he ſpeak words of high treaſon againſt the King or Queene; and ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the Church of Chriſt.

Phil. I ſpake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in queſtion, and agreed upon to be diſputed by the whole houſe, and by the Queenes permiſſion and the Councell.

Boner. Why, may we diſpute of our faith?

Phil. Yea that we may.

Boner. Nay, I trow not, by the law.

Or elſe why were the queſtions there propounded?

Phil. Indeed by the Civill law I know it is not lawfull, but by Gods law we may reaſon thereof. For S. Peter ſaith, Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the ſame.

1 Pet. 3.

Bon. Indeed S. Peter ſaith ſo. Why, then I aske of you what your judgement is of the ſacrament of the altar?

No man is bound to render account of his faith privately, unleſſe it be to edifie.

Phil. My Lord, S. Ambroſe ſaith, that the diſputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unleſſe it be to edifie. But now I cannot ſhew you my mind, but I muſt runne upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. Wherefore as the ſaid Doctour ſaid unto Valentinian the Emperor, ſo ſay I to your Lordſhip; Tolle legem, & fiet certamen; Take away the Law, and I ſhall reaſon with you. And yet if I come in open judgement, where I am bound by the law to anſwer, I truſt I ſhall utter my conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.

Bon. I perceive you are learned, I would have ſuch as you be about me. But you muſt come and be of the Church; for there is but one Church.

One Church.

Phil. God forbid I ſhould be out of the Church, I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I know as I am taught by the Scriptures, that there is but one Catholique Church, Vna Columba, una Sponſa, una Dilecta; one Dove, one Spouſe, one beloved Congregation, out of the which there is no ſalvation.

Bon. How chanceth it then, that you goe out of the ſame, and walke not with us?

Phil. My Lord, I am ſure I am within the bounds of the Church whereupon ſhe is builded, which is the word of God.

Bon. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am foure and forty.

The faith promiſed by his Godfathers was the faith of Chriſt, after his Creed onely.

Bon. You are not now of the ſame faith your Godfathers and Godmothers promiſed for you, in the which you were baptiſed.

Phil. Yes, that I thanke God I am: for I was baptiſed into the faith of Chriſt wch I now hold.

Bon. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Phil. I am aſſured of that by S. Paul, ſaying; That there is but one God, one Faith, and one Baptiſme, of the which I am.

Bon. You were twenty yeeres agoe of another faith than you be now.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, to tell you plaine, I was then nullius fidei, of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bon. Why, doe you not thinke that we have now the true faith?

Phil. I deſire your Lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this time. I am ſure that Gods word throughly with the Primitive Church, and all the ancient Writers doe agrée with this faith I am of.

Boner. Well, I promiſe you I meane you no more hurt, than to mine owne perſon: I will not therefore burthen you with your conſcience as now, I marvell that you are ſo merry in priſon as you be, ſinging and reioycing, as the Prophet ſaith, Exultantes in rebus peſſimis, Reioycing in your naughtineſſe. Me thinketh you do not well herein; you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.

And why then began you ſo haſtily with him in the Sacrament of your altar? B. Boner offended with Iohn Philpots ſinging in priſon.

Phil. My Lord, the mirth that we make is but in ſinging certaine Pſalmes, according as we are commanded by S. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, ſinging together, in Hymnes and Pſalmes: And I truſt your Lordſhip cannot be diſpleaſed with that.

Boner. Wée may ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid in the Goſpell, Tibiis cecinimus vobis, & non planxiſtis.

Phil. Here my Lord ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the Text, and required his Chaplaines to helpe, and to put him in remembrance of the Text better; but they were mumme: and I recited out the Text unto him, which made nothing to his purpoſe, unleſſe he would have us to mourne, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorrowfull things unto us, threatning fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a darke comfortleſſe place, and therefore it behooveth us to be merry, leſt, as Salomon ſaith, ſorrowfulneſſe eate up our heart. Therefore I truſt your Lordſhip will not be angry for our ſinging of Pſalmes, ſince S. Paul ſaith; If any man be of an upright mind, let him ſing. And we therefore, to teſtifie that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in miſery) doe ſing.

Bon. I will trouble you no further as now. If I can doe you any good, I will be glad to doe it for you. God be with you, good M. Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the Cellar and let him drinke a cup of wine.

The end of his firſt talke with B. Boner.

Thus I departed, and by my Lords Regiſter I was brought to his cellar doore, where I dranke a good cup of wine. And my Lords Chaplaine M. Couſin followed me, taking acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcome, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by Salomon, ſaying, Væ ſoli, Woe be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my Lords Cole-houſe againe, where I with my ſix fellowes doe rouſe together in the ſtraw as chéerefully (we thanke God) as others doe in their beds of downe.

Thus for the third fit.

The fourth examination of Maſter Philpot in the Archdeacons houſe of London, the ſaid moneth of October, before the Biſhops of London, Bathe, Worceſter, and Glouceſter.

Another examination of I. Philpot, before the Biſhops.

BOner. Maſt. Philpot, it hath pleaſed my Lords to take paines here to day, to dine with my poore Archdeacon, and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the new Colledge in Oxford: and I alſo do pitie your caſe, becauſe you ſéeme unto me by the talke I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned Biſhops at my houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talke with you, and at my requeſt (I thanke them) they are content ſo to doe. Now therefore utter your mind fréely, and you ſhall with all favour be ſatisfied. I am ſorry to ſée you lie in ſo evill a caſe as you doe, and would faine you ſhould doe better, as you may if you liſt.

Bathe. My Lords here have not ſent for you to fawne upon you, but for charities ſake to exhort you to come into the right Catholike way of the Church.

Worc. Before he beginneth to ſpeake, it is beſt that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

And why doe not your Biſhops your ſelves pray alſo for them that are out of the way?

Phil. With that I fell downe upon my knées before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

The prayer of I. Philpot before the biſhops.

Almighty God, which art the giver of all wiſdome and underſtanding, I beſeech thee of thine infinite goodneſſe and mercy in Ieſus Chriſt, to give mee (moſt vile ſinner) in thy ſight, the ſpirit of wiſdome to ſpeake and make anſwer in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better underſtanding, if I be deceived in any thing.

Biſhop Boner againſt prayer. B. Boner here ſeemeth more skilfull in his law, than in Church ſtories.

Bon. Nay, my Lord of Worceſter, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vaine prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certaine arrant heretiques, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily ſing Antelucanos Hymnos, Praiſe unto God before the dawning of the day.

Phil. My Lord, God make me and all you here preſent ſuch heretiques as thoſe were that ſung thoſe morning hymnes: for they were right Chriſtians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.

Bathe. Procéed to that he hath to ſay. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bon Say on M. Philpot; my Lords will gladly heare you.

M. Philpot complaineth of his wrongfull impriſonment.

Phil. I have, my Lords, béen this twelve moneth and a halfe in priſon without any juſt cauſe that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawfull order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine owne Territory and Ordinary, into another mans juriſdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordſhips can burden me with any evill done, I ſtand here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuch thing may be juſtly laid to my charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongfull trouble.

Boner. There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to doe you good, if we can. For I promiſe you, yée were ſent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore ſpeake your conſcience without any feare.

M. Philpot called in no ſufficient aſſembly, and therefore not bound to anſwer, whereby to put himſelfe in danger.

Phil. My Lord, I have learned to anſwer in matters of Religion, In Eccleſia legitime vocatus, in the Congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a juſt Congregation where I ought to anſwer.

Boner. Indéed this man told me the laſt time I ſpake with him, that he was a Lawyer, and would not utter his conſcience in matters of faith, unleſſe it were in the hearing of the people, where he might ſpeake to vaine-glory.

Phil. My Lord, I ſaid not I was a Lawyer, neither doe I arrogate to my ſelfe that name, although I was once a novice in the ſame, where I learned ſomething for mine owne defence, when I am called in judgement to anſwer to any cauſe, and whereby I have been taught, not to put my ſelfe further in danger than I need, and ſo farre am I Lawyer, and no further.

“ Wilfull, becauſe he wil not put himſelfe wilfully into the Wolves mouth.

Bathe. If you will not anſwer to my Lords requeſt, you ſeeme to be a “ wilfull man in your opinion.

Phil. My Lord of London is not mine Ordinary before whom I am bound to anſwer in this behalfe, as Maſter D. Cole (which is a Lawyer) can well tell you by the Law. And I have not offended my Lord of London wherefore he ſhould call me.

This offence was for ſpeaking in the convocation houſe with publike liberty in the Parliament.

Bon. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my Dioceſſe by ſpeaking againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed againſt you to puniſh you by the law.

Phil. I have not offended in your Dioceſſe. For that which I ſpake of the Sacrament was in Pauls Church in the Convocation houſe, which (as I underſtand) is a peculiar juriſdiction belonging to the Deane of Pauls, and therefore is counted of your Lordſhips Dioceſſe, but not in your Dioceſſe.

Boner. Is not Pauls Church in my Dioceſſe? Well I wot, it coſteth me a good deale of money by the yeere, the leading thereof.

Phil. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordſhips juriſdiction. And albeit I had ſo offended in your Dioces, yet I ought by the law to be ſent to my Ordinary, if I require it, and not to be puniſhed by you that are not mine Ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have beene convented of mine Ordinary for this cauſe, which you goe about to enquire of me.

B. Boner not lawfull Ordinary to I. Philpot.

Boner. How ſay you Maſter D. Cole, may not I proceed againſt him by the law, for that he hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. Me thinketh M. Philpot needeth not to ſtand ſo much with your Lordſhip in that point as he doth, ſithence you ſeek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it beſt that he go to the matter that is laid againſt him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

Phil. I would willingly ſhew my mind of the matter, but I am ſure it will be laid againſt me to my prejudice when I come to judgement.

Cole. Why then you may ſpeake by proteſtation.

Note how theſe men hunt for innocent blood.

Phil. But what ſhall my proteſtation availe in a cauſe of hereſie (as you call it) if I ſpeake otherwiſe than you will have me, ſince that which I ſpake in the convocation houſe, being a place privileged, cannot now helpe me?

Boner. But Maſter D. Cole, may not I proceed againſt him for that offence he hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your Dioces.

M. Philpot againe appealeth from B. Boner to his ordinary.

Phil. But I have by force beene brought out of mine owne Dioceſſe to my Lords, and required to be judged of mine owne Ordinary: and therefore I know Maſter Doctour will not ſay of his knowledge, that your Lordſhip ought to proceed againſt me. And here Maſter Doctour would ſay nothing.

Worc. Does you not thinke to finde before my Lord here as good equity in your cauſe, as before your own Ordinary?

Phil. I cannot blame my Lord of Londons equity, with whom (I thanke his Lordſhip) I have found more gentleneſſe ſince I came, than of mine owne Ordinary (I ſpeake it for no flattery) this twelve moneth and this halfe before, who never would call me to anſwer, as his Lordſhip hath done now twice. Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure ſuo. No man is forbid to uſe his owne right due unto him; but I ought not to be foreſtalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the ſame for divers other conſiderations.

Bon. Now you cannot ſay hereafter but that you have beene gently commmned withall of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilfull and obſtinate in your errour, and in your owne opinions, and will not ſhew any cauſe why you will not come into the unity of the Church with us.

Phil. My Lords, in that I doe not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have ſaid) becauſe I cannot ſpeake without preſent danger of my life. But rather than you ſhould report me, by this, either obſtinate or ſelfe-willed without any juſt ground, whereupon I ſtand; I will open unto you ſomewhat of my minde, or rather the whole, deſiring your Lordſhips which ſeeme to be pillars of the Church of England, to ſatisfie me in the ſame: and I will refer all other cauſes in the which I diſſent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both, in the which if I can by the Scriptures be ſatisfied at your mouthes, I ſhall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.

Nay rather theſe catholike prelates will be ſatiſfied with no reaſonable offer.

Bon. Theſe heretikes come alwaies with their ifs, as this man doth now, ſaying, If he can be ſatisfied by the Scriptures: ſo that he will alwaies have this exception, I am not ſatisfied, although the matter be never ſo plainely proved againſt him. But will you promiſe to be ſatisfied, if my Lords take ſome paines about you?

Phil. I ſay (my Lord) I will be ſatisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God and his eternall Sonne Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, and the holy Ghoſt, and his Angels, and you here preſent that be judges of that I ſpeake, that I do not ſtand in any opinion, of wilfulneſſe, or ſingularity, but onely upon my conſcience, certainely informed by Gods Word, from the which I dare not goe for feare of damnation: and this is the cauſe of mine earneſtneſſe in this behalfe.

Bon. I will trouble my Lords no longer, ſeeing that you will not declare your mind.

Phil, I am about ſo to do, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to heare me ſpeake.

Bathe. Give him leave (my Lord) to ſpeake that he hath to ſay.

The chiefeſt controverſie in the Church of Chriſt now, is to know which is the true Church of Chriſt.

Phil. My Lords, it is not unknowne to you, that the chiefe cauſe why you doe count me, and ſuch as I am, for Heretiques; is, becauſe we be not at unity with your Church. You ſay you are of the true Church: and wee ſay, wee are of the true Church. You ſay, that whoſoever is out of your Church, is damned; and we thinke verily on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true Church, whereon we are grafted in Gods word, we ſhould ſtand in the ſtate of damnation. Wherefore if your Lordſhip can bring any better authorities for your Church, than we can doe for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true Catholike Church, as in all your ſermons, writings, and arguments you doe uphold, and that all Chriſtian perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame under paine of damnation (as you ſay) and that the ſame Church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures, as it ſeemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow ſuch interpretations onely; I ſhall be as conformable to the ſame Church as you may deſire me, the which otherwiſe I dare not: therefore I require you for Gods ſake to ſatisfie me in this.

Cole. If you ſtand upon this point onely, you may ſoone be ſatiſfied if you liſt.

Phil. It is the thing that I require, and to this

I

Anno 1555.

S. Paul 20. yeeres before his converſion, & S. Peter before his calling, was of another faith than they were afterward and yet it followeth not that they would have every yeere a new faith.

I have ſaid, I will ſtand, and referre all other controverſies wherein I ſtand now againſt you, and will put my hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my word.

Boner. I pray you M. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty yeeres ago? This man will have every yeere a new faith.

Phil. My Lord, to tell you plaine, I thinke I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to doe, God forgive me.

Boner. No were? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Phil. My Lord, I have declared to you on my conſcience what I then was, and judge of my ſelfe. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thing I deſire to be ſatisfied of you?

Boner. Maſter D. Cole, I pray you ſay your mind to him.

The determination of the Primitive Church, and of the Church of Rome as it is now, is not all one. Athanaſius miſalledged.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can prove that it was decreed by an univerſall Councell in Athanaſius his time, that all the Chriſtian Church ſhould follow the determination of the Church of Rome? but I doe not now remember where.

Phil. If you Maſter Doctour can ſhew me the ſame granted to the See of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I thinke you be not able to ſhew any ſuch thing: for Athanaſius was Preſident of Nicene Councell, and there was no ſuch thing decreed I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Phil. I deſire to ſee the proofe thereof. And upon this M. Harpsfield, Chancellor to the Biſhop of London, brought in a booke of Ireneus, with certaine leaves turned in, and laid it before the Biſhops to helpe them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the Biſhops of Bathe and Gloceſter had read together, the Biſhop of Gloceſter gave me the booke.

Gloceſt. Take the Booke Maſter Philpot, and looke upon that place, and there may you ſee how the Church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

A place of Ireneus alledged.

Phil. I tooke the Booke, and read the place, the which after I had read, I ſaid it made nothing againſt me, but againſt the Arrians and other Heretikes, againſt whom Ireneus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and follow after ſtrange doctrine in Europa, and that the chiefe Church of the ſame was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithfull ſucceſſion of the faithfull Biſhops in preaching the true Goſpel, as they had received of the Apoſtles, and nothing like to the late ſprung Heretikes, &c. Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, the which thing if you my Lords be able to prove now of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authority againſt me in my cauſe now, as Ireneus had againſt thoſe Heretikes. But the Church of Rome hath ſwerved from the truth and ſimplicity of the Goſpell, which it maintained in Ireneus time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your Lordſhip cannot juſtly apply the authority of Ireneus to the Church of Rome now, which is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the Primitive Church.

The Church of Rome not now as it was then.

Boner. So will you ſay ſtill, it maketh nothing for the purpoſe, whatſoever authority we bring, and will never be ſatiſfied.

Phil. My Lord, when I doe by juſt reaſon prove that the authorities which be brought againſt mee doe not make to the purpoſe (as I have already proved) I truſt you will receive mine anſwer.

The Church of Rome never deceived.

Worc. It is to be proved moſt manifeſtly by all ancient Writers, that the See of Rome hath alwaies followed the truth, and never was deceived, untill of late certaine Heretikes had defaced the ſame.

Phil. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worc. Nay, you are of ſuch arrogancy, ſingularity, and vaine-glory, that you will not ſee it, be it never ſo well proved.

Phil. Ya, my Lords, is it now time (thinke you) for me to follow ſingularity or vaine-glory, ſince it is now upon danger of my life and death, not onely preſently, but alſo before God to come? and I know, if I die not in the true faith, I ſhall die everlaſtingly: and againe I know, if I doe not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thouſands moe: yet had I leaver periſh at your hands, than to periſh eternally. And at this time I have loſt all my commodities of this world, and now lie in a cole-houſe, where a man would not lay a Dogge, with the which I am well contented.

I finde not in Euſebius that Peter ſhould be B. of Rome 25 yeeres, but this is in Linus *Hierom. lib. de viris illuſt.* and *in Abdias. lib. 1. de vita Petri.*

Cole. Where are you able to prove, that the Church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what Hiſtorie? certaine it is by Euſebius, that the Church was eſtabliſhed at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was Biſhop 25 yeeres at Rome.

Phil. I know well that Euſebius ſo writeth: but if we compare that which Saint Paul writeth to the Galathians, chap. 1. the contrary will manifeſtly appeare, that he was not halfe ſo long there. He lived not paſt 35 yeeres after he was called to be an Apoſtle: and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Ieruſalem after Chriſt death more than 18 yeeres.

Cole. What, did Peter write to the Galathians?

Phil. No, I ſay Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galathians, and of his abiding at Ieruſalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Euſebius and other Hiſtoriographers, that the Church of Rome hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth erre, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive Church did uſe according to the Goſpel, and there needeth none other proofe but compare the one with the other.

Marke my Lords wiſe parable.

Boner. I may compare this man to a certaine man I read of which fell into a deſperation, and went into a wood to hang himſelfe, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could finde none on the which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelfe. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you (Maſter Doctor) goe forth with him.

Neither you nor they are able in this caſe.

Cole. My Lord, there be on every ſide on mee that be better able to anſwer him, and I love not to fall into diſputation: for that now adaies a man ſhall but ſuſtaine ſhame and obloquie thereby of the people. I had leaver ſhew my mind in writing.

Reaſon why it is not like that in Athanaſius time all men were bound to abide the determination of Rome.

Phil. And I had lever that you ſhould do ſo than otherwiſe, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beſeech you ſo to doe. But if I were a rich man, I durſt wager an hundred pounds, that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you have ſaid, to be decreed by a generall Councell in Athanaſius time. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a generall Councell in Africa many yeeres after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) ſhould appeale to Rome: the which decree I am ſure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures and by an univerſall Councell it had been decreed, that all men ſhould abide and follow the determination of the Church of Rome.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they revoked that error againe.

Phil. So you ſay, Maſter Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority.

Bon. What I pray you ought we to diſpute with you of our faith? Iuſtinian in the law hath a title, De fide Catholica, to the contrary.

Not the Law, but the Goſpel gathered the Church together.

Phil. I am certaine the Civill law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our faith muſt not depend upon the Civill law. For as Saint Ambroſe ſaith, Non lex, ſed fides congregavit Eccleſiam, Not the law, but the Goſpell (ſaith he) hath gathered the Church together.

Worc. M. Philpot, you have the ſpirit of pride wherwith ye be led, which will not let you to yeeld to the truth: leave it for ſhame.

Phil. Sir, I am ſure I have the ſpirit of faith, by the which I ſpeake at this preſent; neither am I aſhamed to ſtand in my faith.

Glocest. What: doe you thinke your ſelfe better learned than ſo many notable learned men as be here?

400 Prieſts againſt one Helias.

Phil. Elias alone had the truth, when there were foure hundred Prieſts againſt him.

Worceſt. Oh, you would be counted now for Elias. And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himſelfe, and yet he was deceived, for there were ſeven thouſand beſide him.

Phil. Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other foure hundred were.

Worc. By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the Church which ever hath been of that faithfull antiquity.

Phil. My Lord, I know Rome, and have beene there, where I ſaw your Lordſhip.

A good commendation for Rome by a Romaniſt.

Worc. Indeed I did flee from hence thither, and I remember not that I ſaw you there. But I am ſorry that you have been there: for the wickednes which you have ſeene there, peradventure cauſeth you to doe as you doe.

Phil. No, my Lord, I doe not as I doe for that cauſe: for I am taught otherwiſe by the Goſpell, not altogether to refuſe the Miniſter for his evill living, ſo that he bring ſound doctrine out of Gods booke.

Whether the univerſall Church may be deceived?

Worc. Do you think that the univerſall Church may be deceived?

2 Theſ. 2.
A defection propheſied of in the Church.
ἀποστασία.

Phil. S. Paul to the Theſſalonians propheſieth that there ſhould come an univerſall departing from the faith in the later daies before the comming of Chriſt, ſaying, Non veniet Chriſtus, niſi venerit defectio prius, that is, Chriſt ſhall not come, till there come a departing firſt.

ἀποστάτης.

Cole. Yea I pray you, how take you the departing there in S. Paul? it is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the Empire: for it is in Greeke, ἀποστασία.

Phil. Marry indeed you, M. Doctour, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of S. Paul in that place, for Apoſtaſia is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof commeth Apoſtata, which properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his faith: and S. Paul in the ſame place after ſpeaketh of the decay of the Empire.

Cole. Apoſtaſia doth not only ſignifie a departing from the faith, but alſo from the Empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Phil. I never read it ſo taken, and when you ſhall be able to ſhew it (as you ſay in words) I will beleeve it, and not before.

Worc. I am ſorry that you ſhould be againſt the Chriſtian world.

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Phil. The world commonly, and ſuch as be called Chriſtians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and beene enemies to the ſame.

Gloc. Why, M. Philpot, doe you thinke that the univerſall Church hath erred, and you onely to be in the truth?

The Popes Church which now is was never univerſall.

Phil. The Church that you are of was never univerſall, for two parts of the world, which is Aſia and Africa, never conſented to the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, as at this day they doe not, neither doe follow his decrees.

Of this Florentine Councell which was about the yeere 1432, read before.

Glocest. Yes in the Florentine councell they did agree.

Phil. It was ſaid ſo by falſe report, after they of Aſia and Africa were gone home: but it was not ſo indeed, as the ſequele of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

The word or the Church judge in controverſies.

Gloc. I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſie which happen daily?

Phil. By the word of God. For Chriſt ſaith in S. Iohn, The word that he ſpake, ſhall be judge in the latter day.

Glo. What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who ſhall be judge then?

Phil. The Primitive Church.

Gloc. I know you meane the Doctours that wrote thereof.

Phil I meane verily ſo.

Gloc. What if you take the Doctors in one ſenſe, and I in another: who ſhall be judge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreeable to Gods word.

Cole. My Lords, why do you trouble your ſelves to anſwer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the ſacrament, and he to ſhift himſelfe of that, brought in another matter.

Phil. This is the matter M. Cole, to the which I have referred all other queſtions, and deſire to be ſatiſfied.

Worc. It is wonder to ſee how he ſtandeth with a few againſt a great multitude.

John Philpots propheſie of the increaſe of the Goſpel.

Phil. We have almoſt as many as you. For we have Aſia, Africa, Germany, Denmarke, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the Goſpel doth increaſe: ſo that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I ſtand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through perſecution, that the Cities of Germany be ſcarce able to receive them: and therefore your Lordſhip may be ſure, the word of God will one day take place, doe what you can to the contrary.

Worc. They were well occupied to bring you ſuch newes, and you have beene well kept to have ſuch reſort unto you. Thou art the arroganteſt fellow, and ſtouteſt fond fellow that ever I knew.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip to beare with my haſty ſpeech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to ſpeake ſomwhat haſtily: but for all that, I meane with humility to doe my duety to your Lordſhip.

John Philpot put off to another day.

Bon. M. Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and have ſuch favour as in the meane while I can ſhew you: and upon Wedneſday next you ſhal be called againe to be heard what you can ſay for maintenance of your error.

Phil. My Lord, my deſire is to be ſatisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordſhip ſhall find me, as I have ſaid.

Worc. We wiſh you as well as our ſelves.

Phil. I thinke the ſame (my Lords) but I feare you are deceived, and have a zeale of your ſelves, not according to knowledge.

Worc. God ſend you more grace.

Phil. And alſo God increaſe the ſame in you, and

open

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open your eyes that you may ſée to maintaine his truth, and his true Church.

Then the Biſhops roſe up and conſulted together, and cauſed a writing to be made, in the which I thinke my blood by them was bought and ſold, and thereto they put their hands, and after this I was carried to my Cole-houſe againe.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God haſten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

John Philpot to certaine that required him to write his examinations. The inordinate and unlearned proceedings of theſe catholikes againſt the poore flocke of Chriſt.

Becauſe I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the Biſhop and other, more to ſatisfie your deſire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you alſo that which hath béene done of late, that the ſame might come to light which they doe in darkeneſſe and in privie corners, and that the world now and the poſterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjuſtly, and unlearnedly theſe ravening Wolves doe procéed againſt the ſilly and faithfull flock of Chriſt, and condemn and perſecute the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt in us, which they are not able by honeſt meanes to reſiſt, but onely by tyranny and violence.

The fifth examination of Iohn Philpot, had before the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Coventry, S. Aſſes (I trow) and one other, whoſe Sees I know not, Doctour Story, Curtop, Doctor Saverſon, Doctor Pendleton, with divers other Chaplaines and Gentlemen of the Queenes Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of Londons palace.

The fift examination of M. Philpot.

Boner. M. Philpot come you hither, I have deſired my Lords here, and other learned men to take ſome pains once againe, and to doe you good: and becauſe I doe minde to ſit in judgement on you to morrow (as I am commanded) yet I would you ſhould have as much favour as I can ſhew you, if you will be any thing conformeable. Therefore play the wiſe man, and be not ſingular in your owne opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned men.

John Philpot ready to yeeld his life in Chriſts cauſe.

Phil. My Lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on me in judgement to morrow, I am glad thereof; For I was promiſed by them which ſent mée unto you, that I ſhould have béene judged the next day after: but promiſe hath not béene kept with me, to my farther griefe. I looke for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yéeld my life in Chriſts cauſe, as you be to require it.

Bon. Loe what a wilfull man is this? By my faith it is but folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe heretikes. I am ſorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to ſhew extremity againſt you.

Phil. My Lord, you néed not to ſhew extremity againſt me unleſſe you liſt: neither by the law (as I have ſaid) have you any thing to doe with me, for that you are not mine Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your priſon.

Bon. Why the Quéenes Commiſſioners ſent you hither unto mée upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cauſe; but I am ſure they would not have ſent you hither to me, unleſſe you had made ſome talke to them, otherwiſe than it becommeth a Chriſtian man.

Phil. My Lord, indéed they ſent me hither without any occaſion then miniſtred by me. Only they laid unto me the diſputation I made in the Convocation houſe, requiring me to anſwer the ſame, and to recant it. The which becauſe I would not doe, they ſent me hither to your Lordſhip.

Bon. Why did you not anſwer them thereto?

Phil. For that they were temporall men, and ought not to be judges in ſpirituall cauſes whereof they demanded me, without ſhewing any authority whereby I was bound to anſwer them, and hereupon they committed me to your priſon.

Biſhop Boner ſeeketh cauſe againſt him and yet pretendeth to be ſorry of his trouble.

Bon. Indéed I remember now, you maintained open hereſie in my Dioceſſe: wherefore the Commiſſioners ſent you unto mée that I ſhould procéed againſt you, for that you have ſpoken in my Dioceſſe.

M. Philpots juſt defence for ſpeaking in the Parliament.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand ſtill upon my lawfull plea in this behalfe; that though it were a great hereſie as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in reſpect of the privilege of the Parliament houſe, whereof the Convocation houſe is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly ſpeake their minds, and here is preſent a Gentleman of the Quéenes Majeſties that was preſent at the diſputation, and can teſtifie the queſtions which were then in controverſie, were not ſet forth by me, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Quéenes Majeſties name, all men to diſpute their minds fréely in the ſame, that were of the houſe.

The Queenes Gentleman. Though the Parliament houſe be a place of privilege for men of the houſe to ſpeake, yet may none ſpeake any treaſon againſt the Quéene, or maintaine treaſon againſt the Crowne.

It were the part of a charitable Biſhop to make a matter better and not worſe.

Phil. But if there be any matter which otherwiſe it were treaſon to ſpeake of, were it treaſon for any perſon to ſpeak therein, ſpecially the thing being propoſed by the ſpeaker? I thinke not.

The Queenes Gentleman. You may make the matter eaſie enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubbornly maintaine.

S. Aſſe. This man did not ſpeake under reformation as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς and κατηγορικῶς which is, earneſtly and perſwaſibly, as ever I heard any.

I. Philpot appealeth to the whole Parliament houſe.

Phil. My Lords, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my juſt defence for that was ſpoken in the convocation houſe by me, contrary to the laws and cuſtome of the Realme; I appeale to the whole Parliament houſe, to be judged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I have there ſpoken.

Rocheſter. But have you ſpoken and maintained the ſame ſince that time, or no?

Phil. If any man can charge mée juſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make anſwer.

Rocheſter. How ſay you to it now: will you ſtand to that you have ſpoken in the Convocation houſe, and doe you thinke you ſaid then well, or no?

Phil. My Lord, you are not mine Ordinary to procéed Ex officio againſt me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conſcience of your demands.

This B. belike would faine have blood.

S. Aſſe. What ſay you now? Is there not in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that they put off all their Caps for reverence of the Idoll) the preſence of our Saviour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the words of conſecration?

Phil. I do beléeve in the Sacrament of Chriſts body duely miniſtred to be ſuch manner of preſence, as the word teacheth me to beléeve.

S. Aſſe. I pray you how is that?

Phil. As for that I will declare another time, when I ſhal be lawfully called to diſpute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture ſaith, All things ought to be done after an order.

Another Biſh. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Boner. It is not lawfull for a man by the Civill lawes to diſpute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, De ſumma trinitate & fide catholica.

Phil. My Lord, I have anſwered you to this queſtion before.

Boner. Why, I never aſked thee of this before now.

Amb. l. 5, Epiſt: 30, Eodem cont, maxentium:

Phil. Yes, that you did at my laſt examination, by that token I anſwered your Lordſhip by Saint Ambroſe, that the Church is congregated by the word, and not by mans Law. Wherefore I adde now further of this ſaying, Quod ſi fidem repudiat, & legem objicit, injuſtus eſt, quia juſtus ex fide vivet. i. That he which refuſeth the word, and objecteth the Law, is an unjuſt man, becauſe the juſt ſhall live by faith. And moreover (my Lord) the title which your Lordſhip alledgeth out of the Law, maketh it not unlawfull to diſpute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

Boner. Thou lieſt, it is not ſo: and I will ſhew you by the Booke how ignorant he is. And with that hee went with all haſte to his ſtudy, and fet his booke and openly read the Text, and the title of the Law, and charged me with ſuch words as ſeemed to make for his purpoſe, ſaying; How ſayeſt thou to this?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſay as I ſaid before, that the Law meaneth of the Catholike Faith, determined in the Councell of Chalcedonia, where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.

Bon. Thou art the verieſt beaſt that ever I heard, I muſt needs ſpeake it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Our faith not grounded upon the civill law.

Phil. Your Lordſhip may ſpeake your pleaſure of me. But what is this to the purpoſe, which your Lordſhip is ſo earneſt in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the Civill law: therefore it is not materiall to me whatſoever the law ſaith.

Bon. By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the Common law?

Phil. No my Lord, our faith dependeth not upon the lawes of man.

S. Aſſe. He will be judged by no law, but as hee liſt himſelfe.

Worc. The common lawes are but abſtracts of the Scriptures and Doctors.

Phil. Whatſoever you doe make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged.

I. Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his defence of the law, in refuſing the judge not to be competent. De officio ordinarii, is a title in the firſt book of the Decretals. De foro competente, is a title in the 2 book of the Decretals.

Bon. I muſt needs proceede againſt thee to morrow.

Phil. If your Lordſhip ſo doe, I will have Exceptionem fori: for you are not my competent judge.

Bon. By what law canſt thou refuſe mee to be thy judge?

Philpot. By the Civill law, De competente judice.

Boner. There is no ſuch title in the Law. In what Booke is it, as cunning a Lawyer as you bee?

Phil. My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive mee to my ſhifts for my defence, and I am ſure, if I had the Bookes of the Law, I were able to ſhew what I ſay.

Boner. What? De competente judice? I will goe fet thee my bookes. There is a title indeed, De officiis judicis ordinarii.

Phil. Verily that is the ſame De competente judice, which I have alledged. With that hee ran to his ſtudy, and brought the whole courſe of the law betweene his hands, which (as it might appeare) he had well occupied, by the duſt they were imbrued withall.

Boner. There be the books: finde it now (if thou canſt) and I will promiſe thee to releaſe thee out of priſon.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand not here to reaſon matters of the Civill Law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the ſame; for that I have beene a Student in the Law ſixe or ſeven yeeres: but to anſwer to the Articles of Faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

Boner. Why, thou wilt anſwer directly to nothing thou art charged withall: therefore ſay not hereafter but you might have beene ſatisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

M. Philpot returneth againe to his queſtion of the Church.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the Biſhops at my laſt being with you, deſiring you to be ſatisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controverſies: the which if your Lordſhips now, or other learned men can ſimplie reſolve mee of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you ſhall require; the which is to prove that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the Catholique Church.

Coven. Why; doe you not beleeve your Creed, Credo Eccleſiam Catholicam?

Phil. Yes that I doe: but I cannot underſtand Rome (wherewithall you burden us) to be the ſame, neither like to it.

That Peter did build the Church of Rome it is falſe, for both the Scripture ſaith, that Peter was ſet over the circumciſed, and not over the Gentiles, and alſo it is to be proved by Oroſius, Suetonius, Tertullianus, & other ſtories, that the faith of Chriſt was in Rome in Tyberius time before Peter ever ſaw Rome.

S. Aſſe. It is moſt evident that Saint Peter did build the Catholike Church at Rome. And Chriſt ſaid, Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.

Moreover, the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the See of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place ſo well, which is a manifeſt probation of the catholik Church, as divers Doctors doe write.

Phil. That you would have to be undoubted, is moſt uncertaine, and that by the authority which you alledge of Chriſt, ſaying unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church, unleſſe you can prove the rocke to ſignifie Rome, as you would make me falſely beleeve. And although you can prove the ſucceſſion of Biſhops from Peter, yet this is not ſufficient to prove Rome the Catholik Church unleſſe you can prove the profeſſion of Peters faith, whereupon the Catholike Church is builded, to have continued in his ſucceſſors at Rome, and at this preſent to remaine.

Bon. Is there any mo Churches than one Catholike Church? And I pray tell me into what faith were you baptiſed?

Phil. I acknowledge one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church whereof I am a member (I praiſe God) and am of that Catholike faith of Chriſt, whereinto I was baptiſed.

Coven. I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholike doth ſignifie? ſhew if you can.

Phil, Yes that I can, I thanke God. The Catholike faith, or the Catholike Church, is not as now adayes the people be taught, to be that which is moſt univerſall, or of moſt part of men received, whereby you doe infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not ſo: but I eſteeme the Catholike Church to be as S. Auſten defineth the ſame. Aeſtimamus fidem Catholicam à rebus præteritis, præſentibus & futuris. i. We judge ſaith he, the Catholike faith, of that which hath beene, is, and ſhall be. So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and Church hath beene from the beginning taught, and is, and ſhall be: then may you count your ſelves Catholike, otherwiſe not. And Catholike

The Popes faith hangeth upon the multitude.
Fides Catholica ſecundum Aug.

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tholike is a Greeke word compounded of [illegible] which ſignifieth after or according, and ὅλον, a ſumme, or principle, or whole. So that Catholike Church, or Catholike faith, is as much to ſay, as the firſt, whole, ſound, or chiefeſt faith.

Bon. Doth ſaint Auſtin ſay ſo as he alledgeth it? or doth he meane as he taketh the ſame? how ſay ſay you Maſter Curtop.

Curtop. Indeed my Lord, Saint Auguſtine hath ſuch a ſaying, ſpeaking againſt the Donatiſts, that the Catholike faith ought to be eſteemed of things in times paſt, and as they are practiſed according to the ſame, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatiſts beganne to profeſſe.

Philpot. You have ſaid well Maſter Curtop, and after the meaning of Saint Auſtine, and to confirme that which I have ſaid for the ſignification of Catholike.

Coven. Let the booke be ſeen my Lord.

Bon. I pray you my Lord be content, or in good faith I will breake even off and let all alone. Doe you thinke the catholike Church (untill it was within theſe few yeers, in the which a few upon ſingularity have ſwarved from the ſame) have erred?

Phil. I do not think that the catholike Church can erre in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholike church.

Curtop. I can prove that Irenens (which was within an hundred yeers after Chriſt came to Victor then Biſhop of Rome, to aske his adviſe about the excommunication of certaine heretikes, the which he would not have done (by all likelyhood) if he had not taken him to be ſupreme head.

Where maſter Curtop findes this I cannot ſay: but this I finde that Euſebius doth report that Ireneus did reprove Victor Biſhop of Rome for his raſh ſentence in excommunicating the churches of Greece concerning the obſervation of the feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Covent. Marke well this argument. How are you able to anſwer to the ſame? Anſwer if you can?

Phil. It is ſoone anſwered my Lord, for that it is of no force, neither this fact of Ireneus maketh no more for the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, then mine hath done which hath been at Rome as well as he, and might have ſpoken with the pope if I had liſt: and yet I would none in England did favour his ſupremacie more then I.

S. Aſſe. You are the more to blame (by the faith of my body) for that you favour the ſame no better, ſince all the catholike church (untill theſe few yeers) have taken him to be the ſupreme head of the church, beſides this good man Ireneus.

Phil. That is not likely, that Ireneus ſo tooke him, or the primitive church: for I am able to ſhew ſeven generall Councels after Irenens time, wherein he was never ſo taken, which may be a ſufficient proofe that the Catholike Primitive church never took him for ſupreme head.

The other Biſhop. This man will never be ſatisfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more with him.

Phil. O my Lords, would you have me ſatisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authoritie, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by theſe many generall Councels am able to prove, that he was never ſo taken in many hundred yeers after Chriſt, as by Nicene, Epheſine, the firſt and the ſecond Chalcedone, Conſtantinopolitane, Carthaginenſe, Aquillenſe.

Socr. lib. 5. c. 22. 7. Generall Councels in which the B. of Rome was never taken for ſupreme head.

Coven. Why will you not admit the Church of Rome to be the catholike church?

Phil. Becauſe it followeth not the Primitive catholike church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more then an apple is like a nutte.

The Church of Rome diſſenteth from the Primitive church.

Covent. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Phil. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name; the ſupremacy, & tranſubſtantiation.

Cur. As for Tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and decreed for an Article of faith not much above 300. yeers, yet it was alwaies beleeved in the Church.

Bon. Yea that it was. Very well ſaid of you Maſter Curtop.

Phil. Ye have ſaid right, that Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation of the Biſhop of Rome, and you are not able to ſhew any ancient writer, that the primitive church did beleeve any ſuchthing; and with this Curtop ſhranke away. And immediately after, the Ambaſſadour of Spaine came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I ſaid; my Lords, if you can ſhew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholike church, I ſhall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no ſalvation but within the church.

Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation.

John Philpot returneth again to his iſſue.

Coven. Can you diſprove that the church of Rome is not the catholike church?

Phil. Yea that I am able, but I deſire rather to heare of you for the proofe thereof. And ſeeing I cannot have my requeſt at your hands, neither be ſatisfied with any probable authoritie, I will ſhew you good proofe why it is not. For if the Primitive church were catholike, as it was indeed, and ought to be the forme and ſchoolemiſtris of the church to the worlds end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholike church which diſſenteth ſo farre from the ſame both in doctrine and uſe of the Sacraments.

Rome is not the Catholike Church & why.

Covent. How prove you that the church of Rome now diſſenteth in doctrine and uſe of the Sacraments from the Primitive church?

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it ſhall ſoone appeare; as you may ſee both in Euſebius and other Eccleſiaicall and ancient writers.

Covent. What have you to ſay more, why it is not the catholike church?

Phil. Becauſe it is not (by your interpretation of catholike) univerſall, neither ever was, albeit you falſely perſwade the people that it is ſo. For the world being divided into three parts, Aſia, Africa, and Europa; two parts thereof, Aſia, and Africa profeſſing Chriſt as well as we, did never conſent to the church of Rome, which is of Europa; which is a ſufficient teſtimony that your faith was never univerſall.

Compariſon between the Primitive Church and the Popes Catholike Church. The faith of the Popes Catholike Church now was never univerſall.

Covent. How prove you that?

Phil. All the Hiſtoriographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, doe teſtifie the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent time doth declare that to be true which I ſay. For at this preſent the church of Aſia and Africa doe not conſent to the church of Rome. Yea and beſides all this, moſt part of Europa doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdome of Pole, a great part of France, England, and Zeland, which is a manifeſt probation that your church is not univerſall. And after this, the biſhop of London called away the other biſhops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplaines, as Doctor Saverſon an Engliſhman, which had proceeded Doctor in Bononie, who after began with me in this manner.

Doctor Saver. Maſter Philpot, I remember you beyond Sea ſince the time you reaſoned with a Frier (a notable learned man) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Phil. I cannot forget that; for the Frier threatned me to accuſe me of hereſie as ſoone as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him ſo boldly of the truth. He was no ſuch learned man as you name him to be, but onely in his ſchoole points a good Purgatorie Frier.

Doctor Saver. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am ſorry to heare that you this day having communed with ſo many notable learned men are no more conformable to them then you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Chriſt in his word. And I pray you good maſter Doctor, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe men more then God, contrary to your learning for worldly eſtimations ſake.

D. Saver. No that I am not. Upon what occaſion ſhould you thinke thus of me?

Phil. Upon no evill that I doe know of you maſter Doctor; but I ſpeak as one wiſhing that you ſhould not be led away from the truth for promotions ſake' as many Doctors be now adaies.

For the further debating of this matter that Cyprian doth allow no ſuch thing, read the anſwer of Maſter Nowel to M. Dorman.

D. Saver. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be againſt you in that you doe not allow the Church of Rome, neither the ſupremacy; for Saint Cyprian (which is an old ancient writer) doth allow the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the church.

Phil. That I am ſure of he doth not. For he, writing unto Cornelius then Biſhop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and his fellow Biſhop, neither attributed to him the name either of Pope, or elſe of any uſurped terms which now be aſcribed to the Biſhop of Rome to the ſetting forth of his dignitie.

Saver. You cannot be able to ſhew that Saint Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow Biſhop.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in Cyprian, as I have ſaid.

D. Saver. I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book that it is not ſo.

Cyp.lib. 1 epi. 3.

D. Saverſon hath loſt his book to maſter Philpot.

Cyp.li. 4.epi. 2. cap 16.

Nic. conc. 3.

Patriarkes only be named, to whom afterward the Patriarke of Conſtantinople was alſo joyned.

Cyprian hath alſo theſe words following in the ſame Epiſtle: it was declared amongſt us, and it is according to juſtice and equitie that every mans cauſe ſhould be heard where the fault was committed, and to every ſeverall Paſtour there is a portion of the flock appointed to rule and governe, for the which he muſt make an account before God.

Cypri.lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lords Chaplaines to fet us Cyprian hither for the triall hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lords ſtudie and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the firſt book of his Epiſtles, the third Epiſtle, and there would have ſeemed to have gathered a ſtrong argument for the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſaith; It goeth not well with the Church when the high prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſtead of Chriſt, after Gods word, and the conſent of his fellow Biſhops, and the agreement of the people.

Doct. Saver. How can you avoid this place which maketh ſo plainly for the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie?

Phil. It maketh not ſo plaine, Maſter Doctor, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to underſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager which we made that your booke is mine. For here you may ſee that he calleth Cornelius his fellow Biſhop, as he doth alſo in other places. And now for the underſtanding of that place, you do miſconſtrue it, to take the high prieſt onely for the Biſhop of Rome, and otherwiſe then it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene Councel foure Patriarkes appointed, the Patriarke of Jeruſalem, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, the Patriarke of Alexandria, and the Patriark of Rome, of which foure, the Patriarke of Rome was placed loweſt in the Councel, and ſo continued many yeers, for the time of ſeven or eight generall councels, as I am able to ſhew.

Therefore Saint Cyprian writing to Cornelius Patriarke of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow Biſhop) findeth himſelfe offended, that certain heretikes being juſtly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were) did flee from his Dioceſſe, which was their chiefe biſhop (refuſing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the biſhop of Rome and to the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, and there were received in communion of congregation, in derogation of good order & diſcipline in the church, and to the maintaining of hereſies & ſchiſmes: and that hereſies did ſpring up and ſchiſmes daily riſe hereof, that obedience was not given to the prieſt of God, nor was it once conſidered him to be in the church for the time, the prieſt, and for the time the judge in Chriſts ſtead (as in the decree ef Nicene Councel was appointed) not the Biſhop of Rome onely, but every Patriarke in his precinct; who had every one of them a colledge or Cathedrall Church of learned Prieſts, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow Biſhops, with the conſent of the people, all hereſies were determined by the word of God; and this is the meaning of Saint Cyprian.

D. Saver. You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwiſe.

Phil. Upon what ground it ſhould ſeeme otherwiſe unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the generall Councels, ſeven or eight one after another, confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one ſupreme head onely.

Pend. There were not ſo many generall councels, but foure onely allowed.

Phil. That is not ſo Maſter Pendleton, although there be foure ſpecially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinitie: but beſides theſe foure there were many other generall Councels, as you may learne by many writers.

A Chaplaine. Did not Chriſt build his Church upon Peter? Saint Cyprian ſaith ſo.

How S. Cyprian meaneth Chriſt to build his Church upon Peter.

Cyp. De ſimplicitate prælatorum.

Tract. 10. in Ioan.

Phil. Saint Cyprian De ſimplicitate prælatorum declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſaid; *In perſona unius dedit Dominus omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denunciaret.* i. God gave in perſon of one man the keies to all, that he might ſignifie the unitie of all men. And alſo Saint Auguſtine ſaith in the tenth treatiſe of Saint John, *Si in Petro non eſſet eccleſia myſterium, non ei diceret Dominus tibi dabo claves. Si autem hoc Petro dictum eſt, non habet Eccleſia; ſi autem Eccleſia habet, quando claves accepit, eccleſiam totam deſignavit* i. If in Peter had not beene the myſterie of the Church, the Lord had not ſaid unto him, I will give unto thee the keies. For if that were ſaid to Peter, the Church hath them not; if the Church have them when Peter received them, he ſignified the whole church. And alſo S. Hier. a prieſt of Rome, writing to Nepotian, ſaith, That all churches do leane to their own paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the Biſhop of Rome. And Ad Evagrium, he ſaith, That whereſoever a Biſhop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagie, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one juriſdiction.

Hieronym. ad Nepotianum.

Hieronym. ad Evagrium.

D. Saver. Saint Hierome De cœleſti hierarchia? It was Dionyſius you meane.

Phil. I ſay not that Hierome wrote any booke ſo intituled. But I ſay, that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the Eccleſiaſticall regiment.

D. Saver. I wonder you will ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your error to your owne deſtruction.

Phil. I am ſure we are in no error, by the promiſe of Chriſt made to the faithfull once, which is, that he will give to his true Church ſuch a ſpirit of wiſdome, that the adverſaries thereof ſhould never be able to reſiſt. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reaſoning, neither by writing, your ſynagogue of Rome is able to anſwer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath beene able to anſwer any of the godly learned Miniſters of Germany, who have diſcloſed your counterfaite religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to anſwer Calvins Inſtitutions, which is Miniſter of Geneva.

D. Saver. A godly miniſter indeed of receipt of cutpurſes, and runnagate traytors. And of late I can tell you, there is ſuch contention fallen betweene him and his owne ſects, that he was faine to flee the towne, about predeſtination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither.

Falſe ſlande

Philpot. I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is miniſter; as it is your churches condition, when you cannot anſwer men by learning, to oppreſſe them with blaſphemies and falſe reports. For in the matter of predeſtination he is in none other opinion then all the Doctours of the Church be, agreeing to the ſcriptures.

Saver. Men be able to anſwer him if they liſt. And I pray you which of you have anſwered biſhop Fiſhers booke?

Phil. Yes (maſter Doctor) that booke is anſwered and anſwered againe, if you liſt to ſéeke what hath been written againſt him.

D. Story commeth in.

And after this Doctor Story came in. To whom I ſaid, maſter Doctor, you have done me great injurie, and without law have ſtraitly impriſoned me, more like a dog then a man. And beſides this you have not kept promiſe with me, for you promiſed that I ſhould be judged the next day after.

Happy are you when they revile you, and ſay all evill againſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

Story. I am come now to kéepe promiſe with thee. Was there ever ſuch a phantaſticall man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beaſt, yea, theſe heretikes be worſe then brute beaſts: for they will upon a vaine ſingularitie take upon them to be wiſer then al men, being indéed very fooles and aſſe heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obſtinacie they do ſtand in.

Phil. Maſter Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgement of me now. Say what you wil, I am content, for I am under your féet to be troden on as you liſt. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretike. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to prove that I hold any jote againſt the word of God, otherwiſe then a Chriſtian man ought.

The Papiſts will not be ruled by the ſcriptures without their owne judge.

Story. The word of God? forſooth the word of God? It is but a folly to reaſon with theſe heretikes, for they are incurable and deſperate. But yet I may reaſon with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee; whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou ſtandeſt.

Phil. Verily the word it ſelfe.

Story. Do you not ſée the ignorance of this beaſtly heretike? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word ſpeake?

Phil. If I cannot prove that which I have ſaid by good authoritie, I will be content to be counted an heretike and an ignorant perſon, and further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let us heare what wiſe authoritie thou canſt bring in?

John 12.

What ſay you now Maſter Doctor?

Phil. It is the ſaying of Chriſt in Saint John, Verbum quod locutus ſum judicabit in noviſſimo die, The word which I have ſpoken, ſaith Chriſt, ſhall judge in the laſt day. If the word ſhall judge in the laſt day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: And I am ſure I have my judge on my ſide, who ſhall abſolve and juſtifie me in another world. Howſoever now it ſhall pleaſe you by authoritie unrighteouſly to judge of me and others, ſure I am in another world to judge you.

M. Doctor having not to anſwer falleth to railing.

Story. What? you purpoſe to be a ſtinking martyr, and to ſit in judgement with Chriſt at the laſt day to judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael?

Phil. Yea ſir, I doubt not thereof, having the promiſe of Chriſt, if I die for righteouſnes ſake, which you have begun to perſecute in me.

Story. I told you it was but vaine to argue with this heretike; he is drowned in his hereſies without all learning.

Phil. Sir I have brought you, for that I have ſaid, good authoritie out of Gods booke, to the which you anſwer nothing, but go about ſtill to give railing judgement againſt me without any cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When as the judge in Weſtminſter hall giveth ſentence, doth the word give ſentence, or the judge? tell me.

ods judge,
ent and civill
dgement not
ly.

Phil. Civill matters be ſubject to civill men, and they have authoritie by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not ſubject to mans judgement, but ought to judge all the wiſdome, thoughts and doings of men, and therefore your compariſon diſproveth nothing that I have ſaid, neither anſwereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the Church upon the ſcriptures?

The judgement of the church how farre it ſerveth.

Philpot. Yes, if it be according to the word of the true Church: and this I ſay to you, as I have ſaid heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholike church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yéeld thereto (as long as it can be ſo proved) as you may deſire me.

Story. What a fellow is this, he will beléeve nothing but what he liſt himſelf. Are we not in poſſeſſion of the church? have not our forefathers theſe many hundred yéeres taken this Church for the catholike church whereof we are now? And if we had none other proofe but this, it were ſufficient; for the preſcription of time maketh a good title in the Law.

Preſcription of time.

Preſcription of time maketh no title in Gods matters.

Phil. You do well, maſter Doctor, to alledge preſcription of many yéers, for it is al that you have to ſhew for your ſelves. But you muſt underſtand, In divinis nulla occurrit præſcriptio, that preſcription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to ſhew by the teſtimony of many Doctors.

Story. Well ſir, you are like to go after your Father Latimer the Sophiſter, and Ridley, who had nothing to alledge for himſelf, but that he had learned his hereſie of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poore batchelor of art, he trembled as though he had had the palſie, as theſe heretikes have alwaies ſome token of feare whereby a man may know them, as you may ſée this mans eies do tremble in his head. But I diſpatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have ſpoken with him, and have been a cauſe of his diſpatch.

D. Story confeſſeth himſelfe to be the chiefe diſpatcher of all Gods ſaints that ſuffered in Queen Maries time.

Phil. You have the more to anſwer for, maſter Doctor, as you ſhall feele in another world, how muchſoever you do now triumph of your procéedings.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confeſſed thereof. And becauſe I cannot now tarry to ſpeake with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to ſignifie to his Lordſhip, That he muſt out of hand rid this heretike out of the way. And going away he ſaid to me, I certifie thee, that thou maiſt thank none other man but me.

Phil. I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you.

Stories crueltie.

Story. What? doeſt thou thank me? If I had thee in my ſtudy halfe an houre, I think I ſhould make you ſing another ſong.

Phil. No, maſter Doctor, I ſtand upon too ſure a ground to be overthrowne by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, untill I was left all alone. And afterwards with my Keeper going to my Colehouſe, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who ſpake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, ſaying;

John Philpot left alone.

London. Philpot, if there be any pleaſure I may ſhew you in my houſe, I pray you require it, and you ſhall have it.

The ſtrait handling of Jo. Philpot in priſon, for all the Biſhops faire words.

Phil. My Lord, The pleaſure that I will require of your LL. is to haſten my judgement which is committed unto you, and to diſpatch me forth of this miſerable world, unto my eternall reſt. And for all this faire ſpéech I cannot attain hitherto this fortnights ſpace, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongſt the vileſt, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praiſed be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladneſſe to be content therewithall.

Let all that love the truth ſay, Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth Tragedie.

The ſixth examination of Iohn Philpot had before the right honorable Lords, the Lord Chamberlaine to the Queenes Majeſtie, the Vicount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord Saint Iohns, the Lord Windſore, the Lord Shandois, Sir Iohn Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other moe whoſe names I know not, with the Biſhop of London and Doctor Chedſey, the ſixth day of November. Anno 1555.

The ſixth examination of maſter Philpot before certaine Lords, and the B. of London.

PHilpot. Before that I was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in ſitting down, the Biſhop of London came aſide to me and whiſpered in mine eare, willing me to uſe my ſelfe before the Lords of the Queenes Majeſties Councel prudently, and to take heed what I ſaid; and thus he pretended to give me counſel becauſe he wiſhed me to do well, as I might now do if I liſt. And after the Lords and other worſhipfull Gentlemen of the Queenes Majeſties ſervants were ſet, my Lord of London placed himſelfe at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end againſt him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to ſtand up, and after in this manner the Biſhop began to ſpeake.

The words of Biſhop Boner to maſter Philpot.

London. Maſter Philpot, I have heretofore both privately my ſelfe, and openly before the Lords of the Clergy, moe times then once cauſed you to be talked withall to reforme you of your errors, but I have not found you yet ſo tractable as I would wiſh: Wherefore now I have deſired theſe honorable lords of the temporalty & of the Q. Majeſties Councel, who have taken paines with me this day, I thank them therefore, to heare you what you can ſay, that they may be judges whether I have ſought all meanes to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to ſay in their behalfe, that if you ſhew your ſelfe conformable to the Queens Majeſties proceedings, you ſhall finde as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wiſh. I ſpeake not this to fawne upon you, but to bring you home into the Church. Now let them heare what you can ſay.

M. Philpots anſwer to the Biſhop.

Phil. My Lord, I thanke God of this day, that I have ſuch an honourable audience to declare my minde before. And I cannot but commend your lordſhips equity in this behalfe, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been ſuſpected of hereſie, as I am now, he ſhould be called firſt before the archbiſhop or biſhop of the Dioceſſe where he was ſuſpected; ſecondly, in the preſence of others his fellow Biſhops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laitie: where after the judgement of Gods word declared, and with the aſſent of other Biſhops and conſent of the people, he was condemned for an heretike, or abſolved. And the ſecond point of that good order I have found at your Lordſhips hands already in being called before you and your fellow biſhops, and now have the third ſort of men, at whoſe hands I truſt to finde more righteouſneſſe in my cauſe then I have found with my Lords of the Clergie; God grant I may have at laſt the judgement of Gods word concerning the ſame.

Heretikes in the primitive Church onely condemned to exile.

London. Maſter Philpot, I pray you ere you goe any further, tell my lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to priſon or not, and whether I have ſhewed you any crueltie ſithen ye have been committed to my priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

B. Boner not the cauſe of M. Philpots impriſonment.

Rich. Anſwer firſt of all to my Lords two queſtions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How ſay you? were you impriſoned by my Lord or no? can you finde any fault ſince with his cruell uſing of you?

Phil. I cannot lay to my lords charge the cauſe of my impriſonment, neither may I ſay that he hath uſed me cruelly, but rather for my part I may ſay that I have found more gentleneſſe at his Lordſhips hands, then I did at mine owne Ordinaries, for the time I have been within his priſon, for that he hath called me three or foure times to mine anſwer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemoneth and a halfe before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Phil. The matter is, that I am impriſoned for the diſputations had by me in the Convocation houſe againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the conſent of the Queenes Majeſtie and of the whole houſe, & that houſe, being a member of the Parliament houſe, ought to be a place of free ſpeech for all men of the houſe, by the ancient and laudable cuſtome of this realme. Wherefore I thinke my ſelfe to have ſuſtained hitherto great injurie for ſpeaking my conſcience freely in ſuch a place as I might lawfully do it: and I deſire your honourable Lordſhips judgement which be of the Parliament houſe, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and ſuſtaine the loſſe of my living, (as I have done) and moreover of my life, as it is ſought.

The Convocation no part of the Parliament houſe, ſaith the Lord Rich.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the Convocation houſe is no part of the Parliament houſe.

Phil. My Lord, I have alwaies underſtood the contrarie by ſuch as are more expert men in things of this realme then I: and againe, the title of every Act leadeth me to think otherwiſe, which alledgeth the agreement of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the ſpirituall Lords of the upper houſe.

Whether the Convocation be part of the Parliament houſe or no, yet free libertie was given by the Queene every man to ſpeake his conſcience.

Windſor. Indeed the Convocation houſe is called together by one writ of the Summons of the Parliament of an old cuſtome; notwithſtanding that houſe is no part of the Parliament houſe.

Phil. My Lords, I muſt be contented to abide your judgements in this behalfe.

Rich. We have told you the truth. Marie yet we would not that you ſhould be troubled for any thing that there was ſpoken, ſo that you having ſpoken amiſſe doe declare now that you are ſorry therefore.

Lond. My lords, he hath ſpoken there manifeſt hereſie, yea & there ſtoutly maintained the ſame againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and vaile their bonets at that idoll as he did) and would not allow the reall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt in the ſame: yet my Lords, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him extremitie for ſo doing, in caſe he will repent and revoke his wicked ſayings; and if in faith he will ſo doe, with your Lordſhips conſent he ſhall be releaſed by and by. Mary if he will not, he ſhall looke for the extremitie of the law, and that ſhortly.

Chamb. My Lord of London ſpeaketh reaſonably unto you: take it whiles it is offered you.

Rich. How ſay you? Will you acknowledge the reall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as all the learned men of this realme do, in the maſſe, and as I do, and will beleeve as long as I live, I do proteſt it?

Phil. My lord, I do acknowledge in the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt ſuch a preſence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That ſhal be no otherwiſe then you liſt.

How Boner taketh in the ſacrament, to be both the ſigne and the thing ſigni

Lond. A ſacrament is the ſigne of a holy thing; So that there is both the ſign which is the accident (as the whiteneſſe, roundneſſe, and ſhape of bread) and there is alſo the thing it ſelfe, as very Chriſt

both

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both God and man. But theſe heretikes will have the ſacrament to be but bare ſignes. How ſay you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing it ſelfe in the ſacrament or no?

Both the ſigne and the thing ſignified in due reſpects be in the Sacrament.

Phil. I doe confeſſe that in the Lords ſupper there is in due reſpects both the ſign and the thing ſignified, when it is duly miniſtred after the inſtitution of Chriſt.

London. You may ſee how he goeth about the buſh (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the clergie, and dare not utter his minde plainly.

Rich. Shew us what manner of preſence you allow in the ſacrament.

Phil. If it pleaſe you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my minde without interruption, I will throughly open my minde therein.

L. Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him ſpeake his minde.

Phil. My Lords, that at the firſt I have not plainly declared my judgement unto you the reaſon is this, becauſe I cannot ſpeake hereof without the danger of my life.

Ye ſay ye ſeeke not his life, and yet ye know to anſwer to that ye aske wil be his death.

Rich. There is none of us here that ſeeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeake.

Phil. Although I miſtruſt not your honorable Lordſhips that be here of the temporaltie; yet here is one that ſitteth againſt me (pointing to my Lord of London) that wil lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing your honors doe require me to declare my minde of the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, neither doe maintaine any opinion without probable and ſufficient authoritie of the ſcripture, I will ſhew you frankely my minde without all colour, whatſoever ſhall enſue unto me therefore, ſo that my lord of London will not let me to utter my minde.

Rich. My Lord, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeeing he is willing to ſhew his minde.

London. I am content my lords, let him ſay what he can, I will heare him.

The proteſtation of John Philpot before the Lords.

Phil. That which I doe intend to ſpeake unto you (right honorable Lords) I do proteſt here, firſt before God and his Angels, that I ſpeake it not of vaineglory, neither of ſingularitie, neither of wilful ſtubbornneſſe, but truly upon a good conſcience, grounded on Gods word, againſt the which I dare not do for feare of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I diſagree to the proceedings of this realm in the religion, for that I love not the Queene, (whom I love from the bottome of my heart) but becauſe I ought to love and feare God in his word more then man in his lawes, though I ſtand as I ſeeme to doe in this conſideration, and for none other as God I call to witneſſe.

Two things wherein the Clergy deceiveth the whole Realme.

There be two things principally, by the which the Clergie at this day doth deceive the whole realme; that is, the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, & the name of the catholike church: the which both they do uſurpe, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they terme of the altar, I ſay now as I ſaid in the convocation houſe, that it is not the ſacrament of Chriſt, neither in the ſame is there any manner of Chriſts preſence. Wherefore they deceive the Queenes Majeſtie, and you of the Nobilitie of this realme, in making you to beleeve that to be a Sacrament which is none, and cauſe you to commit manifeſt idolatrie in worſhipping that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimonie of this to be true, beſides manifeſt proof, which I am able to make to the Queenes Majeſtie, and to all you of her nobility, I wil yeeld my life. The which to do, if it were not upon a ſure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

The Papiſts have neither the ſacrament of the Lords body nor the true Church.

Papiſts untruly uſurpe the name of the Church.

And where they take on them the name of the catholike church (wherby they blinde many folkes eies) they are nothing ſo, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edwards time, unto vaine ſuperſtition. And this I will ſay for the triall hereof, that if they can prove themſelves to be the Catholike Church (as they ſhall never be able to doe) I will never be againſt their doings, but revoke all that I have ſaid. And I ſhall deſire you, my Lords, to be a meane for me to the Queenes Majeſtie, that I may be brought to the juſt triall hereof. Yea, I wil not refuſe to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove otherwiſe then I have ſaid, either by writing or by reaſoning, with good and lawfull authoritie, I will here promiſe to recant whatſoever I have ſaid, and to conſent to them in all points. And in the declaration of theſe things more at large, which now I write in ſumme, the Biſhop of London eftſoones would have interrupted me, but the Lords procured me libertie to make out my tale, to the great griefe of the Lord Biſhop of London, as it appeared by the dumpes he was in.

M. Philpot offereth himſelf to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt learned in the realme in the proofe of his cauſe.

London. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretikes do boaſt of the ſpirit of God, and every one would have a Church by himſelfe; as Joane of Kent and the Anabaptiſts. I had my ſelfe Joan of Kent a ſevennight in my houſe after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterburie, and Biſhop Ridley reſorted almoſt daily unto her: but ſhe was ſo high in the ſpirit that they could doe nothing with her for all their learning. But ſhe went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and ſo doe you now.

Philpot. As for Joan of Kent, ſhe was a vaine woman (I knew her well) and an heretike indeed, well worthy to be burnt, becauſe ſhe ſtood againſt one of the manifeſt articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures: and ſuch vain ſpirits be ſoon knowne from the true ſpirit of God and his Church, for that the ſame abideth within the limits of Gods word and will not goe out of the ſame, neither ſtubbornly maintaine any thing contrary to the word, as I have Gods word throughly on my ſide to ſhew for that I ſtand in.

The Popes catholikes when they have no juſt reaſon wherewith to perſwade, they fall to railing and to charge men with ſtubbornneſſe.

London. I pray you, how will you joyne me theſe two Scriptures together; Pater major me eſt; & pater et ego unum ſumus. I muſt interpret the ſame, becauſe my Lords here underſtand not the Latine, that is to ſay, The Father is greater then I; and I and the Father are one. But I cry you mercy my Lords, I have miſſpoken, in ſaying you underſtand no Latine; for the moſt part of you underſtand Latine as well as I. But I ſpeak in conſideration of my Lord Shandoys and Maſter Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latine men. Now ſhew your cunning, and joyne theſe two Scriptures by the word if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can right well. For we muſt underſtand that in Chriſt there be two natures, the Divinitie and Humanitie, and in reſpect of his Humanity it is ſpoken of Chriſt, The Father is greater then I. But in reſpect of his Deitie he ſaid againe; The Father and I be one.

London. But what ſcripture have you?

Phil. Yes I have ſufficient ſcripture for the proofe of that I have ſaid. For the firſt, it is written of Chriſt in the Pſalmes; Diminuiſti eum paulo minus ab Angelis; Thou haſt made him a little leſſer then Angels. It is the fifteenth Pſalme, beginning, Cœli enarrant. And there I miſreckoned, wherewithall my Lord took me.

Pſalm. 8

London. It is in Domine Dominus noſter. Ye may ſee my Lords how well this man is uſed to ſay his Mattins.

Phil. Though I ſay not mattens in ſuch order as your Lordſhip meaneth; yet I remember of old, that Domine Dominus noſter, and cœli enarrant, be not far aſunder: and albeit I miſnamed the Pſalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved.

Lon. What ſay you then to the ſecond Scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?

Scriptures alledged.

Phil. The text it ſelfe decareth that notwithſtanding Chriſt did abaſe himſelfe in our humane nature, yet he is ſtill one in Deitie with the Father. And this Saint Paul to the Hebrewes doth more at large ſet forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joyned theſe two Scriptures together, ſo am I able to doe in all other articles of faith which we ought to beleeve, and by the manifeſt word of God to expound them.

Lon. How can that be, ſeeing S. Paul ſaith, That the letter killeth, but it is the ſpirit that giveth life.

How the letter killeth and whom.

Philpot. Saint Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in it ſelf killeth, which is the word of life and the faithfull teſtimonie of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the ſpirit of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the world, and therefore S. Paul ſaid, That the Goſpel to ſome was a ſavour of life unto life, and to ſome other a ſavour of death unto death. Alſo an example hereof we have in the ſixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the ſpirit were offended thereby; wherefore Chriſt ſaid, The fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the ſpirit that quickneth.

2 Cor. 3.

Iohn 6.

London. What? do you underſtand that of Saint Paul and of Saint John ſo?

Phil. It is not mine owne interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the ſame of ancient fathers interpreting it likewiſe. And to the Corinthians it is written; Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei; ſpiritualis dijudicat omnia. The naturall man perceiveth not the things that be of the ſpirit of God; but the ſpirituall man which is indued with the ſpirit judgeth all things.

1 Cor. 6.

1 Cor. 2.

London. You ſee my Lords, that this man will have his owne minde, and will wilfully caſt away himſelfe. I am ſorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have ſpoken be none of mine but the Goſpel, whereon I ought to ſtand. And if you my Lord of London can bring better authoritie for the faith you will draw me unto, then that which I ſtand upon, I will gladly heare the ſame by you or by any other in this realme.

Wherefore I kneeling down beſought the lords to be good unto me a poore Gentleman, that would faine live in the world if I might, and teſtifie as you have heard me to ſay this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith then that of which I now am, and can prove the ſame ſufficiently, I will be neither wilfull, neither deſperate, as my Lord of London would make you beleeve me to be.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Lords.

Rich. What countrieman be you? are you of the Philpots of Hampſhire.

Phil. Yea my Lord, I was ſir Peter Philpots ſon of Hampſhire.

Rich. He is my neere kinſman; wherefore I am the more ſorry for him.

Phil. I thanke your Lordſhip that it pleaſeth you to challenge kindred of a poore priſoner.

Rich. In faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feete to doe you good.

Chamb. He may do well enough if he liſt.

Saint Iohn. Maſter Philpot, you are my Countreyman, and I would be glad you ſhould doe well.

Rich. You ſaid even now, that you would deſire to maintaine your beliefe before ten of the beſt in the realme. You did not well to compare with the Nobilitie of the Realm. But what if you have ten of the beſt in the realme to heare you, will you be tried by them?

Phil. My Lord your Lordſhip miſtaketh me to thinke that I challenge ten of the beſt of the Nobilitie in this realme. It was no part of my minde, but I meant of the beſt learned on the cõtrary ſide.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning: what if means be made to the Queens Majeſtie, that you ſhall have your requeſt, will you be judged by them.

Phil. My Lord, it is not meet that a man ſhould be judged by his adverſaries.

Io. Philpot will not be judged by his adverſaries, but by the hearers, ſo far as they ſhall judge by Gods word.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Phil. I will make your honors judges, that ſhall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queenes Majeſty that you ſhall have ten learned men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty of the Nobilitie to heare, ſo you will promiſe to abide their judgement. How ſay you, will you promiſe here afore my Lords ſo to doe?

Phil. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea but will you promiſe to agree to their judgement?

Phil. There be cauſes why I may not ſo do unleſſe I were ſure they would judge according to the word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you wil have no man judge but your ſelfe, and thinke your ſelfe wiſer then all the learned men in this realme.

Phil. My Lord, I ſeek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by other, ſo that the order of judgement in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church, which is, firſt that Gods will by his word was ſought, and thereunto both the ſpiritualty & temporalty was gathered together, and gave their conſents and judgement, and ſuch kind of judgement I will ſtand to.

The true order of judgement uſed in the primitive church.

London. My Lords he would make you beleeve that he were profoundly ſeen in ancient writers of the judgements of the Primitive Church, and there was never any ſuch manner of judgement uſed as he now talketh of.

B. Boner bewraieth his own ignorance.

Phil. In the Epiſtles of Saint Cyprian I am able to ſhew it you.

London. Ah, I tell you there is no ſuch thing; fet me Cyprian hither.

B. Boner dare not fet out his booke.

Phil. You ſhall finde it otherwiſe when the booke cometh. And Doctor Chedſey his chaplain (whom he appointed to fet his book) whiſpered the biſhop in his eare, and fet not the book, by likelihood that he ſhould have ſuſtained the reproch thereof if the book had been fet. Well my Lord, quoth I, M. Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or elſe he would have fet the book ere this.

Rich. You would have none other judge, I ſee, but the word.

Phil. Yes my Lord: I wil be tried by the word, and by ſuch as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controverſie betweene your Lordſhip and another upon the words of a ſtatute, muſt not the words of the ſtatute judge and determine the controverſie?

Rich. No mary, the iudges of the Law may determine of the meaning thereof.

London. He hath brought as good an example againſt himſelfe as can be.

And here the Biſhop thought he had good handfaſt againſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgement of the Church.

B. Boner triumphes before the victorie.

The Lords. He hath overthrowne himſelfe by his owne argument.

Phil. My Lords, it ſeemeth to your honors that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in, to expreſſe my cauſe, but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholly with me, & nothing againſt me, as my L. of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my L. Rich here whom I know to have good knowledge in the lawes and ſtatutes

As a judge of the Law may not diſcerne th meaning of a ſtatute otherwiſe then agreeable to the words: ſo hat the church no power to judg the meaning o Gods word co trary to it ſelfe ſtatutes of this realme, albeit a judge may diſcern the meaning of a ſtatute agreeable to the words, whether the ſame may judge a meaning contrary to the expreſſe words or no?

Rich. He cannot ſo do.

Phil. Even ſo ſay I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrarie to the expreſſe words thereof, as this falſe Church of Rome doth in many things; and with this the Lords ſeemed to be ſatiſfied, and made no further replication herein.

Objection of the Lord Rich why the words of the ſcripture are not to be taken; this is my body.

Rich. I marvell then why you do deny the expreſſe words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſaying, This is my body, and yet you will not ſtick to ſay it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able aſwell by his omnipotencie to make it his body, as he was to make man fleſh of a piece of clay? Did not he ſay; This is my body which ſhall be betraied for you? and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it muſt needs be his body.

London. My Lord Rich, you have ſaid wonderfull well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before alſo in the 6. of John, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaying, Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt; The bread which I will give is my fleſh. How can you anſwer to that?

Phil. If it pleaſe you to give me leave to anſwer firſt my Lord Rich, I will alſo anſwer this Objection.

Rich. Anſwer my Lord of London firſt, and after come to me.

Anſwer to B. Boners objection.

Phil. My Lord of London may be ſoone anſwered, that the ſaying of ſaint John is, that the humanity of Chriſt, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and ſouls be ſuſtained to eternall life, of the which the ſacramentall bread is a lively repreſentation and an effectuall coaptation, to all ſuch as beleeve on his paſſion. And as Chriſt ſaith in the ſame ſixth of John, I am the bread that came down from heaven; but yet he is not materiall neither naturall bread: Likewiſe the bread is his fleſh, not naturall or ſubſtantiall, but by ſignification, and by grace in the Sacrament.

The place Joh. 6. expounded, (The bread that I will give is my fleſh, &c.) Anſwer to the Lord Riches objection.

Papiſts catercoſins to the Capernaites. Tranſubſtantiation hath neither ground of Scripture, nor antiquitie.

And now to my Lord Riches argument. I do not deny the expreſſe words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, This is my body, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they muſt be taken ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſſe declaration of Chriſt, ſaying, that the words of the ſacrament which the Capernaits took carnally, as the Papiſts now do, ought to be taken ſpiritually and not carnally, as they falſely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Chriſt hath made in this bahalf, neither following the inſtitution of Chriſt, neither the uſe of the Apoſtles & of the primitive Church, who never taught, neither declared any ſuch carnall manner of preſence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who uſed to put out of the Church all ſuch as did not receive the ſacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the Canon of the Apoſtles, and by the decree of the Councell of Antioch may appear.

Lond. No, that is not ſo; they were onely Catechumeni which went out of the Church at the celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not onely of ſuch as were Novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

Lond. What ſay you to the omnipotency of God? is not he able to perform that which he ſpake, as my Lord Rich hath very well ſaid: I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himſelf to be this carpet if he will.

Pſal. 135.

Phil. As concerning the omniſpotencie of God, I ſay that God is able to do (as the Prophet David ſaith) whatſoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blaſphemy which my Lord of London hath ſpoken, that God may become a carpet. For as I have learned of ancient writers; Non poteſt Deus facere quæ ſunt naturæ ſuæ contraria, That is, God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature: wherefore unleſſe you can declare by the word, that Chriſt is otherwiſe preſent with us then ſpiritually and ſacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

B. Boners irreverent and blaſphemous ſpeaking of God.

The omnipotencie pretended in vain.

Lond. Why? Wilt thou not ſay that Chriſt is really preſent in the ſacrament? Or do you deny it.

Phil. I deny not that Chriſt is really in the ſacrament to the receiver thereof according to Chriſts inſtitution.

Chriſt in the ſacrament really preſent to the receiver. What he calleth really.

Lond. What mean you by really preſent?

Phil. I mean by really preſent, preſent indeed.

London. Is God really preſent every where?

Philpot. He is ſo.

Lond. How prove you that?

Phil. The Prophet Eſay ſaith, That God filleth all places: and whereſoever there be two or three gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt of them.

Lond. What? his humanitie?

Philpot. No my Lord, I mean the deitie, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My Lord of London, I pray you let maſter Doctor Chedſey reaſon with him, and let us ſee how he can anſwer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whoſe doctrine the Queenes Majeſty and the whole realme doth well allow, therefore hear him.

B. Boner too weak for John Philpot.

Lond. My Lords I pray you, will it pleaſe you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirſtie. I will leave M. Doctor and him reaſoning together a while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went (as I ſuppoſe) to make roome for more drink, after the Lords had drunken.

The Lords fall to drinking.

Rich. My Lord Rich ſaid to the Lords, I pray you let the poore man drink, for he is thirſtie: and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God requite it him, for I was athirſt indeed. Afterwards doctor Chedſey began in this wiſe, making a great proceſſe, of the which this is the effect.

L. Rich biddeth M. Philpot drink.

Ched. M. Philpot findeth fault with the Convocation houſe before your Lordſhips, that he hath lain thus long in priſon, and that he had there a doſen arguments, whereof he could not be ſuffered to proſecute one throughly, which is not ſo; for he had “ leave to ſay what he could, and was anſwered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had “ nothing elſe to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtifie thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in the which there is “ never a true word. And whereas you require to be ſatiſfied of the ſacrament, I wil ſhew you the “ truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Chedſey beginneth to diſpute with M. Philpot.

4. Untruths of Chedſey, at one clap.
“ 1. Untruth.
“ 2. Untruth.
“ 3. Untruth.
“ 4. Untruth.

Phil. It is a ſhrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, ſince you have begun with ſo many untruths, as to ſay that I was anſwered whiles I had any thing to ſay, and that I wept for lack of matter to ſay, and that the book of the report of the diſputation is nothing true. God be praiſed, there were a good many of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and worſhipfull men that heard and ſaw the doings thereof, which can teſtifie that you here have made an unjuſt report before theſe honorable Lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you ſlander me; for I thank

M. Philpot anſwered D. Chedſey.

God, I have more matter then the beſt of you all ſhall ever be able to anſwer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was, as Chriſts was upon Jeruſalem, ſeeing the deſtruction that ſhould fall upon her; and I foreſeeing then the deſtruction which you (through violence and unrighteouſneſſe which you there declared) would work againſt the true Church of Chriſt and his faithfull members, as this day beareth witnes, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with infinite more have felt and ſhall feel.

Jo. Philpot interrupted in his anſwer.

All theſe words I did then ſpeak out, being interrupted by my Lord Rich, ſaying that I ſhould ſuffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I ſhould have leaſure to anſwer him in every article. But he promiſed more then he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the conſent of the ſpiritualty to his promiſe, which now rule the roſt. God ſhorten their cruell dayes, for his elects ſake. And therefore I adde this, which I had purpoſed to have ſpoken if then I might have been ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the things done in the Convocation houſe and now laid to my charge, if they ſhould not be anſwered by me, might reckon doctor Chedſeies ſayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the diſputations, I wrote the ſame, and it is true in every argument, as maſter Deane of Rocheſter, and maſter Cheyney Archdeacon of Herford (yet being alive, and within the realm) can teſtifie.

Praiſe be to the Lord, for ſo he hath.

Ched. You have of Scriptures the foure Evangeliſts for the probation of Chriſts reall preſence to be in the ſacrament after the words of conſecration, with S. Paul to the Corinthians; which all ſay, Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body. They ſay not as you would have me to beleeve, this is not the body. But ſpecially the 6. of John proveth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body, which he performed in his laſt ſupper, as it appeareth by theſe words, Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita, The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.

Chedſey proveth the ſacrament by the ſixth of John.

Philpot. My Lord Rich, with your leave, I muſt needs interrupt him a little, becauſe he ſpeaketh open blaſphemie againſt the death of Chriſt: for if that promiſe brought in by S. John was performed by Chriſt in his laſt ſupper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the ſacrament.

Rich. Let M. Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

Ched. You muſt note that there is twiſe “Dabo in this ſaying of S. John, and the firſt is referred to the ſacrament of the altar; and the ſecond to the ſacrifice upon the Croſſe: and beſides theſe manifeſt Scriptures, there be many ancient Doctors proving the ſame, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and S. Cyprian (whoſe authoritie he recited at large) which I do omit becauſe I was not permitted to anſwer the ſame.

“ So is there twiſe Ego too, and yet but one naturall body.

Rich. Now anſwer, and object to him what you can, and you ſhall be heard.

Phil. My Lord, the chiefeſt ground wheron he with the reſt of his ſide do ground themſelves againſt us, be theſe words, This is my body, with a falſe pretence of the omnipotencie of God. And before I will come to the particular anſwers of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordſhips may the better underſtand me, what I mean, and whereupon I ſtand, I will firſt require M. Doctor to anſwer me one queſtion. But firſt of all I do proteſt to your honors that I think as reverently of the Sacrament, as a Chriſtian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, miniſtred after Chriſts inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt treaſures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and contrariwiſe it is moſt diſcomfort and abominable, not being miniſtred as it ought to be, as it is uſed now adayes. And now to my queſtion, which is this; whether theſe words onely, Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my bodie, ſpoken by a Prieſt over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe or no?

Jo. Philpot anſwereth with proteſtation.

A queſtion of John Philpot.

Chedſey, Staggering what he might ſay, at laſt he ſaid, that theſe words alone, pronounced by the prieſt, be ſufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Chriſt really.

Phil. That is blaſphemie to ſay, and againſt all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the form and ſubſtance in conſecration muſt be obſerved which Chriſt uſed and did inſtitute, as S. Cyprian ſaith, In ſacrificio quod Chriſtus eſt, non niſi Chriſtus ſequendus: In the ſacrifice which is Chriſt, onely Chriſt is to be followed. And by the Law it is forbidden to adde or take away from Gods word. And ſaint Peter ſaith, If any man ſpeak, let him ſpeake as the word of God. Wherefore whoſoever ſaith that theſe words onely, This is my body, do make a preſence of Chriſt, without bleſſe, take, and eat, which be three as ſubſtantiall points of the Sacrament, as, This is my body, is, he is highly deceived.

Blaſphemy to ſay that theſe words onely (this is my body) make a reall preſence.

Cypri. lib. 2. Epiſt. 3.

Therefore ſaint Auſtine ſaith, Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum; Let the word be joyned to the element, and it becometh a Sacrament: So that if the intire words of Chriſts Inſtitution be not obſerved in the miniſtration of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament; as the ſacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, becauſe they were not in al points done according to Gods word. Wherefore except bleſſing be made after the word (which is a due thankſgiving for our redemption in Chriſt) and alſo a ſhewing forth of the Lords death in ſuch wiſe as the congregation may be edified; and moreover a taking and eating after Chriſts commandement; except (I ſay) theſe three parts be firſt performed (which is not done in the Maſſe) theſe words; This is my body, which are laſt placed in the inſtitution of the Lords ſupper, cannot be verified. For Chriſt commanded as well, Take ye, eat ye, as This is my bodie.

Theſe words (bleſſe, take, and eat) be as ſubſtantiall points of the ſacrament as (this is my body.)

Hereof read more in the examinations of M. Bradford.

Ched. Chriſt ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body, and not, take ye, eat ye.

Philpot. No did, maſter doctor? Be not theſe the words of Chriſt: Accipite, manducate? and do not theſe words in the plural number ſignifie, Take ye, eat ye, and not take thou, eat thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

M. doctor taken with the manner.

Ched. I grant it is as you ſay.

Phil. Likewiſe of conſequencie, you (M. Doctor) muſt needs deny which you have ſaid, that theſe words, This is my body, being onely ſpoken, be ſufficient to make the body and blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as you have untruly ſaid.

London. Then came in the Biſhop again and ſaid, what is it that you would have M. doctor deny?

Phil. My Lord, M. doctor hath affirmed that theſe words, This is my body, ſpoken by the prieſt, onely do make the ſacrament.

London. Indeed if M. Bridges ſhould ſpeak theſe words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a prieſt ſpeak them after a due manner, they are effectuall, and make a reall body.

The words of Chriſt (this is my body) except a prieſt ſpeake them make no body.

Philpot. M. Doctor hath ſaid otherwiſe.

London. I think you miſtake him; for he meaneth of the words duely pronounced.

Phil. Let him revoke that he hath granted, & then will I begin again with that which before was ſaid; that, This is my body, hath no place, except, bleſſe, take, and eat, duely go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame words do not go before, This is my body, but prepoſterouſly follow in your ſacrament of the Maſſe, it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſent.

Ched. If, This is my body onely do not make the ſacrament, no more do, bleſſe, take, and eat.

Phil. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament unleſſe the whole action of Chriſt doth concur together according to the firſt Inſtitution.

Ched. Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Chriſt, unleſſe it be received?

Sacraments without their uſe be no ſacraments.

Phil. No verily, it is not the very body of Chriſt to any other, but ſuch as condignely receive the ſame after his inſtitution.

London. Is not a loaf a loaf, being ſet on the table though no body eat thereof?

Phil. It is not like my Lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be ſet on the table: but ſo is not the Sacrament a perfect ſacrament before it be duly miniſtred at the table of the Lord.

London. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received.

The ſacrament of the Lords bodie without receiving, is no ſacrament.

Phil. It is, my Lord, the ſigne begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect ſacrament untill it be received. For in the Sacrament there be two things to be conſidered, the ſigne and the thing it ſelf, which is Chriſt and his whole paſſion; and it is that to none but to ſuch as worthily receive the holy ſignes of bread and wine, according to Chriſts inſtitution.

Windſor. There were never any that denied the words of Chriſt as you do. Did not he ſay, This is my body?

Phil. My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Chriſt: but we ſay, theſe words be of none effect, being ſpoken otherwiſe then Chriſt did inſtitute them in his laſt ſupper. For an example; Chriſt biddeth the Church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt: if a prieſt ſay thoſe words over the water and there be no child to be baptized, thoſe words only pronounced do not make baptiſme. And again, Baptiſme, is onely baptiſme to ſuch as be baptized, and to none other ſtanding by.

As baptiſme, is no baptiſme but to the childe that is baptized, and not to the ſtanders by: ſo the ſacrament of the body is no ſacrament but to them that worthily receive.

L. Chamb. I pray you my Lord let me aſk him one queſtion. What kinde of preſence in the ſacrament (duely miniſtred according to Chriſts ordinance) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confeſſe the preſence of Chriſt wholly to be, with all the fruits of his paſſion, unto the ſaid worthy receiver, by the ſpirit of God, and that Chriſt is thereby joyned to him and he to Chriſt.

L. Chamb. I am anſwered.

London. My Lords take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His ſimilitude that he bringeth in of baptiſme is nothing like to the ſacrament of the Altar. For if I ſhould ſay to ſir John Bridges being with me at ſupper, and having a fat Capon, Take, eat, this is of a Capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a Capon ſtill? And likewiſe of a piece of Beefe, or of a cup of wine, if I ſay; drink this is a cup of wine, is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not thereof?

My Lord is better ſkilled in a fat capon, then in Chriſts ſacrament.

Phil. My Lord, your ſimilitudes be too groſſe for ſo high myſteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equall I could more plainly declare, and there is much more diſſimilitude betweene common meats and drinks then there is between baptiſme and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpiritual things with ſpirituall, and not ſpirituall things with corporall things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evill, and your words, commending or diſcommending, do but declare what they are. But the ſacraments be to be conſidered according to the word which Chriſt ſpake of them, of the which, Take ye, and eat ye, be ſome of the chief, concurrent to the making of the ſame, without the which there can be no ſacraments: and therefore in Greek, the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt is called κοινωνία, i. Communion, and likewiſe in the Goſpel Chriſt commanded, ſaying, Dividite inter vos, i. Divide it among you.

Ched. Saint Paul calleth it a Communication.

Phil. That doth more expreſly ſhew that there muſt be a participation of the ſacrament together.

London. My Lords, I am ſorry I have troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now: and with that the Lords roſe up, none of them ſaying any evill word unto me, halfe amazed, in my judgement, God work it to good.

You are too weak my Lords, you may riſe when ye will.

Thus ended the ſixth part of this Tragedie: The ſeventh look for with joy.

The ſeventh examination of Iohn Philpot, had the
nineteenth of November, before the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter, the
Chancellor of Lichfield, and
Doctor Chedſey.

London. Sirrha come hither. How chance you come no ſooner? Is it well done of you to make M. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this houre? by the faith of my body, half an houre before maſſe, and half an houre even at maſſe, looking for your coming.

Another calling of Jo. Philpot before the biſhop

Philpot. My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a priſoner, and that the doores be ſhut upon me, and I cannot come when I liſt; but as ſoone as the doores of my priſon were open, I came immediately.

London. We ſent for thee to the intent thou ſhouldeſt have come to Maſſe. How ſay you, would you have come to Maſſe or no, if the doores had ſooner been opened?

Philpot. My Lord, that is another manner of queſtion.

Lond. Lo M. Chancellor, I told you we ſhould have a froward fellow of him; he will anſwer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the ſpirituall Lords and temporall, and thus he fareth ſtill; yet he reckoneth himſelfe better learned then all the Realme. Yea, before the temporall Lords, the other day, he was ſo fooliſh to challenge the beſt: he would make himſelf learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

You ſaid before he was learned.

Phil. I reckon I anſwered your Lordſhip before the Lords plain enough.

London. Why anſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldeſt have gone to maſſe or no, if thou haddeſt come in time?

Philpot. Mine anſwer ſhall be thus, that if your Lordſhip can prove your Maſſe, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true ſervice of God, whereunto a Chriſtian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

Lond. Look I pray you: the King and the Queen, and all the Nobilitie of the Realme do come to Maſſe, and yet he will not. By my faith thou art too well handled: thou ſhalt be worſe handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Note how ſubſtantially B. Boner proveth the Maſſe.

Phil. If to lie in a blinde Colehouſe, may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be ſaid, I am well handled. Your Lordſhip hath power to intreat my body as you liſt.

London. Thou art a foole, and a verie ignorant foole. Maſter Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleneſſe as they can deſire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themſelves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentiſes, gazing abroad as though they had been at libertie; but I will cut off your reſort: and as for the prentiſes, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot.

Phil. My Lord, we have no ſuch reſort to us as your lordſhip imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of Prentiſes I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our Colehouſe, that I wote of: wherefore your lordſhip hath miſtaken your mark.

The priſoners charged with that they neither did nor knew of.

He meaneth Steven Gardiner, which in this moneth died a little before.

London. Nay: now you thinke (becauſe my Lord Chancellor is gone) that we will burn no moe: yes I warrant thee, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, unleſſe you do recant.

Philpot. My Lord, I had not thought that I ſhould have been alive now, neither ſo raw as I am, but well roſted to aſhes.

Chanc. Caſt not your ſelf wilfully away M. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this Realm, and you may do well enough.

M. Philpot ſtandeth upon his conſcience and the fear of God.

Phil. My conſcience beareth me record that I ſeek to pleaſe God, and that the love and feare of God cauſeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures moſt miſerable, if for mine own will onely I do loſe all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be caſt to damnation. But I am ſure, it is not my will whereon I ſtand, but Gods will, which will not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chanc. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceived.

B. Boner proceedeth Ex officio with M. Philpot.

London. Well, ſince thou will not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed againſt thee Ex officio, and therefore hearken here to ſuch articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make anſwer to them; and with that he read a libell which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done, he bad me anſwer.

2. Untruths in the Biſhops articles.

Phil. Your libell, my lord, containeth in ſumme two ſpeciall points: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your Dioceſſe, and therefore your Lordſhip, upon divers ſuſpects and infamies of hereſie going upon me, is moved to proceed againſt me by your ordinarie office; the which firſt is not true, for that I am not of your Lordſhips Dioceſſe, as the libell doth pretend. And the ſecond is, that I being baptized in the Catholique church, and in the Catholique faith, am gone from them, the which is not ſo, for I am of that Catholique faith and church as I was baptized unto.

Lond. What? art thou not of my Dioceſſe? where are ye now I pray you?

Phil. My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your Colehouſe, which is your Dioceſſe: yet I am not of your Dioceſſe.

Lond. You were ſent hither unto me by the Queens Majeſties commiſſioners, and thou art now in my dioceſſe: wherefore I will proceed againſt thee as thy Ordinarie.

John Philpot challengeth the priviledge of his ordinarie right.

Philpot. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my preſent being now in your dioceſſe is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary juriſdiction, neither maketh it me willingly ſubject to your juriſdiction, ſince it cometh by force, and by ſuch men as had no juſt authoritie ſo to do; no more then a ſanctuarie man, being by force brought forth of his place of priviledge, doth thereby loſe his priviledge, but alwayes may challenge the ſame whereſoever he be brought.

Chedſey. Hath not the Queenes Majeſties authoritie, by her commiſſioners, to remove your bodie whither ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Spirituall things are not ſubject to temporall powers, and therefore the temporall commiſſioners had no power to remove him into another mans dioceſſe.

Philpot. I grant that the Queenes Majeſty (of her juſt power) may tranſpoſe my body, whither it ſhal pleaſe her grace to command the ſame. But yet by your laws Spiritualia non ſunt ſubjecta Imperatoris poteſtati. i. Spirituall cauſes be not ſubject to the temporall power. As for example; you maſter Doctor, if the Queenes Majeſty would appoint two temporall men to be judges over you in certain ſpirituall matters, might not you alledge the priviledge of a clark, and demand competent ſpirituall judges in your cauſes?

Lond. Doth not a man (I pray you) ſortiri forum ratione delicti?

Philpot. My Lord, your rule is true in temporall matters, but in ſpirituall cauſes it is not ſo: which be otherwiſe priviledged.

Lon. What ſaiſt thou then to the ſecond article, and to the other?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſay that I am not bound to anſwer the ſecond, neither the reſt, unleſſe the firſt be proved.

Lond. Well, ſuppoſe the firſt may be proved, as it will be, what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame Catholique faith, neither of the ſame church now, as you were baptized in?

Phil. I am of the ſame Catholique faith, and of the ſame Catholique Church which is of Chriſt, the pillar and ſtabliſhment of truth.

Lond. Nay that you are not.

Phil. Yes that I am.

London. Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith then you be now.

A man is not baptized into his godfathers faith nor his godmothers faith: but into the faith of Chriſts church.

Phil. I was not baptized either into my godfathers faith or my godmothers, but into the faith and into the church of Chriſt.

Lond. How know you that?

Phil. By the word of God, which is the touchſtone of faith, and the limits of the Church.

London. How long hath your Church ſtood I pray you?

Philpot. Even from the beginning, from Chriſt and from his Apoſtles, and from their immediate ſucceſſors.

John Philpot proveth his church to be from Chriſt.

Chancel. He will prove his Church to be before Chriſt.

Philpot. If I did ſo I go not amiſſe: for there was a church before the coming of Chriſt, which maketh one Catholique Church.

Chanc. It is ſo indeed.

No rule better then Antiquity, Univerſalitie, and Unitie, to prove the true faith and church of the Proteſtants.

Phil. I will deſire no better rule then the ſame which is oftentimes brought in of your ſide, to prove both my faith and the Catholique church; that is, antiquitie, univerſalitie, and unitie.

Lond. Do you not ſee what a bragging fooliſh fellow this is? He would ſeeme to be verie well ſeene in the Doctors, and he is but a foole. By what Doctor art thou able to prove thy Church? Name him, and thou ſhalt have him.

Philpot. My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and inke, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.

Becauſe you dare not.

London. No that thou ſhalt not have. You ſhall ſee how he lieth. Saint Cyprian ſaith, There muſt be one high Prieſt, to the which the reſidue muſt obey, and they will allow no head, neither Vicar general.

S. Cyprian meaneth every church to have his own governor, not all churches to be under one.

Philpot. Saint Cyprian ſaith not, that there ſhould be a vicar generall over all. For in his book De ſimplicitate prælatorum, I am ſure he ſaith the contrary; Vnus Epiſcopatus eſt, cujus pars in ſolidum à ſingulis tenetur. i. There is but one Biſhoprick which is wholly poſſeſſed of every Biſhop in part.

Lond. Fet hither the book, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt place againſt thee.

Cypri. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.

Doctor Chedſey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epiſtle written unto Cornelius, then biſhop of Rome, and recited theſe words in ſumme, That it went not well with the Church, where the high Prieſt was not obeyed, and ſo would have concluded for the confirmation of the Biſhops ſaying.

The place of S. Cyprian explained.

Philpot. Maſter doctor you miſconſtrue the place of ſaint Cyprian; for he meaneth not there by the high prieſt, the biſhop of Rome, but every Patriarke in his precinct, of whom there were foure appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high prieſt, himſelfe, which was then chiefe Biſhop of Africa, whoſe authoritie the

heretiques

Q. Marie. Anno. 1555. December.

heretiques began to deſpiſe. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and ſaith, the Church cannot be well ordered, where the chiefe miniſter by order, after the judgement of the ſcriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the conſent of his fellow biſhops, is not obeyed.

London. Hath not the Biſhop of Rome alwayes been ſupreme head of the Church, and Chriſts vicar in earth even from Peter?

The Biſhop of Rome no more head of the church, then the B. of London.

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, then the Biſhop of London hath.

Lond. Was not Peter head of the Church, and hath not the Biſhop of Rome, which is his ſucceſſor, the ſame authoritie?

Peter had no more authority over the church then every one of the apoſtles.

Philpot. I grant that the Biſhop of Rome, as he is the ſucceſſor of Peter, hath the ſame authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority then every one of the Apoſtles had.

Chanc. Yes that S. Peter had; for Chriſt ſaid ſpecially unto him, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum; I will give thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven; the which he ſpake to none other of his diſciples ſingularly, but to him.

Peter beareth but a figure of the Church.

Phil. S. Auguſtine anſwereth otherwiſe to the objection, and ſaith, That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the Church, the Lord had not ſaid to him, To thee I will give the keyes of the kingdome of Heaven. The which if Peter received not, the Church hath them not. If the Church hath them, then Peter hath them not.

B. Boners divinitie lieth much in the Civill Law.

London. What if I can prove and ſhew you out of the Civill Law, that all Chriſtendome ought to follow the holy Catholique Church of Rome, as there is a ſpeciall title thereof, De catholica fide & ſancta Romana Eccleſia?

Phil. That is nothing materiall, ſeeing the things of God be not ſubject to mans laws; and the divine matters muſt be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

Cyprian.

A Doctor. What will you ſay, if I can prove that Chriſt builded his church upon Peter, and that out of S. Cyprian? Will you then beleeve that the B. of Rome ought to be ſupreme head of the Church?

Phil. I know what S. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. S. Cyprian hath theſe words, Quod ſuper Petrum fundata fuit Eccleſia, tanquam ſuper originem unitatis, That upon Peter was builded the Church, as upon the firſt beginning of unity.

The place of Cyprian expounded.

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, that Unitie muſt be in the Church; he grounded on Peter his Church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the book De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, ſaying, In perſona unius Chriſtus dedit omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denotaret. In the perſon of one man God gave the keyes to all, that he in ſignification thereby might declare the unitie of all men.

A Doctor. What will you underſtand S. Cyprian ſo? That were good indeed.

Philpot. I think you cannot underſtand S. Cyprian better, then he doth declare himſelf.

B. Boner goeth to the Parliament.

London. I will deſire you (M. Chancellor) to take ſome pains with M. D. Chadſey, about his examination, for I muſt go to the Parliament houſe. And I will deſire you to dine with me.

Philpot. Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumſtance, digreſſing from his purpoſe. To whom I ſaid, he knew not whereabout he went, and therewith he laughed. And I ſaid his divinitie was nothing but ſcoffing.

M. doctor ſlippeth away.

M. Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and ſo went away.

Phil. You are too yong in divinitie to teach me in the matters of my Faith. Though you be learned in other things more then I, yet in Divinitie I have been longer practiſed then you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too haſty to judge that you do not perfectly know.

Chanc. Peter and his ſucceſſours from the beginning have been allowed for the ſupreme head of the Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Chriſt ſaid unto him in S. John thriſe, Feed my ſheep, Paſce oves meas.

The words of Chriſt to Peter, feed my ſheep. Paſce oves meas, expounded by Ite, prædicate.

Philpot. That is no otherwiſe to be taken, then, Ite, prædicate, Go ye and preach, which was ſpoken to all the Apoſtles, as well as unto Peter. And that Chriſt ſaid thriſe, Paſce oves meas, Feed my ſheep, it ſignifieth nothing elſe but the earneſt ſtudy that the miniſters of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the Clergy would weigh your dutie in this behalfe more then you do. Is this a juſt interpretation of the ſcripture, to take Paſce oves meas, for to be Lord of the whole world? In this meane while came in the Bachelor of Divinitie, which is a Reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the Biſhop, and he took upon him to help M. Chancellor.

Scholler. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a Greek author called Theophylact, to interpret it ſo? Will you beleeve his interpretation?

Theophylact of no great authority.

Phil. Theophyl. is a late Writer, and one that was a favourer of the B. of Rome; and therefore not to be credited, ſince his interpretation is contrarie to the manifeſt words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many generall Councels.

Schol. In what generall councell was it otherwiſe, that the B. of Rome was not ſupreme head over al?

In Nice Councell the B. of Rome was no ſupreme head nor preſident there.

Phil. In Nice Councel I am ſure it was otherwiſe; for Athanaſius was there the chief Biſhop and preſident of the Councell, and not the B. of Rome.

Scholler. Nay that is not ſo.

Phil. Then I perceive you are better ſeen in words then in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is ſo, as you may ſee in the Epitome of the Councels.

The ſcholler of Oxford ſhrinketh away.

Schol. I will fet Euſebius and ſhew the contrary, and the book of generall Councels. He went into my Lords cloſet, and brought Euſebius; but the generall Councels he brought not, ſaying (for ſaving of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwiſe in Euſebius, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhranke away confounded.

Chanc. The Church of Rome hath been alwayes taken for the whole Catholique Church; therefore I would adviſe you to come into the ſame with us. You ſee all the men of this Realme do condemne you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

The Popes ſide not able to prove their church to be the holy Catholike church.

Phil. I have ſaid, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the Church, which you make ſo much of, is a falſe church, and a Synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the realm do perſecute the true Church, and condemne ſuch as be more righteous then you.

Chanc. Do you hear (M. doctor) what he ſaith, that the church of Rome is the Devill?

Chad. I wiſh you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of S. Auſtin in his Epiſtle written unto Pope Innocentius, that the whole generall Councell of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefeſt over all other?

Phil. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he fet the book of S. Auſtin, and turned to the Epiſtle: but he could not prove his allegation manifeſtly, but by conjectures in this wiſe.

Th[illegible] blinde conjectures out of the epiſtle of Auſtin to Innocentius proving the ſee of Rome to be ſupreme head.

Chad. Here you may ſee, that the Councell of Carthage writing to Innocent, the Biſhop, calleth the See of Rome the Apoſtolike See. And beſides this they write to him, certifying him of things done in the councel for the condemnation of the Donatiſts, requiring his approbations in the ſame, which they

would

The ſucceſſion of Biſhops from Peter to S. Auſtins time.

would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the ſupreme head of others. And moreover you may ſee how S. Auſtin doth prove the Church of Rome to be the Catholique Church by continuall ſucceſſion of the Biſhop untill his time, which ſucceſſion we can prove until our daies: therefore by the ſame reaſon of S. Auſtine we ſay now, that the Church of Rome is the Catholique Church.

The conjectures of D. Chadſey anſwered. How the See of Rome may be called Apoſtolicall, and how not apoſtolicall. The being of Peter at Rome giveth no perpetuity to Rome to be the head of the whole Church.

Phil. M. Doctor, I have conſidered how you do weigh S. Auguſtine; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your falſe concluſion. As concerning that it was called by him the Apoſtolicall See, that is not materiall to prove the Church of Rome now to be the Catholique church. I will grant it now that it is the Apoſtolique See, in reſpect that Paul & Peter did once there preach the Goſpel, and abode there for a certain ſeaſon. I would you could prove it to be the apoſtolicall ſee of the true religion and ſinceritie as the Apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame; the which if ye could do, you might boaſt of Rome as of the apoſtolicall See; otherwiſe it is now of no more force, then if the Turk at Antioch and at Jeruſalem ſhould boaſt of the apoſtolicall Sees, becauſe the Apoſtles once did there abide, and founded the church of Chriſt.

The Councel of Carthage wrote to Innocentius B. of Rome, to confirm their acts with his ſubſcription: ergo, the B. of Rome is above all Biſhops. Argument, à cauſa non ſufficiente.

And whereas the whole councell of Carthage did write unto pope Innocentius, certifying him of that was done in the generall councell, and willing him to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſing of the Donatiſts, as they had done; that fact of the Councell proveth nothing the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, no more then if the whole Convocation houſe now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain Articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome Biſhop, that upon certain impediments is not preſent, willing him to agree thereto, and to ſet them forth in his Dioceſſe. The which fact doth not make any ſuch B. of greater authority then the reſt, becauſe his conſent is brotherly required.

The ſcope of S. Auguſtines argument is not to prove the Church of Rome therefore to be found in the doctrine becauſe it hath ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, but to prove the Donatiſts to be ſchiſmatikes, for that the church of Rome continuing both found in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and alſo in retaining ſtill ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles time, yet they would forſake the unitie of that Church, and ſet up another church of their own.

The argument is this.

To diſſever from that Church which by continuall ſucceſſion of Biſhops deſcendeth from the Apoſtles, and keepeth the ſame inſtitution ſtill in faith and doctrine, is to break the unity of the church and to be Schiſmatikes.

The Donatiſts do ſo from the Church of Rome, having no juſt cauſe of doctrine ſo to do. Ergo, the Donatiſts be Schiſmatikes.

And touching the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of Rome, brought in by S. Auguſtine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the ſame Catholique Church, unleſſe you can conclude with the ſame reaſon as S. Auguſtine doth. And the rehearſall of the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops doth tend to this onely, to prove the Donatiſts to be heretiques, becauſe they began as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own ſetting up then was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their ſucceſſors, whom he reciteth untill his time, which all taught no ſuch doctrine, neither ſuch church as the Donatiſts. And if preſently you be able to prove by the Biſhops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that ſuch doctrine hath bin taught by any of the ſucceſſors of Peters ſee, as is now taught and beleeved of us, you have good reaſon againſt us: otherwiſe it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

The Chancellor about to miniſter Articles againſt John Philpot. John Philpot refuſeth the Chancellor to be his ordinary.

Chanc. Well M. Doctor, you ſee we can do no good in perſwading of him: let us miniſter the Articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How ſay you M. Philpot to theſe articles? M. Johnſon, I pray you write his anſwers.

Philpot. M. Chancellor, you have no authoritie to inquire of me my beliefe in ſuch articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of Londons dioceſſe; and to be briefe with you, I will make no further anſwer herein, then I have already to the Biſhop.

Chanc. Why then let us go our wayes, and let his keeper take him away.

Thus endeth the ſeventh part of this Tragedie.

The ſumme of a private conference or talk between M. Philpot, and the Biſhop.

Private talk between M. Philpot and Biſhop Boner.

Philpot. The next day in the morning betime, the Biſhop ſent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his Chappell to hear Maſſe.

Biſhops man. M. Philpot where be you?

Phil. Who is it that calleth me?

Biſhops man. My Lords will is, you ſhould riſe and come to heare Maſſe: Will you come or no?

Philpot. My Stomacke is not verie good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am ſick. After this the Keeper was ſent to bring me to my Lord.

The Keeper. M. Philpot, you muſt riſe and come to my Lord.

Phil. I am at your commandement (M. Keeper) aſſoon as I can; and going out of the priſon, he asked me, ſaying:

A marvell how the prieſt eating up a whole man, fleſh, blood, and bone, to breakfaſt, can have ſuch an hungrie ſtomack to their dinner afterward as they have, as if they had eaten never a bit of meat before.

The Keeper. Will ye go to Maſſe?

Philpot. My ſtomack is too raw to digeſt ſuch raw meats of fleſh, blood, and bone, this morning. After this my Keeper preſented me to the Biſhop in his Hall.

London. Maſter Philpot, I charge you to anſwer unto ſuch articles as my Chaplain and my Regiſter have from me to object againſt you; go and anſwer them.

John Philpot refuſeth to anſwer but in open judgement.

Philpot. My Lord, Omnia judicia debent eſſe publica; All judgements ought to be publique. Therefore if your Lordſhip have any thing to charge me lawfully withall, let me be in judgement lawfully and openly called, and I will anſwer according to my dutie; otherwiſe in corners I will not.

Lond. Thou art a fooliſh knave I ſee well enough; thou ſhalt anſwer whether thou wilt or no, Go thy wayes with them I ſay.

Phil. I may well go with them at your Lordſhips pleaſure; but I will make them no further anſwers then I have ſaid already.

John Philpot commanded to be ſet in the ſtocks of the Colehouſe.

London. No wilt thou knave? Have him away, and ſet him in the Stocks: What, fooliſh knave?

Philpot. Indeed (my Lord) you handle me with others like fools: and we muſt be content to be made fools at your hands, ſtocks and violence be your Biſhoplike Alms. You go about by force in corners to oppreſſe, and be aſhamed that your doings ſhould come to light; God ſhorten your cruell kingdome for his mercies ſake. And I was put by and by into the Stocks, in an houſe alone, ſeparate from my fellows; God be praiſed that he hath thought me worthie to ſuffer any thing for his names ſake. Better it is to ſit in the ſtocks of this world, then to ſit in the ſtocks of a damnable conſcience.

Another conference between the Biſhop and maſter Philpot, and other priſoners.

Another dayes talk of the Biſhop with John Philpot and other priſoners.

Philpot. The next day after, an houre before day, the Biſhop ſent for me againe by the keeper.

The Keeper. M. Philpot ariſe, you muſt come to my Lord.

Philpot. I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he ſendeth for me thus early, I feare he will uſe ſome violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this anſwer, That if he ſend for me by an order of Law, I will come and anſwer; otherwiſe, ſince I am not of his Dioceſſe, neither is he mine ordinarie, I will not (without I be violently conſtrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will goe tell my Lord what anſwer you make: And ſo he went away to the Biſhop, and immediately returned with two of the Biſhops men, ſaying that I muſt come whether I would or no.

John Philpot brought to the B. by violence.

Philpot. If by violence any of you will enforce me to goe, then I muſt goe, otherwiſe I will not; and therewith one of them tooke me with force by the arme, and led me up into the Biſhops Gallerie.

London. What, Thou art a fooliſh Knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetcht.

Philpot. I am brought indeede (my Lord) by violence unto you, and your crueltie is ſuch, that I am afraid to come before you, I would your Lordſhip would gently proceed againſt me by the law.

Note here the juſt dealings of theſe biſhops.

London. I am blamed of the Lords the Biſhops, for that I have not diſpatched thee ere this. And in faith I made ſute to my Lord Cardinall, and to all the Convocation houſe, that they would heare thee. And my Lord of Lincolne ſtood up, and ſaid, that thou wert a frantike fellow, and a man that will have the laſt word. And they all have much blamed me, becauſe I have brought thee ſo often before the Lords openly: and they ſay it is meate and drinke to you to ſpeake in an open audience, you glory ſo of your ſelfe. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good faith if you wil not relent, I wil make no further delay. Marie if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is paſt, and thou ſhalt have none hurt for any thing that is already ſpoken or done.

This Biſhop of Lincolne was D. White.

John Philpot being archdeacon excommunicated biſhop White for preaching falſe doctrine.

Philpot. My Lord, I have anſwered you already in this behalfe, what I will do. And as for the report of Maſter White, biſhop of Lincolne, I paſſe not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I being Archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Chriſt my Maſter were called a mad man, it is no marvell though ye count me frantick.

London. Haddeſt not thou a pigge brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kill thy ſelfe? Or as it is told me (marie I am counſelled to take heed of thee) to kill me? but I feare thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feete; doe the beſt thou canſt.

Matter made of a knife ſent to Jo. Philpot in a pigs belly.

Philpot. My Lord, I cannot denie but that there was a knife in the pigges belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpoſe I know not, unleſſe it were becauſe he that ſent the meat, thought I was without a knife, and ſo put it in. But other things your Lordſhip needeth not to feare: for I was never without a knife ſince I came to priſon. And touching your owne perſon, you ſhould live long if you ſhould live untill I goe about to kill you; and I confeſſe by violence your Lordſhip is able to overcome me.

Articles againe put to John Philpot.

London. I charge thee to anſwer to mine articles. Hold him a booke. Thou ſhalt ſwear to anſwer truly to all ſuch articles, as I ſhall demand of thee.

Phil. I will firſt know your Lordſhip to be mine Ordinarie, before I ſweare herein.

Lond. What, we ſhall have an Anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawfull to ſweare before a judge.

Phil. My Lord, I am no Anabaptiſt, I thinke it lawfull to ſweare before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuſe to ſweare in theſe cauſes before your Lordſhip, becauſe you are not mine Ordinarie.

B. Boner of meere power & authoritie pronounceth himſelfe to be Philpots ordinarie.

Lond. I am thine ordinarie, and here do pronounce by ſentence peremptorie, that I am thine Ordinarie, and that thou art of my Dioceſſe: and here he bad call in more to beare him witneſſe. And I make thee (taking one of his ſervants by the arme) to be my notarie. And now hearken to my Articles, to the which (when he had read them) he moniſhed me to make anſwer, and ſaid to the keeper, Fet me his fellowes, and I ſhall make them to be witneſſes againſt him.

In the mean while came in one of the Sheriffes of London, whom the biſhop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, ſaying, Maſter Sheriffe I would you ſhould underſtand how I doe proceede againſt this man. Maſter Sheriffe, you ſhall heare what articles this man doth maintaine; and ſo read a rablement of fained articles: That I ſhould deny baptiſme to be neceſſary to them that were born of Chriſtian parents, that I denied faſting & prayer, and all other good deeds, and I maintained onely bare faith to be ſufficient to ſalvation whatſoever a man did beſides, and I maintained God to be the author of all ſin and wickedneſſe.

Falſe articles feigned againſt Jo. Philpot.

Phil. Ha my Lord, have ye nothing of truth to charge me withall, but ye muſt be faine to imagine theſe blaſphemous lies againſt me? You might as well have ſaid I had killed your father. The ſcriptures ſay, That God will deſtroy all men that ſpeake lies. And is not your Lordſhip aſhamed to ſay before this worſhipfull Gentleman (who is unknowne to me) that I maintaine theſe abominable blaſphemies which you have rehearſed? which if I did maintain, I were wel worthy to be counted an heretike, and to be burned an hundred times if it were poſſible.

Lond. I doe object them unto thee, to heare what thou wilt ſay in them, and how thou canſt purge thy ſelfe of them.

B. Boner taken with an untruth.

Phil. Then it was not juſtly ſaid of your Lordſhip in the beginning, that I did maintaine them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe articles you have read, in forme as they are written.

Lond. How ſaiſt thou? Wilt thou anſwer to them or no?

Phil. I wil firſt know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch things, and then afterward being lawfully called in judgement, I will ſhew my minde fully thereof, and not otherwiſe.

Other priſoners called in to bear witneſſe againſt John Philpot.

London. Well, then I will make thy fellowes to be witneſſes herein againſt thee; where are they? come.

Keep. They be here my Lord.

Lond. Come hither ſirs, hold them a booke, you ſhall ſweare by the contents of that booke, that you ſhall (all manner of affections laid apart) ſay the truth of all ſuch Articles as you ſhall be demanded of, concerning this man here preſent, which is a very naughty man, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and ſtrengthneth you in your errors.

The priſoners refuſed to be ſworne againſt M. Philpot.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not ſweare, except we know whereto: we can accuſe him of no evill, we have beene but a while acquainted with him.

Phil. I wonder your lordſhip knowing the law wil go about, contrarie to the ſame, to have infamous perſons to be witneſſes, for your lordſhip doth take them to be heretikes, and by the law an heretike connot be a witneſſe.

B. Boner againe doth againſt the law.

Lond. Yes, one heretike againſt another may be well enough. And M. Sheriffe, I will make one of them to be a witneſſe againſt another.

Phil. You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you liſt.

Priſoners. No my Lord.

Note how the biſhops make Anabaptiſts.

London. No will, I will make you ſweare, whether you will or no. I weene they be Anabaptiſts, Maſter Sheriffe, they thinke it not lawfull to ſweare before a judge.

Philpot. We think it lawfull to ſweare for a man iudicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

London. Why then, ſeeing you will not ſweare againſt your fellow, you ſhall ſweare for your ſelves, and I doe here in the preſence of M. Sheriffe obiect the ſame articles unto you as I have done unto him, and doe require you under the paine of excommunication, to anſwer particularly unto every one of them when ye ſhall be examined, as ye ſhall be by and by examined by my regiſter and ſome of my chaplaines.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not accuſe our ſelves. If any man can lay any thing againſt us, we are here ready to anſwer thereto: otherwiſe we pray your Lordſhip not to burthen us; for ſome of us are here before you, we know no iuſt cauſe why.

Lond. M. Sheriffe, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward men. And ſo he roſe up and was going away, talking with M. Sheriffe.

B. Boner ſeeketh corners.

Phil. M. Sheriffe, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth againſt us in corners, without all order of law, having no iuſt cauſe to lay againſt us. And after this were all commanded to be put in the Stocks, where I ſate from morning untill night, and the keeper at night upon favor let me out.

Another private conference between the Biſhop and Maſter Philpot in the Colehouſe.

Another private talke or conference betwixt him and the Biſhop.

B. Boner viewing his Colehouſe.

PHil. The Sunday after, the Biſhop came into the Colehouſe at night with the Keeper, and viewed the houſe, ſaying that he was never here afore: whereby a man may gueſſe how he hath kept Gods commandement in viſiting the priſoners, ſeeing he was never with them that have beene ſo nigh his noſe: and he came not then for any good zeale, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me, and therefore after ſupper, betweene eight and nine, he ſent for me, ſaying.

Lond. Sir, I have great diſpleaſure of the Queen and the councel for keeping you ſo long, and letting you have ſo much libertie; and beſides that, you be yonder, and ſtrengthen the other priſoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough: I will ſequeſter you therefore from them, and you ſhal hurt no moe as you have done, and I will out of hand diſpatch you, as I am commanded, unleſſe you will be a conformable man.

Phil. My lord, you have my body in your cuſtodie; you may tranſport it whither you pleaſe: I am content. And I would you would make as quicke expedition in my iudgement, as, you ſay, I long therefore; and as for conformitie, I am ready to yeeld to all truth, if any can bring better then I.

Lond. Why, wil you beleeve no man but your ſelfe, whatſoever they ſay.

Phil. My beleefe muſt not hang upon mens ſayings, without ſure authoritie of Gods word, the which if any can ſhew me, I will be pliant to the ſame; otherwiſe, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertaine.

Lond. Have you then the truth onely?

Phil. My Lord, I will ſpeake my minde freely unto you, and upon no malice I beare to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you perſecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cauſe you cannot proſper long. You ſee God doth not proſper your doings according to your expectation: He hath of late ſhewed his iuſt iudgement againſt one of your greateſt doers, who by report died miſerably. I envy not your authority you are in. You that have learning ſhould know beſt how to rule. And ſeeing God hath reſtored you to your dignitie and living againe, uſe the ſame to Gods glory, and to the ſetting forth of his true Religion; otherwiſe it will not continue, do what you can. With this ſaying he was apauſed, and ſaid at length.

He meaneth Ste. Gardiner B. of Winch.

Q. MARIE.

Good counſell given to Biſh. Boner.

Lon. That good man was puniſhed for ſuch as thou art. Where is the Keeper? come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

Anno 1555. December.

Phil. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aſide, commanding to keepe all men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequell did declare) and brought me to his privie doore that goeth into the Church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to ſee me placed.

John Philpot conveyed into a cloſe tower ioyning to Pauls church.

And afterwards I paſſed through Pauls up to Lollards tower, and after that turned along all the Weſt ſide of Pauls through the wall, and paſſing through ſix or ſeaven doores, came to my lodging through many ſtraites; where I called to remembrance, that ſtraite is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower right on the other ſide of Lollards tower, as high almoſt as the battlements of Pauls, 8. foot of breadth, and 13. of length, & almoſt over the priſon where I was before, having a window opening toward the Eaſt, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houſes, but ſee no man paſſing into them: and whoſo walketh in the biſhops utter gallerie going to his Chappell, may ſee my window and me ſtanding in the ſame.

M. Philpot ſearched for writings.

And as I was come to my place, the Keeper pluckt off my gowne, & ſearched me very narrowly, and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle, & knife, but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the ſtool, where ful ſore againſt my will I caſt away many a ſweet letter & friendly: but that I had written of my laſt examination before, I thruſt into my hoſe, thinking the next day to have made an end therof, and with going it was falne downe to my leg, the which he by feeling did ſoon eſpie, & asked what that was. I ſaid, they were certain letters: and with that he was very buſie to have them out. Let me alone (ſaid I) I will pluck them out; with that I put in my hand, having two other letters therin, and brought up the ſame writing to my codpeece, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which to make a ſhew that they had been weightie, I began to teare as well as I could, till they ſnatched them from me, and ſo deluded him (I thank God) of his purpoſe.

The copy of his examinations by Gods great working preſerved.

After this he went his way, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, ſaid, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hoſe, but two other letters I had in my hand before. No did, quoth he? I will go ſearch him better: the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place beſides my bed, & took al my letters I had in my purſe, and was tearing of them when he came againe, and as he came I threw the ſame out of my window, ſaying, that I heard what he ſaid; wherefore I did prevent his ſearching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praiſed that gave me that preſent ſhift to blinde their eies from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had knowne, it would have been a great occaſion of more ſtraiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth examination of Iohn Philpot, before the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of S. Davids, Maſter Mordant, and others, in the Biſhops Chappell.

The eighth examination of M. Philpot.

THe next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me downe, and ſo was

I brought

Q. MARIE. Anno 1555. December.

I brought downe into his Wardrobe, where with a Keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the Chappell, before the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of Saint Davids, Maſter Mordant one of the Queenes Councell, Maſter Archdeacon of London, & before a great many more Baalamites, and the Biſhop ſpake unto me in this wiſe.

Articles objected and read to J. Philpot.

Lond. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the preſence of my Lord of Saint Davids, and of maſter Mordant, and of theſe worſhipfull men, theſe articles here in this libell contained, and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have anſwered to ſome of his blaſphemies, he would not permit me, but ſaid, I ſhould have leiſure enough to ſay what I would, when he had ſaid: And unto theſe here I adde another ſchedule. Alſo I require thee to anſwer to the catechiſme ſet forth in the ſchiſmaticall time of K. Edward. Alſo I will thee to anſwer to certaine Concluſions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here doe bring forth theſe witneſſes againſt thee in thine owne preſence, namely my Lord of ſaint Davids, Maſter Mordant, and Maſter Harpsfield, with as many of you as were preſent in the Diſputation he made in the Convocation houſe; willing you to teſtifie, of your Oathes taken upon a booke, his ſtubborne and unreverent behaviour he did there uſe againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. Give me a book, and receiving one, he opened the ſame, ſaying; I will teach him here one trick in our Law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of ſaint Davids, becauſe you are a Biſhop, you have this priviledge, that you may ſweare, Inſpectis Evangeliis, & non tactis; By looking on the Goſpel booke, without touching of the ſame. And ſo he opened the Book in his ſight, and ſhut it again, and cauſed the other to put their hands on the booke, and took their oath, and willed them to reſort to his Regiſter to make their depoſitions when they might be beſt at leiſure; and afterwards he turned to me and ſaid, Now ſir, you ſhall anſwer but two words, whether you will anſwer to theſe articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

Witneſſes ſworne againſt M. Philpot.

Papiſts keepe no promiſe.

Phil. My Lord, you have told a long tale againſt me, containing many lying blaſphemies, which cannot be anſwered in two words: beſides this, you promiſed me at the beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to ſpeake? What Law is this?

Lond. Speake, yea or nay, for you ſhall ſay no more at this time.

The cauſe was, as I gueſſe, that he ſaw ſo many there gathered to heare.

Jo. Philpot appealeth from B. Boner.

Phil. Then my two words you would have me ſpeake ſhall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient judge.

Lond. Indeed, M. Mordant, he hath appealed to the King and to the Queen; but I will be ſo bold with her Majeſtie, to ſtay that appeale in mine owne hands.

Phil. You will do what you liſt, my lord, you have the law in your hands.

Lond. Wilt thou anſwer or no?

Phil. I will not anſwer otherwiſe then I have ſaid.

London. Regiſter, note his anſwer that he maketh.

B. Boner doth without order of law.

Phil. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or ſet up a ſtake and burne me out of hand, without further law; as well you may doe ſo, as doe that you doe, for all is without order of law: ſuch tyranny was never ſeene as you uſe now adayes; God of his mercy deſtroy your cruell Kingdome. And whileſt I ſpake this, the Biſhop went away in haſte.

S. Davids. M. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God I have patience to beare and abide all your cruel intents againſt me; notwithſtanding I ſpeak this earneſtly, being moved thereto juſtly, to notifie your unjuſt and cruell dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law.

After this, at night I was conducted againe by three or foure into the Colehouſe.

The ninth examination of Maſter Philpot before Biſhop Boner and his Chaplaines.

The ninth examination of M. Jo. Philpot before the B. and his chaplaines.

IN the morning the next day I was called downe betimes by my Keeper, and brought againe into the Wardrobe, where I remained untill the Biſhop had heard his maſſe, and afterward he ſent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chaire to ſit down, and brought his infamous Libell of his forged articles in his hand, and ſate downe; willing me to draw neere unto him, and ſaid:

Lond. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the Parliament houſe, to examine you and your fellowes upon theſe articles, and you ſtand dallying with me, and will neither anſwer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not ſerve you. Will it not be a faire honeſtie for you, thinke ye, that when thou comeſt before my Lord Maior and the Sheriffes, and other Worſhipfull Audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I have had thee theſe many times before me, and before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldeſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy bragges of learning, neither wouldeſt anſwer directly to any thing?

Jo. Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his former plea to anſwer before his owne Ordinarie.

Phil. My Lord, I have told you my minde plaine enough; but yet I doe not intend to loſe that priviledge the law giveth me, the which is free choice to anſwer where I am not bound, and this priviledge will I cleave unto, untill I be compelled otherwiſe.

Lond. Well, I perceive you wil play the obſtinate foole. Lay thine appellation when thou comeſt in judgement, and anſwer in the mean while to theſe articles.

Philpot. No, my Lord, by your leave I will not anſwer to them, untill my lawfull appeale be tried.

Phil. Well, thou ſhalt heare them, and with that he began to read them.

Jo. Philpot will not heare his articles read.

Phil. I ſhranke back into the window, and looked on a booke, and after he had read them over he ſaid unto me;

Lond. I have read them over, although it hath not pleaſed you to heare me. I marvell, in good faith, what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilfull and ſtubborne, ſeeing thou maiſt doe well enough if thou liſt. It is but a ſingularitie; doeſt thou not ſee all the realme againſt thee?

Phil. My Lord, I ſpeake unto you in the witneſſe of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded to mine owne will, neither ſtand upon mine own ſtubbornneſſe or ſingularity, but upon my conſcience inſtructed by Gods word: and if your Lordſhip can ſhew better evidence then I have for a good faith, I will follow the ſame.

Lond. What thou wilt not, loe, for all that. Well, all that is paſt ſhall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mighteſt finde as much favour as thou wouldeſt deſire.

Phil. Then I perceiving that he fawned ſo much upon me, thought it good to give him ſome comfort of my relenting, to the entent I might give him and his hypocriticall generation openly a further foile, perceiving that they dare reaſon openly with none, but with ſuch as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to anſwer, or els with ſuch as they have a hope, that for feare or love of the world, wil recant: I ſaid; My Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly in the audience of a great number ſtood to the maintenance of theſe opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appeare to the world that I am won by learning, or elſe what will they ſay, but that either for feare or love of the world I am without any ground turned from the truth? and if I heare any kinde of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may require me.

Lond. Yea Mary, now ye ſpeake ſomewhat like a reaſonable man. I wis you might have had a great deale more favour in my houſe, and libertie, then you have had; and you ſhall lack nothing that is within my houſe; call for it, and you ſhall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning ſomewhat be ſatisfied in, tell me?

Phil. My Lord, I have openly ſaid, and do beleeve it alſo, that your ſacrifice of the maſſe is no ſacramēt.

Lond. What, do you deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Talke of the Sacrament.

Phil. No, my lord, I deny not the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but I have denied the ſacrament of the altar, as it is uſed in your Maſſe, to be the true ſacrament of Chriſts inſtitution, and firſt it muſt be proved a ſacrament before there can be any preſence granted.

Lond. Why, do you deny the Maſſe to be a Sacrament? I pray you what is a ſacrament? Is it not a ſign of a holy thing, as S. Auſtin doth define it?

Phil. Yes verily that it is.

This argument in the ſecond figure concluding affirmatively, doth not hold by Logick.

Lond. Then I make this argument unto you, a ſacrament is the ſign of a holy thing: but the maſſe is the ſign of a holy thing, ergo, it is a ſacrament.

Philpot. You muſt adde this to your Major, or firſt propoſition, as S. Auguſtine doth meane, that a ſacrament is the ſigne of a holy thing inſtituted of God, and commanded; for otherwiſe it can be no ſacrament, for all men cannot make a ſacrament.

London. I grant that; and ſuch a ſigne of a holy thing is the Maſſe of Chriſts inſtitution.

Phil. I deny that my Lord.

Lond. I will prove this by ſaint Auguſtine by and by. I will goe ſhew you the booke, and you ſhall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there? Call me M. Doctor Chedſey, M. Archdeacon, M. Coſins, and other chaplaines hither.

The biſhop being brought to a narrow ſtraite, is faine to call for more helpe.

Here my Lord, M. Doctor Chedſey is gone to Weſtminſter, and M. Archdeacon was here even now.

Lond. Maſter Coſins, I pray you examine him upon theſe articles, and write his anſwer he maketh to every one of them. I will goe examine his fellowes, and ſend you ſaint Auguſtine by and by. I finde this man more conformable then he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my Lord, you ſhall finde him at length a good catholike man. Mary here be a ſight of hereſies; I dare ſay you will hold none of them, nor ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Phil. Maſter Coſins, I have told my lord already, that I wil anſwer to none of theſe articles he hath objected againſt me; but if you will with learning anſwer to that which is in queſtion between my Lord and me, I will gladly heare and commune with you.

Coſins. No will you? Why what is that then that is in queſtion between my Lord and you?

Whether the Maſſe be a ſacrament.

Philpot. Whether your Maſſe be a Sacrament or no?

Q. MARIE. Anno 1555. December.

Coſins. What, the maſſe to be a ſacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Phil. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the ſooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why, I will prove it. It is the ſigne of a holy thing; Ergo, it is a ſacrament.

Phil. I deny your antecedent.

Coſins. What will you ſo? then there is no reaſoning with you.

M. Coſins giveth over in the plaine field.

Thus M. Coſins gave over in the plaine field for want of further proofe. And then the morrow Maſſe Chaplaine began to ſpeak for his occupation; and with that M. Harpſfield came out from my Lord with S. Auguſtines Epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpſ. My Lord hath ſent you here Saint Auguſtine to looke upon, and I pray you looke what he ſaith in a certain Epiſtle which he writeth, I will reade over the whole. Here you may heare the celebration of the Maſſe, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, on the ſabbath and holidaies.

Phil. I perceive the contents of this Epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither any thing that maketh for the proofe of your ſacrament of the Maſſe.

Harpſ. No, doth he not make mention of the maſſe, and the celebration thereof? what can be ſpoken more plaine?

The Epiſtle of S. Auguſtine alledged for confirmation of the Maſſe, anſwered how it is derived.

Phil. S. Auſtin meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true uſe of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and not of your private maſſe, which you of late yeers have erected in the ſtead thereof; for this word maſſe hath beene an old terme attributed to the Communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what Miſſa doth ſignifie. I think not many that ſay maſſe can well tell.

Coſins. No can? that is marvell.

Phil. Then tell me if you can. But M. Coſins & my morrow maſſe chaplain were both dumbe, looking upon M. Harpſfield for help, & at length he ſpake.

The word Miſſa.

Harpſ. You thinke it cometh of the Hebrew word Maſſah, as though none were ſeene in the Hebrew but you.

Phil. I have not gone ſo long to ſchoole, to derive the ſignification of Miſſa, which is a latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latine by Latine, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the Communion to be called Miſſa, à mittendo, of ſuch things as at the celebration of the Communion were ſent by ſuch as were of abilitie, to the reliefe of the poore, where the rich brought after their devotion & abilitie, and required the miniſter in the celebration of the communion to pray unto God for them, & to accept their common almes, which they at ſuch times did ſend for the help of their poore brethren and ſiſters; and for this cauſe was it called Miſſa, as learned men do witneſſe. At the which celebration of the maſſe all that were preſent did communicate under both kinds, according to Chriſts inſtitution, as they did in S. Auguſtines time. But unleſſe you can ſhew that your maſſe is uſed as then it was, ye ſhall never by the name of maſſe (which S. Auguſtine attributed to the true uſe of the communion) prove your private maſſe to be a ſacrament, unleſſe ye can prove the ſame now to be in your maſſes as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpſ. What, deny you the maſſe to be a Sacrament? for ſhame ſpeake it not.

Phil. I will not be aſhamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

The Maſſe is a ſacrifice, quoth Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Why, it is a ſacrifice, which is more then a ſacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as much as you liſt: but you ſhall never make it a ſacrifice, as you imagine thereof, but firſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

A Sacrament is no ſacrament without his uſe.

Harpſ. Why? doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? and doth not the Prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt did?

Phil. The pronunciation onely is not enough, unleſſe the words be therewithall applied to the uſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For though ye ſpeake the words of Baptiſme over water never ſo many times, yet there is no baptiſme unleſſe there be a Chriſtian perſon to be baptiſed.

Harpſ. Nay, that is not like; for, Hoc eſt corpus meum, is an indicative propoſition, ſhewing a working of God in the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Phil. It is not onely an indicative propoſition, but alſo imperative or commanding. For he that ſaid, Hoc eſt corpus meum, i. This is my body, ſaid alſo, Accipite, manducate, i. Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the inſtitution of Chriſts Sacrament be accompliſhed according to the Communion, the latter, This is my body, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morowmaſſe Chap. Why, then you will make the ſacrament to ſtand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a ſacrament.

Receiving maketh not the ſacrament, yet the ſacrament of the Lords Supper without it be received, is no ſacrament.

Phil. I do not ſay, that the receiving onely maketh it a Sacrament, but I ſay, that a common receiving muſt néeds be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a neceſſarie member, without the which it cannot be a Sacrament, becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principall part of the ſacrament, Take ye, eate ye, which you do not in your Maſſe according to Chriſts inſtitution; wherefore, it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Chriſts inſtitution.

Coſins. We doe forbid none to come to it, but as many as liſt may be partakers with us at the maſſe, if they require it.

What the prieſts ought to do at their maſſe.

Phil. Nay, that they ſhall not, though they require it, you will miniſter but one kinde unto them, which is not after Chriſts inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you go to Maſſe, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a ſacrifice of thankeſgiving, for Chriſts paſſion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Chriſts Commandement, ſaying unto all that be preſent; Take ye, eat ye; And likewiſe by preaching ſhew forth the Lords death, which you doe not.

Coſins. What, if all things be done even as you would have it, and whileſt the miniſter is about to miniſter the ſacrament, before any have received it, there riſe a ſudden hurly burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a ſacrament for all that none hath communicated beſide the prieſt?

Phil. In this caſe where all things are appointed to be done according to Gods word, if incident neceſſity had not let, I cannot ſay but it is a ſacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true ſacrament. After this, the Morrowmaſſe prieſt made this apiſh reaſon.

The Morrowmaſſe prieſt. If the Sacrament of the Maſſe be no Sacrament, unleſſe all do receive it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, Take ye, eate ye; then the ſacrament of baptiſme is no ſacrament where there is but one baptized, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, Go preach the Goſpel to all creatures, baptiſing all nations in the name of the Father, &c.

The ſacrament of Baptiſme may be miniſtred unto any ſingular perſon.

Phil. In that ſaying of Chriſt, baptiſing all Nations, is a commandement to the Apoſtles, to baptiſe all ſorts of men, and to exclude none that belœve, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many examples that baptiſme may be ſingularly miniſtred to one perſon, as we have example in Chriſt baptiſed of John, & in the Eunuch baptiſed of Philip, with many moe ſuch like: but ſo have you not of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe by the expreſſe words of S. Paul you are commanded to uſe it in a communion and participation of many together, the 11. to the Corinthians, Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectate; as oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lords ſupper) tarie one for another. And alſo the miniſter in the celebration of the ſacrament ſpeaketh unto all that be preſent in Chriſts behalfe, to communicate with him ſaying, Take ye, and eat ye. Wherefore, as many as be preſent & doe not communicate, break Gods commandement in not receiving the ſame, and the miniſter is no juſt miniſter that doth not diſtribute the ſacrament, as Chriſt did, to all that are preſent; and where Gods word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no ſacrament.

The ſacrament of the Lords Supper requireth a communion.

At the miniſtration of the ſupper all that be preſent ought to communicate.

Harp. What, would you have it no ſacrament without it be a communion?

Phil. I make it not ſo, but Gods expreſſe word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo all the ancient writers; as S. Chryſoſtome writing upon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, ſaith, That the oblation is in vain, whereas none doth communicate with the Prieſt. If by his judgement the action of the prieſt alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a Sacrament, which he calleth a vaine oblation, and a vain ſtanding at the Altar?

Chryſoſt. in Ep. ad Eph.

It is no Sacrament without it be a communion.

Coſins. You are ſuch another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the Maſſe to be a Sacrament; you are no man for me to reaſon withal. Come, let us goe, pointing to the Morrowmaſſe Chaplaine: we will leave you (M. Archdeacon) and him together; and ſo they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fel into earneſt perſwaſions with me, ſaying:

Coſins and the Chaplaine give over their part

Harpſ. M. Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time; we were ſchoolefellowes both in Wincheſter, and in Oxford many yéeres. Wherefore I muſt wiſh you as well to doe as my ſelfe, and I pray you ſo thinke of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am ſure you are) I ſhall deſire you not to wiſh me deceived with you. For afore God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintaine falſe Religion, and be not thoſe men you take your ſelves for: and if you do not repent, and leave off your perſecuting of Chriſts truth, you will go to the Devill for it. Therfore conſider it in time, I give you warning, for elſe in the day of judgement I ſhall be a witneſſe againſt you, that I told you this here talking together.

Talke between M. Philpot, and M. Harpſfield Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Fie, that is but your owne vaine ſingular opinion; I perceive you are now ſtill that man you were in Oxford.

Phil. I truſt you can report no notorious evill that ever you knew by me there.

Harpſ. I can ſay no evill of your converſation, but I knew you to be a ſtudious man. Mary, if you remember when we met in diſputation in parvis, you would not lightly give over, and for that cauſe I ſpeake what I have ſaid.

Phil. M. Harpſfield, you know in the ſchooles of Oxford, when we were young men, we did ſtrive much upon vain glorie, and upon contention, more then for the truth; but now our yéers and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which muſt be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earneſt in my owne cauſe, I ought now to be earneſt in my maſter Chriſts cauſe, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vaine glory and ſingularitie can pleaſe God, have it never ſo goodly a ſhew: wherefore I pray you judge not ſo of me now.

Harpſ. What, wil you think your ſelf better learned, then all the learned men in this Realme?

Phil. My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of Gods word.

M. Harpſfield ſtandeth upon number and multitude.

Harpſ. Well, I will talke with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will then we have done in times paſt.

Harpſ. No keeper, take him away with you.

What this pronoune Hoc doth demonſtrate.

Phil. I pray you Maſter Harpſfield tell me what this pronoune (Hoc) doth demonſtrate and ſhew, in this indicative propoſition, as you call it, Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body?

Harpſ. It doth demonſtrate the ſubſtance of bread, which by the words ſpoken by the prieſt, and by the omnipotencie of God, is turned into the ſubſtance of Chriſts very body.

That is againſt the opinion of Wincheſter: read before in the tractation of Wincheſters Sermon.

Phil. Is the ſubſtance of the bread, as you ſay, turned into Chriſts body?

Harpſ. Yea that it is.

Phil. Why then Chriſts body receiveth daily a great increaſe of many thouſand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before, and by this you would ſeeme to make, that there is an alteration in Chriſts glorified body, which is a wicked thing to thinke.

M. Harpſfield in a double tale.

Harpſ. Then he ſet about againe, and remembring better himſelfe, and ſeeing the inconvenience of his firſt aſſertion, of the tranſubſtantiation of bread into Chriſts body, he ſaid, that the ſubſtance of bread after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, was evacuated or vaniſhed away by the omnipotencie of God.

Contrariety in popiſh doctrine.

Phil. This is another ſong then you ſang firſt: and here you may ſee how contrarie you are to your ſelves. For indeed your ſchoolemen do hold, that the very ſubſtance of bread is really turned into the ſubſtance of Chriſts body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected againſt you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new ſhift, and ſay, the ſubſtance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath firſt beleeved and taught. O what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere truth?

Pretence of Gods omnipotence.

Harpſ. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath ſaid?

Phil. But his omnipotence will not do as you ſay, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of neceſſitie to tie him thereto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you ſee before your face doth putrifie after a certaine time. Is not Gods omnipotency as able to give his body with the ſacramentall bread, as to make ſo many turnings away of the bread, as you do, and that directly againſt the ſcripture, which calleth it bread many times after the conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many alterations of the Lords holy inſtitution as you do, and to take away the ſubſtantiall parts of the Sacrament, as, Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye all of this; doe ye this in remembrace of me: and to place in their ſteads, Heare ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worſhip ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the quicke and the dead? If this be not blaſphemy to God and his ſacraments, to adde and to pluck away in this ſort, and that contrary to the minde of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Chriſt and all his Apoſtles, tell me.

The ſubſtantial parts of the ſacrament taken away by the papiſts.

Harpſ. I know you have gathered the ſayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpoſe; I will talke no longer with you.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to doe more his will then we have done in times paſt.

Harpſ. O keeper, take him away with you.

M. Harpſfield giveth over for lack of good matter.

The tenth examination of Iohn Philpot, before Biſhop Boner his Regiſter, and others.

His tenth examination before the biſhop and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my Lords upper hall, and there he called me before him and his Regiſter, and before Doctour Chedſey, in the preſence of two homely gentlemen, and a prieſt which I knew not: at what time the Biſhop ſaid;

Q. MARIE. Anno 1555. December.

Lond. I doe here lay unto this man in your preſence (requiring you to be a witneſſe againſt him, as much as you know in any of them) theſe articles, this booke of the Catechiſme made in King Edwards daies, alſo theſe Concluſions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; alſo I lay unto him, that he hath deſpiſed the Cenſures of the Church, and hath ſtood accurſed more then this twelve moneth, and never required abſolution thereof. How ſay you, waſt thou not accurſed by my Lord Chancellor?

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any juſt cauſe, and without order of law, being never perſonally cited.

John Philpot accurſed by St. Gardiner without order of law.

Lond. Diddeſt thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the Maſſe, that thou was excommunicated, and therefore by the Law couldſt not heare maſſe? How long haſt thou been thus excommunicate?

Phil. More then a twelve moneth and a halfe.

Lond. Lo, you may here what he ſaith: write it.

Phil. But as you would have written that I have ſaid, I have beene thus long excommunicated, ſo alſo let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my abſolution, but he would not give it me; ſaying, That I was, excommunicatus ipſo jure, becauſe I was an heretike, as it pleaſed him to call me, therefore accurſed by your law, and ſo commanded me to priſon, where I remaine.

John Philpot required abſolution of Win. and was denied.

Gentleman. Why doe you not require abſolution at my Lords hands here now?

Phil. Becauſe he is not mine Ordinarie, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right.

Lon. What an obſtinate foole is this? I tell thee I will be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Biſh. Boner will needs be his Ordinarie. M. Philpot appealeth from the B. of London againe.

Phil. And becauſe of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, M. Regiſter, that my appeale may be entred in writing.

London. Have you heard ſuch a froward fellow as this? he ſeemed yeſterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my Dioceſſe.

Phil. I am of Wincheſter dioceſſe, and not of London dioceſſe.

Lond. I pray you may not a man be of two Dioceſſes at once?

Phil. No that he cannot.

Lond. Lo, will you ſee what an ignorant foole this is in the Law, in the which he would ſeeme to be ſeen? I tell thee a man may be of three Dioceſſes at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reaſon thereof thou ſhouldeſt be of my Dioceſſe; or elſe if thou wert not born, but hadſt a dignitie here, alſo thou art to be counted of my dioceſſe, or elſe by reaſon of thy habitation in my dioceſſe.

How one may be of three dioces at once.

Phil. In none of theſe reſpects I am of your Lordſhips dioceſſe. But for all that, this wil not follow, that I, dwelling at Wincheſter, am at that preſent of London dioceſſe.

Lon. What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Phil. But what ſhall I win if you do not?

Lon. I wil give thee my biſhoprick if I prove it not

Phil. Yea, but who ſhall deliver it me if I win?

Lon. Thou art an arrogant foole, enter their othes, and take theſe witneſſes depoſitions. I muſt be gone to the parliament houſe.

After this ſpake unto me a prieſt ſtanding by, aſking me whether I was kin to my L. Rich, [illegible]

Phil. I ſaid, he ſaid ſo himſelfe to me the other day, but how I know not.

Ched. I heard him ſay he was his nigh kinſman.

[illegible] kinſman.

Baalamite. Why, then you and I muſt be of kinne, for he is my nigh kinſman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary judgements?

Phil. It is no marvell, for Chriſt propheſied, That the father ſhall be divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father for my truths ſake.

Baala. You do hold (as I underſtand) againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, and againſt the holy Maſſe.

Phil. If you can prove it a ſacrament, I will not hold againſt you.

Scripture handſomely applied.

Baal. What, prove it a ſacrament, quoth he? doth not ſaint Paul ſay; Quæ oculus non vidit, & auris non audivit, ea præparavit Deus diligentibus ſe; That ſuch things as the eye hath not ſeen, neither eare heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?

Phil. That ſaying of S. Paul concerneth nothing your ſacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joyes that be prepared for all faithfull beleevers.

Baal. Why, then I perceive you underſtand not S. Paul. By God, you are deceived.

Phil. You ought not to ſwear kinſman, if you will that I ſhall ſo call you: and without diſworſhip of our kindred, I underſtand S. Paul as well as you, and know what I ſay, and with that ſhewed him a Greek teſtament with Eraſmus tranſlation, and with the old alſo, demanding him which text he was beſt acquainted withall.

Baal. I knew Greek too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Philpot. You know them then all alike; you underſtand the one as well as the other. With this my Baalamite kinſman departed in a fury.

The next daies talk with the Biſhops.

The next day after I was brought down again after dinner to the Chappell, and there my Baalamite kinſman (to verifie the Scriptures, that a mans own kinſfolks ſhall be his enemies) came in with the biſh. as a witneſſe againſt me: and there the Biſhop cauſed another that came to him about other matters, to ſweare alſo to be a witneſſe againſt me, which was a prieſt alſo, ſaying,

Witneſſe again ſworn againſt Jo. Philpot.

Lond. You ſhall ſweare to depoſe all the truth of certain articles you ſhall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy preſence.

Jo. Philpot appealeth again from the biſhop.

Phil. My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeale from all theſe and other your proceedings againſt me: and require you, M. Regiſter, that my appeale may be entred, and I will give you for your labour.

Reg. Your appeal ſhall be entred at leiſure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me.

Phil. I appeal to a higher judge, as to the Lieutenant of the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury; for I know not who is Biſhop thereof at this preſent. With that the B. went away, and my Baalamite kinſman looking bigge upon me, but ſaid never a word.

Thus have I in haſte ſcribled out all mine examinations hitherto; that the ſame which hath been done unto me in darke, might come to light, and that the Papiſts unjuſt proceedings, and nakednes in their falſe religion, might be known to their confuſion. Jeſus is Emanuel, that is, God with us, Amen. 1555.

The eleventh examination of Iohn Philpot, had on Saint Andrews day; before the Biſhop of Dureſme, the B. of Chicheſter, the B. of Bath, the B. of London, the prolocutor, maſter Chriſtopherſon, and Doctor Chedſey, maſter Morgan of Oxford, M. Huſſey of the Arches, doctor Weſton, Doctor Harpſfield Archdeacon, M. Coſins, and M. Iohnſon Regiſter to the Biſhop of London, in his Palace.

Yet another examination of Jo. Philpot before biſhops and doctors.

I Was coming, being ſent for with my keeper, and the Biſhop of London met me in his hall doore, and full mannerly he played the gentleman Uſher to bring me before the Lords, ſaying;

Lond. My Lords, I ſhall deſire you to take ſome pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he ſhould do well; but he will wilfully caſt away himſelf.

Dureſ. Come hither ſir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is Philpot.

Dureſ. I have heard of that name to be a worſhipfull ſtock, and ſince you be a gentleman, do as you may live worſhipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cauſe of your trouble now?

Phil. I told him the cauſe, as in my former examinations is expreſſed.

Dureſ. Well, all cauſes ſet apart, will you now be a conformable man to the Catholique faith, and leave all new fangled opinions and hereſies? I wis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of theſe opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the Catholike church thorowout the whole world, as the whole Realme now doth.

Phil. My Lord, I am in the Catholique faith, and deſire to live and die in the ſame: but it is not unknown to your Lordſhip, that I with others theſe twenty yeers have been taught another manner of faith then you now go about to compell us unto; wherefore it is requiſite that we have a time to weigh the ſame, and to hear how it agreeth with Gods word. For faith is at a ſudden neither won, neither removed, but as S. Paul ſaith, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word; Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum.

Setling of a mans conſcience in religion requireth good adviſement.

Chich. And if you will give me leave, my Lord, I wil ſhew him how he taketh the ſaying of S. Paul amiſſe, as many other now adayes alledging the ſame do, that they ought not to be compelled to beleeve, whereas ſaint Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithfull; and ſo S. Auſtine, writing againſt the Donatiſts, ſaith, that the faithfull may be compelled to beleeve.

Papiſts will have faith to be compelled.

Phil. S. Bernard (if it pleaſe your Lordſhip) doth take that ſenſe of S. Paul as I do, ſaying, that Fides eſt ſuadenda, & non imponenda; Faith muſt be perſwaded to a man, and not injoyned. And ſaint Auguſtine ſpeaketh of ſuch as were firſt throughly perſwaded by manifeſt Scriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubborn wilfulneſſe.

Bernard in cant. Serm. 66. Faith ought not to be compelled.

Chich. So Bernard meaneth of Infidels alſo.

Phil. No, my Lord, that he doth not, for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he writeth of ſuch as were deceived by errors.

Chich. My Lord of Durham, I have been ſo bold to interrupt your Lordſhip of your tale, I pray you now proceed on.

Dur. M. Philpot, will you be of the ſame catholike faith and church with us you were baptized in, and your godfathers promiſed for you, and hold as we do, and then may you be rid out of trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you ſhould do well.

Phil. I am of the ſame Catholique faith and Catholique Church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die.

Jo. Philpot is of the ſame faith and church ſtill as he was baptized.

Dur. That is well ſaid; if you hold there you cannot do but well.

Chich. Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwiſe then you do; Are you of the ſame faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?

No man bound to be of the faith of his godfathers in every reſpect.

Phil. I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is, the faith of Chriſt: for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Chriſt.

Chi. S. Auſtin ſaith, that infants are baptized in fide ſuſceptorum, in the faith of their godfathers.

The place of S. Auguſtine in fide ſuſceptorum, expounded.

Phi. S. Auguſtine in ſo ſaying meaneth of the faith of Chriſt, which the godfathers do or ought to beleeve, and not otherwiſe.

Dureſ. How ſay you, will you beléeve as we do, and all the learned of the Realme or no, and be of one church with us?

Phil. My Lords, It is not unknown to you, that there hath béen alwayes two churches.

Chicheſter. Nay, that is not ſo: there is but one catholike Church.

The true church and the falſe church ever joyned together. Aug. de civit. Dei li. 15. c. 15.

The true and falſe church declared firſt in Abel and Cain.

Phil. I ſhall deſire your Lordſhips to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true Church; but alwayes from the beginning there hath béen joyned to the ſame true Church a falſe church, adverſarie to the true: and that was declared at the firſt in Abel and Cain, who perſecuted and ſlew his brother, in whom (as S. Auguſtine witneſſeth) is repreſented the falſe and true Church. And after that, as ſoon as God had choſen his peculiar people, and ſhewed unto them his ſanctuarie, holy ſtatutes, and will, anone after aroſe the falſe church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Iſrael divided themſelves from the true church of Juda and Benjamin, and made to themſelves at Bethel and ſet up golden calves, and yet pretended therewith to ſerve God, and ſo abuſed his word. Notwithſtanding, God was diſpleaſed with them, and ceaſed not his wrath, untill he had utterly deſtroyed them.

The Biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day driven to a ſtraight.

Chic. I wil grant you before the coming of Chriſt, there were two churches in the old Law; but in the new Law ſince Chriſts coming, you cannot ſhew it to be ſo by the Scripture.

Phil. Yes my Lord that I can, if you will give me leave. After Chriſt had choſen his twelve apoſtles was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the falſe church?

Chich. Yea, but I meane after the Goſpel was written, where can you finde me two churches after Chriſt had aſcended, and ſent the holy Ghoſt?

Phil. The Goſpel was within eight yéers after the Aſcenſion written by ſaint Matthew, and the writing thereof is not materiall to the declaration of theſe two churches to have béen alwaies from time to time, as by example it may be ſhewed: and yet as evil as my memory is, I remember in the new Teſtament is mention made of two Churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalyps, and alſo S. Paul to the Theſſalonians maketh mention that Antichriſt with his falſe Generation ſhall ſit in the Temple of God. To the which Chicheſter replyed not.

Dureſ. The Church in the Scripture is likened to a great fiſhers net, which containeth in it both góod fiſhes and bad fiſhes. I truſt you will be of the better ſort, and leane to the truth.

Phil. My Lord it is my whole deſire now to follow that which is góod, whatſoever I have done in times paſt, and to cleave to Gods truth.

Dureſme. Do you ſo, and then ſhall you do well: it is almoſt night, my Lord of London, I muſt néeds be gone.

The Biſhops begin to be weary of their part.

Lond. Nay, my Lord of Dureſme, I muſt deſire your Lordſhip, and my Lord of Chicheſter to tarry a little while. And before he had ſo ſaid, the Biſhop of Bathe went his way without ſaying any word. What my Lord of Bathe will you be gone? I pray you tarrie. My Lords, I have earneſt matters to charge this man withall, whereof I would your Lordſhips to be made privie, and I have them here written in a Libell, I pray you ſit down again, or elſe I will. Firſt I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous ſaying, Quod ſpiritus eſt Vicarius Chriſti in terra. i. The holy Ghoſt is Chriſts Vicar in earth. Wilt thou abide by this ſaying of thine; that the ſpirit is Chriſts Vicar on earth?

Biſhop Boner would fain pick out matter if he could tell how.

Philpot. My Lord, it is not my ſaying, it is a better learned mans then mine: For I uſe not to write mine own ſayings, but the notable ſayings of other ancient writers, as all the others be where ye finde the ſame written. And as I remember, it is even the ſaying of S. Bernard, and a ſaying that I néed not to be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my Lord of Dureſme, and my Lord of Chichiſter by their learning can diſcern, and will not reckon it evil ſaid.

Lond. No will? why, take away the firſt ſyllable, and it ſoundeth arius.

Phil. That is far fetched indéed; if your Lordſhip will ſcan mens ſayings in ſuch wiſe, you may finde out what you liſt.

Another matter picked againſt Joh. Philpot.

London. But to helpe this, I finde moreover written with his owne hand in another book; In me Iohanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, ſuperabundavit & gratia; that is, In me John Philpot where ſinne did abound, Grace hath ſuperabounded. I pray you what ſuperaboundant grace have you more then other men? So ſaid Arius, That he had the aboundance of Grace above all other.

Rom. 5. 1. Tim. 1.

Philpot. My Lord you néed not to be offended with that ſaying more then the other, for it is the ſaying of S. Paul himſelf, and I did apply it to my ſelf for my comfort, knowing that though my ſins be huge and great in the ſight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defie them, as it is well known I have written againſt them.

Lond. Alſo I lay to thy charge that thou killedſt thy father, and was accurſed of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witneſſe hereof.

John Philpot falſly charged with untruth, when no truth can be found againſt him.

Philpot. O Lord, what blaſphemie is this? Hath your Lordſhip nothing of truth to charge me withall, but (as I may ſpeak it with your honour) ſuch forged blaſphemous lies? If any of theſe can be proved, I will promiſe here to recant at Pauls Croſſe, what you will have me: I am ſo ſure they are as great blaſphemies as may be objected againſt any man. Ya, my Lords, I pray you conſider how my Lord of London hath hitherto procéeded againſt me: For indéed he hath none other but ſuch pretenſed ſlanderous lies.

Chich. They be Parerga; that is, matters beſide the purpoſe.

Dureſ. My Lord, I muſt néeds bid you farewell.

M. Philpot charged with a letter written to M. Green.

Lond. Nay my Lord, here is a Letter which I ſhall deſire your Lordſhip to hear ere you go. This man (being in my kéeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of priſon, and to pervert a young gentleman called maſter Gréene in my houſe (call him hither) and hath made a falſe report of his examination, as you ſhall hear, not being content to be evill himſelf, but to make others as bad as himſelf. He all to tare the letter when he ſaw my man went about to ſearch him, but yet I have péeced it againe together, and cauſed a copy to be written thereof, and he read the torn Letter, bidding maſter Chriſtofer ſon and Morgan to mark the Copy thereof.

This letter torn in the blinde tower, read before.

The contents of M. Philpots letter to M. Green.

The contents of the letter was the examination of maſter Gréene before the B. of London in the preſence of M. Fecknam Dean of Pauls, and of divers others, whoſe ready anſwers in the Scriptures and in the Doctors were wondred at of the Deane himſelf, and of many others, as Fecknam did report: and that he was committed to Doctor Chedſey, and to have his meat from the Biſhops own Table. How ſay you my Lords, was this well done of him, being my priſoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a ſhamefull lie, that he was in D. Chedſeys kéeping. How ſay you M. D. Chedſey, is it not a ſhamefull lie?

Ch. Yes my Lord, he was never in my kéeping.

Lond. Art not thou aſhamed to write ſuch ſhamefull letters?

Come hither M. Gréen, did not I ſhew you this letter?

M. Philpot called.

Green. Yea forſooth my Lord, you ſhewed it me.

London.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1555.

Lond. How think you my Lords, is not this an honeſt man to belie me?

Phil. Your Lordſhip doth miſtake all things. This letter (as your lordſhip may perceive, and all other that have heard the ſame) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my requeſt how maſter Green ſped at the Biſhop of Londons hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

December. M. Philpot again charged with an untruth

London. Then tell me who wrote it if you dare.

Phil. No, my Lord, it is not my duty to accuſe my friend: and ſpecially ſeeing you will take all things at the worſt: Neither ſhall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your Lordſhip may ſee in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occaſion of my appeal which I have made to the whole Parliament houſe about ſuch matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Lond. I would ſee any ſo hardie to put up thine appeal.

Phil. My Lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, ſpeed as it may.

Lond. My Lords, I have uſed him with much gentleneſſe ſince he came to me. How ſaiſt thou, have I not?

Note what great gentlenes this B. ſhewed to Philpot, and compare the ſame with the handling now of him in his impriſonment.

Phil. If to lie in the vileſt priſon in this town (being a Gentleman, and an Archdeacon) and in a colehouſe, by the ſpace of five or ſix weeks already, without fire or candle, be to be counted gentleneſſe at your hands, I muſt needs ſay I have found gentleneſſe. But there were never men ſo cruelly handled as we are at theſe dayes?

Lond. Lo, what a varlet is this? Beſides this (my lords) even yeſterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpoſe, I.

Phil. Your Lordſhip needeth not to miſtruſt the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withall, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the Kings Bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn.

Black powder ſent to John Philpot to make inke.

Lond. And why ſhouldeſt thou go about any ſuch thing unknowing unto me being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this houſe I tell thee.

Phil. My lord, becauſe you have cauſed my pennar and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet fain that my friends might underſtand what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid ſhould come to your ſight.

Lond. More then this my lords, he cauſed a pig to be roſted, and made a knife be put between the ſkin and the fleſh, for what purpoſe judge you. How ſaiſt thou, didſt thou not ſo?

Phil. I cannot deny but there was half a pig ſent me, and under the ſame a knife lying in the ſauce, but for no ill purpoſe that I know; your Lordſhip may judge what you will. It was not to kill my ſelf, nor any other, as you would have men to beleeve; for I was never yet without a knife ſince I came to priſon. Therefore all theſe be but falſe ſurmiſes, and not worth rehearſall.

Falſe ſurmiſes laid againſt Jo. Philpot.

Lond. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefeſt of all) his book of the report of the diſputation had in the Convocation houſe, which is the ranckeſt hereſie that may be, againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you M. Doctor Weſton? did he maintain the ſame there ſtubbornly, or no?

West. Yea my lord, that he did, and would never be anſwered. And it is pitie that the ſame worſhipfull congregation ſhould be ſlandered with ſuch untrue reports.

Phil. You anſwered me indeed M. Doctor (being then prolocutor) goodly, with hold thy peace, and have him to priſon, and put him out of the houſe. I have read the book, and I finde the report of every mans argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did uſe me, being an Archdeacon, and not of the worſt of the houſe.

D. Weſtons chief arguments in the Convocation houſe.

Weſt. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. Indeed M. Doctor, ye have amongſt you unarchdeaconed me, as now (I thank God of it) and that without all order of law.

Lond. I pray you my lords hearken what he writeth of himſelf, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He ſaith, that doctor Weſton called him frantike and mad man, and ſaid, he ſhould go to Bedlem.

Phil. Indeed my Lord ſo it pleaſed D. Weſton to taunt at me and ſay his ſhamefull pleaſure, but yet I was no whit the more for all his ſayings, then Chriſt was when the Scribes and the Phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a devil, moſt blaſphemouſly.

Dureſ. My lord of London I can tarry no longer, I muſt needs bid you farewel. M. Philpot, me thinketh you have ſaid well that you will abide in the Catholique faith, and in the Catholique Church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo departed with M. Weſton and M. Huſſey.

B. Tonſtall and M. Weſton give over the matter.

Phil. I have purpoſed ſo to do, howſoever I ſpeed by Gods grace.

Lond. I pray you my lord of Chicheſter, and M. Prolocutor, and M. Doctor Morgan, to commune with him whiles I bring my L. of Dureſm going.

Chriſto. M. Philpot I was acquainted with you at Rome if you be remembred, but you have forgotten me, and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters, and I finde you now the ſame man that you were then, I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For Gods ſake be conformable to men that be better learned then you, and ſtand not in your own conceit.

Phil. Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was ſo, though it were but verie ſtrange on your part, to me-ward, being driven to neceſſitie.

Chriſto. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Phil. Nothing ſo dangerous as it is now: but let that paſſe. Whereas you ſay, you finde me to be the ſame man I was then, I praiſe God for that you ſee me not like a reed wavering with everie winde. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men then my ſelf: indeed I do acknowledge that you, with a great many other, are far better learned then I, whoſe books in reſpect of learning I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wiſedome of God conſiſteth not in learning onely, and therefore S. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wiſedome of man. If you can ſhew by learning out of Gods book, that I ought to be of another faith then I am, I will hear you & any other man whatſoever he be.

Wiſedome in Gods matters conſiſteth not in mans learning.

Chriſto. I marvell why you ſhould diſſent from the Catholique Church, ſince it hath thus long univerſally been received, except within this five or ſix yeers here in England.

Philpot. I do not diſſent from the true Catholique Church, I do only diſſent from the biſhop of Rome, which if you can prove to be the catholique church of Chriſt, I will be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſto. Will you beleeve S. Cyprian, if I can ſhew out of him, Quod Eccleſia Romana eſt talis ad quam perfidia accedere non poteſt, That the Church of Rome is ſuch a one, unto the which miſbeleefe cannot approach?

Phil. I am ſure you cannot ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of S. Cyprian.

Chriſto. What will you lay thereon?

Phil. I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promiſe to recant, if I ſhew his ſaying to be true.

Phil. My faith ſhall not hang upon any Doctors ſaying, further then he ſhall be able to prove the ſame by Gods word.

Chriſto.

December.
Cyprian, ad Corne. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.

Chriſto. I will go fet the book and ſhew it him by and by, and therewithall he went into the Biſhops ſtudie, and fet Cyprian, and appointed out theſe words in one of his Epiſtles, Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt accedere perfidia: But unto the Romanes, whoſe faith by the teſtimonie of the Apoſtle is praiſed, miſbeléef can have no acceſſe.

Phil. Theſe words of Cyprian do nothing prove your pretenſed aſſertion, which is, that to the church of Rome there could come no miſbeléef.

Chriſt. Good Lord, no doth? What can be ſaid more plainly?

Phil. He ſpeaketh not of the church of Rome abſolutely.

Chriſto. By God, a childe that can but his Grammar will not denie that you do, the words be ſo plain.

Phil. Swear not M. Doctor, but weigh Cyprians words with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I have ſaid.

Chriſto. I am no Doctor, but I perceive it is but labour loſt to reaſon with you.

D. Day, B. of Chicheſter ſhrinketh alſo away.

Boner. And with that the Biſhop of London came in blowing again, and ſaid; What, is my Lord of Chicheſter gone away alſo? (for he even a little before departed alſo without any other word ſaying, but he muſt néeds be gone.) What is the matter you now ſtand upon?

Morg. M. Chriſtoferſon hath ſhewed M. Philpot a notable place of the authority of the Church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

Boner. Where is the place? let me ſée. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither ſir, what ſay you to this? Nay tary a little, I will help this place with S. Pauls own teſtimonie, the firſt to the Romans, where he ſaith, that their faith is preached throughout the world; how can you be able to anſwer to this?

The place of Cyprian expounded.
Ad Romanos, quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, perfidia accedere non poteſt.

Phil. Yes my Lord, it is ſoone anſwered, if you will conſider all the words of Cyprian: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his time were faithful at Rome, that followed the doctrine of S. Paul as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an Epiſtle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With ſuch as are praiſed of S. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, miſbeléefe can have no place. And if you can ſhew, that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the Apoſtle praiſed and allowed in the Romanes in his time, then will I ſay that S. Cyprian then ſaid, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſto. You underſtand Cyprian well indéed; I think you never read him in your life.

Phil. Yes M. Doc. that I have, I can ſhew you a book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read ſo much as you, yet I have read ſomewhat. It is a ſhame for you to wreſt and wreath the Doctors as you do, to maintain a falſe religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright; and indéed your falſe packing of doctors together hath given me and others occaſion to look upon them, whereby we finde you ſhamefull liers, and miſreporters of the ancient doctors.

Papiſts wreſters and miſreporters of the Doctors.

Morgan. What, will you be in hand to allow Doctors now? they of your ſect do not ſo. I marvell therefore you will allow them.

Phil. I do allow them in as much as they do agrée with the ſcriptures, & ſo do all they which be of the truth, howſoever you term us, and I praiſe God for that good underſtanding I have received by them.

Chriſto. What, you underſtand not the doctors, you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Phil. I thank God I underſtand them better then you: for you have Excæcationem cordis, the blindneſſe of heart; ſo that you underſtand not truly what you read, no more then the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian doth wel declare. And afore God you are but deceivers of the people, for al your brag you make of learning; neither have ye ſcripture or ancient doctor on your ſide, being truly taken.

Doctors make againſt the Papiſts if they be rightly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the doctors be on our ſide, and againſt you altogether.

Phil. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to anſwer you. But if you wil come to caſt accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little ſight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my ſide then you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other ſide yéeld. Are ye ſo content herewith?

Chriſto. It it but folly to reaſon with you, you will beléeve no man but your ſelf.

Phil. I will beléeve you or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be beléeved. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. Except the articles of the Trinitie, you are corrupt in all other things, and ſound in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you, do we not beléeve well on the Sacrament?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all other) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Phil. I have told you before, M. doctor, in the Convocation houſe.

Morgan here beginneth to play the vice.

Morgan. Yea marie: indéed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knées, and fell to wéeping, ha, ha, ha.

Phil. I did wéep indéed, and ſo did Chriſt upon Jeruſalem, and am not to be blamed therefore, if you conſider the cauſe of my wéeping.

Morg. What, make you your ſelf Chriſt? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. No ſir, I make not my ſelf Chriſt: but I am not aſhamed to do as my maſter and ſaviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelitie and idolatrie, which I there foreſaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Chriſto. Wherein do we abuſe the Sacrament? tell us.

The ſacrament abuſed by the Papiſts, how and wherein.

Phil. As I may touch but one of the leaſt abuſes, you miniſter it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but kéep the one half from the people, contrary to Chriſts inſtitution.

Chriſto. Why, is not there as much contained in one kinde, as in both? And what néed is it then to miniſter in both kinds?

Sacrament in one kinde.

Phil. I beléeve not ſo: for if it had, Chriſt would have given but one kinde onely; for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous, and therefore you cannot ſay that the whole effect of the Sacrament is as well in one kinde, as in both, ſince the Scripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Chriſto. What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may miniſter it in one kinde? The Apoſtles did ſo, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written that the Apoſtles continued In orationibus & fractione panis, In prayers and in breaking of bread, which is meant of the Sacrament.

Ph. Why, M. Doc. do you not know that S. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole uſe of the ſacramēt, according to Chriſts inſtitution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, "Synecdoche, where part is mentioned, and the whole underſtood to be done, as Chriſt commanded it?

" Synecdoche is a figure when by one thing or by part, the whole is underſtood.

Chriſto. Nay, that is not ſo. For I can ſhew you out of Euſeb. in Eccl. hiſt. that there was a man of God (whom he named) that ſent the ſacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was ſick.

Euſeb. hath theſe words.

Philpot.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1555. December.

Parum Euchariſtiæ puero dedit. i. He gave a little of the ſacrament to the boy: which words may very wel comprehend both parts: and it ſeemeth by the words that follow, that part of it was liquor, for it is written in the ſame place, Juſſit ut id infundere, & in os ſenis inſtillaret. i. He commanded that he ſhould poure it & drop it into the mans mouth, and ſo he did. Euſeb. in Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 6. c. 44.

Phil. I have read indeed that they did uſe to give that was left of the communion bread, to children, to mariners, and to women, and ſo peradventure the boie might carrie a piece of that was left to the ſick man.

Christo. Nay, as a Sacrament it was purpoſely ſent unto him.

Phil. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay, that he had not the cup miniſtred unto him alſo by ſome other ſent unto him: but though one man did uſe it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? S. Cyprian noteth many abuſes of the ſacrament in his time, which roſe upon ſingular mens examples, as uſing of water in ſtead of wine: therefore he ſaith, Non reſpiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, ſed quid Chriſtus qui omnium primus ante nos fecerit & mandavit, that is, we muſt not look what any man hath done before us, but what Chriſt firſt of all men did and commanded.

Christo. Hath not the Church taught us ſo to uſe the Sacrament? and how do we know that Chriſt is Homouſios, that is, of one ſubſtance with the Father, but by the determination of the Church? How can you prove that otherwiſe by expreſſe words of Scripture, and where finde you Homouſios in all the Scripture?

Phil. Yes that I do, in the firſt of the Hebrews, where it is written that Chriſt is the expreſſe image of Gods own ſubſtance, ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ.

Christo. Nay, that is not ſo. That is, There is no more but expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ, The expreſſe image of Gods ſubſtance, and image is accident.

Phil. It is in the text, Of his ſubſtance, Subſtantiæ illius, or of his own ſubſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf in S. John manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying, I and the Father be one thing, Ego & pater unum ſumus. And whereas you ſay, Imago here is accidence, the ancient Fathers uſe this for a ſtrong argument, to prove Chriſt to be God, becauſe he is the very image of God.

Christo. Yea do? is this a good argument, becauſe we are the image of God, ergo, we are God.

The image of God, is not like in Chriſt, and in us.

Phil. We are not called the expreſſe image of God, as it is written of Chriſt, and we are but the image of God by participation; and as it is written in Geneſis, we are made to the likenes and ſimilitude of God. But you ought to know (M. Chriſtoferſon) that there is no accident in God, and therefore Chriſt cannot be the image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

Christo. Tuſh.

Preſence of the ſacrament.

Morgan. How ſay you to the preſence of the ſacrament? will you ſtand to the judgement here of your book, or no? or will you recant?

Ph. I know you go but about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be of my ſetting forth lay it to my charge when I come to judgement.

Morgan. Speak, be you of the ſame minde as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unleſſe you become another manner of man then you were.

The ſacrament of the Maſſe as it is uſed, is no ſacrament.

Phil. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will ſay to you by the way, that if you can prove the Sacrament of the maſſe (as you now uſe it) to be a ſacrament, I will then grant you a preſence, but firſt you muſt prove the ſame a ſacrament, and afterward intreat of the preſence.

Morg. Ho, do you doubt that it is a ſacrament?

Philpot. I am paſt doubting, for I beleeve you can never be able to prove it a ſacrament.

Christo. Yea do? good Lord, doth not S. Auguſtine call it the ſacrament of the altar? How ſay you to that?

Ph. That maketh nothing for the probation of your Sacrament. For ſo he with other ancient writers do call the holy Communion or the ſupper of the Lord, in reſpect that it is the ſacrament of the Sacrifice which Chriſt offered upon the altar of the Croſſe, the which Sacrifice all the altars and Sacrifices done upon the altars in the old Law did prefigure and ſhadow, the which pertaineth nothing to your ſacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and ſtone.

Christo. No doth? I pray you what ſignifieth altar?

Altar what it ſignifieth.

Phil. Not as you falſely take it, materially, but for the ſacrifice of the altar of the croſſe.

Christo. Where finde you it ever ſo taken?

Phil. Yes that I do in ſaint Paul to the Hebrews the thirteenth, where he ſaith; Habemus altare de quo non eſt fas edere his qui tabernaculo deſerviunt, We have an altar, of the which it is not lawfull for them to eat that ſerve the tabernacle. Is not altar in this place taken for the ſacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and ſtone.

Chriſtopherſon for lack of better proof falleth to exclaiming.

Christo. Well, God bleſſe me out of your companie. You are ſuch an obſtinate heretique, as I have not heard the like.

Phil. I pray God keep me from ſuch blinde Doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they ſay, then they fall to blaſpheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof. In the meane while the Biſhop of London was talking with ſome other by, and at length came in to ſupply his part, and ſaid.

Boner. I pray you Maſters, hearken what I ſhall ſay to this man: come hither maſter Green. And now ſir (pointing to me) you cannot think it ſufficient to be naught your ſelf, but muſt go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like.

Wrangling matter againſt M. Philpot.

Phil. My Lord, he cannot ſay, that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any ſuch matter, as he here can teſtifie.

Green. No you never wrote unto me.

Boner. Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him.

Phil. I have ſhewed your Lordſhip my minde concerning that letter alreadie: it was not written to maſter Green, neither was he privy of the writing thereof.

Lond. How ſay you then, If a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a caſe?

Phil. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Lond. If M. Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and will do to the uttermoſt of my power therein. The Biſhop remembring himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an errour, ceaſed to go any further in his demand, and called maſter Green aſide, and before his Regiſter read him a letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithall he gave M. Green the book of my diſputation in the Convocation houſe, and afterward went aſide, communing with maſter Chriſtoferſon, leaving M. Morgan, M. Harpsfield, and M. Coſins, to reaſon with me in the hearing of maſter Green.

Morgan. M. Philpot, I would aſk you how old your religion is?

Jo. Philpots religion elder then popery by a 1000. yeers. This religion was not ſeen openly a 100. yeers ago: Ergo, this religion was not. The antecedent is true, and the conſequence falſe.

Phil. It is older then yours by a thouſand yeers and moe.

Morgan. I pray you where was it fiftie yeers ago?

Phil. It was in Germany apparant by the teſtimony of Huſſe, Hierome of Prage and Wickliffe, whom your generation an hundred yeers ago and moe, did burn for preaching the truth unto you: and before their time and ſince hath been, although under perſecution it hath been put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous ſtrange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to finde it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvell unto you to ſee Gods truth thorow violence oppreſſed; for ſo it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by ſtories, and as Chriſts true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocriſie hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Apocalyps you may ſee it was prophecied, that the true Church ſhould be driven into corners, and into wilderneſſe, and ſuffer great perſecutions.

Morg. A, are you ſeen in the Apocalyps? there are many ſtrange things.

Scoffing Morgan.

Phil. If I tell you the truth which you are not able to refell, beleeve it, and dallie not out ſo earneſt matters: Me think you are liker a ſcoffer in a play, then a reaſonable Doctor to inſtruct a man, you are bare arſed, and dance naked in a net, and you ſee not your own nakedneſſe.

Morg. What, I pray you, be not ſo quick with me, let us talk a little more coldly together.

Phil. I will talk with you as mildely as you can deſire, if you will ſpeak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with tants to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morg. Why will not you ſubmit your judgement to the learned men of this realm?

Phil. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good conſcience ſettle my faith more ſurely then on that which I am now grounded upon by Gods manifeſt word.

Morgan. No do? that is marvell that ſo many learned men ſhould be deceived.

1. Cor. 2.

Phil. It is no marvell by ſaint Paul, for he ſaith, That not many wiſe, neither many learned after the world be called to the knowledge of the Goſpel.

Morg. Have you then alone the ſpirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I ſay not that I alone have the ſpirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Chriſt, have the ſpirit of God as well as I.

Morg. How know you that you have the ſpirit of God?

Phil. By the faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan falleth to ſcoffing and railing at the good martyrs of God.

Morg. A, by faith do you ſo? I weene it be the ſpirit of the Butterie, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I weene went drunken unto it.

Phil. It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the ſpirit of the butterie, then with the ſpirit of God; wherefore I muſt now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whoſe truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain fire and brimſtone upon ſuch ſcorners of his word and blaſphemers of his people, as thou art.

Morg. What, you rage now.

Phil. Thy fooliſh blaſphemies have compelled the ſpirit of God, which is in me, to ſpeak that which I have ſaid to thee, thou enemy of all righteouſnes.

Morg. Why do you judge me ſo?

Phil. By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blinde and blaſphemous Doctor: for as it is written, By thy words thou ſhalt be juſtified, and by thy words thou ſhalt be condemned. I have ſpoken on Gods behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morg. Why then I tell thee Philpot, thou art an heretique, and ſhalt be burned for thine hereſie, and afterwards go to hell fire.

John Philpot with great zeal denounceth hell fire to Morgan unleſſe he repent

Philpot. I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I paſſe not this for thy fire and fagots, neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand in fear of the ſame: my faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them. But the hell fire which thou threateneſt me is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unleſſe thou ſpeedily repent) and for ſuch hypocrites as thou art.

Morg. What, thou ſpeakeſt upon wine, thou haſt tipled well to day by likelihood.

Phil. So ſaid the curſed generation, of the apoſtles being repleniſhed with the holy Ghoſt, and ſpeaking the wondrous works of God, they ſaid they were drunk, when they had nothing elſe to ſay, as thou doeſt now.

Morg. Why, I am able to anſwer thee, ywis, I trow.

Philpot. So it ſeemeth, with Blaſphemies and lies.

Morgan. Nay, even with learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Morgan fumbling and ſtammering in the Convocation houſe.

Phil. That appeared well at my diſputation in the Convocation houſe, where thou tookeſt upon thee to anſwer thoſe few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet waſt not able to anſwer one, but in thine anſwers didſt fumble and ſtammer, that the whole houſe was aſhamed of thee: and the finall concluſion of all thine anſwers was, that thou couldſt anſwer me if I were in the ſchooles at Oxford.

Morg. What, did I ſo? thou belieſt me.

Phil. I do not belie thee, the book of the report of the diſputation beareth record thereto, and all that were preſent then can tel, if they liſt, thou ſaidſt ſo. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that ſpirit of truth which ſpeaketh in me for the defence of Chriſts true religion. I am able by the might therof to drive thee round about this gallery before me: and if it would pleaſe the Queens majeſty and her councell to hear thee and me, I would make thee for ſhame ſhrink behinde the doore.

Morg. Yea, would you ſo?

Morgan taken up for halting.

Phil. Thou haſt the ſpirit of illuſion and ſophiſtry, which is not able to countervail the ſpirit of truth. Thou art but an aſſe in the true underſtanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee aſſe, not in reſpect of malice, but in that thou kickeſt againſt the truth, and art void of all godly underſtanding, not able to anſwer to that thou braggeſt in.

Mor. Why, have I not anſwered thee in all things thou haſt ſaid unto me? I take them to record.

Phil Aſk of my fellow whether I be a theef.

Coſins. Heark, he maketh us all theeves.

Phil. You know that phraſe of the proverbe, that like will hold with like. And I am ſure you will not judge with me, againſt him, ſpeak I never ſo true; and in this ſenſe I ſpeak it. The ſtrongeſt anſwer that he hath made againſt me is, that you will burn me.

Morg. Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporall men that burn you, and not we.

Phil. Thus you would (as Pilate did) waſh your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, Invocate ſeculare brachium; call upon the ſecular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgements. And have you not a title in your law, De hæreticis comburendis, to burn heretiques?

Harpſ. I have heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I never heard ſo ſtout an heretique as you are, M. Philpot.

Coſins. Neither I in all my life.

Phil. You are not able to prove me an heretique, by one jot of Gods word.

M. Harpsfield and Coſins do part.

Harpsfield. You have the ſpirit of arrogancie, I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and maſter Coſins alſo. And with that the Biſhop and Chriſtoferſon came in again, and ſaid:

Boner. Maſter doctor, how doth this man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lord, I do aſk him where his Church was fifty yeers ago.

Boner. Are you not half agreed? as one man ſaid once to two parties, in whom the one was equally diſagreeing from the other.

Chriſtof. My Lord, it is but follie to reaſon with

him

Q. Marie.

Anno. 1555. December.

him any further, your Lordſhip ſhall but loſe time, for he is incurable.

Boner. Well then, let his Keeper have him away. And with that doctor Chedſey led me away by the which we could not paſſe, and therefore came back againe through the Biſhops chamber, where all theſe Doctors were cluſtered together; and as I was paſſing by, the Biſhop took me by the gowne and ſaid, Wote you what Maſter Chriſtoferſon telleth me? I pray you Maſter Chriſtoferſon rehearſe the ſentence in Latine; and ſo he did. The contents whereof were, That an heretike would not be won. Chriſto. S. Paul ſaith, Hereticum hominem poſt unam atque alteram admonitionem devita; Fly an heretique after once or twice warning.

Chriſtian truth called hereſie.

All the Doctors. Yea, my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do, and trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Phil. You muſt firſt prove me iuſtly to be an heretique, before you uſe the iudgement of S. Paul againſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion againſt the manifeſt Word, the which you cannot prove by me: and becauſe you want in your proofe, and be able to prove nothing againſt me, therefore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an heretike, for the ſafegard of your own counterfeit honeſties; but afore God you are the heretiques which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubbornly maintain ſo many things directly againſt Gods word, as God in his time ſhall reveale. As I went out of his chamber, the Biſhop called me aſide and ſaid:

Boner. I pray thee in good ſadneſſe, what meaneſt thou by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, Spiritus eſt Vicarius Chriſti in terris; The Spirit is the Vicar of Chriſt on the earth? I wis you have ſome ſpeciall meaning thereof.

The holy Ghoſt is Chriſts vicar upon earth and how.

Phil. My Lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, That Chriſt ſince his aſcenſion worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his ſpirit doth dwell in us. I pray you my Lord let me have my Bible, with other lawfull books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Boner. Your Bible you ſhall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, & after I have peruſed the reſt, you ſhall have ſuch as I think good.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you would let me have candle light.

Boner. To what purpoſe I pray you?

Phil. The nights be long, and I would faine occupie my ſelf about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my time idlely.

Boner. You may then pray.

John Philpot denied to have candle light.

Phil. I cannot well ſay my prayers without light.

Boner. Can you not ſay your Pater-noſter without a candle? I tell you ſir, you ſhall have ſome meat and drink of me, but can you get none.

Phil. I had rather have a candle then your meat and drink; but ſeeing I ſhall not have my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Boner. Have him down.

Chad. I will bring him to his Keeper, my Lord. Maſter Philpot, I wonder that all theſe learned men whom you have talked withall this day can nothing at all perſwade you?

Phil. Why, Maſter Doctor, would you have me to be perſwaded with nothing? or would you have me build my faith upon ſand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any ſufficient authoritie to be perſwaded to you?

Chad. I am ſory you wil ſo wilfully caſt away your ſelf, wheras you might live worſhipfully: do you not think other have ſouls to ſave aſwell as you have?

Ph. Every man ſhall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am you are deceived, and maintain a falſe religion; and as for my caſting away, I would my burning day were to morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead.

Ched. You are not like to die yet I can tell you.

Phil. I am the more ſorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory. Amen.

The twelfth examination of Iohn Philpot, on Wedneſday the fourth of December before the Biſhop of London, the B. of Worceſter, and the Biſhop of Bangor.

The 12. examination of M. Philpot before certain Biſhops. John Philpot ſent for to maſſe refuſeth to come.

In the morning I was ſet down to the wardrobe adioyning to the Chappell, and within a while after came three of the Biſhops Chaplaines unto me ſaying:

Chaplaines. Maſter Philpot, my lord hath ſent us unto you, to deſire you to come to maſſe, certifying you that there is a doctor of divinitie, a Chaplaine of my Lords, a notable learned man, called Doctor Chedſey, going to maſſe: therefore we alſo pray you good Maſter Philpot, be content to come; it is heard hereby.

Phil. I wonder my Lord would trouble you in ſending you about this matter, ſeeing he knoweth I am a man (by your law) that cannot heare maſſe, becauſe I ſtand excommunicate.

Biſh. Chap. Your excommunication is but upon a contumacie, and my Lord will diſpence with you, if you will come,

Phil. My Lord cannot, for he is not mine Ordinarie, and I will not ſeeke any ſuch thing at his hands. With this anſwere they went their way. And after maſſe the biſhop called me before him into his chappell, and there in the preſence of his Regiſter, after he had ſaid his minde, becauſe I would not come to maſſe) recited the articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depoſitions of the witneſſes, of whom ſome were not examined.

The Biſhop layeth out his articles again.

Bon. Sir, what can you now ſay, why I ſhould not proceed to give ſentẽce againſt thee as an heretike.

Phil. Why my Lord, will you proceed to give ſentence againſt me before your witneſſes be examined? that is plain againſt your own law, as all your doings hath been hitherto.

The Biſhops doings againſt the law.

Bon. See what a foole thou art in the law. I need not to recite the depoſitions of the witneſſes, but if I liſt; for I know them well enough already.

Phil. It appeareth indeed you may do what you liſt.

Bon. Tell me, I ſay whether thou wilt anſwer, or no: and whether if thou were abſolved of thine excommunication, thou wouldſt come to maſſe, or no?

Phil. I have anſwered as much as I intend to do until I be called to lawfull judgement: and as concerning my conſcience I will not make you God to ſit there as yet; it is Gods part onely to be ſearcher of my heart.

Bon. Look how fooliſhly he ſpeaks. Art thou God? and yet doſt thou not ſit in thine own conſcience?

Phil. I ſit not in mine own conſcience; but I know it, and God there onely ought to ſit, and no man elſe.

Bon. Thou art a naughtie fellow, and haſt done much hurt, and haſt ſeduced other poore fellows here in priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errours, and haſt made them reioyce and ſing with thee.

John Philpot is rebuked for ſinging.

Phil. Yea my Lord we ſhall ſing, when you and ſuch other as you are ſhall cry Væ, Væ, Wo, wo, except you repent.

Boner, What an arrogant foole is this? I will handle thee like an heretike and that ſhortly.

Phil. I feare nothing (I thanke God) you can do to me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Boner. Have him away this is a knave indeed.

Phil. And I was had into the Wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an houre after was ſent for to come before him and the Biſhops of Worceſter and Bangor.

Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have cauſed you to be talked with of many learned men, yea and honourable both temporall and ſpirituall, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore ſo many: for they ſay, thou glorieſt to have many to talke withall. Well, now it lyeth thee upon to look to thy ſelf; for thy time draweth neere to an end, if thou doe not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the Synod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the Church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the Reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar with us, all that is paſt ſhall be forgiven, and you received to favour.

Talke between Iohn Philpot and the B. of Worceſter and and Bangor.

Worc. M. Philpot, we are ſent (as you here have heard by my Lord of London) from the Synode, to offer you mercy, if you wil receive it, and of good will I beare you I wiſh you take it, whileſt it is offered, and be not a ſingular man againſt a whole multitude of learned men, which now in faſting and prayer are gathered together to deviſe things to do you good. There have many very learned men talked with you: why ſhould you thinke your ſelfe better learned than them all? Be not of ſuch arrogancie, but have humilitie, and remember there is no ſalvation but in the Church.

Bangor. Me thinketh my Lord hath ſaid wonderfully well unto you, that you ſhould not think your ſelf ſo wel learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of ſo good wit, but other be as wiſe as you, neither of ſo good memorie, but other have as good memories as you. Therefore miſtruſt your owne judgement, and come home to us again. Iwis I never liked your Religion, becauſe it was ſet forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion. And I was the ſame manner of man then that I am now, and a great many moe. Marie, for feare we held our peace, and bare with that time. Wherefore M. Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the Catholike church of Rome.

If violence and tyranny be no token of true religion: what may men judge then of the Popes religion, I pray you.

Phil. Where my Lord (as I may begin firſt to anſwer you) you ſay, that Religion is to be miſliked, which is ſet forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not men occaſion to think the ſame by yours at this day, which have none other argument to ſtand by, but violence. If you can ſhew me any good ſufficient ground, whereby to ground my conſcience, that the church of Rome is the true Catholike church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the ſame; otherwiſe I cannot ſo ſoon change the religion I have learned theſe many yeers.

The Popes religion hath no other ground to ſtand upon but violence.

Bangor. Where was your religion to be found (I pray you) an hundred yeers ago, that any man knew of it?

Where this religion was one hundred yeers ago.

Phil. It was in Germany, and in divers other places apparant.

Worc. Ieſus, will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a man? What is Germany to the whole world?

Bon. My Lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you; that I ſent for him to heare Maſſe, this morning. And what you what excuſe he made unto me, forſooth that he was accurſed, alledging his own ſhame. He playeth as the varlet Latimer did at Cambridge: when the Vicechancellor ſent for him, (who intended to have excommunicated him for ſome of his hereſies) and the Chancellor was coming to his chamber, he hearing that the chancellor was coming, made anſwer that he was ſick of the plague, and ſo deluded the chancellor; even ſo this man ſaith, he was accurſed, becauſe he will not come to Maſſe.

Boner raileth on Latimer.

Worc. My Lord (I am ſure) here doth behave himſelf like a father unto you; therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbidden us of God by the Prophet Ezechiel, to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandements.

Worc. It is written alſo in another place, Interroga patres, Ask of your Fathers.

Phil. We ought to aſk indeed our fathers that have more experience and knowledge then we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them, then we perceive they agree with the Scripture.

Fathers may be asked, but not followed further then they follow the Scriptures.

Worc. You will be a contentious man, I ſee well; and S. Paul ſaith, that neither we, nor the church of God have any ſuch cuſtome.

Phil. I am not contentious but for the veritie of my faith, in the which I ought to contend with all ſuch as do impugne the ſame without any juſt objection.

Worc. Let us riſe my Lord, for I ſee we ſhall do no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, and after ſtanding, they reaſoned with me a while.

Wor. M. Philpot, I am very ſory that you will be ſo ſingular. I never talked with any yet in my dioceſſe, but after once communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and ſo do much good, as you may if you liſt. For as I underſtand you were Archdeacon of Wincheſter, (which is the eye of the Biſhop) and you may do much good in that countrey if you would forſake your errors, and come to the Catholique Church.

Phil. Wherewithall you ſo ſoon perſwaded them to your will, I ſee not. Error, that I know, I hold none; of the Catholique Church I am ſure I am.

Wor. The Catholique Church doth acknowledge a reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and ſo will not you.

Phil. That is not ſo: For I acknowleage a verie eſſentiall preſence in the "duely uſing of the Sacrament.

" Note he ſaith not in the ſacrament, but in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament

Wor. What, a reall preſence?

Phil. Yea a reall preſence by the ſpirit of God in the right adminiſtration.

Worc. That is well ſaid: and do you agree with the Catholique Church alſo?

Phil. I do agree with the true Catholique Church.

Wor. My Lord of London, this man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Bon. You do agree in generalities, but when it ſhal come to the particularities, you will far diſagree.

Wor. Well, keep your ſelf here, and you ſhall have other learned Biſhops to commune further with you, as my L. of Dureſme, and my Lord of Chich. whom I hear ſay you do like well.

Phil. I do like them as I do all other that ſpeak the truth. I have once alreadie ſpoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Wor. Pray in the mean ſeaſon for grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is the comfortableſt exerciſe I feel in my trouble, & my conſcience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of hereſie

Wor. We will bid you farewell for this time.

Phil. After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I ſpake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I anſwered, that I would not go from that I had ſaid.

After dinner M. Philpot called again.

Wor. You ſaid at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burn you, we ſhould burn a Catholique man. Will you be a Catholique man and ſtand to the Catholique Church?

Phil. I will ſtand to the true Catholique Church.

Wor. Will you ſtand to the Catholique Church of Rome?

Phil. If you can prove the ſame to be the Catholique Church, I will be one thereof.

To ſtand to the Catholique Church, is not enough with theſe men, except you be in the Church of Rome.

Worc.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1555. December.

Worc. Did not Chriſt ſay unto Peter, and to all his ſucceſſors of Rome; Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos? Feed my ſheepe, feed my lambes? Which doth ſignifie that he gave him a more authoritie then the reſt.

The words of Chriſt (feed my ſheep) opened.

Phil. That ſaying pertaineth nothing to the authoritie of Peter, above others, but declareth what Chriſt requireth of his beloved Apoſtles, that they ſhould with all diligence preach to the flock of Chriſt the way of ſalvation, and that doth the iteration of feeding, ſpoken to Peter, onely ſignifie. But the Biſhop of Rome little regardeth the ſpirituall feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an eaſier way to make himſelfe Lord of the whole world, yea and of Gods word too, and doth not feed Chriſts flock as Peter did.

The Pope is no feeder.

Worc. How can you tell that?

Phil. Yes I have been there, and I could not learne of all his Countrimen, that ever he preacheth.

Worc. Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth another, by procuring good order for the Church to be kept in.

Phil. I am ſure that it wil be his damnation before God, that he leaveth that he is commanded of Chriſt, and ſetteth forth his own Decrees to deface the Goſpel.

Worc. It is the evill living that you have ſeene at Rome, that cauſeth you to have this ill judgement of the Church of Rome. I cannot now tarrie with you to reaſon further of the matter.

How ſay you to the reall preſence of the Sacrament, will you ſtand to that?

By really he meaneth truly.

Phil. I do acknowledge (as I have ſaid) a reall preſence of the ſacrament, in the due adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the ſpirit of God.

Worc. You adde now a great many moe words then you did before: and yet you ſay more of the Sacrament, then a great many will do.

Talk with D. Chadſey, and D. Wright and others.

Thus they departed, and after them came in to me D. Chadſey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxford with a great many moe.

Chad. M. Philpot, here is M. Archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counſell, I pray heare him.

Phil. I will refuſe to heare none that will counſell me any good; and if any can bring any matter better then I have, I will ſtick thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſh you M. Philpot to agree with the catholike church, and not to ſtand in your owne conceit: you ſee a great many of learned men againſt you.

Phil. I am (M. Doctor) of the unfained Catholike Church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your Church to be the true Catholike Church, I will be one of the ſame.

Wright. I came not to diſpute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned then I that can informe you better then I.

You promiſe more Chadſey then you can prove.

Chad. What profe would you have? I will prove unto you, our Church to have his being and foundation by the Scriptures, by the Apoſtles, and by the Primitive Church, confirmed with the bloud of Martyrs, and with the teſtimonie of all Confeſſors.

Phil. Give me your hand, M. Doctor prove that, and have with you.

D. Chadſey fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Chad. If I had my bookes here, I could ſoon prove it, I will go fetch ſome; and with that he went and fet his book of Annotations, ſaying, I cannot bring my books well, therefore I have brought my book of Annotations, and turned there to a common place of the Sacrament, asking me whether the catholike church did allow the preſence of Chriſts body in the ſacrament, or no? I here ſay you doe confeſſe a reall preſence: but I will be hanged if you will abide by it. You will deny it by and by.

Philpot. That I have ſaid, I cannot deny; neither intend whatſoever you ſay.

Chad. If there be a real preſence in the ſacrament, then evill men receive Chriſt, which thing you will not grant, I am ſure.

Phil. I deny the Argument, for I doe not grant in in the Sacrament, by Tranſubſtantiation, any Reall preſence, as you falſly imagine, but in the due adminiſtration to the worthy receivers.

Whether evill men receive the body of Chriſt.

Chad. I will prove that the evill and wicked men eat the body of Chriſt, as well as the good men, by S. Auſtin here.

Phil. And in the beginning of his text Saint Auſtin ſeemeth to approve his aſſertion; but I bad him reade out to the end, and there Saint Auſtin declareth moſt evidently that it was quodammodo, after a certaine manner the evill men received the body of Chriſt, which is ſacramentally only in the outer ſignes, and not really, or indeed, as the good doth. And thus all the Doctors that you ſeeme to bring in for your purpoſe, be quite againſt you, if ye did rightly weigh them.

Quodammodo.

Chad. By God you are a ſubtill fellow. See how he would writhe S. Auguſtines words.

Phil. See who of us writheth Saint Auſtin more, you or I, which take his meaning by his owne expreſſe words. And ſeeing you charge me of ſubtilty, what ſubtiltie is this of you, to ſay, that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promiſing to ſhew your books therein, and when it cometh to the ſhewing, you are able to ſhew none, and for want of proof ſlip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proofe thereof? Afore God you are bare arſt in your Religion.

D. Chadſey fainteth in his proofe.

Chad. You ſhall be conſtrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Phil. Hold that argument faſt; for it is the beſt you have, for you have nothing but violence.

The thirteenth examination of Maſter Phipot, before the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and divers other Biſhops.

The 13. examination of M. Philpot before the Archbiſhop of Yorke and other biſhops.

The thurſday after, I was called in the morning before the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Biſhop of Bathe, and the Biſhop of London. The Biſhop of Chicheſter being firſt come began to talke with me.

Chich. I am come of good wil to talke with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the Catholike Church, and to will you to inſtruct your owne judgement, and to learn firſt to have humility, and by the ſame to learn of others that be better learned then you, as they did learn of ſuch as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We muſt all be taught of God, and I will with all humilitie learn of them that will informe me by Gods word, what I have to doe. I confeſſe I have but little learning in reſpect of you, that both of your yeeres and great exerciſe doe excell therein: but faith conſiſteth not onely in learning, but in ſimplicitie of beleeving that which Gods word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to heare both of your Lordſhip, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true Doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth pleaſe you to take paines herein.

Faith conſiſts not in learning but in beleeving.

Chich. You take the firſt alledged amiſſe, as though all men ſhould be taught by inſpiration, and not by learning. How do we beleeve the Goſpel, but by the authoritie of the Church, and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it.

The authoritie of the Church.

Phil. S. Paul ſaith, He learned not the Goſpel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Ieſus Chriſt. Which is a plain and ſufficient proofe that the Goſpel taketh not his authority of man, but of God onely.

Chich. Saint Paul ſpeaketh but of his owne knowledge how he came thereto.

Phil. Nay he ſpeaketh of the Goſpel generally, Which cometh not from man but from God; and that the Church muſt onely teach that which cometh from God, and not mans precepts.

The place of S. Auſtin, I would not beleeve the word if the Church did not move me, &c.

Chich. Doth not S. Auguſtine ſay, I would not beleeve the Goſpel if the authoritie of the Church did not move me thereto.

The word hath his authoritie only from God, and not of the Church.

The word is the foundation of the church, and not the Church, of the Word.

Phil. I grant, that the authoritie of the church doth move the unbeleevers to beleeve; but yet the church giveth not the word his authority; for the word hath his authority only from God, and not of men; men be but the diſpoſers therof. For firſt, the word hath his being before the Church, and the Word is the foundation of the Church, and firſt is the foundation ſure, before the building thereon can be ſtedfaſt.

Chich. I perceive you miſtake me, I ſpeake of the knowledge of the Goſpel, and not of the authority; for by the Church we have all knowledge of the Goſpel.

Phil. I confeſſe that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculouſly, as he hath done in times paſt; yet we that be taught by men, muſt take heed that we learne nothing elſe but that which was taught in the primitive Church by revelation. Here came in the Biſhop of Yorke and the Biſhop of Bathe, and after they had ſaluted one another, and communed a while together, the Archbiſhop of York called me unto them, ſaying;

Talke between the Archbiſh. of Yorke and Io. Philpot.

Yorke. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to informe you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the Catholike Church againe; willing you firſt to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for elſe we can do no good with you. And God ſaith by his Prophet; On whom ſhall I reſt, but on the humble and meeke, and ſuch as tremble at my Word. Now if you will ſo be, we will be glad to travell with you.

Phil. I know that humilitie is the doore whereby we enter unto Chriſt; and I thanke his goodneſſe I have entred in at the ſame unto him, and with all humilitie wil heare whatſoever truth you ſhall ſpeake unto me.

Yorke. What be the matters you ſtand on, and require to be ſatisfied in?

Phil. My Lord, if it ſhall pleaſe your grace, we were entred into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we ſhould know the truth but by the Church.

Yorke. Indeed that is the head we need to begin at, for the Church being truly known we ſhall ſooner agree in the particular things.

Phil. If your Lordſhips can prove the Church of Rome to be the true Catholike Church, it ſhall do much to perſwade me toward that you would have me incline unto.

Yorke. Why let us go to the definition of the Church. What is it?

The Church defined.

Phil. It is a congregation of people diſperſed thorow the world, agreeing together in the Word of God, uſing the ſacraments and all other things according to the ſame.

Yorke. Your definition is of many words to no purpoſe.

Phil. I do not preciſely define the Church, but declare unto you what I think the Church is.

Yorke. Is the Church viſible or inviſible?

The Church both viſible and inviſible.

Phil. It is both viſible and inviſible. The inviſible Church is of the Elect of God only; the viſible conſiſts both of good and bad, uſing all things in faith, according to Gods word.

York. The church is an univerſall congregation of faithfull people in Chriſt thorow the world; which this word Catholike doth well expreſſe; for what is Catholike elſe? doth it not ſignifie univerſall?

Catholike defined by Saint Auguſtine.

Catholike defined by the Papiſts.

Phil. The church is defined by S. Auſtin to be called Catholike in this wiſe, Eccleſia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia univerſalitèr perfecta eſt & in nullo claudicat. The Church is called therefore catholike, becauſe it is throughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.

Yorke. Nay, it is called Catholike, becauſe it is univerſally received of all Chriſtian nations for the moſt part.

Phil. The Church was Catholike in the Apoſtles time, yet was it not univerſally received of the world; but becauſe their doctrine which they had received of Chriſt was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therfore it is called the Catholike faith, & all perſons receiving the ſame, to be counted the catholike church. And S. Auſtin in another place writeth, that the catholike church is that which beleeveth aright.

Yorke. If you will learn, I will ſhew you by S. Auſtin, writing againſt the Donatiſts, that he proveth the catholike church by two principal points, which is, univerſalitie and ſucceſſion of biſhops in one Apoſtolical See from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument.

Univerſalitie and ſucceſſion.

The church of Rome is univerſall and hath her ſucceſſion of Biſhops from time to time.

Ergo, it is the catholike church.

Now anſwer you to this argument?

This conſequence being reduced into a ſyllogiſme of the firſt figure, will ground upon a falſe major.

Da- Vniverſality and ſucceſſion make a true Church.
ri- The Church of Rome hath univerſall ſucceſſion.
i. Ergo, The Church of Rome is the true Church.

Phil. I deny the antecedent, that the catholike church is only known by univerſalitie and ſucceſſion of biſhops.

York. I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the Doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of S. Auſtin, & ſpecially out of his Epiſtle written againſt the Donatiſts, where S. Auſtin manifeſtly proveth, that the Donatiſts were not the Catholike church, becauſe they have no ſucceſſion of biſhops in their opinion, neither univerſality; and the ſame force hath S. Auſtins argument againſt you.

To this he ſufficiently anſwereth before, look in the latter end of the ſeventh examination.

Univerſality alwaies to be joyned with verity.

Phil. My Lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing againſt me, neither cometh it to your purpoſe; for I will ſtand to the triall of S. Auſtin for the approbation of the catholike church whereof I am. For S. Auſtin ſpeaketh of univerſalitie joyned with verity, & of faithfull ſucceſſors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And ſo if you can deduce your argument for the See of Rome now, as S. Auſtin might do in his time, I would ſay it might be of ſome force, otherwiſe not.

Yorke. S. Auſtin proveth the Catholike Church principally by ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and therefore you underſtand not S. Auſtin. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatiſts, againſt whom he wrote, can you tell? What Countrey were they of?

Not principally by your leave, my Lord.

Phil. They were a certaine ſect of men, affirming among other hereſies, that the dignity of the ſacraments depẽded upon the worthines of the miniſter; ſo that if the miniſter were good, the ſacraments which he miniſtred were available, or elſe not.

The error of the Donatiſts.

Chiche. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read another authoritie of S. Auſtin out of a book which he brought, even to to the ſame purpoſe that the other was.

Phil. I challenge S. Auſtin to be with me thorowly in this point, and will ſtand to his judgement, taking one place with another.

Chich. If you will not have the Church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſie?

The Church may be certai and yet not ti to one place.

Phil. I do not deny the Church to be certain; but I deny that it is neceſſarily tied to any place, longer then it abideth in the word; and for all controverſies the word ought to be judge.

Chich.

August. de doctrina Christ.

Chich. But what if I take it one way, and you another; how then?

Phil. S. Auſtin ſheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debebat; That one place of the Scripture ought to be underſtood by the moe.

Argument, à cauſa non ſufficiente & non totali.

Yorke. How anſwer you to this argument?

Rome hath knowne ſucceſſion of biſhops; which your Church hath not.

Ergo, That is the Catholike Church, and yours is not, becauſe there is no ſuch ſucceſſion can be proved in your Church.

The argument denied.

Phil. I deny (my Lord) that ſucceſſion of Biſhops is an infallible point to know the Church by: for there may be a ſucceſſion of Biſhops knowne in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Hieruſalem, & in other places, where the Apoſtles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the ſucceſſion of biſhops ſucceſſion of doctrine withall, (as S. Auſtin doth) I will grant it to be a good proofe for the Catholike church; but a locall ſucceſſion onely is nothing availeable.

Local ſucceſſion without ſucceſſion of doctrine nothing availes.

Yorke. You will have no church then I ſee well?

Phil. Yes my Lords I acknowledge the Catholike church, as I am bound by my Creed; but I cannot acknowledge a falſe Church for the true.

Chich. Why is there two catholike churches then?

Phil. No. I know there is but one catholike church, but there have been, and be at this preſent, that take upon them the name of Chriſt and of his church, which be not ſo indeed, as it is written; There be they that cal themſelves Apoſtles, and be not ſo indeed, but the Synagogue of Satan and liers. And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomons time, which lay together, and the one ſuppreſſed her childe, and afterward went about to challenge the true mothers childe.

Apoc. 2.

3 Reg. 3. The mother Church of Rome compared to the woman in Solomons time, that falſly challenged the true mothers childe from her.

Chich. What a babling is here with you now? I ſee you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learne.

Phil. My Lords, I muſt deſire you to beare with my haſtie ſpeech; it is my infirmitie of nature. All that I ſpeak is to learn by, I would you did underſtand all my minde, that I might be ſatisfied by you through better authoritie.

Chich. My Lord, if it pleaſe your Grace, turne the Argument upon him, which you have made, and let him ſhew the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of his Church, as we can do. How ſay you, can you ſhew the ſucceſſion of biſhops in your church from time to time? I tell you, this Argument troubled Doctor "Ridley ſo ſore, that he could never anſwer it; yet he was a man well learned, I dare ſay you will ſay ſo.

"So ye ſay now, when ye would give him no leave nor time when he was alive to make his anſwers.

Phil. He was a man ſo learned, that I was not worthy to carry his bookes for learning.

Chich. I promiſe you he was never able to anſwer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in priſon, and conferred with me.

Phil. I wonder, my Lord, you ſhould make this argument which you would turn upon me, for the triall of my church whereof I am, or that you would make B. Ridley ſo ignorant that he was not able to anſwer it, ſince it is of no force. For behold, firſt I denied you, that locall ſucceſſion of Biſhops in one place is a neceſſarie point alone to proue the catholike church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reaſon that you ſhould put me to the triall of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude againſt me?

Succeſſion of Biſhops alone is no ſufficient point to prove the Catholike Church.

Chich. I ſee, my Lords, we do but looſe our labours to reaſon with him; he taketh himſelfe better learned then we.

Phil. I take upon me the name of no learning. I boaſt of no knowledge, but of faith and of Chriſt, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am ſure I do.

Chich. Theſe heretikes take upon them to be ſure of all things they ſtand in. You ſhould ſay rather with humilitie, I truſt I know Chriſt, then that you be ſure thereof.

Leave your reviling termes my Lord, and go to the matter.

Phil. Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth; God give me alwaies grace to beleeve that I am ſure of true faith and favour in Chriſt.

Bath. How wil you be able to anſwer heretikes, but by the determination of the knowne Catholike Church?

Note how theſe men ground their faith, not upon Gods word, but upon the determination of their owne known church.

Phil. I am able to anſwer all heretikes by the word of God and convince them by the ſame.

Chich. How arrogantly is that ſpoken? I dare not ſay ſo.

Phil. My Lord, I pray you beare with me; for I am bold on the truths ſide, and I ſpeake ſomewhat by experience that I have had with heretikes; and I know the Arians be the ſubtilleſt that ever were, and yet I have manifeſt Scriptures to beat them downe withall.

Chich. I perceive now you are the ſame manner of man I have heard of, which will not be ſatisfied by learning.

Phil. Alas, my Lord, why do you ſay ſo? I do deſire moſt humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I ſhould learne, and hitherto you have ſhewed me no better, therefore I pray your Lordſhip not to miſ-judge without a cauſe.

Bath, If you be the true catholike church, then will you hold with the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, which the true church have ever maintained.

Phil. And I, my Lord, with the true church do hold the ſame in the due miniſtration of the ſacrament: but I deſire you, my lord, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we ſhall ſoone agree in the reſt. In the mean while my lord of Yorke was turning his book for moe places to helpe forth his cauſe.

My Lord of Yorke driven to ſeeke his books.

Yorke. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while of Saint Auſtine De ſimplicitate credendi.

Aug. de ſimplicitate credend.

Chich. It is but folly, my Lord, that your Grace doe reade him any more places, for he eſteemeth them not.

Phil. I eſteeme them, inaſmuch as they be of force, as your Lordſhip doth heare me deny no Doctors you bring, but onely require the true application of them, according to the writers meaning, and as by his owne words may be proved.

M. Philpot falſly reported to deny Doctors.

Yorke. I will read him the place, and ſo make an end. After he had read the ſentence, he ſaid, that by foure ſpeciall points here S. Auguſtine proveth the catholike church. The firſt is, By the conſent of all nations, the ſecond, by the Apoſtolike See, the third, by univerſalitie, and the fourth by this word Catholike.

Foure points to prove the Catholike church out of S. Auguſtine.
1. Conſent of all nations.
2. See Apoſtolicall.
3. Univerſality.
4. Catholike.

Chich. That is a notable place indeed, if it pleaſe your Grace.

Phil. I pray you my Lord, of what church doth S. Auguſtine write the ſame, of Rome, or not?

Yorke. Ye he writeth it of the church of Rome.

Phil. I will lay with your Lordſhip as much as I can make it is not ſo; and let the book be ſeen.

Bath. What art thou able to lay, thou haſt nothing?

Yorke. Doth he not make mention here of the Apoſtolike See, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Answer to the Archbiſhops foure points.

Philpot. That is very ſtraitly interpreted my lord, as though the Apoſtolike See had been no where elſe but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you ſhall never verifie the ſame, unleſſe all the other conditions do go therewith, as S. Auguſtine doth proceed withall, whereof none except the Apoſtolike See can now be verified of the Church of Rome. For the faith which that See now maintaineth hath not the conſent of all nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it cannot have the name of Catholike, becauſe it differeth from the Catholike Churches which the Apoſtles planted, almoſt in all things.

Chriſts Church ceaſeth not to be his Church, albeit in time of perſecution it be hid ſometime in corners. Firſt anſwer to his reaſon, and call him obſtinate afterward.

Yorke. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the Catholike Church by univerſalitie; and how can you ſhew your Church to be univerſall fifty or an hundred yeeres ago?

Phil. That is not materiall, neither any thing againſt ſaint Auguſtine: for my Church (whereof I am) were to be accounted univerſall, though it were but in ten perſons, becauſe it agreeth with the ſame that the Apoſtles did univerſally plant.

Yorke. I perceive you are an obſtinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but loſt labor to talke with you any longer, you are a member to be cut off.

Chich. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good Biſhop of Wincheſter, and now I ſee in you that I have heard.

Phil. I truſt you ſee no evill in me by this; I deſire of you a ſure ground to build my faith on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeake not ill of him that meaneth well.

“ Becauſe, my L. you be not able to anſwer him.

Chich. Thou art as “ impudent a fellow as I have communed withall.

Phil. That is ſpoken uncharitably, my Lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot juſtly reprove.

Chich. Why you are not God; blaſphemie is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Phil. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, ſpeaking in Gods cauſe, as you now do lay unto me, for ſpeaking freely the truth afore God, to maintaine your vaine religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive your are blinde Guides, and leaders of the blinde: and therefore (as I am bound to tel you) very hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecuting the truth, which otherwiſe by juſt order you are by no meanes able to convince. Your own Doctors, and teſtimonies which you bring, be evidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſee the truth.

Chich. Have we this thank for our good will coming to inſtruct thee?

Veritas odium parit. The free heart of I. Philpot in telling truth.

Phil. My Lords, you muſt beare with me, ſince I ſpeake in Chriſts cauſe; and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly & wrongfully ſlaine by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the diſhonour of God, and to hypocriſie with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgement. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the ſpirit of God that telleth you your ſin, and not I; I paſſe not, I thank God, of all your crueltie. God forgive it you, and give you grace to repent: and ſo they departed.

Another talke the ſame day.

Another calling of M. Philpot before the Biſh.

THe ſame day at night before ſupper, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chappell, in the preſence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Doctor Chedſey, and other his Chaplaines, and his ſervants; at what time he ſaid:

London. Maſter Philpot, I have by ſundry means gon about to do you good, and I marvell you doe ſo little conſider it. By my truth I cannot tell what to ſay to you: tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man or no, and whereupon you chiefly ſtand.

Phil. I have told your Lordſhip oftentimes plaine enough, whereon I ſtand chiefly, requiring a ſure probation of the Church whereunto you call me.

Concerning theſe foure points anſwered ſufficiently before.

Harpſ. S. Auſtin writing againſt the Donatiſts, declareth foure ſpeciall notes to know the Church by; the conſent of many nations, the faith of the ſacraments confirmed by antiquitie, ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and univerſalitie.

Lon. I pray you Maſter Archdeacon fetch the book hither; it is a notable place, let him ſee it. And the book was brought, and the Biſhop read it, demanding how I could anſwer the ſame.

Phil. My Lord, I like S. Auguſtines foure points for the triall of the Catholike Church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together, which yours cannot doe.

Harpſ. Have not we ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the See and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our Church to be the Catholike Church?

Phil. Saint Auguſtine doth not put ſucceſſion of Biſhops only to be ſufficient, but he addeth the uſe of the ſacraments according to antiquitie and Doctrine univerſally taught and received of moſt Nations from the beginning of the primitive church, the which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all theſe better then yours; therefore by Saint Auguſtines judgement which you here bring, mine is the Catholike Church, and not yours.

Harpſ. Ched. It is but folly (my Lord) for you to reaſon with him, for he is irrecuperable.

It is beſt for you to ſay ſo, when you have no other way to ſhift off his arguments.

Phil. That is a good ſhift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your owne ſayings, and have nothing elſe to ſay; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not ſee it when it is laid to your face.

THus have I at large ſet forth as many of the ſaid John Philpot his examinations and privy conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the Conſiſtory at Pauls, and alſo ſecretly in the Biſhops houſe; yet what was there ſaid is not yet ſufficiently knowne, either becauſe Maſter Philpot was not himſelfe ſuffered to write, or elſe for that his writings are by ſome kept cloſe, and not brought forth, otherwiſe then as the Biſhops regiſter hath noted, whoſe handling of ſuch matters becauſe it is (either for feare or for favour of his Lord and Maſter) very ſlender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, eſpecially in the behalfe of the anſwerer; howbeit, ſuch as it is, ſuch thought I good to put forth; requiring the reader to judge hereof according to his anſwers in his former examinations.

The laſt examination of Maſter Philpot in open judgement, with his finall condemnation by Biſhop Boner in the Conſiſtorie at Pauls.

The laſt examinations of M. Philpot in open judgement, with his finall condemnation by B. Boner in the Conſiſtorie at Pauls. December 14.

THe Biſhop having ſufficiently taken his pleaſure with Maſter Philpot in his privat talks, and ſeeing his zealous, learned, and immutable conſtancie, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth dayes of December, ſitting judicially in the Conſiſtory at Pauls, he cauſed him to be brought thither before him and others, as it ſeemeth, more for orders ſake, then for any good affection to juſtice and right judgement. The effect as well of which their two ſundry proceedings, as alſo of one other had the eleventh day of the ſame moneth in his chappell, appeare in a manner to be all one. The Biſhop therefore firſt ſpeaking to Maſter Philpot ſaid:

M. Philpot called into open judgement.

Lond. Maſter Philpot, amongſt other things that were laid and objected unto you, theſe three things ye were eſpecially charged and burdened withall.

Three ſpeciall articles laid to M. Philpot.

The firſt is, that you being fallen from the unitie of Chriſts catholike church, do refuſe and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, calling it idolatrie.

And the third is, that you have ſpoken againſt the

Q. MARIE.

Anno. 1555. December.

the ſacrament of the altar, denying the reall preſence of Chriſts body and blood to be in the ſame.

And according to the will and pleaſure of the Synode Legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your ſaid errors and hereſies, and to return to the unitie of the Catholique Church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye ſhall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably uſed, and have all the favour I can ſhew you. And now to tell you true, it is aſſigned and appointed me to give ſentence againſt you, if you ſtand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if ye ſo refuſe, I do aſke of you whether you have any cauſe that you can ſhew, why I ſhould not now give ſentence againſt you?

Phil. Under Proteſtation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and alſo not to conſent to you as my competent judge, I ſay, touching your firſt objection concerning the Catholique Church, I neither was nor am out of the ſame. And as touching the ſacrifice of the maſſe, and the ſacrament of the “altar, I never ſpake againſt the ſame. And as concerning the pleaſure of the ſynod, I ſay, that theſe twenty yeers I have been brought up in the faith of the true Catholique Church, which is contrarie to your Church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times ſworn (as well in the reign of King Henrie the eight, as in the reign of good King Edward his ſon) againſt the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conſcience to keep. Quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum. But if you or any of the Synod can by Gods word perſwade me that my ſaid oath was unlawfull, and that I am bound by Gods law to come to your Church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yeeld, agree, and be conformable unto you, otherwiſe not.

“Here either the Regiſter belieth M. Philpot, or elſe he meant as not offending the law, thereby to be accuſed, for otherwiſe all his former examinations do declare that he ſpake againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Boner then, not able with all his learned Doctors, to accompliſh this his offered condition, fell to perſwading of him, as well by his accuſtomed vain promiſes, as alſo by bloodie threatnings, to return to their Church; to the which he anſwered.

B. Boner with all his doctors not able to ſatiſfie M. Philpot.

Phil. You and all other of your ſort are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocriſie, your tyrannie, ignorance, and idolatrie.

Upon theſe words, the Biſhop did for that time diſmiſſe him, commanding that on Munday the 16 day of the ſame moneth, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he ſhould again be brought thither, there to have the Definitive ſentence of Condemnation pronounced againſt him, if he remained then in his former conſtancie.

Decem. 16.

The laſt examination of M. Iohn Philpot.

The laſt examination of Io. Philpot.

AT which day and time, M. Philpot being there preſented before the Biſhops of London, Bathe, Worceſter, and Lichfield, Boner biſhop of London began his talk in this manner.

Lond. My Lords, Stokeſley, my predeceſſor, when he went to give ſentence againſt an heretique, uſed to make this prayer.

B. Stokeſleys prayer when he gave ſentence upon any.

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam poſſint redire, juſtitiæ veritatiſque tuæ lumen oſtendis, da cunctis qui Chriſtiana profeſſione cenſentur, & illa reſpuere quæ huic inimica ſint nomini, & ea quæ ſint apta ſectari per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Amen. Which I will follow. And ſo he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which M. Philpot, ſaid:

Phil. I would ye would ſpeak in Engliſh, that all men might heare and underſtand you; for Paul willeth that all things, ſpoken in the congregation to edifie, ſhould be ſpoken in a tongue that all men might underſtand.

Whereupon the Biſhop did read it in Engliſh: and when he came to theſe words; to refuſe thoſe things which are foes to his name, Philpot ſaid:

B. Boner praieth againſt himſelf.

Philpot. Then they all muſt turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name (meaning Chriſts name) and God ſave us from ſuch hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot underſtand.

Lond. Whom do you mean?

Phil. You, and all other that be of your generation and ſect. And I am ſorie to ſee you ſit in the place that you now ſit in, pretending to execute juſtice, and do nothing leſſe, but deceive all men in this Realme.

And then turning himſelf unto the people, he further ſaid; Oh all you Gentlemen, beware of theſe men (meaning the Biſhops) and all their doings, which be contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what authority you proceed againſt me?

B. Boner hath no authoritie by right to proceed againſt M. Philpot.

Lond. Becauſe I am biſhop of London.

Phil. Well, then ye are not my Biſhop, nor have I offended in your Dioceſſe: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed againſt me, eſpecially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Lond. Why, who ſent you hither to me?

Phil. That did Doctor Story and D. Cook, with other the King and Queens Commiſſioners; and my Lord, is it not enough for you to worrie your own ſheep, but ye muſt alſo meddle with other mens ſheep?

Then the biſhop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the Civill law, and the other of the Canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authoritie to proceed againſt him in ſuch ſort as he did. M. Philpot then peruſing the ſame, and ſeeing the ſmall and ſlender proof that was there alledged, ſaid unto the biſhop.

Philpot. I perceive your law and divinitie is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth ſee you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At laſt Boner ſpake unto him and ſaid:

Lond. Philpot, as concerning your objections againſt my juriſdiction, ye ſhal underſtand that both the civill and canon laws make againſt you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this caſe, For it is written in the law, A judice diſpoſitionem juris exequente non eſt appellandum.

Phil. My Lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not underſtand the law; for if ye did, ye would not bring in that Text.

B. Boner noted to be ignorant in the law.

Hereupon the Biſhop recited a law of the Romanes, That it was not lawfull for a Jew to keep a Chriſtian man in captivitie, and to uſe him as his ſlave, laying then to the ſaid Philpots charge, that he did not underſtand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot anſwered:

The law ſeemeth either blindly compared of the biſhop, or elſe not rightly collected of his Regiſter.

Philpot. No, I am no Jew, but you my Lord are a Jew. For you profeſſe Chriſt and maintain Antichriſt; you profeſſe the Goſpel, and maintaine ſuperſtition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing.

Lon. & other Biſh. With what can you charge us?

Phil. You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings be naught, full of idolatrie, ſaving the article of the Trinitie.

Whileſt they were thus debating the matter, there came thither, ſir William Garret knight, then Maior of London, ſir Martin Bowes knight, and Tho. Leigh then Sheriffe of the ſame Citie, and ſat down with the ſaid biſhops in the ſaid Conſiſtorie, where and what time biſhop Boner ſpake theſe words in effect as followeth.

The L. Maior with the ſheriffs aſſiſtant to B. Boner againſt M. Philpot.

London. Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Maior, becauſe I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withall untill his coming, I did rehearſe unto you a prayer both in Engliſh and in Latine, which Biſhop Stokeſley my predeceſſor uſed when he intended to proceed to give ſentence againſt an Heretique.

And here he did again read the ſaid prayer both in Engliſh, and alſo in Latine: which being ended, he ſpake again unto him and ſaid:

The 3. articles againſt Iohn Philpot again repeated.

Lond. **Philpot**, amongſt other I have to charge you ſpecially with three things.

1 Firſt, where you have fallen from the unity of Chriſts Catholique church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not onely by me, but alſo by many and divers other Catholique Biſhops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the ſame: and alſo you have been offered by me, that if you would ſo return, and confeſſe your errors and hereſies, you ſhould be mercifully received, and have ſo much favour as I could ſhew unto you.

2 The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, calling it idolatrie and abhomination.

3 And thirdly, That you have ſpoken and holden againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the reall preſence of Chriſts body and blood to be in the ſame.

This being ſpoken, the Biſhop recited unto him a certain exhortation in Engliſh, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Biſhop Boners Exhortation.

An exhortation of B. Boner to Io. Philpot. December 16.

Maſter Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you not being yet reconciled to the unity of the Catholique Church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late ſchiſme here in this Realme of England, againſt the See Apoſtolique of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unitie of the ſame Catholique Church, profeſſing and promiſing to obſerve and keep to the beſt of your power the faith and Chriſtian religion obſerved and kept of all faithfull people of the ſame: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, eſpecially in the yeer of our Lord 1553, 1554 1555. or in one of them have offended and treſpaſſed grievouſly againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, calling it idolatrie and abhominable, and likewiſe have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, denying the reall preſence of Chriſts body and blood to be there in the ſacrament of the Altar, affirming alſo withall, materiall bread and materiall wine to be in the ſacrament of the Altar, and not the ſubſtance of the bodie and blood of Chriſt; if ye, I ſay, will be reconciled as is aforeſaid, and will forſake your hereſies and errors before touched, being hereticall and damnable, and will alſo allow the Sacrament of the Maſſe, ye ſhall be mercifully received, and charitably uſed with as much favour as may be; if not, ye ſhall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretique (as ye be indeed.) Now do you chuſe what ye will do; you are counſelled herein friendly and favourably.

Ita eſt quod Edm. Boner Epiſc. Lond.

The Biſhops Exhortation thus ended, maſter Philpot turned himſelf unto the Lord Maior, and ſaid;

John Philpot anſwereth to the Biſhops exhortation before the Lord Maior.

Phil. To you my Lord Maior bearing the ſword, I am glad that it is my chance now to ſtand before that authoritie that hath defended the Goſpel and the truth of Gods word; but I am ſorrie to ſee, that that authoritie, which repreſenteth the King and Queens perſons, ſhould now be changed, and be at the commandement of Antichriſt; and ye (ſpeaking to the Biſhops) pretend to be the followers of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and yet be the very Antichriſts and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to ſtand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Chriſt.

To the firſt article. Io. Philpot is of the Catholike Church, but not of the Babylonicall church.

Therefore as touching your firſt objection, I ſay that I am of the Catholike church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the Catholike church) is the church of Rome, and ſo the Babylonicall, and not the Catholique Church; of that Church I am not.

To the ſecond article. Io. Philpot ſpeaketh not againſt the true ſacrifice, but againſt the ſacrifice ſet upon the altar, uſed in private Maſſes.

As touching your ſecond objection, which is, that I ſhould ſpeak againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, I do ſay, that I have not ſpoken againſt the true ſacrifice, but I have ſpoken againſt your private maſſes that you uſe in corners, which is blaſphemy to the true ſacrifice; for your ſacrifice daily reiterated is a blaſphemie againſt Chriſts death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abhominable ſacrifice which ye ſet upon the altar, and uſe in your private Maſſes in ſtead of the living ſacrifice, is idolatry, and ye ſhall never prove it by Gods Word: therefore ye have deceived the people with that your ſacrifice of the Maſſe; which ye make a Maſquing.

To the third article. Philpot denieth not the ſacrament of the altar of the croſſe, but the ſacrament of the altar of ſtone he defieth.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the croſſe, or the altar of ſtone: and if ye call it the ſacrament of the altar in reſpect of the altar of ſtone, then I defie your Chriſt, for it is a rotten Chriſt.

And as touching your Tranſubſtantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up firſt by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the Synod, which is gathered together in Antichriſts name; prove me that to be of the Catholike Church (which ye ſhall never do) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatrie. Ye be alſo traitors; for in your Pulpits ye rail upon good Kings, as King Henry, and King Edw. his ſon, which have ſtood againſt the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome; againſt whom alſo I have taken an oath, which if ye can ſhew me by Gods law that I have taken unjuſtly, I will then yeeld unto you: but I pray God turn the King and Queens heart from your ſynagogue and Church, for you do abuſe that good Queene.

Philpot chargeth the Clergy of Q. Maries time to be Idolaters to God, and traitors to King Henry and K. Edward.

Here the B. of Coventry and Lichfield began to ſhew where the true Church was, ſaying;

D. Banes B. of Coventry ſpeaketh. How can the Apoſtles be of that Church where their doctrine is againſt it?

Covent. The true Catholique Church is ſet upon an high hill.

Philpot. Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonicall Church.

Cov. No, in our true Catholique Church are the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and Martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no Apoſtle, Evangeliſt, or Martyr of your Church.

Phil. Will ye know the cauſe why? Chriſt did prophecy that in the latter dayes there ſhould come falſe prophets and hypocrites as you be.

Covent. Your Church of Geneva, which ye call the Catholique Church, is that which Chriſt propheſied of.

Phil. I allow the church of Geneva, & the doctrine of the ſame, for it is una, Catholica, & Apoſtolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apoſtles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edwards dayes was alſo according to the ſame. And are ye not aſhamed to perſecute me and others for your Churches ſake, which is Babylonicall, and contrary to the true Catholique Church?

The Church of England in K. Edwards time.

And after this they had great conference together, aſwell out of the ſcriptures, as alſo out of the Doctors. But when Boner ſaw that by learning they were not able to convince maſter Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore turning himſelf unto the Lord Maior of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of pouder, and ſaid:

London,

Q. Marie. Anno. 1555. December.

Biſhop Boner chargeth him with falſe ſurmiſes, for want of true matter.

Lond. My Lord, this man had a roſted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put ſecretly between the ſkin and the fleſh thereof, and ſo it was ſent him, being in priſon. And alſo this pouder was ſent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which pouder was onely to make ink to write withall. For when his Keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did ſee, I thought it had been Gunpouder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poyſon, and ſo gave it to a dogge, but it was not ſo. Then I took a little water, and it made as faire inke, as ever I did write withall. Therefore my Lord, you may underſtand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot had a knife brought him under a pig: Ergo, the church of Rome is a catholike church.

Phil. Ah my Lord, have ye nothing elſe to charge me withall but theſe trifles, ſeeing I ſtand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a Catholique church, &c.

Articles concluded in Cambridge and Oxford.

The Catechiſm ſet forth in King Edwards daies

Then the Biſhop brought forth a certain inſtrument containing Articles and Queſtions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Alſo he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the Catechiſme made in King Edwards dayes, Anno 1552. the other concerning the true report of the diſputation in the Convocation houſe, mention whereof is above expreſſed.

The book of report of the diſputation in the Convocation houſe.

Moreover he did bring forth and laid to maſter Philpots charge two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts; which both were written unto him by ſome of his godly friends: the tenour whereof we thought here alſo to exhibite.

A letter exhibited by Boner, written by ſome friend of M. Philpot, and ſent to him concerning the handling of M. Green in Boners houſe at London.

A letter written to M. Philpot touching the handling of M. Green, exhibited by Biſhop Boner.

Boner breaketh promiſe.

YOu ſhall underſtand that maſter Green came unto the Biſhop of London on Sunday laſt, where he was courteouſly received; for what policie the ſequell declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lords own table, or elſe to have his meat from thence. During thoſe dayes he lay in doctor Chedſeys chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the Biſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipfull men (who were ſuters for him, but to him unknown) that he in no caſe ſhould be examined; before which, M. Fecknam would have had him in his friendly cuſtodie, if he would have deſired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refuſed. And in that the Biſhop objected againſt him ſingularitie and obſtinacie, his anſwer thereunto was thus; To avoid all ſuſpition thereof, although I my ſelf am young and utterly unlearned in reſpect of the learned (and yet I underſtand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have ſuch books as I ſhall require: and if I, by Gods ſpirit, do not thereby anſwer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Whereunto the Biſhop and his aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to have ſuch books. Who at ſundry times have reaſoned with him, and have found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the Scripture and godly Fathers, that ſithence they have not onely taken from him ſuch liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him ſo much as the new Teſtament. Since, they have baited and uſed him moſt cruelly. This M. Fecknam reported; ſaying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I underſtand. Concerning your bill, I ſhall conferre with others therein, knowing that the ſame Court is able to redreſſe the ſame. And yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeak therein, or prefer the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpirituall things. Notwithſtanding, I will aſcertain you thereof; commiting you to the holy Ghoſt, who keep you and us all, as his.

M. Green ſtrong in ſcriptures and Doctors.

Fecknams report of Bart. Green.

This bill was a ſupplication to be offered up in the Parliament.

Your own, &c.

The copy of another letter written by the faithfull and Chriſtian hearted Lady, the Lady Vane, to M. Philpot, exhibited likewiſe by Biſhop Boner.

A letter written to M. Philpot by the faithfull and Chriſtian Lady, the Lady Vane.

HEarty thanks rendred unto you my welbeloved in Chriſt, for the book ye ſent me, wherein I finde great conſolations, and according to the Doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the ſtrikers, and my womaniſh back to the burthens of reproof, and ſo in the ſtrength of my God I truſt to leap over the wall; for his ſweetneſſe overcometh me daily, and maketh all theſe potecarie drugs of the world, even medicinelike in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beſeech thee (my dear fellow ſouldier) make thy faithfull prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and gladſome conſcience finiſh my courſe, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you ſo often gratifie me with thanks for that which is none worthie, but dutie on my part, and ſmall relief to you. But if you would love me ſo much, that I might ſupply your lacks, then would I think ye beleeved my offers to be ſuch, as agreed with my heart. And for the ſhort charges ye ſpeak of, the means are not ſo pleaſant, if God (whom my truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare; but Solomon ſaith, All things have here their time; You to day, and I to morrow, and ſo the end of Adams line is ſoone run out. The mightie G O D give us his grace, that during this time his glorie be not defaced through our weakneſſe. Becauſe you deſire to ſhew your ſelf a worthy ſouldier, if need ſo require, I will ſupply your requeſt for the Scarfe ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handie work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incenſe, which our beloved Chriſt offered for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and ſouls.

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Over and beſides theſe letters, the Biſhops did alſo bring forth a Supplication made by maſter Philpot unto the high court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the firſt of the two letters laſt mentioned; the copie whereof doth here inſue, as followeth.

To the King and Queens Majeſties Highneſſe, the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled.

A ſupplication of Jo. Philpot to the King and Queene.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto this honourable Court of Parliamant John Philpot Clark, that where there was by the Queens highneſſe a Parliament called in the firſt yeer of her gracious reign, and after the old cuſtome a Convocation of the Clergy, your ſuppliant then being one of the ſaid Convocation houſe, and matters there riſing upon the uſing of the ſacraments, did diſpute in the ſame, knowing that there almen had and have free ſpeech, and ought not to be after troubled for any thing there ſpoken, and yet, that notwithſtanding, not long after the ſaid Parliament, your ſaid ſuppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to priſon to the Kings Bench by the late Lord Chancellor, where he hath remained ever ſince, untill now of late that my Lord the Biſhop of London hath ſent for your ſaid ſuppliant to examine him (being none of his Dioceſſe) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your Orator to declare his conſcience, which the ſaid biſhop ſaith he hath authoritie to do, by reaſon of an Act of Parliament made in the firſt and ſecond yeers of the King and Queens Majeſties reigns, for the reviving of three Statutes made againſt them that hold any opinion againſt the Catholique faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every Ordinarie may, ex Officio, examine every mans conſcience: and for that your ſaid Orator hath and doth refuſe, that the ſaid Bi. of London hath any authoritie over your ſaid Orator, for that he is neither his Dioceſan, nor hath publiſhed, preached, nor held any opinion againſt the Catholique faith (notwithſtanding the ſaid Biſhop of London detaineth him in the Cole-houſe in the ſtocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but ſtraw) and for that your ſaid Orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the ſaid Biſhop, to any other judge, but the ſame Biſhop may refuſe the ſame by their law, and therefore hath no ſuccor and help, but by this high Court of Parliament, for the explanation of the ſaid Act; therefore it may pleaſe you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queens Majeſties, the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, that no Biſhop nor Ordinarie ſhall commit or detain in priſon any ſuſpect perſon or perſons for the Catholique faith, except he or they have ſpoken, written, or done ſome manifeſt act againſt the Catholique faith, and the ſame to be lawfully proved againſt every ſuch perſon or perſons, by the teſtimony of two lawful witneſſes, to be brought before the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo accuſed, before he or they ſhall either be committed to priſon, or convict for any ſuch offence or offences; the ſaid former ſtatute, made in the ſaid firſt and ſecond yeer of our ſaid ſoveraigne Lord and Lady notwithſtanding: whereby your ſaid Orator ſhall not onely be ſet at liberty, and divers other moe remaining in priſon; but alſo the blood of divers of the Queens Majeſties true and faithfull ſubjects preſerved.

The ſtraight handling of Io. Philpot in the Biſhops Cole-houſe.

The condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, Iohn Philpot.

Of this book of diſputation in the Convocation, read before.

Theſe books, letters, ſupplications, and other matters being thus read, the biſhop demanded of him, if the book intituled, The true report of the Diſputation, &c. were of his penning or not? Whereunto Philpot anſwered, That it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and ſetting forth.

The biſhops waxing now weary, and being not able by any ſufficient ground, either of Gods word, or of the true ancient Catholique Fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering ſpeech to perſwade with him; promiſing, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romiſh and Babylonical church, he ſhould not onely be pardoned that which was paſt, but alſo they would with all favour and cheerfulneſſe of heart receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Boner ſaw would take no place; he demanded of M. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any juſt cauſe to alledge, why he ſhould not condemne him as an heretique. Well (quoth M. Philpot) your idolatrous ſacrament which you have found out ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever ſhall.

Ah, my Lord, what needed this queſtion, when no reaſonable anſwer could be allowed?

In the end the Biſhop, ſeeing his unmoveable ſtedfaſtneſſe in the Truth, did pronounce openly the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. In the reading whereof, when he came to theſe words, Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obſtinatum, pertinacem, & impœnitentem, &c. Maſter Philpot ſaid, I thank God that I am an heretique out of your curſed Church; I am no heretique before God. But God bleſſe you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody Church.

Sentence of condemnation read againſt M. Philpot.

M. Philpots words in reading the ſentence.

Moreover, whiles Boner was about the midſt of the ſentence, the biſhop of Bathe pulled him by the ſleeve, and ſaid; My Lord, my Lord, know of him firſt whether he will recant or no. Then Boner ſaid (full like himſelf) O let him alone; and ſo read forth the ſentence.

M. Philpot delivered to the ſheriffes.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffes; and ſo two Officers brought him thorow the Biſhops houſe into Paternoſter Row, and there his ſervant met him, and when he ſaw him, he ſaid; Ah dear maſter.

M. Philpot to his ſervant.

Then M. Philpot ſaid to his man; Content thy ſelf, I ſhall do well enough; for thou ſhalt ſee me again.

M. Philpot brought into Newgate, his man permitted to enter with him.

And ſo the Officers thruſt him away, and had his maſter to Newgate; and as he went, he ſaid to the people; Ah, good people, bleſſed be God for this day; and ſo the Officers delivered him to the Keeper. Then his Man thruſt to go in after his Maſter, and one of the Officers ſaid unto him; Hence Fellow, what wouldeſt thou have? And he ſaid, I would go ſpeak with my maſter. Maſter Philpot then turned him about, and ſaid to him, To morrow thou ſhalt ſpeak with me.

Then the under Keeper ſaid to M. Philpot, Is this your Man? and he ſaid, Yea. So he did licenſe his man to go in with him, and M. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, untill Alexander the chief Keeper did come unto him; who at his entring greeted him with theſe words; Ah, ſaid he, haſt not thou done well to bring thy ſelf hither. Well, ſaid Maſter Philpot, I muſt be content, for it is Gods appointment; and I ſhall deſire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, ſaid Alexander, I will ſhew thee gentleneſſe and favour, ſo thou wilt be ruled by me. Then ſaid M. Philpot, I pray you ſhew me what you would have me to do.

Talk betwixt M. Philpot and Alexander the Keeper.

He ſaid, If you would recant, I will ſhew you any pleaſure I can. Nay, ſaid M. Philpot, I will never recant whileſt I have my life that which I have ſpoken, for it is moſt certain truth, and in witneſſe hereof I will ſeal it with my blood. Then Alexander ſaid, This is the ſaying of the whole pack of you heretiques. Whereupon he commanded him to be ſet upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked minde.

Good Philpot loden with irons becauſe he would not recant at Alexanders bidding.

Then the Clerk told Alexander in his eare, that Maſter Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander ſaid to his Man, What money hath thy Maſter given thee? He anſwered; My Maſter hath given me none. No, ſaid Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will ſearch thee. Do with me what you liſt, and ſearch me all that you can, quoth his ſervant; he hath given me a token or two to ſend to his friends, as to his brother and ſiſters. Ah, ſaid Alexander unto Maſter Philpot, thou art a maintainer of Heretiques; Thy man ſhould have gone to ſome of thine affinity, but he ſhall be known well enough. Nay, ſaid Maſter Philpot, I do ſend it to my friends; there he is, let him make anſwer to it. But good Maſter Alexander be ſo much my Friend, that theſe Irons may be taken off. Well, ſaid Alexander, give me my Fees, and

Alexander taketh Philpots tokens from his man.

Alexander the cruell keeper requireth foure pounds of M. Philpot for his irons.

I will take them off; if not, thou ſhalt weare them ſtill.

Then ſaid M. Philpot, ſir, what is your fees? He ſaid, four pound was his fees. Ah, ſaid M. Philpot, I have not ſo much; I am but a poore man, and I have been long in priſon. What wilt thou give me then, ſaid Alexander? Sir (ſaid he) I will give you twenty ſhillings, and that I will ſend my man for, or elſe I will lay my gown to gage; for the time is not long (I am ſure) that I ſhall be with you; for the biſhop ſaid unto me that I ſhould be ſoone diſpatched.

M. Philpot had into Limbo.

Then ſaid Alexander unto him, what is that to me? and with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into Limbo, and ſo his commandement was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the Clarke would have a Groat.

Then one Witterence, Steward of the houſe, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore M. Philpot ſaid to his man; go to M. Sheriffe, and ſhew him how I am uſed, and deſire maſter Sheriffe to be good unto me; and ſo his ſervant went ſtraight way, and took an honeſt man with him.

M. Macham ſheriffe, a good man, ſendeth his ring to take off M. Philpots irons, and to reſtore the mans tokens.

And when they came to maſter Sheriffe (which was M. Macham) and ſhewed him how maſter Philpot was handled in Newgate, the Sheriffe hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honeſt man which came with M. Philpots man, and bad him go unto Alexander the Keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the ſaid Alexander, and told their meſſage from the Sheriffe, Alexander took the ring, and ſaid; Ah, I perceive that M. Sheriffe is a bearer with him, and all ſuch heretiques as he is, therefore to morrow I will ſhew it to his betters: Yet at ten of the clock he went into M. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him ſuch things as he had taken before from his ſervant.

Note the ſpitefulneſſe of this keeper.

M. Philpot with much ado releaſed of his irons.

December 17.

M. Philpot warned by the Sheriffes to prepare him againſt the next day to the fire.

December 18.

Upon Tueſday at ſupper, being the ſeventeenth day of December, there came a meſſenger from the Sheriffes, and bade maſter Philpot make him readie, for the next day he ſhould ſuffer, and be burned at a ſtake with fire. Maſter Philpot anſwered and ſaid, I am readie; God grant me ſtrength, and a joyfull reſurrection. And ſo he went into his chamber, and poured out his ſpirit unto the Lord God, giving him moſt hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthie to ſuffer for his truth.

M. Philpot brought to the place of martyrdome.

In the morning the Sheriffes came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he moſt joyfully came down unto them, And there his man did meet him, and ſaid; Ah dear Maſter farewell: His Maſter ſaid unto him, ſerve God and he will help thee. And ſo he went with the ſheriffes to the place of execution; and when he was entring into Smithfield, the way was foule, and two officers took him up to beare him to the ſtake. Then he ſaid merrily, what? will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journeys end on foot. But firſt coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there ſaying theſe words; I will pay my vows in thee O Smithfield.

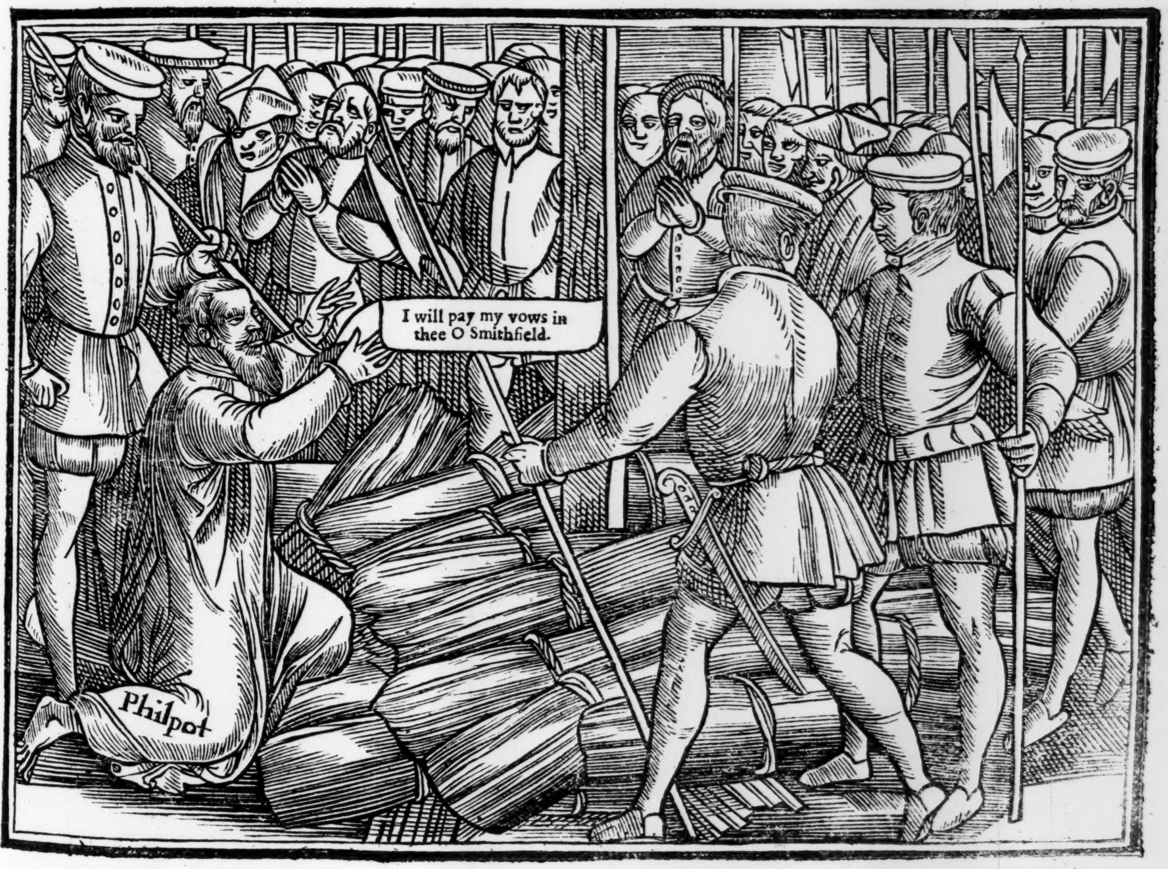
M. Philpots words going to the ſtake.

M. Philpots prayers.

And when he was come to the place of ſuffering, he kiſſed the ſtake, and ſaid, Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this ſtake, ſeeing my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile death upon the croſſe for me? And then with an obedient heart full meekly he ſaid the Cvi. Cvii. and Cviii. pſalms: and when

he

The martyrdome of maſter Iohn Philpot Archdeacon, with the manner *of his kneeling and praying at the ſtake.*


I will pay my vows in thee O Smithfield.
Philpot

Io. Philpot giveth the officers money.

he had made an end of all his prayers, he ſaid to the Officers; What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Then they bound him to the ſtake, and ſet fire unto that conſtant Martyr: Who the eighteenth day of December, in the midſt of the fiery flames, yeelding his ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lambe gave up his breath, his bodie being conſumed into aſhes.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the life and doings of this learned and worthie ſouldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: firſt penned and written with his own hand, being marvellouſly reſerved from the ſight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner meanes ſought not onely to ſtop him from all writing, but alſo to ſpoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cauſe he was many times ſtripped and ſearched in the priſon of his Keeper: but yet ſo happily theſe his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or elſe his Keepers eyes ſo blinded, that notwithſtanding all this malicious purpoſe of the biſhops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

The writings & examinations of M. John Philpot, by the providence of Almighty God preſerved.

A prayer to be ſaid at the ſtake, of all them that God ſhall account worthie to ſuffer for his ſake.

A godly prayer to be ſaid at the time of martyrdome.

MErcifull God and Father, to whom our Saviour Chriſt approached in his feare and need by reaſon of death, and found comfort; Gracious God and moſt bounteous Chriſt, on whom Steven called in his extreme need, and received ſtrength; Moſt benigne holy ſpirit, which in the midſt of all croſſes of death didſt comfort the Apoſtle ſaint Paul, with more conſolations in Chriſt, then he felt ſorrows and terrors, have mercie upon me miſerable, vile, and wretched ſinner, which now draw neer the gates of death, deſerved both in ſoul and bodie eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old and new tranſgreſſions, which to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and known: Oh be mercifull unto me, for the bitter death and bloodſhedding of thine own onely Son Ieſus Chriſt. And though thy juſtice do require (in reſpect of my ſins) that now thou ſhouldeſt not hear me, meaſuring me in the ſame meaſure I have meaſured thy Majeſtie, contemning thy daily calls; yea let thy mercie which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercie (I ſay) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Chriſt our Saviour. And for whoſe ſake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bring me forth now as one of his witneſſes, and a record bearer of thy veritie and truth taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignitie I do acknowledge deare God that there was never any ſo unworthie and ſo unmeet, no not the theefe that hanged with him on the croſſe:) I moſt humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldeſt accordingly aid, help, and aſſiſt me with thy ſtrength and heavenly grace, that with Chriſt thy Sonne I may finde comfort, with Stephen I may ſee thy preſence, and gratious power, with Paul, and all others which for thy Names ſake have ſuffered affliction and death, I may finde ſo preſent with me thy gracious conſolations, that I may by my death glorifie thy holy Name, propagate, and ratifie thy veritie, comfort the hearts of the heavie, confirm thy Church in thy veritie, convert ſome that are to be converted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do nothing but daily heap ſinne upon ſinne, and ſo enter into the fruition of thy bleſſed mercie; whereof now give and increaſe in me a lively truſt, ſenſe, and feeling, where through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of ſinne, the darts of Satan, and the dolors of hell may never depreſſe me, but may be driven away through the working of that moſt gracious ſpirit; which now plenteouſly endue me withall, that through the ſame ſpirit I may offer (as I now deſire to do in Chriſt by him) my ſelf wholly ſoul and bodie, to be a lively ſacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy ſight. Dear Father, whoſe I am, and alwayes have been, even from my mothers wombe, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend my ſelf, ſoul and bodie, family and friends, countrey and all the whole Church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleaſure; beſeeching thee intirely to give once more to this Realm of England the bleſſing of thy Word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and ſetting forth of the ſame. O deare Father, now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and ſo purifie me by this fire in Chriſts death and paſſion through thy ſpirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a ſweet ſmell in thy ſight which liveſt and reigneſt with the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, now and for evermore world without end, Amen.

He prayeth for reſtoring of the Goſpel & peace in England.

Letters of M. Philpot.

A letter which he ſent to the Chriſtian congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous ſervice of the Papiſts, and to ſerve God after his word.

A letter of M. Philpot to the congregation.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this preſent in England the faithleſſe departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and uſe of Chriſts ſincere religion, which ſo plentifully they have been taught and do know, their own conſciences bearing witneſſe to the veritie thereof. If that earth be curſed of God, which eftſoons receiving moiſture and pleaſant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgement ſhall ſuch perſons receive, which having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the miniſtrie thereof, do not ſhew forth Gods worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require in the day of judgement a godly uſurie of all maner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the ſame of his pure Religion revealed unto us (which is of all other talents the chiefeſt and moſt pertaining to our exerciſe in this life) if we hide the ſame in a napkin, and ſet it not forth to the uſury of Gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright light of his Goſpel, which in times paſt was ſuppreſſed and hid under the vile aſhes of mans traditions, and hath cauſed the brightneſſe thereof to ſhine in our hearts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before men to the honour of his name. It is not onely given us to beleeve, but alſo to confeſſe and declare what we beleeve in our outward converſation. For as ſaint Paul writeth to the Romanes, The beleef of the heart juſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. It is all one before God, not to beleeve at all, and not to ſhew forth the lively works of our beleef. For Chriſt ſaith, Either make the tree good and his fruits good: Or elſe make the tree evil and the fruits evill, becauſe a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evill tree doth evill fruits. So that the perſon which knoweth his Maſters will and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. And not all they which ſay Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdome of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And whoſoever in the time of triall is aſhamed of me (ſaith Chriſt) and of my words, of him the Son of man will be aſhamed before his Father. After that we have built our ſelves into the true Church of God, it hath pleaſed him

Hebr. 6.
Math. 25
Math. 5.
Rom. 10.
Math. 7.
Luke 12.
Math. 7. Luke 9.

by

Math. 7.

by giving us over into the hands of the wicked ſynagogues to prove our building, and to have it knowne as well to the World as to our ſelves, that we have beene wiſe builders into the true Church of God upon the rock, and not on the ſand, and therefore now the tempeſt is riſen, and the ſtorms do mightily blow againſt us, that we might notwithſtanding ſtand upright, and be firme in the Lord, to his honor and glory, and to our eternall felicitie. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with ſuch tempeſts and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exerciſed. Now once againe as the Prophet Aggeus telleth us, The Lord ſhaketh the earth, that thoſe might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

Aggeus 2.

Wiſdome of the fleſh not to be hearkned unto.

Rom. 8.
1 Cor. 6.
Math. 16.

Therefore my dearely beloved, be ſtable and immoveable in the word of God, and in the faithfull obſervation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vaine words, ſaying, that you may keep your faith to your ſelves, and diſſemble with Antichriſt, and ſo live at reſt and quietneſſe in the world, as moſt men do, yeelding to neceſſitie. This is the wiſdome of the fleſh; but the wiſdome of the fleſh is death and enmitie to God, as our Saviour for enſample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorteth Chriſt not to go to Ieruſalem to celebrate the Paſſeover and there to be ſlain, but counſelled him to look better to himſelfe.

Heb. 11.
Pſal. 116.

Death for righteouſnes bringeth felicitie.

Likewiſe the world would not have us to forſake it, neither to aſſociate our ſelves to the true church, which is the body of Chriſt, whereof we are lively members, and to uſe the ſacraments after Gods word with the danger of our lives. But we muſt learn to anſwer the world, as Chriſt did Peter, and ſay, Goe behinde me Satan, thou ſavoureſt not the things of God. Shall I not drinke of the cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be ſlaine in the Church of God, then to be counted the ſonne of the King, and the ſynagogue of falſe religion. Death for righteouſneſſe is not to be abhorred, but rather to be deſired, which aſſuredly bringeth with it the crowne of everlaſting glory. Theſe bloudy executioners doe not perſecute Chriſts Martyrs, but crowne them with everlaſting felicitie; we were borne into this world to be witneſſes unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Godly counſell.
Luk. 18.
3 Reg. 18.

Apoc. 5.

3 Reg. 31.
God will not be ſerved after mans imagination, but as himſelf preſcribeth.

Now ſince the time is come that we muſt ſhew our faith, and declare whether we will be Gods ſervants in righteouſneſſe and holineſſe, as we have beene taught and are bound to follow, or elſe with hypocriſie to ſerve unrighteouſneſſe: let us take good heed that we be found faithfull in the Lords covenant, and true members of his Church, in the which through knowledge we are ingraffed; from the which if we fall by tranſgreſſion with the common ſort of people, it will more ſtraightly be required of us, then many yet doe make account thereof. We cannot ſerve two Maſters; we may not halt on both ſides, and thinke to pleaſe God; we muſt be fervent in Gods cauſe, or elſe he will caſt us out from him. For by the firſt commandement we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our minde, with all our power and ſtrength: but they are manifeſt trangreſſors of this commandement, which with their heart, minde, or bodily power, doe communicate with a ſtrange religion, contrarie to the word of God, in the Papiſticall Synagogue, which calleth it ſelfe the Church, and is not. As greatly doe they offend GOD now which ſo doe, as the Iſraelites did in times paſt by forſaking Ieruſalem the true Church of God, and by going to Bethel to ſerve God in a Congregation of their own ſetting up, and after their owne imaginations and traditions: for the which doing God utterly deſtroyed all Iſrael, as all the Prophets almoſt doe teſtifie. This happened unto them for our enſample, that we might beware to have any fellowſhip with any like congregation to our deſtruction.

Epheſ. 2.

Pſal. 21.

Pſal. 26.

God hath one Catholike Church diſperſed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creede to beleeve one Catholike Church, and to have communion therewith: which Catholike church is grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets, and of the Apoſtles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witneſſeth to the Epheſians. Therefore whereſoever we perceive any people to worſhip God truely after his word, there we may be certaine the church of Chriſt to be; unto the which we ought to aſſociate our ſelves, and to deſire with the Prophet David, to praiſe God in the middeſt of his church. But if we behold through the iniquitie of time, ſegregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwiſe then the word of God doth teach, we ought then if we be required to be companions thereof, to ſay againe with David, I have hated the Synagogue of the malignant, and will not ſit with the wicked. In the Apocalyps the church of Epheſus is highly commended, becauſe ſhe tryed ſuch as ſaid they were Apoſtles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they ſhould not ſeeke Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where Idolatry was uſed, by the mouth of his Prophet Amos. Alſo we muſt conſider that our bodies be the Temple of God, and whoſoever (as S. Paul teacheth) doth prophane the Temple of God, him the Lord will deſtroy. May we then take the Temple of Chriſt and make it the member of an harlot? All ſtrange religion and idolatrie is counted whoredome with the Prophets, and the more deteſtable in the ſight of God, then the adventurous abuſe of the body.

Apoc. 2.

Amos 5.

2 Cor. 3.

Not lawfull for a true chriſtian to come to the maſſe.

Therefore the Princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. Iohn, be ſaid to go a whoring, when they are in love with falſe religion, and follow the ſame. How then by any meanes may a Chriſtian man thinke it tolerable to be preſent at the Popiſh private Maſſe (which is the very prophanation of the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt) and at other idolatrous worſhippings and rites, which be not after the worde of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in ſetting mans traditions above Gods precepts, ſince GOD by his word judgeth all ſtrange religion, which is not according to his inſtitution, for whoredome and advoutry?

Some fondly thinke that the preſence of the body is not materiall, ſo that the heart doe not conſent to their wicked doings. But ſuch perſons little conſider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorifie God as well in body as in ſoule.

Not enough to confeſſe God in heart, but in mouth alſo.

A leſſon for large conſciences.

Moreover, we can doe no greater injurie to the true church of Chriſt, then to ſeeme to have forſaken her, and diſallow her by cleaving to her adverſarie: whereby it appeareth to others which be weake, that we allow the ſame, and ſo contrary to the word, doe give a great offence to the Church of God, and doe outwardly ſlander, as much as men may, the truth of Chriſt. But woe be unto him by whom any ſuch offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a milſtone tied about his neck, and to be caſt into the bottome of the ſea. Such be traytors to the truth, like unto Iudas, who with a kiſſe betrayed Chriſt. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we ſhould be of any other then of that unſpotted church, whereof he is the head onely, and wherein he hath planted us by baptiſme. This jealouſie which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, againſt all ſuch as now have ſo large conſciences to do that which is

Mark. 8.

Reaſons proving that true chriſtians ought in no wiſe to participate with Papiſts.

contrarie to Gods glory, and the ſinceritie of his word, except they doe in time repent, and cleave unſeparably to the Goſpel of Chriſt, how much ſoever at this preſent both men and women otherwiſe in their owne corrupt judgement, doe flatter themſelves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his ſight, and to abſtaine from all manner of evill, and therefore Chriſt commandeth us in the Goſpel to beware of the leaven of the Phariſees, which is hypocriſie.

Heb. 10.

Apoc. 13.

Epheſ. 5.

St. Paul to the Hebrewes ſaith, If any man withdraw himſelfe from the faith, his ſoule ſhall have no pleaſure in him: therefore he ſaith alſo, That we are none ſuch as doe withdraw our ſelves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life. St. Iohn in the Apocalyps telleth us plainly, that none of thoſe, who are written in the booke of life, doe receive the marke of the beaſt, which is of the Papiſticall Synagogue, either in their foreheads, or elſe in their hands, that is apparently or obediently.

Phil. 2.

2 Cor. 6.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowſhip with the workes of darknes, but in the midſt of this wicked and froward generation we ought to ſhine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he ſaith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which ſignifieth that our outward converſation in forreine things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean ſpirit and rectified body we might ſerve God juſtly in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe all the daies of our life.

Apoc. 18.

2 Theſ. 3.

Finally in the 18. of the Apocalyps, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonicall Synagogue, and not to be partakers of her treſpaſſe. S. Paul to the Theſſ. commandeth us in the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, to withdraw our ſelves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the inſtitution which he hath received of him.

The place of Matth. 5. expounded.

Matth. 24.

A curſed thing to ſin upon hope of forgiveneſſe.

Pſal. 102. 146.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren & ſiſters, theſe Scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vaine: which be utterly againſt all counterfeit illuſion to be uſed of us with the Papiſts in their phantaſticall religion, and be adverſaries to all them that have ſo light conſciences in ſo doing: and if they doe not agree with this adverſarie (I meane the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as it is ſignified in the Goſpel) deliver them to the judge, which is Chriſt, and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is to the devill, and the devill ſhall commit them to the horrible priſon of hell fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with ſulphure and brimſtone, with wailing and gnaſhing of teeth world without end. But yet many will ſay for their vaine excuſe; God is mercifull, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teacheth us, That curſed is he that ſinneth upon hope of forgiveneſſe: Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his workes, and yet but upon ſuch as feare him: for it is written in the Pſalmes, The mercy of God is on them that feare him, and on ſuch as put their truſt in him. Where we may learne, that they onely put their truſt in God, that ſerve him; and to feare God, is to turne from evill and doe that is good. So that ſuch as doe looke to be partakers in Gods mercy, may not abide in that which is knowne to be manifeſt evill and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

Luk. 20.

1 Pet. 2.

Q. Mariæ. Anno. 1555.

Obedience to Magiſtrates what, and how farre.

Acts 4.

Another ſort of perſons doe make them a cloak for the raine under the pretence of obedience to the magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But ſuch muſt learne of Chriſt to give to Cæſar that is Cæſars, and to God that is due to God, and with S. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evill, if they command nothing contrary to Gods word, otherwiſe we ought not to obey their commandements, although we ſhould ſuffer death therefore: as we have the Apoſtles for our example herein to follow, who anſwered the Magiſtrates as we ought to doe in this caſe, not obeying their wicked precepts, ſaying, Iudge you whether it be more righteous that we ſhould obey man rather then God.

Daniel 6.

Matth. 15.

Againſt ſuch as ſin willingly upon hope of election.

Rom. 3.

Epheſ. 1.

Alſo Daniel choſe rather to be caſt into the den of Lions to be devoured, then to obey the Kings wicked commandements. If the blinde leade the blinde, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuſe for the tranſgreſſion of Gods word, whether a man doe it voluntarily or at commandement, although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extreme refuge in their evill doings, doe runne to Gods predeſtination and election, ſaying, that if I be elected of God to ſalvation, I ſhall be ſaved, whatſoever I doe. But ſuch be great tempters of God, and abominable blaſphemers of Gods holy election, and caſt themſelves downe from the pinacle of the Temple in preſumption, that GOD may preſerve them by his Angels through predeſtination. Such verily may reckon themſelves to be none of Gods elect children, that will doe evill that good may enſue; whoſe damnation is juſt, as Saint Paul ſaith. Gods predeſtination and election ought to be with a ſimple eye conſidered, to make us more warily to walke in good and godly converſation according to Gods word, and not ſet cock in the hoope, and put all on Gods back to doe wickedly at large: for the elect children of God muſt walke in righteouſneſſe and holineſſe after that they be once called to true knowledge. For ſo ſaith Saint Paul to the Epheſ. That God hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and blameleſſe in his ſight.

2 Pet. 1.

Prov. 24.

Therefore Saint Peter willeth us through good workes to make our vocation and election certaine to our ſelves, which we know not but by the good working of Gods ſpirit in us, according to the rule of the Goſpel; and he that conformeth not hinſelfe to the ſame in godly converſation, may juſtly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a childe of darknes. For the children of light will walke in the works of light and not of darkneſſe; though they fall, they do not lie ſtill.

Iohn 12.

Iohn 3.

Heb. 10.

Let all vaine excuſations be ſet apart, and whiles ye have light, as Chriſt commandeth, beleeve the light and abide in the ſame, leſt eternall darkneſſe overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but (alas) men love darkneſſe more then the light. God give us his pure eye-ſalve to heale our blindneſſe in this behalfe. O that men and women would be healed, and not ſeeke to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eies, that they may ſee how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrarie to their conſcience.

Large conſcience.

But what ſaid I, conſcience? many affirme their conſcience will beare them well enough to do all that they doe, and to go to the idolatrous church to ſervice; whoſe conſcience is very large to ſatisfie man more then GOD. And although their conſcience can beare them ſo to doe, yet I am ſure that a good conſcience will not permit them ſo to doe; which cannot be good, unleſſe it be directed after the knowledge of Gods word: and therefore in Latine this feeling minde is called Conſcientia, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our conſcience be led of her ſelfe, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed, as Saint Paul beareth witneſſe, ſaying, Although my conſcience accuſeth me

not,

1 Cor. 4. 1 Tim. 1.

Charitie. Pure heart. Faith unfained. Good conſcience.

not, yet in this I am not juſtified. And he joyneth a good conſcience with theſe three ſiſters, charitie, a pure heart, and unfained faith. Charitie keepeth Gods commandements, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfained faith is never aſhamed of the profeſſion of the Goſpel, whatſoever damage he ſhall ſuffer in body thereby. The Lord which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be aſhamed of it, and give us grace ſo earneſtly to cleave to his holy word and true church, that for no manner of worldly reſpect we become partakers of the works of hypocriſie, which God doth abhor; ſo that we may be found faithfull in the Lords Teſtament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlaſting ſalvation, Amen.

Iohn Philpot, priſoner in the
Kings Bench for the teſtimonie of the truth. 1555.

To his deare friend in the Lord, Iohn Careleſſe priſoner in the Kings Bench.

Another letter of M. Philpot to I. Careleſſe.

My dearely beloved brother Careleſſe, I have receſved your loving letters full of love and compaſſion, inſomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to ſee you ſo carefull for one that hath been ſo unprofitable a member as I have been, and am in Chriſts church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weep for him who hath not deſerved ſuch gentle teares: and praiſe God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whoſe want you may worthily lament; God give your pittifull heart his inward conſolation. Indeed my deare Careleſſe, I am in this world in hel, and in the ſhadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deſerts down into hell, ſhall ſhortly lift me up to heaven, where I ſhall looke continually for your coming and others my faithfull brethren in the Kings Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgement of this world, yet aſſuredly I feele in the ſame the conſolation of heaven, I praiſe God; and this loathſome and horrible priſon is as pleaſant to me, as the walk in the garden of the Kings Bench.

Experience of the Lords comfort in trouble.

You know brother Careleſſe, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we muſt ſtrive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God doe mittigate the ouglineſſe of mine impriſonment, what will he doe in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an enſample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my deare brethren with you in theſe cruell dayes, in the which the devill ſo rageth at the faithfull flock of Chriſt, but in vaine (I truſt) againſt any of us: who be perſwaded that neither life, neither death is able to ſeparate us from the love of Chriſts Goſpel, which is Gods high treaſure committed to our brittle veſſels to glorifie us by the ſame. God of his mercy make us faithfull ſtewards to the end, and give us grace to feare nothing whatſoever in his good pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame. That I have not written unto you erſt, the cauſe is our ſtrait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day ſerveth us but a while in our darke cloſet. This is the firſt letter that I have written ſince I came to priſon, beſides the report of mine examinations; and I am faine to ſcribble it out in haſte.

Example of Chriſts comfort, to be taken by M. Philpot.

Commend me to all our faithfull brethren, and bid them with a good courage looke for their redemption, and frame themſelves to be hearty ſouldiers in Chriſt. They have taken his preſt money a great while, and now let them ſhew themſelves ready to ſerve him faithfully, and not to flie out of the Lords campe into the world, as many doe. Let them remember that in the Apocalyps the fearefull be excluded the Kingdome. Let us be of good cheere, for our Lord overcame the world, that we ſhould doe the like. Bleſſed is the ſervant, whom when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earneſtly one for another, that we be not led into temptation. Be joyfull under the croſſe and praiſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt ſacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and deſire him to love and continue in the unitie of Chriſts true church, which he hath begun, and then ſhal he make me more & more to joy under my croſſe with him. Tell my brother Clements that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in ſignification of an unfained unitie with us; let him increaſe my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, M. Mering, M. Crooch, with the reſt, and ſpecially M. Marſhall, and his wife, with great thankes for his kindneſſe ſhewed unto me. Farewell my deare Careleſſe. I have dallied with the devill awhile, but I am over the ſhooes: God ſend me well out.

Apoc. 21.

Out of the Colehouſe, by your
brother, Iohn Philpot.

Another letter to Iohn Careleſſe, profitable to be read of all them which mourne in repentance for their ſinnes.

Another letter of M. Philpot to the ſame partie.

The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſend unto thee my deare brother Careleſſe, the inward conſolation of his holy ſpirit, in all the malicious aſſaults and troublous temptations of our common adverſarie the Devill, Amen.

That God giveth you ſo contrite a heart for your ſins I cannot but rejoyce to behold the lively marke of the children of God, whoſe property is to thinke more lowly and vilely of themſelves then of any other, and oftentimes doe ſet their ſins before them, that they might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoyce. Such a broken heart is a pleaſant ſacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart. God mollifie my ſtonie heart, which lamenteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable iniquities. Praiſed be God that he hath given you this ſorrowfull heart in reſpect of righteouſneſſe, and I pray you let me be partaker of theſe godly ſorrowes for ſinne, which be the teſtimonie of the preſence of the holy Ghoſt. Did not the ſword of ſorrow pierce the heart of the elect and bleſſed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weepe bitterly for his ſinnes, which was ſo beloved of Chriſt? Did not Mary Magdalen waſh the feet of our Saviour with her teares, and received therewith all remiſſion of her ſeven fold ſinnes?

To this letter Careleſſe maketh a very godly anſwer, which you ſhall ſee afterward in his ſtory. Pſal. 51.

Be of good comfort therefore mine owne deare heart, in this thy ſorrow, for it is the earneſt penie of eternall conſolation. In thy ſorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: Bleſſed be they (ſaith Chriſt) that mourne, for they ſhall be comforted. They went forth and wept, ſaith the Prophet, ſuch ſhall come againe, having their gripes full of gladneſſe. And although a ſorrowfull heart, in conſideration of his ſinne, be an acceptable ſacrifice before GOD, whereby we are ſtirred up to more thankfulneſſe unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God muſt keepe a meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed up by much ſorrow. Saint Paul would not the Theſſalonians to be ſory as other men which have no hope: ſuch a ſorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is

Matth. 5. Pſal. 125. Pſal. 51. Luke

Sorrow in a Chriſtian man ought to be moderate. 1 Theſ. 4.

2 Cor. 7.

Rom. 5.

farre from the children of God, who are continually ſorrowfull in God when they looke upon their owne unworthineſſe, with hope of forgiveneſſe. For God to this end by his ſpirit ſetteth the ſinnes of his elect ſtill before them, that where they perceive ſinne to abound, there they might be aſſured that grace ſhall ſuperabound; and bringeth them downe unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore mine owne bowels in Chriſt, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not diſmaied through your penſive heart for your ſinnes, how huge ſoever they have been, for God is able to forgive more then you are able to ſinne: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is ſorry for his ſinnes.

Satans practiſe to bring the godly repentance of a ſinner to deſperation.

But know brother, that as oft as we doe goe about, by the helpe of Gods ſpirit, to doe that is good, the evill ſpirit Satan layeth hard wait to turne the good unto evill, and goeth about to mixe the deteſtable darnell of deſperation with the godly ſorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious ſubtiltie, and how that continually he aſſaulteth that good which the grace of God planteth. I ſee the battell betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea and that daily: For you have laid hold upon the anchor of ſalvation, which is hope in Chriſt, the which will not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed.

Be not diſcontented that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the ſame to trie your faith, and that you might appeare daily worthy of the Kingdome of God, for the which you ſtrive. God beholdeth your ſtriving faith againſt Satan, and is pleaſed with your mighty reſiſtance. The ſpirit which is in you, is mightier then all the adverſaries power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heeles, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he ſhall not: yea he cannot, for you are ſealed up already with a lively faith to be the childe of God for ever: and whom God hath once ſealed for his owne, him he never utterly forſaketh. The juſt falleth ſeven times, but he riſeth againe. It is mans frailty to fall, but it is the propertie of the Devils childe to lie ſtill.

Gods children fall. The devils children lye ſtil.

This ſtrife againſt ſinne is a ſufficient teſtimonie that you are the childe of God: for if you were not, you ſhould feele no ſuch malice as he now troubleth you withall. When this ſtrong Goliah hath the hold, all things are in peace which he poſſeſſeth: and becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you unaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the ſword of Gods promiſes ſmite him on the ſcalpe: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to ſtand againſt you any more. Saint James telleth you that he is but a coward, ſaying, Reſiſt the devill, and he will flye from thee. It is the will of God that he ſhould thus long tempt you and not go away as yet, or elſe he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receive the foile at your hands, and increaſe the crowne of your glorie: for he that overcometh ſhall be crowned. Therefore glorie in your temptations, ſince they ſhall turne to your felicitie. Be not afraid of your continuall aſſaults which be occaſions of your daily victorie. The word of God abideth for ever, In what houre ſoever a ſinner repenteth him of his ſins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? Do you not perceive the manifeſt tokens of your election? Firſt, your vocation to the Goſpel, and after your vocation, the manifeſt gifts of the ſpirit of God given unto you above many other of your condition, with godlineſſe which beleeveth and yeeldeth to the authoritie of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the ſame? Seeing you are Gods owne dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a deject minde for theſe temptations, neither make your unfained friends to be more ſorrowfull for you then need doth require.

Strife againſt ſin is a token of Gods childe. Luke 11.

Iames 4.

Since God hath willed you at your baptiſme in Chriſt to be careleſſe, why doe you make your ſelfe carefull? Caſt all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes alwaies, for he is on your right ſide, that you ſhould not be then moved. Behold the goodneſſe of God toward me. I am careleſſe, being faſt cloſed in a paire of ſtockes, which pinch me for very ſtraitneſſe; and will you be carefull? I will not have that unſeemely addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtleſſe you have no other cauſe but ſo to be. Pray, I beſeech you, that I may be ſtill careleſſe in my carefull eſtate, as you have cauſe to be careleſſe in your eaſier condition. Be thankfull and put away all care, and then I ſhall be joyfull in my ſtrait preſent care. Commend me to all our brethren, and deſire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devill rageth againſt me: I am put in the ſtocks in a place alone, becauſe I would not anſwer to ſuch articles, as they would charge me withall in a corner at the Biſhops appointment, and becauſe I did not come to Maſſe when the Biſhop ſent for me. I will lye all the daies of my life in the ſtocks, by Gods grace, rather then I will conſent to the wicked generation. Praiſe God, and be joyfull, that it hath pleaſed him to make us worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for his names ſake. The devill muſt rage for tenne daies. Commend me to Maſter F. and thanke him for his Law bookes: but neither law nor equitie will take any place among theſe blood-thirſtie. I would for your ſake their unjuſt dealing were noted unto the Parliament houſe, if it might availe. God ſhorten theſe evill daies. I have anſwered the Biſhop meetly plain already, & I ſaid to him, if he will call me in open judgement, I will anſwer him as plainely as he will require: otherwiſe I have refuſed, becauſe I feare they will condemne me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be with you my deare brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot reade my ſelfe, and God knoweth it is written far uneaſily. I pray God you may picke out ſome underſtanding of my minde towards you. Written in a Cole-houſe of darkneſſe, out of a paire of painfull ſtocks, by thine owne in Chriſt,

True Chriſtians how they ought to be careleſſe in their carefull eſtate.

Iohn Philpot.

Another letter of Maſter Philpot, to certaine godly women, forſaking their owne Countrey for the Goſpel, full of fruitfull precepts and leſſons for all good women.

Another letter of M. Philpot to certaine godly women.

THe ſpirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearely beloved, by the Goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively Temple of God, through the mightie operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the Evangeliſts, of certaine godly women, that miniſtred unto Chriſt, following him in the daies of his paſſion, and never forſooke him, but being dead in his grave, brought oyle to annoint him, untill that he had ſhewed himſelfe unto them after his reſurrection, and bidden them ſhew unto his Diſciples, which at his paſſion were diſperſed, and tell them that he was riſen, & that they ſhould ſee him in Galile. To whom I may juſtly compare you (my loving ſiſters in Chriſt) who of late have ſeene him ſuffer in his members, and have miniſtred to their neceſſitie, annointing them with the comfortable oyle of your charitable aſſiſtance, even to the death: and now ſince ye have ſeen Chriſt to live in the aſhes of them, whom the tyrants have ſlaine, he willed you to goe away upon juſt occaſion offered you, and to declare to our diſperſed brethren and ſiſters, that he is riſen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelitie, and that they ſhall ſee him in Galile, which is by forſaking this world, and by a faithfull deſire to paſſe out of this world by thoſe waies, which he with his holy martyrs hath gone on before.

Wholeſome and godly precepts of life.

God therefore (intire ſiſters) direct your way, as he did Abraham & Tobias unto a ſtrange land: God give you health both of body and ſoule, that ye may goe from vertue to vertue, and grow from ſtrength to ſtrength, untill ye may ſee face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his bleſſed Martyrs and Saints. Let there be continuall aſcenſious unto heaven in your hearts. Let there be no decreaſe of any vertue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the juſt, ſuch as Solomon ſaith, increaſeth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the ſtrength of God be commended in your weake veſſels, as it is. Be examples of faith and ſobriety, to all that ye ſhall come in company withall. Let your godly converſation ſpeake where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be ſwift to heare, and ſlow to ſpeake, after the counſell of Saint James. Be not curious about othermens doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continuall meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contention amongſt the Saints. Let your faith ſhine in a ſtrange countrey, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven, may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewell I ſend you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your dutie is, and be deſirous to performe the ſame) but as one that would have you underſtand that he is mindefull of your godly converſation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be a perpetuall memoriall betwixt you and him, untill our meeting together before God, where we ſhall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memorie of our dutie to performe it.

Farewell againe mine owne bowels in Chriſt, and take me with you whereſoever you go, & leave your ſelves with me, that in ſpirit we may be preſent one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Chriſt, willing them not to leave their Countrey without witneſſe of the Goſpel, after that we all be ſlaine, which already be ſtalled up and appointed to the ſlaughter, & in the mean ſeaſon to pray earneſtly for our conſtancie, that Chriſt may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for ever, Iohn Philpot.

An exhortation to his owne ſiſter, conſtantly to ſtick to the truth, which ſhe had fruitfully profeſſed.

Another letter of M. Philpot to his own ſiſter full of fruitfull exhortations.

GOd the eternall Father, who hath juſtified you by the bloud of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and called you to hallow his name through a good converſation and profeſſion of life, he ſanctifie you with daily increaſe of vertue and faith by his holy ſpirit, that you may appeare a veſſell of ſanctification, in the midſt of this wicked and perverſe generation, to the laud and praiſe of the Goſpel. Amen.

I have occaſion (mine owne deare ſiſter) to praiſe God in you for two cauſes: the one, that to your abilitie you are ready to ſhew your ſelfe a naturall loving ſiſter to me your poore afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eftſoones teſtified being abſent, and alſo preſently viſiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural ſiſter indeed, and to be praiſed in this behalf.

Spirituall conſanguinitie and naturall compared.

But in the other, that you be alſo a ſiſter to me in faith after Chriſts Goſpel, I am occaſioned to thanke God ſo much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpirituall conſanguinitie is more perdurable then that which is of fleſh and bloud, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly ſuch as be ungodly, be unnaturall, and onely lovers of themſeves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible ſeed of his word hath begotten you to be my leige ſiſter, give you grace ſo to grow in that generation, that you may increaſe to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my ſiſter with Chriſt for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful ſiſter as you are called and are godly entered, not onely to me, but to all the church of Chriſt, yea to Chriſt himſelfe, who voucheth you in this your unfained faith, worthy to be his ſiſter. Conſider this dignity to ſurmount all the vaine dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevaile more with you then all earthly delights: For thereby you are called to an equall portion of the everlaſting inheritance of Chriſt, if now in no wiſe you doe ſhew your ſelfe an unnaturall ſiſter to him in forſaking him in trouble, which I truſt you will never for any kinde of worldly reſpect doe. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that naturall love you owe unto Chriſt, and you ſhall be tried with Gods people through a ſieve of great affliction: for ſo Satan deſireth us to be ſifted, that through feare of ſharpe troubles we might fall from the ſtableneſſe of our faith, and ſo be deprived of that honor, joy, and reward, which is prepared for ſuch as continue faithfull brothers and ſiſters in the Lords covenant to the end. Therefore the wiſe man in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, biddeth them that come to the ſervice of the Lord,

The ſieve of afflictions. Luke 22.

To prepare themſelves to ſuffer temptations.

Eccleſ. 2.

Chriſt our firſt borne brother.

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adverſarie hath done all that he can, yet we may be ſtable and ſtand; this Chriſt our firſt begotten brother looketh for at our hands, and all our brethren and ſiſters in heaven deſire to ſee our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfill their number: and the univerſall Church here militant, rejoyceth at our conſtancie, all whom by the contrary we ſhould make ſory, to the danger of the loſſe both of body and ſoule. Feare not therefore, whatſoever be threatned of the wicked world; prepare your back, and ſee it be ready to carrie Chriſts Croſſe. And if you ſee any untowardneſſe in you (as the fleſh is continually repugnant to the will of God) aſk with faithful prayer, that the good ſpirit of God may leade your ſinfull fleſh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the fleſh and follow the councell thereof, we ſhall never doe the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our ſalvation.

A Chriſtian mans back ſhould alwaies be ready to beare Chriſts croſſe.

You are at this preſent in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drinke of the whores cup, unleſſe you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the Serpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicitie of your faith, as he did our firſt mother Eve. Let no worldly fellowſhip make you partaker of iniquitie. He that toucheth Tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With ſuch as be perverſe, a man ſhall ſoone be perverted; with the holy you ſhall be holy. Therefore ſay continually with the Prophet David, Pſalme 35

Vnto the Saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them.

You have been ſanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, leſt the laſt be not worſe then the firſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in

Ungodly fellowſhip to be eſchewed.

any doubt of your ſincere continuance, of the which I have had ſo good experience. But becauſe the dayes be evill, and in the ſame it is the dutie of every of us to exhort and ſtirre up one another; I am bold to put you (my good ſiſter) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in ſpirit and body, who tendreth your ſalvation as earneſtly as his owne, that we might joy together eternally with ſuch joy as the world ſhall never be able to take from us. Thankes be unto God, you have begun to runne a good and a great time well in the waies of the Lord: runne out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then ſhall you receive the crown of glory. None ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as lawfully ſtrive. Be not overcome of evill, but overcome evill with good, and the Lord ſhall make you one of thoſe faithfull Virgins that ſhall follow the Lambe whereſoever he goeth; the which Chriſt grant both you and me, Amen.

2 Tim. 2.

Apoc. 14.

This was for the firſt fruits of his Archdeaconry, whereof all the time of his impriſonment he had no commodity, and yet his ſureties were compelled to pay the ſame.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfainedly. God increaſe our faith, and give us never to be aſhamed of his Goſpel. That ſame requeſt which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make alſo to you, deſiring you by all meanes you can to accompliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my minde, which cannot be quiet untill they be diſcharged: therefore I pray you helpe to purchaſe quietneſſe, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My diſſolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of ſo high an honour, as to die for the teſtimonie of his truth. Pray that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long impriſonment, for the which his name be praiſed for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great over us, and I wil pray for you as long as I live. The 9. of July in the Kings Bench.

Your owne loving brother as well in
faith as in body, Iohn Philpot.

Another letter of Iohn Philpot to certaine godly brethren.

Another letter of M. Philpot containing godly exhortations.

THe grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his eternall Sonne, and the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt our comforter, ſtrengthen your hearts, and comfort your mindes, that you may rejoyce, and live in the truth of Chriſts Goſpel to the end, Amen.

He commendeth their faithfull zeale to Gods word.

I doe much rejoyce, dearely beloved in the Lord, to heare of your conſtant faith in the word of God, which you have ſo purely received; which doe not with the worldlings decline from the puritie thereof, albeit ye ſuffer griefe and trouble thereby; for the which I praiſe God moſt heartily: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithfull zeale ye have to his truth & to his afflicted Church. Therefore that ye may the better ſtand & beare the brunt of many temptations, which you are like to be aſſaulted withall in theſe wicked & ſtormy dayes; I thought it good, as it is the dutie of one chriſtian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, & to will you with the wiſe man to prepare your ſelves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do ſtand by the goodneſſe of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an eaſie thing to begin to doe well, but to continue out in well doing, is the onely propertie of the children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhal be ſaved. For ſo ſaith our Saviour in his Goſpel, Bleſſed are they that perſevere to the end.

He exhorteth them to continue and to ſtand faſt.

Matth. 13.

Let not therefore this certaintie of your ſalvation, which is continuance in the ſinceritie of faith, ſlide from you. Eſteeme it more then all the riches and pleaſures of this world, for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternall life. This is that precious ſtone, for the which the wiſe Merchant man, after the Goſpel, doth ſell all that he hath, and buyeth the ſame. God in the 3. of the Apocal. doth ſignifie to the Church, that there ſhall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of the which temptation all ſuch ſhall be delivered as obſerve his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to underſtand that we muſt be readie to ſuffer all kinde of injuries and ſlanders for the profeſſion thereof.

Apoc. 3.

The word of patience.

1 Pet. 1.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it faſt, that no man might bereave us of our crowne of glory, and Saint Peter telleth us now we are afflicted with divers aſſayes, as it is need it ſhould ſo be. That the triall of our faith being much more precious then gold that periſheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jeſus Chriſt. Saint Paul to the Hebrews ſheweth us, that Chriſt our Saviour was in his humanitie made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly ſuſtaine the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exerciſed in the ſame for his ſake, his holineſſe. And in the 12. Chapter of the ſaid Epiſtle is written, My ſonne, refuſe not the correction of the Lord, nor ſhrinke when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chaſtiſe every ſonne whom he receiveth, &c. Chriſt in the Goſpel of Saint John biddeth his Diſciples to look after afflictions, ſaying, In the world ye ſhall have trouble, but in me ye ſhall have joy. And therefore in the middeſt of their trouble, in the 21. of Saint Luke he biddeth them looke up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, ſaith he, is at hand. And in the 22. he ſaith to all ſuch as be afflicted for him, You are thoſe that have abidden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdome, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eate and drink upon my table in my Kingdome.

Heb. 2.

John 16.

Luke 21.

Luke 22.

The fruit that cometh by bearing of the croſſe.

Oh how glorious be the croſſes of Chriſt, which bring the bearers of them unto ſo bleſſed an end. Shal we not be glad to be partakers of ſuch ſhame as may bring us to ſo high a dignitie? God open our eyes to ſee all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtleſſe we would think with Moſes, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, then to be counted the King of Egypts ſonne. Then ſhould we joyfully ſay with David in all our adverſities and troubles, It is good (O Lord) thou haſt brought me low, to the end I might learne thy righteouſneſſe. Therefore S. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the Croſſe of Chriſt, and in other his infirmities: We have the commandement of Chriſt, daily to take up his Croſſe and follow him. We have the godly enſamples of all his Apoſtles and holy Martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have ſuffered the loſſe of lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward: which is laid up for all thoſe in heaven, that unfainedly cleave to the Goſpel, and never be aſhamed thereof.

The delights of the world nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Great is the felicitie of the world to the outward man, and very pleaſant are the tranſitorie delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excell them all, inſomuch that S. Paul to the Romanes doth plainly affirme, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deſerve that glory which ſhall be ſhewed unto us.

Conſideration of joyes to come

The note of a true Chriſtian.

How a chriſtian man gaineth an hundred fold in this life.

Phil. 4.

A compariſon between the loſſe and gain that cometh by following of Chriſt.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

The lack of Gods peace a thing moſt miſerable.

Let us therefore (good brethren and ſiſters) be merrie and glad in theſe troubleſome dayes, the which be ſent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lords Sanctuarie, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but deſire the Lord to haſte the day of our death, in the which we might ſet forth by true confeſſion his glorie. Neither ſhould we be afraid to meet our adverſaries, which ſo earneſtly ſeek our ſpoil and death, as Chriſt did Iudas and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, ſaying; I am he whom ye ſeek. It is commanded us by the Goſpel, not to fear them that can kill the bodie, but to feare God, who can caſt both bodie and ſoul into hell fire. So much we are bound to obſerve this commandement as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increaſe our faith, that we fear God more then man. The Lord give us ſuch love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forſake all and follow him. Now will it appeare what we love beſt; for to that we love, we will ſtick. There is none worthy to be counted a Chriſtian, except he can finde in his heart for Chriſts ſake, if the confeſſion of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath and follow him; and in ſo doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour ſaid to Peter) and hereafter is aſſured of eternall life. Behold, I pray you, what he loſeth, which in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with aſſurance of eternall life. O happie exchange. Perchance your outward man will ſay; If I were ſure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forſake all. But where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for in ſtead of worldly riches which thou doeſt forſake, which be but temporall, thou haſt found the everlaſting riches of heaven, which be glorie, honour, and praiſe, both before God, Angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, haſt an eternall manſion with Chriſt in heaven; for even now thou art of the Citie and Houſhold of the Saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can laſt but a while, thou doeſt poſſeſſe the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding; and for the loſſe of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable companie of heaven, and a perpetuall friend of all thoſe that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more then an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world have through faithfull imitation of Chriſt (which the world cannot take from us) ten thouſand fold more, then thoſe things that moſt highly be eſteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a meere anguiſh and a gnawing furie of hell: As of late GOD hath ſet example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evill it is to forſake the peace of Chriſts truth, which breedeth a worme in conſcience that never ſhall reſt.

2. Tim. 2.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent ballances. Then ſhould we not be diſmayed of this troublous time, neither ſorrow after a worldly manner, for the loſſe which we are now like to ſuſtain, as the weak faithleſſe perſons do, which love their goods more then God, and the things viſible above thoſe which be inviſible: but rather would heartily rejoyce and be thankfull, that it pleaſed God to call us to be ſouldiers in his cauſe againſt the works of hypocriſie, and to make us like unto our Saviour Chriſt in ſuffering, whereby we may aſſure our ſelves of his eternall glory: For bleſſed are they, ſaith Chriſt, that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake. And as S. Paul witneſſeth to Timothy; If we die with Chriſt, we ſhall live with Chriſt; and if we denie him, he will deny us.

Philip. 3.

He exhorteth to be joyfull in afflictions.

O that we would enter into the veile of Gods promiſes. Then ſhould we with S. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for droſſe, ſo that we may gaine Chriſt. God which is the lightner of all darkneſſe, and putter away of all blindneſſe, anoint our eyes with the true eyeſalve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternall felicity, which is hidden with Chriſt, and prepared for us that do abide in his Teſtament: for bleſſed is that ſervant, whom the maſter when he cometh (as Chriſt ſaid) doth finde faithfull. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yeeld not in any point of our religion to the Antichriſtian Synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of theſe temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cauſe of your ſalvation; for his ſpirit that is in us, is ſtronger then he which in the world doth now rage againſt us. Let us not put out the ſpirit of God from us, by whoſe might we ſhall overcome our enemies, and then death ſhall be as great a gaine to us as it was to the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye ſo carefull, as though God had forſaken you? he is never more preſent with us, then when we be in trouble, if we do not forſake him. We are in his hands, and no body can do us any injurie or wrong without his good will and pleaſure. He hath commanded his Angels to keep us, that we ſtumble not at a ſtone without his divine providence. The Devil cannot hurt any of us, and much leſſe any of his miniſters, without the good will of our eternall Father.

To be patient, and not to murmure in affliction.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our eſtate, whatſoever it be; for if we murmure againſt the ſame, we murmure againſt God, who ſendeth the ſame: which if we do, we kicke but againſt the pricke, and provoke more the wrath of God againſt us; which by patient ſuffering, otherwiſe would ſooner be turned into our favour through faithfull prayer.

Iob 1.

Genes. 22.

How to ſacrifice our Iſaac to God.

I beſeech you with Saint Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy ſacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to beſtow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiſcence. If many yeers God hath ſuffered us to uſe our bodies, which be his temples, after the luſt of the fleſh, in vaine delights, not according to his glorie; is it not our dutie in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yeeld unto Gods glorie our bodies, with all that we have, in demonſtration of true repentance of that we have evill ſpent before? Cannot the enſample of the bleſſed man Iob horribly afflicted, cauſe us to ſay? The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Even as it hath pleaſed the Lord, ſo is it come to paſſe: If we caſt our whole care likewiſe upon God, he will turne our miſerie into felicitie, as well as he did to Iob. God tempteth us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to ſlay his ſonne Iſaac in ſacrifice to him; which Iſaac by interpretation doth ſignifie mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preſerved Iſaac unto long life, and offered in his ſtead a Ramme that was tied by the hornes in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to ſacrifice unto God our Iſaac, which is our joy and conſolation: the which if we be readie to do, as Abraham was, our joy ſhall not periſh, but live, and be increaſed, although our Ramme be ſacrificed for our Iſaac; which doth ſignifie that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh intangled through ſinne, with the cares of this ſtinging world, muſt be mortified for the preſervation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is ſealed up for us in Chriſt.

Remedies againſt the temptations of the devil and the world.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations wherewithall we are now incombred, ye cannot have a better remedie then to ſet before your eyes how our Saviour Chriſt overcame them in the deſart, and to follow his enſample; that if the Devil himſelf or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly wiſe way, that you may have your faire houſes, lands, and goods to live on ſtill; ye muſt ſay, that man liveth not onely by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Chriſts temptations myſtically applied.

Again, if the devil counſelleth you to caſt your ſelves down to the earth, as to revoke your ſincere beliefe and godly converſation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; ye muſt anſwer that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the Devill offer you large promiſes of honour, dignitie, and poſſeſſions, ſo that ye will worſhip Idols in his Synagogue, ye muſt ſay; Go behinde me Satan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhip his Lord God, and ſerve him onely.

Finally, if your mother, brother, ſiſter, wife, childe, kinſman, or friend, do ſeek of you to do otherwiſe then the word of God hath taught you, ye muſt ſay with Chriſt, that they are your mothers, brothers, ſiſters, wives, children, and kinſmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercie conform us all unfainedly to the end, Amen.

Your loving and faithfull brother
in Chriſt, in captivity, Iohn Philpot, Anno 1555.

To his friend and faithfull brother in the Lord, Maſter Robert Harrington.

Another letter of Io. Philpot to M. Harrington his friend.

GEntle maſter Harrington, I cannot tell what condigne thanks I may give unto God for you, in reſpect of the great gentleneſſe and paine which you have taken for the reliefe of me and of other our afflicted brethren in Chriſt. God be praiſed for his mercie, whoſe loving providence we have ſeene towards us by ſuch faithfull ſtewards as you have been towards a great many. Bleſſed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poore flock. God hath reſerved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, leſt I might ſeeme to judge that you looked for that here, which is reſerved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithfull and diligent induſtry, and God forgive me my unworthineſſe for ſo great benefits. God give me grace to ſerve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the courſe of the Martyrs of Chriſt at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glorie then this is. Now may they be aſſured under the Croſſe, that they are Chriſts Diſciples for ever.

Iohn 21.

Me think I ſee you deſiring to be under the ſame. The fleſh draweth backe, but the ſpirit ſaith, it muſt be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlaſting glorie. Who is he which deſireth not to be found faithfull to his Maſter? And now is the time that every faithfull ſervant of Chriſt hath juſt opportunitie to ſhew himſelfe a glorious ſouldier in the Lords fight. Now do the Amalechites invade the true Iſraelites, that the Iſraelites might with ſpeed be glorified. I need not for want of underſtanding to admoniſh you hereof, but as a willing ſouldier in Chriſt, to exhort you ſo to runne as you may get the victorie, and that ſpeedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feaſt, wiſheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me moſt unworthy, among other, to drink of the Bride cup of his Son, whereby we ſhall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to ſit at the right hand and at the left hand of Chriſt. O what unſpeakable condition is that? May any worldly thing ſtay us from the deſire thereof? Since we ſeek the kingdome of God, why do we not apprehend it, being ſo neer offered unto us?

Let us approach neer unto God, and God will draw neer unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the ſavour of his ſweet ointments. Chriſt anoint us, that we may be ſuppled in theſe evil dayes to run lightly unto the glorie of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment, loſſe of goods, and ſhedding of our blood, be the juſt price which we muſt willingly beſtow for the ſame. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glorie: for the reward is ten thouſand fold greater then the price.

Reward greater then the price.

Godly matrimony how to be uſed.

That you have married a wife, whom GOD bleſſe, I cannot excuſe you from this Mart, but you muſt bring your wife for a uſurie to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bands, but yet moſt comfortable to the ſpirit, aſſuring you that we are made worthie through Chriſt of the kingdome for the which we ſuffer. Praiſed be the Lord for the affliction which we ſuffer, and he give us ſtrength to continue to the end.

Commend me to M. Heath, and tell him that I would wiſh him with me, to prove how apt he is to carrie the Croſſe of Chriſt. I pray for his continuance in Chriſt, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife, and to miſtreſſe Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the ſame, but be raiſed up from hell to heaven, through the word that ſanctifieth us. Commend me to maſter Elſing and his wife, and thank them that they remembred to provide me ſome eaſe in priſon, and tell them that though my Lords Cole-houſe be but verie black, yet it is more to be deſired of the faithfull, then the Queens palace. God make her a joyfull mother, and preſerve them both to the comfort of Gods people. Thus for this time farewell deare brother. Written in poſte-haſte becauſe of ſtrait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the commiſſioners again. Pray (deare brother) for the ſpirit of wiſdome to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have ſent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithfull heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them I thank God I am cheerfull in Chriſt, wiſhing them to fear God more then man, and to learne to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this world; deſiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelitie, Amen.

Iohn Philpot.

Here followeth another letter of M. Philpot to the Lady Vane: which becauſe for the length I could not wholly inſert, I have excerpted certain ſpecialties thereout, as followeth.

THe principall Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Chriſt our mercifull Saviour, confirm, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you in the true knowledge of the Goſpel, that your faithfull heart (worſhipfull and dear ſiſter in the Lord) may attain and taſte with all the ſaints what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the ſweet Croſſe of Chriſt, Amen, &c.

Oh, happy are you amongſt all other women, that have found this precious ſtone which is hidden in the Goſpel; for the which we ought to ſell all other things, and to purchaſe the ſame. Oh happy woman, whoſe heart God hath moved and inlarged to be in the profeſſion thereof. Other ſeek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you ſeek with a good underſtanding to ſerve God in ſpirit and veritie. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven; this is your portion for ever. By this you ſhall ſee God face to face (which ſight is unſpeakable joy) and by this ſhall ye ſee a full ſight of all the beautifull heavenly powers, and of all the celeſtiall Paradiſe. By this ſhall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with thoſe which you have known here in God, world without end, &c.

He bewaileth the ſtate of England. Plagues propheſied to England though the Goſpel be reſtored again.

Ah, I lament the infidelitie of England, that after ſo great light is ſtept into ſo huge darkneſſe again. The ſervant that knoweth his Maſters will and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang over England, yea though the Goſpel ſhould be reſtored againe. Happie ſhall that perſon be whom the Lord ſhall take out of this world, not to ſee them. Ah the great perjurie which men have runne into ſo wilfully againſt God, by receiving Antichriſt againe and his wicked laws; which do threaten a great ruine unto England. Oh that the Lord would turne his juſt judgements upon the authors of the truce breaking betweene God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nabuchadonoſor was) that his people might be delivered, and his glorie exalted. God grant that that good lucke which you hope ſhortly to come upon the houſe of GOD, be a true propheſie, and not a well wiſhing onely. Ah Lord, take away thy heavie hand from us, and ſtretch it out upon thine enemies theſe hypocrites, as thou haſt begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weake periſh for want of knowledge through our ſinnes. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our truſt in thee.

Good luck foreſhewed in reſtoring again the Goſpel.

Thus (deare heart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God heare our prayers, and give us the ſpirit of effectuall prayer, to poure out our hearts continually together before God, that we may finde mercie both for our ſelves, and for our afflicted brethren and ſiſters. I cannot but praiſe God in you, for that pitifull heart that taketh other folks calamities to heart, as your own. Bleſſed be they that mourne; for ſuch ſhall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitifull eyes, and ſorrow from your mercifull heart, that you may (as doubtleſſe you ſhall do ſhortly) rejoyce with his elect for ever. You have ſo armed me to the Lords battell both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a verie coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to ſo good and gracious a Generall of the field, to ſo victorious a Captaine, and to ſo favourable a Marſhall, that if I ſhould not go on luſtily, there were no ſpectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will preſent your coat-armour before my Captaine, and in the ſame I truſt by him to overcome. The Scarfe I deſire as an outward ſigne to ſhew our enemies, who ſee not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindneſſe of their hearts, that they perſecute Chriſts Croſſe in us, whereby he hath ſealed up the truth of his Goſpel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirme the ſame, and never be aſhamed whatſoever torment we do ſuffer for his Names ſake; and our weake brethren ſeeing the ſame might be more incouraged to take up Chriſts Croſſe, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glorie, Amen, &c.

Philpots ſcarfe.

The world wondreth how we can be merrie in ſuch extreme miſerie, but our God is omnipotent, which turneth miſerie into felicitie. Beleeve me (deare ſiſter) there is no ſuch joy in the world as the people of Chriſt have under the Croſſe. I ſpeak by experience; therefore beleeve me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they impriſon our bodies, they ſet our ſouls at libertie with God. When they caſt us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlaſting life. And what greater glorie can there be, then to be at conformitie with Chriſt? which afflictions do work in us.

Experience of Gods comfort in the time of affliction. Perſecuters when they priſon mens bodies, they ſet their ſouls at libertie.

God open our eyes to ſee more and more the glory of God in the Croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt; and make us worthy partakers of the ſame. Let us rejoyce in nothing with S. Paul, but in the Croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The Croſſe of Chriſt be our ſtandard to fight under for ever. Whiles I am thus talking with you of our common conſolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and unordinate tediouſneſſe: but you muſt impute it to love which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but deſireth to poure himſelf into their boſomes.

Therefore though your fleſh would be offended (as it might juſtly be) at ſuch rudeneſſe, yet your ſpirit will ſay nay, which taketh all things in good part that cometh of love. And now I am departing; yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would faine ſpeak ſomewhat that might declare my ſincere love to you for ever: farewell. O elect veſſel of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flock, farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am ſure I ſhall not forget. Farewell under the Croſſe moſt joyfully, and untill we meet, alwayes remember what Chriſt ſaith; Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

God poure his ſpirit abundantly upon you mine own deare bowels in Chriſt, untill you may come to ſee the God of all gods with his elects in the everlaſting Sion. I ſend to you the kiſſe of peace, with the which I do moſt entirely take my leave of you at this preſent. It is neceſſarie we depart hence, or elſe we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavie becauſe I ſay I muſt depart from you. It is the calling of the mercifull Father, wherewithall you are content, and ſo am I. Be of good comfort, hold out your buckler of faith; for by the ſtrength thereof we ſhall ſhortly meet in eternall glory: to the which Chriſt bring both us, Amen, Amen. The 10. of December. 1555.

Death why ſhould I fear thee? ſince thou canſt not hurt me, but rid me from miſerie unto eternall glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Chriſt, your owne brother, ſealed up in the veritie of the Goſpel for ever.

Iohn Philpot.

Another Letter of maſter Philpot, written to the ſame Ladie, being a great ſupporter of him.

Another letter of M. Philpot to a certain godly Lady.

I Cannot but moſt heartily give God thankes for theſe his gifts in you, whoſe brightneſſe many beholding that are weake, are much encouraged to ſeeke God likewiſe, and to cleave to him, having the enſample of ſo faithfull and conſtant a Gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queene of the South ſhall riſe with the men of Chriſts generation, and condemne them, for that ſhe came from the end of the world to heare the wiſedome of Solomon; then ſhall your ſincere and godly converſation, thus ſhining in this dangerous time of the triall of Chriſts people (being a woman of right worſhipfull eſtate and wealthy condition) condemne in the latter day a great many of theſe faint-hearted Goſpellers, which ſo ſoone be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; ſeeing that neither the fear of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſions of the world, (wherewithall you are ſufficiently indued above a great many) can ſeparate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you. Whereby it appeareth that the ſeed of Gods word which was ſown in you, fell neither in the high way, neither among the thorns, neither upon the ſtones, but upon a good ground, which is bleſſed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increaſe of his Church, &c.

Againſt faint-hearted Goſpellers.

In conſideration whereof Saint James biddeth us highly to rejoyce, whenſoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the triall of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent vertue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Chriſt, with whom we here being like in ſuffering, aſſuredly ſhall hereafter be partakers of his eternall glorie. Therefore Saint Paul ſaith; God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. I that am under the Croſſe with you (thanks be given to God therefore) have felt in the ſame more true joy and conſolation, then ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Chriſt ſaid; In me you ſhall have joy, but in the world affliction. Bleſſed be God which ſendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cauſe in the ripeſt time of iniquitie, and in the moſt fervent ſeaſon of perſecution of the true Church, which Chriſt in the 21. of Luke propheſied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheere, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Iohn 16.

Luke 21.

Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of miſerie, unto his owne kingdome, where floweth perpetuall joy and conſolation. And verily that is the true and onely joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do poſſeſſe, no bodie can take it away from us. To the which joy all other joyes being compared, are but mournings, all delights ſorrow, all ſweetneſſe ſowre, all beautie filth, and finally all other things that be counted pleaſant, are tediouſneſſe. Your owne ſelfe is better witneſſe of this then I: aſke your ſelfe, with whom you are beſt acquainted. Doth not the holy Ghoſt ſpeake the ſame in your heart? Have you not perſwaded your ſelfe this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how ſhould you being a woman, and a young Gentlewoman, beautifull, and at your owne libertie, have overcome this your frail kinde and age, and deſpiſed your excellent beautie and eſtate, unleſſe all thoſe things which be ſubject to the ſenſes had been counted of you vile, and little to be eſteemed in compariſon of thoſe things which inwardly do comfort you, to overcome the fleſh, the world, and the devill. &c.

Perfect joy conſidered.

Compariſon between the joy in God, and the joy in this world.

God increaſe your joy in all ſpirituall things, and ſtabliſh your hope to the day of eternall reſt. You have forſaken darkneſſe, and are entred into light, God grant the ſame may ſhine ſtill in you, untill the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our conſolation. Here we muſt be darkned, that there we may appeare as bright as the Sunne in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemne us for our well-doing; whoſe Judges then we ſhall be, to their horrible griefe, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Chriſts ſake would be mercifull to his afflicted Church in England. Faithfull prayer is the onely remedie that we have againſt the fierie darts of the Devill, that be kindled againſt us. By prayer the Amalechites ſhall be overcome, and the roarings of the Lion, which ſeeketh ſtill to devoure us, ſhall be ſtopped and put to ſilence. The Lord ſtop Leviathans mouth, that he ſwallow not up Gods ſeely people, according to his expectation.

Gods ſaints ſhal be as Judges againſt their adverſaries.

Praiſe the Lord for the faithfull teſtimonie and ſacrifice which two of our brethren of late have through fire rendred to the truth of the Goſpel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly Martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The laſt of May. 1555. Captive in the Kings Bench.

The Goſpel triumpheth by the death of Martyrs.

Yours with heart in Chriſt,
Iohn Philpot.

Another Letter of maſter Philpot to the godly Lady Vane.

GOD the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt increaſe in your godly heart the faith of the Goſpel, which is your eternall inheritance, and the holy Ghoſt comfort your ſpirit with all ſpiritual conſolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

Another letter of Jo. Philpot to the Lady Vane.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt highly and earneſtly (my deare and faithfull Lady) for the great and unfained love which you beare unto me in Chriſt, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifeſt and liberall tokens. Bleſſed be God that hath made you ſo worthy a member in his kingdome. For it cannot be but ſuch ſhall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do ſowe ſo plenteouſly in well doing. Albeit I am moſt unworthy to receive any ſuch benefit at your hands, as in reſpect of a pillar of Chriſts Church, which am ſcarce a ſhadow thereof. But the zeal of Chriſts Church in you wiſheth me to be ſuch a one as the time doth require. God fulfill your deſire of me, that I may be found conſtant, and no wandring ſtarre. I am not worthy of the name of a Prophet, or of a Miniſter of Gods word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquitie of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common Spouſe Jeſus, and do rejoyce of the veritie of his word; for the which (praiſed be his name) he hath counted me worthie to ſuffer: and indeed who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a Diſciple (as Chriſt hath promiſed) ſhall not loſe his reward. Therefore that your gentleneſſe doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lord recompence unto you in all his bleſſings, which he is accuſtomed to poure on them which love his flock unfainedly.

Lady Vane a liberall benefactor to Gods Saints.

Mark 7.

Good Ladie, you have to joy that the kingdome of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not aſhamed of the bands of Chriſt, which you with his people in part do ſuffer. They may be aſſured of the glorie everlaſting, which here are not aſhamed to take up the Croſſe of Chriſt, and to follow him. Here we muſt weepe and lament, whiles the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our teares ſhall ſhortly be turned into unſpeakable joy, and we ſhall eternally be merrie together, when the world ſhall lament their infidelitie without end, &c.

I would I were able to do any thing that might ſhew condigne thankes for that ſincere love you beare unto me in Chriſt: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needes. I thanke God which ceaſeth not to provide for his, I lacke nothing at this preſent, but onely habilitie to thanke your faithfull heart for your goodneſſe towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Chriſtians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me then all your poſſeſſions. And I think I ſhall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for Commiſſioners to ſit on me, and my fellow-priſoners in priſon, leſt the ſpirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not ſo good as John the Baptiſt which was beheaded in priſon. Darkneſſe cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings muſt declare what they are. We are as ſheep appointed for a ſacrifice to the Lord. We muſt not fear the fire, for our Lord is a conſuming fire, which will put out the fierceneſſe of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the bodie, but fear him that can caſt both bodie and ſoul into hell fire. God forbid that we ſhould rejoyce otherwiſe then in the Croſſe of Chriſt, and pray that he would make us worthie to ſuffer for his ſake. God will have our faith tried and knowne; and therefore let us willingly humble our ſelves under the mightie hand of God, that he may gloriouſly lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithfull indeed till he can ſay with ſaint Paul, I am perſwaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes or powers, neither things preſent, neither things to come, neither highneſſe, neither lowneſſe, neither any other creature is able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. This faith GOD plant both in you and me unmoveably. In this faith we have to rejoyce, and in none other.

A perfect chriſtian man how he is known. Rom. 8.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternall weight of glorie which is prepared for them, that here do with patience abide the Croſſe. Wherefore let us be ſtrong with the ſtrength in him, that is able to make us ſtrong, and lament the weakneſſe, I might ſay the infidelitie of our faint Goſpellers. Chriſt, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the ſtrength of God, and how then may they be weake where Chriſt is? We have more to be glad, touching our ſelves, of this time, then we have had of any time before, in the which we have ſo readie a way to go unto God, and ſo good occaſion to ſhew our dutie in glorifying his holy name. For if we be impriſoned in this cauſe, we are bleſſed. If we loſe all that we have, we are bleſſed an hundred fold. If we die, we are bleſſed eternally; ſo that in ſuffering of perſecutions, all is full of bleſſings. Be bleſſed therefore (O elect Ladie) of God, with the bleſſed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiſcence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and croſſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. Thus deſiring God to preſerve you to his true peace, and to give you victorie of that temptation which now is come to trie our faith, Chriſt be with you, and bleſſe you both in bodie and ſoule; and my prayer ſhall follow you whereſoever you go, as I deſire that you may be with me. The laſt week I ſent your beneficence to Oxford; I could not before have a convenient meſſenger. As ſoone as I have word, you ſhall be ſatisfied of your requeſt. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The twentieth day of Auguſt.

The time of tribulation better for a Chriſtian then the time of joy.

By yours with all his power in the Lord,
Iohn Philpot.

Another Letter full of ſpirituall conſolation to the ſaid Lady.

Another letter of M. Philpot to the ſame lady.

THe mercie of God the Father, and the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and ſtrengthen you my dear mother and ſiſter in the Lord, in theſe dangerous dayes, to the crowne of eternall glorie which is now offered to all faithfull ſouldiers in the Goſpel, Amen.

As your good Ladiſhip doth deſire to heare from me, ſo am I deſirous to write, as your gentleneſſe and daily goodneſſe bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exerciſes which I have had and received by mine eaſie impriſonment in times paſt, hath brought me out of the Kings Bench into the Biſhop of Londons Cole-houſe, a dark and an ugly priſon as any is about London (but my darke bodie of ſinne hath well deſerved the ſame, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkneſſe, that I might the more be lightned by him, as he is moſt preſent with his children in the middeſt of darkneſſe) where I cannot be ſuffered to have any candle light, neither inke nor paper, but by ſtealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my dutie is. As Chriſt my Maſter was ſent from Annas to Caiphas, ſo am I ſent from Wincheſter Dioceſſe to London, I truſt to make a ſpeedie end of my courſe; God give me grace and patience to be a faithfull follower of my Maſter. I have been alreadie this ſeven-night in his Cole-houſe, and have of late been foure times called to mine anſwer, but hitherto not called to judgement, which I do daily look for, but I feare they will prolong me, and trie me by ſtrait impriſonment a while, in the which Gods will be done.

Pray (deare Ladie) that my faith faint not, which I praiſe God is preſently more lively with me then it hath been in times paſt. I taſte and feele the faithfulneſſe of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thanke the Lord, I am not alone, but have ſix other faithfull companions; who in our darkneſſe do cheerfully ſing Hymnes and praiſes unto GOD for his great goodneſſe. We are ſo joyfull, that I wiſh you part of my joy. For you that are ſo carefull of my bodily reliefe, how can I but wiſh your ſpirituall conſolation, and that abundantly? Let not (deare heart) my ſtrait impriſonment any thing moleſt you: for it hath added and daily doth unto my joy; but rather be glad, and thankfull unto God with me, that it hath pleaſed him to make me moſt wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we have not reſiſted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes then his truth.

Experience of Chriſt, comforting his ſaints in their perſecution

Ah my deare ſiſter, I thanke you againe for your laſt letter you ſent me; it is a ſingular comfort unto me, as oft as I reade the ſame. I have it in my boſome, and will carrie the ſame even to the ſtake with me, in witneſſe that Chriſt hath ſo conſtant and faithfull a Ladie in England. God ſuccour and keepe that ſpirit in you; for it is the verie ſpirit of adoption of the childe of God. Such cheerfull and holy ſpirits under the Croſſe be acceptable ſacrifices in the ſight of God; for Chriſt came to caſt fire into the earth, and looketh that it ſhould be kindled. Be you fervent in ſpirit in our Chriſts cauſe, as you have begun, for that is the principall ſpirit wherewithall David deſired to be confirmed. O how I do rejoyce your Ladiſhip to go arme in arme with me unto Chriſt, or rather before me. I cannot but joy of ſuch a worſhipfull fellow. Me thinketh I ſee you to mourne, and deſire to be looſed out of the earthly and fraile habitacle of this bodie. O how amiable and pleaſant is it to dwell in the Lords tabernacle? Our Chriſt and his heavenly companie looke for us; let us haſte and runne thereto, for behold the Lord is readie to embrace us. Mine owne bowels in the Lord, be merrie in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your mercifull alms, which moſt unworthily I do receive ſtill of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear mother) you need not to burthen ſo much your ſelf (as my laſt letters did ſignifie) for that my chargeable impriſonment is cut off, and a little now ſerveth me; wherefore I pray you ſend no more untill I ſend to you, for I have ſufficient and abound. Gods peace be with you for ever. Out of my Lord of Londons Cole-houſe, the laſt of October.

Your own, Iohn Philpot.

Another letter of M. Philpot to the ſaid Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the diſſimulation and perjury of Engliſhmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expreſſeth his joy in his afflictions.

Another letter of M. Philpot. By this Senacherib, he meaneth the death of the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Chriſt) of the fall of Senacherib: ſince it is to the glorie of God, and to the conſolation of his Church, to ſee the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written; The juſt ſhall rejoyce, when he ſeeth the vengeance of the wicked. God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning my ſelf, I count not to ſee thoſe good dayes whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the Cockatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent chickens, with the Whore of Babylon, ſtill liveth. But a great hope there is of their ſhort confuſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doings according to their expectation. Moſt happie ſhall he be, whom the Lord ſhall ſooneſt take out of this life, that he may not ſee the plagues which the manifeſt perjurie, and the manifold Idolatry and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is juſt, and all unrighteouſneſſe diſpleaſeth him, and either here or elſe in another world he will puniſh this groſſe infidelitie of the world: but his elect, and ſuch as he loveth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing ſo much to rejoyce in, as in the Croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earneſt penie of that eternall Kingdome, which he upon the Croſſe for us hath purchaſed. For as Paul his faithfull witneſſe ſaith, If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reigne with him. If we die with him, we ſhall live with him.

Wherefore (mine owne deare bowels) praiſe God with me moſt intirely, that it hath pleaſed him now mercifully to viſit the ſins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulneſſe, and by the ſame doth give me much conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodneſſe and mercie, and turneth his fatherly caſtigation into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercie? To him that is immortall, inviſible, and onely wiſe, be all honour, praiſe, and glorie therefore, Amen.

He expreſſeth the great joy which Gods priſoners feele in their ſufferings.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoyce and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternall bliſſe. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am ſo neer the apprehenſion thereof. God forgive me mine unthankfulneſſe and unworthineſſe of ſo great glory. The ſwords which pierced Maries heart in the paſſion of our Saviour, which daily alſo go through your faithfull heart, be more glorious and to be deſired then the golden Scepters of this world. O bleſſed be they that mourn in this world to God ward, for they ſhall eternally be comforted. God make my ſtony heart to mourn more then it doth. I have ſo much joy of the reward that is prepared for me moſt wretched ſinner, that though I be in place of darkneſſe and mourning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am ſo joyfull, as though I were under no croſſe at all: yea in all the daies of my life I was never ſo merrie, the name of the Lord be praiſed therefore for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulneſſe. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnaſh their teeth to ſee and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be ſo merrie. We are of them counted as deſperate perſons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlaſting ſalvation: and it is no marvell, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, it is meere fooliſhneſſe and abomination to them.

Iohn Philpot never ſo merry in all his life before.

Be thankfull unto our God (mine owne deare helper) for his wonderous working in his choſen people. Pray inſtantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it paſſeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth all underſtanding: this peace, the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and ſiſters ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of theſe cruell dayes. But touching our ſelves, let us heartily beſeech our Saviour to vouchſafe to give us this glorious gift to ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, and that we may thinke the ſhame of the world to be our glorie, as it is indeed. God increaſe our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praiſe be to God. I truſt my marriage garment is readie. I will ſend you my examinations as ſoon as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your mercifull heart with all joy and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the Cole-houſe the 19. of November.

Your own lover, Iohn Philpot.

A Letter of maſter Philpot to a friend of his, priſoner the ſame time in Newgate: wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the matter or queſtion of Infants to be baptized.

A letter of M. Philpot, ſtabliſhing a certain brother in the matter of baptizing of infants.

THe God of all light and underſtanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yeſternight from you (deare brother ſaint and fellow-priſoner for the truth of Chriſts Goſpel) a letter, wherein you gently require my judgement concerning the Baptiſme of Infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do ſhew you what I have learned out of Gods word and of his true and infallible Church touching the ſame, I think it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night whiles muſing on your letter I fell aſleep, knowing that God doth not without cauſe reveal to his people who have their mindes fixed on him, ſpeciall and ſpirituall revelations to their comfort, as a taſte of their joy and kingdome to come, which fleſh and blood cannot comprehend.

A viſion revealed to M. Philpot upon a letter to be anſwered.

Being in the middeſt of my ſweet reſt, it ſeemed me to ſee a great beautifull Citie all of the colour of azure, and white, foure ſquare in a marvellous beautifull compoſition in the midſt of the ſkie, the ſight whereof ſo inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expreſſe the conſolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof cauſeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charitie is no churle, but would others to be partakers of his delight, ſo me thought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and whiles they came and we

together

Q. MARIE. Anno 1555.

together beheld the ſame, by and by to my great griefe it vaded away.

The viſion expounded.

This dreame I think not to have come of the illuſion of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpirituall joy, and I take it to be of the working of Gods ſpirit for the contentation of your requeſt, as he wrought in Peter to ſatisfie Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautifull Citie to be the glorious Church of Chriſt, and the appearance of it in the skie, ſignifieth the heavenly ſtate thereof, whoſe converſation is in heaven, and that according to the Primitive Church which is now in heaven, men ought to meaſure and judge the Church of Chriſt now in earth, for as the Prophet David ſaith; The foundations thereof be in the holy hils, and glorious things be ſpoken of the Citie of God. And the marvellous quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignifie the univerſall agreement in the ſame, and that all the Church here militant ought to conſent to the Primitive Church throughout the foure parts of the world, as the Prophet affirmeth, ſaying; God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one houſe. And that I conceived ſo wonderfull joy at the contemplation thereof, I underſtand the unſpeakable joy which they have that be at unitie with Chriſts Primitive Church: For there is joy in the holy Ghoſt, and peace, which paſſeth all underſtanding, as it is written in the Pſalmes; As of joyfull perſons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this viſion, and to behold this wonderfull Citie, I conſtrue it by the will of God this viſion to have come upon me muſing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occaſion to move you with many others, to behold the Primitive Church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conforme your ſelf in all points to the ſame, which is the pillar and ſtabliſhment of truth, and teacheth the true uſe of the Sacraments, and having with a greater fulnes then we have now, the firſt fruits of the holy Ghoſt, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all veritie, even as our Saviour promiſed to ſend them another Comforter, which ſhould teach them all truth.

The Primitive example for us to follow.

Pſal. 67.

And ſince all truth was taught and revealed to the Primitive Church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, ſubmit our ſelves to the judgement of the Church for the better underſtanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtfull ſentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to ſhew in us, by following any private mans interpretation upon the Word, another ſpirit then they of the Primitive Church had, leſt we deceive our ſelves. For there is but one faith and one ſpirit, which is not contrarie to himſelfe, neither otherwiſe now teacheth us then he did them. Therefore let us beleeve as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true Catholike Church is at this day: and the God of peace aſſuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miſeries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliſſe, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to aske of the elder generation, and to ſearch diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yeſterdaies children, & be ignorant, and our daies are like a ſhadow, & they ſhal teach thee (ſaith the Lord) and ſpeak to thee, & ſhal utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your ſteps in all things after her, and to abhorre contention with her. For as Saint Paul writeth; If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any ſuch cuſtome.

Job 8.

Prov. 6.

1 Cor. 11.

Hitherto I have ſhewed you (good brother S.) my judgement generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to the which I wiſh you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtleſſe you cannot erre, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the houre of your death, that you ſhall die in the Church of God a faithfull Martyr, and receive the crowne of eternall glory. And thus much have I written upon the occaſion of a viſion before God unfained. But that you may not thinke that I go about to ſatisfie you with uncertaine viſions only, and not after Gods word, I will take the ground of your letter, and ſpecially anſwer to the ſame by the Scriptures, and by infallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and prove the Baptiſme of Infants to be lawfull, commendable, and neceſſarie, whereof you ſeeme to ſtand in doubt.

Proofe by teſtimonies and Scriptures.

Indeed if you looke upon the Papiſticall Synagogue onely, which hath corrupted Gods word by falſe interpretations, and hath perverted the true uſe of Chriſts ſacraments, you might ſeeme to have good handfaſt of your opinion againſt the Baptiſme of Infants. But for as much as it is of more antiquitie, and hath his beginning from Gods word, and from the uſe of the Primitive Church, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the Popiſh Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be uſed in Chriſts Church. Auxentius, one of the Arrians ſect, with his adherents, was one of the firſt that denied the Baptiſme of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretike, and ſome other there were in Saint Bernards time, as it doth appeare by his writings, and in our dayes the Anabaptiſts, an inordinate kinde of men ſtirred up by the Devill, to the deſtruction of the Goſpel. But the Catholike truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of ſanctification or remiſſion of their ſinnes. Therefore ſince that infants be in the number or ſcroll of Gods people, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in Chriſt, it muſt needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as thoſe that can profeſſe their faith. For we judge the people of G O D as well by the free and liberall promiſe of God, as by the confeſſion of faith. For to whomſoever God promiſeth himſelfe to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithfull. But God promiſeth, that he will not onely be the God of ſuch as do profeſſe him, but alſo of infants, promiſing them his grace and remiſſion of ſinnes, as it appeareth by the words of the Covenant made unto Abraham. I will ſet my covenant betweene thee and me (ſaith the Lord) and betweene thy ſeed after thee in their generations, with an everlaſting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee. To the which Covenant circumciſion was added to be a ſigne of ſanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may thinke that this promiſe is abrogated with circumciſion and other ceremoniall lawes. For Chriſt came to fulfill the promiſes, and not to diſſolve them. Therefore in the Goſpel he ſaith of Infants, that is, of ſuch as yet beleeved not; Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the Kingdome of Heaven. Againe, It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of theſe little ones doe periſh. Alſo; He that receiveth one ſuch little childe in my name, receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe babes, for I tell you, their Angels doe continually ſee in heaven my Fathers face. And what may be ſaid more plainer then this; It is not the will of the hea-

Baptiſme of infants of old antiquitie in the Church.

Every thing abuſed in the Popes Church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be ſearched and to be reduced againe to the ſame.

The people of God is to be judged by his free promiſes, and not by their confeſſion.

Gen. 17.

Matth. 5.

Matth. 19.

Matth. 18.

Matth. 18.

venly Father, that the Infants ſhould periſh? whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confeſſe not their faith. Since then that the word of the promiſe, which is contained in baptiſme, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why ſhould the ſigne of the promiſe, which is baptiſme in water, be withdrawne from children, when Chriſt himſelfe commandeth them to be received of us, and promiſeth the reward of a Prophet to thoſe that receive ſuch a little infant, as he for an example did put before his Diſciples?

Math. 28. Arguments proving the baptiſme of children to be of God, and that the Apoſtles baptized children.

Now will I prove with manifeſt arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the Apoſtles of Chriſt did baptize children. The Lord commanded his Apoſtles to baptize all nations; therfore alſo children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, All nations.

Acts 10.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithfull, they are faithfull, for it was ſaid to Peter, That thing which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be common or uncleane: But God doth repute children among the faithfull: Ergo, they be faithfull, except we had rather to reſiſt God, and ſeeme ſtronger and wiſer then he.

Another argument. 1 Cor. 1.

And without all doubt the Apoſtles baptized thoſe which Chriſt commanded: but he commanded the faithfull to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: The Apoſtles then baptized infants.

1 Cor. 1. Another argument.

The Goſpel is more then Baptiſme, for Paul ſaid; The Lord ſent me to preach the Goſpel, and not to baptize: not that he denied abſolutely that he was ſent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptiſme, for the Lord commanded both to the Apoſtles: but children be received by the doctrine of the Goſpel of God, and not refuſed: therefore what perſon being of reaſon may denie them baptiſme, which is a thing leſſer then the Goſpel? for in the Sacraments be two things to be conſidered, the thing ſignified, and the ſigne, and the thing ſignified is is greater then the ſigne, and from the thing ſignified in baptiſme, children are not excluded; who therefore may denie them the ſigne, which is baptiſme in water?

In ſacraments two things to be conſidered.

Saint Peter could not denie them to be baptized in water, to whom he ſaw the holy Ghoſt given, which is the certaine ſigne of Gods people: For he ſaith in the Acts, May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the holy Ghoſt as well as we? Therefore S. Peter denied not baptiſme to infants, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Chriſt, and by the Covenant which is everlaſting, that the Kingdome of heaven pertained to infants.

Acts 10. Another reaſon.

Another reaſon. Rom. 8.

None be received into the Kingdome of heaven, but ſuch as God loveth, and which are indued with the ſpirit: for whoſo hath not the ſpirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the ſpirit of God: wherefore if they have the ſpirit of God as well as men, if they be numbred among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withſtand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

Another reaſon. Math. 10.

The Apoſtles in times paſt being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmure againſt thoſe which brought their children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and ſaid; Let the Babes come unto me. Why then doe not theſe rebellious Anabaptiſts obey the commandement of the Lord? For what doe they now adaies elſe that bring their children to baptiſme, then that they did in times paſt, which brought their children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, bleſſed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifeſtly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of GOD. But ſome will ſay, Why then did not Chriſt baptize them? Becauſe it is written, Ieſus himſelfe baptized not, but his Diſciples.

Objection. Iohn 4.

Moreover, Circumciſion in the old Law was miniſtred to infants; therefore baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the new Law unto children. For baptiſme is come in the ſtead of circumciſion, as Saint Paul witneſſeth, ſaying to the Coloſſians; By Chriſt ye are circumciſed with a circumciſion which is without hands, when ye put off the body of ſinne of the fleſh, by the circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with him through baptiſme. Behold, Paul calleth baptiſme the circumciſion of a Chriſtian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be miniſtred without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumciſed, albeit the myſterie of circumciſion doe ſtill remaine in faithfull people.

Another reaſon. Coloſſ. 2.

Another reaſon. Ioſ. 5.

To this I may adde, that the ſervants of God were alwaies ready to miniſter the ſacraments to them, for whom they were inſtituted. As for an example, we may behold Ioſua, who moſt diligently procured the people of Iſrael to be circumciſed before they entred into the land of promiſe; but ſince the Apoſtles were the Preachers of the word, and the very faithfull ſervants of Ieſus Chriſt, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, ſince baptiſme is in place of circumciſion?

Another reaſon.

Item, the Apoſtles did attemperate all their doings to the ſhadowes and figures of the old Teſtament: therefore it is certaine that they did attemperate baptiſme accordingly to circumciſion, and baptized children becauſe they were under the figure of baptiſme; for the people of Iſrael paſſed through the red ſea, and the bottome of the water of Iordan, with their children. And although the children be not alwaies expreſſed, neither the women in the holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and underſtood in the ſame.

Another reaſon.

Alſo the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the Apoſtles baptized whole families or houſholds: But the children be comprehended in a family or houſhold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the Apoſtles did baptize infants or children, and not onely men of lawfull age. And that the houſe or houſhold is taken for man, woman, and childe, it is manifeſt in the 17. of Geneſis, and alſo in that Ioſeph doth call Iacob with all his houſe, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Arguments of example and of antiquitie.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient Writers, that the baptiſme of Infants hath continued from the Apoſtles time unto ours, neither that it was inſtituted by any Councels, neither of the Pope, nor of other men, but commended from the Scripture by the Apoſtles themſelves. Origen upon the declaration of Saint Pauls Epiſtle to the Romanes, expounding the ſixth chapter, ſaith, That the Church of Chriſt received the baptiſme of Infants from the very Apoſtles. Saint Hierome maketh mention of the baptiſme of Infants, in the third booke againſt the Pelagians, and in his Epiſtle to Leta. S. Auguſtine reciteth for this purpoſe a place out of Iohn Biſhop of Conſtantinople, in his firſt booke againſt Iulian, chapter 2. and he againe writing to Saint Hierome Epiſt. 28. ſaith, That Saint Cyprian not making any new decree, but firmely obſerving the faith of the Church, judged with his fellow Biſhops, that as ſoone as one was borne, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be ſeen in his Epiſtle to Fidus.

Origen who was 200. yeers after Chriſt.

Saint Auſtin & S. Hierome 400. yeeres after Chriſt.

Verba Iohannis Conſtantinopol. Heb. 11.

[illegible]

Cyprian 250. after Chriſt.

Aug. contra Donatiſt. Cyrill.

Alſo S. Auguſtine in writing againſt the Donatiſts in the 4. booke chap. 23, and 24. ſaith, That the

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the baptiſme of infants was not derived from the authoritie of man, neither of Councels, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Cyrill upon Leviticus chapter 8. approveth the baptiſme of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptiſme. Theſe authorities of men I doe alledge, not to tie the baptiſme of children unto the teſtimonies of men, but to ſhew how mens teſtimonies doe agree with Gods word, and that the veritie of antiquitie is on our ſide, and that the Anabaptiſts have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feigne the baptiſme of children to be the Popes commandement.

After this will I anſwer to the ſumme of your arguments for the contrarie. The firſt which includeth all the reſt, is, It is written, Goe ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that beleeveth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: but he that beleeveth not, ſhall be damned, &c.

Matth. 18.

Righteouſneſſe and acceptation is onely by imputation and meere grace.

To this I anſwer, that nothing is added to Gods word by baptiſme of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the ſame word doth require, for that children are accounted of Chriſt in the Goſpel among the number of ſuch as beleeve, as it appeareth by theſe words; He that offendeth one of theſe little babes which beleeve in me, it were better for him to have a millſtone tyed about his neck, and to be caſt into the bottome of the ſea. Where plainly Chriſt calleth ſuch as be not able to confeſſe their faith, beleevers; becauſe of his meere grace he reputeth them for beleevers. And this is no wonder ſo to be taken, ſince God imputeth faith for righteouſneſſe unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteouſneſſe, acceptation, or ſanctification is of mære grace and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be praiſed.

1 Cor. 7.

“ Marke 1.

And that the children of faithfull parents are ſanctified, and among ſuch as doe beleeve, is apparent in the 1 Cor. 7. And whereas you doe gather by the order of the words in the ſaid commandement of Chriſt, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alledge many places out of the Acts, proving that ſuch as confeſſed their faith firſt, were baptized after: I anſwer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cauſe, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in “ Saint Marke we reade, that John did baptize in the deſart, preaching the baptiſme of repentance. In the which place we ſee baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

Matth. 28.

And alſo I will declare this place of Matthew exactly conſidered, to make for the uſe of baptiſme in children, for S. Matthew hath it written in this wiſe; All power is given me (ſaith the Lord) in heaven and in earth, therefore going forth μαθητεύσατε, that is, Diſciple ye, (as I may expreſſe the ſignification of the word;) that is, make or gather to me Diſciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they ſhould gather to him Diſciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching; by baptizing and teaching ye ſhall procure a Church to me. And both theſe aptly and briefly ſeverally he ſetteth forth, ſaying, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you. Now then baptiſme goeth before doctrine.

The place of Matthew 28. (He that beleeveth and is baptized) opened.

But hereby I doe not gather, that the Gentiles which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Sonne of God, and of the holy Ghoſt, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themſelves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to ſhew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptiſts be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did onely command ſuch to be baptized whom the Apoſtles had firſt of all taught. Neither here verily is ſignified who onely be to be baptized, but he ſpeaketh of ſuch as be of perfect age, and of the firſt foundations of faith, and of the Church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may heare, beleeve, and confeſſe that which is preached and taught, but ſo cannot infants; therefore we may juſtly collect, that he ſpeaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they be not to be excluded from baptiſme.

It is a generall rule; He that doth not labour, muſt not eate. But who is ſo barbarous that might think hereby, that children ſhould be famiſhed?

In the firſt converting of Infidels, beleeving ought to goe before baptizing: but where faith is received, Gods grace and ſacraments goe not by age, but as well be children of the faithfull received as the fathers.

The Lord ſent his Apoſtles at the beginning of the ſetting up his true religion unto all nations, unto ſuch as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the Covenant of God; and truly ſuch perſons it behooved not firſt to be baptized, and afterward taught; but firſt to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we ſhould goe to the Turkes to convert them to the faith of Chriſt, verily firſt we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize ſuch as would yeeld to be the ſervants of Chriſt. Likewiſe the Lord himſelfe in times paſt did, when firſt he renued the Covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumciſion to be a ſeale of the Covenant after that Abraham was circumciſed. But he, when he perceived the infants alſo to pertaine to the Covenant, and that circumciſion was the ſealing up of the Covenant, did not onely circumciſe Iſmael his ſon that was 13. yæres of age, but all other Infants that were born in his houſe, among whom we reckon Iſaac.

Why children of chriſtian parents be received to baptiſme.

Catechumeni, is as much to ſay, as young Novices and beginners in Chriſts faith.

Even ſo faithfull people which were converted from heathen Idolatrie by the preaching of the Goſpel, and confeſſing the faith, were baptized; when they underſtood their children to be counted among the people of GOD, and that baptiſme was the token of the people of God, they procured alſo their children to be baptized. Therefore as it is written; Abraham circumciſed all the male children of his houſe. Semblably we reade in the acts and writings of the Apoſtles, that after the maſter of the houſe was turned to the faith, all the whole houſe was baptized. And as concerning thoſe which of old time were compelled to confeſſe their faith before they received baptiſme, which were called Catechumeni, they were ſuch as with our fore-fathers came from the Gentiles in the Church, who being yet rude of faith, they did inſtruct in the principles of their beliefe, and afterward they did baptize them; but the ſame ancient fathers notwithſtanding did baptize the children of faithfull men, as I have already partly declared.

And becauſe you doe require a haſtie anſwer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to ceaſe particularly to goe through your letter in anſwering thereto, knowing that I have fully anſwered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in ſuch order as it had beene mæte, and as I purpoſed. But foraſmuch as I underſtand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrarie to the judgement of Chriſts primitive church, which is the body and fulneſſe of Chriſt, I deſire you in the intire love of him, or rather Chriſt deſireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to ſubmit your judgement to that church, and to be at peace and unity with the ſame; that the coate of Chriſt which ought to be without ſeame, but now alas moſt miſerably is torne in peeces by many dangerous ſects and damnable opinions, may appeare by you in no part to have beene rent, neither that any giddy head in theſe dogge-daies, might take an enſample by you to diſſent from Chriſts true Church: I beſeech thee deare brother in the Goſpel, follow the ſteps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the Primitive Church, and of ſuch as at this day follow the ſame; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then ſhall death, be it never ſo bitter, be more ſweeter then this life; then ſhall Chriſt with all the heavenly Hieruſalem triumphantly imbrace your ſpirit with unſpeakable gladneſſe and exaltation, who in this earth was content to joyne your ſpirit with their ſpirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the ſpirit of the Prophets ſhould be ſubject to the Prophets. One thing aſk with David ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a full accord in his houſe, for there is glory and worſhip: and ſo with Simeon in the temple embracing Chriſt, depart in peace: to the which peace Chriſt bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unitie of faith, by ſuch waies as ſhall pleaſe him, to his glory. Let the bitter paſſion of Chriſt which he ſuffered for your ſake, and the horrible torments which the godly Martyrs of Chriſt have endured before us, and alſo the ineſtimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

1 Cor. 14.

Concerning the partie to whom this letter was written, note that he was converted, and afterward died in the ſame faith as this letter did perſwade him.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the veritie of Chriſts Goſpel, to live and die with you in the unitie of faith,
Iohn Philpot

¶ Divers other letters were written by Maſter Philpot to divers, but theſe as moſt principall I have excerpted and inſerted. Amongſt which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoyne another certaine letter of a godly and zealous Goſpeller (whoſe name in her writing doth not appeare) who in defending and commending the quarrell of this M. John Philpot, Chriſts moſt famous and worthy Martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Biſhop Boner. And therefore being appointed by the ſaid Biſhop to appeare upon a certain day to anſwer for her ſelfe; indeed kept not her day with the Biſhop, but in ſtead of her appearance ſent him this letter here following.

Woe be unto the Idolatrous Shepherds of England that feede themſelves. Should not the Shepherds feede the flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wooll, the beſt fed have ye ſlaine, but the flocke have ye not nouriſhed, the weake have ye not holden up, the ſick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the out-caſts have ye not brought againe, the loſt have ye not ſought, but churliſhly and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek. 34.

FOraſmuch (my Lord) as my buſineſſe is ſuch that I cannot come to your Lordſhip according to my promiſe, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, partly to excuſe mine abſence, and partly to anſwer your Lordſhips demands at my laſt moſt happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promiſe with you in not coming againe at the houre appointed, your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand that I take the counſell of the Angel, which warned the wiſe men not to come againe to Herod according to their promiſe, but to turne home againe another way. Now my Lord I perceiving your Lordſhip to be a more cruell Tyrant then ever was Herod, and more deſirous to deſtroy Chriſt in his poore members then ever was he, which to deſtroy Chriſt killed his own ſon, I thought good to take the Angels counſell, and to come no more at you; for I ſee that you are ſet all in a rage like a ravening Wolfe againſt the poore Lambes of Chriſt appointed to the ſlaughter for the teſtimonie of the truth. Indeede you are called the common cut-throate and generall ſlaughter-ſlave to all the Biſhops of England; and therefore it is wiſdome for me and all other ſimple ſheepe of the Lord, to keepe us out of your Butchers ſtall as long as we can: eſpecially ſeeing that you have ſuch ſtore alreadie, that you are not able to drinke all their bloud, leſt you ſhould breake your belly; and therefore let them lie ſtill and die for hunger. Therefore (my Lord) I thought it good to tarrie a time untill your Lordſhips ſtomacke were come to you a little better; for I doe perceive by your great fat cheekes that you lacke no Lambes fleſh yet, and belike you are almoſt glutted with ſupping ſo much bloud, and therefore you will let ſome of the leaneſt die in priſon, which will then be meate good enough for your barking Beagles, Harpsfield and his fellowes: but yet my Lord it were a great deale more for your Lordſhips honour, if your Chaplaines might have the meate roaſted in Smithfield at the fier of the ſtake, yea, and when it is ſomething fat and faire liking; for now they have nothing but skinne and bones, and if the dogges come haſtily to it, they may chance ſhortly to be choaked, and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I heare ſay my Lord that ſome of the Butcherly Curres came of late to my houſe to ſeeke their prey, and that they goe round about the Citie (as David ſaith) grinning and grudging that they have not meate enough; therefore belike they have killed my poore brethren and ſiſters that have lien ſo long upon the Butcherly ſtall, and eaten them up: for I heare ſay their friends could not be ſuffered to ſee them theſe three daies and more; therefore I perceive now that if I had come againe according to my promiſe, your Lordſhip like a ravening Wolfe, or elſe ſome of your Helhounds would quickly have worried me: but I ſee well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank him for my deliverance, with continuall ſongs of laud and praiſe. Thus have I beene bold to trouble your Lordſhip with telling you the truth, and the very cauſe that I came not to you againe according to my unpurpoſed promiſe. I truſt your Lordſhip will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawfull excuſe, and not doubting but your Lordſhip would have done the like, if you had beene in my caſe.

Now as concerning the ſecond part that cauſed me to write unto your Lordſhip, which is to anſwer unto your ſubtle or rather cruell demand of my judgement of the death of that bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Jeſus, good Maſter John Philpot, I will anſwer your Lordſhip ſimply and plainly, what perill ſoever ſhall come thereof. Truly my Lord I doe not only thinke, but I am alſo moſt certaine and ſure, that he as a very man of God, died a true Martyr and conſtant Confeſſor of his deare Lord and Saviour Jeſus

Chriſt, to whom he did moſt faithfully commit his ſweet ſoule, who will ſurely keepe the ſame with him in joy and felicitie for evermore. Alſo my Lord, I doe verily beleeve and know that your Lordſhip hath committed an horrible and moſt cruell murder in the unjuſt condemning and killing of him, and that you ſhall make as heavie an account for his bloud, which ſhortly ſhall be required at your hands, as ever your great Grandfather cruell Caine did or ſhall doe for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, becauſe I am credibly informed that your Lordſhip doth beleeve, and have in ſecret ſaid, that there is no hell, I certifie you that your Lordſhip did never any thing in all your life that ſo much did redound to your Lordſhips diſhonour, and perpetuall ſhame and infamie, as your killing the body of this bleſſed Prophet doth; eſpecially ſeeing that he was none of your Dioceſſe, nor had offended any of your Lordſhips devilliſh and cruell lawes. Verily I heare almoſt every body ſay in all places where I come, that your Lordſhip is made the common ſlaughter-ſlave to all your fellowes, Biteſheep, Biſhops I would ſay; yea, the very Papiſts themſelves begin now to abhorre your bloud-thirſtineſſe; and ſpeake ſhame of your tyrannie. Like tyrannie beleeve me my Lord; every childe that can any whit ſpeake, can call upon by your name and ſay, Bloudy Boner is Biſhop of London, and every man hath it as perfect upon his fingers ends, as his Pater noſter, how many you for your part have burned with fire, and famiſhed in priſon; they ſay the whole ſumme ſurmounteth to fortie perſons within this three quarters of this yeer. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordſhip beleeveth that there is neither heaven, nor hell, nor God, nor Devill: yet if your Lordſhip love your owne honeſtie, which was loſt long agone, you were beſt to ſurceaſe from this cruell burning of true Chriſtian men, and alſo from murdering of ſome in priſon; for that indeed offendeth mens mindes moſt, yea even your old friends the rankeſt Papiſts that be. For ſay they, Felix the Heathen Ruler did not forbid Pauls friends to viſit him in priſon, and to bring him neceſſarie reliefe; and therefore it is a very great ſhame and ſinne, to ſee a Biſhop that beareth the name of a Chriſtian, to be more cruell upon his poore brethren, then an Heathen, Turke, or Infidell.

Your deeds declare and beare witneſſe to the ſame.

This is mens ſayings in every place, not onely of this Realme, but alſo of the moſt part of the world, and the common talke they have of your Lordſhip; therefore I thought to be ſo bold with your Lordſhip, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but ſmall thankes for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordſhips choice, for I have as much already as I looke for: Finally, my Lord, I will give you to underſtand, that the death of this conſtant Martyr and valiant ſouldier of Jeſus Chriſt hath given a greater ſhake towards the overthrowing of your Papiſticall Kingdome, then you ſhall ever be able to recover againe theſe ſeven yeeres, doe the beſt ye can, and ſet as many craftie dawbers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked Apoſtata, apply all his wily wits to helpe them. Verily, my Lord, by all mens reports, his bleſſed life could never have done the like ſorrow to Satans Synagogue, whereof ſome ſay your Lordſhip is a mightie member, as his happie death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious word contained therein is ſo notably therewithall ſhed abroad, that the ſweet ſavour thereof hath wonderfully well refreſhed all the true houſhold or congregation of Chriſt, that they cannot abide any more the ſtinking ſavour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your Lordſhips Judaſſes doe ſet them to ſale every where to fill your bagges. I put your Lordſhip out of doubt, that if you do breake any moe ſuch pots, you will marre your owne market altogether: for I promiſe you, moſt men begin to miſlike your devilliſh doings, and wonderfully to loath your Popiſh Pedlarie wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordſhips commandements) ſhewed you ſimply what I thinke of that good mans death, whoſe bloud crieth for vengeance againſt your Lordſhips butcherly bloudie proceedings in the eares of the Lord of hoſtes, who will ſhortly revenge the ſame upon your pillid pate, and upon the reſt of all your poll-ſhorne brethren, the very marked cattell of the great Antichriſt of Rome. The meaſure of your iniquitie is filled up to the brimme, therefore will God ſhortly poure in double unto your deſerved deſtruction. And then I weene your new made Proſelytes will be glad to cover their crownes with a Cow turde (ſaving your Lordſhips reverence I ſhould have ſaid firſt.) Well, I rather deſire their converſion then confuſion, the Lord ſend the one of them ſhortly as may be moſt to his glory, Amen.

I ſignifie alſo unto your Lordſhip, that the railing words which your lying Preacher ſhewed forth of his filthy fountaine upon Sunday againſt the deare ſervant of God, good Maſter Philpot, doe greatly redound to your Lordſhips diſhoneſtie, and much deface your ſpirituall honour. Verily I ſee that the great wrath of G O D hath ſo blinded your eyes, that you ſee not what is with you, nor what is againſt you, but ſtill you vomit out your owne ſhame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemne him moſt unjuſtly, yea contrarie to your owne lawes, and to kill his innocent body moſt tyrannouſly, but you muſt alſo ſet a lying limbe of the Devill to blaſpheme, ſlander, and belie him now he is dead? Oh viperous generation, ſeede of the ſerpent, and right children of the Devill, full well doe you counterfeit your fathers ſteps, whom Chriſt calleth a murderer, and a lier from the beginning, which two things be the onely weapons of your warre, wherewith you maintaine all your miſchiefe, that is to ſay, lying and murder; for thoſe whom ye cannot overcome with your lying perſwaſions, them you kill moſt cruelly, and then blaſpheme and belie them with railing ſentences when they are dead. But all this will not blinde the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the leſſe beleeve the truth, nor abate their love from the true Preachers thereof, yea it is a true ſigne and a token that they are the verie Diſciples of Chriſt; for he hath ſaid, Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, and ſay all manner of evill ſayings againſt you for my names ſake. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. And doubtleſſe great is the good mans reward in heaven by this time, as your Lordſhips damnation ſhall be great in hell, except you repent and ſurceaſe from ſhedding innocent bloud. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaohs was, ſeeing that with Judas ye have ſold and betraied your Maſter. Take heed my lord leſt you come to the ſame end or a worſe then he did. For verily I cannot perceive how you ſhould eſcape it long; therefore ſay not but a woman gave you warning if you liſt to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popiſh purpoſe in ſuppreſſing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you ſhall not obtaine it ſo long as you goe this way to worke as ye doe; for verily I beleeve that you have loſt the hearts of 20000. that were ranke Papiſts within this twelve moneths.

It is found very true that one holy Doctor ſaith, The blood of the Martyrs is the ſeede of the Goſpel; when one is put to death a thouſand doth riſe for him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the heartie love that the people ſhewed unto good Maſter Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an Idoll of him, as your Adders brood would beare men in hand; but they worſhipped GOD which gave ſuch ſtrength to his deare childe, to die ſo conſtantly for the teſtimonie of his truth, unto the utter deſtruction of that deteſtable Idolatry which your lordſhip doth moſt devilliſhly maintain with the force of fire, fagots, and ſword: yea, and rather then faile, to famiſh men in priſon againe, as ye have done already. It is reported of your owne tormentors, that the ſix priſoners that you have in your priſon, be put in ſix ſeverall places all the day, and every night brought together, and ſet in the Stocks. Forſooth my Lord this doth get you a foule name all abroad the countrey, and yet all will not helpe your Lordſhips peſtilent purpoſe, but every way hinder the ſame. For Zorobabel will be found no lyar, which ſaid, The truth ſhall have victorie. You doe but ſtrive againſt the ſtreame, and kick againſt the prick; the Lord doth laugh your doings to ſcorn, and will bring all your counſels and devices to naught (as knoweth the Lord God) who of his great mercy ſhortly convert your lordſhip, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you, Amen.

Your Lordſhips Orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556.

The ſtory of ſeven Martyrs ſuffering together at London for the like teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

THe Catholike Prelates of the Popes band being as yet not ſatisfied with this their one yeeres bloudy murdering of the reverend, learned, and principall members of Chriſts church (whereof there were now very few, which either were not conſumed by moſt cruell fire, or elſe, for the avoyding of their Popiſh rage, compelled to flee their naturall Countrey) continued ſtill this next yeere alſo, which was Anno 1556. in no leſſe crueltie towards the poore ſimple and inferiour ſort of people (I meane in degree, though God be praiſed, not in ſtedfaſtneſſe) having yet ſometimes amongſt them ſuch as were both learned and of good eſtimation, as in continuance of this ſtorie ſhall appeare.

Wherefore (as the firſt fruits thereof) to begin this yeere withall, about the 27. day of Januarie were burned in Smithfield at London theſe ſeven perſons hereafter following, to wit:

7. Godly Martyrs ſuffering together in Smithfield, Anno 1556. Januarie 27.

Thomas Whittle, Prieſt.
Bartlet Greene, Gentleman.
Iohn Tudſon, Artificer.
Iohn Went, Artificer.
Thomas Browne.
Iſabel Foſter, wife.
Ioan Warne, alias Laſhford, Mayd.

All which ſeven as they were burned together in one fire, ſo were they likewiſe all upon one ſort and forme of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the gifts of GOD in them were divers (ſome more abounding in knowledge then others) their dealings withall were alſo divers, as ſhall be more plainly perceived in the diſcourſing of their ſeverall proceſſes hereafter following. And therefore for the better underſtanding hereof, I will firſt (by the leave of the Lord) paſſing over their private Articles and examinations had at ſundry times in the Biſhops houſe, ſet forth their generall examinations in the publike Conſiſtorie, upon the Biſhops articles there miniſtred unto them, with their anſwers alſo unto the ſame, according as they all agreed after one manner and ſort together, as here by the words both of the articles and their anſwers under written, may appeare.

The forme and words of Boners Articles miniſtred to the ſeven perſons above mentioned in his Conſiſtory.

AND firſt to behold the manner of ſpeech in theſe Biſhops, ſitting in their majeſtie to terrifie the eares of the ſimple withall, let us heare the Pontificall phraſe of this Biſhop, beginning in this ſort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every part and parcell of them, we Edmund by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of London, doe object and miniſter to thee Thomas Whittle, &c. of our meere office, for thy ſoules health, and for the reformation of thine offences and miſdemeanours, moniſhing thee in the vertue of obedience, and under the pains of both cenſures of the Church, and alſo of other paines of the law, to anſwer fully, plainly, and truly to all the ſame.

1 FIrſt, that thou N. haſt firmely, ſtedfaſtly and conſtantly beleeved in times paſt, and ſo doeſt now beleeve at this preſent, that there is here in Earth a Catholike Church, in the which Catholike Church the faith and religion of Chriſt is truly profeſſed, allowed, received, kept and retained of all faithfull and true Chriſtian people.

7. Sacraments.

2 Item, that thou the ſaid N. in times paſt haſt alſo beleeved, and ſo doeſt beleeve at this preſent, that there are in the Catholike Church ſeven Sacraments, inſtituted and ordained by God, and by the conſent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

The Godfathers faith.

3 Item, that thou the ſaid N. waſt in times paſt baptized in the faith of the ſaid Catholike Church, profeſſing by thy Godfathers and Godmother, the faith and religion of Chriſt and the obſervation thereof, renouncing there the Devill and all his pompes and workes, and was by the ſaid ſacrament of Baptiſme incorporate to the Catholike Church, and made a faithfull member thereof.

4 Item, that thou the ſaid N. coming to the age of foureteen yeeres, and ſo to the age of diſcretion, didſt not depart from the ſaid profeſſion and faith, nor diddeſt miſlike any part of the ſame faith or doings, but diddeſt like a faithful chriſtian perſon abide and continue in all the ſame, by the ſpace of certain yeers, ratifying and confirming all the ſame.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe.

5 Item, that thou the ſaid N. notwithſtanding the premiſſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay, within theſe two yeeres laſt paſt, within the Citie and Dioceſſe of London, ſwarved at the leaſt way from ſome part of the ſaid Catholike faith and religion: and amongſt other things thou haſt miſliked and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the Altar, and the unitie of the Church, railing and maligning the authoritie of the See of Rome, and the faith obſerved in the ſame.

See of Rome.

6 Item, that thou the ſaid N. haſt heretofore

refuſed, and doſt refuſe at this preſent to be reconciled again to the unitie of the Church, not knowledging and confeſſing the authoritie of the ſaid See of Rome to be lawfull.

See of Rome.

7 Item, that thou the ſaid N. miſliking the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and the ſacrament of the altar, haſt refuſed to come to thy Pariſh Church to hear Maſſe, and to receive the ſaid ſacrament, and haſt alſo expreſly ſaid, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but haſt affirmed expreſly, that the Maſſe is idolatrie and abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the altar there is none other ſubſtance, but onely materiall bread, and materiall wine, which are tokens of Chriſts body and blood onely, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſts body and blood is in no wiſe in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar.

The ſacrament of altar.

8 Item, that thou the ſaid N. being convented before certain Judges or Commiſſioners, for thy diſorder herein, and being found obſtinate, wilfull and heady, waſt by their commandement ſent unto me and my priſon, to be examined by me, and proceſſe to be made againſt thee for thy offence herein.

9 Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes have been, and be true and manifeſt, and thy ſelfe not onely infamed and ſuſpected thereof, but alſo culpable therein; and by reaſon of the ſame, thou waſt and art of the juriſdiction of me Edmund Biſhop of London, and before me, accordingly to the order of the Eccleſiaſticall Laws, are to be convented, and alſo by me to be puniſhed and reformed.

Here follow likewiſe their anſwers, in generall, made to the articles above rehearſed.

And firſt concerning the firſt article, in beleeving there is a Catholique Church.

Anſwer to the 1. article.

TO the firſt article they altogether agreeing, affirmed the ſame to be true: John Tudſon, and Thomas Brown, further adding, that the Church of England, as it was at that preſent uſed, was no part of the true Catholique Church.

Concerning the ſecond article, that there be in the Church ſeven Sacraments.

To the 2. article

To the ſecond article they anſwered, that they acknowledged but onely two Sacraments in Chriſts Catholique Church, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord; John Went and Tudſon affirming, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is uſed, is an Idoll, and no ſacrament at all.

Concerning the third article, that they were firſt baptized in the faith of the Catholique Church, profeſſing by their god-fathers the profeſſion of the ſame, &c.

To the 3. article

To the third article they all agreed, and confeſſed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Chriſt and of the Church then taught; and afterward during the time of King Edward the ſixth, they hearing the Goſpel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then uſed and ſet forth in the reigne of the ſaid King Edward.

Concerning the fourth article, that they for the ſpace of certain yeers did ratifie or allow, and not depart from any part of the profeſſion of the ſame Church.

To the 4. article.

To this fourth article they granted alſo and agreed; John Went adding moreover, that about ſeven yeeres paſt, he then, being about twenty yeeres of age, began to miſlike certain things uſed in the Church of England, as the miniſtration of the ſacrament of the altar; likewiſe all the ceremonies of the ſaid Church, and did likewiſe at that preſent time miſlike the ſame as they were uſed, although his god-fathers and god-mother promiſed for him the contrary.

The faith which they were baptized in, was in the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, beleeving the articles of the Creed, with promiſe made to abrenounce the devil, the fleſh, and the world: of the which faith their godfathers and godmothers were ſureties for them, and in this faith they continue ſtill. As for other ceremonies and abuſes of the Church, they never made any promiſe in their baptiſme.

John Tudſon added alſo in much like ſort, and ſaid, that when he came to the yeers of diſcretion, that is, about nine yeers paſt, being about eighteen yeers of age, he did miſlike the doctrine and religion then taught and ſet forth in the Church of England, ſaving in King Edwards time, in whoſe time the Goſpel was truly ſet forth: and further ſaid, that the doctrine ſet forth in the Queenes reign was not agreeable to Gods word, nor yet to the true Catholique Church that Chriſt ſpeaketh of, &c.

Iſabel Foſter with other granted, adding likewiſe, and ſaying to the ſaid foure articles, that ſhe continued in the ſame faith and religion which ſhe was baptized in, after ſhe came to the yeers of diſcretion as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reigne of King Edward the ſixth: at which time ſhe hearing the Goſpel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and ſet forth, &c.

Concerning the fifth article, that they of late yeers have ſwerved and gone away, miſliked, and ſpoken againſt the profeſſion of the ſame Church, at leaſt ſome part thereof, eſpecially the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the Altar, and the Authoritie of the Church of Rome.

To the fifth article, they anſwered the ſame to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had ſwerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholique Church, but from the church of Rome, in ſpeaking againſt the maſſe, the ſacrifice thereof, and the See of Rome.

To ſwerve from the corruptions of the See of Rome, and ſacrifice of the Maſſe, is not to go from the Catholike Church of Chriſt.

Joan Laſhford (alias, Joan Warn) granting with the other the ſaid article, addeth moreover, that ſhe never hitherto ſwerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Chriſts Catholique faith and religion; but ſaith, that from the time ſhe was xi. yeers of age, ſhe hath miſliked the ſacrifice of the maſſe, the ſacrament of the altar, and the authority of the See of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, becauſe they be againſt Chriſts Catholike Church, and the right faith of the ſame.

Bartlet Greene anſwering with the other to this article, addeth and ſaith, that he ſwerved not from the Catholique faith, but onely from the Church of Rome, &c.

Concerning the ſixth article, that they refuſe to be reconciled to the unitie of the ſaid Church of Rome.

To the 6. article.

To the ſixth article they anſwer and confeſſe the ſame to be true, rendring the cauſe thereof, becauſe (ſay they) the ſame Church and doctrine therein ſet forth and taught, diſagreeth from the unitie of Chriſts word, and the true Catholique faith, &c.

The Catholike Church, and the Church of Rome, are two things.

Whereunto Bartlet Green anſwered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unitie of Chriſts Catholike Church, but not of the Church of Rome.

In like manner added alſo John Went.

Concerning the ſeventh article, that they refuſe to come to heare Maſſe, and to receive the ſaid

Sacrament, calling it an Idoll, &c.

To the 7. article

The Maſſe diſſonant from the word of the Goſpel.

The maſſe full of idolatry.

To the ſeventh article they anſwer, and confeſſe the contents thereof to be true, giving withall the reaſon and cauſe of this their ſo doing, for that the Maſſe with the ſacrament thereof, as it was then uſed and ſet forth in the Church of England, is diſſonant to the word and teaching of the goſpel, &c.

John Went repenteth his going to Maſſe.

John Went furthermore ſaid, as concerning the Maſſe, that he beleeveth no leſſe, but the Maſſe which he calleth the Supper of the Lord, as it is now uſed in the Realme of England, is naught, full of idolatrie, and againſt Gods word ſo farre as he ſeeth it; howbeit, he ſaith that ſince the Queens Coronation by chance he hath been preſent where the Maſſe hath been ſaid, whereof he is ſorie.

Iſabel Foſter alſo anſwering to the ſaid articles, with the other before, confeſſed moreover, that ſince Queene Maries reigne ſhe hath not heard Maſſe, nor received the ſacrament, but hath refuſed to come in place where it was miniſtred: for ſhe knoweth no ſuch ſacrament to be. And being demanded of her beliefe in the ſame, ſhe ſaith, that there is but onely materiall bread, and materiall wine, and not the reall ſubſtance of the bodie of Chriſt in the ſame ſacrament: for ſo ſhe hath been taught to beleeve by the Preachers in the time of King Edward, whom ſhe beleeveth to have preached the truth in that behalf.

¶ Concerning the 8. Article, that they were ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Biſhop to be examined and impriſoned.

To the 8. article

To the 8. Article they grant the ſame, and the contents thereof to be ſo.

Thomas Whittle adding and affirming that the Lord Chancellor that then was, ſent him up to the Biſhop there preſent.

Bartlet Greene added, that he was ſent up to the ſaid Biſhop, but for no offence herein articulate.

John Went ſaid that Doctor Story, Q. Maries commiſſioner, examined him upon the ſacrament, and becauſe he denied the real preſence, he preſented this examinate to the Biſhop.

John Tudſon likewiſe examined by M. Cholmley and Doctor Story, upon the ſame matters, and for not coming to the Church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the Biſhop.

Thomas Browne alſo ſaid, that he for not coming to the church of S. Brides, was brought by the Conſtable to the Biſhop, &c.

Of this Joan Warne read before.

Joan Warne confeſſed that ſhe was ſent by D. Story to the B. of London, about twelve weeks ago, ſince which time ſhe hath continued with the ſaid Biſhop.

Concerning the 9. Article.

To the 9. article

To the 9. Article they confeſſe and ſay, that as they beleeve the premiſſes before by them confeſſed to be true, ſo they denie not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the juriſdiction of London.

And thus having expreſſed their Articles, with their anſwers joyntly made unto the ſame, it remaineth further more fully to diſcourſe the ſtories, and handling of all the ſeven aforeſaid Martyrs ſeverally and particularly by themſelves, firſt beginning with Thomas Whittle.

The ſtory of all theſe ſeven Martyrs, particularly deſcribed, in order here followeth, and firſt of Thomas Whittle, who firſt recanting, then returning again, with great conſtancy and fortitude ſtood to the defence of Chriſts doctrine againſt the Papiſts, to the fire.

Tho. Whittle Martyr.

In the ſtory of maſter Philpot, mention was made before, of a married prieſt, whom he found in the Cole-houſe at his firſt coming thither, in heavineſſe of minde and great ſorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edwards dayes, whoſe name was Thomas Whittle of Eſſex; and thus lieth his ſtory. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expulſed from the place in Eſſex where he ſerved, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occaſion was miniſtred, preaching and ſowing the Goſpel of Chriſt. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaſter, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miſerably gaped after, he was brought firſt as priſoner before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who then was fallen lately ſick of his diſeaſe, whereof not long after he died moſt ſtrangely. But the apprehender for his profered ſervice was highly checked and rated of the biſhop, aſking if there were no man unto whom he might bring ſuch Raſcals, but to him? Hence (quoth he) out of my ſight thou varlet, what doeſt thou trouble me with ſuch matters? The greedie cormorant being thus defeated of his deſired prey, yet thinking to ſeek and to hunt further, carried his priſoner to the Biſhop of London, with whom what an evil meſſe of handling this Whittle had, and how he was by the Biſhop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a Letter ſent unto his friend, manifeſtly may appeare.

Edmund Alablaſter, after a promoter and perſecuter.

Tho. Whittle reporteth of the manner of his handling with B. Boner.

Upon Thurſday which was the tenth of January, the Biſhop of London ſent for me Thomas Whittle Miniſter, out of the Porters lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet where I had as painfull a night of ſickneſſe as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the ſacrament ſo groſly, as is not worthy to be rehearſed. And amongſt other things he aſked me if I would have come to Maſſe that morning if he had ſent for me. Whereunto I anſwered, that I would have come to him at his commandement, but to your Maſſe (ſaid I) I have ſmall affection. At which anſwer he was diſpleaſed ſore, and ſaid I ſhould be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great Hall, he turned backe and beat me with his fiſt, firſt on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the ſigne of my beating did many dayes appeare. And then he led me into a little ſalt-houſe, where I had no ſtraw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and ſlept ſoundly, I thanke God.

Tho. Whittle beaten on the face by Boner.

Epiſcopum non percuſſorem eſſe oportet. Tit. 1.

Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many faire words, and ſaid he would be good to me. And ſo he going to Fulham, committed me to Doctor Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoone ſhould commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would ſubſcribe, I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But Doctor Harpsfield ſent not for me till night, and then perſwaded me very ſore to forſake my opinions. I anſwered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not ſo lightly turne there-from. So I thought I ſhould at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain Bill, which the Regiſter pulled out of his boſome, and read it. The Bill indeed was very eaſily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to deteſt all errours and hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and to beleeve the faith of the Catholique Church, and live accordingly.

Tho. Whittle convented before D. Harpsfield.

Com
gainſt
T.W
pentet
canta

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it pleaſe the gentle Reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our hands we have hereunto adjoyned, written, and contained in their own words, as followeth to be ſeen.

The bill of ſubmiſſion offered to Thomas Whittle to ſubſcribe.

The bill of ſubmiſſion put to T. Whittle to ſubſcribe unto.

I Thomas Whittle Prieſt, of the Dioceſſe of London, knowledge and confeſſe with my mouth agreeing with my heart before you reverend Father in God, Edmund Biſhop of London my Ordinarie, that I do deteſt and abhorre all manner of hereſies and errors againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, or any of the Sacraments of the church, which hereſies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wiſe by the Catholique church: and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſents, that I do both now hold, and alſo intend by Gods grace alwayes hereafter to hold, obſerve, and keep, in all points the Catholique faith and beliefe of Chriſts Church, according as this Church of England, being a member of the ſaid Catholique Church, doth now profeſſe and keep, and in no wiſe to ſwerve, decline, or go from the ſaid faith, during my naturall life, ſubmitting my ſelfe fully and wholly to you reverend Father my ſaid Ordinarie, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. In witneſſe whereof I the ſaid Thomas Whittle Prieſt, have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, written &c.

Tho. Whittle though infirmity ſubſcribeth to the bill.

Tho. Whittle compuncted in conſcience, for forſaking of the croſſe of Chriſt. A good warning for all faithfull Chriſtians not to fall into the crafty hands of the Papiſts.

To this bill I did indeed ſet my hand, being much deſired and counſelled ſo to do, and the fleſh being alwayes deſirous to have libertie. I conſidered not throughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and reſpite I deſired to have had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now when I had ſo done, I had little joy thereof. For by and by my minde and conſcience told me by Gods word that I had done evill, by ſuch a ſleight means to ſhake off the ſweet Croſſe of Chriſt: and yet it was not my ſeeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty ſubtiltie of Satan in his members. Let every man that God ſhall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave faſt to Chriſt: for they will leave no corner of his conſcience unſought, but will attempt all guilefull and ſubtle meanes to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man deſpair of Gods help, for Peter did fall and riſe againe. And David ſaith, A righteous man though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. For I for my part have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found Gods preſent help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

The night after I had ſubſcribed, I was ſore grieved, and for ſorrow of conſcience could not ſleep. For in the deliverance of my bodie out of bonds, which I might have had, I could finde no joy nor comfort, but ſtill was in my conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by Gods ſpirit and his word, that I through evill counſell and addviſement had done amiſſe. And both with diſquietneſſe of minde, and with my other cruell handling, I was ſickly, lying upon the ground when the Keeper came; and ſo I deſired him to pray Doctor Harpsfield to come to me, and ſo he did.

Comfort againſt deſpair. T. Whittle repenteth his recantation.

And when he came, and the Regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpecially I told him I was grieved very much in my conſcience and minde, becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſaid that my conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the juſt judgement of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conſcience, and Satan readie to devoure me: and therefore I pray you maſter Harpsfield (ſaid I) let me have the bill again, for I will not ſtand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and ſuffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although death ſhould follow. And hereby I had experience of Gods providence and mercie towards me, who trieth his people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: for in the midſt of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and alſo delivered me, his name be praiſed for evermore. Amen.

Experience of Gods providence, ſuffering his people to fall, but not to be loſt.

Peace of conſcience a great treaſure.

Neither devill nor cruell tyrant can pluck any of Chriſts ſheep out of his hand. Of the which flock of Chriſts ſheep I truſt undoubtedly I am one by meanes of his death and blood-ſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at his right hand, and receive with other his bleſſed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conſcience and minde, I praiſe God, is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am very well willing and content to give over this bodie to the death, for the teſtimonie of his truth and pure religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe religion and doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeak not truly. And as for Fountain I ſaw him not all this while.

By me Thomas Whittle,
Miniſter.

¶ Concerning the troubled minde of this godly man, and tearing of his name out of the Bill, here followeth the report of the ſame, written in the letters both of the ſaid Harpsfield, and alſo of Johnſon the Regiſter, being then preſent thereat, and reporters of the ſame unto the Biſhop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be ſeen.

The copie of Nicholas Harpsfields letter, touching maſter Whittle, written to Boner Biſhop of London.

A letter of N. Harpsfield declaring how Tho. Whittle rent his ſubſcription out of the Biſhops Regiſter.

PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to underſtand, that yeſterday I dined with my Lord of Exceter, who ſoone after my firſt coming to him, asked me what news? I anſwered none but good that I had heard. No, ſaith he. Why, it is a rumor in the Citie, that to morrow the Queenes grace will take her journey towards the King. I anſwered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretiques: yea and further, ſaith he, there is report made abroad of my Lord our Maſter, that he is in diſcomfort, and therefore will ſuffer no man to come unto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: ſo that my Lord (who before was verie ſad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoyced much to heare that all was well with your Lordſhip, and deſired me to have his hearty commendations to your Lordſhip.

One of my Lord of Penbrokes retinue, a verie hanſome man, and as farre as I can yet learne, a Catholique, is a ſuter to your Lordſhip to have licence to erect a ſchool: and the order which he intendeth to uſe, is contained in this printed paper, which I ſend here incloſed to your Lordſhip. I would be glad for my Lord of Penbrokes ſake that he underſtood, that upon my motion your Lordſhip were content he ſhould teach as he intendeth. Maſter Johnſon and I have travelled with the Prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his name to this draught which is herein incloſed, and hath promiſed he will ſtand to the ſame before your Lordſhip.

When I had written this much, ſuddenly came tidings to me, that Iordanis converſus eſt retrorſum. Cluney coming to the Prieſt, found

He meaneth of the return again of T. Whittle.

him lying proſtrate, and groning as though he ſhould have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and ſet him upon a ſtool, and came to me, and told me of this revell. It chanced that maſter Johnſon was with me, and we went to this fond heretique, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I cauſed Thomas More and Cluney to ſet him on the ſtool, and with much ado at length he told me that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned, and weeping he prayed maſter Johnſon and me to ſee the bill, whereunto he ſubſcribed, and when he ſaw it, he tare out his name, è libro ſcilicet viventium. Me thinketh by him he will needs burne a fagot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman. I have enquired of the two perſons which ſue to have a licence to eat fleſh. And the woman of Chriſt-church is indeed very much diſeaſed, and hath been long diſeaſed, and ſhe and her huſband both Catholike. Of the other yet I can learn nothing. Thus Jeſus evermore preſervs your good Lordſhip, and my Miſtreſſe your Lordſhips ſiſter, with all yours. This preſent Saturday.

This yong woman was Joan Warne, otherwiſe named Joan Laſhford, who was burned alſo with the ſame Whittle.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden ſervant,
Nicholas Harpsfield.

Here followeth another letter of Robert Iohnſon Regiſter, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Boner Biſhop of London.

Another letter of Johnſon touching the ſaid Tho. Whittle.

My bounden dutie premiſed, pleaſeth your Lordſhip to underſtand, that this laſt Friday in the afternoon, maſter Archdeacon of London did diligently travell with Sir Thomas Whittle. I being preſent, and perceiving his conformitie, as outwardly appeared, deviſed a ſubmiſſion, and he being content therewith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this Saturday morning maſter Archdeacon and I, upon Cluneyes report, declaring that he fained himſelfe to be diſtracted of his ſenſes, went unto him, to whom he declared that Satan in the night time appeared unto him, and ſaid that he was damned, for that he had done againſt his conſcience in ſubſcribing to the ſaid ſubmiſſion, with other like words, &c. And then maſter Archdeacon, at his earneſt requeſt, delivered unto him the ſubmiſſion. And thereupon the ſaid Whittle did teare out his ſubſcription, made in the foot of the ſame, as your Lordſhip ſhall perceive by the ſubmiſſion ſent now unto your Lordſhip by maſter Archdeacon; wherewith the ſaid Whittle was ſomewhat quieted.

Touching Joan Laſhford.

And as touching Joan Laſhford, maſter Archdeacon did likewiſe travell with her, and ſhewing her ſir Thomas ſubmiſſion, which I read unto her two times, demanded if ſhe could be content to make the like ſubmiſſion, and ſhe deſired reſpite untill this morning. And being now eftſoones demanded, in likewiſe ſaith, that ſhe will not make any thing in writing, nor put any ſigne thereunto. Maſter Archdeacon and I intend this afternoon to examine the ſaid ſir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appeare nothing in writing againſt him, as knoweth almightie GOD, who preſerve your good Lordſhip in proſperitie long with honour to endure.

From London this Saturday.

By your Lordſhips daily beadſman, and bounden ſervant,
Robert Iohnſon.

{Q. MARIE.}

The condemnation, death, and martyrdome of Thomas Whittle.

{Anno. 1556.}

The laſt examination of Tho. Whittle.

Concerning the words and anſwers of the ſaid Thomas Whittle at his laſt examination before the Biſhop, upon the fourteenth day of January, the yeer above expreſſed, Boner with other his fellow Bonerlings ſitting in his Conſiſtorie at afternoon, firſt called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth. Becauſe ye be a Prieſt (ſaith he) as I and other Biſhops here be, and did receive the order of Prieſthood, after the right and form of the Catholique Church, ye ſhall not think but I will miniſter juſtice as well unto you, as unto other. And then the ſaid Boner in further communication did charge him, that where in times paſt he had ſaid Maſſe according to the order then uſed, the ſame Whittle now of late had rayled and ſpoken againſt the ſame, ſaying that it was idolatrie and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle anſwering again ſaid, that at ſuch time as he ſo ſaid Maſſe, he was then ignorant, &c. adding moreover, that the elevation of the Sacrament at the Maſſe giveth occaſion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

Elevation of the ſacrament cauſe of idolatry.

After this the Biſhop making haſte to the articles (which in all his examinations ever he harped upon) came to this article; That thou waſt in times paſt baptized in the faith of the Catholique Church.

B. Boners argument: He was baptized in the faith of the Catholique Church: Ergo, he was baptized in the faith of Rome.

To this the ſaid Whittle inferred again; I was baptized in the faith of the Catholike church, although I did forſake the Church of Rome. And ye my Lord do call theſe hereſies, that be no hereſies, and do charge me therewith as hereſies, and ye ground your ſelfe upon that religion, which is not agreeable to GODS word, &c.

Then the ſaid victorious ſouldier and ſervant of our Saviour, conſtant in the verity received and profeſſed, was again admoniſhed, and with perſwaſions intreated by the Biſhop; who becauſe he would not agree unto the ſame, the Biſhop forthwith proceeded, firſt to his actuall degradation, that is, to unprieſt him of all his Prieſtly trinkets, and Clerkly habit. The order and maner of which their Popiſh and moſt vaine degradation, before in the ſtorie of Biſhop Hooper, is to be ſeen. Then Whittle in the midſt of the ceremonies, when he ſaw them ſo buſie in degrading him, after their father the Popes Pontificall faſhion, ſaid unto them; Paul and Titus had not ſo much ado with their Prieſts and Biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the Biſhop, he ſaid unto him; My Lord, your religion ſtandeth moſt with the Church of Rome, and not with the Catholique Church of Chriſt.

Tho. Whittle degraded.

Whittles words to B. Boner.

The Biſhop after this, according to his accuſtomed and formall proceedings, aſſayed him yet againe with words rather then with ſubſtantiall arguments, to conform him to his religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſaid, As for your religion I cannot be perſwaded that it is according to Gods word.

The Biſhop then aſked what fault he found in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Whittle anſwered and ſaid, it is not uſed according to Chriſts inſtitution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And alſo for that it is miniſtred but in one kinde to the lay people, which is againſt Chriſts ordinance. Farther, Chriſt commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: For the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture.

Cauſes why the adminiſtration of the Popiſh ſacrament is to be reproved.

Well, quoth Boner, my Lords here and other

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

learned men have ſhewed great learning for thy converſion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the Catholique Church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the ſecular power, &c. To make ſhort, Whittle, ſtrengthened with the grace of the Lord, ſtood ſtrong and unmoveable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the ſentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo in few dayes after brought to the fire with the other ſix aforenamed, ſealing up the teſtimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witneſſe of the truth.

Letters of Thomas Whittle.

A Letter of Thomas Whittle to Iohn Careleſſe priſoner in the Kings Bench.

A letter of Th. Whittle written to Io. Careleſſe.

The peace of God in Chriſt be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods grace and holy ſpirit, to the working and performing of thoſe things which may comfort and edifie his Church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increaſe of your joy and ſolace of ſoule in this life, and alſo your reward in heaven with Chriſt our Captain, whoſe faithfull ſouldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoyced (my dear heart) with thanks to God for you, ſince I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his ſaints, with a moſt godly ardent zeal to the vertue of Chriſts doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but ſpecially by the declaring of that valiant Captain in Chriſts Church, that ſtout Champion in Gods cauſe, that ſpectacle to the world, I meane our good brother Philpot, who now lieth under the Altar, and ſweetly enjoyeth the promiſed reward. And ſpecially I and my condemned fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepneſſe of our trouble (after the fleſh) ſent unto us to the conſolation of us all, but moſt ſpecially to me moſt ſinfull miſer on mine own behalfe, but happie, I hope, through Gods loving kindneſſe in Chriſt ſhewed unto me; who ſuffered me to faint and fail through humane infirmity, by the working of the Arch-enemie in his ſworne ſouldiers the Biſhops and Prieſts. In whom ſo lively appeareth the very viſage and ſhape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to Gods word) might well affirm them to be Devils incarnate, as I by experience do ſpeak. Wherefore, who ſo ſhall for conſcience matters come in their hands, had need of the wilineſſe of the ſerpent to ſave his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he conſenteth to their wicked writings, or ſetteth his hand to their conveyances.

His judgement and experience of Popiſh prelates.

So did they aſſault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked wayes, or at leaſt to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and diſſimulation. And (alas) ſomething they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and falſe Papiſticall religion, or elſe doubted of the truth wherein I ſtand, but onely the infirmitie of the fleſh beguiled me, deſiring liberty by an unlawfull means; God lay it not to my charge at that day, and ſo I heartily deſire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God ſuffered Satan to buffet me by his foreſaid miniſter of miſchief, ſhewing me mine infirmitie, that I ſhould not boaſt nor rejoyce in my ſelf, but onely in the Lord; who when he had led me to hell in my conſcience through the reſpect of his fearful judgements againſt me for my fearfulneſſe, miſtruſt, and craftie cloaking in ſuch ſpirituall and weighty matters (in the which agony and diſtreſſe I found this old verſe true, Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus) yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his Name, ſuſpecting of fleſh and blood, and conſolation of mine own ſoul, or elſe that I might feel diſprofit in offending the Congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulneſſe in my doctrine and religion, then of humane imbecillitie.

The burden of a troubled conſcience.

Well, of the importune burthen of a troubled conſcience for denying or diſſembling the known veritie, I by experience could ſay very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: For now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Chriſts cauſe; Gods name be praiſed, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our courſe with joy, and at your appointed time you ſhall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, ſo will he preſerve your life ſtill, to the intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe and convince theſe ungodly contentions and controverſies, which now do too much reigne, brawling about terms to no edification. God is diſhonoured, the Church diſquieted, and occaſion to ſpeak evill of the Goſpel miniſtred to our adverſaries. But ſuch is the ſubtiltie of Satan, that whom he cannot winne with groſſe idolatrie in open religion, them he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profeſſion. But here I will abruptly leave, leſt with my rude and ſimple veine I ſhould be tedious unto you, deſiring you (my loving brother) if it ſhall not ſeeme grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows, yet once again, if you have leiſure, and we time to the ſame.

He writeth for the examinations of maſter Philpot.

Provide me M. Philpots nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I ſhall pay you therefore, by the leave of almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world, and trieth the faith of his ſaints through many tribulations, that being found conſtant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whither I truſt to go before, looking for you to follow (my faithfull friend) that we may ſing perpetuall praiſe to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and ſin, won for us by Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, our onely and ſufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewell, and pray in faith.

Yours, Thomas Whittle Miniſter, and
now condemned to die for the Goſpels ſake. 1556. Ianu. 21.

All my fellows ſalute you. Salute all our
faithfull brethren with you.

To my deare friend and brother Iohn Went, and other his priſon fellows in Lollards Tower.

Acts 16.

He that preſerved Joſeph priſoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the Lions Den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the Apoſtles out of priſon, vouchſafe of his goodneſſe to keep, feed, and deliver you my good brother Went, with the other our fellow ſouldiers your priſon fellows, as may be moſt to his glory, to your conſolation, and the edification of his Church.

2.Theſ.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt earneſtly, when I heare of your conſtancie in the faith, and joy in the croſſe of Chriſt, which you now beare and ſuffer

fer

ſer together, with many other good members of Chriſt, which is a token that by Chriſt you are counted worthy the kingdome of God, as Paul ſaith. And though the world counteth the yoke and croſſe of Chriſt as a moſt pernicious and hurtfull thing, yet we which have taſted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoyce in this perſecution as touching our ſelves; inaſmuch as the cauſe for the which we ſuffer is the Lords cauſe and not ours, at whoſe hand if we endure to the end, we ſhall receive, through his liberall promiſe in Chriſt, not onely a great reward in heaven, but alſo the kingdome of heaven it ſelf, and alſo in the mean ſeaſon be ſure to be defended and cared for, ſo that we ſhall lack no neceſſarie things, neither a haire of our heads ſhall periſh without his knowledge. Oh what is he that would miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerve ſo loving a Father? O how unhappie are they that forſake him and put their truſt in man? But how bleſſed are they that for his love and for his holy words ſake, in theſe troubleſome dayes do commit their ſouls and bodies into his hands with well doing, counting it greater happineſſe and riches to ſuffer rebuke with Chriſt and his Church, then to enjoy the pleaſures of this life for a little ſhort ſeaſon? This croſſe that we now beare hath been common to all the faithfull from Abel hitherto, and ſhall be to the end, becauſe the devill, having great wrath againſt God and his Chriſt, cannot abide that he ſhould for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Chriſt to be taken and beleeved upon for our onely ſufficient Redeemer, Saviour and Advocate: and therefore becauſe we will not deny Chriſt, nor diſſemble with our faith, but openly proteſt and profeſſe the ſame before the world, he ſeeketh by all means to ſtir up his wicked members, to perſecute and kill the bodies of the true Chriſtians; as ſaint John ſaith, The Devill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon. And David ſaith, I beleeved, and therefore have I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled. This notwithſtanding, go forward deare brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lords battell, conſidering Chriſt the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, & alſo highly reward your pains. Conſider to your comfort the notable and chiefe ſhepherds and ſouldiers of Chriſt, which are gone before us in theſe dayes, I meane thoſe learned and godly Biſhops, Doctors and other Miniſters of Gods word; whoſe faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as ſaint Paul ſaith; Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whoſe converſation ſee that ye look upon, and follow their faith. The grace and bleſſing of God, with the miniſtery of his holy Angels, be with you for ever, Amen. All my priſon fellows greet you.

1. Pet. 2.
Math. 10.
1. Pet. 4.
Heb. 11.
Apoc. 12.
Satan cannot abide Chriſt to be received for our onely Saviour, and thereof ariſeth all this perſecution.
Apoc. 2.
Pſal. 115.
Heb. 13.

From the Cole-houſe this 4. of December;
By your poore brother Thomas Whittle,
an unworthy Miniſter of Chriſt, now
his priſoner for the Goſpels ſake, Amen.

To all the true profeſſors and lovers of Gods holy Goſpel within the City of London.

A letter of Th. Whittle to the true profeſſors of the city of London.
Rom. 4.
Luke 1.

THe ſame faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary bleſſed, the Lord God increaſe and make ſtable in your hearts, my dear and faithfull brethren and ſiſters of London, for ever and ever, Amen.

Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongſt you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had hapned unto you, but rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſts paſſions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merrie and glad, &c. Out of theſe words of ſaint Peter, I gather moſt ſpecially theſe foure notes. Firſt, that perſecution happeneth to Chriſts Church for their triall, that is, for the probation and proofe of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, ſo will he have it made manifeſt to the whole world through perſecution; that ſo it may evidently appeare that he hath ſuch a Church and people upon earth, which ſo truſteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kinde of perſecution, pains, nor death, ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried, and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almoſt in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be ſo ſtedfaſt and ſtrong, that neither the devill, naturall love, nor any other enemie could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby alſo God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and alſo ſtandeth by them in the midſt of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he ſeeth beſt: like as he aſſiſted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies hands: Joſeph out of the hands of his brethren and out of priſon: Paul from his enemies in Damaſco, and the Apoſtles out of the ſtocks and priſon.

Foure notes.
Rom. 8.
Gen. 22.
Iob 1.
Rom. 9.
2. Cor. 11.
Acts 16.

Theſe with many moe he delivered to life; and alſo he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, & John Baptiſt, with other many by death, and hath alſo by the triall of their faith made them good Preſidents, and examples to us and all that come after, to ſuffer affliction in the like cauſe; as Saint James ſaith, Take, my brethren (ſaith he) the Prophets for an enſample of ſuffering adverſitie and of long patience, which ſpake unto you in the name of the Lord: behold we count them happie which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitifull and mercifull. Alſo the Lord trieth us, to let us ſee our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocriſie or ambition deceive us, and that the ſtrong in Chriſt may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that thoſe that fall through fearfull infirmitie, might ſpeedily repent and riſe againe with Peter, and alſo that the weake ones might bewaile their weakneſſe, and crie with David, Pſal. 6. Have mercie upon me O Lord, for I am weake: O Lord heale me, for all my bones are vexed.

Gen. 4.
2. Macch. 6.
Acts 7.
Matth. 17.
Iam. 5. 4.

Of this opening of the heart by perſecution ſpake holy Simeon to Mary Chriſts mother when he ſaid, The Sword, that is, the croſſe of perſecution, ſhall pierce thy ſoul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a King, that ſhould go to battell, is compelled to look in his coffers what treaſure he hath, and alſo what number and puiſſance of men and weapons he hath, ſo that if he himſelf be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemie, he ſurceaſeth and taketh truce for a time: even ſo we by perſecutions have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to ſee what faith in Chriſt we have, and what ſtrength to withſtand the enemies, and to beare the croſſe, that if we be rich in theſe treaſures, we might rejoyce, and valiantly go to battell; or if we want theſe things, we might with all ſpeed call and cry upon him which giveth all good gifts to thoſe that aſke them. Item, the croſſe trieth the good people from the bad, the faithfull from the worldlings and hypocrites, and alſo cleanſeth and ſcoureth the faithfull hearts from all corruption and filthineſſe both of the fleſh and the ſpirit. And even as iron, except it be often ſcoured, will ſoone wax ruſtie: ſo except our ſinfull hearts and fleſh be often ſcoured with the whetſtone of the Croſſe, they will ſoone corrupt and overgrow with the

Luke 2.
The Croſſe trieth the good people from the bad.

ruſt of all filthineſſe and ſinne. And therefore it is meet and good for us (as the wiſe man ſaith, Syrach 2.) that as gold and ſilver is tried in the fire, ſo ſhould the hearts of acceptable men be tryed in the furnace of adverſitie. Abide the triall (deare friends) that ye may obtaine the crowne of life. Fight manfully in this the Lords cauſe, that ye may obtaine a glorious victorie here, and receive a great reward in Heaven hereafter.

As ye are called Chriſtians, and would be angrie to be called Jewes or Turkes, ſo declare your chriſtianity by following the ſteps of Chriſt, whoſe name ye beare; ſuffer with him and for his Goſpels ſake, rather then to deny him or to defile your faith and conſcience with falſe worſhipping of Romiſh religion.

Take up your Croſſe (my deare hearts) now when it is offered you, and goe up with Chriſt to Jeruſalem amongſt the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Rulers, if GOD call you thereto, and they will anone ſend you to Calveris: from whence (dying in the cauſe of the Goſpel, wherein our good Preachers and brethren have given their lives) your ſoules (I warrant you) through Chriſt Jeſus ſhall aſcend to God that gave them, and that body ſhall come after at the laſt day, and ſo ſhall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unſpeakable joy and bliſſe. Oh bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake, as Chriſts people in this Jewiſh England now doth; for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven. O my beloved, ſet your mindes on this Kingdome where Chriſt our head and King is; conſidering that as the brute beaſt looketh down-wards with the face towards the earth; ſo man is made contrariwiſe with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, becauſe his converſation ſhould be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as Saint Paul ſaith, Coloſ. 3. Set your mindes on things which are above, where Chriſt is. And againe he ſaith, Phil. 3. Our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. Oh the glorious eſtate that we be called unto. The Lord preſerve us harmeleſſe to his eternall kingdome through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, Amen.

The ſecond note. Perſecution no ſtrange thing in the Church.

The ſecond thing that I note in the foreſaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth perſecution no ſtrange thing. And truth it is: for which of the prophets were not perſecuted, with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and ſome of them in the end cruelly killed for the truths ſake? Caine killed Abel, Iſaac was perſecuted of Iſmael, Jacob was hated of Eſau, Joſeph was priſoned and ſet in the ſtocks, the Prophet Eſay was cut in two with a Saw, Jeremie was ſtoned, Micheas was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Helias was ſore perſecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her ſeven ſonnes were cruelly killed. What Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſuffered it is well knowne. So that by many tribulations (as Paul ſaith, Acts 14.) we muſt enter into the Kingdome of heaven. All the holy Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles ſuffered ſuch afflictions not for evill doing, but for preaching GODS word, for rebuking of the world of ſinne, and for their faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

3. Regum. 4. Regum. 2 Mac. 6. 7.

This is the ordinance of God (my friends) this is the high-way to heaven, by corporall death to eternall life; as Chriſt ſaith, Ioh. 5. He that heareth my words and beleeveth in him that ſent me, hath eternal life, and ſhal not come into judgement, but is eſcaped from death to life. Let us never feare death which is killed by Chriſt, but beleeve in him and live for ever, as Paul ſaith, Rom. 8. There is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, which walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. And againe Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 15. Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victorie? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jeſus Chriſt.

Example of Gods Martyrs. John 10.

Beſides this, ye have ſeene and daily do ſee the bloud of your good Preachers and brethren, which hath been ſhed in the Goſpels cauſe in this ſinfull Sodome, this bloudie Jeruſalem, this unhappy Citie of London. Let not their bloud be forgotten, nor the bloud of your good Biſhop Ridley, who like a ſhepheard, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his ſheep. Good S. Paul ſaith, Heb. 13. Remember them that have ſpoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their converſation, and follow their faith.

2. Pet. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 2 Tim. 3. Jude 1.

The Devill ever ſtirreth up falſe Teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude propheſied it ſhould be, to poyſon and kill our ſoules with the falſe doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpoſe that way, then moveth he his members to perſecute the ſilly carkaſſes of the Saints, becauſe they will not deny nor diſſemble their pure faith in our living Chriſt, and confeſſe a dead bready Chriſt, and honour the ſame as CHRIST God and Man, contrarie to Gods commandement, Exod. 10.

1 John. 5. 2 Cor. 10. Math. 4.

Where Satan could not bring Chriſt to fall down and worſhip him, he ſet the Phariſees to kill him.

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his owne juſt damnation, would all mankinde to be partakers with him of the ſame; ſuch a mortall hatred beareth he againſt God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Chriſt, with ſubtill tentation to fall downe and worſhip him, then he ſtirred up his ſervants the biſhops, and Phariſees to kill his body, whereby notwithſtanding the Devill loſt his title and intereſt which he had to mans ſoule, and man by his precious paſſion and death was ranſomed from the Devill, death, and hell, to immortalitie and life everlaſting: and ſo when Satan thought to have wonne all in killing of Chriſt, he loſt all: and ſo ſhall he do in us if we abide conſtant and ſtrong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt unto the end. God grant it for his mercies ſake in Chriſt. Bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him, Amen.

James 4. Math. 16.

Wherefore (my hearty beloved brethren and ſiſters) be of good comfort through Jeſus Chriſt, for he that is in us is ſtronger then he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye neere to God, and he will draw neere to you. Reſiſt the Devill, and he will (as James ſaith) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the Phariſees. Touch not pitch, leſt you be defiled therewith. Eate no ſwines fleſh, for it is againſt the law; I mean defile not your ſelves either inwardly or outwardly with this falſe and wicked religion of Antichriſt: for it is nothing elſe but pitch and ſwines fleſh. Beware of the Beaſts marke, leſt ye drinke of the cup of Gods wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, diſſemble not therewith. Deny not the knowne veritie before men, leſt Chriſt deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as John biddeth you, Apoc. 18. and touch no uncleane thing, but ſeparate your ſelves from the company of the ungodly, as Paul commandeth you. Whatſoever you have done amiſſe heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plentious redemption, Pſalme 126.

Apoc. 13. 14. 2 Cor. 6.

The third note.

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foreſaid words of Peter, is this, that he ſaith, Rejoyce becauſe ye are partakers of Chriſts paſſion. Our ſufferings (my welbeloved) are Chriſts ſufferings, and that injurie that is done to us for his ſake, he reckoneth it to be done to himſelfe, as he ſaid to Saint Paul,

Act. 9.
Coloſſ. 1.
Matth. 6.
Phil. 3.
Gal. 6.

Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoyce in our ſufferings, as Paul writeth, which we ſuffer with Chriſt and one with another, as Peter ſaith, and ſo to fulfill that which is behinde of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh; which Chriſt hath, by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaved us in his owne perſon: howbeit his Elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him unto the worlds end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleanſed from ſinne in this world, and be made more meete Temples for the holy Ghoſt, and alſo obtaine a great reward in heaven for their ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, according to his promiſe. And therefore I ſay (my brethren) rejoyce in the Lord alwaies, and againe I ſay rejoyce. Let us rejoyce in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to it.

The fourth note

Luke 6.

And why ſhould we ſo greatly rejoyce in the Croſſe of Chriſt, which we now ſuffer? Becauſe (ſaith Peter) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is ſet out the reward of ſuffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgement when we ſhall be raiſed againe: and then ſhall they that have ſowne in teares, reape in joy, as Chriſt ſaith, Bleſſed are they that weep here, for they ſhall laugh. Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, and thruſt you out of their companie, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evill thing for the Son of mans ſake: rejoyce ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

1 Cor. 2.
Heb. 12.
1 Pet. 1.
Phil. 3.
Iohn 14.
Matth. 10.
2 Cor. 8.

Wherefore (my dearely beloved) through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promiſed (which joy is ſo great that no eare hath heard, no eye hath ſeene, nor the heart can thinke, where we ſhall dwell for ever in the heavenly Citie, the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, in the preſence of God the Father, and Ieſus Chriſt our Mediator, as Paul ſaith, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the ſpirits and ſoules of all faithfull and juſt men) rejoyce and be glad: and ſeeing ye be called to ſo great glory, ſee that you make your election and vocation ſure by good works, and ſpecially by ſuffering adverſitie for the Goſpels ſake: for it is given us of God (ſaith Paul) not onely to beleeve in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my courſe with joy. Have brotherly love amongſt your ſelves, which is a token that ye be Chriſts Diſciples. Edifie and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you alwaies. Amen. For your liberalitie and kindneſſe ſhewed upon the priſoners and afflicted people of God in this time of perſecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to their deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water beſtowed upon his faithfull people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye alwaies having ſufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good workes.

The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt, be with you alwaies. Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the
Goſpel, Tho. Whittle.

To my loving and faithfull brother, I. Careles, priſoner in the Kings Bench.

Another letter of T. Whittle.

THe ſame faith, for the which Abraham was accounted juſt, and Marie bleſſed, whereby alſo all juſt men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaſe and ſtabliſh in you and me, to the obtaining of eternall life in our alone and ſweet Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. Amen.

I cannot worthily and ſufficiently praiſe God (my heartily beloved brother) for the conſolation and joy that I have received by reaſon of your loving letters, repenting me much that I being ſo long ſo neere you, did not enterpriſe to ſtirre up familiaritie and communication betweene us by writing, to mutuall conſolation in Chriſt. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoyce (where all things are tranſitorie and vaine, yea man himſelfe, reſpecting this life) but (as David ſaith, Pſal. 16.) the Saints that dwell upon the earth, and ſuch as excell in vertue? But here now I conſider, that if the fellowſhip, love, and joy of faithfull men and children of God being as we now be in double bondage, the body within clay wals, and the ſoule within theſe fraile earthly bodies, be ſo great and comfortable; how unſpeakable will theſe joyes be, when we ſhall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious libertie of the ſonnes of God? Where we ſhall be preſent together continually in our glorified bodies, beholding the face of our father preſently (whom now we ſee but in the glaſſe of faith) with his dear Sonne Chriſt our Redeemer and brother, and the bleſſed company of Angels and all faithfull ſaved ſoules.

The ſocietie of Saints.

Gods Saints ſuffered ſometimes to fall, but not finally to periſh.

Oh the incomparable good things and heavenly treaſures laid up for us in heaven by Chriſt Ieſus. For the obtaining whereof, we ought to ſet light by all temporall griefe and tranſitorie afflictions, ſo much the more, in that our good God is faithfull, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth, lyeth ſtill, as the Preacher ſaith, Eccleſ. 11. when every one, cauſa ſua dormit, & cauſa ſua reſurget: for elſe before the end he ſuffereth his ſometime to fall, but not finally to periſh: as Peter ſinked upon the ſea, but yet was not drowned; and ſinned grievouſly upon the land through infirmitie denying his Maſter, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth often times. And Chriſts holy Apoſtles are taught to ſay, Remitte nobis debita noſtra, Yet though the righteous fall, ſaith David, he ſhall not be caſt away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomleſſe mercie of God towards us miſerable ſinners. He vouchſafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of remiſſion of all my ſinnes in the mercies of God, and merits of Chriſt his Sonne, and thereto I pray you ſay, Amen.

Oh my dearely beloved, it grieveth me to ſee the ſpoyle and havock that Saul maketh with the Congregation of Chriſt: but what remedy? This is Gods will and ordinance, that his people ſhall here both be puniſhed in the fleſh, and tryed in their faith: as it is written, Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all: for by a ſtraite path and narrow doore muſt we enter. Whither? Into the joyfull Kingdome of heaven: therefore bleſſed are you, and others that ſuffer perſecution for Chriſts ſake, for the profeſſion of the ſame. Pray for me and my fellows (good brother) that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our courſe with joyfull gladneſſe, for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his people in our journey, that we may ſafely through a ſhort death, paſſe to that long laſting life.

Farewell, my deare and loving brother and fellow-ſouldier in Chriſt; farewell, I ſay, in him: who receive our ſoules in peace when they ſhall depart from theſe tabernacles, and he grant us a ioyfull reſurrection, and a merry méeting at the laſt day, and continuall dwelling together in his eternall heavenly kingdome, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Yours with my poore prayer; other
pleaſure can I doe you none,
Thomas Whittle Miniſter.

To my deare brethren M. Filles and Cutbert.

Another letter of T. Whittle to certain of his friends.
Welfare of ſoule.
Welfare of body.

My deare and welbeloved brethren in Chriſt, M. Filles and Cutbert, I wiſh you all welfare of ſoule and body. Welfare to the ſoule, is repentance of ſinne, faithfull affiance in Chriſt Ieſus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the ſame, with all neceſſarie things for this bodily life. The ſoule of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, leſt immortalitie to ioy ſhould turne to immortalitie of ſorrow. As for the body be it never ſo well kept and much made of, yet ſhortly by nature will it periſh and decay: But thoſe that are ingrafted and incorporated into Chriſt by true faith, feeling the motion of Gods holy ſpirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and ſtirring them not onely to ſeek heavenly things, but alſo to hate vice, and imbrace vertue, will not onely doe theſe things, but alſo if need require, will gladly take up their croſſe and follow their Captaine, their King, and their Saviour Ieſus Chriſt (as his poore afflicted Church of England now doth) againſt that falſe and Antichriſtian doctrine and religion now uſed, and ſpecially that blaſphemous Maſſe, wherein Chriſts ſupper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abuſed contrary to his inſtitution and to Pauls procéedings: ſo that that which they have in their Maſſe, is neither ſacrament of Chriſt, nor yet ſacrifice for ſinne, as the Prieſts falſly pretend. It is a ſacrament, that is, as Saint Auguſtine ſaith, a viſible ſigne of inviſible grace, when it is miniſtred to the Communicants according to Chriſts example, and as it was of late yeeres in this Realme. And as for ſacrifice, there is none to be made now for ſinne: for Chriſt with one ſacrifice hath perfected for ever thoſe that are ſanctified.

Math. 26.
Marke 14.
Luke 22.
2 Cor. 11.
No ſacrifice of the maſſe is to be made for ſin.
Heb. 9.10.

Beware of falſe Religion, and mens vaine traditions, and ſerve God with reverence and godly feare according to the doctrine of his Goſpel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be bleſſed, though of wicked men ye be hated and accurſed. Rather drink of the cup of Chriſt with his church, then of the cup of that Roſe coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather ſtrive ye to goe to heaven by the path which is ſtraite to fleſh and bloud, with the little flock, then to goe in the wide way, following the inticements of the world and the fleſh, which leadeth to damnation.

Luke 13.
Apoc. 18.

Like as Chriſt ſuffered in the fleſh, ſaith Saint Peter, ſo arme ye your ſelves with the ſame mind: for Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us example to follow his foot-ſteps. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his ſake, great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (ſaith Saint Iohn, Apoc. 2. 3.) ſhall eate of the tree of life; he ſhall have a crowne of life, and not be hurt of the ſecond death; he ſhall be cloathed with white aray, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confeſſe his name, ſaith Chriſt, before my Father and before his Angels, and he ſhall be a pillar in the houſe of God, and ſit with me on my ſeate. And thus I bid you farewell, mine owne brethren and deare fellowes in Chriſt. Whoſe grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

1 Pet. 4.3.

This world I doe forſake,
To Chriſt I me take,
And for his Goſpel ſake,
Patiently death I take.
My body to the duſt,
Now to returne it muſt:
My ſoule I know full well,
With my God it ſhall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another letter of Thomas Whittle written to a certaine godly woman.

Another letter of T. Whittle to a godly woman.

Oh my deare and loving ſiſter in Chriſt, be not diſmayed in this ſtorme of perſecution: for Paul calleth the Goſpel the word of the croſſe, becauſe it is never truly taught, but the croſſe and cruell perſecution immediately and neceſſarily doth follow the ſame, and therefore it is a manifeſt token of Gods truth and hath beene here, and is ſtill abroad, and that is the cauſe of the rage and cruelty of Satan againſt Chriſt and his members, which muſt be corrected for their ſinnes in this world: their faith muſt be tryed, that after tryall and patient ſuffering the faithfull may receive the crowne of glory. Feare not therefore, my welbeloved, but proceede in the knowledge and feare of God, and he will keepe you from all evill. Call upon his holy name, and he will ſtrengthen you and aſſiſt you in all your wayes: and if it pleaſe him to lay his croſſe upon you for his Goſpels ſake, refuſe it not, neither ſhake it off by unlawfull meanes, leſt you ſhould (as God forbid) finde a more grievous croſſe, and torment of conſcience, if you ſhould diſſemble and denie the knowne veritie, then is any perſecution or death of body. Oh how happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake: their reward is great in heaven. The momentanie afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that ſhall be ſhewed upon us. Oh remember the godly women of the old Teſtament and new, which lived in Gods ſervice and feare, and therefore are now in bliſſe and commended for ever: and namely Iudith, Heſter, Abigael, the the mother of the ſeven ſonnes, Mary, Elizabeth, Suſanna, Lidia, and Phebe, and others. Set their examples before your eies, and feare nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Chriſt; ſinne is put to flight, and the gate of immortalitie and eternall life is ſet wide open; God grant we may enter therein through the doore Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

To be ſtrong againſt ſatan, and not to feare perſecution.
Good counſell, not to forſake the Lord for perſecution.

Thomas Whittle.

The ſtory of M. Bartlet Greene, Gentleman and Lawyer, Martyr.

The ſtory of M. Bartlet Greene Gentleman and Martyr. January 27.
Bartlet Greene ſtudent at Oxford.
M. Greene converted by the Lectures of Pet. Martyr.

After the Martyrdome of Thomas Whittle, next followeth in order to ſpeake of Bartlet Gréen, who the next day after the foreſaid Whittle, was likewiſe condemned. This Greene was of a good houſe, and had ſuch parents, as both favoured learning, and were alſo willing to bring up this their childe in the ſame. Who after ſome entrance in other inferior ſchooles, was by them ſent unto the Univerſitie of Oxford; where through exerciſe and diligent ſtudy, he ſo profited, that within ſhort time he attained, as well to the knowledge of ſundry prophane Sciences, as alſo now in his laſt yéers, unto the godly underſtanding of Divinitie. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the firſt an utter enemie, untill ſuch time as God of his mercy had opened his eies, by his often repairing unto the common Lectures of Peter Martyr, Reader of the Divinitie Lecture in the ſame Univerſitie: ſo that thereby (as by Gods inſtrument) he ſaw the true light of Chriſts Goſpel.

Iohn 4.

M. Green ſtudent in the Temple at London.

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became unto him as the fountaine of lively water, that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of to the woman of Samaria, ſo as he never thirſted any more, but had a Well ſpringing unto everlaſting life. Inſomuch as when he was called by his friends from the Univerſitie, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attaine to the knowledge of the common Laws of the Realme, he yet continued ſtill in his former ſtudy & earneſt profeſſion of the Goſpel; wherein alſo he did not a little profit. Howbeit (ſuch is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirit) through the continuall accompanying, & fellowſhip of ſuch worldly (I will not ſay too much youthfull) young Gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houſes, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies, and youthfull vanities, aſwell in his apparell as alſo in banquettings, and other ſuperfluous exceſſes: which he afterward (being again called by Gods mercifull correction) did ſore lament and bewaile, as appeareth by his owne teſtimonie notified, and left in a booke of a certaine friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

This did M. Bartlet Greene Write in M. Bartram Calthrops Booke.

A good note or leſſon for young Lawyers to marke & follow.

What lewd company doth.

TWo things have very much troubled me whileſt I was in the Temple, Pride and Gluttonie; which under the colour of glory and good fellowſhip, drew me almoſt from God. Againſt both there is one remedie, by prayer earneſt, and without ceaſing. And forſomuch as vaine glory is ſo ſubtle an adverſarie, that almoſt it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himſelfe to be ſmitten, therefore we ought ſo much the rather by continnuall prayer, to labour for humbleneſſe of minde. Truly gluttonie beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutuall love and ſocietie, and hath in it moſt uncharitableneſſe. When we ſeeke to refreſh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to ſerve God, and performe our duties towards our neighbours, then ſtealeth it in as a privie theefe, and murdereth both body and ſoule, that now it is not apt to pray, or ſerve God, nor apt to ſtudy, or labour for our neighbours. Let us therefore watch and be ſober: For our adverſarie the Devill walketh about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devoure. And remember what Solomon ſaith, *Melior eſt patiens viro forti, & qui dominatur animo expugnatore urbium.* i. A patient man is better then a ſtrong warriour, and he that conquereth his owne ſtomack, is better then he that conquereth townes and cities.

Bartlet Greene.

Animorum in fide unio, per charitatem aucta, firma eſt amicitia. Vale (mi Bartrame) & mei memineris, ut ſemper ſimilimi efficiamur. Vale, Apud novam Portam, 20. Januarii 1556. i. Agreement of mindes joyning in unitie of faith, and growing up in charitie, is true and ſtedfaſt amitie. Farewell (my Bartrame) and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell at Newgate. Ian. 20. Anno 1556.

Set ſober love againſt haſty wrath.

Bartlet Greene.

Thus we ſee the fatherly kindneſſe of our moſt gracious and mercifull God, who never ſuffereth his elect children ſo to fal, that they lie ſtill in ſecuritie of ſin, but oftentimes quickneth them up by ſome ſuch means, as perhaps they thinke leaſt of, as he did here this his ſtrayed ſheeps. And now therefore to return to our hiſtory: for the better maintenance of himſelf in theſe his ſtudies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his Grandfather, M. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Greenes impriſonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and forſaking the truth, & Goſpel of Chriſt) come home againe to the Church and Synagogue of Rome. But thoſe his perſwaſions (the Lord be therefore praiſed) took ſmall effect in his faithfull heart, as the ſequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men, except of the Papiſts, (who love none that love the truth) and ſo he well deſerved: for he was of a meek, humble, diſcreet, & moſt gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficiall to many, eſpecially to thoſe that were of the houſhold of Faith; as appeareth amongſt other, by his friendly dealing with M. Chriſtopher Goodman, being at that preſent a poore exile beyond the Seas. With whom this Bartlet Greene (as well for his toward learning, as alſo for his ſober and godly behaviour) had often ſocietie in Oxford, in the daies of good King Edward: which now, notwithſtanding his friends miſerie and baniſhment, he did not lightly forget, and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almightie God) to the great griefe of both; the one of heart, for the loſſe of his friend, and the other of body in ſuffering the cruell and murdering rage of Papiſts.

Large gifts offered M. Green by D. Bartlet to return to the church of Rome.

Friendſhip betweene Chriſtopher Goodman and M. Green.

Occaſion of apprehending of M. Greene came by letters intercepted.

The cauſe hereof was a letter which Greene did write unto the ſaid Goodman, containing as well the report of certaine demands or queſtions, which were caſt abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his owne penning, which he meant to have ſent unto Maſter Philpot, wherin he declareth his full uſage before the Biſhop of London and others) as alſo an anſwer to a queſtion made by the ſaid Chriſtopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certaintie of the report which was ſpread amongſt them on the other ſide of the Seas, that the Queen was dead. Whereunto M. Green anſwered ſimply, and as the truth then was, that ſhe was not dead.

Theſe letters with many other, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a meſſenger to carrie over, came by the apprehenſion of the ſaid bearer, unto the hands of the King and Queenes Councell. Who at their convenient leaſure (which in thoſe daies by ſome of them was quickly found out for ſuch matters) peruſed the whole number of the ſaid letters, and amongſt them eſpied this letter of Maſter Greens, written unto his friend Chriſtopher Goodman: in the contents whereof (amongſt other newes and private matters) they found theſe words; the Queene is not yet dead. Which words were onely written as an anſwer, to certifie Maſter Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to ſome of the Councell) they ſeemed very hainous words, yea, treaſon they would have made them, if the Law would have ſuffered. Which when they could not doe (and being yet very loath to let any ſuch depart freely, whom they ſuſpected to be a favourer of the Goſpel) they then examined him upon his faith in religion, but upon what points, it is not certainly knowne.

M. Greene examined by the Councell of his faith.

Iohn Boner a ſtirrer of perſecution.

Nevertheleſſe (as it ſeemeth) his anſwers were ſuch, as little pleaſed them (eſpecially the annointed ſort) and therefore after they had detained him in priſon, as well in the Tower of London, as elſewhere, they ſent him at laſt unto Boner Biſhop of London, to be ordered according to his Eccleſiaſticall Law; as appeareth by their letters ſent unto the Biſhop, with the ſaid priſoner

ner alſo: wherein it may appeare, that Sir Iohn Bourne (then Secretarie to the Queene) was a chiefe ſtirrer in ſuch caſes, yea and an entiſer of others of the Councell; who otherwiſe (if for feare they durſt) would haue béene content to haue let ſuch matters alone. The Lord forgiue them their weakneſſe (if it be his good pleaſure) and giue them true repentance, Amen.

A letter ſent unto Boner Biſhop of London, by the Queenes Councell, dated the 11. day of November 1555. but not delivered untill the 17. of the ſame moneth.

A letter from the Councell to Boner.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend to the ſame herewith the body of one Bartlet Greene, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obſtinate ſtanding in matters againſt the Catholike religion, whom the King and Queenes Majeſties pleaſures are (becauſe he is of your Lordſhips Dioceſſe) ye ſhall cauſe to be ordered according to the lawes in ſuch caſes provided. And thus we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewell. From Saint Iames the xj. of November, 1555.

Your good Lordſhips loving friends,
Wincheſter. William Haward.
Pembroke. Iohn Bourne.
Thomas Ely. Thomas Wharton.

Poſtſcript.

¶ I Sir Iohn Bourne will waite upon your Lordſhip, and ſignifie further the King and Queenes Majeſties pleaſure herein.

Now that ye may the better underſtand the certaintie of his handling, after this his coming unto Boners cuſtody, I haue thought it good to put forth his owne letter, containing at large the diſcourſe of the ſame. Which letter he wrote, and did meane to haue ſent unto Maſter Philpot, but was prevented, belike either by Philpots death, or elſe (and rather) by the wily watching of his Keeper: for it came (by what meanes I know not certainly) unto the Biſhops hands, and being delivered unto his Regiſter, was found in one of his bookes of record. The copy whereof here foloweth.

A letter of Bartlet Greene, written unto Iohn Philpot, containing beſides other particular matter betwixt him and Maſter Philpot, a briefe rehearſall of his handling, and certaine his conferences with Boner and others, at his firſt coming to the Biſhops.

THat which was wanting in talke (through my default) at your being here, I haue ſupplied by writing in your abſence, now at the length getting ſome opportunitie and leaſure. The 17. day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock at afternoone, I was preſented before my Lord of London and other two Biſhops, M. Deane, Maſter Roper, Maſter Welch, Doctor Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, and other two or thrée, all ſitting at one table. There were alſo preſent Doctor Dale, Maſter George Mordant, M. Dée. Then, after the Biſhop of London had read unto himſelfe the letter that came from the Councell, he ſpake with moe words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cauſe of their aſſembly was, to heare mine examination, whereunto he had authoritie by the Councell, and had provided M. Welch and another, whoſe name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet deſired he my Lord, that I might heare the Councels letters) to be there if any matters of the common law ſhould ariſe, to diſcuſſe them, he intreated my lord to determine all controverſies of Scriptures; and as for the civill law, he and Doctor Dale ſhould take on them.

M. Greene preſented before B. Boner.

M. Dee was yet under band of recogniſance for the good apearing and forth coming til Chriſtmas next after.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cauſe of mine impriſonment: I ſaid that the occaſion of mine apprehenſion was a letter which I wrote to one Chriſtopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of ſuch newes as happened here) among the reſt, I wrote that there were certaine printed papers of queſtions ſcattered abroad. Whereupon, being ſuſpected to be privie unto the deviſing or publiſhing of the ſame, I was committed to the Fleet: but ſithence heard I nothing thereof, after the Commiſſioners had received my ſubmiſſion. The ſumme whereof was, that as I was ſure there neither could be true witneſſes, nor probable conjecture againſt me in that behalfe; ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their conſciences would judge me privie to the deviſing, printing, or publiſhing of thoſe queſtions. But my Lord affirming that there was another cauſe of mine impriſonment ſithence, demanded if I had not after, ſince I was committed to the Fleet, ſpoken or written ſomewhat againſt the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

M. Green committed firſt to the Fleet, and upon what occaſion.

Then deſired I his lordſhip to be good unto me, truſting that he would put me to anſwer to no new matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtood long in that, Maſter Welch anſwered, that it was procured that I ſhould ſo doe, right well. For albeit I were impriſoned for treaſon, if during the time of endurance I had maintained hereſie, that were no ſufficient allegation againſt the Ordinarie; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Then my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for hereſie, and the other Gentleman ſaying that doubtleſſe I was diſcharged of my former matter; my deſire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to heare my accuſers.

Then Doctor Chadſey was ſent for, who reported that in the preſence of Maſter Meſley and the Lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake againſt the reall preſence and the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichriſt.

D. Chadſey witneſſeth againſt Maſter Greene.

Is not this true, quoth my Lord? I ſaid, Yea. Will you continue therein, quoth he? Yea ſaid I. Wilt thou then maintaine it by learning, ſaid he? Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew my ſelfe to haue little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintaine any controverſie againſt ſo many grave and learned men. But my conſcience was ſatisfied in the truth, which was ſufficient to my ſalvation.

Talke betweene M. Green and the Commiſſioners.

Roper. Conſcience? (quoth M. Roper) ſo ſhall every Iew and Turke be ſaved.

We had hereafter much talke to no purpoſe, and eſpecially on my part, who felt in my ſelfe, through cold and open ayre, much dulneſſe of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what conſcience was: and I ſaid, the certifying of the truth.

Maſter Welch. With that Maſter Welch roſe up, deſiring leave to talke with me alone. So he taking me aſide into another chamber, ſaid that he was ſory for my trouble, and would gladly ſee me at libertie: he marvelled, that I being a young man, would ſtand againſt all the learned men of the Realme, yea, and contrary to the whole determination of the Catholike Church from Chriſts time, in a matter wherein I could haue no great learning; I muſt not thinke mine owne wit better then all mens, but ſhould beleeve them that were learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I

Perſwaſion of M. Welch to M. Greene.

have read all Peter Martyrs booke, and Cranmers, and all the reſt of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Roffenſis, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter, &c. and could not perceive but that there was one continuall truth, which from the beginning had beene maintained; and thoſe that at any time ſevered from this unitie, were anſwered, and anſwered againe. This was the ſumme of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

Anſwer of M. Greene to M. Welch.

Modeſtie of M. Green.

Maſter Green. Then ſpake I. Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth your Maſterſhip to uſe me ſo familiarly (for he ſo behaved himſelfe towards me, as though I had beene his equall) I ſhall open my minde freely unto you, deſiring you to take it in good worth. I conſider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that ſome men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chooſeth infirma mundi, ut confunderet fortia, neither can men appoint bounds to Gods mercy: For, I will have compaſſion (ſaith he) on whom I will ſhew mercy. There is no reſpect of perſons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wiſe or fooliſh, Fiſher or Basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he liſt, James 1. Neither doe I thinke my ſelfe onely to have the truth, but ſtedfaſtly beleeve that Chriſt hath his ſpouſe the Catholike and univerſall Church, diſperſed in many Realmes where it pleaſeth him, Spiritus ubi vult ſpirat: no more is he addicted to any one place then to the perſon and quality of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt my ſelfe to be a member, truſting to be ſaved by the faith that is taught in the ſame. But how this Church is known is in a manner the end of all controverſie. And the true markes of Chriſts Church, is the true preaching of his word and miniſtring of his ſacraments. Theſe markes were ſealed by the Apoſtles, and confirmed by the ancient Fathers, til at the length they were, through the wickedneſſe of men & the Devill, ſore worn, and almoſt utterly taken away. But God be praiſed that he hath renued the print, that his truth may be knowne in many places. For my ſelf, I call God to witneſſe, I have no hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very ſmall; but I was perſwaded therto by him, as by an "inſtrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I ſought it of him by continuall prayer with teares.

Rom. 9.

The ſpirit of God addicted neither to perſons nor place.

The end of all controverſies is to know the true Church.

Markes of the true Church.

" By this inſtrument he meaneth Peter Martyr.

M. Green ſeeking his knowledge of God with teares.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needfull for me to ſpeak: but one thing (I ſay) I wiſh of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgement, would ſeeke the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of Biſhops, and learned men, to be made a foole and a laughing ſtock, but I weigh it not a ruſh: for God knoweth that my whole ſtudie is to pleaſe him: Beſides that, I care not for mans pleaſure, or diſpleaſure.

M. Welch replyeth to M. Green.

M. Welch. No M. Green, quoth he, thinke not ſo uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your ſoules health, as for their owne. But alaſſe, how will you condemne all our forefathers? Or how can you thinke your ſelfe to be of the Catholike Church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgement of al learned men?

Green. Then ſaid I, Sir I have none authority to judge any man: neverthelesſe, I doubt not but that I am of the true Catholike Church, howſoever our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why then, ſaid he, do you ſuppoſe your owne wit and learning better then all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men ſhall reſort unto you, that ſhall perſwade you by the Scriptures and Doctors.

Green. Sir, quoth I, God knoweth that I refuſe not to learne of any childe, but I would imbrace the truth from the mouth of a naturall foole, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things, ſaving my faith: But concerning the truth, wherein I am throughly perſwaded, I cannot ſubmit my ſelfe to learn, unleſſe it be, as your Maſterſhip ſaid, that I peruſed the books on both ſides. For ſo might I make my ſelfe and indifferent judge; otherwiſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we fell out againe in a long talke of the Church, wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was perſwaded, and that he did but loſe his labour.

Welch. Why then (quoth he) what ſhall I report to my Lord?

Green. Even as pleaſeth you, quoth I, or elſe you may ſay that I would be glad to learn, if I had bookes on both ſides. So he going in, the Biſhops (even then riſen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He anſwered, In faith my Lord, he will be glad to learne. Which words when they were taken, leſt they ſhould miſtake his meaning and mine, I ſaid, yea my Lord, ſo that I may have bookes on both ſides, as Calvin, and my Lord of Canterburies bookes, and ſuch other. Well, quoth my Lord, I will ſatisfie thy minde therein alſo; and they all were in great hope, that ſhortly I ſhould become a good Catholike as they call it.

" Where Philpot was, he meaneth, to whom he wrote this letter.

Then was I brought into my Lords inner Chamber (" where you were) and there was put in a Chamber with Maſter Dee, who intreated me very friendly. That night I ſupped at my Lords table, and lay with M. Dee. in the chamber you did ſee. On the morrow I was ſerved at dinner from my Lords table, and at night did eate in the Hall with his Gentlemen; where I have been placed ever ſithence, and fared wonderfull well. Yea to ſay the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his Lordſhips houſe: for my lodging and fare, ſcarce have I beene at any time abroad in better caſe ſo long together, and have found ſo much gentleneſſe of my Lord, and his Chaplaines, and other ſervants, that I ſhould eaſily have forgotten that I was in priſon, were it not that this great cheere was often powdred with unſavory ſauces of examinations, exhortations, poſings, and diſputations.

Friendly entertainment of M. Green in B. Boners houſe for a time.

M. Green had in private examination, before the Biſhop.

For ſhortly after ſupper the firſt Munday at night, I was had into my Lords bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came firſt into theſe hereſies: I ſaid I was perſwaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the Doctors, alledged by Peter Martyr in his Lectures upon the eleventh Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, whiles he intreated there on that place De cœna Domini, by the ſpace of a moneth together. But then my Lord inforced the plainneſſe of Chriſts words, and his Almightie power, demanding of me, what reaſon ſhould move me from the literall ſenſe of the words: but I having no luſt to thoſe matters, would have alledged that there were bookes ſufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Decolampadius: neverthelesſe when this ſhift would not ſerve, but I was conſtrained to ſay ſomewhat, I ſaid I was moved from the literall ſenſe by the manner of ſpeaking, by the circumſtance, and by conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Chriſt took bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

M. Green urged with the literall ſenſe of the words (this is my body.)

Cauſes moving M. Green from the literall ſenſe of the words aforeſaid.

Argument.

Chriſt affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no meanes be true.

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

Why the words of Chriſt of his body muſt be taken ſpiritually. Argument.

For this predication, Panis eſt corpus Chriſti, or corpus Chriſti eſt panis, is neither identica nor accidentalis, nor eſſentialis prædicatio. Wherefore of neceſſitie I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the like ſenſe, as Chriſt was a doore, a vine, and a way. Neither can it ſerve to ſay; that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body, and that for two cauſes.

For whatſoever he ſhewed, that was bread; for nought elſe was ſeen.

But that which he ſhewed he affirmed to be his bodie:

Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his bodie.

The ſecond reaſon is; for that it was not changed before, ſeeing benedixit, is gratias egit, or elſe Chriſt affirmed no true propoſition, and you are without authoritie.

In the end of this letter, there were noted theſe ſentences following, collected for confirmation of his former aſſertions, videlicet,

Reaſons moving M. Greene to take the words ſpiritually, not literally.

Eadem locutio poculi, i. The ſame phraſe is uſed and ſpoken upon the cup.

Dicitur poſtea panis. It is called bread in the ſame place afterward.

Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem, i. By the ſame reaſon as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

Aſcendit in cœlum, i. His bodie aſcended into heaven.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt nativitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus locis: Ergo, &c. In body he was like to us in all things after his nativitie (ſin excepted.) Seeing then our bodie cannot be in two places at once: Ergo, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant, &c. His diſciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The laſt examination and condemnation of Maſter Greene.

The laſt examination of M. Green.

Thus (as it ſeemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after the Biſhop perceiving Greenes learning and conſtancie to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any of his Doctors and Chaplaines could by the Scriptures refell, began then to object and put in practice his chief and ſtrongeſt argument againſt him; which was the rigour of the Law, and crueltie of execution: an argument I enſure you, which without the ſpeciall grace of our GOD, to fleſh is importable. And therefore uſing Law as a cloak of his tyrannie, the 28. day of November, the ſaid Biſhop examined him upon certain points of Chriſtian Religion. Whereunto when he had anſwered, the Biſhop appointed the Regiſter (as their moſt common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confeſſion. Which being afterwards read unto Greene, was alſo ſubſcribed by him, as a confirmation of his former aſſertions: The tenour whereof here enſueth.

The confeſſion and ſaying of Bartlet Greene.

A draught of M. Greens confeſſion, gathered by the Biſhops Regiſter.

Bartlet Greene borne in the Citie of London, in the Pariſh of Baſſingſhall of the Dioceſſe of London, and of the age of 25. yeers, being examined in the Biſhops palace, the 27. day of November, Anno 1555. upon certain Articles, anſwered as followeth. Videlicet, that neither in the time of King Edward, after the Maſſe by him was put down, neither in the time of Queene Marie after the Maſſe was reſtored again, he hath heard any Maſſe at all; but he ſaith that in the reigne of the ſaid Queenes Majeſtie he the ſaid Bartlet, two times, to wit, at two Eaſter tides or dayes, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the Preachers in King Edwards time, within the Pariſh of Saint Michaels Cornhill, of the Dioceſſe of London, did receive the Communion with the ſaid Pulline and Chriſtopher Goodman, ſometime Reader of the Divinitie Lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the ſea; and the ſecond time with the ſaid Pulline and with one Kimneger, maſter of Art of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford: and this Examinate alſo ſaith, that at both the ſaid Communions he, and the other before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called ſacramentall bread, and ſacramentall wine, which he ſaith were uſed there by them, Pulline onely reading the words of the inſtitution, expreſſed in the book of Communion.

Ex Regiſt.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

In which receiving and uſing, this Examinate ſaith, that the other aforenamed did receive the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, and that they received materiall bread and materiall wine, no ſubſtance thereof changed, and ſo no reall preſence of the bodie and blood of Chriſt there being, but onely grace added thereto. And further, this Examinate ſaith, that he had heretofore, during the reigne of the Queens Majeſtie aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo now doth refuſe to come and heare Maſſe, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as they are now uſed and miniſtred in this Church of England, becauſe he ſaith that concerning the Maſſe, he cannot be perſwaded in his conſcience, that the ſacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreeable to Gods word, or maintainable by the ſame; and that without deadly offence he cannot worſhip the bodie and blood of Chriſt, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, this Examinate ſaith, that he heretofore during the ſaid reigne hath refuſed, and now doth refuſe to receive the ſame, as is now uſed in this Church of England, becauſe it is not uſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but both in a ſtrange tongue, and alſo not miniſtred in both kindes; and beſides that, contrary to Gods word it is there taught, that the thing there miniſtred is to be adored, as the reall and true bodie of Chriſt. And furthermore this Examinate ſaith, that during the ſaid reigne he hath not been confeſſed to the Prieſt, nor received abſolution at his hands, becauſe he is not bound by Gods words to make auricular confeſſion.

M. Green refuſing to hear Maſſe.

Sacrifice of the maſſe not maintainable by Gods word.

M. Green againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Auricular confeſſion refuſed.

Bartlet Greene.

Many other conferences and publike examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (ſeeing his ſtedfaſtneſſe of faith to be ſuch, as againſt the which neither their threatnings, nor yet their flattering promiſes could prevail) the 15. day of Januarie the Biſhop cauſed him with the reſt above named, to be brought into the Conſiſtorie in Pauls; where being ſet in his Judgement ſeat, accompanied with Fecknam, then Deane of the ſame Church, and other his Chaplaines, after he had condemned the other ſix, he then calling for Bartlet Greene, began with theſe, or the like words:

M. Green with the other ſix martyrs brought to the conſiſtory.

Honourable audience, I thinke it beſt to open unto you the converſation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And becauſe you ſhall not charge me, that I go about to ſeek any mans blood, here you ſhall heare the Councels letters, which they ſent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for hereſie, they have now ſent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee Bartlet Greene I propoſe theſe nine Articles. Then he

B. Boners words to the audience.

Nine articles put to maſter Green.

he read the articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all theſe ſeven priſoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudſon, John Went, Thomas Brown, Iſabel Foſter, Joan Laſhford, Bartlet Green.

M. Green not ſuffered to anſwer to the articles.

But when maſter Green would have anſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with promiſe that he ſhould have time to anſwer ſufficiently, and therefore the Biſhop proceeding ſaid, that when Green came firſt to his houſe, he deſired to have the books of the ancient Doctors of the Church to reade, which he ſaid he granted him.

Doctors read with indifferent judgement, make more againſt the Papiſts, then with them.

Whereunto Green anſwered and ſaid, that if the Doctors were with indifferent judgement weighed, they made more a great deal with him, then they did with them.

Feck. Upon which words Fecknam, Deane of Pauls, ſtood up, and marvelling why he ſaid ſo, asked him if he would be content to ſtand to the judgement of the Doctors.

Green. Green then ſaid, that he was content to ſtand to the Doctors judgement.

Chryſoſt. ad pop. Antioch.

Feck. I will then propound unto you (quoth Fecknam) the Doctors, and interpret them your ſelf. So he alledged a place of Chryſoſtome, Ad popul. Antioch. Which was this, Elias aſcendens melotem ſuum poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus vero aſcendens carnem ſuam aſſumpſit, & eandem poſt ſe reliquit, i. Elias going up, left his cloke behinde him: but Chriſt aſcending up took his fleſh, and alſo left it behinde him. And he demanded Green, how he underſtood the place.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 10.

Green. Then Green prayed him that he would conferre the Doctors ſayings together, and therefore alledged the ſame Doctor again, writing upon the 1. Cor. 10. An non eſt panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nonne eſt calix, &c. i. Is not the bread which we bleſſe, the communication of the Lords bodie? Whereby he proved that this Doctor called this Sacrament but a ſigne of the Lords body. Many other words of probation and deniall were betwixt them.

Feck. At laſt Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion? For M. Green (ſaid he) you confeſſed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at ſchool, you were called the rankeſt Papiſt in that houſe, and being compelled to go to the Lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine.

Green. And Green confeſſed the ſame.

M. Green firſt a rank Papiſt. Untrue report of P. Martyr.

Feck. Then again he ſaid, that Green told him that the ſaid Peter Martyr was a Papiſt in his firſt coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to conſider how vain his doctrine that he profeſſed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon ſo unconſtant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the Councell, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true and Catholique faith.

Peter Martyr firſt turned from Popery to the truth by prayer and reading the Doctors.

Green. Green ſaid that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did beleeve ſo becauſe Martyr beleeved the ſame; but becauſe that he had heard the Scriptures, and the Doctors of the Church truly and wholeſomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he ſpake. And further he ſaid, that he heard the ſaid maſter Peter ſay often, that he had not as yet, while he was a Papiſt, read Chryſoſtome upon the tenth to the Corinths, nor many other places of the Doctors: but when he had read them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yeeld to the Doctors, having firſt humbled himſelfe in prayer, deſiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true underſtanding of the Scripture. Which thing (ſaid Green) if you my Lord would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and ſhew you his truth, no more then I do doubt his words be true that ſaith; Aſke, and it ſhall be given to you; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you, &c.

Feck. Then Fckknam asked him, what he thought of this Article; Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam.

One holy Catholike church.

Green. And Green anſwered, that he did beleeve one holy and univerſall Church throughout all the world.

Feck. Then Fecknam ſaid, that he would faine have a ſure marke and token, whereby he might know this Church; and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this Church.

True marks of the Church.

Green. Green anſwered, that this Church did agree in veritie of the true doctrine of Chriſt, and was known by the true adminiſtration of his Sacraments.

Diſagreement noted amongſt profeſſors of the Goſpel by Fecknam.

Feck. Whereupon Fecknam ſaid, that he would prove the Church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in doctrine, but alwayes to have been in controverſie in their religion. For (ſaid he) Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or ſayings, nor Oecolampadius with Caroloſtadius, nor Caroloſtadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c. for Luther writing upon the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid; that in hoc pane, vel ſub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus. Zuinglius controlling him, ſaid; Sub ſigno panis corpus Domini accipimus. And the other controlled him in like caſe.

The goſpellers in words ſeem to diſſent, but in effect do agree with the word.

Green. Then M. Green proved their opinions of the Sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not ſound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Fecknam. Then Fecknam deſired him that he would not ſo wilfully caſt himſelf away, but to be rather conformable to reaſon, and that my Lord Biſhop there preſent would be good unto him, and would grant him reſpite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he ſhould chuſe any learned man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his houſe, and that he whom he would chuſe would willingly take the paines to read and conferre the Doctors with him, and open the Doctors mindes and meanings unto him.

Boner forbiddeth M. Green to be called Maſter.

Boner. Then Boner ſaid, that he was proud and an obſtinate boy; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more M. Green: for (ſaid he) you ought not to call an heretique maſter.

Note the blinde ignorance of Pendleton, as though the kingdome of Chriſt was not gotten at the death of Chriſt.

Pendleton. After this Doctor Pendleton alledged to him this text out of the 22. of Luke; Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei. Here (ſaid he) you muſt confeſſe your opinion to be falſe, elſe you muſt ſay that Chriſt was a lyar: for Chriſt ſaid; I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Fathers kingdome. If Chriſt did eat no more the bread when he ſpake theſe words, then muſt you ſay that he was a lyar: for he did eat bread after with his Diſciples before he aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his bodie then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reaſon.

This B. belike was the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Green. Then Green anſwered and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by an anticipation, as one of their own Biſhops (which is now dead) did ſay.

Pendleton. Then Doctor Pendleton ſaid, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, nor no ſufficient anſwer for him in this caſe; for (ſaid he) it is well known that the Biſhop was of a contrarie opinion to you, and that he died a good Chriſtian man.

Green. To which words Green ſaid, I do not call him to witneſſe in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient man, to prove my ſaying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him againſt you, as Paul did the Scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, againſt themſelves, ignoto Deo.

These with many other words were between them which I do overpaſſe, becauſe it were too long to ſtand upon recitall of every thing. Laſt of all the Biſhop aſked him, if he would recant. He ſaid nay; he would not. But my Lord (ſaid he) in old time there were no men put to death for their conſcience, untill ſuch time as Biſhops found the means to make it death to beleeve contrarie to them; but excommunication (my Lord) was the greateſt penalty which men had for their conſcience; yea, inſomuch that S. Auguſtine wrote, and commanded that no man ſhould be put to death for his opinion.

In the old time excommunication was the greateſt penalty in matters of faith and conſcience.

Boner. Then Boner ſaid, that when St. Auguſtine ſaw what inconveniences followed of that commandement, he wrote again to the temporall Rulers, commanding them to puniſh their bodies alſo.

Green. But ſaid Green, he bad not put them to death.

Bon. He bad puniſh them, quoth Boner.

Green. Yea, ſaid Green, but not put them to death.

Boner. That they ſhould be puniſhed, quoth Boner again.

This talk ended, he aſked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romiſh mother. Which when he denied, the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence definitive againſt him, and ſo committed him to the Sheriffes of London, who cauſed him to be carried to Newgate.

Sentence given againſt maſter Green.

And as he was going thither, there met with him two Gentlemen, being both his ſpeciall friends, minding belike to comfort this their perſecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themſelves) were manifeſted by the abundance of their pitifull tears. To whom, when Green ſaw them, he ſaid in theſe or like words; Ah my friends, is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occaſion of heavineſſe? Muſt I, who needed to have comfort miniſtred to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his moſt quiet and peaceable mind and conſcience, he cheerfully ſpake to them and others, untill he came to the priſon doore, into the which he joyfully entred, and there remained alwayes either in prayer (whereinto he much gave himſelf) or elſe in ſome other godly meditations and exerciſes, unto the 28. day of Januarie, when he with his other above mentioned brethren went moſt cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way, as alſo at the ſtake, theſe Latine Verſes following.

The words of M. Green to his friends, by the way going to Newgate.

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis:
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

In Engliſh thus.

O Chriſt my God, ſure hope of health,
beſides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falſhood hate,
by thee my guide alone.

Verſes of M. Green written in his friends book.

During the time of his impriſonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had acceſſe unto him, to whom he gave ſundrie godly exhortations; wherewith they were not onely well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the ſame his inſtructions, as alſo of his own good and godly perſon, they deſired him to write ſomewhat in their books, which requeſt he willingly granted, as in manner here enſueth.

Theſe Verſes were written in a book of
M. Huſſey of the Temple.

Behold thy ſelf by me,
ſuch one was I, as thou:
And thou in time ſhalt be,
even duſt as I am now.

Bartlet Green.

Theſe Verſes were alſo written in a book
of maſter William Fleetwood, of
the ſame houſe.

My reſting road is found,
vain hope and hap adew:
Love whom you liſt with change,
death ſhall me rid from you.

Bartlet Green.

Amongſt other divers and ſingular good vertues of this good man, ſpecially in him was to be noted ſuch a modeſt nature, ſo humbly thinking of himſelf, as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himſelf under that was in him, and ever ſeeming to be leſſe then he was, ſo that nothing leſſe he could abide, then to hear of his praiſe or commendation; as well declareth not onely his letter written to maſter Philpot, wherein he doth earneſtly expoſtulate with him, for ſlandering him with praiſe of his wit and learning, and other manifold vertues of great excellencie; but alſo by his own ſpeech and anſwers in his examination, wherein he caſteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithſtanding he had more in him, then to any mans eyes did appeare.

The ſingular modeſtie and humble nature of M. Green.

So great and admirable was this gift of modeſtie grafted in the nature of him, ſo farre abhorring from all pride and arrogancie, that as he could not abide any thing that was ſpoken to his advancement or praiſe; ſo neither did there appeare in him any ſhew or bragge in thoſe things wherein he might juſtly glory, which were his puniſhments and ſufferings for the cauſe and quarrell of Chriſt. For when he was beaten and ſcourged with rods by Biſhop Boner (which ſcarce any man would beleeve, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth) and he greatly rejoyced in the ſame, yet his ſhamefaſt modeſtie was ſuch, that never he would expreſſe any mention thereof, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to glory too much in himſelfe, ſave that onely he opened the ſame to one maſter Cotton of the Temple a friend of his, a little before his death.

Moreover, to his rare and maidenly modeſtie in him was alſo adjoyned the like nature of mercie and pitifull compaſſion; which affection though it ſeemeth to be little regarded of ſome, yet in my minde is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man reſembleth more truly the Image of the high majeſty of Almighty God, then this. And as in this reſpect of mercifull tenderneſſe, man onely excelleth all other beaſts; ſo almoſt no leſſe may this man ſeeme to paſſe many other men, whoſe cuſtomable propertie and exerciſe was to viſit the poore priſoners with him in priſon, both with bodily reliefe, and alſo with ſpirituall comfort: and finding many of them (I meane ſuch as were there for theft and other naughtie facts) verie penitent and ſorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not onely by mouth, but alſo by his letters require, yea, as it were of dutie in love, did charge his friends to travell for their deliverances; ſuch was the pitie and charitable mercy of this godly

The pitifull nature of M. Green.

and moſt true member of Chriſts Church, as appeareth by this letter here following.

To my very loving friends and Maſters, Maſter Goring, Maſter Ferneham, Maſter Fleetwood, Maſter Ruſſewel, Maſter Bel, Maſter Huſſey, Maſter Calthrop, Maſter Bowyer, and other my Maſters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wiſheth health of body and ſoul.

A letter of M. Bartlet Green to certain of his loving friends in the Temple. What true friendſhip is. True friendſhip is not meaſured by diſtance of place or of perſons.

VErie friends are they which are knit together with the knot of charitie; Charitie doth not decay, but increaſe in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be abſent in bodie, yet are we preſent in the ſpirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that meaſureth his friendſhip with the diſtance of a place, or parting of perſons? If thy friend be out of ſight, is thy friendſhip ended? If he be gone into the countrey, wilt thou ceaſe to love him? If he be paſſed the ſeas, will you ſo forſake him? If he be carried into heaven, is charitie hindred thereby? On the one ſide we have the uſe of the Fathers from the Primitive Church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other ſide (ſaith Horace) Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

Love onely coupleth together. All other things fail, love onely indureth for ever.

What ſpeak I of Horace? Saith not S. Paul the ſame thing? For we are members of his bodie, of his fleſh, and of his blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arme, foot or leg a member, when it is diſſevered from the bodie? How can we be members, except we be joyned together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things ſhall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finiſhed in heaven, love endureth for ever: Love (I ſay) that proceedeth of charity; for carnall love, when that which he loveth is loſt, doth periſh with the fleſh. Neither was that ever but fleſhly love, which by diſtance of place, or ſevering of bodies, is parted aſunder. If love be the end or ſum of the law, if heaven and earth ſhall periſh, yet one jot of Gods word ſhall not decay, why ſhould we think that love laſteth not for ever?

Love unfained never endeth.

I need not to write much to you my friends, neither can I have leiſure now that the Keepers are riſen: but this I ſay; If we keep Chriſts commandement in loving each other, as he loved us, then ſhould our love be everlaſting. This friendſhip Paul felt, when it moved him to ſay, that neither length nor breadth (meaning no diſtance of place) neither height nor depth ſhould ſever him from the love of Chriſt. Weigh well this place, and mete it with Pauls meaſures; ſo ſhall we finde that if our love be unfained, it can never be ended. Now may you ſay, Why writeſt thou this? certes to the end that if our friendſhip be ſtable, you may accompliſh this the laſt requeſt of your friend, and perform after my death the friendſhip we began in our life, that amitie may increaſe untill God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

The ſute of M. Green for the ſaving of certain poore priſoners in Newgate.

M. Fleetwood, I beſeech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two ſingular men amongſt common priſoners: M. Fernham and M. Bell, with M. Huſſey (as I hope) will diſpatch Palmer and Richardſon with his companions. I pray you M. Palmer think on J. Grove, an honeſt poore man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices: My Couſin Thomas Witton (a Scrivener in Lombardſtreet) hath promiſt to further their delivery: at the leaſt he can inſtruct you which way to work. I doubt not but that M. Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for ſhe is worthy to be holpen) and Berard the Frenchman. There be alſo divers other well diſpoſed men, whoſe deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beſeech you to ſeek their relief, as you ſhall ſee cauſe: namely, of Henry Apprice, Lancelet, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (ſaving that he is ſomewhat wilde) likely to do well hereafter. There be alſo two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander that may prove honeſt. For theſe and all other poore priſoners, here I make this my humble ſute and prayer to you all my Maſters, and eſpeciall good friends, beſeeching you of all bonds of amitie, for the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt, in the bowels of mercie, to tender the cauſes of miſerable captives; help to clothe Chriſt, viſit the afflicted, comfort the ſorrowfull, and relieve the needie. The verie God of peace guide your hearts to have mercie on the poore, and love faithfully together, Amen. This preſent Munday, when I look to die, and live for ever.

Yours as ever, Bartlet Green.

Another letter of Maſter Green to Miſtreſſe Elizabeth Clark.

Another letter of Bartlet Green to Miſtreſſe Eliſabeth Clark.

VVOuld God (if it were his pleaſure) that with this letter I might ſend you my heart and minde, and whatſoever there is in me elſe, that pertaineth to God: So ſhould I think it the beſt meſſage, and happieſt letter that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my deſire, yet ſhall I not ceaſe with continuall prayer to labour for you, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe that which he hath long ſince begun in you, of ſober life, and earneſt zeal towards his religion. In faith (as ſaith ſaint Paul) ſhe that is a true widow and friendleſſe, putteth her truſt in God, continuing day and night in ſupplication and prayer; but ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead, even yet alive. And verily a true widow is ſhe that hath married Chriſt, forſaking the vanities of the world, and luſt of the fleſh. For as the married woman careth how to love, pleaſe, and ſerve her huſband; ſo ought the widow to give all her heart and ſoul, thoughts and words, ſtudies and labours, faithfully to love God, vertuouſly to bring up her children and houſhold, and diligently to provide for the poore and oppreſſed.

1 Tim. 5. 1 Cor. 7. 1 Tim. 5.

Therefore S. Paul firſt inſtructeth a widow how to behave her ſelf, that is, Not to live in pleaſure, then to watch unto prayer, as the onely means to obtain all our deſires, ſtedfaſtly laying up all our truſt in God, as David right well ſaith; Firſt eſchew evil, then do good. Of Anna the praiſe was written, that ſhe never went out of the Temple, but ſerved God with faſting and prayer night and day; ſo well had ſhe eſpouſed Chriſt. Judith ware a ſmock of hair, continuing in faſting, and had good report of all men.

Pſal. 34. Luke 2. Iudg. 8.

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that ſhe bring up her children and houſhold godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord. Whereof S. Paul ſaith; If any have children or nephews, let them learn firſt to rule their own houſe godly, and to recompence their elders. The incontinency and covetouſneſſe of Phinees and Ophny, not corrected by Ely their father, provoked Gods vengeance upon him and all his kindred. The over tender love of Abſalom expelled David from his kingdome. The unrebuked ſins of Ammon incouraged Abſalom to ſlay his brother; moſt manifeſt examples againſt the parents, for the offences of their children.

Epheſ. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 1 Reg. 2. 2 Reg. 15. 1 Reg. 8.

Contrariwiſe, how greatly might Hannah rejoyce over Samuel her ſonne, whom ſhe had brought up in the houſe of the Lord? What thanks might

1 Reg. 1.

Q. MARIE.

Anno. 1556.

3 Reg. 1.
2 Macch. 7.

might Tobias wife give for her ſon Toby? How happy was Solomon to be taught by the Prophet Nathan? But above all widows, thrice bleſſed was the happie mother of the ſeven ſons, that ſo had inſtructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would ſhrinke from the love of his truth?

1 Tim. 5.

Of the laſt part ſaint Paul ſheweth that a widow ſhould be choſen, If ſhe have nouriſhed her children, if ſhe have been liberall to ſtrangers, if ſhe have waſhed the ſaints feet, and if ſhe have miniſtred to them in adverſitie. Herein it is evident how earneſtly ſaint Paul would have widows bent towards the poore; for that (as though they onely had been therefore meet) he appointed onely widows to miniſter to the ſaints, and to gather for the poore. Which uſe alſo continued almoſt throughout the Primitive Church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poore men and ſtrangers.

The office and exerciſe of chriſtian widows in the primitive Church.

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in remembrance, ſeeing you daily feed them with good Hoſpitalitie, by which meanes alſo many forreiners are of you relieved: but of the poore Almſ-houſes, and miſerable priſoners here in London, many lacking their libertie without cauſe, ſome under the colour of religion, ſome onely kept for fees, and ſome on private mens diſpleaſure. Alas that Chriſt ſo hungereth, and no man will feed him; is ſo ſore oppreſt with thirſt, and no man will give him drink; deſtitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; ſick, and not viſited; impriſoned, and not ſeene.

In times paſt men could beſtow large ſums of money on copes, veſtiments, and ornaments of the Church. Why rather follow we not "St. Ambroſes example, which ſold the ſame for the reliefe of the poore, or Chryſoſtomes commandement, which willed firſt to deck and garniſh the living Temple of God? But alas, ſuch is the wickedneſſe of theſe our laſt daies, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godlineſſe of life, nor good examples of the ancient Fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written any thing that ſerveth for ſects and diſſention, that will their charitable children imbrace, publiſh and maintaine with ſword, fagot, and fire. But all in vain; they ſtrive againſt the ſtreame. For though in deſpite of the truth, by force of the oares of craftie perſwaſion, they may bring themſelves into the haven of hell: yet can they not make all men beleeve that the banks move whileſt the ſhip ſaileth, nor ever ſhall be able to turn the direct courſe of the ſtreame of Gods truth. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace vertuouſly to bring up your clildren and family, and carefully to provide for the poore and oppreſſed. Amen. At Newgate the 20. of Januarrie. Anno 1556.

" St. Ambroſe took from the church, & gave to the poore, we take from the poore their tithes & impropriations, and give them to churches and miniſters, where is nothing but ſinging and idleneſſe.

Your aſſured, Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of maſter Bartlet Green.

Another certain Writing of M. Bartlet Green.

Better is the day of death (ſaith Solomon) then the day of birth. Man that is born of a woman liveth but a ſhort time, and is repleniſhed with many miſeries; but happie are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travell, to live in miſerie; man through Chriſt doth die in joy, and live in felicitie. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miſerable eſtate; ſtraight as he departeth, with ſongs he praiſeth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies aſſault him; after death no adverſarie may annoy him. Whileſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth GOD; when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through ſinne; in the life to come he liveth in righteouſneſſe. Through many tribulations in earth he is ſtill purged; with joy unſpeakable in heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every houre; there he liveth continually. Here is ſinne; there is righteouſneſſe. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleaſure. Here is miſerie; there is felicitie. Here is corruption; there is immortalitie. Here we ſee vanity; there ſhall we behold the majeſtie of God, with triumphant and unſpeakable joy in glory everlaſting. Seeke therefore the things that are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

Yours in Chriſt, Bartlet Green.

Divers other letters and matters there were beſide which this ſervant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latine out of the Doctors and other Authors for his memorie, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the ſearching and knowledge of the Law of GOD, although his profeſſion was the temporall Law. Where I would to God he were not among the Lawyers ſuch a Phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to flie with him, or to follow his ſteps. But GOD is to be praiſed, that although we read of few or none among that ſort that died as he did, yet good witneſſe do ſpring up daily of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuch towardneſſe and godly zeal, that ſome hope alreadie appeareth ſhortly to come to paſſe, that this godly Phenix ſhall not flie alone. Theſe foreſaid notes and gatherings of his out of the doctors were taken from him by Boner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of Januarie, and afterward burned with the other Martyrs, the 27. of the ſame moneth.

A commendation of Lawyers.

3. Thomas Brown, Martyr.

Ex Regiſt.
Tho. Brown Martyr.
January 27.
Tho. Brown preſented by the Conſtable of S. Brides.

Thomas Brown, born in the pariſh of Hiſton, within the Dioceſſe of Ely, came afterward to London, where he dwelled in the pariſh of ſaint Brides in Fleetſtreet, a married man, of the age of thirty ſeven yeers; who becauſe he came not to his Pariſh Church, was preſented by the Conſtable of the Pariſh to Boner. As touching whoſe articles, whereupon he was examined by the ſaid Boner, with his anſwers alſo annexed to the ſame, mention goeth before, as in the generall proceſſe of him and of the reſt may appeare. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham, with the other there to be examined, was required upon Thurſday, being the 26. day of September, to come into the Chappell to heare Maſſe, which he refuſing to do, went into the Warren, there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the Biſhop, as for an hainous matter, becauſe he ſaid it was done in deſpite and contempt of their Maſſe; which ſeemed to the Biſhop and his Chaplains no ſmall offence. At length being produced to his laſt examination before the ſaid Biſhop the fifteenth day of January, there to hear ſentence definitive againſt him; firſt he was required with many fair words and gloſing promiſes to revoke his doctrine, to whom the foreſaid Biſhop ſpeaking theſe words, ſaid; Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travelled with thee, to winne thee from

Brown kneeleth among the trees at Maſſe time.

B. Boners words to Tho. Brown.

thine errours; yet thou, and ſuch like, have and do report that I go about to ſeek thy blood, &c.

B. Boner charged to be a blood-ſucker.

To whom the ſaid Thomas Brown anſwered again; Yea, my Lord (ſaid he) indeed ye be a blood-ſucker, and I would I had as much blood as is water in the ſea, for you to ſuck.

The anſwer of Tho. Brown to B. Boner.

Boner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, aſked him whether he was content and willing to relinquiſh thoſe his hereſies and erroneous opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the unitie of the Catholique faith. Whereunto he made anſwer again, ſaying, if they were hereſies, he would forſake them. They be hereſies (quoth the Biſhop.) How will ye prove it, ſaid Browne? for I will not go from mine anſwers, except you can prove them to be hereſies, which ye ſhall never do. For that which you call hereſie, is no hereſie. With that Boner not able, or elſe not diſpoſed to ſupply the part of a ſufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authoritie and doctrine of the Scripture, went about with words and promiſe of pardon, to allure him to renounce thoſe his hereſies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the Catholique Church, &c.

To whom the ſaid Thomas inferred again, as followeth; Prove it (ſaid he) to be hereſie, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemne me, becauſe I will not confeſſe and beleeve the bread in the Sacrament of the Altar (as you call it) to be the bodie of Chriſt, and therefore ye ſpill mine and ſuch like innocents blood, being the Queens true ſubjects, for which you ſhall anſwer, and that ſhortly.

Sentence read againſt Tho. Brown.

After this being ſpoken, Boner as he had done to the other before, read in writing the ſentence definitive againſt him. The copy and forme of which ſentence wherewith the papiſts were wont to condemne all the innocent Saints of Chriſt, is above expreſſed. And ſo this done he was committed to the Sheriffes to be had away, and burned the 27. day of the ſaid moneth of Ianuarie, conſtantly abiding with the other the Popes torments for the true confeſſion of his Chriſtian faith.

4. Iohn Tudſon, Martyr.

Iohn Tudſon, Martyr. Ianuary 27.

THe ſame day and time, when the foreſaid Thomas Brown with his fellows was condemned (as is above rehearſed) being the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, was alſo produced Iohn Tudſon, with the reſt of the ſaid companie, unto the like condemnation. This Iohn Tudſon was born in Ipſwich, in the County of Suffolke, after that apprentiſe in London, dwelling with one George Goodyeer of the pariſh of ſaint Marie Botulph, within the Dioceſſe of London, who being complained of to ſir Richard Cholmley and Doctor Storie, was by them ſent unto Boner Biſhop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

Of theſe articles read before.

The conſtant perſiſting of Io. Tudſon.

The articles and interrogatories miniſtred unto him, as unto the reſt, before are ſpecified, with his anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open Conſiſtorie; where the ſaid bleſſed and true ſervant of the Lord Iohn Tudſon, appearing before the ſaid Biſhop and his complices, was moved with ſundry perſwaſions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named hereſie) and to perſiſt in the unity of the Church which they were of; but he, conſtantly perſiſting in the which he had received by the Preachers in King Edwards time, refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, there was no hereſie in his anſwers. For I, ſaid he, defie all hereſie. The Biſhop yet ſtill uſed his old accuſtomed perſwaſions to remove him, promiſing moreover all his offences and errours (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then ſaid Tudſon, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In your anſwers. No, ſaid Tudſon again, I have not therein offended; and ye (my Lord) pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words the Biſhop did likewiſe promulgate againſt him ſentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and conſtant Martyr was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo with much patience finiſhed this life with the other above named, the 27. day of Ianuary.

Sentence read againſt Iohn Tudſon.

5. Iohn Went, Martyr.

Iohn Went, Martyr. Ianuary 27.

IOhn Went born in Langham in Eſſex, within the Dioceſſe of London, of the age of 27. and a Shereman by occupation, firſt was examined (as partly is touched before) by Doctor Story upon the ſacrament of his Popiſh altar; and becauſe the poore man did not accord with him throughly in the reall preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt, the ſaid Story did ſend him up to Boner Biſhop of London. Who likewiſe, after divers examinations upon the articles aforeſaid in the Conſiſtory, attempted the like manner of perſwaſions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom in few words the ſaid Went anſwered again, he would not, but that by the leave of God, he would ſtand firme and conſtant in that he had ſaid. And when the Biſhop yet notwithſtanding did ſtil urge & call upon him with words and faire gloſes, to give over himſelfe to their opinion, he could have no other anſwer of him but this; No, I ſay as I have ſaid, &c. Whereupon being condemned by the Biſhops ſentence, he was committed unto the Sheriffes (whom that ſhameleſſe ſhaveling at that time abuſed for his ſervile Butchers) and ſo brought to his martyrdome, which he with no leſſe conſtancie ſuffered to the end, with the reſt of that bleſſed ſociety of Martyrs above named.

Io. Went withſtandeth the Biſhops perſwaſions. Iohn Went condemned.

6. Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.

Iſabel Foſter Martyr. Ianuary 27.

VVIth theſe five perſons above recited and condemned, were alſo two women in the ſaid company condemned the ſame time, and likewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe; the one a wife, called Iſabel Foſter, the other a maid, named Ioan Warn, or otherwiſe, Laſhford.

Iſabel Foſter conſtant in confeſſing Chriſts Goſpel.

This foreſaid Iſabel was born in Graſeſtock in the Dioceſſe of Carlile, and afterwards married to one Iohn Foſter, Cutler, of the Pariſh of ſaint Brides in Fleetſtreet, being of the age of five and fifty yeers. She likewiſe for not coming unto the Church, being ſent unto Boner, and ſo impriſoned, was ſundrie times examined by the ſaid Biſhop, but never overcome, nor removed from the conſtant confeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.

The words of Iſabel Foſter at her laſt examination.

At length, coming unto her finall examination before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory the fifteenth day of the ſaid moneth of Ianuary, ſhe was moved again, whether ſhe would yet go from her former anſwers. Whereunto ſhe gave a reſolute anſwer in few words; I will not (ſaith ſhe) go from them by Gods grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being caſt down by the menacing threats of the Biſhop, nor yet yeelding through his alluring inticements, promiſing both life and libertie, if ſhe would aſſociate her ſelfe in the unity of the Catholique Church. Whereunto ſhe ſaid again in this wiſe, that ſhe truſted ſhe was never out of the Catholique Church, &c. and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtant till the ſentence

Q. Marie. Iſabel Foſter condemned. Anno 1556.

tence definitive was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by commandement of the Biſhop to the ſecular power, and ſo brought a few dayes after to the ſtake, the ſeven and twentieth day of the foreſaid moneth; where ſhe like a faithfull witneſſe of the Lords truth (with the other five aforeſaid) ended her troubles here, to finde a better reſt in the Kingdome of Chriſt our Saviour.

7. Ioane Laſhford, alias, Ioan Warne, Martyr.

Ioan Laſhford, alias Ioane Warne, martyr. January 27.

IN a certaine place of theſe Acts and Monuments heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her huſband John Warne (as is aforeſaid) in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, was apprehended in Bowe Churchyard for being there at a Communion; and both ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the man in the moneth of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the moneth of January followed her parents in the ſame martyrdome. Furthermore, in the ſame place following mention was made alſo of Doctor Story, who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat neere unto the ſaid parties, either in kindred or alliance; albeit as I underſtand ſince of ſome, there was no kindred betweene them, but onely that ſhe was his ſervant. Yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Doctor Storie (as it is above ſpecified) before he was Commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the parties to Doctor Martin then Commiſſioner: but afterward being placed in Commiſſion himſelfe, he ſo farre forgat himſelfe and his old ſervant, that he became no ſmall procurer of their deaths. I will not here expoſtulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconſtancie: who yet notwithſtanding, after he had brought them to death, was arreſted himſelfe for threeſcore pounds, charged with debt in their behalfe; which if it be true, it may thereby appeare that he was in ſome peece of kindred joyned or allied unto them. But leaving that perſon unto the good pleaſure of the Lord, let us returne unto that we have in hand.

D. Story firſt interceſſor for John Warne and his daughter, and afterward the chiefeſt perſecutor againſt them.

Ioane Laſhford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

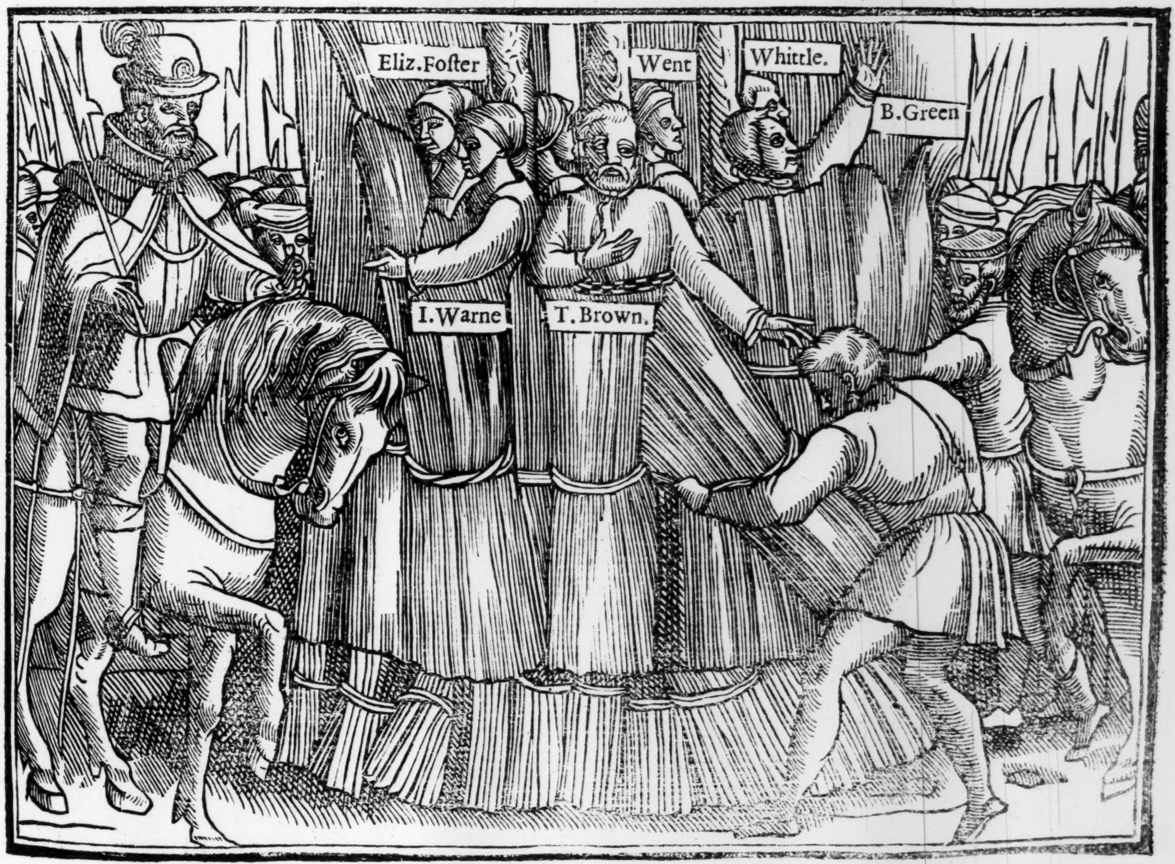
This Joane Laſhford, borne in the Pariſh of little Hallowes in Thames ſtreet, was the daughter of one Robert Laſhford Cutler, and of the foreſaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to John Warne Upholſter, who (as is ſaid) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Laſhford her daughter; who, about the age of twenty yeeres, miniſtring to her father and mother in priſon, ſuſpected and knowne to be of the ſame doctrine and religion, was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London by Doctor Storie (as is above in her anſwers to the articles declared) and ſo committed to the Counter in the Poultrey, where ſhe remained the ſpace of five weekes, and from thence had to Newgate, where ſhe continued the ſpace of certaine moneths.

The daughter burned after the father & mother.

The confeſſion of Joane Laſhford before the Biſhop.

After that, remaining priſoner in the cuſtodie of the ſaid Boner, her confeſſion was, being examined, that the whole twelve moneth before and more, ſhe came unto no Popiſh Maſſe ſervice in the Church, neither would doe, either to receive the ſacrament of the Altar, or to be confeſſed, becauſe her conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to doe; confeſſing and proteſting, that in the ſacrament of the Altar, there is not the reall preſence of Chriſts body and bloud; nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution after the Popiſh ſort, was

Seven godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſuffering at one fire together in Smithfield.



Superfluous and Popiſh ceremonies.

The worthy conſtancy of a maide.

The words of Ioane Laſhford at her laſt examination.

neceſſarie, nor the Maſſe to be good, or according unto the Scripture, but ſaid that both the ſaid ſacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the Maſſe, with all other their ſuperfluous ſacraments, ceremonies, and divine ſervice, as then uſed in this Realme of England, were moſt vile, and contrarie to Chriſts words and inſtitution; ſo that neither they were at the beginning, nor ſhall be at the latter end. This godly damoſel, feeble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by grace, in this her confeſſion and faith ſtood ſo firme, that neither the flattering promiſes, nor the violent threats of the Biſhops could turne her, but being moved and exhorted by the Biſhop to returne to the Catholike unitie of the Church, ſaid boldly to him againe; If ye will leave off your abomination, ſo I will returne, and otherwiſe I will not.

Whereupon the Biſhop yet again promiſed her pardon of all her errours (as he called them) if ſhe would be conformed. To this ſhe anſwered again, ſaying unto the Biſhop; Doe as it pleaſeth you, and I pray God that you may doe that which may pleaſe God.

The ſentence and condemnation of Ioane Laſhford. January 27.

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſevering in the Lords holy truth, was by the ſentence definitive condemned and committed unto the Sheriffes, by whom the foreſaid ſeven and twentieth day of Januarie ſhe with the reſt being brought unto the ſtake, there waſhed her clothes in the bloud of the Lambe, dying moſt conſtantly for his word and truth, to whom moſt lovingly ſhe eſpouſed her ſelfe.

And thus much concerning the life, ſtorie, and condemnation of theſe ſeven martyrs afore ſpecified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterburie, foure women and one man, at two ſtakes and one fire, altogether burned.

January 31.

4. Women and one man, Martyrs.

After theſe ſeven before rehearſed, martyred together in Smithfield, ſhortly after in the ſame moneth, the 31. day of Januarie, followed another like fellowſhip of godly Martyrs at Canterburie, foure women and one man, whoſe names be theſe:

Iohn Lomas, a young man,
Anne Albright,
Ioane Catmer,
Agnes Snoth, widow,
Ioane Sole, wife.

1. Iohn Lomas, Martyr.

John Lomas Martyr.

John Lomas of the Pariſh of Tenterden, detected and preſented of that religion which the Papiſts call hereſie, and cited upon the ſame to appeare at Canterbury, examined there of the firſt article, whether he beleeved the Catholike church or no, anſwered thus; that he beleeved ſo much as is contained in Gods Booke, and no more.

The anſwer of John Lomas at his examination.

The ſacrament of the altar denied.

Realty of Chriſt neither under forme nor treſſel

Then being aſſigned to appeare againe under the paine of the Law the next Wedneſday ſevennight after, which was the 17. day of Januarie, the ſaid Lomas examined whether he would be confeſſed of a Prieſt or no, anſwered and ſaid, that he found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any Prieſt in Gods Booke, neither would be confeſſed, unleſſe he were accuſed by ſome man of ſinne. Againe, examined whether he beleeved the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar really under the formes of bread and wine after the conſecration or no, he anſwered that he beleeved no realty of Chriſts body to be in the ſacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under forme or treſſel, but he beleeved ſo much as is written. Being then demanded whether he beleeved that there is a Catholike Church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the ſame, he anſwered thereunto, that he beleeved ſo much as was written in Gods Booke, and other anſwere then this he refuſed to give, &c. Whereupon the ſentence was given and read againſt him the 18. day of January; and ſo committed to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the conſcience of a true faith, with the other foure women here following.

Sentence againſt John Lomas.

2. Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

January 31.

Confeſſion auricular refuſed.

The ſacrament how to be received.

Penance is denied to be a ſacrament.

Agnes Snoth widow, of the pariſh of Smarden, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of Chriſts religion, was divers times examined before the Phariſaicall fathers. Who, there compelled to anſwer to ſuch articles and interrogatories as ſhould be miniſtred unto her, firſt denied to be confeſſed to a Prieſt; notwithſtanding, ſhe denied not to confeſſe her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any Prieſt. And as touching the ſacrament of the Altar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or any other did receive the ſacrament ſo as Chriſt and his Apoſtles after him did deliver it, then ſhe and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now uſed in the Church, ſhe ſaid that no man could otherwiſe receive it then to his damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterward being examined againe concerning penance, whether it were a ſacrament or no, ſhe plainly denied the ſame, and that the Popiſh manner of their abſolution was not conſonant to the Word, nor neceſſarie to be taken; with ſuch other like, agreeing with the anſwers and confeſſion of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the ſentence being likewiſe read, ſhe was committed to the Sheriffes of Canterburie, and ſo ſuffering martyrdome with the reſt, declared her ſelfe a perfect and conſtant witneſſe of Chriſt and of his truth the 31. day of Januarie.

Agnes Snoth condemned and committed to the ſecular power.

3. Anne Albright, alias Champnes, Martyr.

Anne Albright, Martyr.

Auricular confeſſion.

The words of Anne Albright to the Prieſts.

Againſt Anne Albright, likewiſe appearing before the Judge and his Colleagues, it was alſo objected concerning the ſame matter of confeſſion. Whereunto ſhe anſwered in theſe words, ſaying; that ſhe would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, and added moreover, ſpeaking unto the Prieſts: You Prieſts (ſaid ſhe) are the children of perdition, and can doe no good by your confeſſion. And likewiſe ſpeaking unto the Judge and his aſſiſtance, ſhe told them that they were ſubverters of Chriſts truth.

Anne Albright denieth the ſacrament of the altar.

Condemnation of Anne Albright. January 18.

And as touching the ſacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid it was a naughtie and abominable Idoll, and ſo utterly denied the ſame Sacrament. Thus perſiſting and perſevering in her former ſayings and anſwers, ſhe was condemned the ſaid eighteenth day of the ſaid moneth, with the other above mentioned; with whom alſo ſhe ſuffered quietly and with great comfort for the right of Chriſts religon.

4. Ioane Sole.

Ioane Sole, Martyr. January 31.

Condemnation of Ioane Sole. January 18.

In the like manner Joane Sole, of the Pariſh of Horton, was condemned of the ſame Phariſees and Prieſts, for not allowing confeſſion auricular, and for denying the reall preſence and ſubſtance of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the Altar. Who, after their Phariſaicall ſentence being promulgate, was brought by the Sheriffes to the ſtake with the other foure, and ſuſtained the like martyrdome with them, through the aſſiſtance of Gods holy grace and ſpirit mightily

Q. Marie.

Anno 1556.

working in her, to the glorie of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

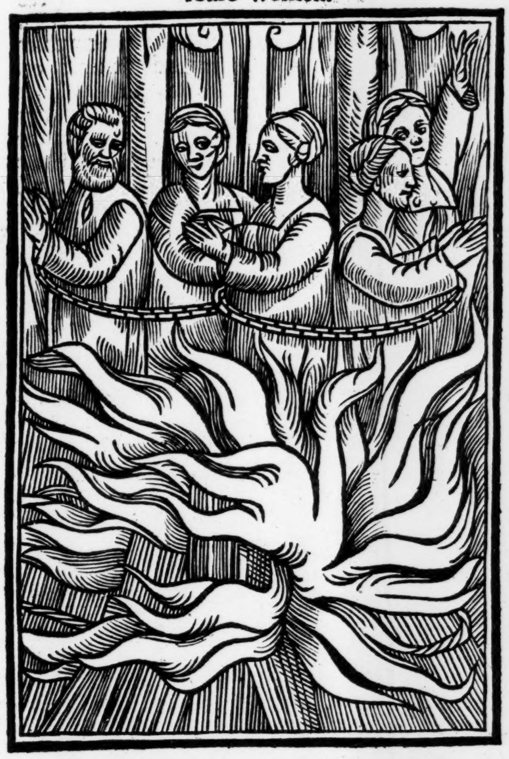
Ioane Catmer.

Ioane Catmer, Martyr.

January 31.

The fifth and laſt of this heavenly company of Martyrs, was Ioane Catmer of the Pariſh of Hith, wife (as it ſhould ſeeme) of George Catmer burned before. Who being asked what ſhe ſaid to confeſſion made to a Prieſt, denied to be confeſſed to any ſuch Prieſt. And moreover, the Iudge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid and affirmed that ſhe beleeved not in that ſacrament, as it was then uſed, for that it was made, ſaid ſhe, a very Idoll. In this her confeſſion ſhe remaining and perſiſting, was by the like ſentence cruelly of them condemned, & ſo ſuffered with the foreſaid Thomas Lomas, and the other three fellow Martyrs, ratifying and confeſſing with their bloud the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt Ieſus our Saviour.

The burning of the foreſaid man, and foure women.



The martyrdome of Iohn Lomas, Agnes Snoth, Anne Albright, Ioan Sole, Ioane Catmer, at Canterburie. Anno 1556. January 31.

These five perſons were burnt at two ſtakes, and one fire, together at Canterburie, as is beforeſaid: Who, when the fire was flaming about their eares, did ſing Pſalmes. Whereat the good Knight ſir Iohn Norton being there preſent, wept bitterly at the ſight thereof.

Perſecutors.

The Iudges and other aſſiſtants which ſate upon her, and the other foure above mentioned, were Richard Fancet, Iohn Warren, Iohn Milles, Robert Collins, and Iohn Baker the Notarie.

The life, ſtate, and ſtorie of the reverend Paſtour and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Martyr, burned at Oxford, for the confeſſion of Chriſts true doctrine under Queen Mary, Anno 1556. March 21.

March 21. Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Martyr.

As concerning the life and eſtate of that moſt reverend father in God, and worthy Prelate of godly memorie, Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and of the originall cauſe and occaſion of his preferment unto his Archiepiſcopall dignitie, who of many hath beene thought to have procured the ſame by friendſhip onely, and of ſome other eſteemed unworthy ſo high a vocation: It is firſt therefore to be noted and conſidered, that the ſame Thomas Cranmer coming of an ancient Parentage, from the Conqueſt to be deducted, and continuing ſince in the name and family of a Gentleman, was borne in a Village called Arſelacton in Nottinghamſhire, of whoſe ſaid name and family there remaineth at theſe dayes one Manour and Manſion houſe in Lincolneſhire, called Cranmer Hall, &c. Sometimes of heritage of the ſaid ſtocke and family. Who being from his infancie kept at Schoole, and brought up not without much good civilitie, came in proceſſe of time unto the Univerſitie of Cambridge, and there proſpering in right good knowledge amongſt the better ſort of Students, was choſen fellow of Ieſus Colledge in Cambridge. And ſo being Maſter of Art, and fellow of the ſame Colledge, it chanced him to marrie a Gentlemans daughter: by meanes whereof he loſt and gave over his fellowſhip there, and became the Reader in Buckingham Colledge; and for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his ſaid wife in an Inne, called the Dolphin in Cambridge, the wife of the houſe being of affinitie unto her. By reaſon whereof, and for that his often reſort unto his wife in that Inne, he was much marked of ſome Popiſh merchants; whereupon roſe the ſlanderous noiſe and report againſt him, after he was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterburie, raiſed up by the malicious diſdaine of certaine malignant adverſaries to Chriſt and his truth, bruting abroad every where, that he was but an Hoſtler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reports, one of their practiſes in that behalfe ſhall hereafter be declared, as place and time ſhall ſerve.

Tho. Cranmer a Gentleman borne.

Tho. Cranmer firſt coming to Cambridge.

Tho. Cranmer fellow of Ieſus Colledge.

Cranmer married.

Cranmer Reader in Buckingham Colledge.

But in the meane time to returne to the matter preſent: Whileſt this ſaid Maſter Cranmer continued as a Reader in Buckingham Colledge, his wife died in childebed. After whoſe death, the Maſters and Fellowes of Ieſus Colledge deſirous againe of their old companion, namely, for his towardlineſſe in learning, choſe him againe fellow of the ſame Colledge. Where he remaining at his ſtudie, became in few yeeres after the Reader of Divinitie Lecture in the ſame Colledge, and in ſuch ſpeciall eſtimation and reputation with the whole Univerſitie, that being Doctor of Divinitie, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned men) to examine ſuch as yeerely proceede in commencement, either Batchelers or Doctors of Divinitie, by whoſe approbation the whole Univerſitie licenſeth them to proceede unto their degree; and againe by whoſe diſallowance the Univerſitie alſo rejecteth them for a time to proceede, untill they be better furniſhed with more knowledge.

Tho Cranmer, after the deceaſe of his wife, choſen fellow into Ieſus Colledge.

Tho. Cranmer made Reader in Ieſus Colledge, & Doctor of Divinitie.

D. Cranmer publike examiner in Cambridge of them that were to proceede.

Now Doctor Cranmer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceede in Divinitie, unleſſe they were ſubſtantially ſeen in the ſtorie of the Bible; by meanes whereof certaine Friers, and other religious perſons, who were principally brought up in the ſtudie of ſchoole Authors, without regard had to the authoritie of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; ſo that he was greatly, for that his ſevere examination, of the religious ſort much hated, and had in great indignation: and yet it came to paſſe in the end, that divers of them

Friers [illegible] with Doctor Cranmer. D. Parker.

them being thus compelled to ſtudie the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; inſomuch, that when they proceeded Doctors of Divinitie, they could not overmuch extoll and commend M. Doctor Cranmers goodneſſe towards them, who had for a time put them backe, to aſpire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom D. Barret a white Friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was after that ſort handled, giving him no leſſe commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeate, that our apiſh and popiſh ſort of ignorant Prieſts may well underſtand that this his exerciſe, kinde of life, and vocation was not altogether Hoſtler like.

D. Cranmer appointed to be fellow of the Cardinals Colledge in Oxford, refuſed.

Well, to goe forwards; Like as he was neither in fame unknowne, nor in knowledge obſcure, ſo was he greatly ſolicited by Doctor Capon, to have beene one of the fellowes in the foundation of Cardinall Wolſeyes Colledge in Oxford (which he utterly refuſed, not without danger of indignation.) Notwithſtanding fore-ſeeing that which after chanced, to the utter confuſion of many well affected learned men there, without conſideration (becauſe mans glory was there more ſought for then Gods) he ſtood to the danger of the ſaid indignation, which chanced more proſperouſly unto him within few yeers after then he looked for. For whiles he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weightie cauſe of King Henrie the eighth, his divorce with the Ladie Katherine Dowager of Spaine, came into queſtion; which being many waies by the ſpace of two or three yeers amongſt the Canoniſts, Civilians, and other learned men diverſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſſe that this ſaid Doctor Cranmer, by reaſon that the plague was in Cambridge, reſorted to Waltham Abbey, to one M. Creſſeyes houſe there, whoſe wife was of kinne to the ſaid M. Cranmer. And for that he had two ſons of the ſaid Creſſey with him at Cambridge as his pupils, he reſted at Waltham Croſſe, at the houſe of the ſaid Maſter Creſſey, with the ſaid two children, during that Summer time whiles the plague reigned.

Queſtion of the Kings divorce with Katherine Dowager.

Of this Campeius and diſcourſe of his legacie reade before.

In this Summer time Cardinall Campeius and Cardinall Wolſey, being in Commiſſion from the Pope, to heare and determine that great cauſe in controverſie betweene the King and the Queene, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the Summer time untill the moneth of Auguſt came, in hearing the ſaid cauſe in controverſie debated. When Auguſt was come, the ſaid Cardinals little minding to proceed to ſentence giving, tooke occaſion to finiſh their Commiſſion, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the lawes to keepe courts of Eccleſiaſticall matters in harveſt time: which ſudden ſtay and giving over of the ſaid Commiſſion by both the Cardinals, being unknowen to the King, it ſo much moved him, that he taking it as a mocke at the Cardinals hands, commanded the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke to diſpatch forthwith Cardinall Campeius home againe to Rome; and ſo in haſte removed himſelfe from London to Waltham for a night or twaine whiles his houſhold removed to Greenwich: by meanes whereof it chanced that the Harbengers lodged Doctor Stephens Secretarie, and D. Foxe Almoſiner (who were the chiefe furtherers, preferrers, and defendors on the Kings behalfe of the ſaid cauſe) in the houſe of the ſaid M. Creſſey, where the ſaid Doctor Cranmer was alſo lodged and reſident. When ſupper time came, they all three Doctors met together; Doctor Stephens and Doctor Foxe much marvelling of D. Cranmers being there. Who declared to them the cauſe of his there being, namely, for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, ſo the Secretarie and the Almoſiner right well entertained Doctor Cranmer, minding to underſtand part of his opinion touching their great buſineſſe they had in hand. And ſo as good occaſion ſerved, whiles they were at ſupper, they conferred with Doctor Cranmer concerning the Kings cauſe, requeſting him of his judgement and opinion what he thought therein.

Stephen Gardiner & Doctor Foxe, chiefe ſtirrers of the Kings divorce.

D. Stephens, D. Foxe, D. Cranmer conferring together in the Kings cauſe.

Whereto D. Cranmer anſwered, that he could ſay little to the matter, for that he had not ſtudied nor looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſaid to them, that in his opinion they made more adoe in proſecuting the law Eccleſiaſticall, then needed. It were better, as I ſuppoſe, quoth Doctor Cranmer, that the queſtion, whether a man may marrie his brothers wife or no, were decided and diſcuſſed by the Divines, and by the authoritie of the Word of GOD, whereby the conſcience of the Prince might be better ſatiſfied and quieted, then thus from yeere to yeere by fruſtratorie delaies to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unboulted out by the Word of GOD. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will ſoone declare, make open and manifeſt, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the Univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere in any forraine nation, the authoritie whereof will compell any Iudge ſoone to come to a definitive ſentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long ſince. When D. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wiſhed that they had ſo proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived ſome matter of that device to inſtruct the King withall, who then was minded to ſend to Rome againe for a new Commiſſion.

D. Cranmers anſwer in the queſtion of the Kings divorce.

D. Cranmers device well liked of.

The King troubled about the divorce.

Now the next day when the King removed to Greenwich, like as he tooke himſelfe not well handled by the Cardinals in thus deferring his cauſe, ſo his mind being unquieted, and deſirous of an end of his long and tedious ſute, he called unto him theſe his two principall doers in his ſaid cauſe, namely, the ſaid D. Stephens and D. Foxe, ſaying unto them; What now my Maſters (quoth the King) ſhall we doe in this infinite cauſe of mine? I ſee by it there muſt be a new Commiſſion procured from Rome, and when we ſhall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the King had ſaid ſomewhat his minde herein, the Almoſiner Doctor Foxe ſaid unto the King againe; We truſt that there ſhall be better wayes deviſed for your Maieſtie, then to make travell ſo farre as to Rome any more in your Highneſſe cauſe, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham. The King being very deſirous to underſtand his meaning, ſaid; Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by any better or ſhorter way to proceede in our ſaid cauſe? Then ſaid Doctor Foxe; It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in Maſter Creſſeyes houſe this other night, your Highneſſe being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours named Doctor Cranmer, with whom having conferrence concerning your Highneſſe cauſe, he thought that the next way were, firſt to inſtruct and quiet your Maieſties conſcience by trying your Highneſſe queſtion out by the authoritie of the Word of GOD, and thereupon to proceede to a finall ſentence. With this report the Secretarie was not content with the Almoſiner, for that he did not utter this device as of their owne invention. And when the Secretarie would have ſeemed by colourable words to make it appeare to the King, that they of themſelves had deviſed that meanes; the King

D. Cranmers device reported to the King.

Note the glorious head of D. Stephens.

then ſaid, Where is that Doctor Cranmer? is he ſtill at Waltham? they anſwered that they left him there. Mary (ſaid the King) I will ſurely ſpeake with him, and therefore let him be ſent for out of hand. I perceive (quoth the King) that that man hath the Sow by the right eare. And if I had knowne this device but two yeers agoe, it had been in my way a great peece of money, and had alſo rid me out of much diſquietneſſe.

D. Cranmer ſent for to the King.

Whereupon Doctor Cranmer was ſent for, and being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and ſo towards his friends in Nottinghamſhire, a Poſte went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrell with theſe two his acquaintances, that he by their meanes was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbred in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travelled in ſtudie; and therefore moſt inſtantly intreated them, that they would make his excuſe in ſuch ſort, that he might be diſpatched away from comming in the Kings preſence. They promiſed and took the matter upon them ſo to doe, if by any meanes they might compaſſe it. But all was in vaine; for the more they began to excuſe Doctor Cranmers abſence, the more the King chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his preſence, ſo that no excuſe ſerving he was faine undelaiedly to come to the Court unto the King, whom the gentle Prince benignely accepting, demanded his name, and ſaid unto him; Were you not at Waltham ſuch a time, in the company of my ſecretarie and my Almoſiner? Doctor Cranmer affirming the ſame, the King ſaid againe; Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in queſtion after this ſort, repeating the manner and order thereof? That is right true, if it pleaſe your Highneſſe, quoth Doctor Cranmer. Well (ſaid the King) I well perceive that you have the right ſcope of this matter. You muſt underſtand (quoth the King) that I have been long troubled in conſcience, and now I perceive that by this meanes I might have beene long agoe relieved one way or other from the ſame, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore Maſter Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheleſſe becauſe you are a ſubject, I charge and command you (all your other buſineſſe and affaires ſet apart) to take ſome pains to ſee this my cauſe to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and the world, that I ſeeke not to be divorced from the Queene, if by any meanes I might juſtly be perſwaded that this our matimonie were inviolable, and not againſt the lawes of God; for otherwiſe there was never cauſe to move me to ſeeke any ſuch extremitie. Neither was there ever Prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife then the Queene is, nor did I ever fanſie woman in all reſpects better, if this doubt had not riſen; aſſuring you that for the ſingular vertues wherewith ſhe is indued, beſides the conſideration of her noble ſtock, I could be right well contented ſtill to remaine with her, if ſo it would ſtand with the wil and pleaſure of Almightie God. And thus greatly commending her many and ſingular qualities, the King ſaid; I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexteritie as lieth in you, that you for your part doe handle the matter for the diſcharging of both our conſciences.

D. Cranmer ſeeketh excuſes, loth to come unto the Kings preſence.

D. Cranmer brought to the King.

Talke betweene the King and D. Cranmer.

The King troubled in conſcience.

Mark this you Papiſt, which ſo raſhly judge the Kings divorce, and the Popes overthrow to have ſprung of light cauſes.

D. Cranmer excuſing and diſabling himſelf to the King.

Doctor Cranmer much diſabling himſelfe to meddle in ſo weightie a matter, beſought the Kings Highneſſe to commit the triall and examining of this matter by the Word of God, unto the beſt learned men of both his Univerſities, Cambridge and Oxford. You ſay well, ſaid the King, and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheleſſe, I will have you ſpecially to write your minde therein. And ſo calling the Earle of Wiltſhire to him, ſaid; I pray you my Lord, let Doctor Cranmer have entertainment in your houſe at Durham place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accompliſh my requeſt, and let him lack neither bookes, ne, any thing requiſite for his ſtudie. And thus after the Kings departure, Doctor Cranmer went with my Lord of Wiltſhire unto his houſe, wherein he incontinent wrote his minde concerning the Kings queſtion; adding to the ſame, beſides the authorities of the Scriptures, of generall Councels and of ancient Writers, alſo his opinion which was this; that the Biſhip of Rome had no ſuch authoritie, as whereby he might diſpenſe with the Word of GOD and the Scripture. When Doctor Cranmer had made this booke, and committed it to the King, the King ſaid to him; Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Biſhop of Rome? That will I doe, by Gods grace, quoth Doctor Cranmer, if your Majeſtie doe ſend me thither. Mary (quoth the King) I will ſent you even to him in a ſure Ambaſſage.

D. Cranmer aſſigned by the king to ſearch the Scriptures in the cauſe of his divorce.

The King firſt given to underſtand that the Pope hath no authoritie to diſpence with the Word of God.

And thus by means of D. Cranmers handling of this matter with the King, not onely certaine learned men were ſent abroad to the moſt part of the Univerſities in Chriſtendome, to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by commiſſion diſputed by the Divines in both the Univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, that no ſuch matrimonie was by the Word of God lawfull.

The Kings matter removed from the Popes canon law, to the tryall of the Scriptures.

The Kings marriage found by Gods Word unlawfull.

Whereupon a ſolemne Ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the Biſhop of Rome, then being at Bononie, wherin went the Earle of Wiltſhire, D. Cranmer, D. Stokeſly, Doctor Carne, D. Bennet, and divers other learned men and Gentlemen.

D. Cranmer with other ſent to Rome Ambaſſadour to the Pope.

And when the time came that they ſhould come before the Biſhop of Rome to declare the cauſe of their Ambaſſage, the Biſhop ſitting on high in his cloth of eſtate, and in his rich apparrell, with his ſandales on his feet, offering as it were his foote to be kiſſed of the Ambaſſadours; the Earle of Wiltſhire diſdaining thereat, ſtood ſtill, and made no countenance thereunto, ſo that all the reſt kept themſelves from that Idolatrie.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadours not haſty to kiſſe the Popes foot.

Howbeit one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognoſticate of our ſeparation from the See of Rome, which then chanced by a Spaniell of the Earle of Wiltſhire. For he having there a great Spaniell which came out of England with him, ſtood directly betweene the Earle and the Biſhop of Rome.

When the ſaid Biſhop had advanced forth his foote to be kiſſed, now whether the Spaniell perceived the Biſhops foote of another nature then it ought to be, and ſo taking it to be ſome kinde of repaſt, or whether it was the will of God to ſhew ſome token by a Dogge unto the Biſhop of his inordinate pride, that his feete were more meete to be bitten of Dogges, then kiſſed of Chriſtian men: the Spaniell (I ſay) when the Biſhop extended his foot to be kiſt, no man regarding the ſame, ſtraight-way (as though he had been of purpoſe appointed thereunto) went directly to the Popes feete, and not onely kiſſed the ſame unmannerly with his mouth, but as ſome plainly reported and affirmed, took faſt with his mouth the great toe of the Pope, ſo that in haſt he pulled in his glorious feet from the Spaniell. Whereat our men ſmiling in their ſleeves, what they thought God knoweth. But in fine, the pontificall Biſhop

The unmannerly nature of a dog preſuming to kiſſe the Popes foote.

after that, ſought no more at that preſent for kiſſing his feete, but without any further ceremony gave eare to the Ambaſſadours what they had to ſay.

Arguing to the Popes face, that contrary to the word of God he had no power to diſpenſe.

Who entring there before the Biſhop, offered on the Kings behalfe to be defended, that no man Iure divino, could or ought to marry his brothers wife, and that the Biſhop of Rome by no meanes ought to diſpenſe to the contrarie; Divers promiſes were made, and ſundry daies appointed, wherein the queſtion ſhould have beene diſputed, and when our part was ready to anſwer, no man there appeared to diſpute in that behalfe. So in the end, the Biſhop making to our Ambaſſadours good countenance, and gratifying Doctor Cranmer with the office of the Penitentiariſhip, diſmiſſed them undiſputed withall.

D. Cranmer made the popes Penitentiary.

D. Cranmer Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

Whereupon the Earle of Wiltſhire, and the other Commiſſioners, ſaving Doctor Cranmer, returned home againe into England. And forthwith Doctor Cranmer went to the Emperour, being in his journey towards Vienna, in expedition againſt the Turke, there to anſwer ſuch learned men of the Emperours Councell, as would or could ſay any thing to the contrarie part. Where amongſt the reſt, at the ſame time was Cornelius Agrippa, an high officer in the Emperours Court, who having private conference with Doctor Cranmer in the queſtion, was ſo fully reſolved and ſatisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never diſputation openly offered to Doctor Cranmer in that behalfe. For through the perſwaſion of Agrippa, all other learned men there were much diſcouraged: Inſomuch, that after Doctor Cranmer was returned into England, Agrippa fell into ſuch diſpleaſure with the Emperour, as ſome men thought, that becauſe of the hindering and diſcouraging ſo much the contrary part, he was committed to priſon, where he for ſorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the meane ſpace while the Emperour returned home from Vienna thorow Germanie, Doctor Cranmer in that voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germanie concerning the ſaid queſtion, who very ambiguouſly heretofore conceiving the cauſe, were fully reſolved and ſatisfied by him.

Conference between Biſhop Cranmer and Cornelius Agrippa.

D. Cranmer made Archbiſh. of Canterburie.

This matter thus proſpering on Doctor Cranmers behalfe, as well touching the Kings queſtion, as concerning the invaliditie of the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, Biſhop Warham, then Archbiſhop of Canterburie, departed this tranſitorie life, whereby that dignitie then being in the Kings gift and diſpoſition, was immediately given to Doctor Cranmer, as worthy for his travell of ſuch a promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Doctor Cranmer unto his dignitie, and by what meanes he atchieved unto the ſame: not by flatterie, not by bribes, nor by any other unlawfull meanes; which thing I have more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railing mouthes of ſuch, who being themſelves obſcure and unlearned, ſhame not to detract ſo learned a man moſt ignominiouſly with the ſurname of an Hoſtler, whom for his godly zeale unto ſincere religion, they ought with much humilitie to have had in regard and reputation.

1 Tim. 3.
Titus 1.

Now, as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the world, being now entered into his ſaid dignitie, and forſomuch as the Apoſtle S. Paul writing to two Biſhops, Timothy and Titus, ſetteth out unto us a perfect deſcription of a true Biſhop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the ſame, unto the which exemplar it ſhall be heard in theſe ſtrange dayes to finde the image of any Biſhop correſpondent; yet for example ſake let us take this Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and try him by the rule thereof, to ſee either how neere he cometh to the deſcription of S. Paul, or elſe how far off he ſwerveth from the common courſe of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. 3. alſo in his Epiſtle to Titus, chapt. 1. in theſe words:

The rule of a true Biſhop.

> A Biſhop muſt be faultleſſe, as becometh the Miniſter of God. Not ſtubborne, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but harborous, one that loveth goodneſſe, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

A miniſter muſt be faultleſſe.

Unto this rule and touch-ſtone, to lay now the life and converſation of this Archbiſhop, we will firſt begin with that which is thus written; A Biſhop muſt be faultleſſe, as becometh the Miniſter of God. Like as no man is without ſinne, and every man carrieth with him his eſpeciall vice and fault: ſo yet neverthleſſe, the Apoſtle meaneth, that the Biſhop and Miniſter muſt be faultleſſe, in compariſon of the common converſation of men of the world, which ſeeme more licentiouſly to live at their owne liberties and pleaſures, then the Biſhop or Miniſter ought to do, having ſmall regard unto good example giving: which a Biſhop and Miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute life the word of God be ſlandered and evill ſpoken of. Which thing to avoide, and the better to accompliſh this precept of the Apoſtle, this worthy man evermore gave himſelfe to continuall ſtudie, not breaking that order that he in the Univerſitie commonly uſed, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his booke, and ſo conſuming the time in ſtudy and prayer untill nine of the clock; he then applied himſelfe (if the Princes affaires did not call him away) untill dinner time to heare ſuters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as appertained unto his ſpeciall cure and charge, committing his temporall affaires, both of his houſhold and other forraine buſineſſe, unto his officers. So that ſuch things were never impediments either to his ſtudie, or to his paſtorall charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in ſetting forth of true and ſincere doctrine. For the moſt part alwaies being in commiſſion, he aſſociated himſelfe with learned men for ſifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commoditie and profit of the Church of England. By meanes whereof, and what for his private ſtudy, he was never idle; beſides that, he accounted it no idle point to beſtow one houre or twaine of the day in reading over ſuch workes and bookes as daily came from beyond the ſeas.

The order of D. Cranmers ſtudy.

After dinner, if any ſuters were attendant, he would very diligently heare them, and diſpatch them in ſuch ſort as every man commended his lenitie and gentleneſſe, although the caſe required that ſome whiles divers of them were committed by him to priſon. And having no ſuters after dinner, for an houre or thereabout he would play at the Cheſſe, or behold ſuch as could play. That done, then againe to his ordinarie ſtudie, at the which commonly, he for the moſt part ſtood, and ſeldome ſate; and there continuing untill five of the clock, beſtowed that houre in hearing the Common prayer, and walking or uſing ſome honeſt paſtime until ſupper time. At ſupper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not ſup) yet would he ſit down at the table, having his ordinary proviſion of his meſſe furniſhed with expedient companie, he wearing on his hands his gloves, becauſe he would (as it were) thereby weane himſelf from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with ſuch fruitfull talk as did repaſt and much delight the hearers, ſo that by this means hoſpitality was well furniſhed, and the alms cheſt well maintained for relief of the poore. After ſupper he would conſume one houre at the leaſt in walking, or ſome other honeſt paſtime, and then again untill nine of the clock, at one kind of ſtudy or other. So that no houre of the day was ſpent in vain, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed, as tended to the glory of God, the ſervice of the prince, or the commoditie of the Church. Which his well beſtowing of his time procured to him moſt happily a good report of all men, to be in reſpect of other mens converſation faultleſſe, as it became the Miniſter of God.

The temperate diet of doctor Cranmer.

That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.

Secondly, it is required, That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn. With which kinde of vice, without great wrong this Archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged; whoſe nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner won to an honeſt ſute or purpoſe, ſpecially in ſuch things, wherein by his word, writing, counſell, or deed, he might gratifie either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean perſon, or elſe relieve the needy and poore. Onely in cauſes pertaining to God or his Prince, no man more ſtout, more conſtant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earneſt defence in the Parliament houſe, above three dayes together, in diſputing againſt the ſix articles of Gardiners device, can teſtifie. And though the King would needs have them upon ſome politique conſideration to go forward, yet he ſo handled himſelf as well in the Parliament houſe, as afterwards by writing, ſo obediently and with ſuch humble behaviour in words towards his Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but almighty Gods, who was the Author of all truth, that the King did not onely well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the Parliament houſe, into the Councel chamber, whileſt the Act ſhould paſſe and be granted for ſafeguard of his conſcience; which he with humble proteſtation refuſed, hoping that his Majeſtie in proceſſe of time would revoke them again) but alſo after the Parliament was finiſhed, the King perceiving the zealous affection that the Archbiſhop bare towards the defence of his cauſe, which many wayes by Scriptures and manifold authorities and reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the Lord Cromwell, then Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the Vicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the Kings pleaſure, that they all ſhould in his Highneſſe behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament had ſhewed himſelf both greatly learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrarie to his allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the Kings Majeſtie of his great goodnes towards him, and them for all their pains, ſaying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhall take place to the glorie of God and the commoditie of the Realm; in the meane time I will ſatiſfie my ſelf with the honourable conſent of your honors, and the whole parliament.

The gentle nature of doctor Cranmer.

Cranmer ſtout and conſtant in Gods cauſe.

D. Cranmer a ſtout enemie againſt the ſix articles.

Of this coming of the Lord Cromwell, and the two Dukes to the Archbiſh. read before.

Here is to be noted, that this mans ſtout and godly defence of the truth herein ſo bound the Princes conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authoritie and power; and therefore this way God working in the Princes minde, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſaid ſix articles as it ought to have been, for elſe the prince might have had a juſt cauſe to have born his great indignation towards the Archbiſhop. Let us pray that both the like ſtoutneſſe may be perceived in all Eccleſiaſticall and learned men where the truth ought to be defended, and alſo the like relenting and flexibilitie may take place in Princes and Noble men, when they ſhall have occaſion offered them to maintain the ſame, ſo that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by ſelf-will, power and authoritie. Now in the end this Archbiſhops conſtancie was ſuch towards Gods cauſe, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without reſpect of any worldly treaſure or pleaſure. And as touching his ſtoutneſſe in his princes cauſe, the contrary reſiſtance of the Duke of Northumberland againſt him proved right well his good minde that way; which chanced by reaſon that he would not conſent unto the diſſolving of Chanteries, untill the King came of age, to the intent that they might then better ſerve to furniſh his royall Eſtate, then to have ſo great treaſure conſumed in his nonage. Which his ſtoutneſſe, joyned with ſuch ſimplicitie, ſurely was thought to divers of the Councell, a thing incredible, ſpecially in ſuch ſort to contend with him, who was ſo accounted in this Realm, as few or none would or durſt gainſtand him.

Example for Eccleſiaſticall Paſtors.

Archbiſh. Cranmer in diſpleaſure about the employing of chantrey lands.

So dear was to him the cauſe of God, and of his Prince, that for the one he would not keep his conſcience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very enemies might eaſily entreat him in any cauſe reaſonable; and ſuch things as he granted, he did without any ſuſpition of upbraiding or meed therefore: So that he was altogether void of the vice of ſtubbornnes, and rather culpable of overmuch facilitie and gentleneſſe.

Not angry.

Then followeth, Not angry. Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may ſeem peradventure to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot ſay: for the moſt part, ſuch was his mortification that way, that few we ſhall finde in whom the ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt ſo much prevailed as with him, who would not onely have a man to forgive his enemies, but alſo to pray for them; that leſſen never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruell enemies, not for his own deſerts, but onely for his religion ſake: and yet whatſoever he was that ſought his hinderance, either in goods, eſtimation, or life, and upon conference would ſeem never ſo ſlenderly any thing to relent or excuſe himſelf, he would both forget the offence committed, and alſo evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and ſhew ſuch pleaſure to him, as by any means poſſible he might perform or declare: inſomuch that it came into a common proverb: Do unto my L. of Canterburie diſpleaſure, or a ſhrewd turn, and then you may be ſure to have him your friend whiles he liveth. Of which his gentle diſpoſition in abſtaining from revengement, amongſt many examples thereof, I will repeat here one.

The ſingular patience of this Archbiſhop.

It chanced an ignorant prieſt and Parſon in the North parts (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinſman of one Cherſey a Grocer, dwelling within London, being one of thoſe prieſts that uſe more to ſtudy at the alehouſe, then in his chamber or in his ſtudy) to ſit on a time with his honeſt neighbours at the alehouſe within his own Pariſh, where was communication miniſtred in commendation of my Lord Cranmer archbiſhop of Cancerbury. This ſaid Parſon, envying his name onely for religion ſake, ſaid to his neighbours; what make you of him, quoth he, he was but

A ſtory between the archbiſhop of Canterbury and a Popiſh prieſt his enemy.

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The railing of a Popiſh prieſt againſt doctor Cranmer.

Cherſey ſuing for his kinſman to the Archb.

an hoſtler, and hath no more learning then the Goſelings that go yonder on the green, with ſuch like ſlanderous and uncomely words. These honeſt neighbours of his, not well bearing thoſe his unſeemly words, articled againſt him, and ſent their complaint to the Lord Cromwell, then Vicegerent in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall; who ſent for the Prieſt, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant thoſe his ſlanderous words at Pauls Croſſe. Howbeit the Lord Cromwell, having great affairs of the Prince then in hand, forgat his priſoner in the Fleet. So that this Cherſey the Grocer, underſtanding that his kinſman was in durance in the Fleet, onely for ſpeaking words againſt my Lord of Canter. conſulted with the Prieſt, and between them deviſed to make ſute rather unto the Archbiſhop for his deliverance, then to the Lord Cromwell, before whom he was accuſed: underſtanding right well that there was great diverſitie of natures betweene thoſe two eſtates, the one gentle and full of clemencie, and the other ſevere and ſomewhat intractable, namely, againſt a Papiſt: So that Cherſey took upon him firſt to try my Lord of Canterburies benignity, namely, for that his coſins accuſation touched onely the offence againſt him, and none other. Whereupon the ſaid Cherſey came to one of the Archbiſhops gentlemen (whoſe father bought yeerly all his ſpices and fruit of the ſaid Cherſey, and ſo thereby of familiar acquaintance with the Gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinſman was, requeſted that he would be a means to my Lord his maſter, to heare his ſute in the behalf of his kinſman.

The matter was moved. The Archbiſhop like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemencie, ſo would he never ſhew himſelf ſtrange unto ſuters, but incontinently ſent for the ſaid Cherſey. When he came before him, Cherſey declared, that there was a kinſman of his in the Fleet, a Prieſt of the North countrey, and as I may tell your Grace the truth (quoth Cherſey) a man of ſmall civilitie, and of leſſe learning. And yet he hath a Parſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my Lord Cromwell hath laid him in priſon) being in his Cure, is unſerved, and he hath continued in durance above two moneths, and is called to no anſwer, and knows not when he ſhall come to any end, ſo that this his impriſonment conſumeth his ſubſtance, and will utterly undo him, unleſſe your grace be his good Lord. I know not the man (ſaid the Archbiſhop) nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

The prieſt ſent for to the Archbiſhop.

Said Cherſey again, he onely hath offended againſt your grace, and againſt no man elſe, as may well be perceived by the Articles objected againſt him, the copy whereof the ſaid Cherſey then exhibited to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Who well peruſing the ſaid articles, ſaid, This is the common talk of all the ignorant papiſticall prieſts in England againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was never made privy to this accuſation, and of his indurance I never heard before this time. Notwithſtanding, if there be nothing elſe to charge him withall againſt the Prince or any of the Councell, I will at your requeſt take order with him, and ſend him home again to his cure to do his duty; and ſo thereupon ſent his ring to the Warden of the Fleet, willing him to ſend the priſoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the priſoner at the hour appointed, and Cherſey had well inſtructed his couſin in any wiſe to ſubmit himſelf to the Archbiſhop, confeſſing his fault, whereby that way he ſhould moſt eaſily have an end and win his favour; thus the Parſon being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there the Archbiſhop ſitting under the vine demanded of the Parſon, what was the cauſe of his indurance, and who committed him to the Fleet? The Parſon anſwered and ſaid, that the Lord Cromwel ſent him thither, for that certain malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh had wrongfully accuſed him of words which he never ſpake nor meant; Cherſey hearing his fooliſh coſin ſo far out of the way from his former inſtruction, ſaid, Thou daſtardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promiſe that thou madeſt to me? Are there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours hands againſt thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely my Lord (quoth Cherſey) it is pitie to do him good. I am ſorie that I have troubled your grace thus far with him.

The Archb. words to the Parſon.

Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop unto the Parſon, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my Lord Cromwell hath committed you to priſon wrongfully, that lieth in himſelf to amend, and not in me. If your offence onely hath touched me, I will be bold to do ſomewhat for your friends ſake here. If you have not offended againſt me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came. Lord what ado his kinſman Cherſey made with him, calling him all kinde of opprobrious names. In the end my Lord of Canterbury ſeeming to riſe and go his wayes, the fond prieſt fell on his knees, and ſaid, I beſeech your grace to forgive me this offence, aſſuring your grace that I ſpake thoſe words being drunk and not well adviſed. Ah, ſaid my Lord, this is ſomewhat, and yet it is no good excuſe: for drunkenneſſe evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is ſober, alledging a text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenneſſe, which cometh not now to remembrance.

The prieſt confeſſeth his fault to the Archb.

Now therefore (ſaid the Archbiſhop that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever ſee me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day? The Prieſt anſwered and ſaid, that never in his life he ſaw his grace. Why then (ſaid the Archbiſhop) what occaſion had you to call me an hoſtler, and that I had not ſo much learning as the Goſelings which then went on the green before your face? If I have no learning you may now trie it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appoſe me, either in Grammar or in other liberall ſciences, for I have at one time or other taſted partly of them. Or elſe if you are a Divine, ſay ſomewhat that way.

The Prieſts anſwer.

The prieſt being amazed at my Lords familiar talk, made anſwer and ſaid; I beſeech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and underſtand not the Latin tongue, but very ſimply. My onely ſtudy hath been to ſay my ſervice and maſſe, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any prieſt in the countrey where I dwel, I thank God. Well, ſaid the other, if you will not appoſe me, I will be ſo bold to appoſe you, and yet as eaſily as I can deviſe, and that onely in the ſtorie of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe that you are daily exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was King Davids father, ſaid my Lord. The prieſt ſtood ſtill pauſing a while, and ſaid, In good faith my Lord, I have forgotten his name. Then ſaid the other again to him; If you cannot tell that, I pray you tel me then, who was Solomons father? The fond fooliſh prieſt without all conſideration what was demanded of him before, made anſwer, Good my L. bear with me, I am not further ſeen in the Bible, then is daily read in our ſervice in the Church.

The Maſſe prieſt ignorant in the Scripture.

The Archbiſhop then anſwering, ſaid, this my queſtion may be found well anſwered in your ſervice. But I now well perceive, howſoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and ſuperſtitious Prieſts, to ſlander, backbite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and well affected towards Gods word and ſincere religion. Common reaſon might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reaſon, that a Prince having two Univerſities within his Realm of well learned men, and deſirous to be reſolved of as doubtfull a queſtion, as in theſe many yeers the like was not moved within Chriſtendome, ſhould be driven to that neceſſitie for the defence of his cauſe, to ſend out of his Realm an Hoſtler, being a man of no better knowledge then is a Goſling, in an Embaſſage to anſwer all learned men, both in the Court of Rome, and the Emperours Court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as toucheth the Kings matrimonie, and the divorce thereof. I ſay, if you were men of any reaſonable conſideration, you might think it both unſeemly and uncomely for a Prince ſo to do. But look where malice reigneth in man, there reaſon can take no place: and therefore I ſee by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reaſon or authoritie can perſwade you to favour my name, who never meant evill to you, but your both commoditie and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and ſend you better mindes.

Evill will never ſaith well.

The Archbiſhop forgiveth and diſmiſſeth the Prieſt.

With theſe words the Prieſt ſeemed to weep, and deſired his grace to pardon his fault and frailtie, ſo that by this means he might return to his Cure again, and he would ſure recant thoſe his fooliſh words before his Pariſhioners ſo ſoon as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop, ſo had you need: and giving him a godly admonition to refuſe the haunting of the Alehouſe, and to beſtow his time better in the continuall reading of the Scriptures, he diſmiſſed him from the Fleet.

The L. Cromwell offended with the Archb. in forgiving the Popiſh Prieſt.

The Lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his priſoner was ſent home without any open puniſhment, came to Lambeth unto the Archbiſhop, and in a great heat ſaid to him, My Lord, I underſtand that you have diſpatched the Northren Prieſt, that I of late ſent to the Fleet, home again, who unhoneſtly railed of you, and called you an Hoſtler.

The Archbiſhop defendeth his enemy that before railed upon him.

Indeed I have ſo done (ſaid he again) for that in his abſence the people of his Cure wanted their divine ſervice. It is very devout divine ſervice that he ſaith, quoth the Lord Cromwell; It were more meet for him to be an Hoſtler then a Curate, who ſticked not to call you an Hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knaverie when I ſent him to priſon. Howbeit henceforth, they ſhall cut your throat before that I ſay any thing more to them on your behalf. Why? What would you have done with him, quoth the Archbiſhop? there was nothing laid to his charge, other then words ſpoken againſt me, and now the man is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in priſon: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, ſaid my Lord Cromwell, I meant that he ſhould have preached at Pauls Croſſe a recantation before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the other, for then you would have had all the world as well to wonder at me as at him. Well, well, ſaid the Lord Cromwell, we ſhall ſo long bear with theſe Popiſh knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondred at of the whole world.

The Archbiſhop Cranmer was never heard to call any of his houſhold once varlet or knave.

This example among other, ſerveth to declare that there remained ſmall deſire of revenging in the ſaid Archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietneſſe and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged ſo far with any of his houſhold ſervants, as once to call the meaneſt of them varlet, or knave in anger, much leſſe to reprove a ſtranger with any reproachfull words. Much unlike in this part to the propertie (as it ſeemeth) of ſome other inferiour Biſhops of this Realme, which have not ſpared to flie in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and ſcourge with rods the bodies both of Gentlemen, married men and other, having almoſt nothing elſe in their mouth, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, think themſelves good perfect Biſhops, after the rule which followeth and ſaith,

No ſtriker, nor fighter.

No ſtriker, nor fighter. From which kinde of vice, the nature of this Archbiſhop was ſo far off, as was his doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered, far off from all condition and example of blinde Poperie. After the prohibition of theſe foreſaid vices, ſucceedeth the mother of all good vertues neceſſarily required of all true Chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpirituall Prelate, which is,

Not given to filthie lucre, but harborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous.

The liberall doings of this Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop clearing all his debts before his attainder.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, &c. The contrarie whereof, was ſo odious unto St. Paul, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſſe then a kinde of idolatrie, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God ſo far, and in ſtead of him to worſhip their treaſure. How little this Prelate we ſpeak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kinde of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the ſeas and on this ſide, to whom yeerly he gave in exhibition no ſmall ſums of money, as other, both Gentlemen, mean men, and poore men, who had in their neceſſitie that which he could conveniently ſpare, lend, or make, can well teſtifie. And albeit ſuch was his liberalitie to all ſorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheleſſe ſuch was again his circumſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a peny that could or would demand any dutie of him, but ſatiſfied every man to the uttermoſt; whereas no ſmall ſums of money were owing him of divers perſons, which by breaking their bils and obligations he freely forgave, and ſuppreſſed before his attainder. Inſomuch that when he perceived the fatall end of King Edward ſhould work to him no good ſucceſſe touching his body & goods, he incontinently called for his Officers, his Steward and others, commanding them in any wiſe to pay where any peny was owing, which was out of hand diſpatched. And then he ſaid, now I thank God I am mine own man, and in conſcience with Gods help able elſe to anſwer all the world and worldly adverſities, which ſome men ſuppoſe he might alſo have avoided, if he would have been counſelled by ſome of his friends. It followeth moreover;

Harborous.

The large expenſes of D. Cranmer.

And as touching this word Harborous, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hoſpitalitie, ſo little was this property lacking in him, that ſome men miſliking the ſame, thought it rather a houſe of overmuch laviſhing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be ſo well done, which by ſome other ſhall not be maligned and detracted; ſo neither did this man lack his Cavillers, ſome finding fault with his overmuch prodigalitie, ſome on the contrary part repining and complaining of his ſpare houſe, and ſtraight order, much under the ſtate of his revenews and calling. Of which two, the firſt ſort muſt conſider the cauſes which moved him to that liberall and large kinde of expences,

pences. Wherein here cometh to be conſidered, the time wherein he ſerved; which was when reformation of religion firſt began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the ſame moſt chiefly depended upon his hand. During which ſeaſon, almoſt for the ſpace of ſixteen yeers together, his houſe was never lightly unfurniſhed of a number both of learned men and Commiſſioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of Eccleſiaſticall affairs.

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome over-large and laviſhing more then needed in hoſpitalitie; ſo on the other ſide there wanted not ſome, of whom he was much noted and accuſed again, yea and alſo complained of to King Henry the eighth for too ſlender and niggardly houſe-keeping, as not worthie to be accounted the hoſpitalitie of a meane Gentleman, as here following ſhall appeare.

The Biſhops lands ſought.

After that the ample and great poſſeſſions, revenews, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treaſures of the Abbeys were diſſolved and brought into the Kings hands, in the diſſolving whereof many cormorants were fed and ſatiſfied, and yet not ſo fully ſatiſfied, but that within a few yeers they began to wax hungry again: and for ſo much as no more could be ſcraped now out of Abbeys, they began to ſeek how by ſome other prey to ſatiſfie their appetites, which was to tickle the Kings ears with the rich revenew of the Biſhops lands. And to bring this deviſe to paſſe, they procured Sir Thomas Seimour Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a promoter of the matter; who not in all points much favouring the Archbiſhop, having time and a convenient occaſion, declared to the King that my Lord of Canterburie did nothing elſe but ſell his woods, and let his Leaſes by great and many fines, making havock of all the Royalties of the Archbiſhoprick, and that onely to the intent to gather up treaſure for his wife and children, keeping no manner of hoſpitalitie, in reſpect of ſo great a revenew; advertiſing the King further, that it was the opinion of many wiſe men, that it were more meet for the Biſhops to have a ſufficient yeerly ſtipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cumbred with thoſe temporall affairs of their Royalties, being impediments unto their ſtudie, and paſtorall charge, and his Highneſſe to have their lands and Royalties converted to his proper uſe, which beſides their honeſt ſtipends would be unto his Majeſtie no ſmall commoditie and profit.

Untruth told to the King of the Archbiſhop of Canterburies houſe keeping.

When the King had heard his fair tale, he ſaid little thereunto, other then this. Well (quoth he) we will talk more of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout (whether by chance, or of ſet purpoſe, it is not known) it came to paſſe, that one day his Highneſſe going to dinner had waſhed, ſir Thomas Seimor then holding the Ewer, and ſaid to the ſaid ſir Thomas, Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my Lord of Canterburie, and bid him to be with me at two of the clock at afternoon, and fail not. Sir Thomas ſtraightwayes went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the Porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveighed him to the Hall, which was throughly furniſhed and ſet, both with the houſhold ſervants and ſtrangers, with foure principall head meſſes of officers, as daily it was accuſtomed to be. When ſir Thomas Seimor ſaw that ſtately large Hall ſo well ſet and furniſhed, being therewith abaſhed, and ſomewhat guiltie of an untruth told to the King before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie by the Chappell, and not through the Hall. Richard Nevel Gentleman, then Steward of the houſhold, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment, demanded of him whether he would ſpeak with my Lord or no? Sir Thomas ſaid, that he muſt needs do ſo from the Kings Highneſſe, ſaying unto him, and this way I am going to my Lords grace. Sir, ſaid the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the doore is faſt ſhut, in the dinner time; and ſo by gentle meanes brought him up to my Lords chamber thorow the Hall, who then was at dinner: with whom he dined after he had done his meſſage, whoſe ordinarie fare might alwayes well beſeeme a right honourable perſonage. When dinner was ſcarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

The Kings anſwer to the complainer of the Archbiſhop.

The Archb. of Canterburies houſe keeping.

So ſoone as the Kings Highneſſe ſaw him, he ſaid to him; Have you been with my Lord of Canterburie? Sir Thomas anſwered, That I have if it pleaſe your Majeſtie, and he will be with your Highneſſe ſtraightwayes. Dined you not with him, ſaid the King? Yes Sir (ſaid he) that have I done. And with that word, whether he eſpied by the Kings countenance, or by his words any thing tending to diſpleaſure, he ſtraightway without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and ſaid, I beſeech your Majeſtie to pardon me: I do now well remember and underſtand, that of late I told your Highneſſe a great untruth concerning my Lord of Canterburies houſe keeping; but from henceforth I intend never to beleeve that perſon which did put that vain tale into my head: For I aſſure your Highneſſe that I never ſaw ſo honourable a Hall ſet in this Realme, (beſides your Majeſties Hall) in all my life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each degree. If I had not ſeen it my ſelfe, I could never have beleeved it, and himſelfe alſo ſo honourably ſerved.

The complainer asketh pardon of the King for his untrue report.

Ah Sir, quoth the Kings Highneſſe, Have you now eſpied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He was a very varlet (quoth the King) that told you that tale: for he ſpendeth (ah good man ſaid the King) all that he hath in houſe keeping. But now I perceive which way the winde bloweth. There are a ſort of you to whom I have liberally given of the poſſeſſions and revenews of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, ſo have you more unthriftily ſpent, ſome at dice, other ſome in gay apparrell, and other wayes worſe I fear me: and now that all is gone you would fain have me make another chevance with the biſhops lands, to accompliſh your greedy appetites. But let no other Biſhops beſtow their revenews worſe then my Lord of Canterbury doth, then ſhall you have no cauſe to complain of their keeping of houſe.

The king ſpeaketh in defence of the Archb. of Canterbury.

And thus the tale being ſhut up, and ended by the Kings Highneſſe, neither ſir Thomas Seimor, nor any other on his behalf ever after durſt renew, or revive that ſute any more in King Henries dayes; ſo that it may be evident to all indifferent men, the liberalitie of the Archbiſhop in houſe keeping what it was, which being defended, and commended by the Prince himſelf, rather may give a good example to his poſterity to follow, then was then to be depraved of any private ſubject, ſuch as knew him not.

In which Archbiſhop this moreover is to be noted, with a memorandum touching the reliefe of the poore, impotent, ſick, and ſuch as then came from the warres at Bullen, and other parts beyond the ſeas, lame, wounded, and deſtitute: for whom he provided, beſides his manſion houſe at Beckiſborn in Kent, the Parſonage Barn well furniſhed with certain lodgings for the ſick and maimed ſouldiers. To whom were alſo appointed the almoſiner, a Phyſician, and a Surgeon to attend upon them, and to dreſſe and cure ſuch as

The alms of the Archbiſhop towards the poore.

were not able to reſort to their countreys, having daily from the Biſhops kitchin hot broth and meat: for otherwiſe the common almes of the houſhold was beſtowed upon the poore neighbours of the Shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travell, they had convenient money delivered to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place diſtant. And this good example of mercie and liberall benignitie, I thought here good not in ſilence to be ſuppreſſed, whereby other may be moved according to their vocation, to walk in the ſteps of no leſſe liberalitie, then in him in this behalf appeared.

One that loveth goodneſſe, ſober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

Now followeth together theſe vertues, One that loveth goodneſſe, ſober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate. As concerning theſe qualities, the trade of his life before, joyned with his benigne and gentle diſpoſition, do teſtifie that he could not be void of theſe good vertues reigning in him, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave faſt unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſome learning, and to improve them that ſay againſt it.

To cleave faſt to the word of doctrine able to exhort in wholſome learning, and to reprove the gain-ſayer. Titus 1.

Then concludeth ſaint Paul with the moſt excellent vertue of all other to be wiſhed in a Prelate of the Church. For if this conſtancie be not in him to this end, that is, To cleave faſt unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholſome learning, and to improve them that ſay againſt it: If he be void (I ſay) of theſe gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but ſhall ſeem an idoll, and a deceiver of the world. Neither ſhall he deſerve the name of a Biſhop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favour, he do at any time or in any point ſwerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy conſtancie of this ſaid Archbiſhop never, for the moſt part, ſhrunk for any manner of ſtorm; but was ſo many wayes tried, that neither favour of his Prince, nor fear of the indignation of the ſame, nor any other worldly reſpect could alienate or change his purpoſe, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the Goſpel. Notwithſtanding, his conſtant defence of Gods truth was ever joyned with ſuch meekneſſe toward the King, that he never took occaſion of offence againſt him.

Archb. Cranmer ever conſtant in defence of Chriſts truth and Goſpel.

At the time of ſetting forth the ſix Articles, mention was made before in the ſtorie of King Henry the eighth, how adventurouſly this Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer did oppoſe himſelfe, ſtanding as it were, poſt alone, againſt the whole Parliament diſputing and replying three dayes together againſt the ſaid Articles. Inſomuch, that the King, when neither he could miſlike his reaſons, and yet would needs have theſe articles to paſſe, required him to abſent himſelf for the time out of the chamber, while the Act ſhould paſſe, and ſo he did, and how the King afterward ſent all the Lords of the Parliament unto the Archbiſhop to Lambeth to cheer his minde again, that he might not be diſcouraged, all which appeareth above expreſſed: And this was done during yet the ſtate and time of the Lord Cromwels authoritie. And now that it may appear likewiſe, that after the decay of the Lord Cromwell, yet his conſtancie in Chriſts cauſe did not decay, you ſhall hear what followeth after.

For after the apprehenſion of the Lord Cromwell, when the adverſaries of the Goſpel thought all things ſure now on their ſide, it was ſo appointed amongſt them, that ten or twelve biſhops, and other learned men, joyned together in commiſſion, came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterburie for the eſtabliſhing of certain Articles of our Religion, which the Papiſts then thought to win to their purpoſe againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop. For having now the Lord Cromwell faſt and ſure, they thought all had been ſafe, and ſure for ever: as indeed to all mens reaſonable conſideration, that time appeared ſo dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that religion reformed ſhould any one week longer ſtand, ſuch account was then made of the Kings untowardneſſe thereunto. Inſomuch, that of all thoſe Commiſſioners there was not one left to ſtay on the Archbiſhops part, but he alone againſt them all ſtood in the defence of the truth; and thoſe that he moſt truſted to, namely, Biſhop Heath, and Biſhop Skip left him in the plain field, who then ſo turned againſt him, that they took upon them to perſwade him to their purpoſe: and having him down from the reſt of the Commiſſioners into his Garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of effectuall perſwaſions intreated him to leave off his overmuch conſtancie, and to incline unto the Kings intent, who was fully ſet to have it otherwiſe then he then had penned, or meant to have ſet abroad. When thoſe two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had uſed all their eloquence and policie, he little regarding their inconſtancie and remiſneſſe in Gods cauſe or quarrell, ſaid unto them right notably.

The Archb. alone ſtandeth in defence of the truth.

B. Heath, and B. Skip forſake the Archb. in the plain field.

The Archb. incenſed by B. Heath and Skip to give over the defence of the Goſpel.

You make much ado to have me come to your purpoſe, alledging that it is the Kings pleaſure to have the Articles, in that ſort you have deviſed them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highneſſe by ſiniſter information to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highneſſe minde. You be my friends both, eſpecially the one of you I did put to his Majeſtie as of truſt. Beware (I ſay) what you do. There is but one truth in our Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highneſſe by conſenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in proceſſe of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highneſſe ſhall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Graces nature ſo well (quoth the Archbiſhop) that he will never after truſt and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, ſo therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and diſcharge your conſciences in maintenance of the truth. But all this would not ſerve, for they ſtill ſwerved; and in diſcharging of his conſcience and declaring the truth unto the King, GOD ſo wrought with the King, that his Highneſſe joyned with him againſt the reſt, ſo that the book of articles paſſing on his ſide, he wan the Gole from them all, contrarie to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he ſhould have been laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower for his ſtiffe ſtanding to his tackle. After that day there could neither Councellour, Biſhop, nor Papiſt win him out of the Kings favour.

The anſwer of the Archb. to D. Heath and Skip.

Notwithſtanding, not long after that, certain of the Councell, whoſe names need not to be repeated, by the inticement and provocation of his ancient enemie the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other of the ſame ſect, attempted the King againſt him, declaring plainly, that the Realme was ſo infected with hereſies and heretiques, that it was dangerons for his Highneſſe farther to permit it unreformed, leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch contention ſhould ariſe, and enſue in the

The Papiſts buſie to bring the Archb. out of credit with the King.

The Archb. again accuſed to the King.

Realme among his ſubjects, that thereby might ſpring horrible commotions, and uprores, like as in ſome parts of Germany it did not long ago. The enormitie whereof they could not impute to any ſo much, as to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his Chaplains, had filled the whole Realm full of divers pernicious hereſies. The King would needs know his accuſes. They anſwered that foraſmuch as he was a Counſellour no man durſt take upon him to accuſe him; but if it would pleaſe his Highneſſe to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accuſations and proofs enow againſt him: for otherwiſe juſt teſtimonie, and witneſſe againſt him would not appeare, and therefore your Highneſſe (ſaid they) muſt needs give us the Counſell, libertie, and leave to commit him to durance.

The King ſent Sir Anthony Deny at midnight for the Archbiſhop.

The King perceiving their importunate ſute againſt the Archbiſhop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they ſhould the next day commit him to the Tower for his triall. When night came, the King ſent Sir Anthonie Denie about midnight to Lambeth to the Archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort unto him at the Court. The meſſage done, the Archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed himſelfe to the Court, and coming into the Galerie where the King walked, and tarried for him, his Highneſſe ſaid; Ah, my Lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weightie conſiderations it is determined by me, and the Councell, that you to morrow at nine of the clock ſhall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your Chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby ſowen within the Realme ſuch a number of execrable hereſies, that it is feared, the whole Realme being infected with them, no ſmall contention, and commotions will riſe thereby amongſt my ſubjects, as of late dayes the like was in divers parts of Germanie: and therefore the Councell have requeſted me, for the triall of the matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or elſe no man dare come forth, as witneſſe in theſe matters, you being a Counſellour.

The Kings words & advice for the ſupportation of the archbiſhop.

The Archbiſh. anſwer to the King.

When the King had ſaid his minde, the Archb. kneeled down and ſaid, I am content if it pleaſe your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your Highneſſe commandement, and I moſt humbly thank your Majeſtie that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many wayes ſlandered me, and now this way I hope to try my ſelf not worthy of ſuch report.

The King perceiving the mans uprightneſſe, joyned with ſuch ſimplicitie, ſaid; O Lord, what manner of man be you? What ſimplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather have ſued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accuſers together for your triall, without any ſuch indurance. Do you not know, what ſtate you be in with the whole world, & how many great enemies you have? Do you not conſider what an eaſie thing it is, to procure three or four falſe knaves to witneſſe againſt you? Think you to have better luck that way, then your Maſter Chriſt had? I ſee by it you will run head-long to your undoing, if I would ſuffer you. Your enemies ſhall not ſo prevail againſt you, for I have otherwiſe deviſed with my ſelfe to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithſtanding to morrow when the Councell ſhall ſit, and ſend for you, reſort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, becauſe you are one of them, a Counſellour, that you may have your accuſers brought before them without any further indurance, and uſe for your ſelf as good perſwaſions that way as you may deviſe; and if no intreatie or reaſonable requeſt will ſerve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbiſhop) and ſay unto them, if there be no remedie my Lords, but that I muſt needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cauſe from you, and appeale to the Kings own perſon by this his token unto you all; for (ſaid the King then unto the Archbiſhop) ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee this my ring, they know it ſo well, that they ſhall underſtand that I have reſumed the whole cauſe into mine own hands and determination, and that I have diſcharged them thereof.

The Kings favourable care & conſideration toward the archbiſhop of Cant.

The K. ſendeth his ſignet in the behalf of the archb. of Cant.

The Archbiſhop perceiving the Kings benignitie ſo much to himwards, had much ado to forbear tears. Well, ſaid the King, Go your wayes my Lord, and do as I have bidden you. My Lord humbling himſelf with thanks, took his leave of the Kings Highneſſe for that night.

The Archb. being one of the Councel, made to ſtand at the Councell chamber doore waiting.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noone, the Councell ſent a Gentleman Uſher for the Archbiſhop, who when he came to the Councell chamber doore, could not be let in; but of purpoſe (as it ſeemed) was compelled there to wait among the Pages, Lackies, and Serving-men all alone. Doctor Buts the Kings Phyſician reſorting that way, and eſpying how my Lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the Kings Highneſſe, and ſaid, My Lord of Canterbury, if it pleaſe your Grace, is well promoted: for now he is become a Lackey or a ſerving man, for yonder he hath ſtood this half houre at the Councell chamber doore amongſt them. It is not ſo (quoth the King) I trow; the Councell hath not ſo little diſcretion as to uſe the Metropolitans of the Realm in that ſort, ſpecially being one of their own number. But let them alone (ſaid the King) and we ſhall hear more ſoon.

D. Buts the Kings phyſician, a friend of the Archbiſhops.

The archb. called before the Councell.

Anon the Archbiſhop was called into the Councell chamber, to whom was alledged, as before is rehearſed. The Archbiſhop anſwered in like ſort, as the King had adviſed him; and in the end when he perceived that no maner of perſwaſion or intreaty could ſerve, he delivered them the Kings Ring, revoking his cauſe into the Kings hands. The whole Councel being thereat ſomwhat amazed, the Earle of Bedford with a loud voice, confirming his words with a ſolemne oath, ſaid, When you firſt began the matter my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King wil ſuffer this mans finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will he defend his life againſt brabling varlets? You do but cumber your ſelves to hear tales and fables againſt him. And ſo incontinently upon the receit of the Kings token, they all roſe, and carried to the King his ring, ſurrendring that matter as the order and uſe was, into his own hands.

The Councell being ſet againſt the Archbiſhop, he ſheweth the Kings ring, and appealeth from them.

The Kings words to the Councell in defence of the Archbiſhop.

When they were all come to the Kings preſence, his Highneſſe with a ſevere countenance ſaid unto them; Ah my Lords, I thought I had had wiſer men of my Councell then now I finde you. What diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of the Realme, and one of you in office, to wait at the Councell chamber doore amongſt ſerving men? You might have conſidered that he was a Counſellor as well as you, and you had no ſuch Commiſſion of me ſo to handle him. I was content that you ſhould try him as a Counſellor, and not as a mean ſubject. But now I well perceive that things be done againſt him maliciouſly, and if ſome of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermoſt. But I do you all to wit, and proteſt, that if a Prince may be beholding unto his ſubject (and ſo, ſolemnly laying his hand upon his breſt, ſaid) by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my Lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a moſt faithfull ſubject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholding, giving him great commendations otherwiſe. And with that one or two of the chiefeſt of the Councell, making their excuſe, declared, that in requeſting his indurance, it was rather meant for his tryall, and his purgation againſt the common fame, and ſlander of the World, than for any malice conceived againſt him. Well, well, my Lords (quoth the King) take him and well uſe him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ados. And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers, which might eaſily be done with that man.

The Lords of the Councell glad to be friends again with the Archb.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go ſo farre with him, thus to ſeeke his undoing, underſtanding this well before, that the King moſt entirely loved him, and alwayes would ſtand in his defence whoſoever ſpake againſt him; as many other times the Kings patience was by ſiniſter informations againſt him tried. Inſomuch that the Lord Cromwell was evermore wont to ſay unto him, My Lord of Canterbury, you are moſt happy of all men: for you may do and ſpeake what you liſt, and ſay what all men can againſt you, the King will never beleeve one word to your detriment or hinderance. I am ſure I take more pains than all the Councell doth, and ſpend more largely in the Kings affaires, as well beyond the Seas as on this ſide: yea I aſſure you, even very ſpies in other forreine Realmes, at Rome and elſewhere, coſt me above one 1000. markes a yeere: and doe what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commoditie of the King and the Realme, I am every day chidden, and many falſe tales now and then beleeved againſt me; and therefore you are moſt happy, for in no point can you be diſcredited with the King. To this the Archbiſhop againe anſwering, if the Kings Majeſtie were not good to me that way, I were not able to ſtand and indure one whole weeke, but your wiſdome and policie is ſuch, that you are able to ſhift well enough for your ſelf.

The King a great ſupporter of Cranmer.

The L. Cromwels words to the Archb.

Now when the Kings Highneſſe had thus benignely and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid Archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation by the Councell laid againſt him, all wiſe men would have thought that it had been meere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter againſt him: but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancor and diſpleaſure againſt him, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible means. Then brought they againſt him a new kinde of accuſation, and cauſed Sir John Goſtwike knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuſe the Archbiſhop openly in the Parliament houſe, laying to his charge his Sermons preached at Sandwich, and his Lectures read at Canterbury, wherein ſhould be contained manifeſt hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the altar, &c. Which accuſation came to the Kings eare. Why (quoth the King) where dwelleth Goſtwike? As I take it, either in Bedfordſhire or Buckinghamſhire, and hath he ſo open an eare that he can heare my L. of Canter. preaching out of Kent? This is very likely, ſaid the King. If he had bin a Kentiſhman, there had been ſomething worthy of conſideration: but as for Goſtwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him & tell him, ſaid the King to one of his privie chamber, if he go not to my L. of Cant. and ſo reconcile himſelf to him, that he may become his good Lord, I wil pull the Goſlings feathers ſo, that hereafter he ſhall have little luſt to ſlander the Metropolitane, or any other learned man. When ſir J. Goſtwike heard theſe words, it was no need to bid him haſt himſelf to Lambeth unto the Metropolitane, making to him as many friends as poſſible he might. When he came to the Archb. he was faine to diſcloſe unto him, by what means he was procured to do that he did, requeſting his clemencie to be his good Lord, or elſe he took himſelf utterly undone, being ſo in the Kings indignation, as he underſtood he was by that afore declared, which ſute was ſoone won at his hand: and ſo the Archb. caſting into the ſatchell behinde him all thoſe ſir J. Goſtwikes ingratitudes, went to the King, and wan to ſir John his Princes favour again. And thus the king made a ſhort end of this accuſation.

Another accuſation brought into the Parliament houſe by ſir J. Goſtwike againſt the Archb.

Goſtwike checkt of the King for accuſing the Archbiſhop.

Goſtwike glad to fall in again with the Archb. of Canterbury.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wiſeſt way to worke, to procure a ſtranger dwelling a farre off, to accuſe the Archb. of his doctrine preached in his Dioceſſe: and therefore hath blind malice learned ſome more wiſdome now to accuſe the Archbiſhop in ſuch ſort as he ſhall never be able to avoyd it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the Prebendaries of his Cathedrall Church in Canterbury, but alſo the moſt famous Juſtices of Peace in the ſhire ſhould accuſe him, article againſt him; which in very deed was moſt ſubſtantially brought to paſſe, and the articles both well written and ſubſcribed, were delivered to the Kings Highneſſe, as a thing of ſuch effect, that there muſt needs follow to the ſaid Archbiſhop, both indignation of the Prince, and condigne puniſhment for his grievous offence committed by him and his Chaplaines, in preaching ſuch erronious doctrine as they did within his Dioceſſe of Canterbury; whereof they being ſuch witneſſes of credit, no man had cauſe to doubt of their circumſpect doings. This accuſation particularly ſent out was delivered to the King by ſome of the Councels means, When the King had peruſed the book, he wrapt it up, and put it into his ſleeve; and finding occaſion to ſolace himſelf upon the Thames, came with his Barge furniſhed with his Muſicians a long by Lambeth Bridge towards Chelſey. The noiſe of the Muſicians provoked the Archbiſhop to reſort to the Bridge to do his dutie, and to ſalute his Prince. Whom when the King had perceived to ſtand at the bridge, eftſoones he commanded the Watermen to draw towards the ſheare, and ſo came ſtraight to the Bridge.

New accuſation by Prebendaries and Juſtices of Kent againſt the arch.

Articles put to the K. againſt D. Cranmer.

Ah my Chaplaine, ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop, come into the Barge to me. The Archbiſhop declared to his Highneſſe, that he would take his own Barge and waite upon his Majeſtie. No ſaid the King, you muſt come into my Barge, for I have to talke with you. When the King and the Archbiſhop all alone in the Barge were ſet together, ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop, I have news out of Kent for you my Lord. The Archbiſh. anſwered, good I hope, if it pleaſe your Highneſſe. Mary, ſaid the King, they be ſo good, that I now know the greatſt heretike in Kent, and with that pulled out of his ſleeve the book of Articles againſt both the ſaid Archb. and his Preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruſe the ſame. When the Archb. had read the Articles, and ſaw himſelf ſo uncourteouſly handled of his own church whereof he was head, I meane of the Prebendaries of his Cathedrall Church, and of ſuch his neighbors as he had many wayes gratified, I meane the Juſtices of the Peace, it much grieved him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled down to the King, and beſought his Majeſtie to grant out a Commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed his Highneſſe, for them to try out the truth of this accuſation. In very deed (ſaid the King) I do ſo mean, and you your ſelf ſhall be chiefe Commiſſioner, to adjoyn to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall

The King maketh the archb. privy of the articles.

Commiſſion appointed to be ſent into Kent, for triall of the articles.

think good your ſelf. Then it wil be thought (quoth the Archb. to the King) that it is not indifferent, if it pleaſe your grace, that I ſhould be mine own iudge, and my Chaplaines alſo. Well, ſaid the King, I wil have none other but your ſelf, and ſuch as you will appoint. For I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuſe your ſelf, and I know partly how this geare proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wiſely, you ſhall finde a prety conſpiracy deviſed againſt you. Whom will you have with you, ſaid the King? Whom it ſhall pleaſe your grace to name, quoth the Archbiſhop. I will appoint D. Belhouſe for one, name you the other, ſaid the King, meet for that purpoſe. My Chancellor, Doct. Coxe, and Huſſey my Regiſter, ſaid the Archbiſhop are men expert to examine ſuch troubleſome matters. Well, ſaid the King, let there be a Commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertiſe me of your doings.

Commiſſioners appointed to Cranmer. D. Belhouſe, D. Coxe Chancellor, M. Huſſey Regiſter.

They came into Kent, and there they ſate about three weeks to boult out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation, for thereof the King would chiefly be advertiſed. Now the Inquiſition being begun by the Commiſſioners, every man ſhrunke in his hornes, and no man would confeſſe any thing to the purpoſe. For Doctor Coxe and Heſſey, being friendly unto the Papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing materiall to come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of the Archbiſhops ſervants, his Secretarie, he wrote incontinently unto Doctor Buts, and Maſter Deny, declaring that if the Kings Maieſtie did not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my Lord, than thoſe that then were there with him, it were not poſſible that any thing ſhould come to light: and therefore wiſhed that Doctor Lee or ſome other ſtout man that had been exerciſed in the Kings Eccleſiaſticall affaires in his Viſitations, might be ſent to the Archbiſhop. Upon theſe Letters Doctor Lee was ſent for to Yorke by the King, and having the Kings farther minde declared unto him, when he came to the Court, he reſorted incontinently into Kent, ſo that on All-hallow eeven he delivered to the Archbiſhop the Kings Ring, with a declaration of his Highneſſe farther pleaſure: and by and by upon his meſſage done, he appointed the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to name him a doſen or ſixteen of his officers and gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, and audacitie, to whom he gave in Commiſſion from the King, to ſearch both the purſes, cheſts, and chambers of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this conſederacie, both within the Cathedrall Church and without, and ſuch letters or writings as they could finde about them, to bring them to the Archbiſhop and him.

D. Coxe Chan. and M. Huſſey falſe to the Archbiſhop.

This Secretary was M. Ralph Morice witneſſe and drawer of this ſtory.

D. Lee of Yorke appointed Commiſſioner with the Archb. for trying out the conſpiracy.

Theſe men thus appointed, went in one houre and inſtant to the perſons houſes and places, that they were appointed unto; and within foure houres afterwards the whole conſpiracie was diſcloſed by finding of Letters, ſome from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from Doctor London at Oxford, and from Iuſtices of the Shire, with other; ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould have been the end of their conſpiracie, was now made manifeſt. Certaine chambers and cheſts of Gentlemen of the Shire were alſo ſearched, where alſo were found letters ſerving to this purpoſe. Amongſt all other came to my Lords hands two letters, one of the Suffragan of Dover, and another of Doctor Barbar a Civilian, whom continually the Archb. reteined with him in houſhold for expedition of matters in ſute before him, as a counſellor in the Law when need required. Theſe two men being well promoted by the Archbiſhop, he uſed ever in ſuch familiaritie, that when the Suffragan, being a Prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he alwaies ſet him at his owne meſſe, and the other never from his table, as men in whom hee had much delight and comfort, when time of care and penſiveneſſe chanced. But that which they did, was altogether counterfeit, and the devill was turned into the Angel of light, for they were both of this confederacie.

The conſpiracy of the papiſts againſt the Archbiſh. found out. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, D. London, the Suffragan of Dover, D. Barbar, with certaine Iuſtices of Kent, chiefe conſpirers againſt the Archbiſhop.

Domeſticall enemies and conſpirers againſt their Maſter.

When my Lord had gotten theſe their letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chanced the Suffragan to come to him to his houſe at Bekiſburne, called to him into his ſtudy the ſaid Suffragan of Dover and Doctor Barbar, ſaying, Come your waies with me, for I muſt have your advice in a matter. When they were with him in his ſtudie altogether, he ſaid to them, you twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and truſt; you muſt now give me ſome good counſell, for I am ſhamefully abuſed with one or twaine to whom I have ſhewed all my ſecrets from time to time, and did truſt them as my ſelfe. The matter is ſo now fallen out, that they not onely have diſcloſed my ſecrets, but alſo have taken upon them to accuſe me of hereſie and are become witneſſes againſt me. I require you therefore of your good advice how I ſhall behave my ſelfe towards them. You are both my friends, and ſuch as I alwaies have uſed when I needed counſell. What ſay you to the matter, quoth the Archbiſhop?

Privy talke betweene the Archbiſhop and his Suffragan, and D. Barbar.

Mary, quoth Doctor Barbar, ſuch villaines and knaves (ſaving your honor) were worthie to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were too good, quoth the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman my ſelf.

The Suffragan and Civilian give iudgement againſt themſelves.

At theſe words, the Archbiſhop caſt up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, Oh Lord moſt mercifull God, whom may a man truſt now adaies? It is moſt true which is ſaid, Maledictus qui confidit in homine, & ponit carnem brachium ſuum. There was never man handled as I am: but O Lord thou haſt evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and Maſter (meaning the King) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand upright one day unoverthrowne, I praiſe thy holy name therefore: and with that he pulled out of his boſome their two letters, and ſaid, Know yee theſe letters my Maſters? With that they fell down upon their knees, and deſired forgiveneſſe, declaring how they a yeere before were attempted to doe the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, beſought his grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, ſaid the gentle Archbiſho, GOD make you both good men, I never deſerved this at your hands: but aske GOD forgiveneſſe, againſt whom you have highly offended. If ſuch men as you are not to be truſted, what ſhould I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelitie or truſt amongſt men. I am brought to this point now, that I feare my left hand will accuſe my right hand. I need not much marvell hereat, for our Saviour Chriſt truely propheſied of ſuch a world to come in the latter dayes. I beſeech him of his great mercy to finiſh that time ſhortly, and ſo departing he diſmiſſed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in ſuch ſort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

The falſe Suffragan, and Barbar the Civilian, aske the Archb. forgiveneſſe.

The Archb. forgiveth his enemies.

Now, when all thoſe letters and accuſations were found, they were put into a cheſt, the kings Maieſtie minding to have peruſed ſome of them, and to have partly puniſhed the Principals of it. The cheſt and writings were brought to Lambeth. At what time began the Parliament.

Lord what a do there was to procure the King a Subſidie, to the intent that thereupon might enſue a pardon, which indeed followed, and ſo nothing was done, other than their falſhood known. This was the laſt puſh of the pike that was inferred againſt the ſaid Archb. in King Henry the 8. his dayes: for never after durſt any man move matter againſt him in his time.

Rich. Turner a faithfull preacher in Kent. Papiſts ſet againſt the archbiſhop, by occaſion of Turners preaching.

And thus have ye both the working and diſcloſing of this Popiſh conſpiracy againſt this worthy Archbiſhop and Martyr of Chriſt, Thomas Cranmer. In the which conſpiracy, for ſo much as complaint was alſo made unto the King of his Chaplaines and good Preachers in Kent, it ſhall not be out of the ſtory ſomething likewiſe to touch thereof, eſpecially of Richard Turner then Preacher the ſame time in this Archbiſhops Dioceſſe, and Curate to Maſter Morice the Archbiſhops Secretary, in the Towne of Chartham, by whoſe diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the Papiſts tooke his firſt kindling againſt the Archbiſhop. Touching the deſcription of which ſtorie, becauſe by me nothing ſhall be ſaid either more or leſſe, than is the truth, ye ſhall heare the very certaintie thereof truly compiled in a letter ſent the ſame time to Doctor Buts and Sir Anthony Deny, to be ſhewed unto the King, and ſo it was, written by the foreſaid Maſter Morice Secretary then to the Archbiſhop, farmour of the ſame benefice of Chartham, and Patrone to M. Turner there Miniſter and Preacher aforeſaid.

A letter or Apologie of Maſter Morice, ſent to Sir William Buts, and Sir Anthony Deny, defending the cauſe of M. Rich. Turner Preacher, againſt the Papiſts.

The letter firſt beginning in theſe words; I am certaine (Right worſhipfull) that it is not unknowne to your diſcreet wiſedome, &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the ſaid letter proceedeth.

The troubles of Rich. Turner Miniſter at Chartham.

As your worſhips well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my L. of Canter. my maſter in writing of the Eccleſiaſtical affaires of this Realme, as well touching reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and ſincere religion received by the doctrine of the Goſpel; which I take to be ſo ſubſtantially handled and builded upon the doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, that hell gates ſhall never prevaile againſt it. The conſideration whereof compelled me, being a Farmer of the Parſonage of Chartham in Kent, to retain with me one named M. Rich. Turner, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but alſo in converſation of life towards the world, irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my conſcience I placed at Chartham aforeſaid to be Curate there. This man, becauſe he was a ſtranger in the Country there, and ſo thereby voyd of grudge or diſpleaſure of any old rancor in the countrey, I thought it had been a meane to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine; but where malice once taketh fire againſt truth, no policie I ſee is able to quench it. Well, this man as he knew what appertained to his office, ſo he ſpared not weekly both Sundaies and Holidaies to open the Goſpel and Epiſtle unto his audience after ſuch a ſort, (when occaſion ſerved) that as well by his vehement inveying againſt the Biſhop of Romes uſurped power and authoritie, as in the earneſt ſetting forth and advancing of the Kings Majeſties ſupremacie, innumerable of the people of the countrey reſorting unto his Sermons, changed their opinions, and favored effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people ſo daily increaſed, that the church being a faire, ample, and large Church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new inſtruction of the people was ſo blazed abroad, that the Popiſh prieſts were wonderfully amazed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their Pope ſo to be defaced, and their Prince ſo highly advanced.

M. Ralph Morice patrone of Rich. Turner Preacher.

The great concourſe of people to M. Turners Preaching.

Now thought they it is high time for us to work, or elſe all will here be utterly loſt by this mans preaching: ſome of them went with capons, ſome with hens, ſome with chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, unto the Juſtices, ſuch as then favoured their cauſe and faction, and ſuch as are no ſmall fools, as ſir John Baker, ſir Chriſtopher Hales, ſir Thomas Moile, Knights; with other Juſtices. The prebendaries of Chriſts Church in Canterbury were made privie hereof, giving their ſuccour and aid thereunto. So that in concluſion poore Turner and other Preachers were grievouſly complained of unto the Kings Majeſtie. Whereupon my Lord of Canterburie and certain other Commiſſioners were appointed at Lambeth to ſit upon the examination of theſe ſeditious Preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of ſir Thomas Moile, that he in Eaſter weeke was content to heare Turner preach a rehearſall ſermon in his pariſh Church at Weſtwell, of all the doctrine of his Sermons preached at his Cure in Chartham: which he moſt gently granting, heard Turner both before noone and after noone on the Wedneſday in Eaſter weeke laſt paſt, and (as it ſeemed took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his ſaid Cure with gentle and favourable words. I ſuppoſed by this means to have ſtaied maſter Turner at home from further examination, hoping that ſir Thomas Moile would have anſwered for him at Lambeth before the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after maſter Moiles coming to London, ſuch information was laid in againſt Turner, that he was ſent for to make anſwer himſelfe before the ſaid Commiſſioners; and there appearing before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfect, and learned anſwer unto the Articles objected, that he was with a good exhortation diſcharged home againe, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

Sir Jo. Baker, ſir Chriſtopher Hales, ſir Tho. Moile, Juſtices, with the prebendaries of Canterbury, perſecuters of Gods people.

Sir Thomas Moile hearing Turner, could finde no fault with his doctrine.

M. Turner appearing before the Commiſſioners at Lambeth, was diſcharged and ſent home.

Now when the Pope-Catholique Clergie of Kent underſtood of his coming home without controlment, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before, againſt their blinde and dumbe ceremonies, ſtraightway by the help of the biſhop of Wincheſter Stephen Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to an utter confuſion, deviſing that he came home from examination in ſuch glorious pomp by the high waies ſide in the woods adjoyning, that 500. perſons met him then with banquetting diſhes to welcome him home, ſtirring the people rather to an uprore and a commotion, then to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deed contrary to this ſurmiſe (as God would) on this ſide Rocheſter a mile or two, for avoiding all ſuch light and glorious talk with any his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpoſe left the high way, and came thorow the woods all alone above 18. miles together on foot, ſo wearied and megered for want of ſuſtenance, that when he came into my houſe at Chartham, he was not well able to ſtand or ſpeak for faintneſſe and thirſt.

New matter made againſt Rich. Turner.

The practice of Papiſts to hold up their kingdome with lies.

This malicious tale being reported to the kings Highneſſe, his Majeſtie was ſo ſore aggrieved therewith, that he ſent for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, willing him to cauſe Turner to be whipt out of the countrey. By means whereof, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent again for Turner, I hearing thereof made incontinently report by my letters, with ſuch vehemencie proving

The King deceived by ſiniſter information.

it meere malice, that the Archbiſh. underſtanding the truth, pacified againe the Kings Majeſties wrath. Home cometh Turner once againe to his Cure without blot. Which ſo wrung the Papiſts, in that they could not prevaile, that they thought it all in vaine any further to attempt againſt him concerning any accuſation for matters in Kent, the Archb. of Canterbury being his Ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiſcredited. Then was there one new matter deviſed, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other Countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both tranſlated the Maſſe into Engliſh, and ſaid, or miniſtred the ſame, and that he had preached againſt Purgatorie, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By meanes whereof, he was now convented before the whole Councell by the Biſhop of Winch. who ſent Syriake Petite Gentleman for him, which brought him up to London bound (as I heard ſay) and being examined before the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter and others, he was committed to ward for a ſeaſon.

New matter made againſt Rich. Turner.

In the which meane time, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in Kent about the triall of a conſpiracy purpoſed againſt himſelf by the Juſtices of the Shire, and the Prebendaries of Chriſts Church: Turner is now ſent downe to the Archbiſhop, to the intent he ſhould recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter ſubverſion and defacing of all that he had moſt godly and earneſtly here in Kent taught both to the glorie of God, and the furtherance and ſetting forth of the Kings Highnes proceedings. If his Majeſtie will thus permit learned honeſt men thus daily to be overcrowned and trodden under foot with a ſort of tyrannous, or rather traiterous Papiſts (who cannot abide to heare his Majeſties ſupremacie advanced, nor the ſincere word of God preached) it were better for men to dwell amongſt the Infidels and miſcreants than in England.

Conſpiracy againſt the Archbiſhop Cranmer by the Juſtices of Kent.

What reaſon is this, that Turner ſhould recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other Countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing moſt deſperately of five hundred mens conſciences and above. (I dare ſay) who lately by his ſincere preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the Kings ſupremacy, and alſo of the reformed Religion received? All good ſubjects may well lament the Kings Majeſties eſtate in this behalfe, that no man may dare to be ſo bold to advance his Highneſſe title, but that every ignorant and malicious Papiſt ſhall ſpurne againſt him, ſeeking his utter undoing, and that by the ayd of Papiſticall Juſtices ſet in authoritie. I beſeech your Worſhips to pardon me of my rude and homely termes. They herein deſerve worſe, if worſe may be deviſed. For what honeſt man can beare with this, that ſo Noble a Princes eares ſhall be thus impudently abuſed with manifeſt lies and fables, as this one is of Turners coming home in ſuch a triumph as they craftily and falſly had deviſed? It is eaſily to be ſpied what they meane and go about, that, the Prince being alive, dare take in hand ſo uncourteouſly to abuſe both the gentle nature of the Prince, and his godly Preacher, the advancer and extoller of his juſt authoritie.

What thinke your Worſhips they would attempt if his Majeſtie were at Gods mercie (as God forefend that ever any of us ſhould ſee that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally with his Highneſſe, blinding his eyes with myſts, whileſt he liveth & reigneth amongſt us in moſt proſperity? As for my L. of Cant. he dare nothing do for the poore mans delivery, he hath done ſo much for him already. And his grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the Kings head, that he is the maintainer and ſupporter of all the heretiks within the Realme; nor will he permit me or my neighbors to reſort unto the Councell for his purgation while he was at Chartham, ſaving onely I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a ſuter in writing to my friends and good maſters in the Court for his delivery.

And therefore it is (Right worſhipfull) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our miſerie unto you concerning the extreame handling of this honeſt poore man Maſter Turner, that, if it may poſſibly be brought to paſſe by your godly wiſedome, the poore man may be releaſed and diſcharged of his recantation; you cannot doe to God and your Prince a more acceptable ſervice in my poore opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould be driven to recant (as I am ſure he will ſooner dye) both Gods cauſe and the Kings ſhall ſuffer no ſmall detriment amongſt his poore loving ſubjects here. For if there be no better ſtay for the maintenance of theſe godly Preachers, the Kings authoritie concerning his Supremacie ſhall lye poſt alone hidden in the Act of Parliament, and not in the hearts of his Subjects.

If they can bring to paſſe that Turner may recant, to the defacing of his good doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in effect ſhall not Turner recant, but King Henrie the 8. in Turners perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant, to the wounding of all mens conſciences here. If the Kings Maieſtie do not eſteeme his authoritie given to his Highneſſe by Gods word and his Parliament; it were well done, that the Preachers had good warning to talke no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be toſſed and turmoiled for doing their duties, by the members of Antichriſt.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever ſlander Turners doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending againſt the ſix articles, this laſt Seſſions, by the witneſſe of two Papiſts of the Pariſh of Chartham his utter enemies, Sanders and Browne by name, for a Sermon preached at Chartham on Paſſion Sunday, which chanced on S. Gregories even, they both being abſent that day at Wye faire, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached againſt the maſſe: ſaying, that our Saviour Chriſt was the onely ſole Prieſt which ſung Maſſe on the altar of the Croſſe, there ſacrificing for the ſins of the world once for ever, and that all other Maſſes were but remembrances and thankſgiving for that one ſacrifice, or ſuch words in effect.

Sanders and Brown, two perſecuting Papiſts.

Wherefore, to conclude (Right worſhipfull) knowing your godly zeales, as well towards the preferment of ſincere Religion, as your no leſſe affection towards the King his Majeſties perſon and his godly proceedings, I moſt humbly beſeech you, in the bowels of our Saviour Chriſt, ſo to ponder the weightie conſideration of the premiſſes, as by your travels unto the Kings Majeſtie or to the honourable Councell, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the obſervation of the Law of God and the Prince through Turners godly perſwaſions, may receive from your Worſhips ſome comfortable words of his deliverance, or elſe certainly many an honeſt and ſimple man, lately imbracing the truth, may perhaps fall away deſperately from the ſame, not without danger of their ſouls. In accompliſhing whereof your Worſhips ſhall not onely doe unto Almightie God and the Prince moſt true and acceptable ſervice, but alſo bind the ſaid M. Turner, with all other to whom this cauſe doth appertaine, both daily to pray for your proſperities, and alſo to be at your commandements during their lives. From Canterburie the ſecond day of November.

Your worſhips evermore at commandment, R. M.

And thus much containeth the letter ſent (as is ſaid) by Maſter Morice to Doctor Buts and Sir Anthonie Deny. Now, what ſucceſſe and ſpeed this letter had, it followeth to be declared. For Doctor Buts the Kings Phyſician aforeſaid, after the receit of theſe letters, conſidering the weightie contents of the ſame, as he was ever a forward friend in the Goſpels cauſe, ſo he thought not to foreſlack this matter to the uttermoſt of his diligence, and ſo ſpying his time, when the King was in trimming and in waſhing (as his manner was at certaine times to call for his Barbar) Doctor Buts (whoſe manner was at ſuch times ever to be preſent, and with ſome pleaſant conceits to refreſh and ſolace the Kings minde) brought with him in his hand this letter. The King asking what news, Doctor Buts pleaſantly and merrily beginneth to inſinuate unto the King the effect of the matter, and ſo at the Kings commandement read out the letter; which when the King had heard, and pauſed a little with himſelf upon the ſame, commanded again the letter to be read unto him. The hearing and conſideration whereof ſo altered the Kings minde, that where as before he commanded the ſaid Turner to be whipped out of the countrey, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithfull ſubject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now returne to the Archbiſhop again.

The Kings favour reconciled again to M. Turner.

Who although he was compaſſed about (as is ſaid) with mightie enemies, and by many craftie traines impugned, yet through Gods more mightie providence, working in the Kings heart ſo to favour him, he rubbed out all King Henries time without blemiſh or foile, by means of the Kings ſupportation; who not onely defended the ſaid Archbiſhop againſt all his conſpired adverſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpeciall favour unto him in ſuch ſort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at Noremberge, (being Niece to the wife of Oſiander) keeping her alſo all their ſix Articles time contrary to the law, notwithſtanding he both permitted the ſame, and kept his counſell.

This Archb. married his ſecond wife at Noremberge.

Then after the death of K. Henry, immediately ſucceeded his ſon K. Edward, under whoſe government and protection the ſtate of this Archb. being his Godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this meane time of K. Henry aforeſaid, untill the entring of K. Edward, it ſeemeth that Cranmer was ſcarcely yet throughly perſwaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at leaſt, was not yet fully ripened in the ſame: wherein ſhortly after he being more groundedly confirmed by conference with Biſhop Ridley, in proceſſe of time did ſo profit in more ripe knowledge, that at laſt he tooke upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down firſt the corporall preſence; ſecondly, the fantaſticall Tranſubſtantiation; thirdly, the Idolatrous adoration, fourthly, the falſe error of the Papiſts, that wicked men do eate the naturall body of Chriſt; and laſtly, the blaſphemous ſacrifice of the Maſſe. Whereupon in concluſion he wrote five books for the publique inſtruction of the Church of England, which inſtruction yet to this day ſtandeth and is received in this Church of England.

The true and godly doctrin of the ſacrament in five books ſet forth by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Againſt theſe five books of the Archbiſhop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch enemie to Chriſt and his Goſpel, being then in the Tower, ſlubbereth up a certain anſwer ſuch as it was, which he in open Court exhibited up at Lambeth, being there examined by the Archbiſhop aforeſaid and other the Kings Commiſſioners in King Edwards daies, which book was intituled, An explication and aſſertion of the true Catholike faith, touching the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, with a confutation of a book written againſt the ſame.

An explication of Steph. Gardiner againſt Cranmer arch. of Canterbury.

Againſt this Explication, or rather a cavilling ſophiſtication of Stephen Gardiner Doctor of Law, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury learnedly and copiouſly replying againe, maketh anſwer, which alſo he publiſhed abroad to the eyes and judgements of all men in print. All which writings and books, as well of the one part as of the other, our preſent ſtory would require here to be inſerted, but becauſe to proſecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a ſmall roome, and may make too long tariance in our ſtory, it ſhall therefore be beſt to put off the ſame unto the place of the Appendix following, wherein the Lord willing) we intend to cloſe up both theſe, and divers other Treatiſes of theſe learned Martyrs, as to this our ſtory ſhall appertain.

The anſwer of D. Cranmer Archb. of Cant. againſt Steph. Gardiner.

The unquiet ſpirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out another book in Latine of the like Popiſh argument, but after another title, named Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus. Whereunto firſt the Archbiſhop againe intending a full confutation, had already abſolved three parts of his anſwer lying in priſon. Of the which parts two periſhed in Oxford; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhall ſee good. Alſo Biſhop Ridley lying likewiſe the ſame time in priſon having there the ſaid book of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with a Lead of a window in the Margent of the Booke wrote annotations, as ſtraightneſſe of time would ſerve him, in refutation of the ſame book. And finally, becauſe theſe worthy Martyrs had neither libertie nor leaſure to goe through with that travell, that which lacked in them, for accompliſhment of that behalfe, was ſupplyed ſhortly after by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and ſubſtantially hath overthrowne that Booke in his learned Defenſion of the truth, againſt the falſe ſophiſtication of Marcus Antonius aforeſaid.

Marcus Antonius written by S. Gardiner.

Archb. of Cant. about to anſwer to Marcus Antonius.

Notes of D. Ridley againſt Marcus Antonius.

Peter Martyrs book of defence againſt Marcus Antonius.

Beſides theſe books above cited of this Archbiſhop, divers other things there were alſo of his doing, as the Book of the Reformation, the Catechiſme, with the Booke of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and publiſhed. Whereunto alſo may be adjoyned another writing or confutation of his againſt 88. Articles by the Convocation deviſed & propounded, but yet not ratified nor received, in the reigne and time of K. Henrie the 8.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this Archbiſhop of Canterbury during the lives both of K. Henry, and of K. Edward his ſon. Which two Kings ſo long as they continued, this Archbiſhop lacked no ſtay of maintenance againſt all his maligners.

Afterward, this K. Edward, a Prince of moſt worthy towardneſſe falling ſick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painfull diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to live longer, and knowing that his ſiſter Marie was wholly wedded to Popiſh Religion, bequeathed the ſucceſſion of this Realme to the Ladie Jane (a Ladie of great birth, but of greater learning, being Niece to King Henry the eighth by his ſiſter) by conſent of the Councell and Lawyers of this Realme. To this Teſtament of the Kings, when all the Nobles of the Realme, States and Judges had ſubſcribed; they ſent for the Archbiſhop, and

Lady Jane.

required him that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But he excuſing himſelf on this manner, ſaid, that it was otherwiſe in the Teſtament of King Henry his father, and that he had ſworn to the ſucceſſion of Marie, as then the next heire, by which oath he was ſo bound, that without manifeſt perjury he could not go from it. The Councel anſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conſcience as well as he, and moreover that they were ſworne to that teſtament, and therefore he ſhould not think there was any danger therein, or that he ſhould be in more perill of perjury than the reſt.

Cranmer refuſeth to ſweare to Lady Jane.

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, that he was Judge of no mans conſcience but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudiciall to others, ſo he would not commit his conſcience unto other mens facts, or caſt himſelf into danger, ſeeing that every man ſhould give account of his own conſcience, and not of other mens. And as concerning ſubſcription, before he had ſpoken with the King himſelfe, he utterly refuſed to do it.

The King therefore being demanded of the Archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſaid, that the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realme counſelled him unto it, and perſwaded him that the bond of the firſt teſtament could nothing let, but that this Lady Jane might ſucceed him as heire, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their Queene. Who then demanding leave of the King, that he might firſt talke with certaine Lawyers that were in the Court; when they all agreed that by Law of the Realme it might be ſo, returning to the King, with much adoe he ſubſcribed.

Cranmer through the perſwaſion of the Councell, the King and Lawyers, ſubſcribed to K. Edwards teſtament.

Well, not long after this, King Edward dyed, being almoſt ſixteene yeers old, to the great ſorrow, but greater calamitie of the whole Realme. After whoſe deceaſe immediately it was commanded that the Lady Jane (which was unwilling thereunto) ſhould be proclaimed Queene. Which thing much miſliked the common people; not that they did ſo much favour Marie, before whom they ſaw the Lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived againſt ſome, whom they could not favour.

Beſides this, other cauſes there happened alſo of diſcord between the Nobles and the Commons the ſame time: for what injuries of commons and encloſures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings & uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and ſhifting for her ſelf, was ſo aſſiſted by the Commons, that eftſoones ſhe prevailed. Who, being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the Realme, not long after came to London, and after ſhe had cauſed firſt the two fathers, the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Suffolke to be executed (as is above remembred) likewiſe ſhe cauſed the Lady Jane being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after ſhe could by no means be turned from the conſtancie of her faith, together with her husband to be beheaded.

The reſt of the Nobles paying fines were forgiven, the Archb. of Cant. onely excepted. Who though he deſired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none; inſomuch that the Queen would not once vouchſafe to ſee him. For as yet the old grudge againſt the Archb. for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Beſides this divorce, ſhe remembred the ſtate of religion changed; all which was imputed to the Archbiſhop as the cauſe thereof.

Manet alta mente repoſtum Iudicium Paridis, ſpretæq; injuria matris. Virg. Æneid. 1.

While theſe things were in doing, a rumor was in all mens mouthes, that the Archbiſhop, to curry favour with the Queene, had promiſed to ſay a Dirge Maſſe after the old cuſtome, for the funerall of King Edward her brother. Neither wanted there ſome which reported that he had already ſaid Maſſe at Canterbury; which Maſſe indeed was ſaid by Doctor Thornton. This rumor Cranmer thinking ſpeedily to ſtay, gave forth a writing of his purgation: the tenor whereof being before expreſſed, I need not here again to recite.

This Doctor Thornton was after the B. of Dover, a cruell and wicked perſecutor.

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Maſter Storie, Biſhop then of Rocheſter, who after he had read and peruſed the ſame, required of the Archbiſhop to have a copy of the bill. The Archbiſhop when he had granted and permitted the ſame to Maſter Storie, by the occaſion thereof Maſter Storie lending it to ſome friend of his, there were divers copies taken out thereof, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the common people; inſomuch that every Scriveners ſhop almoſt, was occupied in writing and copying out the ſame: and ſo at length ſome of theſe copies coming to the Biſhops hands, and ſo brought to the Councell, and they ſending it to the Commiſſioners, the matter was known, and ſo he commanded to appeare.

Whereupon D. Cranmer at his day prefixed, appeared before the ſaid Commiſſioners, bringing a true Inventorie, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a Biſhop of the Queenes privy Councell, being one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, after the inventorie was received, bringing in mention of the bill; My Lord (ſaid he) there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you ſeem to be agrieved with ſetting up the Maſſe againe; we doubt not but you are ſorie that it is gone abroad.

This Biſhop was D. Heath Biſhop after of Yorke.

To whom the Archbiſhop anſwered againe, ſaying, as I do not deny my ſelfe to be the very Author of that bill or letter, ſo muſt I confeſſe here unto you, concerning the ſame bill, that I am ſory that the ſaid bill went from me in ſuch ſort as it did. For when I had written it, M. Storie got the copie of me, and is now come abroad, and as I underſtand, the Citie is full of it. For which I am ſorie, that it ſo paſſed my hands: for I had intended otherwiſe to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have ſet it on Pauls Church doore, and on the doores of all the Churches in London, with mine own ſeale joyned thereto.

At which words, when they ſaw the conſtantneſſe of the man, they diſmiſſed him, affirming they had no more at that preſent to ſay unto him, but that ſhortly he ſhould heare further. The ſaid Biſhop declared afterward to one of Doctor Cranmers friends, that notwithſtanding his attainder of treaſon, the Queenes determination at that time was, that Cranmer ſhould onely have beene deprived of his Archbiſhoprick, and have had a ſufficient living aſſigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventorie, with commandement to keep his houſe without medling in matters of Religion. But how true that was, I have not to ſay. This is certaine, that not long after this, he was ſent unto the Tower, and ſoone after condemned of treaſon. Notwithſtanding the Queene, when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his pardon, ſeeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and ſpecially, ſeeing he laſt (of all other) ſubſcribed to King Edwards requeſt, and that againſt his own will, releaſed to him his action of Treaſon, and accuſed him onely of hereſie; which liked the Archbiſhop right well, and came to paſſe as he wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not his owne, but Chriſts; not the Queenes, but the Churches. Thus ſtood the cauſe of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the Queene and the Councell, that he ſhould be removed from the Tower where he was priſoner, to

Cranmer condemned of treaſon.

Cranmer releaſed of treaſon, and accuſed of hereſie.

Oxford.

Cranmer had to Oxford.

Oxford, there to diſpute with the Doctors and Divines. And privily word was ſent before to them of Oxford to prepare themſelves, and make them readie to diſpute. And although the Queene and the biſhops had concluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the matter ſhould be debated with arguments, that under ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation the murther of the man might be covered. Neither could their haſty ſpeed of revengement abide any long delay; and therefore in all haſte he was carried to Oxford.

What this diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions and reaſons on both ſides, and alſo touching his condemnation by the Univerſitie and the Prolocutor, becauſe ſufficiently it hath been declared, we minde now therefore to proceed to his finall judgement and order of condemnation, which was the 12. day of September, Anno 1555. and ſeven dayes before the condemnation of Biſhop Ridley and Maſter Latimer, as is above foretouched. The ſtorie whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both preſent thereat, and alſo a devout favourer of the See and faction of Rome, can lack no credit (I trowe) with ſuch, which ſeek what they can to diſcredit whatſoever maketh not with their phantaſied Religion of Rome.

D. Brooks, D. Martin, D. Story, commiſſioners againſt the Archbiſhop. D. Martin not ſo bitter in this perſecution, as other Commiſſioners were.

After the diſputations done and finiſhed in Oxford between the Doctors of both Univerſities, and the three worthy Biſhops, Doctor Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard then how ſentence condemnatorie immediately upon the ſame was miniſtred againſt them by Doctor Weſton and other of the Univerſitie; whereby they were judged to be heretiques, and ſo committed to the Maior and Sheriffes of Oxford. But foraſmuch as the ſentence given againſt them was void in law (for at that time the authoritie of the Pope was not yet received into the land) therefore was a new Commiſſion ſent from Rome, and a new Proceſſe framed for the conviction of theſe reverend and godly learned men aforeſaid. In which Commiſſion, firſt was Doctor James Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter the Popes Subdelegate, with Doctor Martin, and Doctor Storie, Commiſſioners in the King and Queens behalf, for the execution of the ſame. Of the which three Commiſſioners above named, as touching Doctor Martin, this by the way is to be underſtood, that although he was uſed for an inſtrument of the Popes ſide, to ſerve a turn (whoſe book alſo is extant againſt the lawfull marriage of Prieſts) yet notwithſtanding neither was he ſo bitter an enemy in this perſecution, as other Commiſſioners were; and alſo in this time of Queene Elizabeth, where divers other Doctors of the Arches refuſed to be ſworn againſt the Pope, he denied not the oath; and yet notwithſtanding not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the purpoſe of this ſtorie. Whereof firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the circumſtance, and the whole ſtate of the matter, as in a generall deſcription, before we come to their Orations, according as in a parcell of a certain letter touching the ſame, it came to our hands.

The order of ſetting and placing the Commiſſioners.

Imprimis, here is to be underſtood, that at the coming down of the foreſaid Commiſſioners, which was upon Thurſday, the 12. of September, Anno 1555. in the Church of S. Marie, and in the Eaſt end of the ſaid Church at the high Altar, was erected a ſolemne Scaffold for Biſhop Brooks aforeſaid, repreſenting the Popes perſon, ten foot high. The ſeat was made that he might ſit under the ſacrament of the Altar. And on the right hand of the Popes Delegate beneath him ſat Doctor Martin, and on the left hand ſat Doctor Storie the King and Queenes Commiſſioners, which were both Doctors of the Civill Law, and underneath them other Doctors, Scribes, and Phariſees alſo, with the Popes Collector, and a rabblement of ſuch other like.

The appearing of the Archbiſh. of Canterbury before the Commiſſioners.

And thus theſe Biſhops being placed in their Pontificalibus, the Biſhop of Canterbury was ſent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himſelf. He came forth of the priſon to the Church of ſaint Marie, ſet forth with bils and gleves for fear he ſhould ſtart away, being clothed in a faire black gown, with his hood on both ſhoulders, ſuch as Doctors of Divinitie in the Univerſitie uſe to weare. Who, after he was come into the Church, and did ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but ſtood ſtill till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or elſe his Doctor, called Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, appeare here and make anſwer to that ſhall be laid to thy charge; that is to ſay, for blaſphemy, incontinencie, and hereſie; and make anſwer here to the Biſhop of Gloceſter, repreſenting the Popes perſon.

The Archbiſh. giveth reverence to the Queens commiſſioners. D. Cranmer ſheweth no reverence to the Popes Delegate.

Upon this he being brought more neere unto the Scaffold, where the foreſaid Biſhop ſat, he firſt well viewed the place of judgement, and ſpying where the King and Queens Majeſties Proctors were, putting off his cap, he firſt humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the Biſhop in the face, he put on his bonet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Biſhop being offended, ſaid unto him, that it might beſeem him right well, weighing the authoritie he did repreſent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Doctor Cranmer anſwered and ſaid, that he had once taken a ſolemne oath, never to conſent to the admitting of the biſhop of Romes authoritie into this Realme of England again; and that he had done it adviſedly, and meant by Gods grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by ſigne or token, which might argue his conſent to the receiving of the ſame, and ſo he deſired the ſaid Biſhop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his perſon, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his Commiſſion had come from as good an authoritie as theirs. This anſwered he both modeſtly, wiſely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that repreſented the Popes perſon, which was wonderouſly of the people marked that was there preſent and ſaw it, and marked it as nigh as could be poſſible.

The Oration of Doctor Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter, unto Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Church of ſaint Mary at Oxford, Anno 1556. March 12.

The Oration of D. Brooks.

VVHen after many means uſed, they perceived that the Archbiſhop would not move his bonet, the Biſhop proceeded in theſe words following.

My Lord, at this preſent we are come to you as Commiſſioners, and for you, not intruding our ſelves by our own authoritie, but ſent by Commiſſion, partly from the Popes holineſſe, partly from the King and Queenes moſt excellent Majeſties, not to your utter diſcomfort, but to your comfort if you will your ſelf. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have been, and ſhall be. Neither come we to diſpute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The firſt being well taken, ſhall make the ſecond to be well taken. For if you of your part be moved to come to a conformitie, then ſhall not onely we of our ſide take joy of our examination, but alſo they that have ſent us.

And firſt, as charitie doth move us, I would think good ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſecond chapter of ſaint John in the Apoc. Memor eſto unde excideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus, i. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the firſt works, or if not, and ſo as ye know what followeth. Remember your ſelf from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the univerſall and Catholique church of Chriſt, from the verie true and received faith of all Chriſtendome, and that by open hereſie. You have fallen from your promiſe to God, from your fidelitie and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adulterie. You have fallen from your Soveraign Prince and Queen by open treaſon. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be ſeen. Wherefore when I ſay, remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in minde not onely of your fall, but alſo of the ſtate you were in before your fall. You were ſometime, as I and other poore men, in a mean eſtate, God I take to witneſſe, I ſpeak it to no reproach or abaſement of you, but to put you in memorie, how God hath called you from a lowe to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Angliæ, Paſtorem gregis ſui. Such great truſt did he put you in, in his Church, What could he do more? for even as he ordained Moſes to be a ruler over his Church of Iſrael, and gave him full authoritie upon the ſame: ſo did he make you over his Church of England. And when did he this for you? forſooth when you gave no occaſion or cauſe of miſtruſt either to him, or to his Magiſtrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Chriſt, but rather ſet up of purpoſe as a fit inſtrument, whereby the Church might be ſpoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appeare by many your doings otherwiſe, and I for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, ſhall think the beſt. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more conſcience of a vow making, and obſerving the order of the Church, more earneſt in the defence of the reall preſence of Chriſts bodie and blood in the ſacrament of the altar then ye were? and then all things proſpered with you; your Prince favoured you; yea God himſelf favoured you; your candleſtick was ſet up in the higheſt place of the Church, and the light of your candle was over all the Church; I would God it had ſo continued ſtill.

Apoc. 2.

Hereſie, adultery, and treaſon laid to Doctor Cranmer.

The high eſtate of Doct. Cranmer, ſometime Archbiſhop. of Canterbury.

But after ye began to fall by ſchiſme, and would not acknowledge the Popes holineſſe as ſupreme head, but would ſtoutly uphold the unlawfull requeſts of King Henrie the eighth, and would bear with that ſhould not be born withall, then began you to fanſie unlawfull libertie, and when you had exiled a good conſcience, then enſued great ſhipwrack in the Sea, which was out of the true and Catholique Church caſt into the Sea of deſperation; for as he ſaith; Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, i. Without the Church there is no ſalvation. When ye had forſaken God, God forſook you, and gave you over to your own will, and ſuffered you to fall from ſchiſme to Apoſtaſie, from Apoſtaſſe to hereſie, and from hereſie to perjurie, from perjurie to treaſon, and ſo in concluſion, into the full indignation of our Soveraigne Prince, which you may think a juſt puniſhment of God, for your other abominable opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the loweſt degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your candle be as it hath been hitherto duſkey, your candleſtick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, ſo lowe, and ſo far out of knowledge, that it ſhall be quite out of Gods favour, and paſt all hope of recoverie: Quia in inferno nulla eſt redemptio, i. For in hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being ſo great, verie pitie cauſeth me to ſay; Memor eſto unde excideris, i. Remember from whence thou haſt fallen. I adde alſo, and whither you fall.

But here peradventure you will ſay to me, what ſir, my fall is not ſo great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the Catholike Church. For that is not the Catholique Church that the Pope is head of. There is another Church. But as touching that, I anſwer; You are ſure of that as the Donatiſts were, for they ſaid that they had the true Church, and that the name of true Chriſtians remained onely in Africk, where onely their ſeditious ſect was preached: and as you thinke, ſo thought Novatus, that all they that did acknowledge their ſupreme head at the See of Rome, were out of the Church of Chriſt. But here Saint Cyprian defending Cornelius againſt Novatus, Libro ſecundo, Epiſtola ſexta, ſaith on this wiſe; Eccleſia una eſt, quæ cum ſit una, intus & foris eſſe non poteſt. So that if Novatus were in the true Church, then was not Cornelius, who indeed by lawfull ſucceſſion ſucceeded Pope Fabian. Here Saint Cyprian intendeth by the whole proceſſe to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true Church was onely Rome. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will ſay peradventure, that you fell not by hereſie, and ſo ſaid the Arrians, alledging for themſelves that they had Scripture, and going about to perſwade their Schiſme by Scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and fourtie, which by their torture ſeemed to depend upon Scripture, then the Catholiques had.

Cyprian li. 2. Epiſt. 6.

So did the Martians provoke their hereſie to Scripture. But thoſe are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alledged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wreſted and wrong, according to their owne fantaſies. And therefore were they all juſtly condemned, for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the Church replieth againſt them, ſaying; Qui eſtis vos? quandò? quid agitis in meo, non mei? The Church ſaith, What make you here in my heritage? from whence came you? the Scripture is mine inheritance; I am right heire thereof. I hold it by true ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles: for as the Apoſtles required me to hold, ſo do I hold it. The Apoſtles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as baſtards, having no title thereunto.

Provoking to the Scripture.

Alſo ye will denie that ye have fallen by Apoſtaſie, by breaking your vow; and ſo Vigilantius ſaid, inſomuch that he would admit none to his Miniſterie, but thoſe that had their wives bagged with children. What now? Shall we ſay that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Did not Donatus and Novatus fall, becauſe they ſaid ſo, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us beleeve as we liſt, pretending well, and ſay ſo; nay, there is no man ſo blinde that will ſay ſo. For except the Church which condemneth them for their ſay ſo, do approve us for to do ſo, then will ſhe condemne you alſo. So that

Breaking of vows.

your deniall will not ſtand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long ye ſhall fall, if you hold on as you do begin. But I truſt you will not continue, but revoke your ſelfe in time, and the remedie followeth.

“ Age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac, for by ſuch meanes as ye have fallen, ye muſt riſe again. Firſt, your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen, and beſides your owne damage hath cauſed many more to fall. Therefore, firſt your heart muſt turne, and then ſhall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned; Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, & movebo Candelabrum tuum de loco ſuo.

“That is, repent, and do thy firſt works.

I need not to teach you a method to turn; you know the readie way your ſelfe. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way ſhould ſoone be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable hereſie into the way of perdition, I doubt not but verie conſcience would move you, as much for them as for your ſelf, to come again. And ſo would you ſpare neither tongue nor pen, if heart were once reformed; for as touching that point, the holy Ghoſt toucheth their hearts verie neere by the mouth of his holy Prophet Ezekiel, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the Prieſts hands, for lack of good and wholſome food. How much more ſhould this touch your guiltie heart, having overmuch diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is hereſie. Qui convertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vitæ ſuæ, ſalvam faciet animam ſuam à morte, & operiet multitudinem peccatorum ſuorum, i. He that ſhall convert a ſinner from his wicked life, ſhall ſave his ſoule from death, and ſhall cover the multitude of ſins. So that if it be true that he, who converteth a ſinner, ſaveth a ſoul; then the contrarie muſt needs be true, that he that perverteth a ſoul, and teacheth him the way of perdition, muſt needs be damned.

Ezech. 33.

Origines ſuper Paulum ad Romanos; The damnation of thoſe that preach hereſie doth increaſe to the day of judgement. The more that periſh by hereticall doctrine, the more grievous ſhall their torment be, that miniſter ſuch doctrine. Berengarius who ſeemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his life time, but not without a troubled and diſquiet conſcience. He did not onely repent, but recant, and not ſo much for himſelf, as for them whom he had with moſt peſtilent hereſies infected. For as he lay in his death-bed upon Epiphany day, he demanded of them that were preſent, Is this (quoth he) the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord? They anſwered him, Yea. Then (quoth he) this day ſhall the Lord appeare to me, either to my comfort, either to my diſcomfort. This remorſe argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the faith of Chriſt. Origines upon him ſaith in this wiſe; Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, and was ſorie for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine.

Orig. in Epiſt. Paul. ad Rom.

Berengarius.

Let this move you even at the laſt point. Inſomuch as your caſe is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you (tell me) from this godly return? fear, that ye have gone ſo far, ye may not return? nay, then I may ſay as David ſaid; Illic trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor, Ye fear where ye have no cauſe to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily ſorie for your former hereſie and apoſtaſie, ye need not to fear. For as God of his part is mercifull and gracious to the repentant ſinner, ſo is the King, ſo is the Queen mercifull, which ye may well perceive by your own caſe, ſince ye might have ſuffered a great whiles ago for treaſon committed againſt her Highneſſe, but that ye have been ſpared and reſerved upon hope of amendment, which ſhe conceived verie good of you, but now (as it ſeemeth) is but a very deſperate hope. And what do you thereby? Secundum duritiem cordis theſaurizas tibi iram in die iræ, i. According to the hardneſſe of your heart ye treaſure up to your ſelf anger in the day of wrath.

Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unſay that that you have ſaid? Nay, it is no ſhame, unleſſe ye think it ſhame to agree with the true and the Catholique Church of Chriſt. And if that be ſhame, then blame S. Paul who perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſt with the ſword; then blame ſaint Peter, who denied his Maſter Chriſt with an oath, that he never knew him. Saint Cyprian before his return being a Witch; Saint Auſten being nine yeers out of the Church: They thought it no ſhame after their return of that they had returned. Shall it then be ſhame for you to convert and conſent with the Church of Chriſt? no, no.

What is it then that doth let you? Glorie of the world? nay, as for the vanitie of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your eſtate.

And as for the loſſe of your eſtimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Metropolitane of England, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhall be as well ſtill, yea and rather better.

And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here preſent, and the whole congregation of Chriſts Church alſo will more rejoyce of your return, then they were ſorie for your fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt, for they ſhall all come after; and to ſay the truth, if you ſhould loſe them for ever it were no force, ye ſhould have no loſſe thereby at all. I do not here touch them which ſhould confirm your eſtimation. For as St. Paul after his converſion was received into the Church of Chriſt, with wonderfull joy to the whole congregation, even ſo ſhall you be. The fame of your return ſhall be ſpread abroad throughout all Chriſtendome, where your face was never known.

But you will ſay perhaps, your conſcience will not ſuffer you. My Lord, there is a good conſcience, and there is a bad conſcience. The good conſcience have not they, as ſaint Paul declareth to Timothy concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evil and bad conſcience is (ſaith ſaint Cyprian) well to be known by his mark. What mark? This conſcience is marked with the print of hereſie. This conſcience is a naughtie, filthie, and a branded conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you then ſo, or elſe would I never go about to perſwade or exhort you. But what conſcience ſhould ſtay you to return to the Catholique faith and univerſall Church of Chriſt? what conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deviliſh and ſeverall Church? to a libertie which never had ground in the holy Scriptures? If you judge your libertie to be good, then judge you all Chriſtendome to do evill beſides you.

A good conſcience.

Mark of an evill conſcience.

O what a preſumptuous perſwaſion is this, upon this utterly to forſake the Church of Chriſt? Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuſes? as though in your Church were no abuſes: Yes that there were. And if you forſake the Univerſall Church for the abuſes, why do you not then forſake your particular Church, and ſo be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to ſlip from the Church for the

Abuſes in the church require a reformation, and not a defection.

abuſes; for if you had ſéene abuſes, you ſhould rather have endeavoured for a reformation then for a defection. He is a good Chirurgion, who for a little paine in the toe will cut off the whole legge. He helpeth well the tooth-ach, which cutteth away the head by the ſhoulders. It is méere folly to amend abuſes by abuſes. Ye are like Diogenes; for Diogenes on a time envying the cleanlineſſe of Plato, ſaid on this wiſe, Ecce calco faſtum Platonis. Plato anſwered, Sed alio faſtu. So that Diogenes ſéemed more faultie of the two.

But when we have ſaid all that we can, peradventure you will ſay, I will not return. And to that I ſay, I will not anſwer. Neverthelesse, hear what Chriſt ſaith to ſuch obſtinate and ſtiffe-necked people in the Parable of the Supper. When he had ſent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his ſervants go into the wayes and ſtréets, to compell men to come in: Cogite intrare. If then the Church will not léeſe any member that may be compelled to come in, ye muſt thinke it good to take the compulſion, leſt you loſe your part of the Supper which the Lord hath prepared for you; and this compulſion ſtandeth well with charitie.

Cogite intrare, clerkly expounded.

But it may be perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſtick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye ſhall die in a good quarrell, and God ſhall accept your oblation. But hear what Chriſt ſaith of a meaner gift; If thou come to the Altar to offer thy oblation, and knoweſt that thy brother hath ſomewhat to ſay againſt thée, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or elſe thy brother will make thy offering unſavourie before God. This he ſaid unto all the world, to the end they ſhould know how their offerings ſhould be received, if they were not according.

Math 7.

Remember you therefore before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of Rome, and alſo of England, where not one onely brother, but a number have matter againſt you, ſo juſt that they will make your burnt offering to ſtink before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſt néeds appoint upon a ſacrifice, make yet a mean firſt to them that have to lay againſt you. I ſay no more then the Church hath allowed me to ſay. For the ſacrifice that is offered without the Church is not profitable. The premiſſes therefore conſidered, for Gods ſake, I ſay, Memor eſto unde excideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c. Caſt not your ſelf away, ſpare your bodie, ſpare your ſoul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedding of Chriſts blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yéeld to the preſcript Word of God, to the Catholique Church of Rome, to the received veritie of all Chriſtendome. Wed not your ſelf to your own ſelf-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not your ſelf wiſer then all Chriſtendome is beſides you. Leave off this unjuſt cavill. How? leave what? leave reaſon, leave wonder, and beléeve as the Catholique Church doth beléeve and teach you. Perſwade with your ſelf, that Ex[t]ra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, i. Without the Church there is no ſalvation. And thus much have I ſaid of charitie. If this poore ſimple exhortation of mine may ſink into you head, and take effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not as I would, but as I could for this preſent.

Melle lita pernicies.

And thus Biſhop Brooks finiſhing his Oration, ſat down. After whom, Doctor Martin, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martin.

Oration of D. Martin.

ALbeit there be two Governments, the one ſpirituall, and the other temporall, the one having the keyes, the other the ſword, yet in all ages we read that for the honour and glorie of God both theſe powers have béen adjoyned together. For if we read the old Teſtament, we ſhall finde that ſo did Joſias and Ezekias. So did the King of the Ninivites compell a generall faſt through all the whole Citie. So did Darius in breaking the great Idoll, Bell, and delivered godly Daniel out of the den of Lions. So did Nabuchodonoſor make and inſtitute laws againſt the blaſphemers of God. But to let paſſe theſe examples, with a great number moe, and to come to Chriſts time, it is not unknown what great travell they took to ſet forth Gods honour: and although the rule and government of the Church did onely appertain to the ſpiritualtie, yet for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies and ſchiſmes, Kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. Firſt, Conſtantius the great called a Councell at Nice for the ſuppreſſion of the Arrians ſect, where the ſame time was raiſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the Fathers could not agrée upon the putting down of the Arrians, they referred their judgement to Conſtantine. God forbid, quoth Conſtantine; You ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Conſtantine did, ſo did Theodoſius againſt the Neſtorians, ſo did Marcianus againſt Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man ſhould marrie with a Nunne, that had wedded her ſelf to the Church.

Temporall government ruling in ſpirituall matters.

Temporall magiſtrates aiders not rulers in ſpirituall cauſes.

So had King Henrie the eighth the title of Defender of the faith, becauſe he wrote againſt Luther and his complices. So theſe 900. yéers the Kings of Spaine had that title of Catholique, for the expulſion of the Arrians; and to ſay the truth, the King and Quéenes Majeſties do nothing degenerate from their anceſtors, taking upon them to reſtore again the title to be Defender of the faith, to the right heire thereof, the Popes holineſſe.

Therefore theſe two Princes, perceiving this noble Realm, how it hath béen brought from the unitie of the true and Catholique Church, the which you and your confederates do, and have renounced; perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the ſame, have made their humble requeſt and petition to the Popes holineſſe, Paulus the fourth, as ſupreme head of the church of Chriſt, declaring to him, that where you were Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Metropolitane of England, and at your conſecration took two ſolemne oaths, for your due obedience to be given to the Sée of Rome, to become a true Preacher or Paſtor of his flock, yet contrarie to your oath and allegiance, for unitie have ſowed diſcord; for chaſtitie, marriage and adulterie; for obedience, contention; and for faith, ye have béen the author of all miſchiefs. The Popes holineſſe conſidering their requeſt and petition, hath granted them, that according to the cenſure of this Realme proceſſe ſhould be made againſt you.

And whereas in this late time, you both excluded charitie and juſtice, yet hath his holineſſe decréed, that you ſhall have both charitie and juſtice ſhewed unto you. He willeth you ſhould have the laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in your behalfe, and that you ſhall here come before my Lord of Glocester, as high Commiſſioner from his holineſſe, to the examination of ſuch Articles as ſhall be propoſed againſt you, and that we ſhould require the examination of you, in the King and Quéenes Majeſties behalfe. The

The Popes charitie & juſtice to the Archbiſhop.

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

King and Queen as touching themſelves, becauſe by the Law they cannot appear perſonally, Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ, have appointed as their Atturneys, Doctor Storie and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordſhip our Proxie, ſealed with the broad Seale of England, and offer my ſelf to be Proctor in the King Majeſties behalf. I exhibite here alſo certain articles, containing the manifeſt adultery and perjurie: Alſo books of hereſie made partly by him, partly ſet forth by his authoritie. And here I produce him as party principall, to anſwer to your good Lordſhip.

Thus when Doctor Martin had ended his Oration, the Archbiſhop beginneth, as here followeth.

Cranmer. Shall I then make my anſwer?

Martin. As you thinke good, no man ſhall let you.

And here the Archbiſhop kneeling down on both knees towards the Weſt, said firſt the Lords prayer. Then riſing up he reciteth the Articles of the Creed. Which done, he entreth with his proteſtation in form as followeth.

The faith and profeſſion of Doctor Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, before the Commiſſioners.

The profeſſion or proteſtation of D. Cranmer before the commiſſioners.

THis I do profeſſe as touching my faith, and make my proteſtation, which I deſire you to note. I will never conſent that the Biſhop of Rome ſhall have any juriſdiction within this Realme.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Martin. Mark maſter Cranmer how you anſwer for your ſelf. You refuſe and denie him, by whoſe laws ye yet do remain in life, being otherwiſe attainted of high treaſon, and but a dead man by the Laws of this Realm.

Cran. I proteſt before God I was no Traitor, but indeed I confeſſed more at my arraignment then was true.

Martin. That is not to be reaſoned at this preſent. Ye know ye were condemned for a Traitor, and Res judicata pro veritate accipitur. But proceed to your matter.

Cranmer. I will never conſent to the Biſhop of Rome, for then ſhould I give my ſelf to the devill; for I have made an oath to the King, and I muſt obey the King by Gods Laws. By the Scripture the King is chief, and no forrain perſon in his own Realm above him. There is no ſubject but to a King. I am a ſubject, I owe my fidelitie to the Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can ſerve two maſters at once, as you in the beginning of your Oration declared by the ſword and the keyes, attributing the keyes to the Pope, and the ſword to the King. But I ſay the King hath both. Therefore he that is ſubject to Rome, and the Laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the Popes and the Judges laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

Cauſes alledged why D. Cranmer cannot receive the Pope. The laws of this Realm, and the Popes, contrary.

A Prieſt indebted by the laws of the Realms, ſhall be ſued before a temporall Judge; by the Popes laws contrary.

The Pope doth the King injurie, in that he hath his power from the Pope. The King is head in his own Realm: But the Pope claimeth all Biſhops, Prieſts, Curates, &c. So the Pope in every Realm hath a Realm.

Againe, by the Laws of Rome the Benefice muſt be given by the Biſhop; by the Laws of the Realme, the Patron giveth the Benefice. Herein the Laws be as contrarie as fire and water.

No man can by the Laws of Rome proceed in a præmunire, and ſo is the Law of the Realm expelled, and the King ſtandeth accurſed in maintaining his own Laws. Therefore in conſideration that the King and Queen take their power of him, as though God ſhould give it to them, there is no true ſubject, unleſſe he be abrogate, ſeeing the Crown is holden of him being out of the Realme.

The Popes proceedings contrary to God.

The Biſhop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his Laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his Law; and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the weeke at the leaſt, for the people to come to the Church and hear the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better underſtand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willeth the ſervice to be had in the Latine tongue, which they do not underſtand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the Prieſt giveth thanks, God would that the people ſhould do ſo too, and God will them to confeſſe altogether; the Pope will not.

The reall preſence is not to be proved by any Doctor above a thouſand yeers after Chriſt.

Now as concerning the Sacrament, I have taught no falſe doctrine of the ſacrament of the Altar: For if it can be proved by any Doctor above a thouſand yeers after Chriſt, that Chriſts bodie is there really, I will give over. My book was made ſeven yeers ago, and no man hath brought any Authors againſt it. I beleeve that whoſo eateth and drinketh that ſacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his Nativitie, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion; but not that corporally that ſitteth in heaven.

Now Chriſt commanded all to drink of the cup; The Pope taketh it away from the Lay men, and yet one ſaith, that if Chriſt had died for the devill, that he ſhould drink thereof. Chriſt biddeth us to obey the King, etiam diſcolo. The Biſhop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unleſſe he be Antichriſt, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I ſhould obey him, I cannot obey Chriſt.

The Pope likened to the Devil, & wherein.

He is like the devill in his doings; for the Devill ſaid to Chriſt; If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even ſo the Biſhop of Rome giveth Princes their Crowns, being none of his own; for where Princes either by election, either by ſucceſſion, either by inheritance obtain their Crown, he ſaith that they ſhould have it from him.

The Pope proved Antichriſt.

Chriſt ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that advanceth himſelf above all other creatures. Now if there be none alreadie that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch ſort beſides the Pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end?

Cran. For he will be the Vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the Old and New Teſtament alſo, yea and with Apoſtaſie.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conſcience obey the Pope. I ſpeak not this for hatred I beare to him that now ſupplieth the roome, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his anceſtors. Neither ſay I this for my defence, but to declare my conſcience for the zeal that I bear to Gods word troden under foot by the Biſhop of Rome. I caſt fear apart, for Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, that in the latter dayes they ſhould ſuffer much ſorrow, and be put to death for his names ſake: fear them not (ſaith he) but fear him which when he hath killed the bodie, hath power to caſt the ſoul into fire everlaſting. Alſo Chriſt ſaith, that he that will live ſhall die, and he that loſeth his life for my Names ſake, he ſhall finde it again. More-

Math. 16.

Matth. 8.

ever he ſaid, confeſſe me before men, and be not afraid; for if you do ſo, I will ſtand with you; if you ſhrink from me, I will ſhrink from you. This is a comfortable and a terrible ſaying, this maketh me to ſet all fear apart. I ſay therefore the Biſhop of Rome treadeth under foot Gods Laws and the Kings.

The Pope would give Biſhopricks; ſo would the King. But at the laſt the King got the upper hand, and ſo are all Biſhops perjured, firſt to the Pope, and then to the King.

The popes laws againſt the laws of this realm.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the Clergie. For if a Clerk come before a judge, the judge ſhall make proceſſe againſt him, but not to execute any laws. For if the judge ſhould put him to execution, then is the King accurſed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore ſay I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the King, that firſt received the Pope. But I ſhall heartily pray for ſuch Counſellors, as may inform her the truth; for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

Martin. As you underſtand, then if they maintain the ſupremacie of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

To be called univerſall head is a mark of Antichriſt. Gregor.

Cran. I require you to declare to the King and Queene what I have ſaid, and how their oaths do ſtand with the Realm and the Pope. S. Gregory ſaith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the univerſall Church, is worſe then the Antichriſt. If any man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt Gods word to hold his ſtirrop when he taketh his horſe, and kiſſe his feet (as Kings do) then will I kiſſe his feet alſo.

The biſhop of Gloceſter charged with perjury.

And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for now ye ſit Judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive your Biſhoprick of the King. You have taken an oath to be adverſarie to the Realm; for the Popes laws are contrarie to the laws of the Realm.

Gloceſter. You were the cauſe that I did forſake the Pope, and did ſweare that he ought not to be ſupreme head, and gave it to King Henry the eighth, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Warrham archbiſhop gave up firſt the ſupremacy to the King.

Both the Univerſities ſubſcribed to the Kings ſupremacie, before Cranmer was archbiſhop.

Cranmer. To this I anſwer, ſaid he; You report me ill, and ſay not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my Predeceſſor, Biſhop Warrham, gave the ſupremacie to King Henrie the eighth, and ſaid that he ought to have it before the Biſhop of Rome, and that Gods Word would beare him. And upon the ſame was there ſent to both the Univerſities Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the Word of God would do touching the Supremacie, and it was reaſoned upon, and argued at length. So at the laſt both the Univerſities agreed, and ſet to their ſeals, and ſent it to King Henry the eighth to the Court, that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Divinitie at that time, and your conſent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appeare. Therefore you miſreport me, that I was the cauſe of your falling away from the Pope, but it was your ſelfe. All this was in Biſhop Warrhams time, and whileſt he was alive, ſo that it was three quarters of a yeer after ere ever I had the Biſhoprick of Canterburie in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evill done. All this while his cap was on his head.

Glocest. We come to examine you, and you, me think, examine us.

Doctor Stories Oration.

D. Stories Oration againſt the Archbiſhop.

STory. Pleaſeth it your good Lordſhip, becauſe it hath pleaſed the King and Queenes Majeſties to appoint my companion and me to heare the examination of this man before your good Lordſhip, to give me leave ſomewhat to talke in that behalfe. Although I know that in talk with Heretiques there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the ſtedfaſt, troubleth the doubtfull, and taketh in ſnare the weake and ſimple: yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bound to anſwer your Lordſhip ſitting for the Popes holineſſe, becauſe of a Premunire, and the Word of God as he termeth it; I think good ſomewhat to ſay, that all men may ſee how he runneth out of his race of reaſon into the rage of common talk, ſuch as here I truſt hath done much good. And as the King and Queenes Majeſties will be glad to heare of your moſt charitable dealing with him; ſo will they be wearie to heare the blundering of this ſtubborn Heretique. And where he alledgeth Divinitie, mingling fas nefaſque together, he ſhould not have been heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for him to alledge, the Judge is not competent? Do we not ſee that in the Common Law it is not lawfull for a man in Weſtminſter Hall to refuſe his Judge? And ſhall we diſpute contra eum qui negat principia? Although there be here a great companie of learned men, that know it unmeet ſo to do, yet have I here a plaine Canon, wherein he declareth himſelfe convicted ipſo facto. The Canon is this;

Words of the Popes Canon.

Sit ergo ruinæ ſuo dolore proſtratus quiſquis Apoſtolicis volverit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, ſed exors à ſancto fiat miniſterio, neç de eo ejus judicio quiſquam poſthac curam habeat, quin jam damnatus à ſancta & Apoſtolica Eccleſia ſua inobedientia ac præſumptione à quoquam eſſe non dubitetur. Quin majoris excommunicationis dejectione eſt abjiciendus, cui ſanctæ Eccleſiæ commiſſa fuerit diſciplina, qui non ſolum juſſionibus prælatæ ſanctæ Eccleſiæ parere debuit, ſed etiam aliis ne præterirent inſinuare. Sitque alienus à divinis & pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis Apoſtolicis obtemperare.

Note the worſhipfull reaſons of D. Storie, wherewith he proveth the Popes ſupremacy.

He hath alledged many matters againſt the Supremacie, but maliciouſly. He ſay that the King in his Realme is ſupreme head of the Church. Well ſir, you will grant me that there was a perfect Catholique Church before any King was chriſtened. Then if it were a perfect Church, it muſt needs have a head, which muſt needs be before any King was member thereof; for you know Conſtantius the Emperour was the firſt chriſtened King that ever was. And although you are bound (as ſaint Paul ſaith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of ſouls: for à fortiori, the head may do that the Miniſter cannot do; but the Prieſt may conſecrate, and the King cannot, therefore the King is not head.

D. Story reaſoneth, as though to feed with the word, and to govern with the ſword were all one.

It was licenſed by Chriſt to everie man to bring into the ſheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was onely given to Peter.

And where the Apoſtles do call upon men to obey their Princes, cui tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal; they perceiving that men were bent to a kinde of libertie and diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth onely to temporall matters.

A maxime in the law.

And again, where you ſay that the Biſhop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the Realme, that is not true; for this is a maxime in the Law; Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit univerſale falſum.

Now as touching that monſtrous talke of your conſcience, that is no conſcience that ye profeſſe; it is but privata ſcientia, electio and ſecta. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by Gods lawes that ye ought not to anſwer the Popes Holineſſe.

A rule of law.

The Canons which be received of all Chriſtendome compell you to anſwer, therefore you are bound ſo to doe. And although this Realme of late time, through ſuch Schiſmatickes as you were, hath exiled and baniſhed the Canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your ſelfe, that Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid ſtatuere poteſt. Wherefore this Ile, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine againſt the whole. That notwithſtanding the ſame lawes, being put away by Parliament, are now received againe by a Parliament, and have as full authoritie now as they had then, and they will now that ye anſwer to the Popes Holineſſe: therefore by the laws of this Realme ye are bound to anſwer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I cannot otherwiſe terme him, conſidering his diſobedience) hath brought for his defence, ſhall nothing prevaile with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to anſwer directly to your good Lordſhip; command him to ſet aſide his trifles, and to be obedient to the laws and ordinances of this Realme. Take witneſſe here of his ſtuborne contempt againſt the King and Queenes Majeſties, and compell him to anſwer directly to ſuch articles as we ſhall here lay againſt him, and in refuſall, your good Lordſhip is to excommunicate him.

Doct. Story chargeth the Archbiſhop with ſtubbornneſſe.

Partialitie in the reporter.

As ſoone as Doctor Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth Doctor Martin againe to enter ſpeech with the Archbiſhop; which talk I thought here likewiſe not to let paſſe, although the report of the ſame be ſuch, as the author thereof ſeemeth in his writing very partiall; for as he expreſſeth the ſpeech of Doctor Martin at full, and to the uttermoſt of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be ſaid more; ſo againe on the other part, how rawe and weake he leaveth the matter, it is eaſie to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Doctor Cranmer againe anſwered for his defence, nor yet in thoſe ſhort ſpeeches which he expreſſeth, ſeemeth to diſcharge the part of a ſincere and faithfull reporter. Notwithſtanding ſuch as it is, I thought good to let the Reader underſtand, who in peruſing the ſame, may uſe therein his owne judgement and conſideration.

Talke betweene Doctor Martin and the Archbiſhop.

Talke betweene D. Martin and the Archbiſhop.

MAſter Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending ſome matter of conſcience in appearance, but in veritie you have no conſcience at all. You ſay that you have ſworne once to King Henrie the eighth againſt the Popes juriſdiction, and therefore you may never forſweare the ſame; and ſo ye make a great matter of conſcience in the breach of the ſaid oath. Here will I aſke you a queſtion or two. What if ye made an oath to an Harlot, to live with her in continuall adulterie, ought you to keepe it?

Cran. I thinke no.

Unadviſed oathes are not to be kept.

Mart. What if you did ſweare never to lend a poore man one penny, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I thinke not.

Martin. Herod did ſweare whatſoever his Harlot aſked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptiſts head; Did he well in keeping his oath?

Cran. I thinke not.

Jephthes oath.

Mart. Jephthe one of the Judges of Iſrael did ſweare unto God, that if he would give him victorie over his enemies, he would offer unto God the firſt ſoule that came forth of his houſe; it happned that his owne daughter came firſt, and he ſlue her to ſave his oath. Did he well?

Cran. I thinke not.

Martin. So ſaith Saint Ambroſe de officiis, Miſerabilis neceſſitas, quæ ſolvitur parricidio, id eſt, It is a miſerable neceſſitie, which is paid with parricide. Then Maſter Cranmer you can no leſſe confeſſe by the premiſſes but that you ought not to have conſcience of every oath, but if it be juſt, lawfull, and adviſedly taken.

Cran. So was that oath.

Mart. That is not ſo, for firſt it was unjuſt, for it tended to the taking away of another mans right. It was not lawfull, for the lawes of God and the Church were againſt it. Beſides, it was not voluntarie; for every man and woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaſeth you to ſay ſo.

The Archbiſh. being ſworne to the King, ought not to ſweare to the Pope.

Mart. Let all the world be judge. But ſir, you that pretend to have ſuch a conſcience to breake an oath. I pray you did you never ſweare, and break the ſame?

Cran. I remember not.

Mart. I will helpe your memorie. Did you never ſweare obedience to the See of Rome?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once ſweare unto the ſame.

Mart. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be ſhewed.

The Archbiſh. ſworne firſt to the Pope by proteſtation.

Cran. But I remember I ſaved all by proteſtation that I made by the counſell of the beſt learned men I could get at that time.

Mart. Hearken good people what this man ſaith. He made a proteſtation one day, to keepe never a whit of that which he would ſweare the next day; was this the part of a Chriſtian man? If a Chriſtian man would bargaine with a Turke, and before he maketh his bargaine ſolemnly, before witneſſe readeth in his paper that he holdeth ſecretly in his hand, or peradventure proteſteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to performe whatſoever he ſhall promiſe to the Turke; I ſay, if a Chriſtian man ſhould ſerve a Turke in this manner, that the Chriſtian man were worſe then the Turke. What would you then ſay to this man that made a ſolemne oath and promiſe unto God and his Church, and made a proteſtation before quite contrarie?

Cran. That which I did, I did by the beſt learned mens advice I could get at that time.

D. Martin would prove the Archbiſhop perjured in forſwearing his oath made to the Pope.

Mart. I proteſt before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will ſave your perjurie herein; for there be two rules of the Civill Law cleane contrarie againſt you, and ſo brought forth his rules, which being done, he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter. King Henry the eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you ſee came to paſſe; and to further his pittifull proceedings from the divorcement of his moſt lawfull wife, to the deteſtable departing from the bleſſed unitie of Chriſts Church, this man made the foreſaid proteſtation; and on the other ſide, he letted not to make two ſolemne oathes quite contrary, and why? for otherwiſe by the laws and Canons of this Realme, he could not aſpire to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury.

D. Cranmer unwilling to be made Archbiſh.

Cran. I proteſt before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a Biſhopricke, then I did to that. Inſomuch that when King Henry did ſend for me in poſte, that I ſhould come over, I prolonged my journey by ſeven weekes at the leaſt, thinking that he would be forgetfull of me in the meane time.

Mart. You declare well by the way that the King tooke you to be a man of good conſcience, who could not finde within all his Realme any man that would ſet forth his ſtrange attempts, but was inforced to ſend for you in poſte to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact betweene you being then Queene Annes Chaplaine, and the King; Give me the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.

Falſe ſlander of D. Martin.

Cran. You ſay not true.

Martin. Let your proteſtation joyned with the reſt of your talke, give judgement. Hinc prima mali labes. Of that your execrable perjurie, and his coloured and too ſhamefully ſuffered adultery, came hereſie and all miſchiefe to this Realme.

And thus have I ſpoken as touching the conſcience you make for breaking your hereticall oath made to the King. But to breake your former oath made at two ſundry times both to God and his Church, you have no conſcience at all. And now to anſwer another part of your Oration, wherein you bring in Gods Word, that you have it on your ſide and no man elſe, and that the Pope hath deviſed a new Scripture contrary to the Scriptures of GOD; ye play herein as the Phariſees did, which cried alwayes, "Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini, The Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord, when they meant nothing ſo. This bettereth not your cauſe, becauſe you have Gods Word for you; for Baſilides and Photinus the heretikes ſaid, that they had Gods Word to maintaine their hereſie. So Neſtorius, ſo Macedonius, ſo Pelagius, and briefly, all the heretikes that ever were, pretended that they had Gods Word for them; yea, and ſo the Devill being the father of hereſies, alledged Gods Word for him, ſaying, Scriptum eſt, It is written: So ſaid he to Chriſt, Mitte te deorſum, Caſt thy ſelfe downward, which you applyed moſt falſly againſt the Pope. But if you marke the Devils language well, it agreed with your proceedings moſt truly. For, Mitte te deorſum, Caſt thy ſelf downward, ſaid he, and ſo taught you to caſt all things downward. Down with the Sacrament, downe with the Maſſe, downe with the Altars, downe with the armes of Chriſt, and up with a Lion and a Dogge, down with the Abbeys, down with Chauntries, downe with Hoſpitals and Colledges, downe with "Faſting and Prayer, yea downe with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended to no other, but to fulfill the Devils requeſt, Mitte te deorſum. And therefore tell not us that you have Gods Word. For GOD hath given us by his Word a marke to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the Devill, and that your doctrine came not of Chriſt, but of Antichriſt. For Chriſt foreſaid, there ſhould come againſt his Church, Lupi rapaces, id eſt, Ravening Wolves, and Pſeudoapoſtoli, id eſt, Falſe Apoſtles. But how ſhould we know them? Chriſt teacheth us, ſaying, Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos, id eſt, By their fruits ye ſhall know them. Why, what be their fruits? Saint Paul declareth; Poſt carnem in concupiſcentia, & immunditia ambulant: poteſtatem contemnunt, &c. i. After the fleſh they walke in concupiſcence and uncleanneſſe; they contemne Poteſtates. Againe, In diebus noviſſimis erunt periculoſa tempora, erunt ſeipſos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus, proditores, &c. i. In the latter dayes there ſhall be perilous times. Then ſhall there be men loving themſelves, covetous, proud, diſobedient to parents, treaſon-workers. Whether theſe be not the fruits of your Goſpel, I referre me to this worſhipfull audience; whether the ſaid Goſpel began not with perjury, proceeded with adulterie, was maintained with hereſie, and ended in conſpiracie.

" Nay, the Phariſees cried not Verbum Domini, but Templum Domini, as the Papiſts do now againſt the Proteſtants.

So did King Ezechias & Joſias down with monuments of idolatrie, & are commended.

" Another falſe ſlander of D. Martin.

Whether theſe be the fruits of the Goſpellers or of the papiſts more, let the converſation of them both give judgement.

Now ſir, two points more I marked in your raging diſcourſe that you made here: the one againſt the holy Sacrament; the other againſt the Popes juriſdiction, and the authoritie of the See Apoſtolike.

Touching the firſt, ye ſay you have Gods Word with you, yea and all the Doctors. I would here aske but one queſtion of you; whether Gods Word be contrary to it ſelfe, and whether the Doctors teach doctrine contrary to themſelves, or no? For you Maſter Cranmer have taught in this high Sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, Verbum Domini.

Doctrine of the Sacrament.

Cran. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the ſame.

Mart. What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the ſacramentarie in the Kings preſence in Whitehall.

Cranmer. I maintained then the Papiſts doctrine.

Mart. That is to ſay, the Catholike and univerſall doctrine of Chriſts Church. And how when King Henrie died? did you not tranſlate Juſtus Jonas book?

So was S. Auguſtine firſt a Pagane, then a Manichee, and then a Catholike.

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Then there you defended another doctrine touching the ſacrament, by the ſame token, that you ſent to Lynne your Printer, that whereas in the firſt print there was an affirmative, that is to ſay, Chriſts body really in the ſacrament, you ſent then to your Printer to put in a not, whereby it came miraculouſly to paſſe, that Chriſts body way cleane conveighed out of the ſacrament.

Cran. I remember there were two Printers of my ſaid booke, but where the ſame not was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a Lutheran ye became a Swinglian, which is the vileſt hereſie of all in the high myſterie of the ſacrament, and for the ſame hereſie you did helpe to burne Lambert the ſacramentarie, which you now call the catholike faith, and Gods Word.

Cranmer. I grant that then I beleeved otherwiſe then I doe now, and ſo I did, untill my Lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did conferre with me, and by ſundrie perſwaſions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my opinion.

D. Cranmer firſt wonne to the knowledge of the Sacrament by biſhop Ridley.

Martin. Now ſir, as touching the laſt part of your Oration, you denied that the Popes Holineſſe was ſupreme head of the Church of Chriſt.

Supremacy of the Pope.

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Who ſay you then is ſupreme head?

Cran. Chriſt.

Mart. But whom hath Chriſt left here in earth his Vicar and head of his Church?

Cran. No body.

Mart. Ah, why told you not King Henrie this when you made him ſupreme head? and now no body is. This is treaſon againſt his owne perſon as you then made him.

Cran. I meane not but every King in his owne Realme and Dominion is ſupreme head, and ſo was he ſupreme head of the Church of Chriſt in England.

King Henry was not ſupreme head but onely of his owne Realme. The Pope will be univerſall head over all.

Mart. Is this alwaies true? and was it ever ſo in Chriſts Church?

Cran. It was ſo.

Mart. Then what ſay you by Nero? he was the mightieſt Prince of the earth after Chriſt was aſcended: Was he head of Chriſts Church?

Cran. Nero was Peters head:

Mar. I ask whether Nero was head of the church or no? if he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid before, that all Princes be, and ever were heads of the Church within their Realmes.

Cran. Nay, it is true, for Nero was head of the Church, that is, in worldly reſpect of the temporall bodies of men, of whom the Church conſiſteth; for ſo he beheaded Peter and the Apoſtles. And the Turk too is head of the Church in Turkie.

Mart. Then he that beheaded the heads of the Church, and crucified the Apoſtles, was head of Chriſts Church; and he that was never member of the Church, is head of the Church, by your new found underſtanding of Gods Word.

The anſwer of the archbiſhop not ſincerely reported.

¶ It is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but much other matter paſſed in this communication between them, eſpecially on the Archbiſhops behalf. Whoſe anſwers I do not think to be ſo ſlender, nor altogether in the ſame forme of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known: but ſo it pleaſed the Notarie thereof, being too much partially addicted to his mother See of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminiſh and drive down the other ſide, either in not ſhewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwiſe than it was; as the common guiſe is of moſt Writers, to what ſide their affection moſt weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the ſtorie of this matter.

It followed then (ſaith this reporter) when the Archbiſhop thus had anſwered, and the ſtanders by began to murmure againſt him; the Judges not content with his anſwers, willed him to anſwer directly to the Interrogatories; which Interrogatories articulated againſt him in forme of law, were theſe under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbiſhop, with his anſwers annexed to the ſame.

Interrogatories laid againſt the Archbiſhop.

1. Interrog. Firſt was objected, that he the foreſaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entred into holy orders, married one Joane, ſurnamed black or brown, dwelling at the ſign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

The firſt marriage of the Archbiſhop.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that whether ſhe was called black or brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joane, that he granted.

2. Interrog. That after the death of the foreſaid wife, he entered into holy Orders, and after that was made Archbiſhop by the Pope.

Anſw. He received (he ſaid) a certaine Bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbiſhop by him.

The ſecond marriage of the Archbiſhop.

3. Inter. Item, that he being in holy orders, married another woman as his ſecond wife, named Anne, and ſo was twice married.

Anſw. To this he granted.

4. Interrog. Item, in the time of King Henrie the eighth, he kept the ſaid wife ſecretly, and had children by her.

Anſw. Hereunto he alſo he granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other Prieſts, holding and keeping other mens wives.

5. Inter. Item, in the time of King Edward, he brought out the ſaid wife openly, affirming and profeſſing publiquely the ſame to be his wife.

Anſw. He denied not but he ſo did, and lawfully might do the ſame, foraſmuch as the laws of the Realme did ſo permit him.

6. Interrog. Item, that he ſhamed not openly to glorie himſelf to have had his wife in ſecret many yeers.

Anſw. And though he ſo did (he ſaid) there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed thereof.

7. Inter. Item, that the ſaid Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottome of errors, did flie and refuſe the authoritie of the Church, did hold and follow the hereſie concerning the Sacrament of the altar, and alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad divers books.

The Archbiſh. charged with his doctrine and books.

Anſw. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not ſuch books which he was the author of. As touching the treatiſe of Peter Martyr upon the ſacrament, he denied that he ever ſaw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the ſame. As for the Catechiſme, the book of Articles, with the other book againſt Wincheſter, he granted the ſame to be his doings.

8. Inter. Item, that he compelled many againſt their wils to ſubſcribe to the ſame Articles.

Anſw. He exhorted (he ſaid) ſuch as were willing to ſubſcribe; but againſt their wils he compelled none.

9. Inter. Item, forſomuch as he ſurceaſed not to perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, he was therefore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there ſhould be holden.

Anſw. To this he ſaid, that he knew no ſuch enorme and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. Inter. Item, that in the ſaid Citie of Oxford he did openly maintain his hereſie, and there was convicted upon the ſame.

Anſw. He defended (he ſaid) there the cauſe of the Sacrament, but that he was convicted in the ſame, that he denied.

11. Inter. Item, when he perſevered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the publike cenſure of the Univerſitie pronounced an heretike, and his books to be hereticall.

Anſw. That he was ſo denounced, he denied not; but that he was an heretike, or his books hereticall, that he denied.

12. Inter. Item, that he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of Schiſme, as who not onely himſelf receded from the Catholike Church and See of Rome, but alſo moved the King and ſubjects of this Realme to the ſame.

Anſw. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (ſaid he) was onely from the See of Rome, and had in it no matter of any Schiſme.

13. Inter. Item, that he had been twice ſworne to the Pope; and withall Doctor Martin brought out the inſtrument of the publike Notarie, wherein was contained his proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, asking if he had any thing elſe proteſted.

The Archbiſh. ſworne to the Pope by proteſtation.

Anſw. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the Realme.

14. Inter. Item, that he the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterburie did not onely offend in the premiſſes, but alſo in taking upon him the authoritie of the See of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the ſaid See, he conſecrated Biſhops and Prieſts.

Anſw. He granted, that he did execute ſuch things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the publike laws and determination of the Realme.

15. Inter. Item, that when the whole Realme had ſubſcribed to the authoritie of the Pope, he only ſtill perſiſted in his errour.

Anſw. That he did not admit the Popes authoritie, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he denied.

16. Inter. Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true.

Anſw. That likewiſe he granted, excepting thoſe things whereunto he had now anſwered.

After he had thus anſwered to the objections aforeſaid, and the publike Notarie had entred the ſame, the Judges and Commiſſioners, as having now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to riſe up and depart. But the Biſhop of Gloceſter thinking it not the beſt ſo to diſmiſſe the people, being ſomewhat ſtirred with the words of the Archbiſhop, began in his Oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaime.

The Oration of Biſhop Brooks, in cloſing up this examination againſt D. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Another Oration of Biſhop Brookes, to Archbiſhop Cranmer.

MAſt. Cranmer (I cannot otherwiſe term you, conſidering your obſtinacy) I am right ſorry, I am right heartily ſorrie to heare ſuch words eſcape your mouth ſo unadviſedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I ſuppoſed that this obſtinacie of yours came not of a vain-glorie, but rather of a corrupt conſcience, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your return. But now I perceive by your fooliſh babble, that it is farre otherwiſe. Ye are ſo puffed up with vain-glorie, there is ſuch a cauteria of hereſie crept into your conſcience, that I am clean voide of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can ſave that will be loſt? God would have you to be ſaved, and you refuſe it. Perditio tua ſuper te Iſrael; tantummodo in me ſalvatio tua, ait Dominus per Prophetam, i. Thy perdition is only upon thy ſelfe, O Iſrael; only in me is thy ſalvation, ſaith the Lord by his Prophet. You have uttered ſo erroneous talke, with ſuch open malice againſt the Popes Holineſſe, with ſuch open lying againſt the Church of Rome, with ſuch open blaſphemy againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, that no mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

M. Cranmer not to be reaſoned withall.

To reaſon with you, although I would of my ſelfe to ſatisfie this audience, yet may I not by our Commiſſion, neither can I finde how I may do it with the Scriptures: For the Apoſtle doth command that ſuch a one ſhould not only not be talked withall, but alſo ſhunned and avoyded, ſaying; Hæreticum hominem poſt unum aut alterum conventum, devita, ſciens quòd hujuſmodi perverſus eſt & delinquit, quum ſit proprio judicio condemnatus, i. An hereticall perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe and ſinneth, being of his own judgement condemned. Ye have been conferred withall not once or twice, but oftentimes, ye have oft been lovingly admoniſhed, ye have been oft ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt yeere in the open Schoole, in open diſputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have been openly driven out of the Schoole with hiſſes: your book which ye bragge you made ſeven yeeres agoe, and no man anſwered it, Marcus Antonius hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted hereſie.

Wherefore being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withall, and convicted, if ye denie you to be the man whom the Apoſtle noteth, heare then what Origen ſaith, who wrote above 1300. yeers ago, and interpreteth the ſaying of the Apoſtle in this wiſe, in Apologia Pamphili. Hæreticus eſt omnis ille habendus, qui Chriſto ſe credere profitetur, & aliter de Chriſti veritate ſentit quam ſe habet Eccleſiaſtica traditio. Even now ye profeſſed a kinde of Chriſtianitie and holineſſe unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and ſaid the Lords Prayer (God wote like an hypocrite) and then ſtanding upon your feet, you rehearſed the Articles of your faith, but to what end I pray you elſe, but to cloake that inward hereſie rooted in you, that you might blind the poore, ſimple, and unlearned peoples eyes? For what will they ſay or think, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what meane theſe men to ſay that he is an heretike, they are deceived, this is a good Chriſtian, he beleeveth as we beleeve.

Origines in Apologia Pamphili.

What an heretike is, after the Popes making.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an heretike? To the ſimple and unlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that have profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your beliefe. For unleſſe (as Origen ſaith) ye beleeve all things that the Church hath decreed beſides, you are no Chriſtian man. In the which becauſe you doe halt, and will come to no conformitie; from henceforth ye are to be taken for an heretike, with whom we ought neither to diſpute, neither to reaſon, whom we ought rather to eſchew and avoyd.

Nevertheleſſe, although I doe not intend to reaſon with you, but to give you up as an abject and out-caſt from Gods favour, yet becauſe ye have uttered, to the annoying of the people, ſuch peſtilent hereſies as may do harme among ſome rude and unlearned, I think meet, and not abs re, ſomewhat to ſay herein; not becauſe I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wiſh, but that I may eſtabliſh the ſimple people which be here preſent, leſt they being ſeduced by your diabolicall doctrine, may periſh thereby.

B. Brookes recanteth his oath made to the King againſt the Pope.

And firſt (as it behooveth every man to purge himſelf firſt before he enter with any other) where you accuſe me of an oath made againſt the Biſhop of Rome, I confeſſe it, and deny it not, and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this Realme, good and Catholike men, the ſaying of the Prophet; Peccavimus cum patribus noſtris, injuſtè egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, i. We have ſinned with our fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. Delicta juventutis meæ, & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine, i. The ſins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord do not remember. I was then a young man, and as young a ſcholler here in the Univerſitie.

I knew not then what an oath did meane, and yet to ſay the truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed I ſay by you Maſter Cranmer, and here were you the author and cauſe of my perjurie, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two oathes, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the oath I made to the Popes Holineſſe appertaineth only to ſpirituall things: The other oath that I made to the King, pertaineth only to temporall things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my temporall livings to proceed only from the King, and from none elſe. But all men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your opinions.

Supremacie.

Now ſir, as concerning the ſupremacie which is only due to the See of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which doe confirme that Chriſt appointed Peter head of the Church, yet this is a moſt evident place. When Chriſt demanded of his Apoſtles whom men called him, they anſwered; Some Elias, ſome a Prophet, &c. But Chriſt replyed unto Peter, and ſaid, Whom ſayeſt thou Peter that I am? Peter anſwered; Tu es Chriſtus, filius Dei: and Chriſt replied, Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo. Eccleſiam meam. The Doctors interpreting this place, ſuper hanc Petram, expounded it, id eſt, non ſolum ſuper fidem Petri, ſed ſuper te Petre. And why did Chriſt change his name from Simon to Peter, which in Latine is a ſtone, but only to declare that he was only the foundation and head of the Church.

The Church builded upon Peter.

Again, where Chriſt demanded of Peter, being amongſt the reſt of his Apoſtles, three times a rew, Petre, amas me, he gave him charge over his ſheepe, Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos. Which place Chryſoſtome interpreting, ſaith,

Paſce,

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

Paſce, expounded by Chryſoſtome.

Paſce, hoc eſt, loco mei eſto præpoſitus & caput fratrum tuorum. To conclude, when they came that required Didrachma of Chriſt, he commanded Peter to caſt his net into the ſea, and to take out of the fiſhes mouth that he tooke, ſtateram, hoc eſt, duplex Didrachma, & da inquit pro te & me Petre. Which words do ſignifie, that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the reſt. For as in the old Law there were appointed two heads over the people of Iſrael, Moſes and Aaron, Moſes as chiefe, & Aaron next head under him; ſo in the new Law there were two heads of the Church, which were Chriſt and Peter. Chriſt is head of all, and Peter next under him. S. Auſtin in 75. quæſt. Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti, Salvator (inquit) quum pro ſe & Petro dari jubebat Didrachma, pro omnibus ipſum dari cenſuit, ipſum enim conſtituit caput eorum. i. Our Saviour Chriſt (ſaith St. Auſtin) commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the ſame to be given for all other, for he appointed him to be head of them. What can be more plaine then this? But I will not tarry upon this matter.

Aug. quæſt. 75.

Service in Latine.

Now as touching the Popes lawes, where you ſay they be contrary, becauſe the ſervice which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in Latine; I anſwer, whoſoever will take the paines to peruſe the chapter, which is in 1 Corinth. 14. ſhall finde, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and obiter onely of praying.

Sacrament in one kinde.

Again, where you ſay, that the Popes Holineſſe doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the Lay-men, & Chriſt would have it under both, ye can ſay no more but this; Bibite ex eo omnes, i. Drink ye all of this. And what followeth; Et biberunt ex eo omnes, i. And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be ſo proterve with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gave it onely to his Apoſtles, in whoſe places ſucceeded Prieſts, and not Lay-men.

Authority of the Church in changing rites.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the Church hath authoritie to change that, as wel as other. We reade, that Chriſt calling his Apoſtles together, ſaid unto them; Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni nationi, baptizantes in nomine Patris, & Filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, i. Go & preach the Goſpel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, & the holy Ghoſt. But the Apoſtles, being deſirous to publiſh Chriſts name every where, did baptize onely in Chriſts name. Againe, Chriſt before his laſt Supper waſhed his Apoſtles feet, ſaying; Si ego lavi pedes veſtros Dominus & Magiſter, & vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes, i. If I have waſhed your feet being your Lord and Maſter, alſo you ought to waſh the feet one of another. Exemplum dedi vobis, i. I have given you example. This was a precept, yet hath the Church altered it, leſt the ſimple people ſhould not thinke a rebaptization in it. So becauſe ſaith the Apoſtle, Accepi à Domino quod & tradidi vobis. Dominus noſter qua nocte tradebatur, &c. i. I have received of the Lord the ſame which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the ſame night in which he was betraied, &c. Notwithſtanding that this was a precept that the ſacrament ſhould be miniſtred after ſupper, the Church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received faſting. And where Chriſt did breake the bread, we receive the whole hoſte. Chriſt miniſtred ſitting at the table, we ſtanding at the altar.

Rites and ceremonies ſubject to the diſpoſition of the church.

It was alſo commanded in Acts 25. that chriſtian men ſhould abſtaine à ſuffocato & ſanguine, i. From ſtrangled & bloud. But the Church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Chriſt commanded to keep holy, Diem Sabbati, The Sabbath day, & the Church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the Church may change things that be ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures; ſhe may alſo change the forme of receiving of Lay-men under both kindes, for divers occaſions.

Reaſons why Lay-men receive not under both kindes.

Firſt, that in carrying it to the ſick, the bloud may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next, that no occaſion might be given to heretikes to think that there is not ſo much under one kinde, as under both.

But why would you have it under both kindes, I pray you elſe, but onely to pervert and contrary the commandement of the Church? For when you had it under both kindes, you beleeved in neither. And we having but one, beleeve both kinds. Now ſir, as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, where you ſay, you have a number of Doctors of your ſide, and we none of our ſide, that is to ſay, to confirme the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, indeed one to ſtop your mouth, I think it not poſſible to finde. Neverthele ſſe, where your requeſt is to have one ſhewed unto you, and then you will recant, I will ſhew you two.

Reall preſence proved by biſh. Brookes.
Aug. Pſal. 33.
Cyprian de Cœna Domini.

S. Auſtin ſuper Pſal. 33. Ferebatur manibus ſuis, I finde not how this is true in David (ſaith he) litterally, that he was born in his own hands; but in Chriſt I finde it litterally, when he gave his body to his Apoſtles at his laſt ſupper.

Againe, S. Cyprian de Cœna Domini, ſaith, Panis quem Dominus noſter Diſcipulis ſuis porrigebat, non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro. What can be more plaine then this? yet to your expoſition it is not plaine enough. But give me your figurative, ſignificative, and ſuch other like termes, and I will defend that Chriſt hath not yet aſcended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can doe no other but put you in the number of them, whom Chryſoſtome ſpake of in this wiſe, ſaying; Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra hæreticum contendis, ſi Phariſæi convicti, & non placati & hæretici, &c. Heare, O thou Chriſtian man, wilt thou doe more then Chriſt could doe? Chriſt confuted the Phariſees, yet could he not put them to ſilence; Et fortior es tu Chriſto? And art thou ſtronger then Chriſt? Wilt thou go about to bring them to ſilence that will receive no anſwer? as who ſhould ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much I have ſaid, not for you Maſter Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and paſt; but ſomewhat to ſatisfie the rude and unlearned people, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancie, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable ſchiſme.

And thus ended the Prelate his worſhipful tale. After whom D. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Doct. Stories talke to the Archbiſhop.

Maſter Cranmer, you have made a goodly proceſſe concerning your hereticall oath made to the King, but you forget your oath made to the See Apoſtolick. As concerning your oath made to the King, if you made it to him onely, it tooke an end by his death, and ſo it is releaſed: if you made it to his ſucceſſors, well ſir, the true ſucceſſors have the Empire, and they will you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a member of Chriſts Church againe, and it ſtandeth well with charitie.

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered againe, ſaith the reporter: but what his anſwer was, that he ſuppreſſeth, and returneth to the words of Doctor Storie, who imperiouſly turning his ſpeech againe to the Archbiſhop, ſaid as followeth:

Three things required in an oath.

Hold your peace ſir, and ſo ſhall it right well become you, conſidering that I gave you licence before to ſay your phanſie. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to ſay, Iudicium, Iuſtitiam, & Veritatem.

D. Story calleth for witneſſes.

Theſe with the like words to the ſame effect being uttered by Doctor Storie, ſeeking to break up and make an end of that Seſſion, he eftſoones called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworne upon the booke, to utter and declare the next day whatſoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred againſt D. Cranmers hereſie. The names of the Witneſſes are theſe:

Witneſſes ſworne againſt the archbiſhop.

Doctor Marſhall, Commiſſary, and Deane of Chriſts Church.
Doctor Smith, under Commiſſarie.
Doctor Treſham.
Doct. Crooke.
M. London.
M. Curtop.
M. Warde.
M. Serles.

The archbiſhop refuſeth thoſe Iurates periured.

After the depoſitions of which witneſſes being taken, Doctor Story admoniſhed the Archbiſhop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſaid witneſſes were to be refuſed. Who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Chriſtian religion. For if to ſweare, ſaid he, againſt the Pope were unlawfull, they ſhould rather have given their lives, then their oath. But if it were lawfull, then are they perjured, to defend him whom they forſware before. Nevertheleſſe, this anſwer of the Archbiſhop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpoſe appertaining, he was commanded againe to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his firſt coming in, ſhewed low obedience to Doctor Martin, and to Doctor Storie, the Queenes Commiſſioners. Then Doctor Story pointing him to the Biſhop of Gloceſter, ſaid, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend Archbiſhop departing without any obeyſance exhibited to the Biſhop, all the other roſe up, and departed every one to his owne. And thus brake up the Seſſion for that day, about two of the clocke at afternoone.

The archb. ſent againe to Bocardo.

The archbiſh. again giveth no reverence to the Popes Delegate.

The anſwer of the archbiſh. not indifferently reported.

And thus much hitherto concerning the ſummarie effect of this Action or Seſſion, with the Orations, diſcourſes, & articles commenced againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, alſo with the reaſons and anſwers of the ſaid Archbiſhop to their objections & interogatories. Touching which his anſwers, forſomuch as they being recited by report of a Papiſt (as is aforeſaid) ſeeme to be not indifferently handled, it ſhall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye have heard the Orations of Biſhop Brooks, with the reaſons and talke of the other Commiſſioners, amplified and ſet forth at large on the one ſide, ſo now in repeating the words and anſwers of the other part, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what ſpeech the ſaid Archbiſhop uſed for himſelfe in the ſame action, by the faithfull relation and teſtimonie of certaine other, who were likewiſe there preſent, and do thus report the effect of the Archbiſhops words, anſwering to the firſt Oration of biſhop Brooks, in manner as followeth.

A more full anſwer of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie to the firſt Oration of Biſhop Brookes.

A more full anſwer of the archbiſhop to B. Brookes Oration.

My Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in remembrance of many things touching my ſelfe, wherein I doe not meane to ſpend the time in anſwering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodneſſe to me in all his gifts, and thanke him as heartily for this ſtate wherein I finde my ſelfe now, as ever I did for the time of my proſperitie; and it is not the loſſe of my promotions that grieveth me. The greateſt griefe I have at this time is, and one of the greateſt that ever I had in all my life, to ſee the King and Queenes Majeſties by their Proctors here to become my accuſers; and that in their owne Realme and Countrey, before a forraine power. If I have tranſgreſſed the Lawes of the Land, their Majeſties have ſufficient authoritie and power both from God, and by the ordinance of this Realme, to puniſh me, whereunto I both have, and at all times ſhall be content to ſubmit my ſelfe.

Q. Mary accuſeth the archbiſhop for taking her owne part againſt a forraine power.

The lawes of the Realme and of the Pope are contrary.

Alas? What hath the Pope to do in England? whoſe juriſdiction is ſo farre different from the juriſdiction of this Realme, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The lawes alſo are ſo divers, that whoſoever ſweareth to both, muſt needs incurre perjurie to the one. Which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I beare to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily ſory to thinke upon it, how that her Highneſſe the day of her Coronation, at which time ſhe tooke a ſolemne oath to obſerve all the lawes and liberties of this Realme of England, at the ſame time alſo tooke an oath to the Biſhop of Rome, and promiſed to maintaine that See. The State of England being ſo repugnant to the Supremacie of the Pope, it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt needs be forſworne in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertiſed by her Councell, then ſurely ſhe would never have done it.

No man can be true both to the realme and to the Pope together.

The contrarietie betweene the lawes of this realme, and of the Pope deſcribed.

The laws of this Realme are, that the King of England is the ſupreme and ſole Governor of all his Countries and Dominions: and that he holdeth his Crown and Scepter of himſelfe, by the ancient laws, cuſtomes, and deſcents of the Kings of the Realme, and of none other. The Pope ſaith, that all Emperors and Kings hold their Crowns and Regalities of him, and that he may depoſe them when he liſt; which is high treaſon for any man to affirme and think, being borne within the Kings Dominions.

The Lawes of England are, that all Biſhops and Prieſts offending in caſes of felony or treaſon, are to be judged and tried by the lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme. The Popes lawes are, that the ſecular power cannot judge the ſpirituall power, and that they are not under their juriſdiction; which robbeth the King of the one part of his people.

Kings and Princes cannot uſe their owne lawes in their dominions, for the Pope.

The lawes alſo of England are, that whoſoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the lawes of England for any other forraine lawes, Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, incurreth the danger of a Præmunire. The Popes lawes are, that whoſoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his lawes, for any other lawes, of any other King or Countrey, both the Prince himſelfe, his Councell, all his Officers, Scribes, Clerkes, and whoſoever give conſent or aide to the making or executing of any ſuch lawes, ſtand accurſed. A heavie caſe (if his curſe were any thing worth) that the King and Queene cannot uſe their owne lawes, but they and all theirs muſt ſtand accurſed. Theſe things and many more examples he alledged, which (he ſaid) ſtirred him that he could not give his conſent to the receiving of ſuch an enemy into the Realme, ſo ſubverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the ſame.

Cauſe why the archbiſh. would not admit the Pope.

And as for the matter of hereſie and ſchiſme, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted and called God to witneſſe, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an hereſie to denie the Popes authoritie, and the religion which the See of Rome hath publiſhed to the world theſe later yeers, then all the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelfe taught hereſie: and he deſired all them preſent to beare him witneſſe, that he tooke the traditions and religion of that uſurping Prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the author of the ſame to be very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of by the Apoſtles and Prophets, in whom did moſt evidently

The Popes religion moſt erroneous.

All markes of Antichriſt muſt concurre in the Pope.

concurre

The Popes pride and tyranny.

concurre all ſignes and tokens whereby he was painted out to the world to be known.

For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all Emperours and Kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their Eſtates and Empires of him, as of their chiefe, and to be at his commandement to depoſe and erect at his good will and pleaſure, and that the ſtories make mention of his intolerable and inſolent pride, and tyranny, uſed over them in ſuch ſort, as no King would have uſed to his Chriſtian ſubjects, nor yet a good maſter to his ſervants, ſetting his feet on the Emperours neck, affirming that to be verified in him, which was ſpoken onely of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe words, Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem. Other ſome had he made to hold his ſtirrop, others he had diſplaced and removed from their Empires and ſeats royall: and not content herewithall, more inſolent then Lucifer, he hath occupied not onely the higheſt place in this world, above Kings and Princes, but hath further preſumed to ſit in the ſeat of Almighty God, which onely he reſerved to himſelf, which is the conſcience of man; and to keep the poſſeſſion thereof, he hath promiſed forgiveneſſe of ſins totiens quotiens.

Marks of Antichriſt.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, ful of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, onely for the maintaining of his kingdome, diſplacing Chriſt from his glory, and holding his people in a miſerable ſervitude of blindeneſſe, to the loſſe of a great number of ſouls, which God at the latter day ſhall exact at his hand; boaſting many times in his Canons and Decrees, that he can diſpenſe Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & novum Teſtamentum; and that he Plenitudine poteſtatis, tantum poteſt quantum Deus: That is, Againſt Peter, againſt Paul, againſt the old and new Teſtament: and of the fulneſſe of power may do as much as God. O Lord, who ever heard ſuch blaſphemie? If there be any man that can advance himſelfe above him, let him be judged Antichriſt.

The Pope diſpenſeth againſt the new and old Teſtament.

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is ſo evidently painted out in the Scriptures by ſuch manifeſt ſignes and tokens, which all ſo clearly appear in him, that except a man will ſhut up his eyes and heart againſt the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore for my part I will never give my conſent to the receiving of him into this Church of England. And you my Lord, and the reſt that ſit here in Commiſſion, conſider well and examine your own conſciences; you have ſworn againſt him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blinde. As for me, I have herein diſcharged mine own conſcience toward the world, and I will write alſo my minde to her Grace, touching this matter. The copie of which letter ſent to the Queene, ye ſhall finde after in the end of his ſtorie.

While he in this ſort made his anſwer, ye heard before how Doctor Storie and Martin divers times interrupted him with blaſphemous talke, and would faine have had the Biſhop of Gloceſter to put him to ſilence: who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his tale at full. After this he heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chiefe was, That at the time of his creating Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was ſworn to the Pope, and had his inſtitution and induction from him, and promiſed to maintaine then the authoritie of that See, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt oath, and return to his old fold againe, then to continue obſtinately in an oath forced in the time of ſchiſme.

His anſwer to their articles.

How Cranmer was made archbiſhop againſt his will.

To that he anſwered, ſaving his proteſtation (which term he uſed before all his anſwers) that at ſuch time as Archbiſhop Warham died, he was Ambaſſador in Germanie for the King, who ſent for him thereupon home, and having intelligence by ſome of his friends (who were neer about the King) how he meant to beſtow the ſame Biſhopricke upon him, and therefore counſelled him in that caſe to make haſte home, he feeling in himſelfe a great inabilitie to ſuch a promotion, and very ſorie to leave his ſtudy, and eſpecially conſidering by what means he muſt have it, which was clean againſt his conſcience, which he could not utter without great perill and danger, deviſed an excuſe to the King of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſarie, thinking by that means in his abſence, that the King would have beſtowed it upon ſome other, and ſo remained there by that device, one half yeer after the King had written for him to come home. But after that no ſuch matter fell out, as he ſeemed to make ſuſpition of, the King ſent for him againe. Who after his return, underſtanding ſtill the Archbiſhoprick to be reſerved for him, made means by divers of his beſt friends to ſhift it off, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be briefe, when the King himſelf ſpake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his ſervice ſake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to beſtow that dignitie upon him, after long diſabling of himſelf, perceiving he could by no perſwaſions alter the Kings determination, he brake frankly his conſcience with him, moſt humbly craving firſt his graces pardon, for that he ſhould declare unto his Highneſſe. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he muſt receive it at the Popes hand, which he neither would, nor could do, for that his Highneſſe was onely the ſupreme Governour of this Church of England, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and that the full right and donation of all maner of Biſhopricks and Benefices, as well as of any other Temporall dignities, and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other forrain authoritie, whatſoever it was, and therefore if he might in that vocation ſerve God, him, and his Countrey, ſeeing it was his pleaſure ſo to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majeſtie, and of none other ſtranger, who had no authoritie within this realme, neither in any ſuch gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the King, ſaid he, ſtaying a while and muſing, aſked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alledged many Texts out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers alſo, approving the ſupreme and higheſt authoritie of Kings in their Realmes and Dominions, diſcloſing therewithall the intolerable uſurpation of the Pope of Rome.

D. Cranmer denied that he took the Archbiſhoprick at the Popes hands.

Cranmers anſwer to King Henry refuſing to be Archbiſh.

Firſt breaking of the matter of the Popes ſupremacy to K. Henry.

Afterwards it pleaſed his Highneſſe (quoth the Archbiſhop) many and ſundry times to talk with me of it, & perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the Authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, the King himſelf called Doctor Oliver, and other civill Lawyers, and deviſed with them how he might beſtow it upon me, inforcing me nothing againſt my conſcience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of proteſtation, and ſo one to be ſent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I underſtood, I ſaid, he ſhould do it Super animam ſuam: and I indeed Bona fide made my proteſtation, that I did not acknowledge his authoritie any further, then as it

Cranmer ſworn to the Pope under proteſtation.

Cranmer in ſwearing to the Pope did nothing without advice of the beſt learned in this Realm.

agreed with the expreſſe word of GOD, and that it might be lawfull for me at all times to ſpeake againſt him, and to impugne his errours, when time and occaſion ſhould ſerve me. And this my proteſtation did I cauſe to be inrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

The Archb. anſwereth for his wife & children.

They objected to him alſo that he was married; which he confeſſed. Whereupon Doctor Martin ſaid, that his children were bondmen to the See of Canterbury. At which ſaying the Archbiſhop ſmiled, and aſked him if a Prieſt at his Benefice kept a Concubine, and had by her baſtards, whether they were bondmen to the Benefice or no, ſaying, I truſt you will make my childrens cauſes no worſe.

Becauſe there was offence taken at this word Supreme head, it was declared in the Queens ſtile to be ſupreme governor.

After this Doctor Martin demanded of him who was ſupreme head of the Church of England? Mary quoth my Lord of Canterburie, Chriſt is head of this member, as he is of the whole bodie of the univerſall Church. Why, quoth Doctor Martin, you made King Henrie the eighth ſupreme head of the Church. Yea, ſaid the Archbiſhop, of all the people of England, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall. And not of the Church, ſaid Martin? No, ſaid he, for Chriſt is onely head of his Church, and of the faith and religion of the ſame. The King is head and governour of his people, which are the viſible Church. What (quoth Martin) you never durſt tell the King ſo. Yes, that I durſt, quoth he, and did, in the publication of his ſtile, wherein he was named ſupreme head of the Church; there was never other thing meant. A number of other fond and fooliſh objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Rome.

Thus after they had received his anſwers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforeſaid) to appeare at Rome within fourſcore dayes, to make there his perſonall anſwers: which he ſaid, if the King and Queen would ſend him, he would be content to do, and ſo thence was carried to priſon again, where he continually remained, notwithſtanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome.

A point to be noted in the crafty practice of Romiſh hypocrites.

Wherein all men that have eyes to ſee may eaſily perceive the craftie practice of theſe Prelates, and the viſored face of their Juſtice, as though the Court of Rome would condemne no man before he anſwered for himſelf, as all Law and equitie required. But the very ſame inſtant time, the holineſſe of that unholy father, contrarie to all reaſon and juſtice, ſent his letter executorie unto the King and Queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not onely before the eightie dayes were ended, but before there were twentie dayes ſpent. Furthermore, whereas the ſaid Archbiſhop was firſt detained in ſtrait priſon, ſo that he could not appeare (as was notorious both in England and alſo in the Romiſh Court) and therefore had a lawfull and moſt juſt excuſe of his abſence by all Laws, both Popiſh and other: yet in the end of the ſaid fourſcore dayes, was that worthy Martyr decreed Contumax, that is, ſturdily, frowardly, and wilfully abſent, and in pain of the ſame his abſence condemned and put to death.

As touching the foreſaid executorie letters of the Pope ſent to the King and Queen, beginning thus; Paulus Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ Mariæ Reginæ, &c. becauſe the full tenour thereof is expreſſed in our firſt impreſſion of Acts, it ſhall not therefore be needfull to cumber this volume in repeating of the ſame again.

Doctor Thurlby and Doctor Boner coming with a new Commiſſion to ſit upon the Archbiſhop the 14. day of Februarie.

A new commiſſion ſent down from Rome againſt the Arch.

This letter or ſentence definitive of the Pope was dated about the firſt day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midſt of February. Upon the receit of which letters another Seſſion was appointed for the Archbiſhop to appear the 14. day of Februarie, before certain Commiſſioners directed down by the Queen, the chiefe whereof was the Biſhop of Ely, Doctor Thurlby. Concerning which doctor Thurlby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the ſaid Archbiſhops houſhold Chaplain, yet he was ſo familiarly acquainted with him, ſo dearly beloved, ſo inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a Chaplain, but rather like a naturall brother) that there was never any thing in the Archbiſhops houſe ſo dear, were it plate, Jewell, Horſe, Maps, Books, or any thing elſe, but if Thurlby did never ſo little commend it (a ſubtle kinde of begging) the Archbiſhop by and by, either gave it to him, or ſhortly ſent it after him to his houſe. So greatly was the Archbiſhop inamored with him, that whoſoever would obtain any thing of him, moſt commonly would make their way before by D. Thurlby. Which by matter of the ſaid D. Thurlby, I thought here to recite, not ſo much to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulneſſe, as chiefly and onely for this, to admoniſh him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor, and ſo to favour the cauſe and quarrell of him whom he was ſo ſingularly bounden unto.

D. Thurlby. D. Boner, commiſſioners.

The old benefites and familiarity between the Archb. and D. Thurlby.

A new ſitting of the Popes delegates in Chriſts church againſt the Archb. of Cant.

With the ſaid Doctor Thurlby Biſhop of Ely, was alſo aſſigned in the ſame Commiſſion Doctor Boner Biſhop of London, which two coming to Oxford upon St. Valentines day, as the Popes Delegates, with a new Commiſſion from Rome, by the vertue thereof commanded the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to come before them, in the Queere of Chriſts Church, before the high altar, where they ſitting (according to their manner) in their Pontificalibus, firſt began as the faſhion is, to reade their Commiſſion: wherein was contained, how that in the Court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the anſwers made unto them, and witneſſes examined on both parts, and Councell heard as well on the King and Queens behalfe his accuſers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer the partie guiltie, ſo that he wanted nothing appertaining to his neceſſary defence, &c. Which foreſaid Commiſſion, as it was in reading, Oh Lord, ſaid the Archbiſhop, what lies be theſe, that I being continually in priſon, and never could be ſuffered to have counſell or advocate at home, ſhould produce witneſſe and appoint my counſell at Rome? God muſt needs puniſh this open and ſhameles lying. They read on the cõmiſſion which came from the Pope, Plenitudine poteſtatis, ſupplying all manner of defects in law or proceſſe, committed in dealing with the Archbiſhop, and giving them full authoritie to proceed to deprivation and degradation of them, and ſo upon excommunication to deliver him up to the ſecular power, Omni appellatione remota.

The Popes Commiſſion grounded upon lyes.

The order of the Archbiſhops degradation.

When the commiſſion was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, firſt clothed and diſguiſed him; putting on him a ſurpleſſe, and then an Albe; after that the veſtiment of a Subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a Prieſt readie to Maſſe.

When they had apparelled him ſo far; What ſaid he, I think I ſhall ſay Maſſe: yea, ſaid Coſins one of Boners Chaplains, my Lord, I truſt to ſee you ſay Maſſe for all this. Do you ſo, quoth he? that ſhall you never ſee, nor will I ever do it.

Then they inveſted him in all manner of robes of a Biſhop and Archbiſhop, as he is at his inſtalling, ſaving that as every thing then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo every thing in this of Canvas and old clouts, with a Mitre and a Pall of the ſame ſute done upon him in mockerie, and then the Croſier ſtaffe was put in his hand.

This done after the Popes pontificall form and manner, Boner, who by the ſpace of many yeers had born, as it ſeemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoyced to ſee this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleaſure at full, began to ſtretch out his eloquence, making his Oration to the aſſembly, after this manner of ſort.

B. Boners eloquent oration againſt the Archb. Cranm.

This is the man that hath ever deſpiſed the Popes holines, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down ſo many Churches, and now is come to be judged in a Church. This is the man that contemned the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that bleſſed ſacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer ſat in the place of Chriſt upon an altar to judge other, and now is come before an altar to be judged himſelf.

Boner taken with an untruth.

Whereunto the Archbiſhop interrupting him ſaid, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things: For that which he would now ſeeme to charge him withall, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you meane, was in Pauls Church (ſaid he) where I came to ſit in Commiſſion; and there was a ſcaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers, and whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once ſuſpected it, wherefore you do wittingly evill to charge me with it.

Unmannerlineſſe of B. Boner to his brother in time of adverſity.

But Boner went on ſtill in his Rhetoricall repetition, lying and rayling againſt the Archbiſhop, beginning every ſentence with This is the man, this is the man, till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmannerly uſage of him in that time and place: Inſomuch that the Biſhop of Ely aforeſaid divers times pulled him by the ſleeve to make an end, and ſaid to him afterward when they went to dinner, that he had broken promiſe with him: for he had intreated him earneſtly to uſe him with reverence.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his degrading, and firſt to take from him his Croſier ſtaffe out of his hands, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliver, and withall, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left ſleeve under the wriſt, which he there and then delivered unto them, ſaying, I appeal to the next Generall Councell; and herein I have comprehended my cauſe and form of it, which I deſire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the ſtanders by, by name to be witneſſes, and eſpecially M. Curtop, to whom he ſpake twice, &c.

Archb. Cranm. appealeth from the pope to a generall Councel.

The copie of which his appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibite, ad rei memoriam, as in form here followeth.

The tenour of the appeal of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury from the Pope, to the next generall Councell.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Firſt, my plain proteſtation made, that I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt one holy, Catholique and Apoſtolicall Church, or the authoritie thereof (the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my minde is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by ſlipperneſſe of tongue, or by indignation of abuſes, or elſe by the provocation of mine adverſaries be ſpoken or done otherwiſe then well, or not with ſuch reverence as becometh me, I am moſt readie to amend it.

Challenge or appeal of the Archb. from the Pope to a generall Councell.

Although the Biſhop of Rome (whom they call Pope) beareth the roome of Chriſt in earth, and hath authoritie of God, yet by that power or authoritie he is not become unſinnable, neither hath he received that power to deſtroy, but to edifie the Congregation. Therefore if he ſhall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if he command any thing againſt the precepts of God: no rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, even as Paul withſtood Peter. And if he being aided by help of Princes, deceived perchance by falſe ſuggeſtion, or with evill counſell, cannot be reſiſted, but the remedies of withſtanding him be taken away, there is nevertheleſſe one remedie of appealing (which no Prince can take away) uttered by the verie Law of nature: forſomuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for everie body by the Law of God, of nature, and of man.

The Pope not unſinnable.
The Pope hath no power to deſtruction, but to edifie.

Remedy of appealing ſtandeth with the law of God and nature.

And whereas the Laws do permit a man to appeal, not onely from the griefs and injuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatned to be done, in ſo much that the inferiour cannot make Laws of not appealing to a ſuperiour power; and ſince it is openly enough confeſſed, that a holy generall Councell, lawfully gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the holy Catholique church, is above the Pope, eſpecially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make Decrees that men ſhall not appeale from him to a generall Councell: therefore I Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, or in time paſt ruler of the Metropoliticall Church of Canterbury, Doctor in Divinitie, do ſay and publiſh before you the publike Notarie, and witneſſes here preſent, with minde and intent to challenge and appeale from the perſons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer my ſelf in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confeſſe, that I would lawfully have publiſhed them before this day, if I might have had either libertie to come abroad my ſelfe, or licence of a Notarie and witneſſes. But further then I am able to do, I know well is not required of the Laws.

The inferiour cannot forbid to appeal to the ſuperiour.
A generall Councell is ſuperiour to the Pope.

1 Firſt, I ſay and publiſh, that James by the mercy of God Prieſt, called Cardinall of the Pit, and of the title of our lady in the way of the church of Rome, Judge and Commiſſarie ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy Lord the Pope (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourſcore dayes after the Citation ſerved on me, to make anſwer to certain articles touching the perill of my ſtate and life: And whereas I was kept in priſon with moſt ſtraight Ward, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of priſon, and in ſo grievous cauſes concerning ſtate and life, no man is bound to ſend a Proctor, and though I would never ſo fain ſend my Proctor, yet by reaſon of povertie I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I ſhould bear my Proctors coſts and charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheleſſe the moſt reverend Cardinall aforeſaid doth ſore

threaten

The 1. cauſe why he doth appeal.

The Archb. cited to appear at Rome, when he was faſt in priſon that he could not come.

Note with what juſtice and ſincerity this Catholike Church doth proceed.

threaten me, that whether I ſhall appeare or not, he will neverthleſſe yet proceed in judgement againſt me. Wherein I feel my ſelf ſo grieved, that nothing can be imagined more miſchievous or further from reaſon.

The 2. cauſe.

2 Secondly, the reverend Father James Brooks, by the mercy of God Biſhop of Gloceſter, Judge and under-deputie (as he affirmed) of the moſt reverend Cardinall, cauſed me to be cited at Oxford (where I was then kept in priſon) to anſwer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my ſtate and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the Laws, deſired counſell of the learned in the Law, that thing was moſt unrighteouſly denied me, contrarie to the equitie of all Laws both of GOD and Man. Wherein againe I feele me moſt wrongfully grieved.

The Archb. denied to have counſell of the Law.

The 3. cauſe.

3 And when I refuſed the ſaid Biſhop of Gloceſter to be my Judge, for moſt juſt cauſes, which I then declared, he neverthleſſe went on ſtill, and made proceſſe againſt me, contrarie to the rule of the laws of appealing, which ſay; A Iudge that is refuſed ought not to proceed in the cauſe, but to leave off. And when he had required of me anſwers to certain Articles, I refuſed to make him any anſwer: I ſaid I would yet gladly make anſwer to the moſt renowned Kings and Queens deputies or attourneys then preſent, with this condition notwithſtanding, that mine anſwer ſhould be extrajudiciall, and that was permitted me. And with this my proteſtation made and admitted, I made anſwer; but mine anſwer was ſudden and unprovided for: and therefore I deſired to have a copie of mine anſwers, that I might put to, take away, change, and amend them; and this was alſo permitted me. Neverthleſſe, contrary to his promiſe made unto me, no reſpect had to my proteſtation, nor licence given to amend mine anſwer, the ſaid reverend father Biſhop of Gloceſter (as I heare) commanded mine anſwers to be inacted contrarie to the equitie of the Law. In which thing again I feele me much grieved.

The Papiſts proceed contrary to Law.

The Papiſts contrary to their promiſe.

The 4. cauſe.

4 Furthermore, I could not for many cauſes admit the Biſhop of Romes uſurped authoritie in this Realm, nor conſent to it: Firſt my ſolemne oath letting me, which I made in the time of king Henry the eighth, of moſt famous memorie, according to the Laws of England: Secondly, becauſe I knew the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, which he uſurpeth, to be againſt the Crown, cuſtoms, and laws of this Realm of England, inſomuch, that neither the King can be crowned in this Realm, without the moſt grievous crime of perjurie, nor may biſhops enjoy their Biſhopricks, nor judgements to be uſed according to the laws and cuſtoms of this Realm, except by the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, be accurſed both the King and Queene, the Judges, Writers, and Executors of the Laws and Cuſtoms, with all that conſent to them. Finally, the whole Realm ſhall be accurſed.

Cauſes moving the Archb. why he could not admit the popes authority.

The popes authority cannot be admitted in this realme without perjury.

The 5. cauſe. Inconvenience to this realm in receiving the popes authority.

5 Moreover, that hainous and uſurped authority of the Biſhop of Rome, through reſervations of the Biſhopricks, Proviſions, Annuates, Diſpenſations, Pardons, Appellations, Buls, and other curſed merchandiſe of Rome, was wont exceedingly to ſpoile and conſume the riches and ſubſtance of this Realm, all which things ſhould follow again by recogniſing and receiving of that uſurped authority unto the unmeaſurable loſſe of this Realm.

The 6. cauſe.

6 Finally, it is moſt evident by that uſurped authority, not onely the Crown of England to be under yoke, the Laws and Cuſtomes of this Realme to be throwne downe and troden under foot, but alſo the moſt holy Decrees of Councels, together with the precepts both of the Goſpel and of God.

When in times paſt the Sun of righteouſneſſe being riſen in the world, Chriſtian Religion by the preaching of the Apoſtles began to be ſpread verie farre abroad and to flouriſh, inſomuch that their ſound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkneſſe, ſaw a great light, Gods glorie everie where publiſhed did flouriſh, the onely carke and care of the Miniſters of the Church was purely and ſincerely to preach Chriſt, the people to imbrace and follow Chriſts doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were Lady of the world, both was, and alſo was counted worthily the mother of other Churches, for as much as then ſhe firſt begat to Chriſt, nouriſhed with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a ſanctuarie for the miſerable, ſhe rejoyced with them that rejoyced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the Biſhops of Rome, riches were deſpiſed, worldly glory and pomp was troden under foot, pleaſures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miſeries, was laughed to ſcorn, whiles through the example of Romiſh Martyrs, men did every where preſſe forward to the life to come. But afterward when the ungraciouſneſſe of damnable ambition, never ſatisfied avarice, and the horrible enormitie of vices had corrupted and taken the See of Rome; there followed every where almoſt the deformities of all Churches, growing out of kinde into the maners of the Church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and ſlipping into fouls and hainous uſages.

The primitive ſtate of the Church of Rome ſincere and pure.

The Church of Rome how and where it began to alter.

Deformities of the Church of Rome, infecting all other Churches.

The Biſhop of Rome no equall judge in his own cauſe.

For the foreſaid and many other griefs and abuſes (which I intend to prove, and do proffer my ſelf in time convenient to prove hereafter) ſince reformation of the above mentioned abuſes, is not to be looked for of the Biſhop of Rome, neither can I hope by reaſon of his wicked abuſes and uſurped authoritie, to have him an equall judge in his own cauſe: therefore I do challenge and appeal in theſe writings from the Pope, having no good counſell, and from the above named pretenſes, commiſſions, and judges, from their Citations, proceſſes, and from all other things that have or ſhall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their ſentences, cenſures, pains, and puniſhments of curſing, ſuſpenſion, and interdicting, and from all others whatſoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of ſchiſme, of hereſie, adulterie, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner wiſe attempted, done, and ſet forward to be attempted, to be done, and to be ſet forward hereafter (ſaving alwayes their honours and reverences) as unequall and unrighteous, moſt tyrannicall and violent, and from everie griefe to come, which ſhall happen to me, as well for my ſelf as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my ſide, unto a free generall Councell, that ſhall hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure place, to the which place I or a Proctor deputed by me, may freely and with ſafety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the Law, priviledge, cuſtome, or otherwiſe challenge and appeal.

Appellation from the pope to a generall Councell.

And I deſire the firſt, the ſecond, and the third time, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly, that I may have “ meſſengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promiſe of proſecuting this mine appellation, by the way of diſanulling, abuſe, inequalitie, and unrighteouſneſſe, or otherwiſe as I ſhall be better able: choice and libertie reſerved to me, to put to, diminiſh, change, correct, and inter-

“ Letters of protection and defence.

pret

Defence of his doctrine.

pret my ſayings, and to reform all things after a better faſhion, ſaving alwayes to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kinde ſoever it be, I proteſt that it was never my minde to write, ſpeak, or underſtand any thing contrarie to the moſt holy word of God, or elſe againſt the holy Catholique Church of Chriſt, but purely and ſimply to imitate and teach thoſe things onely, which I had learned of the ſacred Scripture, and of the holy Catholique Church of Chriſt from the beginning, and alſo according to the expoſition of the moſt holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

The Archb. no heretique, and why?

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwiſe then I thought; I may erre, but heretique I cannot be, for as much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgement of the moſt ſacred Word of God, and of the holy Catholique Church, deſiring none other thing, then meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have ſwerved from the truth.

He proteſteth himſelf to be Catholique.

And I proteſt and openly confeſſe, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my doctrine whatſoever it be, not onely I meane and judge thoſe things, as the Catholique Church, and the moſt holy Fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but alſo I would gladly uſe the ſame words that they uſed, and not uſe any other words, but to ſet my hand to all and ſingular their ſpeeches, phraſes, wayes and forms of ſpeech, which they do uſe in their Treatiſes upon the Sacrament, and to keep ſtill their interpretation. But in this thing I onely am accuſed for an heretique, becauſe I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and becauſe I conſent not to words not accuſtomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the deſtruction of ſouls, and overthrowing of the pure and old Religion. Yeven, &c.

New termes of the Sacrament brought in by the Pope unknown to the Scripture and old Doctors.

This appeal being put up to the Biſhop of Ely, he ſaid, My Lord, our Commiſſion is to proceed againſt you, Omnia appellatione remota, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Talk between D. Thurlby & the Archb. about the appeal.

Why (quoth he) then you do me the more wrong: for my caſe is not as every private mans caſe. The matter is between the Pope and me immediatè, and none otherwiſe: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cauſe.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted it ſhall, and ſo received it of him. And then began he to perſwade earneſtly with the Archbiſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promiſing to become a ſuter to the King and Queen for him; and ſo proteſted his great love and friendſhip that had been between them, heartily weeping, ſo that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queens commandement, whom he could not denie, elſe no worldly commoditie ſhould have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the ſorrowfulleſt things that ever happened unto him. The Archbiſhop gently ſeeming to comfort him, ſaid, he was verie well content withall: and ſo proceeded they to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereto appertaining, taken out of the Popes Pontificall, becauſe it is alreadie deſcribed at full in our firſt book of Monuments, I ſhall refer the Reader to the ſame.

Thurlby weepeth for the Archbiſhop.

Here then to be ſhort, when they came to take off his Pall (which is a ſolemne veſture of an Archbiſhop) then ſaid he, Which of you hath a Pall, to take off my Pall? Which imported as much as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them ſaid, in that they were but Biſhops, they were his inferiors, and not competent Judges: but being the Popes delegates, they might take his Pall, and ſo they did, and ſo proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a Barbar clipped his hair round about, and the Biſhop ſcraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Biſhop Boner behaved himſelf, as roughly and unmanerly, as the other Biſhop was to him ſoft and gentle. Whiles they were thus doing, All this (quoth the Archbiſhop) needed not: I had my ſelf done with this geare long ago. Laſt of all they ſtripped him out of his gowne into his jacket, and put upon him a poore yeoman Bedles gowne, full bare and neerly worne, and as evill favouredly made, as one might lightly ſee, and a towns mans cap on his head, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power.

Lord Boner unlordeth the Archb.

It is happy this B. had ſo much maners yet to call him Gentleman.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finiſhed, then ſpake Lord Boner, ſaying to him, Now are you no Lord any more: and ſo whenſoever he ſpake to the people of him (as he was continually barking againſt him) ever he uſed this terme, This gentleman here, &c.

And thus with great compaſſion and pitie of everie man in this evill favored gowne was he carried to priſon. Whom there followed a Gentleman of Glocceſterſhire with the Archbiſhops own gowne, who ſtanding by, and being thought to be toward one of the Biſhops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, ſaid, the Biſhop of Ely proteſted his friendſhip with tears. Yet (ſaid he) he might have uſed a great deale more friendſhip towards me, and never have been the worſe thought on, for I have well deſerved it: and going into the priſon up with him, aſked him if he would drink. Who anſwered him, ſaying, if he had a peece of ſalt fiſh, that he had better will to eat: for he had been that day ſomewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is paſt, my heart (ſaid he) is well quieted. Whereupon the Gentleman ſaid, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the law, and fearing maſter Farmers caſe, durſt therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the Bayliffes that ſtood by, and ſaid, that if they were good men, they would beſtow it on him (for my Lord of Canterburie had not one penie in his purſe to help him) and ſo left him, my Lord bidding him earneſtly farewell, commending himſelf to his prayers and al his friends. That night this Gentleman was ſtaid by Boner and Elie, for giving him this money: and but for the help of friends, he had been ſent up to the Councell. Such was the cruelty and iniquitie of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment.

Curteſie ſhewed to the Archb. by a gentleman.

This Farmer had loſt all his lands for receiving a prieſt in the Tower in K. Henries time.

The gentleman in danger for relieving the Archb.

Here followeth the recantation of the Archbiſhop, with his repentance of the ſame.

IN this meane time, while the Archbiſhop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in priſon almoſt the ſpace of three yeers) the Doctors and Divines of Oxford buſied themſelves all that ever they could about M. Cranmer, to have him recant, aſſaying by all craftie practices and allurements they might deviſe how to bring their purpoſe to paſſe. And to the intent they might win him eaſily, they had him to the Deans houſe of Chriſts Church in the ſaid Univerſitie.

verſitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the Bowls, had his pleaſure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Chriſt. Over and beſides all this, ſecretly and ſleightly they ſuborned certain men, which when they could not expugne him by arguments and diſputation, ſhould by intreatie and faire promiſes, or any other means allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwiſe what a great wound they ſhould receive, if the Archbiſhop had ſtood ſtedfaſt in his ſentence: and again on the other ſide, how great profit they ſhould get, if he as the principall ſtandard-bearer, ſhould be overthrown. By reaſon whereof the wily Papiſts flocked about him, with threatning, flattering, intreating, and promiſing, and all other means; ſpecially Henry Sydall, and Friar John a Spaniard, de Villa Garcina, to the end to drive him, to the uttermoſt of their poſſibilitie, from his former ſentence to recantation.

Perſwaſions of the Papiſts to the Archbiſhop to recant.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the King and Queene, and eſpecially how gainfull to him, and for his ſouls health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreover, how the Councell and the Noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he ſhould not onely have his life, but alſo be reſtored to his ancient dignitie, ſaying, it was but a ſmall matter, and ſo eaſie that they required him to do, onely that he would ſubſcribe to a few words with his owne hand; which if he did, there ſhould be nothing in the Realme that the Queene would not eaſily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignitie, or elſe if he had rather live a private life in quiet reſt, in whatſoever place he liſted, without all publike Miniſterie, onely that he would ſet his name in two words to a little leafe of paper; but if he refuſed, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the Queen was ſo purpoſed, that ſhe would have Cranmer a Catholique, or elſe no Cranmer at all. Therefore he ſhould chuſe whether he thought it better to end his life ſhortly in the flames and firebrands now ready to be kindled, then with much honour to prolong his life, untill the courſe of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his eſtimation and quietneſſe, ſaying, that he was not ſo old, but that many yeers yet remained in this his ſo luſty age; and if he would not do it in reſpect of the Queen, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his life, and not ſuffer that other men ſhould be more carefull for his health, then he was himſelf: ſaying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and vertues; which being adjoyned with his life would be profitable both to himſelf, and to many other; but being extinct by death, ſhould be fruitfull to no man; that he ſhould take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to reſtore all things ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himſelf. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occaſion of his health while it was offered, leſt if he would now refuſe it while it was offered, he might hereafter ſeek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the deſire of life did nothing move him, yet he ſhould remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and eſpecially in theſe his yeers and flower of dignitie it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and ſuch torments, is moſt grievous of all. With theſe and like provocations theſe faire flatterers ceaſed not to ſollicite and urge him, uſing all means they could to draw him to their ſide; whoſe force his manly conſtancie did a great while reſiſt. But at laſt when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbiſhop being overcome, whether through their importunitie, or by his owne imbecilitie, or of what minde I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

The Archbiſhop content to recant.

It might be ſuppoſed, that it was done for the hope of life, and better dayes to come. But as we may ſince perceive by a letter of his ſent to a Lawyer, the moſt cauſe why he deſired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had alreadie begun: but howſoever it was, plain it was, to be againſt his conſcience. The forme of which recantation made by the Friers and Doctors, whereto he ſubſcribed, was this.

Cauſes moving the Archb. to give with time.

The copie and words of Cranmers recantation.

I Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterburie, do renounce, abhorre, and deteſt, all maner of hereſies and errors of Luther and Zwinglius, and all other teachings which be contrarie to ſound and true doctrines. And I beleeve moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confeſſe one holy and Catholique Church viſible, without the which there is no ſalvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head in earth, whom I knowledge to be the higheſt Biſhop and Pope, and Chriſts Vicar, unto whom all Chriſtian people ought to be ſubject.

The copie of Cranmers recantation ſparſed abroad by the Papiſts.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I beleeve and worſhip in the ſacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the wine into his blood.

And in the other ſix ſacraments alſo (like as in this) I beleeve and hold as the univerſall Church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I beleeve that there is a place of Purgatorie, where ſouls departed be puniſhed for a time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholſomely pray, like as it doth honour ſaints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profeſſe, that I do not otherwiſe beleeve, then the Catholique Church and the Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am ſorie that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God, that of his mercie he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his Church, and alſo I deſire and beſeech all Chriſtian people to pray for me.

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that they will return to the unitie of the Church, that we may be all of one minde, without ſchiſme or diviſion.

And to conclude, as I ſubmit my ſelf to the Catholique Church of Chriſt, and to the ſupreme head thereof, ſo I ſubmit my ſelf unto the moſt excellent Majeſties of Philip and Marie, King and Queen of this Realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being readie allwayes as a faithfull ſubject ever to obey them. And God is my witneſſe that I have not done this for favour or feare of any perſon, but willingly and of mine owne minde, as well to the diſcharge of mine own conſcience, as to the inſtruction of other.

This recantation of the Archbiſhop was not ſo ſoone conceived, but the Doctors and Prelates without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted, and ſet abroad in all mens hands. Whereunto for better credit, firſt was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a ſolemne ſubſcription, then followed

Q. Marie. Anno 1556.

lowed the witneſſes of this recantation, Henrie Sydall, and Frier John De Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in certaine aſſurance of his life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the Doctors; but after that they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to doe.

The Queenes heart ſet againſt Cranmer.

The Queene, having now gotten a time to revenge her old griefe, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death ſhe would nothing relent.

Cranmer in a miſerable caſe.

Now was Cranmers caſe in a miſerable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietneſſe in his owne conſcience, nor yet outwardly any helpe in his adverſaries.

Beſides this, on the one ſide was praiſe, on the other ſide ſcorne, on both ſides danger, ſo that neither he could die honeſtly, nor yet unhoneſtly live. And whereas he ſought profit, he fell into double diſprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid ſecret ſhame, nor yet with evill men the note of diſſimulation.

The Queene conferreth with D. Cole about Cranmers burning.

In the meane time, while theſe things were adoing (as I ſaid) in the priſon amongſt the Doctors, the Queene taking ſecret counſell, how to diſpatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her ſecret hate, and looked for nothing leſſe then death) appointed D. Cole, and ſecretly gave him in commandement, that againſt the 21. of March, he ſhould prepare a funerall ſermon for Cranmers burning, and ſo inſtructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleaſure in that behalfe, ſendeth him away.

L. Williams of Tame, L. Shandoys, ſir Tho. Bridges, ſir Jo. Browne, appointed to be at Cranmers execution.

Soone after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the L. Shandoys, ſir Tho. Bridges, and ſir John Browne were ſent for, with other worſhipful men and Juſtices, commanded in the Queenes name to be at Oxford at the ſame day, with their ſervants and retinue, leſt Cranmers death ſhould raiſe there any tumult.

Cole the Doctor having this leſſon given him before, and charged by her commandement, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew neere, even the day before, came into the priſon to Cranmer; to trie whether he abode in the Catholike faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had anſwered, that by Gods grace he would daily be more confirmed in the Catholike faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the Archbiſhop againe, giving no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of March appointed for Cranmers execution, the ſaid Cole coming to him, asked if he had any money. To whom when he anſwered that he had none, he delivered him fifteene Crownes to give the poore to whom he would: and ſo exhorting him ſo much as he could to conſtancie in Faith, departed thence about his buſineſſe, as to his Sermon appertained.

Cranmer writeth, and ſubſcribeth the articles with his owne hand.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the Archbiſhop beganne more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then becauſe the day was not farre paſt, and the Lords and Knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spaniſh Frier, witneſſe of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer ſhould openly profeſſe in his recantation before the people, earneſtly deſiring him that he would write the ſaid inſtrument with the articles with his owne hand, and ſigne it with his name: which when he had done, the ſaid Frier deſired that he would write another copie thereof, which ſhould remaine with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the Archbiſhop being not ignorant whereunto their ſecret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of his faith with Chriſts people, he put ſecretly in his boſome his prayer with his exhortation, written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people, before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his faith, fearing leſt if they had heard the confeſſion of his Faith firſt, they would not afterward have ſuffered him to exhort the people.

Soone after about nine of the clocke, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Browne, and the other Juſtices, with certaine other Noblemen, that were ſent of the Queenes Councell, came to Oxford with a great traine of waiting men. Alſo of the other multitude on everie ſide (as is wont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe, and greater expectation. For firſt of all, they that were of the Popes ſide were in great hope that day to hear ſomething of Cranmer that ſhould ſtabliſh the vanitie of their opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better minde, could not yet doubt, that he which by continuall ſtudy and labour for ſo many yeeres, had ſet forth the doctrine of the Goſpel, either would or could now in the laſt Act of his life forſake his part. Briefly, as every mans will inclined, either to this part or to that, ſo according to the diverſitie of their deſires, every man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an uncertaine thing the certainty could be knowne of none what would be the end; all their mindes were hanging betweene hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtfull a matter, the more was the multitude, that was gathered thither to heare and behold.

D. Cranmer brought to D. Coles ſermon.

In this ſo great frequencie and expectation, Cranmer at the length cometh from Bocardo priſon unto Saint Maries Church, becauſe it was a foule and rainie day, the chiefe Church in the Univerſitie, in this order. The Maior went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought betweene two Friers, which mumbling to and fro certaine Pſalmes in the ſtreets, anſwered one another untill they came to the Church doore, and there they began the ſong of Simeon, Nunc dimitis, and entring into the Church, the Pſalme-ſaying Friers brought him to his ſtanding, and there left him.

Cranmer ſet up upon a ſtage.

There was a ſtage ſet over againſt the Pulpit, of a meane height from the ground, where Cranmer had his ſtanding, waiting untill Cole made him ready to his Sermon.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man gave a ſorrowfull ſpectacle to all Chriſtian eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbiſhop, Metropolitane, and Primate of England, and the Kings privie Councellor, being now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill favouredly cloathed, with an old ſquare cap, expoſed to the contempt of all men, did admoniſh men not onely of his owne calamitie, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe, and bewaile his fortune, and might not feare his owne chance, to ſee ſuch a Prelate, ſo grave a Councellor, and of ſo long continued honor, after ſo many dignities, in his old yeeres to be deprived of his eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painfull a death to end his life, and now preſently from ſuch freſh ornaments, to deſcend to ſuch vile and ragged apparell.

In this habit, when he had ſtood a good ſpace upon the ſtage, turning to a pillar neere adjoyning thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Doctor Cole coming into the Pulpit, and beginning his Sermon, entered firſt into mention of Tobias an Zacharie. Whom after he had praiſed in the beginning of his Sermon for their perſeverance in the true worſhipping of God, he then divided his whole Sermon into three parts (according to the ſolemne cuſtome of the ſchooles) intending to ſpeake firſt of the mercy of God: ſecondly, of his juſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the Princes ſecrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occaſion by and by to turne his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he being indued with the ſavour and feeling of wholſome and catholike doctrine, fell into the contrarie opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but alſo allured other men to do the like, with great liberalitie of gifts, as it were, appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all meanes did cheriſh them.

D. Coles Sermon divided into three parts.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The ſumme of his tripartite declamation was, that he ſaid Gods mercie was ſo tempered with his juſtice, that he did not altogether require puniſhment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame altogether to goe unpuniſhed, yea though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden chooſe of three kindes of puniſhments which he would, and he had choſen peſtilence for three dayes; the Lord forgave him halfe the time, but did not releaſe all: And that the ſame thing came to paſſe in him alſo, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the Canons, ſeeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were cauſes why the Queene and the Councell at this time judged him to death: of which, leſt he ſhould marvell too much, he ſhould heare ſome.

The ſumme and effect of D. Coles ſermon at Oxford.

If Cole gave this judgement upon Cranmer when he had repented, what judgement is then to be given of Cole, which alwaies perdured in error, and never yet repented.

Firſt, that being a traitor, he had diſſolved the lawfull matrimonie betweene the King her father and mother; beſides the driving out of the Popes authoritie, while he was Metropolitane.

Secondly, that he had beene an heretike, from whom as from an author and onely fountaine all hereticall doctrin and ſchiſmaticall opinions, that ſo many yeers have prevailed in England, did firſt riſe and ſpring; of which he had not beene a ſecret favourer only, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender even to the end of his life, ſowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the Catholike Church.

If all heretikes in England ſhould be burned, where ſhould D. Cole have been ere now?

And further, it ſeemed meet, according to the law of equalitie, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More Chancellor that died for the Church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with Fiſher of Rocheſter; and becauſe that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even with that man, it ſeemed that Cranmer ſhould be joyned to them to fill up their part of equalitie.

Lex non æqualitatis ſed iniquitatis.

Beſides theſe there were other juſt and weightie cauſes, which ſeemed to the Queene and Councell, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothing is ſo high, that can promiſe it ſelfe ſafetie on the earth, and that Gods vengeance is equally ſtretched againſt all men, and ſpareth none: therefore they ſhould beware and learne to feare their Prince. And ſeeing the Queenes Majeſtie would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſſe in the like cauſe ſhee would ſpare other men, that no man ſhould thinke to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kinde of authoritie. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamitie every man might conſider his own fortune; who from the top of dignitie, none beeing more honourable than hee in the whole realme, and next the King, was fallen into ſo great miſerie, as they might now ſee, being a man of ſo high degree, ſometime one of the chiefeſt Prelates in the Church, and on Archbiſhop, the chiefe of the Councell, the ſecond perſon in the Realme of long time, a man thought in greateſt aſſurance, having a King on his ſide; notwithſtanding all his authoritie and defence, to be debaſed from high eſtate to a low degree, of a Counſellor to become a caitiffe, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the pooreſt wretch would not change condition with him; briefly ſo heaped with miſerie on all ſides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

No ſtate in this earth ſo high nor ſo ſure, but it may fall.

The latter part of his ſermon he converted to the Archbiſhop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with theſe and ſuch like; bidding him not to miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receive that the thiefe did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo, That is, This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe: And out of St. Paul he armed him againſt the terrour of the fire, by this, Dominus fidelis eſt, non ſinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre poteſtis, That is, The Lord is faithfull, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength: by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to ſeeme like a pleaſant dew, adding alſo the rejoycing of St. Andrew in his croſſe, the patience of St. Laurence on the fire, aſſuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to ſuch as die in his faith, either would abate the furie of the flame, or give him ſtrength to abide it.

D. Cole encourageth the Archb. to take his death patiently.

1 Cor. 10.

He glorified God much in his converſion, becauſe it appeared to be onely his worke, declaring what travell and conference had beene with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleaſed God of his mercie to reclaime him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgement and talke of him, that all the time (ſaid he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſaid) and alſo he did promiſe in the name of all the Prieſts that were preſent, that immediately after his death there ſhould be Dirges, Maſſes, and funerals executed for him in all the Churches of Oxford for the ſuccour of his ſoule.

D. Cole rejoyceth in the Archbiſhops converſion, but that rejoycing laſted not long.

Dirges and Maſſes promiſed for Cranmers ſoule.

Cranmer in all this meane time, with what great griefe of minde he ſtood hearing this Sermon, the outward ſhewes of his body and countenance did better expreſſe, then any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then againe for ſhame letting them downe to the earth. A man might have ſeene the very image and ſhape of perfect ſorrow lively in him expreſſed. More then twenty ſeverall times the teares guſhed out abundantly, dropping downe marvellouſly from his fatherly face. They which were preſent, doe teſtifie that they never ſaw in any childe more teares, then braſt out from him at that time, all the Sermon while; but eſpecially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiſeration and pitie moved all mens hearts, that beheld ſo heavie a countenance, and ſuch aboundance of teares in an old man of ſo reverend dignitie.

The teares of the Archbiſhop.

Cranmer required to declare his faith.

Cole, after he had ended his Sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren (ſaid he) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this mans earneſt converſion and repentance, you ſhall heare him ſpeake before you, and therefore I pray you Maſter Cranmer, that you will now performe that you promiſed not long agoe; namely, that you would openly expreſſe the true and undoubted profeſſion of your faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may underſtand that you are a Catholike indeed. I will doe it (ſaid the Archbiſhop) and that with a good will; who by and by riſing up, and putting off his cap, began to ſpeake thus unto the people.

Cranmer willing to declare his faith.

The words of the Archb. to the people.

I deſire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my ſinnes, which above all men, both in number and greatneſſe, I have committed. But among all the reſt, there is one offence which moſt of all at this time doth vexe and trouble me, whereof in proceſſe of my talke you ſhall heare more in his proper place, and then putting his hand into his boſome, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in this ſenſe.

The prayer of Doctor Cranmer, Archbiſhop.

GOod Chriſtian people, my dearely beloved brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, I beſeech you moſt heartily to pray for me to Almightie God, that he will forgive me all my ſinnes and offences, which be many, without number, and great above meaſure. But yet one thing grieveth my conſcience more then all the reſt, whereof God willing, I intend to ſpeake more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoever my ſinnes be, I beſeech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling downe, he ſaid:

The prayer of the Archb. Cranmer.

O Father of heaven, O Sonne of God, Redeemer of the world; O holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, have mercy upon me moſt wretched caitiſe and miſerable ſinner. I have offended both againſt heaven and earth, more then my tongue can expreſſe. Whither then may I goe, or whither ſhall I flee? To heaven I may be aſhamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I finde no place of refuge or ſuccour. To thee therefore, O Lord, doe I runne; to thee doe I humble my ſelfe, ſaying, O Lord my God, my ſinnes be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great myſtery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou diddeſt not give thy Sonne (O heavenly Father) unto death for ſmall ſinnes onely, but for all the greateſt ſinnes of the world, ſo that the ſinner returne to thee with his whole heart, as I doe here at this preſent. Wherefore have mercy on me O God, whoſe propertie is alwaies to have mercy, have mercy upon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine owne merits, but for thy names ſake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy deare Sonne, Ieſus Chriſts ſake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c. And then he riſing, ſaid:

The laſt words of exhortation of the Archb. to the people.

Every man (good people) deſireth at the time of his death to give ſome good exhortation that others may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I beſeech God grant me grace, that I may ſpeake ſomething at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

Exhortation to contempt of the world.

Firſt, it is an heavy caſe to ſee that ſo many folk ſo much dote upon the love of this falſe world, and be ſo carefull for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they ſeeme to care very little or nothing. Therefore this ſhall be my firſt exhortation, that you ſet not your mindes overmuch upon this glozing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come; and to learne to know what this leſſon meaneth, which St. John teacheth, that the love of this world is hatred againſt God.

Exhortation to obedience.

The ſecond exhortation is, that next under God you obey your King and Queene willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for feare of them onely, but much more for the feare of God; knowing that they be Gods Miniſters, appointed by God to rule and governe you: and therefore whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.

Exhortation to brotherly love.

The thrid exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and ſiſters. For alas, pitie it is to ſee what contention and hatred one Chriſtian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and ſiſter, but rather as ſtrangers and mortall enemies. But I pray you learn and beare well away this one leſſon, To doe good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more then you would hurt your owne naturall loving brother or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt God is not with that man, although he think himſelf never ſo much in Gods favour.

Exhortation to rich men of this world moving them to charitable almes.

The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that have great ſubſtance and riches of this world, that they will well conſider and weigh three ſayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Chriſt himſelfe, who ſaith, Luke 18. It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdome of heaven. A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken of him that knoweth the truth.

The ſecond is of St. John, 1 Iohn 3. whoſe ſaying is this, He that hath the ſubſtance of this world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſitie, and ſhutteth up his mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loveth God?

The third is of St. James, who ſpeaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, Weepe you and howle for the miſerie that ſhall come upon you: your riches doe rot, your cloathes be moth-eaten, your gold and ſilver doth canker and ruſt, and their ruſt ſhall beare witneſſe againſt you, and conſume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treaſure of Gods indignation againſt the laſt day. Let them that be rich ponder well theſe three ſentences: for if they ever had occaſion to ſhew their charitie, they have it now at this preſent, the poore people being ſo many, and victuals ſo deare.

And now for as much as I am come to the laſt end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life paſt, and all my life to come, either to live with my Maſter Chriſt for ever in joy, or elſe to be in paine for ever, with wicked devils in hell, and I ſee before mine eies preſently either heaven ready to receive me, and elſe hell ready to ſwallow me up: I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I beleeve, without any colour of diſſimulation: for now is no time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in times paſt.

The Archb. declareth the true confeſſion of his faith without all colour or diſſembling.

Firſt, I beleeve in God the Father Almightie, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I beleeve every article of the Catholik faith, every word, and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the new and old Teſtament.

And now I come to the great thing, that ſo much troubleth my conſcience, more then any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole life, and that is the ſetting abroad of a writing con-

The Archb. revoketh his former recantation, and repenteth the ſame.

trary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuſe, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for feare of death, and to ſave my life if it might be, and that is, all ſuch bils and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed therefore: for may I come to the fire it ſhall be firſt burned.

The Archb. refuſeth the pope as Chriſts enemy & Antichriſt. The Archbiſh. ſtandeth to his booke written againſt Winchester.

And as for the Pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſts enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine.

And as for the ſacrament, I beleeve as I have taught in my booke againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the which my booke teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the ſacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the judgement of God, where the Papiſticall doctrine contrary thereto ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her face.

Here the ſtanders by were all aſtonied, marvelled, were amazed, did looke one upon another, whoſe expectation he had ſo notably deceived. Some began to admoniſh him of his recantation, and to accuſe him of falſhood.

The expectation of the Papiſts deceived.

Briefly, it was a world to ſee the Doctors beguiled of ſo great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victorie, and a perpetuall triumph by this mans retractation.

The Papiſts in great chafe againſt the Archbiſhop.

Who aſſoone as they heard theſe things, began to let downe their eares, to rage, fret, & fume; and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not revenge their griefe: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of neceſſitie he muſt needs die that day, though the Papiſts had beene never ſo well pleaſed: now being never ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And ſo when they could do nothing elſe unto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothing, they ceaſed not to object unto him his falſhood and diſſimulation.

Cranmers anſwer to the Papiſts.

Unto which accuſation he anſwered, Ah my Maſters (quoth he) doe not you take it ſo. Alwaies ſince I lived hitherto, I have beene a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicitie, and never before this time have I diſſembled; and in ſaying this, all the teares that remained in his body, appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeake more of the Sacrament and of the Papacie, ſome of them began to cry out, yalpe, and baule, and ſpecially Cole cried out upon him; Stop the heretikes mouth, and take him away.

Cranmer pulled downe from the ſtage. Cranmer led to the fire.

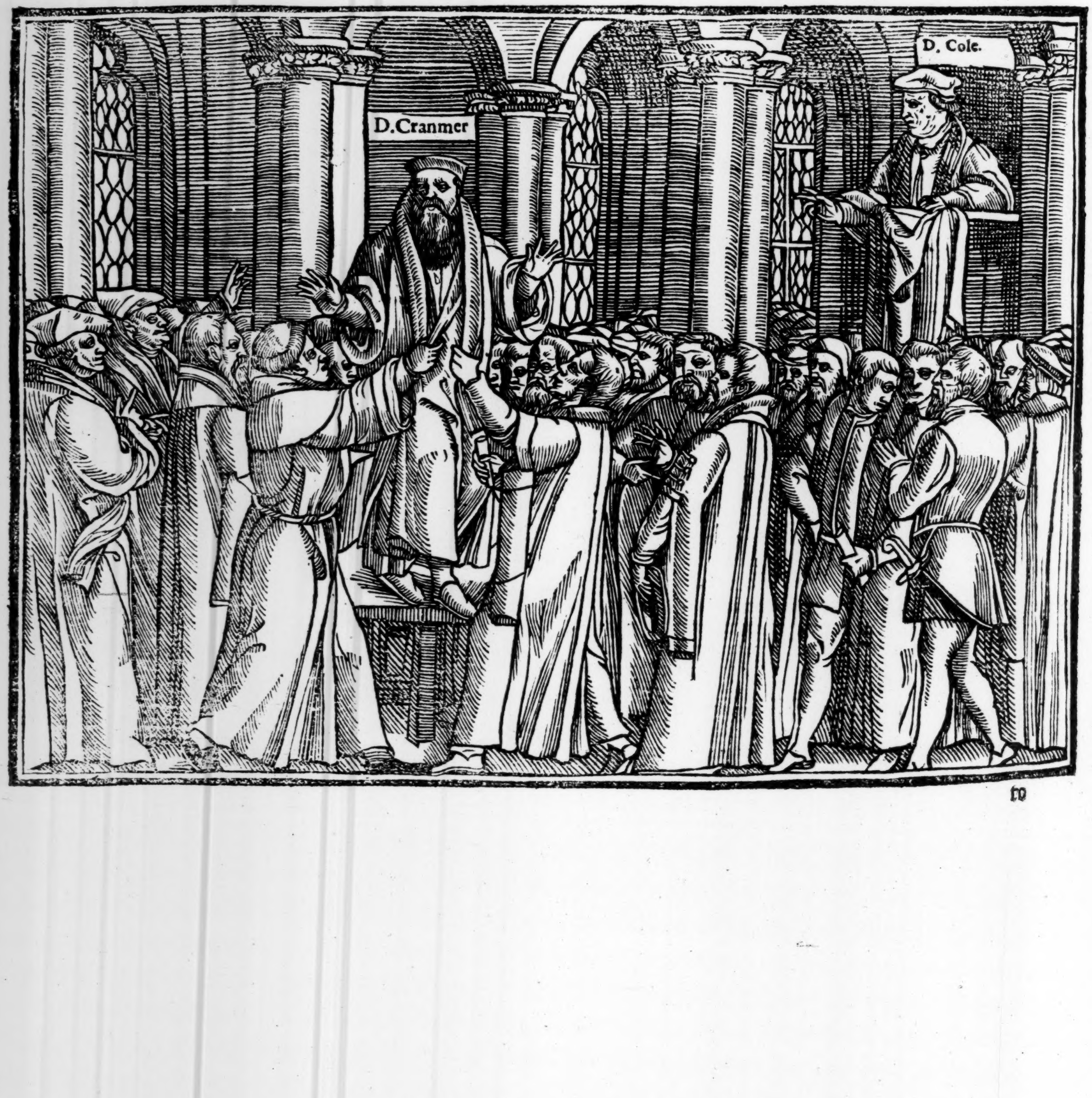
And then Cranmer being pulled downe from the ſtage was led to the fire, accompanied with thoſe Friars, vexing, troubling, and threatning him moſt cruelly. What madneſſe (ſay they) hath brought thee againe into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable ſoules with thee into hell? To whom he anſwered nothing, but directed all his talke to the people, ſaving that to one troubling him in the way he ſpake, and exhorted him to get him home to his ſtudie, and apply his booke diligently, ſaying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he ſhould get knowledge.

But the other Spaniſh barker, raging and foming, was almoſt out of his wits, alwaies having this in his mouth, Non feciſti? diddeſt thou it not?

The Archbiſh. brought to the place of execution.

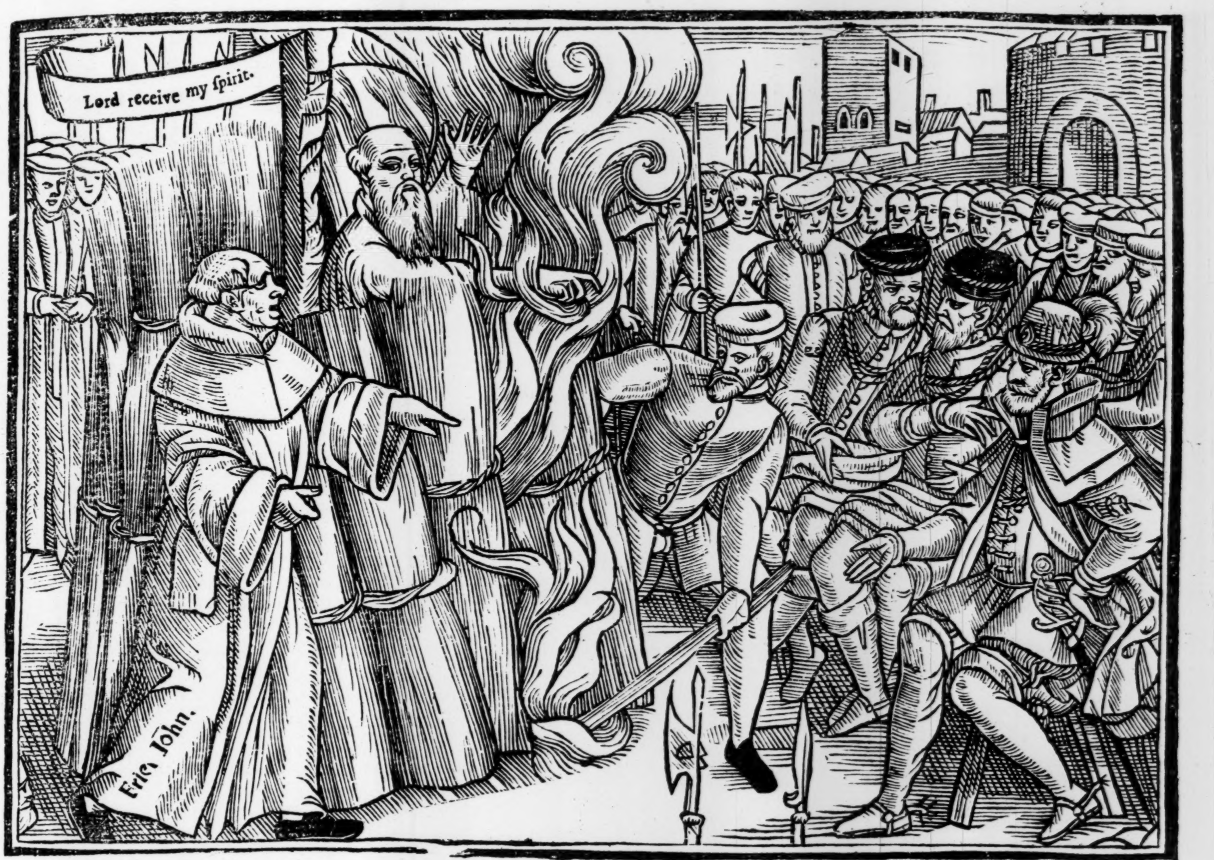
But when he came to the place where the holy Biſhops and Martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley were burnt before him for the confeſſion of the truth, kneeling downe hee prayed,

The deſcription of D. Cranmer, how he was plucked downe from the ſtage, by Friars and Papiſts, for the true Confeſsion of his faith.



to

The burning of Doctor Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, in the Towne ditch at Oxford, with his hand firſt thruſt into the fire, wherewith he ſubſcribed before.


Lord receive my ſpirit.
Frier Iohn.

Q. Mari I.

Anno 1556.

The deſcription of his perſon.

to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his ſhirt, he prepared himſelfe to death. His ſhirt was made long downe to his feete. His feete were beare. Likewiſe his head, when both his caps were off, was ſo bare, that one haire could not be ſeene upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravitie. Such a countenance of gravitie moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then the Spaniſh Friars John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him and play their parts with him afreſh, but with vaine and loſt labour. Cranmer with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abiding in the profeſſion of his doctrine, gave his hand to certaine old men, and other that ſtood by bidding them farewell.

M. Ely refuſeth to give his hand to the Archbiſhop.

And when he had thought to have done ſo likewiſe to Ely, the ſaid Ely drew back his hand and refuſed, ſaying; it was not lawfull to ſalute heretikes, and ſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned unto the opinions that he had forſworne. And if he had knowne before that he would have done ſo, he would never have uſed his company ſo familiarly, and chid thoſe Sergeants and Citizens, which had not refuſed to give him their hands. This Ely was a Prieſt lately made, and ſtudent in Divinity, being then one of the fellowes of Braſen-noſe.

The Archb. tyed to the ſtake.

Then was an iron chaine tyed about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more ſtedfaſt then that he could be moved from his ſentence, they commanded the fire to be ſet unto him.

Cranmer putteth his right hand which ſubſcribed, firſt into the fire.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burne neere him, ſtretching out his arme, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held ſo ſtedfaſt & immoveable (ſaving that once with the ſame hand he wiped his face) that all men might ſee his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did ſo abide the burning of the flame with ſuch conſtancie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, that ſtanding alwaies in one place without moving his body, he ſeemed to move no more then the ſtake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his unworthy right hand, ſo long as his voyce would ſuffer him; and uſing often the words of Steven Lord Ieſus receive my ſpirit, in the greatneſſe of the flame he gave up the ghoſt.

The laſt words of Cranmer at his death.

The Friars lying report of Cranmer.

This fortitude of minde, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when Friar John ſaw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of deſperation, although ſuch manner of examples which are of the like conſtancie, have beene common here in England, ranne to the Lord Williams of Tame, crying that the Archbiſhop was vexed in minde, and dyed in great deſperation. But he which was not ignorant of the Archbiſhops conſtancie, being unknowne to the Spaniards, ſmiled onely, and (as it were) by ſilence rebuked the Friars folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbiſhop, whom, leſt by evill ſubſcribing he ſhould have periſhed, by well recanting God preſerved; and leſt he ſhould have lived longer with ſhame and reproofe, it pleaſed GOD rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his Church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimonie and bloud of ſuch a Martyr; and ſo good alſo to the man with this croſſe of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not onely of his recantation, but alſo of his ſtanding againſt John Lambert and M. Allen, or if there were any other, with whoſe burning and bloud his hands had beene before any thing polluted. But eſpecially he had to rejoyce, that dying in ſuch a cauſe he was to be numbred amongſt Chriſts Martyrs, much more worthy the name of Saint Thomas of Canterburie, then he whom the Pope falſly before did Canoniſe.

Archb. Cranm. the middle Martyr of all the Martyrs burnt in Q. Maries time.

And thus have you the full ſtory concerning the life and death of this reverend Archbiſhop and Martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and alſo of divers other the learned ſort of Chriſts Martyrs burned in Queene Maries time, of whom this Archbiſhop was the laſt, being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that Queen, and almoſt the very middle man of all the Martyrs which were burned in all her reign beſides.

Now after the life and ſtorie of this foreſaid Archbiſhop diſcourſed, let us adjoyne withall his letters, beginning firſt with his famous letter to Queene Marie, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to Rome by Biſhop Brooks and his fellowes, the tenour whereof here followeth.

Letters of Doctor Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburies letter to the Queenes Highneſſe.

A writing or letter of the Archb. ſent to Queen Mary.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſtie to pardon my preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to write to your Highneſſe. But very neceſſitie conſtraineth me, that your Majeſtie may know my minde, rather by mine own writing, then by other mens reports. So it is that upon Wedneſday, being the twelfth day of this moneth, I was cited to appeare at Rome, the 80. day after, there to make anſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt me upon the behalfe of the King, and your moſt excellent Majeſtie, which matters the Thurſday following were objected againſt me by D. Martin, and D. Storie, your Majeſties Proctors before the Biſhop of Gloceſter, ſitting in judgement by commiſſion from Rome. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a naturall ſubject, to be accuſed of the King and Queene of his owne Realme; and ſpecially before an outward judge, or by authoritie coming from any perſon out of this Realme: where the King and Queene, as if they were ſubjects within their owne Realme, ſhall complaine, and require Juſtice at a ſtrangers hands againſt their owne ſubject, being already condemned to death by their owne lawes. As though the King and Queene could not doe or have juſtice within their owne Realmes againſt their owne ſubjects, but they muſt ſeek it at ſtrangers hands in a ſtrange land; the like whereof (I thinke) was never ſeene. I would have wiſhed to have had ſome meaner adverſaries: and I thinke that death ſhall not grieve me much more, then to have my moſt dread and moſt gracious Sovereigne Lord and Lady, to whom under God I doe own all obedience, to be mine accuſers in judgement within their owne Realme, before any ſtranger and outward power. But foraſmuch as in the time of the Prince of moſt famous memorie King Henrie the 8. your Graces father, I was ſworne never to conſent, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have or exerciſe any authority or juriſdiction in thts Realme of England, therefore leſt I ſhould allow his authoritie contrary to mine oath, I refuſed to make anſwer to the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſitting here in judgement by the popes authoritie, leſt I ſhould run into perjurie.

The King and Queene make themſelves no better then ſubjects complaining of their own ſubject unto the Pope.

The firſt cauſe why the archb. would not make anſwer to the Popes delegate is to avoid perjurie.

The ſecond cauſe is, that the popes laws are contrary to the Crown and lawes of England.

Another cauſe why I refuſed the Popes authoritie, is this, that his authoritie, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crowne imperiall of this Realme, and to the Lawes of the ſame; which every true ſubject is bound to defend. Firſt, for that the Pope ſaith, that all manner of power, as well temporall as ſpirituall, is given firſt to him of God; and that the temporall power he giveth unto Emperours and Kings, to uſe it under him, but ſo as it be alwaies at his commandement and becke.

But contrary to this claime, the imperial crown and juriſdiction temporall of this Realme is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under him onely, and is ſubject unto none, but to God alone.

The oath of the King & juſtices, and the dutie of ſubjects.

Moreover, to the imperiall lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme the King in his coronation, and all Juſtices when they receive their offices, be ſworne, and all the whole Realme is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the Pope by his authoritie maketh voyde, and commandeth to blot out of our bookes, all lawes and cuſtomes being repugnant to his lawes, and declareth accurſed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of ſuch lawes or cuſtomes; as it appeareth by many of the Popes lawes, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the decrees Diſt. 10. is written thus, Conſtitutiones contra Canones & Decreta præſulum Romanornm vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt monumenti. That is, The conſtitutions or ſtatutes enacted againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhops of Rome or their good cuſtomes, are of none effect. Alſo Extra. de ſententia excommunicationis, noverit, Excommunicamus omnes hæreticos utriuſque ſexus, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, & fautores, & receptores, & defenſores eorum; nec non & qui de cætero ſervari fecerint ſtatuta edita & conſuetudines contra Eccleſiæ libertatem, niſi ea de capitularibus ſuis intra duos menſes poſt hujuſmodi publicationem ſententiæ fecerint amoveri. Item, excommunicamus ſtatutarios, & ſcriptores ſtatutorum ipſorum, nec non poteſtates, conſules, rectores, & conſiliarios locorum, ubi de cætero hujuſmodi ſtatuta & conſuetudines editæ fuerint vel ſervatæ; nec non & illos qui ſecundum ea preſumpſerint judicare, vel in publicam formam ſcribere judicata. That is to ſay, We excommunicate all heretikes of both ſexes, what name ſoever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defendors; and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerved the ſtatutes and cuſtomes made againſt the libertie of the Church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their records and chapters within two moneths after the publication thereof. Alſo we excommuninate the ſtatute makers and writers of thoſe ſtatutes, and all the poteſtates, conſuls, Governours and Counſellors of places, where ſuch ſtatutes and cuſtomes ſhall be made or kept; and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to give judgement according to them, or ſhall notifie in publique forme the matter ſo adjudged.

Diſt. 10. Conſtitutiones.

Extrau. De Sentent. & re judic. Noverit.

Now by theſe lawes, if the Biſhop of Romes authoritie which he claimeth by God, be lawfull, all your Graces lawes and cuſtomes of your Realme, being contrary to the Popes lawes, be naught, and as well your Majeſtie, as your Judges, Juſtices, and all other executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongſt heretikes, which God forbid. And yet this curſe can never be avoided (if the Pope have ſuch power as he claimeth) untill ſuch times as the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law bookes. And although there be many lawes of this

The Popes laws and the laws of England doe vary how, and wherein.

Q. Marie.
Anno 1556.

Realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a Clerk before any temporall Judge of this Realm for debt, felonie, murther, or for any other crime; which Clerks by the Popes laws be ſo exempt from the Kings laws, that they can be no where ſued, but before their Ordinarie.

Caſes wherein the Popes laws repugne againſt our laws.

Alſo the Pope by his laws may give all Biſhopricks and benefices ſpirituall; which by the laws of this Realm can be given but onely by the King and other Patrons of the ſame, except they fall into the lapſe.

By the Popes laws, Ius patronatus ſhall be ſued onely before the Eccleſiaſticall Judge; but by the Laws of the Realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporall Judge.

Proviſion againſt the popes laws by Præmunire.

And to be ſhort, the laws of this Realm do agree with the Popes laws like fire and water. And yet the Kings of this Realm have provided for their laws by the præmunire; ſo that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this Realm by any authoritie from the See of Rome, he falleth into the præmunire.

The proviſion of the Pope againſt our præmunire.

But to meet with this, the Popes have provided for their laws by curſing. For whoſoever letteth the Popes laws to have full courſe within this Realm, by the Popes power ſtandeth accurſed. So that the Popes power treadeth all the laws and cuſtoms of this Realm under his feet, curſing all that execute them, untill ſuch time as they do give place unto his laws.

But it may be ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the Popes decrees, yet we do execute ſtill the laws and cuſtoms of this Realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjuſtly, if the Popes power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtand excommunicate, and ſhall do, untill we leave the execution of our owne Laws and cuſtomes. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing ſuch authoritie, whereby the Realm ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the Pope have any ſuch authoritie.

Mark this well.

Theſe things (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the Parliament houſe, when the Popes authority was received again within this Realm; for if they had, I do not beleeve that either the King or Queens Majeſtie, or the Nobles of this Realm, or the Commons of the ſame would ever have conſented to receive again ſuch a forrein authoritie, ſo injurious, hurtfull, and prejudiciall as well to the Crown, as to the laws and cuſtomes and ſtate of this Realm, as whereby they muſt needs acknowledge themſelves to be accurſed. “But none could open this matter well but the Clergie, and ſuch of them as had read the Popes Laws, whereby the Pope had made himſelf as it were a God. Theſe ſeek to maintaine the Pope whom they deſired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a kingdome and laws within themſelves, diſtinct from the laws of the Crown, and wherewith the Crown may not meddle; and ſo being exempted from the Laws of the Realm, might live in this Realm like Lords and Kings, without damage or fear of any man, ſo that they pleaſe their high and ſupreme head at Rome. For this conſideration (I weene) ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the Parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the Crowne and whole Realme, they ſhould have opened their mouthes, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and dangers that might enſue to the Crown and Realm.

“The Clergies dutie in the Parliament.

The Clergy of England more addicted to the Pope then to their true allegiance to their countrey.

And if I ſhould agree to allow ſuch authoritie within this realm, whereby I muſt needs confeſſe, that your moſt gracious Highneſſe, and alſo your Realm ſhould ever continue accurſed, untill ye ſhall ceaſe from the execution of your own laws and cuſtomes of your Realme; I could not think my ſelf true either to your Highneſſe, or to this my naturall countrey, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuſe other men; but he that knoweth how prejudiciall and injurious the power and authoritie, which he challengeth every where, is to the Crown, laws, and cuſtoms of this Realm, and yet will allow the ſame, I cannot ſee in any wiſe how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelitie, and truth to the Crown and ſtate of this Realm.

The third cauſe why he could not allow the Pope.

Another cauſe I alledged, why I could not allow the authority of the Pope, which is this; That by his authoritie he ſubverteth not onely the laws of this Realm, but alſo the laws of God: ſo that whoſoever be under his authoritie, he ſuffereth them not to be under Chriſts religion purely, as Chriſt did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by Gods laws all Chriſtian people be bounden diligently to learne his Word, that they may know how to beleeve and live accordingly, for that purpoſe he ordained Holidayes, when they ought, leaving apart all other buſineſſe, to give themſelves wholly to know and ſerve God. Therefore Gods will and commandement is, that when the people be gathered together, Miniſters ſhould uſe ſuch language as the people may underſtand and take profit thereby, or elſe hold their peace. For as an Harp or Lute, if it give no certain ſound that men may know what is ſtricken, who can dance after it? for all the ſound is in vain; ſo is it in vain, and profiteth nothing, ſaith Almighty God by the mouth of ſaint Paul, if the Prieſt ſpeak to the people in a language which they know not; For elſe he may profit himſelfe: but profiteth not the people, ſaith ſaint Paul. But herein I was anſwered thus; that ſaint Paul ſpake onely of preaching, that the Preacher ſhould preach in a tongue which the people did know, or elſe his preaching availeth nothing: but if the preaching availeth nothing, being ſpoken in a language which the people underſtand not, how ſhould any other ſervice avail them, being ſpoken in the ſame language? And yet that ſaint Paul meant not onely of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he ſpeaketh by name expreſly of praying, ſinging, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the Prieſts ſay in the Churches, whereunto the people ſay Amen; which they uſe not in preaching, but in other divine ſervice; that whether the Prieſts rehearſe the wonderfull works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankinde above al other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profeſſion of their faith, or humble confeſſion of their ſins, with earneſt requeſt of mercie and forgiveneſſe, or make ſute or requeſt unto God for any thing; then all the people underſtanding what the Prieſts ſay, might give their minds and voices with them, and ſay Amen, that is to ſay, allow what the Prieſts ſay, that the rehearſall of Gods univerſall works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profeſſion of faith, the confeſſion of ſins, and the requeſts and petitions of the Prieſts and of the people might aſcend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a ſweet ſavour, odour, and incenſe in his noſe; and thus was it uſed many hundred yeers after Chriſts Aſcenſion. But the foreſaid things cannot be done when the Prieſts ſpeaks to the people in a language not known, and ſo they (or their Clerke in their name) ſay Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas ſaint Paul ſaith; How can the people ſay Amen to thy well ſaying, when they underſtand not what thou ſayeſt? And thus was ſaint Paul underſtood of all Interpreters, both the Greeks and Latines, old and new,

Why Latine ſervice ought not to be reſtored in England.

new, ſchoole authors and other that I have read, untill above thirty yeers paſt. At which time one Eckius with other of his ſort began to deviſe a new expoſition, underſtanding St. Paul of preaching onely.

The Papiſts and proteſtants both agreed in Windſor, the ſervice of the Church to be in the mother tongue. Anno 1549.

But when a good number of the beſt learned men reputed within this Realm, ſome favouring the old, ſome the new learning, as they terme it, (where indeed that which they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) but when a great number of ſuch learned men of both ſorts, were gathered together at Windſor, for the reformation of the ſervice of the Church; it was agreed by both, without controverſie (not one ſaying contrary) that the ſervice of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that ſaint Paul in the fourteenth Chapter to the Corinthians was ſo to be underſtood. And ſo is ſaint Paul to be underſtood in the Civill Law, more then a thouſand yeers paſt, where Iuſtinianus, a moſt godly Emperour in a Synode writeth on this manner: Iubemus ut omnes Epiſcopi pariter & presbyteri non tacito modo, ſed clara voce, quæ à fideli populo exaudiatur, ſacram oblationem & preces in ſacro Baptiſmate adhibitas celebrent, quo majori exinde devotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi afficiantur. Ita enim & Divus Paulus docet in Epiſtola ad Corinth. Si ſolummodo benedicat ſpiritus, quomodo is qui privati locum tenet, dicet ad gratiarum actionem tuam, Amen? quandoquidem quid dicas non videt. Tu quidem pulchré gratias agis, alter autem non ædificatur. That is to ſay, We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts celebrate the holy oblation and prayers uſed in holy baptiſme, not after a ſtill cloſe manner, but with a cleer loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithfull people, ſo as the hearers mindes may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo Paul teacheth alſo in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians; If the ſpirit do onely bleſſe (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupieth the place of a private perſon, ſay, Amen, to thy thankſgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou doeſt give thanks well, but the other is not edified. And not onely the Civill Law, and all other writers a thouſand and five hundreth yeers continually together have expounded ſaint Paul not of preaching onely, but of other ſervice ſaid in the Church; but alſo reaſon giveth the ſame, that if men be commanded to heare any thing, it muſt be ſpoken in a language which the hearers underſtand, or elſe (as ſaint Paul ſaith) what availeth it to heare? So that the Pope giving a contrarie commandement, that the people coming to the Church ſhall heare they wot not what, and ſhall anſwer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not onely againſt reaſon, but alſo directly againſt God.

The Pope commandeth both againſt God and naturall reaſon.

The ſacrament ought to be received in both kinds of all Chriſtians.

Ex Theophilo Alexandrino.

And again I ſaid, whereas our Saviour Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of his moſt precious body and blood to be received of all Chriſtian people under the forms of bread and wine, and ſaid of the cup, Drink ye all of this: the Pope giveth a cleane contrarie commandement, that no lay man ſhall drink of the cup of their ſalvation; as though the cup of ſalvation by the blood of Chriſt pertained not to lay men. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whoſe works ſaint Hierome did tranſlate about eleven hundred yeers paſt) ſaith, That if Chriſt had been crucified for the devils, his cup ſhould not be denied them; yet the Pope denieth the cup of Chriſt to Chriſtian people, for whom Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the Pope in theſe things, I muſt needs diſobey my Saviour Chriſt.

But I was anſwered hereunto (as commonly the Papiſts do anſwer) that under the form of bread is whole Chriſts fleſh and blood: ſo that whoſoever receiveth the form of bread, receiveth as well Chriſts blood as his fleſh. Let it be ſo, yet in the forme of bread onely, Chriſts blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Chriſt commanded, but eaten with the fleſh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the Sacrament of his blood, but of his fleſh onely; nor is the cup the Sacrament of his fleſh, but of his blood onely. And ſo the Pope keepeth from all lay perſons, the Sacrament of their redemption by Chriſts blood, which Chriſt commandeth to be given unto them.

The excuſe of the Papiſts why they take away the cup.

And furthermore, Chriſt ordained the Sacrament in two kindes, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his blood was ſeparated from his fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kinde alone: So that the lay people receive not the whole Sacrament whereby Chriſts death is repreſented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the Pope taketh upon him to give the temporall ſword, by royall and imperiall power, to Kings and Princes: ſo doth he likewiſe take upon him to depoſe them from their imperiall ſtates, if they be diſobedient to him, and commandeth the ſubjects to diſobey their Princes, aſſoyling the ſubjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawfull oaths made unto their true Kings and Princes, directly contrarie to Gods commandement, who commandeth all ſubjects to obey their Kings, or their Rulers under them.

Miſorder in the Pope in aſſoyling the diſobedience of ſubjects towards their Princes.

One John, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, in the time of Saint Gregory claimed ſuperioritie above all other Biſhops. To whom ſaint Gregory writeth, that therein he did injurie to his three brethren, which were equall with him, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of Rome, the Biſhop of Alexandria, and of Antiochia: which three were Patriarchall Sees, as well as Conſtantinople, and were brethren one to another. But (ſaith St. Gregorie) if any one ſhall exalt himſelf above all the reſt, to be the univerſall Biſhop, the ſame paſſeth in pride. But now the Biſhop of Rome exalteth himſelf not onely above all Kings and Emperours, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to ſet up and pull down, as he ſhall think good. And as the devil having no ſuch authority, yet took upon him to give unto Chriſt all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worſhip him: in like manner the Pope taketh upon him to give Empires and Kingdoms being none of his, to ſuch as will fall down and worſhip him, and kiſſe his feet.

Note the ſaying of Gregory.

The devil & the Pope are like.

And moreover, his layers and gloſers ſo flatter him, that they fain he may command Emperours and Kings to hold his ſtirrop when he lighteth upon his horſe, and to be his foot-men: and that, if any Emperour and King give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own, and that he may diſpenſe againſt Gods word, againſt both the old and new Teſtament, againſt St. Pauls Epiſtles, and againſt the Goſpel. And furthermore whatſoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himſelf into hell, yet may no mortall man reprove him, becauſe he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he ſitteth in the Temple of God, as if he were a God, and nameth himſelf Gods Vicar, and yet he diſpenſeth againſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſts part, I cannot tell what is Antichriſt, which is no more to ſay, but Chriſts enemy and adverſary; who ſhall ſit in the Temple of GOD, advancing himſelf above all other, yet by hypocriſie and fained Religion, ſhall ſubvert

Emperors and Kings made the Popes footmen.

The Pope is Antichriſt, that is, Chriſts enemy.

The true markes ſhewing that the Pope is Antichriſt.

The true marks proving that the Pope is Antichriſt.

ſubvert the true religion of Chriſt, and under pretence and colour of Chriſtian religion ſhall work againſt Chriſt, and therefore hath the name of Antichriſt. Now if any man lift himſelf higher then the Pope hath done, who lifteth himſelf above all the world; or can be more adverſarie to Chriſt, then to diſpenſe againſt Gods laws, and where Chriſt hath given any commandement, to command directly the contrarie, that man muſt needs be taken for Antichriſt. But untill the time that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may eaſily conjecture where to finde Antichriſt.

Note this concluſion.

Wherefore, ſeeing the Pope thus to overthrow both Gods laws and mans laws, taketh upon him to make Emperours and Kings to be vaſſals and ſubjects unto him, eſpecially the Crown of this Realm, with the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame; I ſee no mean how I may conſent to admit his uſurped power within this Realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to Gods law, mine allegiance and duty to your majeſty, and my love and affection to this Realm.

The cauſe why the Archbiſhop ſpake and wrote thus.

This that I have ſpoken againſt the power and authoritie of the Pope, I have not ſpoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the Popes perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhall pray to God to give him grace, that he may ſeek above all things to promote Gods honour and glorie, and not to follow the trade of his predeceſſours in theſe latter dayes.

Math. 10.

Nor have I ſpoken it for fear of puniſhment, and to avoid the ſame, thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate then to diminiſh my trouble; but I have ſpoken it for my moſt bounden dutie to the Crowne, liberties, laws, and cuſtomes of this Realme of England, but moſt ſpecially to diſcharge my conſcience in uttering the truth to GODS glorie, caſting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Chriſt, who ſaith; Fear not them that kill the bodie, and cannot kill the ſoul, but feare him that can caſt both bodie and ſoule into hell fire. He that for feare to loſe this life will forſake the truth, ſhall loſe the everlaſting life: And he that for the truths ſake will ſpend his life, ſhall finde everlaſting life. And Chriſt promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his Father, which will ſtand faſt with him here. Which comfort is ſo great, that whoſoever hath his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, cannot greatly paſſe on this life, knowing that he may be ſure to have Chriſt ſtand by him in the preſence of his Father in heaven.

The Sacrament.

A double error of the Papiſts in the words of the ſacrament. Cranmer ſtandeth to be judged by the old Church.

The Papiſts not able to bring forth one old Author above a thouſand yeers, to make with the ſacrament.

And as touching the ſacrament, I ſaid; Foraſmuch as the whole matter ſtandeth in the underſtanding of theſe words of Chriſt: This is my bodie, This is my blood; I ſaid that Chriſt in theſe words made demonſtration of the bread and wine, and ſpake figuratively, calling bread his bodie, and wine his blood, becauſe he ordained them to be ſacraments of his bodie and blood. And where the Papiſts ſay in thoſe two points contrary unto me, that Chriſt called not bread his bodie, but a ſubſtance uncertain, nor ſpake figuratively: Herein I ſaid I would be judged by the old Church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would ſtand unto. And foraſmuch as I have alledged in my book many old Authors, both Greeks and Latines, which above a thouſand yeers after Chriſt continually taught as I do; if they could bring forth but one old Author, that ſaith in theſe two points as they ſay, I offered ſix or ſeven yeers ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any Author that ſaith in moſt plaine termes as I do, yet ſaith the other part, that the Authors meant not ſo; as who ſhould ſay, that the Authors ſpake one thing, and meant cleane contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot finde any one Author, that ſaith in words as they ſay; yet ſay they, that the Authors meant as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeak more to the purpoſe herein, I referre me to the judgement of all indifferent hearers; yea the old Church of Rome, above a thouſand yeers together, neither beleeved nor uſed the Sacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late yeers.

With the ſubſtance the uſe alſo changed of the ſacrament.

For in the beginning, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a ſound doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; with the doctrine they changed the uſe of the Sacrament contrarie to that Chriſt commanded, and the old Church of Rome uſed above a thouſand yeers. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new is the old; wherein for my part I am content to ſtand to the triall. But their doctrine is ſo fond and uncomfortable, that I marvell that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But howſoever they bear the people in hand, that which they write in their books, hath neither truth nor comfort.

The Papiſts make Chriſt two bodies. Mark the errors of the Papiſts in their doctrine of the ſacrament.

Neither truth nor comfort in the Popes doctrine of the ſacrament.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Chriſt is made two bodies; one naturall, having diſtance of members, with forme and proportion of mans perfect bodie, and this bodie is in heaven; but the bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament, by their own doctrine, muſt needs be a monſtrous bodie, having neither diſtance of members, nor form, faſhion or proportion of a mans naturall bodie. And ſuch a bodie is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entreth no further then the form of bread goeth, nor tarrieth no longer then the form of bread is by naturall heat in digeſting. So that when the form of bread is digeſted, that bodie of Chriſt is gone. And foraſmuch as evill men be as long in digeſting as good men, the bodie of Chriſt (by their doctrine) entreth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Chriſtian man, to receive Chriſts unſhapen body, and it to enter no further then the ſtomack, and to depart by and by as ſoone as the bread is conſumed?

The proteſtants doctrine of the ſacrament more comfortable then the doctrine of the Papiſts.

It ſeemeth to me a more ſound and comfortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, and that hath forme and faſhion of a mans true bodie; which body ſpiritually entreth into the whole man, body and ſoul: and though the ſacrament be conſumed, yet whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternall life, if he continue in godlineſſe, and never departeth untill the receiver forſake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Chriſt within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as me ſeemeth) a ſound doctrine, according to Gods Word, and ſufficient for a Chriſtian to beleeve in that matter. And if it can be ſhewed unto me, that the Popes authoritie is not prejudiciall to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I thinke cannot be ſhewed) then I never was nor will be ſo perverſe to ſtand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I ſhall with all humilitie ſubmit my ſelf unto the Pope, not onely to kiſſe his feet, but another part alſo.

Another reaſon why the Archbiſhop refuſed B. Brooks to be his Judge.

Another cauſe why I refuſed to take the Biſhop of Gloceſter for my Judge, was the reſpect of his owne perſon, being more then once perjured. Firſt, for that he being divers times ſworne never to conſent that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have any juriſdiction within this Realme, but to take the King and his ſucceſſors for ſupreme heads of this Realme, as by Gods laws they be: contrary to that lawfull oath the ſaid Biſhop ſat then in judgement by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to ſit as a Judge.

Double perjury in B. Brooks.

The ſecond perjurie was, that he took his Biſhoprick both of the Queens Majeſtie and of the Pope, making to each of them a ſolemne oath; which oaths be ſo contrary, that the one muſt needs be perjured. And furthermore in ſwearing to the Pope to maintain his Laws, Decrees, Conſtitutions, ordinances, reſervations, and proviſions, he declareth himſelf an enemie to the Imperiall Crown, and to the Laws and ſtate of this Realm, whereby he declareth himſelfe not worthie to ſit as a Judge within this Realm. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my Judge.

This was written in another Letter to the Queene.

A peece of another letter to the Queene. Contradiction in the Queens oaths, ſworn both to the Realm, and to the Pope in one day.

I Learned by Doctor Martin, that at the day of your Majeſties Coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the ſame time you took another oath to this Realm, to maintain the Laws, Liberties, and cuſtomes of the ſame. And if your Majeſtie did make an oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he uſeth to miniſter to Princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to maintaine his authoritie, honour, laws, lands and priviledges. And if it be ſo (which I know not but by report) then I beſeech your Majeſty to look upon your oath made to the Crown and Realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to ſee how they do agree, and then do as your Graces conſcience ſhall give you: For I am ſurely perſwaded, that willingly your Majeſtie will not offend, nor do againſt your conſcience for any thing.

But I fear me that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that thoſe which ſhould have informed your Grace thorowly, did not their duties therein. And if your majeſty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you ſhall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highneſſe may uſe the matter as God ſhall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from books, from counſell, from pen and inke, ſaving at this time to write unto your Majeſtie, which all were neceſſarie for a man being in my caſe. Wherefore I beſeech your Majeſty, that I may have ſuch of theſe as may ſtand with your Majeſties pleaſure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your Majeſty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defend his truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your Majeſties pleaſure.

Another letter of the Archbiſhop to Doctor Martin and Doctor Story.

His letter to D. Martin and D. Story.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promiſed, I have ſent my letters unto the Queens Majeſtie unſigned, praying you to ſigne them, and deliver them with all ſpeed. I might have ſent them by the Carrier ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing maſter Bayliffe ſay, that he would go to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meet meſſenger to ſend my letters by. For better is later and ſurer, then ſooner, and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the Queens Majeſty incloſed and ſealed; which I require you may be ſo delivered without delay, and not be opened untill it be delivered unto her Graces own hands. I have written all that I remember I ſaid, except that which I ſpake againſt the Biſhop of Glouceſters own perſon, which I thought not meet to write. And in ſome places I have written more then I ſaid, which I would have anſwered to the Biſhop if you would have ſuffered me.

You promiſed I ſhould ſee mine anſwers to the ſixteen Articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promiſe you kept not. And mine anſwer was not made upon my oath, nor repeated, nor made in Iudicio, but extra Iudicium, as I proteſted; nor to the biſhop of Gloceſter as Judge, but to you the Kings and Queens Proctors. I truſt you deale ſincerely with me without fraud or craft, and uſe me as you would wiſh to be in like caſe your ſelves. Remember, that Qua menſura menſi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis, i. What meaſure you mete, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his Spirit to induce you into truth.

Cranmers anſwers before B. Brooks extra judicium.

Ye heard before how the Archbiſhop Doctor Cranmer in the moneth of February was cited up to Rome, and in the moneth of March next following was degraded by the Biſhop of Ely and biſhop Boner. In time of which his degradation he put up his Appellation.

In this his Appellation, becauſe he needed the help of ſome good and godly Lawyer, he writeth to a certain friend of his about the ſame: the copie of which letter in Latine is before expreſſed in the old book of Acts, there to be read, pag. 1492. The Engliſh of the ſame I thought good here to inſert, as under enſueth.

A Letter of Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop, to a Lawyer for the drawing out of his Appeale.

Another letter of the Archbiſhop to a certain learned Lawyer his friend, about his Appeal.

THe Law of nature requireth of all men, that ſo far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one ſhould ſeek to defend and preſerve his own life. Which thing, when I about three daies ago bethought my ſelf of, and therewithall remembred how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from Pope Leo the tenth, to a generall Councell (leſt I ſhould ſeem raſhly and unadviſedly to caſt away my ſelf) I determined to appeal in like ſort to ſome lawfull and free generall Councell. But ſeeing the order and form of an Appeal pertaineth to the Lawyers, whereof I my ſelf am ignorant, and ſeeing that Luthers Appeal cometh not to my hand, I purpoſed to break my minde in this matter to ſome faithfull friend and ſkilfull in the Law, whoſe help I might uſe in this behalfe, and you onely among other came to my remembrance as a man moſt meet in this Univerſitie for my purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth great ſilence, ſo that no man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make mine anſwer at Rome, the 16. day of this moneth; before the which day I think it good, after ſentence pronounced, to make mine Appeal. But whether I ſhould firſt appeal from the Judge Delegate to the Pope, and ſo afterward to the generall Councell, or elſe leaving the Pope, I ſhould appeal immediately to the Councell, herein I ſtand in need of your counſell.

Many cauſes there be for the which I thinke good to appeal. Firſt, becauſe I am by an oath bound never to conſent to the receiving of the Biſhop of Romes authoritie into this Realme. Beſides this, whereas I utterly refuſed to make anſwer to the Articles objected unto me by the Biſhop of Gloceſter, appointed by the Pope to be my Judge, yet I was content to anſwer Martin and Storie, with this Proteſtation, that mine anſwer ſhould not be taken as made before a Judge, nor yet in place of judgement, but as per-

Q. Marie. Anno 1556.

taining nothing to judgement at all; and moreover, after I had made mine anſwer, I required to have a copy of the ſame, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which though both the Biſhop of Gloceſter, and alſo the King and Queens Proctors promiſed me, yet have they altogether broken promiſe with me, and have not permitted me to correct my ſaid anſwers according to my requeſt, and yet notwithſtanding have (as I underſtand) regiſtred the ſame as Acts formally done in place of judgement.

Finally, foraſmuch as all this my trouble commeth upon my departing from the Biſhop of Rome, and from the Popiſh religion, ſo that now the quarrell is betwixt the Pope himſelf and me, and no man can be a lawfull and indifferent Judge in his own cauſe; it ſeemeth (me thinks) good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appeare to ſome generall Councell in this matter; ſpecially ſeeing the law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man the remedie of appeal in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect ſkill herein you ſhall have need of further advice; then I beſeech you even for the fidelitie and love you bear to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no creature alive whoſe the caſe is. And foraſmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your ſtudies and buſineſſe for the time, you will apply this my matter onely, till you have brought it to paſſe. The chiefeſt cauſe in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine Appeal is, that I might gain time (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to live untill I have finiſhed mine anſwer againſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adverſaries of the truth will not admit mine Appeal (as I fear they will not) Gods will be done; I paſſe not upon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Chriſts quarrell and to reign with him, then here to be ſhut up, and kept in the priſon of this bodie, unleſſe it were to continue yet ſtill awhile in this warfare, for the commoditie and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of Gods glorie. To whom be all glorie for evermore, Amen.

This Conſtantius was Ste. Gardiner, as conſtant indeed as a Weathercock: who thus named himſelf, writing againſt this good Archbiſhop.

There is alſo yet another cauſe why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to anſwer there for my ſelf, I am notwithſtanding kept here faſt in priſon, that I cannot there appeare at the time appointed. And moreover, foraſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in is a matter of life and death, ſo that I have great need of learned counſell for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all manner of counſell and help of Proctors, Advocates, and Lawyers was utterly denied me.

Your loving friend, Tho. Cranmer.

Another letter of Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop, to Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon, exhorting her to flie in the time of perſecution.

Another letter of the Archbiſh. to Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon.

The true comforter in all diſtreſſe is onely God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and whoſoever hath him, hath companie enough, although he were in a wilderneſſe all alone: and he that hath twentie thouſand in his companie, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable wilderneſſe and deſolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beſeech you ſeek your dwelling there where as you may truly and rightly ſerve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be ſo heavie a burden as an unquiet conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man cannot be ſuffered to ſerve God in Chriſts religion? If you be loath to depart from your kin and friends, remember that Chriſt calleth them his mother, ſiſters, and brothers, that do his Fathers will. Where we finde therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

Matth. 3.

If you be loath to depart for the ſlandering of Gods Word, remember that Chriſt, when his houre was not yet come, departed out of his countrey into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Phariſees; and commanded his Apoſtles that if they were purſued in one place, they ſhould flie to another. And was not Paul let down by a baſket out at a window, to avoid the perſecution of Aretas? And what wiſdome and policie he uſed from time to time to eſcape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort did the other Apoſtles; albeit, when it came to ſuch a point, that they could no longer eſcape danger of the perſecutors of Gods true religion, then they ſhewed themſelves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wiſedome to do more good; and that they would not raſhly without urgent neceſſitie offer themſelves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they ſtood boldly to the profeſſion of Chriſt; then they ſhewed how little they paſſed of death; how much they feared God more then men; how much they loved and preferred the eternall life to come above this ſhort and miſerable life.

John 4. Matth. 5. 2 Cor. 12.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Chriſts commandement, as by the example of him and his Apoſtles, to withdraw your ſelf from the malice of yours and Gods enemies, into ſome place where God is moſt purely ſerved; which is no ſlandering of the truth, but a preſerving of your ſelf to God, and the truth, and to the ſocietie and comfort of Chriſts little flock. And that you will do, do it with ſpeed, leſt by your own folly you fall into the perſecutors hands. And the Lord ſend his holy Spirit to lead and guide you whereſoever you go, and all that be godly will ſay, Amen.

Unto theſe former letters of Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop, written by him unto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annex withall a certain letter alſo of Doctor Taylor, written to him and his fellow-priſoners: the tenor of which letter here followeth.

To my deare Fathers and brethren, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, and Doctor Latimer, priſoners in Oxford, for the faithfull teſtimony of Gods holy Word.

A letter written to D. Cranmer and his fellows by D. Taylor.

Right reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enjoy continually Gods grace and peace through Jeſus Chriſt; and God be praiſed again for this your moſt excellent promotion which ye are called unto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted worthie to bee allowed amongſt the number of Chriſts records and witneſſes. England hath had but a few learned Biſhops, that would ſtick to Chriſt ad ignem incluſivè. Once againe I thanke God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happie on-ſet, moſt valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch infamies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſſe of living and libertie, for the defence of Gods cauſe, truth, and glorie. I cannot utter with pen

Many profeſs God ad ignem excluſivè, that is, in words and outward profeſſion: but few ſtick to him ad ignem incluſivè, that is, in deed, and in ſuffering for his ſake.

how I rejoyce in my heart for you three ſuch Captains in the foreward under Chriſts Croſſe, Banner, or Standard in ſuch a cauſe and ſkirmiſh, when not onely one or two of our dear Redeemers ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief Caſtles ordained for our ſafeguard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your enterpriſe in the ſight of all that be in heaven, and of all Gods people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is another manner of Nobilitie, then to be in the fore-front in worldly warfairs. For Gods ſake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be praiſed, & we doubt not but ye be ſo in Chriſts own ſweet ſchool. Heaven is all and wholly of our ſide; therefore Gaudete in Domino ſemper, & iterum gaudete & exultate, i. Rejoyce alwayes in the Lord: and again, rejoyce and be glad.

Your aſſured in Chriſt,
Rowland Taylor.

De Tho. Cranmeri Archiepiſcopi qui carcere detinebatur palinodia.

TE Cranmere, gravis ſontem prope fecerat error;
Sed revocas lubricos ad meliora pedes.
Te docuit lapſus magis ut veſtigia firmes,
Atque magis Chriſto conſociēre tuo:
Vtque tuæ melius ſtudeas hæreſcere cauſæ;
Sic mala non raro cauſa fuere boni.
Et bene ſucceſſit; nam ficta & adultera turba
Illudens aliis, luditur arte pari.
Nempè pia ſic eſt fruſtratus fraude papiſmus;
Et ceſſit ſummo gloria tota Deo.

In mortem D. Cranmeri Cant. Archiepiſcopi.

Infortunatè eſt fœlix, qui numine læſo
Cujuſvis gaudet commoditate boni.
Infœlix ille eſt verò fœliciter, orbi
Inviſus quiſquis triſtia fate ſubit.
Hoc Cranmere probas, vitæ præſentis amore
Dum quæris ſanctam diſſimulare fidem:
Et dum conſiliis tandem melioribus uſus,
Præponis vitæ funera ſæva tuæ.

Perſecution in Suffolke, Agnes Potten, and Ioan Trunchfield, Martyrs.

Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield, Martyrs.

IN the ſtorie of Robert Samuel, mention was made before of two godly women of the ſame town of Ipſwich, which ſhortly after him ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the crown of martyrdome; the names of whom was Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; & another, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a Shoomaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the ſame time that the Archbiſhop aforeſaid was burned at Oxford, ſuffered likewiſe in the foreſaid town of Ipſwich, either in the ſame moneth of March, or (as ſome ſay) in the end of February the next moneth before.

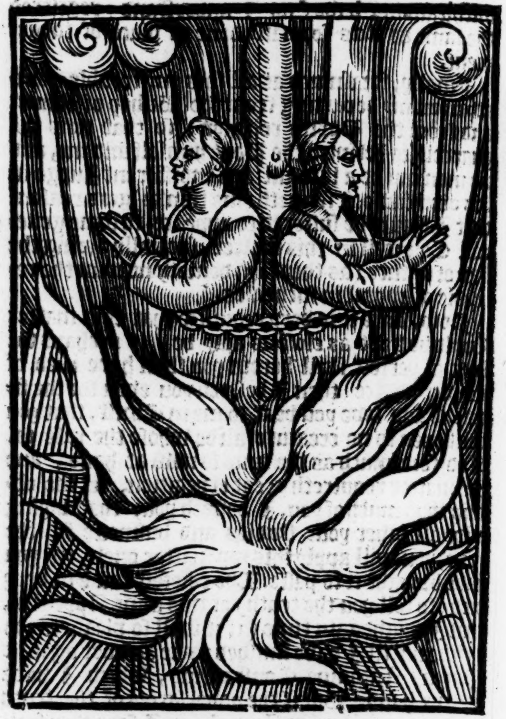
The opinions of theſe two Matrons and Martyrs.

Their opinion or perſwaſion was this, that in the ſacrament was the memoriall onely of Chriſts death and paſſion: for (ſaid they) Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin Mary.

The ſtrength of God in weak veſſels.

For this they were burned. In whoſe ſuffering their conſtancie worthily was to be wondered at, who being ſo ſimple women, ſo manfully ſtood to the confeſſion and teſtimonie of Gods Word and veritie: Inſomuch, that when they had prepared and undreſſed themſelves readie to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earneſtly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the Word of God, and not upon mans devices and inventions, deſpiſing the ordinances and inſtitutions of the Romiſh Antichriſt, with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten religion; and ſo continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God conſtantly ſo long as life did endure.

The burning of two Women.



The Martyrdome of Agnes Potten, & Joan Trunchfield at Ipſwich, Anno 1556. March.

The burning of Agnes Potten revealed to her before in her ſleep.

This Pottens wife in a night a little before her death, being aſleep in her bed, ſaw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the ſide of the fire ſhe thought there ſtood a number of Queene Maries friends looking on. Then being aſleep, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with her ſelf whether her fire ſhould burn ſo bright or no; and indeed her ſuffering was not far unlike to her dream.

God giveth ſtrength many times, where moſt weakneſſe is.

This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two being alwayes together in priſon, the one which was Michaels wife, ſeemed to be nothing ſo ardent and zealous as Pottens wife was, although (God be thanked) they did ſtoutly ſtand to the confeſſion of the truth both; but when the ſaid Michaels wife came to the ſtake, and ſaw nothing but preſent death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; albeit both of them did ſo joyfully ſuffer, as it was marvelled at of thoſe that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus theſe two Martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

Perſecution in the Dioceſſe of Salisbury.

March 14. Other three Martyrs ſuffering at Salisbury.

AFter theſe two women at Ipſwich, ſucceeded three men, which were burnt the ſame moneth at one fire in Saliſbury, who in the like quarrell with the other that went before them and led the dance, ſpared not their bodies, to bring their ſouls to the celeſtiall felicitie, whereof they were throughly aſſured in Chriſt Jeſus by his promiſes, as ſoon as the furious flames of fire had put their bodies and ſouls aſunder.

Their names were.
John Spicer, Free-Maſon.

William Coberley, Taylor.
Iohn Maundrel, Husbandman.

The ſtory of Iohn Maundrel, William Coberley, and Iohn Spicer, Martyrs.

The ſtory of Io. Maundrel.

FIrſt Iohn Maundrel, which was the ſonne of Robert Maundrel of Rowd in the Countie of Wiltſhire Farmer, was from his childhood brought up in husbandrie, and after he came to mans ſtate, did abide and dwell in a village called Buchampton, in the Pariſh of Kevell within the Countie of Wiltſhire aforeſaid, where he had wife and children, being of good name and fame. Which Iohn Maundrel, after that the Scripture was tranſlated into Engliſh by the faithfull Apoſtle of England, William Tindall, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of Gods true Religion, ſo that he delighted in nothing ſo much, as to heare and ſpeake of Gods Word, never being without the New Teſtament about him, although he could not reade himſelfe. But when he came into any company that could reade, his booke was alwaies ready, having a verie good memorie; ſo that he could recite by heart moſt places of the New Teſtament, his converſation and living being very honeſt and charitable, as his neighbours are able to teſtifie.

Maundrel converted firſt by Tindals Teſtament.
Maundrel an earneſt lover and hearer of Gods Word.

Maundrel accuſed for ſpeaking againſt holy bread and holy water.
Maundrel put to open penance in King Henries dayes.

So it was, that in the dayes of King Henrie the eighth, at what time Doctor Trigonion, and Doctor Lee did viſit Abbeyes, the ſaid Iohn Maundrel was brought before Doctor Trigonion at an Abbey called Edyngton, within the Countie of Wiltſhire aforeſaid; where he was accuſed that he had ſpoken againſt the holy water and holy bread, and ſuch like ceremonies, and for the ſame did weare a white ſheete, bearing a candle in his hand about the Market, in the town of the Deviſes, which is in the ſaid Countie. Nevertheleſſe, his fervencie did not abate, but by Gods mercifull aſſiſtance he took better hold, as the ſequele hereof did declare.

For in the dayes of Queen Marie, when Poperie was reſtored againe, and Gods true religion put to ſilence, the ſaid Iohn Maundrel left his owne houſe, and departed into the Countie of Glouceſterſhire, and into the North part of Wiltſhire, wandring from one to another to ſuch men as he knew feared GOD, with whom as a ſervant to keepe their cattell, he there did remaine with Iohn Bridges or ſome other at Kingſwood; but after a time he returned to his countrey, and there coming to the Vyes to a friend of his, named Anthony Clee, had talke and conference with him in a Garden, of returning home to his houſe.

Anthony Clee of the Vyes.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to flye from one Citie to another, he replyed againe by the words of the Apocalyps 21. of them that be fearefull, &c. ſaid, that he needs muſt go home, and ſo did. Where he with Spicer and Coberley uſed at times to reſort and conferre together.

At length upon the Sunday following they agreed together to go to the Pariſh Church called Kevell, where the ſaid Maundrel and the other two, ſeeing the Pariſhioners in the proceſſion to follow and worſhip the Idoll there carried, adverticed them to leave the ſame, and to returne to the living GOD, namely ſpeaking to one Robert Barkſdale head man of the Pariſh, but he tooke no regard to their words.

Maundrel, Spicer, and Coberley, ſpeaking againſt the Proceſſion.

After this, the Vicar came into the Pulpit, who there being about to reade his bederoll, and to pray for the ſoules in Purgatorie; the ſaid Iohn Maundrel ſpeaking with an audible voyce, ſaid, that that was the Popes pinfold, the other two affirming the ſame. After which words, by commandement of the Prieſt they were had to the ſtocks, where they remained till their ſervice was done, and there were brought before a Iuſtice of Peace, and ſo the next day carried to Saliſburie all three, and preſented before Biſhop Capon, and W. Geffrey being Chancellor of the Dioceſſe. By whom they were impriſoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houſes, but ſeldome openly. And at the laſt examination theſe were the Articles which the Chancellor alledged againſt them, being accompanied with the Sheriffe of the ſhire, one Maſter Saint Iohns, and other Popiſh Prieſts in the Pariſh Church of Fiſherton Anger, demanding how they did beleeve.

Maundrel calleth Purgatorie the Popes pinfold.

Maundrel, Spicer, and Coberley, ſent to Salisburie. Doct. Capon biſhop of Saliſburie.

They anſwered, as Chriſtian men ſhould and ought to beleeve: and firſt they ſaid, they beleeved in God the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the Holy Ghoſt, the 12. Articles of the Creede, the holy Scripture from the firſt of Geneſis to the laſt of the Apocalyps.

Confeſſion of their beliefe.

But that faith the Chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he appoſed them in particular Articles: Firſt, whether that they did not beleeve that in the ſacrament of the altar (as he termed it) after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt at Maſſe, there remained no ſubſtance of bread nor wine, but Chriſts body, fleſh and bloud, as he was borne of the Virgin Mary. Whereunto they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the Popiſh Maſſe was abominable Idolatrie, and injurious to the bloud of Chriſt; but confeſſing that in a faithfull congregation, receiving the ſacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, being duely miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, Chriſts body and bloud is ſpiritually received of the faithfull beleever.

Sacrament of the altar.

Alſo, being asked whether the Pope was ſupreme head of the Church, and Chriſts Vicar on earth; they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the Biſhop of Rome doth uſurpe over Emperors and Kings, being Antichriſt, and Gods enemy.

Againſt the Popes ſupremacie.

The Chancellor ſaid, Wil you have the Church without head?

They anſwered, Chriſt was head of his Church, and under Chriſt the Queenes Maieſtie. What, ſaid the Chancellor? a woman head of the church? Yea, ſaid they, within her Graces Dominions.

Chriſt onely ſupreme head of his Church: under him every Prince in his owne dominions.

Alſo, whether the ſoules in Purgatorie were delivered by the Popes pardons, and the ſuffrages of the Church.

They ſaid, they beleeved faithfully that the bloud of Chriſt had purged their ſinnes, and the ſinnes of them that were ſaved, unto the end of the world, ſo that they feared nothing the Popes Purgatorie, or eſteemed his pardons.

Purgatorie.

Alſo, whether Images were neceſſary to be in the Churches, as Lay-mens books, and Saints to be prayed unto and worſhipped.

Images.

They anſwered negatively; Iohn Maundrel adding (that wooden Images were good to roſt a ſhoulder of Mutton, but evill in the Church; whereby Idolatry was committed.

Thoſe Articles thus anſwered (for their Articles were one, and their anſwers in manner like) the Chancellor read their condemnation, and ſo delivered them to the Sheriffe. Then ſpake Iohn Spicer, ſaying; Oh Maſter Sheriffe, now muſt you be their Butcher, that you may be guiltie alſo with them of innocent bloud before the Lord. This was the 23. day of March, Anno 1556. and the 24. day of the ſame moneth they were carried out of the common Goale to a place betwixt Salisburie and Wilton, where were two poſtes ſet for them to be burnt at. Which men coming to the place, kneeled downe, and

Sentence read againſt theſe three Martyrs.

March 23.

Maundrel, Spicer, & Coberley brought to the place of martyrdome.

The words of Maundrell.

made their prayers ſecretly together, and then being diſclothed to their ſhirts, Iohn Maundrell ſpake with a loud voyce, Not for all Saliſburie. Which words men judged to be an anſwer to the Sheriffe, which offered him the Queenes pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner ſpake Iohn Spicer, ſaying, This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two ſtakes: where moſt conſtantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their ſoules to the Lord for teſtimonie of his truth.

Alice Coberley being in durance, how ſhe was brought by the Keepers wife to revoke.

As touching William Coberley, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife alſo, called Alice, being apprehended, was in the Keepers houſe the ſame time detained while her huſband was in priſon. Where the Keepers wife named Agnes Penicote, had ſecretly heated a key fire hot, and laid it in the graſſe on the backſide. So ſpeaking to Alice Coberley to fetch her the key in all haſte, the ſaid Alice went with ſpeed to bring the key, and ſo taking up the key in haſte did pitteouſly burne her hand. Whereupon ſhe crying out at the ſudden burning of her hand, Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body, and ſo ſhe afterward revoked. But to returne againe to the ſtory of Coberley, who being ſomewhat learned, and being at the ſtake was ſomewhat long a burning as the winde ſtood: after his body was ſcorched with the fire, and his left arme drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, the fleſh being burnt to the white bone, at length he ſtooped over the chaine, and with the right hand, being ſomewhat ſtarkned, knocked upon his breaſt ſoftly, the bloud and matter iſſuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, ſuddenly he roſe right up with his body againe. And thus much concerning theſe three Saliſbury Martyrs.

A diſcourſe of the death and martyrdome of ſix other Martyrs ſuffering at London, whoſe names here follow.

April 23. ſix Martyrs burnt in Smithfield at one ſtake.

ABout the xxiij. day of April, Anno Dom. 1556. were burned in Smithfield at one fire, theſe ſix conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for the profeſſion of the Goſpel, viz.

Robert Drakes, Miniſter.
William Tyms, Curate.
Richard Spurge Shereman.
Thomas Spurge, Fuller.
Iohn Cavel, Weaver.
George Ambroſe, Fuller.

Theſe Martyrs were ſent up by the Lord Rich, by M. Tyrell, and others.

They were all of Eſſex, and ſo of the Dioceſſe of London, and were ſent up; ſome by the Lord Rich, and ſome by others at ſundry times, unto Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, then Lord Chancellor, of England, about the 22. day of March, Anno 1555. Who after ſmall examination, ſent them, ſome unto the Kings Bench, and others unto the Marſhalſea, where they remained almoſt all the whole yeere, untill the death of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter, and had during that time nothing ſaid unto them. Whereupon, after that D. Heath, Archb. of Yorke was choſen to the office of Lord Chancellorſhip, foure of theſe perſecuted brethren, being now wearie of this their long impriſonment, made their ſupplication unto the ſaid D. Heath, requiring his favor and aide for their deliverance: the copie whereof enſueth.

To the right reverend Father, Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, L. Chancellor of England.

A ſupplication to the Lord Chancellor.

MAy it pleaſe your honourable good Lordſhip, for the love of GOD, to tender the humble ſuite of your Lordſhips poore Orators, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, which have lien in great miſerie in the Marſhalſea, by the ſpace of ten moneths and more, at the commandement of the late Lord Chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In conſideration whereof, your Lordſhips ſaid Orators doe moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good Lordſhip to ſuffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any man of good conſcience can lay any thing to our charge, we truſt either to declare our innocencie againſt their accuſations, or if otherwiſe their accuſations can be proved true and we faultie, we are ready (God helping us) with our condigne puniſhments to ſatisfie the law according to your wiſe judgement, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your godly office, in the which we pray for your godly ſucceſſe to the good pleaſure of God, Amen.

This Supplication was ſent (as is ſaid) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe foure under following:

Richard Spurge.
Thomas Spurge.
George Ambroſe.
Iohn Cavel.

Names ſubſcribed to the ſupplication.

Richard Spurge.

Rich. Spurge examined.

VPon the receit and ſight hereof, it was not long after, but ſir Richard Reade Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the Chancery, the 16. day of Ianuarie, was ſent unto the Marſhalſea to examine the ſaid foure priſoners; and therefore beginning firſt with Richard Spurge upon certaine demands, received his anſwers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the Parſon of Bocking unto the Lord Rich, for that they came not unto their Pariſh Church of Bocking, where they had inhabited; and thereupon was by the ſaid Lord Rich ſent unto the late Lord Chancellor, about the 22. day of March laſt paſt, viz. Anno 1555.

The Parſon of Bocking accuſer.

For not coming to the Popiſh Church.

And farther, he ſaid, that he came not to the church ſince the firſt alteration of the Engliſh ſervice into Latine Chriſtmas day then a twelvemoneth onely excepted) and that, becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the Maſſe alſo, as not conſonant and agreeing with Gods holy Word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unleſſe it pleaſed the Lord Chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

Tho. Spurge examined. Not coming to the Church, and why.

THomas Spurge being then next examined, made the ſame anſwer in effect that the other had done; confeſſing, that he abſented himſelfe from the Church, becauſe the Word of God was not there truly taught, nor the ſacraments of Chriſt duely miniſtred in ſuch ſort as was preſcribed by the ſame Word. And being farther examined of his beliefe concerning the ſacrament of the Altar, he ſaid; That if any could accuſe him thereof, he would then make anſwer as God had given him knowledge therein.

Sacrament of the Altar.

George Ambroſe.

George Ambroſe examined.

THe like anſwer made George Ambroſe, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Biſhop of Wincheſters booke, intituled, De vera obedientia, with Boners Preface thereunto annexed, inveighing (both) againſt the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, he did much leſſe ſet by their doings then before.

John Cavel.

John Cavel examined.

The cauſe why John Cavel came not to Church.

IOhn Cavel agreeing in other matters with them, anſwered, that the cauſe why he did forbear the coming to the Church, was, that the Parſon there had preached two contrarie doctrines. For firſt, in a ſermon that he made at the Queens firſt entrie to the Crowne, he did exhort the people to beleeve the Goſpel; for it was the truth, and if they did not beleeve it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond ſermon, he preached that the Teſtament was falſe in fortie places, which contrarietie in him was a cauſe amongſt other of his abſenting from the Church.

The Parſon of Bocking falſe & contrarie to his owne doctrine.

Robert Drakes.

Robert Drakes Parſon of Thunderſley examined.

ABout the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes alſo was examined, who was Parſon of Thunderſley in Eſſex, and had there remained the ſpace of three yeeres. He was firſt made Deacon by Doctor Taylor of Hadley, at the commandement of Doctor Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterburie. And within one yeere after (which was the third yeere of the reigne of King Edward) he was by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Doctor Ridley Biſhop of London, admitted Miniſter of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after eſtabliſhed; and was preſented unto the ſaid benefice of Thunderſley by the Lord Rich, at the ſute of Maſter Cauſton and Maſter Treheron; and now notwithſtanding was ſent up by the ſaid Lord Rich, with the others before mentioned: and at his coming to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, was by him demanded whether he would conforme himſelfe like a ſubject to the laws of this Realme then in force. To the which he ſaid he would abide all lawes that ſtood with the lawes of God; and thereupon was committed to priſon, where he and the reſt above named did remaine ever ſince.

Drakes placed in the benefice of Thunderſley by the L. Rich.

William Tyms.

NOw remaineth likewiſe to declare the examination of William Tyms, Deacon and Curate of Hockley in Eſſex. But before I come to his examination, firſt here is to be opened and ſet forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was firſt apprehended in Eſſex, and from thence ſent up to London: the ſtorie whereof followeth in this manner.

The ſtory of William Tyms Deacon, and Curate of Hockley, with the manner of his taking.

The firſt occaſion of taking Wil. Tyms.

THere was at Hockley in Queene Maries dayes two ſermons preached in the woods, the which woods were appertaining to Maſter Tyrel; and the name of the one wood was called Plumborow wood, and the other Becheſwood, and there was at the ſame ſermons an honeſt man and his wife with him, whoſe name was John Gye, the which Gye was Maſter Tyrels ſervant, and did dwell under him, being his herd at a farme of his called Plumborow. Shortly after it was knowne to Maſter Tyrel, how that his woods were polluted with ſermons, the which he did take very evill, and much mattter did ariſe about it, as an unlawfull aſſembly; the which was laid to John Gyes charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that unlawfull act to his Maſter, being then in the commiſſion of peace, appointed at that time to keepe downe the Goſpel, the which he did to the uttermoſt, as it may appeare in many of his acts. Good God give him repentance if it be thy will.

M. Tyrel offended with ſermons preached in his woods.

Shortly after it pleaſed Maſter Tyrel to come to Hockley to ſift out this matter, and to know who was at theſe preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is ſuppoſed there were an hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Maſter Tyrel to begin firſt with John Gye, and asked him where that naughty fellow was that ſerved their Pariſh, one Tyms; for it is told me (ſaid he) that he is the cauſer to bring theſe naughtie fellowes into the countrey. Therefore I charge thee Gye to fetch me this naughtie fellow Tyms, for thou knoweſt where he is. No, ſaid Gye, I doe not know. So in no wiſe could he make him fetch him.

John Gye, M. Tyrels ſervant, an honeſt man.

Then ſtepped forth another of Maſter Tyrels men, willing to ſhew his Maſter pleaſure, whoſe name was Richard Sheriffe, and ſaid to his Maſter; Sir, I know where he is. Well, ſaid Maſter Tyrel, goe to the Conſtables and charge them to bring him to me.

So this Sheriffe being diligent, made ſure work, and had him brought before his Maſter with the Conſtables, whoſe names be theſe, Edward Hedge, and John James.

Richard Sheriffe, M. Tyrels man, perſecutor. Edw. Hedge, John James, Conſtables.

So when he came before Maſter Tyrel, then Maſter Tyrel commanded all men to depart; and it was wiſely done, for he was not able to open his mouth againſt Tyms without reproach, and there he kept him about three houres. But there were ſome that liſtened at the wals, and heard Maſter Tyrel ſay thus to Tyms:

Me thinketh (ſaid he) that when I ſee the bleſſed Roode, it maketh me thinke of God.

Talke betweene M. Tyrel, and Wil. Tyms.

Why ſir, ſaid Tyms, if an Idoll that is made with mans hands doth make you remember God; how much more ought the creatures of God, as man, being his workmanſhip, or the graſſe, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Maſter Tyrel ended his talke with Tyms, it ſhould ſeeme in an heate, for he braſt out and called him traitorly knave.

Why ſir, ſaid Tyms, in King Edwards daies you did affirme the truth that I do now.

Affirme, quoth Tyrel? nay by Gods body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, ſaid Tyms, then I pray you Maſter Tyrel beare with me, for I have beene a Traitor but a while, but you have beene a Traitor ſixe yeeres.

After this, Tyms was ſent to London to the Biſhop, and from him to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo from him to the Kings Bench, and then was M. Tyrels rage ceaſed with them that were in the woods at the ſermons. So M. Tyrel tooke away Gyes coat, and gave it to John Traiford, and ſent him to Saint Toſies to ſee good rule kept there.

Tyms ſent up to London.

When Tyms came before the Biſhop of London, there was at that time the Biſhop of Bathe, and there was William Tyms examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true hearted man, that he had wherewith to anſwer them both, for the Conſtables did ſay that brought him before the Biſhop, that they never heard the like. Then the Biſhop (as though he would have had Tyms to turne from the truth) ſaid to the Conſtables; I pray you (ſaid he) give him good counſell, that he may turne from his errour. My Lord, ſaid the Conſtables, he is at a point, for he will not turne.

Wil. Tyms brought & examined before Biſhop Boner, and the Biſhop of Bathe.

Then both the Biſhops waxed wearie of him, for he had troubled them about a ſixe or ſeven houres. Then the Biſhops began to pitie Tyms caſe, and to flatter him, ſaying; Ah good fellow (ſaid they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh ſpirit, we would thou haddeſt learning to thy ſpirit. I thanke you (my Lords) ſaid Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning. So thus they broke up, and ſent Tyms to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and there were Edward Hedge and John James the Conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and Tyms was commanded to the Kings Bench, where he was mightily ſtrengthened with the good men that he found there.

Wil. Tyms ſent from biſh. Boner, to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

And thus hitherto ye have heard, firſt upon what occaſion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was intreated of Maſter Tyrel the Juſtice, and by him ſent up to the Ordinarie of the Dioceſſe, which was Biſhop Boner; who after certain talke and debating he had with the ſaid Tyms, at length directed him to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, being then Lord Chancellor, and yet living, and ſo was commanded by him upon the ſame to the Kings Bench.

Talke between the biſhop of Wincheſter, and William Tyms.

Here by the way is to be underſtood, that Tyms as he was but a Deacon, ſo was he but ſimply, or at leaſt not Prieſtly apparelled, foraſmuch as he went not in a gowne, but in a coate; and his hoſen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the neather ſtocks of ſheepes ruſſet. Whereupon the proud Prelate ſending for him to come before him, and ſeeing his ſimple attire, began to mock him, ſaying; Ah ſirra, are you a Deacon? Yes, my Lord, that I am, quoth Tyms. So me thinketh, ſaid the Biſhop, ye are decked like a Deacon. My Lord, ſaid Tyms, my veſture doth not ſo much varie from a Deacon, but me thinketh your apparrell doth as much varie from an Apoſtle.

So then there ſpake one of the Biſhops Gentlemen; My Lord (ſaid he in mockage) give him a chaire, a toſte, and drink, and he will be luſtie. But the Biſhop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him againe the next day at an houre appointed.

Theſe five Martyrs were R. Drakes, Tho. Spurge, Rich. Spurge, Cavel, and Ambroſe. Their examinations before the biſhop of London. Sacrament of the Altar.

But Wincheſter, for lack of leaſure, or becauſe of ſickneſſe growing upon him, or for what cauſe elſe I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him againe to his ordinarie Biſhop from whence he came. So William Tyms being put off againe to Biſhop Boner, was placed together and coupled with the other five Martyrs above named, and with them brought together to publike examination before the Biſhop the 21. day of March, firſt in the Biſhops Palace of London, where the ſaid Biſhop after his accuſtomed manner proceeding againſt them, enquired of them their faith upon the ſacrament of the altar. To whom they anſwered, that the body of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt: of the which opinion they had been of long time, ſome later, ſome ſooner, even as God of his mercie did call upon them unto the knowledge of his Goſpel.

Then the Biſhops Chaplaines began to reaſon with them, but with no great authorities either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Fathers (ye may be ſure) as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the reſt before the Biſhop of London.

March 23.

THe 23. day of the ſame moneth next after, the Biſhop ſent againe for Tyms and Drakes, and Ex officio, did object unto them certaine Articles, the ſumme and manner whereof were the ſame which before were objected to Whittel, Greene, Tudſon, Went, Brown, Eliz. Foſter, Joane Laſhford, look before. And the 26. day of the ſame moneth, he ſent for the other foure, miniſtring unto them alſo the ſame generall Articles. Unto the which they all in effect anſwered in matters touching their faith, as did the ſaid Bartlet Greene and the reſt. Other appearings they had, as the Biſhops common manner of proceeding was, more (as I have often ſaid) for order and forme of law, then for any zeale of juſtice.

Wil. Tyms with the reſt againe examined.

March 28.

But in concluſion, the 28. day of this moneth of March, William Tyms, and Robert Drakes, with the other foure above named, were brought to the open Conſiſtorie in Pauls before the ſaid Biſhop of London to be condemned for hereſie.

B. Boners words to Wil. Tyms.

The Biſhop firſt began in this or like ſort; Tyms, quoth he, I will begin with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt been the ring-leader of theſe thy companions, thou haſt taught them hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt endeavoured as much as in thee lyeth, to make them like unto thy ſelfe. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of other, I would then have uſed thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would according to the rule of Chriſt in the 18. of Matthew, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldeſt not have heard me, I would not ſo have left thee, but I with two or three other would have exhorted thee; if that would not have ſerved, then would I have told the Church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifeſt to the world, and thou thy ſelfe remaineſt ſtout in thine errour, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceede by another rule, whereof St. Paul ſpeaketh, 1 Timothy 5. Such as ſinne, rebuke them openly, that other may feare. For this cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgement according to thy deſerts. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not proceed againſt thee as thine Ordinarie.

Matth. 18.

1 Tim. 5.

The anſwer of Wil. Tyms to Biſh. Boner.

My Lord (quoth Tyms) will you now give me leave to ſpeake? Yea, quoth the Biſhop. Then ſaid Tyms; My Lord, I marvell that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ring-leader and teacher of this companie, but how untruly you have ſaid, ſhall ſhortly appeare: for there is none of all theſe my brethren, which are brought hither as priſoners, but when they were at liberty and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doings, as much as they doe at this preſent; and for that cauſe they are now priſoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in priſon. And as for me, I never knew them, untill ſuch time as I by your commandement was priſoner with them; how could I then be their ring-leader and teacher? So that all the world may ſee how untruly you have ſpoken. And as for my fault which you make ſo grievous, whatſoever you judge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other religion then Chriſt preached, the Apoſtles witneſſed, the Primitive Church received, and now of late the Apoſtolicall and Evangelicall Preachers of this Realme have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you ſeeke our bloud alſo. Proceede on hardly by what rule you will; I force not, I doe not refuſe you for my Ordinarie.

Biſh. Boners words.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ring-leader. How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe to the Catholike church as an obedient childe? in ſo doing thou ſhalt be

One of the priſoners anſwereth to Biſhop Boner.

receiued and doe well enough, otherwiſe thou ſhalt have judgement as an hereticke.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly knowne) ſaid; My Lord, you are no upright Judge, for you judge after your owne luſt. But if you will judge us according to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the Word of truth, we will accord to your judgement; for unto that Word we wholly ſubmit our ſelves. But as for your judgement without the truth GOD ſhall condemne. And this priſoner was very earneſtly in hand with the Biſhop, that they might be judged by the Word of God.

With this the Biſhop was offended, calling him buſie knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

Wil. Tyms again anſwereth

Then Tyms anſwered and ſaid; My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the Catholike Church, whatſoever you judge of me. But as for your Church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporall oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame. Contrarie to the which you have received into this Realme the Popes authoritie, and therefore you are falſly perjured and forſworn all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you have both ſpoken and written very earneſtly againſt that uſurped power, and now you doe burne men that will not acknowledge the Pope to be ſupreme head.

B. Boner charged with perjury and inconſtancy.

Have I, quoth the Biſhop? Where have I written any thing againſt the Church of Rome?

My Lord, quoth Tyms, the Biſhop of Wincheſter wrote a very learned Oration, intituled, De vera obedientia, which containeth worthy matter againſt the Romiſh authoritie. Unto the which booke you made a Preface, inveighing largely againſt the Biſhop of Rome, reproving his tyrannie and falſhood, calling his power falſe and pretenſed. The booke is extant, and you cannot denie it.

Boners Preface to Winch. book De vera obedientia.

Then was the Biſhop ſomewhat abaſhed, and looking upon ſuch as were preſent, ſpake very gently, ſaying; Lo, here is a goodly matter indeede. My Lord of Wincheſter being a great learned man, did write a booke againſt the ſupremacy of the Popes Holineſſe, and I alſo did write a Preface before the ſame book, tending to the ſame effect. And thus did we becauſe of the perillous world that then was. For then was it made treaſon by the lawes of this Realme to maintaine the Popes authoritie, and great danger it was to be ſuſpected a favourer of the See of Rome; and therefore feare compelled us to beare with the time, for otherwiſe there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conſcience in maintaining the Popes authoritie, he ſuffered death for it.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelfe by feare.

And then turning his tale unto Tyms, he ſaid; But ſince that time, even ſince the coming in of the Queenes Majeſtie, when we might be bold to ſpeake our conſcience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of Wincheſter himſelfe ſhamed not to recant the ſame at Pauls Croſſe. And alſo thou thy ſelfe ſeeſt that I ſtand not in it, but willingly have ſubmitted my ſelfe. Doe thou alſo as we have done.

Tyms againe replyeth to the Biſhop.

My Lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written againſt the ſupremacie of the Pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now doe, is againſt the Word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I ſuppoſe it was Doctor Cooke, ſaid; Tyms, I pray thee let me talke with thee a little, for I thinke we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the Scripture, and yet underſtandeſt it not. I will tell thee to whom thou maieſt be compared. Thou art like to one which intending to goe on hunting, riſeth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hils, and down into the vallies; he paſſeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh wearie of his travell, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in reading of the Scriptures, thou takeſt the letter, but the meaning thou knoweſt not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I ſpake of even now.

An hunters parable againſt Wil. Tyms wiſely applied.

Sir, quoth Tyms, you have not well applied your ſimilitude; for I praiſe God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thanke him, hath revealed unto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſalvation.

The anſwer of Tyms to the hunters ſimilitude.

Then ſaid the Biſhop; You bragge much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you ſpeake much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tell me; How knoweſt thou that thing to be the Word of God, which thou calleſt Scripture?

B. Boners reaſon.

To this anſwered Robert Drakes, that he did know it to be the Word of God, for that it doth ſhew unto men their ſalvation in Chriſt, and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled converſation.

Robert Drakes anſwereth.

The Biſhop replied, that the heathen Writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture, and yet their writings are not eſteemed to be Gods Word.

Boner replieth.

To this anſwered Tyms, ſaying; The Old Teſtament beareth witneſſe of thoſe things which are written in the New, for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Teſtament, but it was fore-ſhewed in the Law and Prophets.

Tyms anſwereth to Boner.

I will denie all, quoth the Biſhop, I will deny all; what ſayeſt thou then? Then Robert Drakes alledged a ſentence in Latine out of the Prophet Eſay, in the 59. chapter of his propheſie; Spiritus meus qui eſt in te, &c. My ſpirit which is in thee, and my words wich I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of the ſeed of thy ſeed, from henceforth even for ever; meaning thereby to prove, that he which had the Spirit of God, could thereby diſcerne and judge truly which was Gods word: But before he could explicate his minde, he was interrupted by the Biſhop, who ſpake unto Doctor Pendleton, ſaying:

Boner denying the principles of Divinitie. Eſay 59.

Maſter Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomewhat unto theſe folkes that may doe them ſome good. Then Doctor Pendleton, as he leaned neere unto the Biſhop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more quietly deviſe what to ſay; but other talke was preſently miniſtred, ſo that for that time he ſaid nothing.

B. Boner calleth for more helpe.
D. Pendleton ſtudieth for talke.

And thus much William Aleſburie, witneſſe hereof, being preſent thereat, ſo far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſaid (for they made not yet an end a good while after) becauſe he departed then out of the houſe, he doth not know, nor did heare.

Then the Biſhop, after this and ſuch like communication thus paſſed betweene them, proceeding at length in forme of law, cauſed both his articles and anſwers to the ſame, there and then to be openly read; the ſumme of which his confeſſion recorded and left by his owne hand writing, tended to this effect as followeth.

The Articles for the which William Tyms of Hockley in Eſſex, was condemned in the Conſiſtory in Pauls, the 28. day of March, with his anſwers and confeſſion upon the ſame.

Articles anſwered by Wil. Tyms.

FIrſt, I did truly confeſſe and beleeve, that I was baptized in the true Catholike Church of Chriſt; for when I was baptized, there was the element and the Word of GOD, according to Chriſts inſtitution. And my Godfathers and Godmothers did promiſe for me, that I ſhould forſake the Devill and all his workes, and that I ſhould keepe Gods commandements, and beleeve all the Articles of the Chriſtian faith; the which I do beleeve at this day, and with Gods helpe I truſt to do while I live; for it was not the wickedneſſe of the Miniſter that made the ſacrament of none effect, &c.

His Baptiſme by his Godfathers.

Onely two Sacraments.

Item, I confeſſed two Sacraments, and but two in Chriſts true Church; that is, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his ſacraments, as it pleaſeth him.

The true viſible Church.

Item, I confeſſed that Chriſt hath a viſible Church, wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the ſacraments truly miniſtred.

Wincheſters book De vera obedientia.

Item, I confeſſed the See of Rome to be as the late Biſhop of Wincheſter hath written in his booke, De vera obedientia, to the which I ſaid unto the Biſhop of London, that he had made a godly Preface; and alſo John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called the Image of both Churches, even ſo much as I beleeve thereof.

The Maſſe blaſphemous.

Item, I confeſſed the Maſſe to be blaſphemy to Chriſts death and paſſion.

Sacrament of the Altar an Idoll.

Item, I confeſſed that in the ſacrament of the Altar Chriſt is not preſent either ſpiritually or corporally; but as they uſe it, it is an abominable Idoll.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the Biſhop of London to be mine Ordinarie.

After this, the Biſhop falling to intreating and perſwaſions, earneſtly exhorted him to revoke his hereſies (as he termed them) and to reforme himſelfe unto the Church of Rome, and not to ſtick ſo much to the literall ſenſe of the Scriptures, but to uſe the interpretation of the old Fathers.

To the which, Tyms anſwered, I will not reforme my ſelfe thereunto. And I thanke God, of this day; for I truſt he will turne your curſings into bleſſings.

And furthermore, asking this queſtion, he ſaid; And what have you to maintaine the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but only the bare letter?

We have (quoth the Biſhop) the Catholike Church.

The Popes Church. The See of Rome, the See of Antichriſt.

No, ſaid Tyms, you have the Popiſh Church of Rome for you, for which you be perjured and forſworne. And the See of Rome is the See of Antichriſt; and therefore to that Church I will not conforme my ſelfe, nor once conſent unto it.

Sentence read againſt William Tyms.

Then the Biſhop ſeeing his conſtant boldneſſe to be unmoveable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the ſecular power.

The condemnation of Robert Drakes.

The anſwer of Rob. Drakes.

After, calling for Robert Drakes, he uſed towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before. To whom Drakes ſaid; As for your Church of Rome, I utterly defie and denie it, with all the workes thereof, even as I denie the Devill and all his workes.

Sentence given againſt Drakes.

The Biſhop then uſing his accuſtomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at laſt gave him the like bleſſing that Tyms had, and ſo charged the Sheriffe with him.

The condemnation of Thomas Spurge, and of the other three Martyrs.

The anſwer of Tho. Spurge.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would returne to the Catholike Church, ſaid as followeth; As for your Church of Rome, I doe utterly deny it: but to the true Catholike Church I am content to returne, and continue in the ſame, whereof I beleeve the Church of Rome to be no part or member. Then in fine, calling the reſt in their courſes, and upon the like demands receiving the like anſwers, the ſaid Biſhop gave unto each of them their ſeverall judgements, and ſo ridding his bloudy hands, committed them unto the cuſtodie of the Sheriffes of London, who ſent them unto Newgate, whither they went all moſt joyfully, abiding there the Lords good time, wherein they ſhould ſeale this their faith with the ſhedding of their bloud; which they moſt ſtoutly and willingly performed, the fourteenth day of April, as before is mentioned.

Sentence given againſt Tho. Spurge, Rich. Spurge, Cavel, and Ambroſe.

Letters of William Tyms.

To his faithfull ſiſter in the Lord, Pariſhioner in the Towne of Hockley, named Agnes Glaſcocke.

A letter of W. Tyms to Agnes Glaſcocke.

THe grace, mercie, and peace of God our Father through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, with the ſweet comfort of his holy & mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlaſting comfort, be with you my deare ſiſter Glaſcocke, both now and evermore, Amen.

My moſt deare and entirely beloved ſiſter, yea mother I might rightly well call you for the motherly care which you have alwaies had for me, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, giving God moſt hearty thankes for you, that he hath given you ſo loving a heart to Chriſts poore Goſpel, and his poore afflicted flock for the ſame: and as you have full godly begun, ſo I beſeech God to give you power to go forward in the ſame, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither ſword; and then I warrant you, you have not farre to runne.

And now (my deare heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was preſent with you, and alſo written being abſent, and no doubt we ſhall ſhortly meet againe with a moſt joyfull meeting. I goe upon Friday next to the Biſhop of Londons Colehouſe, which is the 20. day of March, where I thinke it will be hard for any of my friends to ſpeake with me. Howbeit I truſt I ſhall not long tarry there, but ſhortly after be carried up after my deare brethren and ſiſters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hie you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and ſeeing you be ſo long a making ready, I will tarrie no longer for you. You ſhall finde me merrily ſinging, Hloy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journies end. Therefore now (my deare heart) make good haſte, and loyter not by the way, leſt night take you, and ſo ye be ſhut out of the gate with the fooliſh Virgins. And now (my ſiſter) in witneſſe that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my bloud for a teſtimoniall unto you, that I will ſeale the ſimple doctrine which I have taught you, with the reſt. And thus fare you well: And God defend you from Antichriſt, and all his miniſters, the falſe Prieſts, Amen.

Theſe words following were written with his own blood.

Continue in prayer.
Aſk in faith.
And obtain your deſire.

By me Will. Tyms in
the Kings Bench for
the Goſpel of Chriſt.

Another letter of the ſaid William Tyms, wherein he doth comfort his ſiſter Glaſcock, being in great ſorrow and repentance for going to the Maſſe.

Another letter of Wil. Tyms to miſtris Glaſcock.

GOd be mercifull unto you, pardon, and forgive all your ſins, and ſend you faith to beleeve the ſame, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdome, Amen.

My dear ſiſter, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that Idolatrous Prieſt; ſo have I, ſince I heard of your earneſt repentance, verie much rejoyced, and alſo praiſed Almightie God for his mercie ſhewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to your ſelf, but ſince your deniall, he hath ſhewed his mercie on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and ſo cauſed you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your ſins: whereas if God had left you to your ſelf, you had run forward from one evill to another, till at length your heart ſhould either have been hardened, or elſe you ſhould have deſpaired of the mercie of God. And ſeeing that God hath been ſo mercifull unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankfull unto him for the ſame. For I certifie you that your ſorrowful heart, that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your ſins for the blood-ſhedding of that immaculate Lambe Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter, after the time that Chriſt had forgiven him his ſin, did boldly confeſſe Chriſt before all his enemies; even ſo my dear heart in the Lord, ſeeing that God hath ſo mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your ſins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the Papiſts: and as they do bear witneſſe with their father the devil, by going to the Church, and ſhedding of the innocent blood of all thoſe that will not go with them; even ſo do you bear witneſſe with Chriſt, by not coming there: for all thoſe that do go thither ſhall be partakers of their brethrens blood, that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may ſo do, I beſeech the eternall God for his Chriſts ſake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the ſame good God that hath been ſo mercifull unto you to call you to repentance, him I beſeech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have alwayes affiance in him, and evermore ſeek his honour and glory to your everlaſting comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Thus fare you wel from the Kings bench this 28. of Auguſt.

By me William Tyms.

Another letter of William Tyms to certain godly women of his Pariſh, followers of the Goſpel.

Another letter of Wil. Tyms to certain godly women of his Pariſh.

GRace, mercie, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear ſiſters, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindneſſe ſhewed unto me in this time of mine impriſonment, and not onely unto me, but alſo unto my poore wife and children; and alſo for the great kindneſſe that you ſhew unto all the living Saints that be diſperſed abroad, and are faine to hide their heads for fear of this cruell perſecution.

Dear ſiſters, when I do remember your conſtancie in Chriſt, I call to remembrance the conſtancie of divers godly women, as Suſanna, Iudith, Heſter, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions ſaved both her huſbands life, and all her houſhold, when David had thought to have ſlain him for his churliſh anſwer that he ſent him. Alſo I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lords ſpies, how GOD preſerved her and her whole houſhold for her faithfulneſſe that ſhe bare to Gods people. So I do beleeve that when the Lord ſhall ſend his Angel to deſtroy theſe Idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and ſhall finde the blood of the Lambe ſprinkled on the doore poſt of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but ſpare your whole houſholds for your ſakes. Alſo I do remember Marie Magdalen, how faithfull ſhe was; for ſhe was the firſt that preached the reſurrection of Chriſt. Remember the bleſſed Martyr Anne Aſkew in our time, and follow her example of conſtancie. And for the love of God take heed that in no caſe you do conſent to idolatry, but ſtand faſt to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her ſeven ſons put to death before her face, and ſhe alwayes comforting them, yea and laſt of all ſuffered death her ſelf, for the teſtimonie of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beſeech God to ſend you grace and ſtrength to ſtand faſt to the Lord, as ſhe did, and then you ſhall be ſure of the ſame kingdome that ſhe is ſure of; to the which kingdome I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me William Tyms, priſoner
in the Kings Bench.

Another letter of William Tyms to his friends in Hockley.

Another letter of Wil. Tyms to his friends in Hockley.

THe grace of God the Father, through the merits of his deare Sonne Ieſus, our Lord and onely Saviour, with the continuall aide of his holy and mightie Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlaſting comfort, be with you my deare brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beſeech God to reward the great goodneſſe that you have ſhewed unto me, ſeven fold into your boſomes; and as you have alwayes had a moſt godly love unto his Word, even ſo I beſeech him to give you grace to love your owne ſoules, and then I truſt that you will flee from all thoſe things that ſhould diſpleaſe our good and mercifull God, and hate and abhorre all the companie of thoſe that would have you to worſhip God any otherwiſe then is contained in his holy Word. And beware of thoſe Maſters of Idolatrie, that is, theſe Papiſticall Prieſts. My dear brethren, for the tender mercie of God, remember well what I have ſaid unto you, and alſo written, the which I am now readie to ſeale with my blood. I praiſe God that ever I lived to ſee the day, and bleſſed be my good and mercifull God, that ever he gave me a bodie to glorifie his Name. And (deare hearts) I do now write unto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end, that I would not have you forget me but to remember well what I have ſimply by word of mouth and writing taught you. The which although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truly, as your own conſcience beareth me record: and therefore in any caſe take good heed that you do not that thing which your own conſcience doth condemne. Therefore come out of Sodom, and go to heaven-ward with the ſervants and Martyrs of God, leſt you be partakers of the vengeance of God, that is coming upon this wicked nation, from the which the Lord God defend you, and ſend us a joyfull meeting in the kingdome of heaven: unto the which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongſt you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

By me your poreſt and moſt unworthy brother in Chriſt, W. Tyms, in Newgate, the 12. day of April, condemned to die for Chriſts veritie.

Another letter of William Tyms, giving thanks to his Pariſhioners, for their charity ſhewed to his wife, being brought to bed of a childe in his captivity.

Another letter of Wil. Tyms to the faithfull brethren in his Pariſh.

The everlaſting peace of our deare Lord and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweet comfort of his holy and mightie Spirit, to the increaſe of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternall comfort in the everlaſting kingdom of heaven, be with you my dear brethren and ſiſters both now and ever, Amen.

My moſt dear brethren and ſiſters in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, with heartie thanks for all the great liberalitie that you have ſhewed unto me, and eſpecially now in this time of my neceſſitie, when that GOD hath ſent my poore wife a childe in my captivitie; which is no little care to me, ſo to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the Antichriſtian Church: the which thing, I thank my good God, through his moſt gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God; and it grieveth me that I have been ſo chargeable to them as I have been, and ſpecially you my dear brethren, I being ſo unworthie a member as I have been, and alſo of ſo ſmall acquaintance; but ſuch is the mercifull goodneſſe of God, ſo to move your hearts with charitie towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts ſo to do, even ſo I beſeech God to give you power to forſake and refuſe all things which be diſpleaſant in his ſight, and to do all things which be requiſite to a Chriſtian; and ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor ſword. And my moſt dear hearts, remember well the ſimple plain doctrine the which I have taught you and alſo written unto you, which was the truth, and for a teſtimonie of the ſame, I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly hear, or elſe ſee that I will ſeal the ſame with my blood. And in the meane time I deſire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with Gods help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Chriſts ſake, will ſo finiſh the dayes of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the everlaſting kingdome of heaven; to the which I beſeech the eternall God for his Chriſts ſake to bring both you and all yours, Amen.

By me William Tyms.

Another letter of William Tyms to his ſiſter Colfox and Agnes Glaſcock.

Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy through the merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you my dearly beloved ſiſters in the Lord, by the mightie working of the holy Ghoſt the comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

A letter of W. Tyms to his ſiſters in the Lord, Colfox and Glaſcock.

My moſt deare and entirely beloved ſiſters in the Lord, after my moſt heartie commendations, according to my moſt bounden dutie, I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which be the Papiſts, and take good heed to them, for they ſerve a craftie Maſter; yea and as ſaint Peter ſaith, he ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devoure. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they ſee that you will not run to the idols Temple with them, it will ſeem a ſtrange thing unto them, that ye run not to the ſame exceſſe of riot, as ſaint Peter ſaith, and therefore they will ſpeak evill of you, raile on you, and perſecute you.

1 Pet. 5.

1 Pet. 4.

But my deare ſiſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to trie you, and let it not ſeeme a ſtrange thing unto you. But when they do ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, even becauſe you will not forſake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is Gods cauſe, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his ſake, think your ſelves moſt happie. For if you ſuffer with the Patriarches, Prophets, and Apoſtles, then ſhall ye be ſure to be partakers of the ſame joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants alwaies have perſecuted the true members of Chriſt, as he himſelf hath promiſed that they ſhall do unto the end of the world.

Rom. 12.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy Martyr ſaint Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining, and defending the ſame doctrine that we now ſuffer for, was called a blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at Jeruſalem. And Chriſts Apoſtles were diverſly afflicted the world over, for the ſame by this viperous generation. Antipas the faithfull witneſſe of Chriſt was ſlain at Pergamus. Jaſon for receiving of Paul and Silas with other diſciples and teachers of the Goſpel, was brought before the Councell at Theſſalonica, and accuſed for a ſeditious traitor againſt Ceſar. No marvell therefore though at this day we be vexed on the ſame ſort, maintaining the ſame cauſe, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true ſervants of God now, then hath been aforetimes? No ſurely, for ſo hath Chriſt promiſed. And if they have perſecuted him, needs muſt they perſecute his members, if they have called the Maſter of the houſe Beelzebub, ſo will they do his houſhold; You ſhall be hated of all men (ſaith Chriſt) for my names ſake.

Stephen for the ſame Goſpel put to death. Acts 7.

Antipas. Jaſon. Apoc. 2. 3. 1 Theſ. 2. Rom. 16 Acts 17. Iohn 16. Acts 9. Phil. 2. Luke 21. Iohn 1. 3. 1 Cor. 6.

Math. 19.

It is no new thing my deare hearts to ſee the true members of Chriſt handled as in our dayes they be, as it is not unknown to you how they be cruelly entreated, and blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For heretiques muſt they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Chriſt an heretique, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies. He never went a proceſſion with a Cope, Croſſe, or Candleſtick. He never ſenſed Image, nor ſang Latine ſervice. He never ſat in confeſſion. He never preached of Purgatorie, nor of the Popes pardons. He never honoured Saints, nor prayed for the dead. He never ſaid Maſſe, Mattins, nor Evenſong. He never commanded to faſt Friday nor Vigil, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed Church nor chalice, aſhes nor palms, candles nor bels,

Chriſt may as well be called an heretique as theſe men.

vels. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with ſuch like. But ſuch dumbe ceremonies, not having the expreſſe commandement of GOD, he calleth the leaven of the Phariſees, and damnable hypocriſie; admoniſhing his diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth all thoſe that adde to his word ſuch beggarly ſhadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. Saint Paul ſaith, they have no portion with Chriſt, which wrap themſelves again with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Matth. 16. Luke 12. Deut. 4. Apoc. 22. Pſal. 68. Gal. 4.

Therefore my deare hearts, ſeeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all ſuch dark, blinde, dumbe, beggarly traditions of men, ſtand faſt in the libertie wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and wrap not your ſelves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us alwayes be readie, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which as Saint Peter ſaith, will come as a thiefe in the night. And as our Captain Chriſt ſaith, If the good man of the houſe knew what houre the thiefe would come, he would ſurely watch.

Galath. 5. 2 Pet. 3. Matth. 14.

Therefore my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never ſo ſore againſt you. And for your comfort marke well the great mercie of God, who according to his promiſe for the weakneſſe of our nature hath ſo aſſwaged the heat of the fire, that our deare brethren which are gone before us, to the ſight of all men, have found it rather to be joy then pain. And think you ſurely God will be as mercifull unto you, as he hath been unto them; and ſay with ſaint Paul, Rom. 8. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either hunger, either nakedneſſe, either perill, either ſword? as it is written, for thy ſake are we killed all the day long, &c.

Rom. 8.

Therefore (my deare ſiſters) if to ſave your lives, any diſſembling Goſpellers would have you to go to the idols temple with them, ſay unto them; No, for my Maſter Chriſt ſaith, Matth. 10. He that would ſave his life, ſhall loſe it. And in another place to comfort us he ſaith, There ſhall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Fathers will. And therefore ſay you that you will not be of that ſort, that be neither hot nor cold, leſt God ſhould ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them this anſwer, ſaying; Saint Paul ſaith, 2 Corinth. 6. Bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbeleevers. For what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſſe with unrighteouſneſſe, what company hath light with darkneſſe, what concord hath Chriſt with Belial, either what part hath he that beleeveth, with an infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as God ſaith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves (ſaith the Lord) and touch no uncleane thing: ſo will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord.

Math. 10. 2 Cor. 6.

Thus mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, ſo make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your croſſe, and follow your Captain Chriſt in at the narrow gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhall be ſure to reign and rejoyce with him in his everlaſting kingdome, which he himſelf hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious blood: to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me William Tyms.

Another letter of William Tyms, with an exhortation to all Gods faithfull ſervants, to eſchew the ſociety of Idolaters, and Gods enemies.

Another letter of Wil. Tyms to Gods faithful ſervants.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you alwayes in my prayers for you, and pray with gladneſſe, becauſe of the fellowſhip which ye have in the Goſpel, from the firſt day that I knew you, untill this day; and I am ſurely certified of this, that he which hath begun a good work in you, ſhall go forth with it, untill the day of Jeſus Chriſt, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I moſt heartily deſire God, that as you have a willing minde to comfort my vile earthly bodie in this time of perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his holy ſpirit, that my impriſonment do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrengthen and comfort you, to ſee the goodneſſe of God ſhewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three ſuch Biſhops concerning worldly wiſdome, he gave me both mouth and wiſedome; inſomuch that the Biſhop of London went away in a great haſte from me, and after that he ſent his man with a Bible, turning to the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and the Biſhop of Bathe looking on it, ſaid; What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Then I looked on it, and ſaid; my Lord ſeeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the ſacrifice of your Maſſe: for you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your Maſſe, both for the quick and the dead; and here ſaint Paul ſaith, Without blood-ſhedding there is no forgiveneſſe of ſins; therefore that is here condemned. He anſwered, Yea, ſaith he ſo? So ſay all ſuch heretiques; and ſo forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbors that heard them, can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written, that you ſhould not be afraid, but call upon God, as he hath commanded us to aſk, and we ſhall have; Seek and you ſhall finde, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you. Alſo he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promiſed to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and wiſedome at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedneſſe, and amend our lives, or elſe we be unfaithfull, and beleeve not the promiſes of God; and ſo we our ſelves are the cauſe that this wiſedome is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is mercifull. And in any caſe, as I have alwayes ſaid unto you, ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now: Beware of Idolatrie, and of your good intents; if not, marke what hath followed upon them that have left Gods commandements, and done their owne good intents. Remember when the children of Iſrael had made them a golden Calfe, did not God ſay they had mard all, and would have deſtroyed them, had not Moſes earneſtly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for Idolatrie; therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep us unſtained from it. You have examples out of the Old Teſtament, how loth the godly Fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: And yet to ſee how little we regarded it, it would make any Chriſtian mans heart to weep. God ſend us more grace. Firſt look in the 11. and 12. of Geneſis; Abraham,

B. Boner went away from W. Tyms, belike not able to make his part good.

Heb. 9. God giveth mouth and utterance to his ſaints.

Warning to come away from the wicked.

ham, becauſe he would not be partaker of their Idolatry, fled from the people of Caldea, being his native countrey. And in the 19. of Geneſ. Lot at the commandement of the Angels departed from Sodome, leſt he tarrying with the Sodomites ſhould have been conſumed with them. In the 21. of Geneſis, Sarah would not ſuffer Iſmael, which was given to mocking, to keep companie with her ſon Iſaac, leſt he ſhould alſo become a mocker. Look in the 16. of Numbers, Moſes at Gods appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling places of Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, leſt they alſo ſhould be all wrapped in their ſins, and ſo periſh among them. So do I, even as Moſes commanded them that they ſhould not keep companie with thoſe wicked people, leſt the vengeance of God ſhould light on them, ſo do I (I ſay) give you warning that you ſhould not keep companie with the Idolaters, in their idolatrous temples, leſt the wrath of God come upon you to deſtroy you.

2 Cor.6.

Look what ſaint Paul ſaith in the ſecond Epiſtle, and the ſixth chapter to the Corinthians; Set your ſelves (ſaith he) therefore at large, and beare no ſtrange yoke with the unbeleevers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſſe with unrighteouſneſſe? what companie hath light with darkneſſe? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? either what part hath he that beleeveth, with an Infidell? How agreeth the Temple of God with Images? And ye are the Temple of God, as ſaith GOD; I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves (ſaith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing.

Syrach 13.

Good brethren mark what cometh of keeping companie with the wicked. Syrach ſaith, He that toucheth pitch, ſhall be defiled withall: and he that keepeth companie with the proud, ſhall clothe himſelf with pride. Even ſo he that is familiar with idolaters, cannot be unſtained from idolatrie, except he do it to winne them to Chriſt, as there be but a few that do: Yea, it may not be where Idolatrie is openly committed, as for an enſample; Peter, ſo long as he continued with Chriſt and Chriſts diſciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confeſſed openly Chriſt to be the Sonne of the living God, and promiſed that he would not onely go to priſon, but alſo to verie death with him: but when he came once into the Court into the Biſhops houſe, he ſtraight-way was ſtricken with ſuch feare, that a poore maiden and ſimple ruffian (ſuch a one as my Lord of London hath, that ſaid, By Gods blood, if I meete with any of theſe vile heretiques, I will thruſt an arrow in him) when Peter (I ſay) was amongſt them, he denied his Maſter, and ſwore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confeſſed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the beleeving Iews, commanding them among other his godly exhortations, to ſave themſelves from that untoward generation. How many of our Prieſts before this ſtorme of perſecution, when the Goſpel was truly preached, were bold, and could ſay, they would die rather then denie their Maſter? But when they some once into the Biſhops houſes, they preach no more Chriſt, but utterly denie him: therefore I pray GOD keep them from thence, or elſe ſend them more grace and ſtrength. It is needfull to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

What it is to be aſſociate in ill company.

A vile ſervant of B. Boners.

Acts 1.

Paul, all the while he was among the Biſhops, was a cruell perſecutor, but after he was called of God from the Biſhops, he became a true Preacher: therefore God keep all Chriſtian men out of the hands of our Biſhops. S. Paul in the fifteenth to the Romanes ſaith; I dare not ſpeak any of thoſe things that Chriſt hath not wrought by me. He ſaith alſo, Rom. 16. I beſeech you brethren, mark them that make diviſion, and give occaſion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are ſuch ſerve not the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, but their own bellies, and with ſweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the ſimple. Our Maſter Chriſt himſelf hath given us warning which they be: for he hath ſet the plain mark on them, in the 24. of Matthew, If they ſay here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, beleeve them not, ſaith Chriſt. If they ſay, he is in the deſert, go not forth. If they ſay, he is in the ſecret place, beleeve them not. And I pray you, where can he be more ſecret, then in ſo ſmall a piece of bread? For my Lord of London like a liar, ſaid to me, that after the words be ſpoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I aſked him what he ſaid to David, where he ſaith; Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption? How ſay you to that? Will not the Sacrament of the Altar putrifie or corrupt? He anſwered, Yes. I aſked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He anſwered, and ſaid the accidents. I ſaid unto him, it was a mad accident without ſubſtance: for you ſay, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to (a) corrupt: with many ſuch like arguments.

B. Boner not able to anſwer to this place of David.

(a) How can corruption be referred to accidents, when by all Philoſophy generation and corruption belong onely to the predicament of ſubſtance?

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with ſuch arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deale the more worthie of your damnation, if they deceive you, becauſe you have had ſo much warning. Repent you betimes of your ſinfull lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turne their hearts, or elſe take them away, or elſe he will give us that, that he promiſed to his Diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame reward they had. And if we diſdaine the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be his fathers heire, muſt be contented to receive his fathers correction. For ſaint Paul ſaith in the twelfth to the Hebrews, If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we baſtards and not ſons.

And you know what belongeth to a baſtard; he ſhall not be his fathers heire. And if we remember our ſelves well, how negligent, we have been to keep our Fathers commandement, we ſhall finde our ſelves worthie to be corrected at his hand. If we refuſe his correction, he will refuſe us to be his ſons. I pray you look what he promiſed to his Diſciples, and I pray you alſo look how willingly they received it. And ſo muſt we do, if we will be partakers with them. Firſt let us ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his diſciples. Look in the tenth of ſaint Matthew, and there ſhall you ſee theſe words, Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep among Wolves. Be wiſe therefore as Serpents, and innocent as Doves. Beware of men, for they ſhall deliver you up to the Councels, and ſhall ſcourge you in their Synagogues: ye ſhall be brought before the head rulers and Kings for my Names ſake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought, how or what ye ſhall ſpeake: for it ſhall be given you in the ſame houre what ye ſhall ſpeake. For it is not you that ſpeake, but the ſpirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you, &c. Read the whole Chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Chriſtian man; and mark it well, and you ſhall finde what we ought to do in the time of perſecution. Alſo look in the ſecond Epiſtle of ſaint Paul to the Corinthians, and the fourth Chapter, he ſaith, For we which live are alwayes delivered unto death for Ieſus ſake, that the life alſo of Ieſus might appeare in our mortall fleſh. Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boaſt of perſecution; even ſo ſhould we, for it is the way to bring us to reſt.

Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the ſaying of ſaint Paul in the 21. Chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, when he was going to Ieruſalem. When he was in the houſe of Philip the Evangeliſt, there came in a Prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, ſaying; thus ſhall they do with the man that oweth this girdle when he cometh to Ieruſalem. When the Diſciples heard that, they would have perſwaded him he ſhould not go thither. Here you ſhall ſee what anſwer this Paſtor made them; he was a faithfull Shepherd, What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not readie to be bound onely, but alſo to die at Ieruſalem, for the name of the Lord Ieſus.

Yet I think there be ſome that will ſay, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I ſay unto them, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our ſhepherds as be gone, maketh ſo many of the flock to ſcatter; which will be required at their hands, of the Maſter of the ſheep. What will he ſay to them at the day of account when they ſhall come to receive their wages? He ſhall ſay to them, Depart from me ye wicked hirelings, for when ye ſaw the wolfe come, ye ran away, and left my ſheep in the wilderneſſe. If you had been good ſhepherds, you would rather have loſt your lives then have loſt one ſheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the ſheep in, when their ſhepherd runneth away from them? I need not to tell you, you know the danger that followeth ſo well.

A note for them which ſhrink away having cure.

Therefore let us pray to God to ſend us faithfull ſhepherds and alſo obedient ſheep, that will not hear a ſtrangers voice. I would all men would mark well the ſaying of ſaint Paul in the eight to the Romanes, where he ſaith in theſe words, Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either nakedneſſe, either perill, either ſword? As it is written, For thy ſake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain: neverthaleſſe we overcome ſtrongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am ſure that neither death, neither life, neither Angels, neither rule, neither power, neither things preſent, neither things to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God; and ſo forth. Alſo he ſaith in another place, All that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution, 2 Tim. 3. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Fathers rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.

Yet heare what Saint Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle, and the fourth Chapter, Dearly beloved (ſaith he) be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you: but rejoyce inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſts paſſions, that when his glorie appeareth you may be merrie and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happie are ye, for the ſpirit of glorie, and the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you. On their part he is evill ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Here ſaint Peter ſaith, it is no ſtrange thing; and that I have partly proved before, becauſe we have nothing elſe promiſed us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothing to us, till GOD permit it. As for enſample, Look in the firſt book of Kings, the nineteenth Chapter, you ſhall ſee how Saul perſecuted David, purpoſing to kill him: but his labour was in vain.

Alſo in the third book of Kings, the 19. chapter, Ieſabel threatned and ſware to ſlay Elias, but the Lord preſerved him. Alſo in the ſecond chapter of Iob, you ſee that Satan could do nothing to Iob, till God ſuffered him, neither exerciſe his cruelneſſe any further then GOD had appointed him. The godly woman Suſanna, in the thirteenth of Daniel, through the falſe accuſation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. Theſe have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more then is the will of God: therefore let us not reſiſt his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

Dear brethren, for the blood of Chriſt refuſe not the croſſe of Chriſt, but remember the ſaying of the godly man David in his 119. Pſalm, where he ſaith, It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learne thy ſtatutes. In the ſame place he ſaith, Before I was in trouble, I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word. Even ſo it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never ſo ſweet and comfortable, as it is now that we be in trouble. Alſo ſaint Paul ſaith in the fifth chapter to the Romanes, We rejoyce in tribulation: For we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed.

Exhortation not to refuſe Chriſts croſſe.

Gods word never ſo ſweet as in trouble.

Alſo I pray you remember the ſaying of ſaint Paul in the ſecond to Timothy and the firſt chapter, where he ſaith, Be not aſhamed to teſtifie the Lord: neither be aſhamed of me. Even ſo I ſay unto you, dear brethren, Be not aſhamed of my impriſonment, neither ſorie, but rejoyce with me, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſſe to call me to ſuch a dignitie as this ſhall be unto me, if I may have his grace to loſe my life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his names ſake: for then I ſhall be ſure to finde it again with advantage. Therefore I deſire you all that you will pray with me unto Almightie God, that he of his mercifull goodneſſe will ſend me his grace and ſtrength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preſerve you from all the wicked wayes of Antichriſt, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleaſure that you ſhall ſuffer any thing for his names ſake: as he hath faithfully promiſed to do. And I certifie you, that if all men knew the comfort they ſhould receive at the hand of God, being in priſon, I think there would come more to priſon then there do. For ſurely we finde ſuch comfort at the hand of God ſince we have been in priſon, that we had rather die then be abroad to ſee the idolatrie that is committed among them that be abroad; beſide the ſeeking one of anothers blood, with other wickedneſſe too much, God ſend me more grace. But I truſt, among you there be none ſuch: and if there be, repent and amend, leſt it be verified on you, that is ſpoken by the Prophet Ieremie, the ſecond Chapter, where he ſaith, My people hath committed two great evils. They have forſaken me the fountain of the living waters, and digged them pits: pits (I ſay) that are broken, and can hold no water. Alſo in the ſeventh Chapter, he ſaith, Take heed: ye truſt in councels that beguile you, and do you no good. In the 23. Chapter he ſaith. Hear not the words of the Prophets that preach their owne dreames. Good brethren beware of thoſe falſe prophets that I have given you warning of.

Experiment of Gods comfort in the priſonment of his ſervants.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, deſiring the ſame health both of bodie and ſoule unto you all, that I would have my ſelfe, and I end with the ſame that ſaint Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle and the fifth Chapter, Submit your ſelves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your adverſary the devil like a roaring lion walketh about, ſeeking whom he may devoure, whom reſiſt ſtedfaſt in faith: remembring that ye do but fulfill the ſame afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace that called you unto his eternall glorie, by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall his own ſelf, after you have ſuffered a little affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh you. To him be glorie and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth, Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiſſe of love. Peace be with you all which are in Chriſt Jeſus. I pray you all ſay, Amen.

Theſe be in the ſame priſon where I am; the Biſhop of St. Davids, Doctor Taylor of Hadley, maſter Philpot, and my ſingular good father maſter Bradford, with five other of Suſſex, Laymen.

I deſire ſome good brother, to write this new, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the Keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and inke alſo.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me paſt all the comfort of any man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Chriſt.

By me William Tyms, priſoner
in the Kings Bench.

About this time or ſomewhat before, came down certain Commiſſioners aſſigned by the Queen and Councell, to Northfolk and Suffolke (as to other countreys elſe beſides) to enquire of matters of religion: unto the which Commiſſioners there was a ſupplication then exhibited by ſome good and well diſpoſed men (as by the ſame may appear) dwelling about thoſe parts. Which ſupplication as I thought it not unworthy to be read, bearing the date of this preſent yeer, to be printed; ſo I thought it was not to be omitted, nor unworthy here to be placed, in conſideration of the fruit which thereof might enſue to the Reader.

¶ A certain godly Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Northfolke, to the Commiſſioners come down to Northfolke and Suffolke, fruitfull to be read and marked of all men.

A ſupplication exhibited to the Commiſſioners in Northfolke.

In moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſeech your honors, right honourable Commiſſioners, to tender and pitie the humble ſuit of us poore men, and true faithfu'l, and obedient ſubjects, who as we have ever heretofore, ſo intend we with Gods grace, to continue in Chriſtian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all thoſe ſuperiour powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul ſaith, Rom. 13. Let every ſoul be ſubject to the ſuperiour powers. For there is no power but of God: but thoſe powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whoſoever reſiſteth the powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, and they that reſiſt, get themſelves judgement. Theſe leſſons (right honourable Commiſſioners) we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

The authoritie of Kings and Queens approved.

Firſt, that the authoritie of a King, Queen, Lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannicall uſurpation, but a juſt, holy, lawfull, and neceſſarie eſtate for man to be governed by, and that the ſame is of God, the fountain and author of righteouſneſſe.

Secondly, that to obey the ſame in all things not againſt God, is to obey God; and to reſiſt them, is to reſiſt God. Therefore as to obey God in his Miniſters and Magiſtrates bringeth life: ſo to reſiſt God in them, bringeth puniſhment and death. The ſame leſſon have we learned of ſaint Peter, 1. Pet. 5. ſaying, Be ye ſubject to all humane ordinances for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King, as to the moſt higheſt, or to the Lieutenants ſent from him, to the puniſhment of evil doers, but to the praiſe of ſuch as do well. For ſo is the will of God, that with well doing, ye ſhould ſtop the mouthes of fooliſh and ignorant men; as free, and not as having the liberty to be a cloak to malice, but as the ſervants of God.

Chriſtian men bound to obey God in his Magiſtrates.

Wherefore conſidering with our ſelves, both that the Magiſtrates power is of God, and that for the Lords ſake we be bound to Chriſtian obedience unto them, having now preſently a commandement, as though it were from the Queens Majeſtie; with all humble obedience due to the regall power and authoritie ordained of GOD (which we acknowledge to ſtand wholly and perfectly in her Grace) and with due reverence unto you her Graces Commiſſioners, we humbly beſeech you with patience and pitie to receive this our anſwer unto this commandement, given unto us.

The honour of God to be preferred before all regall honour and power.

Firſt, right honourable Commiſſioners, we have conſidered our ſelves to be not onely Engliſh men, but alſo Chriſtians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to GOD in our baptiſme, to preferre Gods honour in all things, and that all obedience (not onely of us mortall men, but even of the verie Angels and heavenly ſpirits) is due unto Gods word; in ſo much that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before GOD or man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with Gods word.

Q. Maries Injunctions diſagreeing from Gods word, how and wherein.

Then have we weighed the commandement concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed Latine ſervice, given unto us to diſſent and diſagree from Gods word, and to command manifeſt impietie, and the overthrow of godlineſſe and true religion, and to import a ſubverſion of the regall power of this our native Countrey and Realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romiſh Biſhops ſupremacie, with all errors, ſuperſtitions, and idolatrie, waſting of our goods and bodies, deſtroying of our ſouls, bringing with it nothing, but the ſevere wrath of GOD, which we alreadie feele, and feare leſt the ſame ſhall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly proteſt, that we cannot be perſwaded, that the ſame wicked commandement ſhould come from the Queens Majeſtie, but rather from ſome other, abuſing the Queens goodneſſe and favour, and ſtudying to work ſome feat againſt the Queene, her Crowne, and the Realm, to pleaſe with it the Romane Biſhop, at whoſe hands the ſame thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

Heſt. 3.

1 Eſd. 4.

As the Agagite Aman wrought maliciouſly againſt the Noble King Aſſuerus, and as the Princes of Babel wrought againſt the good King Darius: ſo thinke we the Queenes moſt gentle heart to be abuſed of ſome, who ſeeking themſelves and their owne vaine glorie, procure ſuch commandements as are againſt the glorie of God. For we cannot have ſo evill an opinion in her Majeſtie, that ſhe ſhould ſubvert the moſt godly and holy Religion (ſo accordingly to Gods word ſet forth by the moſt noble, vertuous, and innocent King, a verie Saint of God, our late moſt deare King Edward, her Graces Brother) except ſhe were wonderfully abuſed; who, as

Q. Mary evill incenſed.

Religion ſet forth in K. Edwards time commended.

hating reformation, will rather the deſtruction of all others, then acknowledge their errors, and to be according to Gods word, reformed. For truely the religion lately ſet forth by King Edward, is ſuch in our conſciences as every Chriſtian man is bound to confeſſe to be the truth of God, and every member of Chriſts Church here in England muſt needs imbrace the ſame in heart, and confeſſe it with mouth, and (if need require) loſe and forſake, not onely houſe, land and poſſeſſions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but alſo (if God will ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all manner of perſecution, and to loſe their lives in the defence of Gods word and truth ſet out amongſt us. For our Saviour Chriſt requireth the ſame of us, ſaying, Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinfull generation, the Son of man will alſo be aſhamed of him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels. And againe ſaith he, Whoſoever will confeſſe me before men, I will confeſſe him before my Father that is in heaven. And whoſoever will deny me before men, I will alſo deny him before my Father that is in heaven. And whoſoever ſhall ſpeake a word againſt the Sonne of man, it ſhall be forgiven him, but whoſoever ſhall raile againſt the holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him.

Luke 9.

Math. 10.

Math. 11.

An honeſt petition to Q. Mary.

We humbly beſeech the Queenes Maieſtie, and you her honorable Commiſſioners, be not offended with us, for confeſſing this truth of God, ſo ſtraitly given us in charge of Chriſt; neither bring upon us that great ſin that never ſhal be forgiven, and ſhall cauſe our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt in the great day of judgement, before his heavenly Father and all his Angels, to deny us, and to take from us the bleſſed price and ranſome of his bloudſhed, wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that day, neither the Queenes highneſſe, neither you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe us, nor to purchaſe a pardon of Chriſt for this horrible ſinne and blaſphemie of caſting aſide, and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor conſent unto this ſo horrible a ſinne; but we beſeech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace moſt earneſtly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremitie and puniſhment in this world, then to incurre ſuch damnation before God.

Example of K. Manaſſes.

4 Reg. 23.

Manaſſes, who reſtored againe the wickedneſſe of Idolatrous religion (before put downe by Ezechias his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people: ſo that the Scripture ſaith, Notwithſtanding the reformation made by Ioſias, the Lord turned not from the fierceneſſe of his great wrath wherewith he was angry againſt Iuda, becauſe of the provocation with the which Manaſſes provoked him. And the Lord ſaid; even Iuda will I take away from my preſence, as I caſt away Iſrael: and I will caſt away this Citie of Ieruſalem, and the houſe whereof I ſaid, My name ſhall be there. Ieroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected up a new found ſervice of God, and not onely ſinned himſelfe, but alſo made all Iſrael to ſinne with him, ſo that not onely he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Iſrael, for obeying that his ungodly commandement: Yet was it not ſo heinous an offence to bring in an Idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly Kings and Princes, by the vertuous and holy Biſhops, by the Prophets and ſervants of God, to reject and caſt off the Word and true religion of God, and to receive againe a damned impietie.

Example of Ieroboam.

This moſt heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the ſame be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, reſtoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the Catholike Church, of unitie, Catholike truth, and with the cloake of fained holineſſe. Theſe are ſheepeskinnes, under the which (as Chriſt ſaith) ravening Wolves cover themſelves. But Chriſt willeth us to looke upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truely that is no good fruit, to caſt aſide Gods word, and to baniſh the Engliſh ſervice out of the Churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latine tongue unknowne unto the people. Which as it edifieth no man, ſo it hath bin occaſion of all blindneſſe and errour among the people. For afore the bleſſed reformation begun by the moſt noble Prince of godly memorie the Queenes good father; and by our late holy and innocent King, her good brother, finiſhed; it is not unknowne what blindneſſe and error we were all in, when not one man in all this Realme unlearned in the Latine, could ſay in Engliſh the Lords Prayer, or knew any one article of his beliefe, or rehearſe any one of the ten Commandements. And that ignorance, mother of miſchife, was the very roote and well-ſpring of all Idolatrie, Sodomiticall Monkerie, and whoriſh chaſtitie of unmarried Prieſts, of all whoredome, drunkenneſſe, covetouſneſſe, ſwearing and blaſphemie, with all other wicked ſinfull living. Theſe brought in the ſevere wrath and vengeance of God plaguing ſin with famine & peſtilence; and at laſt the ſword conſumed & avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the ſame or more grievous plagues ſhall now againe follow.

Foule idolatry ſet out with faire ſhews and pretenſes.

Ignorance wilfully maintained.

Service in Latine not to be admitted.

Iohn 10.

We cannot therefore conſent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our Engliſh tongue, which we underſtand, ſhould be taken away from us, and for it a Latine ſervice, we wot not what (for none of us underſtand it) to be againe brought in amongſt us, ſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt hath ſaid, My ſheepe heare my voyce, and follow me, and I give to them everlaſting life. The ſervice in Engliſh teacheth us, that we are the Lords people and the ſheepe of his paſture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lords wrath in the wilderneſſe, leſt he ſweare unto us, as he did ſweare unto them, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt.

Againſt Latine Mattins.

The ſervice in Latine is a confuſed noiſe, which if it be good, (as they ſay it is) yet unto us that lack underſtanding, what goodneſſe can it bring? Saint Paul commandeth, that in the Churches all things ſhould be done to edifying, which we are ſure is Gods commandement. But in the Latine ſervice nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edified, and to drive us from Gods word and truth, and from beleeving of the ſame, and ſo to bring us to beleeve lyes and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we ſhould be brought into that judgement that bleſſed Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, Antichriſt ſhall come according to the working of Sathan, with all manner of power and ſignes, and lying wonders in all deceiveableneſſe of unrighteouſnes in thoſe that periſh: becauſe they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved. And therefore God will ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould beleeve lyes and be damned, as many as have not beleeved the truth, but have approved unrighteouſneſſe.

In the Popes ſervice there is no edifying, what fables be in it the Lord knoweth.

2 Theſ. 2.

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we ſhal fall into his wrath through unbeliefe, till he ſweare unto us as he did unto the unfaithfull Iewes, that ſuch infidels ſhall not enter into his reſt.

The true uſe of the Lords ſupper extinct.

In the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, which we confeſſe to be the holy Communion, and partaking with Chriſt and his holy Congregation, we have learned Gods holy commandements, and at the rehearſall of every one of them to aske God mercy for our moſt grievous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to aske grace of God, to keepe them in time to come, that the ſame may not onely outwardly ſound in our eares, but alſo inwardly by the holy Ghoſt be written in our hearts.

We have learned alſo the holy prayer made for the Queenes Maieſtie; wherein we learne that her power and authoritie is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that ſhe and all Magiſtrates under her, may rule according to Gods word, and we her ſubiects obey according to the ſame.

Cauſes why the Commiſſioners commandement ought not to be received.

Truely (moſt honorable Commiſſioners) we cannot thinke theſe things evill, but thinke them moſt worthy to be retained in our Churches, and we would thinke our ſelves not to have true ſubiects hearts, if we ſhould goe about to put away ſuch godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memorie of our bounden obedience and dutie to God and our Rulers. For, as we think, at this preſent the unquiet multitude had more need to have theſe things more often and earneſtly beaten and driven into them (ſpecially given in many places to ſtir and trouble) then to take from them that bleſſed doctrine, whereby only they may to their ſalvation be kept in quiet.

Receiving in both kindes.

Furthermore, we cannot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the body and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts inſtitution, miniſtred with ſuch godly prayers, exhortations, & admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Chriſt, breaking his body upon the croſſe for our ſins, and ſhedding his moſt precious bloud for our redemption: which we in eating of that bleſſed bread, & drinking of the bleſſed cup, aſſuredly beleeve that we receive, and be perfectly joyned with Chriſt and his holy Catholike Church into one body, and into one unitie and brotherly love, whereby each member faithfully embraceth other. We muſt needs confeſſe this inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we have the onely comfort in conſcience againſt ſinne and damnation, with the aſſurance of ſalvation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many heinous ſinnes, much lawing, ſtrife, and contention is ended; drunkenneſſe, whoredome, and other vices, in ſome reformed, goodneſſe and vertue increaſed and nouriſhed.

The Maſſe hath nothing in it but an heape of Ceremonies.

In the Latine Maſſe we never had no ſuch edifying, but onely we ſaw a great many of ceremonies and ſtrange geſtures; as turning of the Prieſt, croſſings, bleſſings, breathings, waſhing of hands, and ſpreading abroad of his armes, with like ceremonies that we underſtand not. And concerning the Latine tongue, wherein the Prieſt prayeth, we wot not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth us. We are not partakers of the Sacrament, as Chriſts inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be.

In the miniſtring of the ſacrament, the Prieſts altar the inſtitution of Chriſt, committing theft and ſacriledge, robbing us of the cup of Chriſts bloud, contrary to Chriſts commandement, ſaying, Drinke ye all of this.

The people robbed of Gods Word.

Phil. 2.

They rob us alſo of Gods word, ſpeaking all things in Latine, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Chriſt commanded not that his ſupper ſhould be miniſtred in an unknowne tongue: but foraſmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of Gods Word, how can we beleeve Chriſts word and promiſe made unto us in this holy Sacrament, ſaying, This is my body broken for you, and this is my bloud of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſinnes, if the ſame promiſes of Chriſt either be not at all recited, or elſe ſo recited in Latine, that the Congregation underſtandeth not nor heareth not what is ſpoken? Saint Paul ſaith thus, reciting the ſaying of Eſay, As truely as I live, ſaith the Lord, all knees ſhall bow unto me, all tongues ſhall give praiſe unto God. Alſo he ſaith, All tongues muſt confeſſe, that Ieſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. The holy Ghoſt came upon the Apoſtles in fiery tongues, ſo that they ſpake the tongues of all nations under heaven. Saint Paul miniſtred to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their owne mother tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of ſtrange tongues into the Congregations. We cannot thinke it to be well, that ſo holy an Apoſtle rebuked. And whatſoever vertue the Latine tongue hath to ſuch as underſtand it, to us Engliſhmen not underſtanding it, it is altogether without vertue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our Churches.

All things done in the Church ought to be in a known tongue.

That Prieſts be not had in honor, it is their owne fault.

The Prieſts complaine that we Lay-men love them not, nor have them in honor, but it is their own fault. For how ſhould we love them, that onely ſeek to keep us in blindneſſe and ignorance, to damne our ſoules, to deſtroy our bodies, to rob and ſpoyle our goods and ſubſtance under a colour of pretenſed holineſſe? We know (right honorable Commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuch Wolves, and how by the authoritie of Gods word, ſuch are to be fled, as peſtilences to the Lords Lambes, whom they miſerably daily murder.

Gods word and true religion caſt out of the church in Q. Maries time.

But we have rather choſen by this our meeke ſupplication, humbly to deſire the Queenes Maieſtie, and you her honourable Commiſſioners, to render Gods word againe unto the Churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately ſet out by the holy Saint of God, our late moſt deare King Edward, is Chriſts true religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught unto his Church. Wherefore we cannot allow with ſafe conſciences this refuſall of it, and caſting of it out of our Churches; foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt off, and to reject it, is to caſt off Chriſt himſelfe, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed body broken for our ſinnes, and his bloud ſhed for our redemption. Which thing whoſo doth, the ſame without repentance can look for no ſacrifice for his ſinnes, but moſt fearefully waite for the judgement, and for that vehement fire that ſhall deſtroy Chriſts adverſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the Law of Moſes, is without mercie put to death under two or three witneſſes, how much more grievous torments ſhall he ſuffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and eſteemeth the bloud of the teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliouſly uſeth the ſpirit of grace?

Wherefore, we moſt humbly pray and beſeech the Queenes gracious Maieſtie, to have mercie and pitie upon us her poore and faithfull ſubiects, and not to compell us to doe the thing that is againſt our conſciences, and ſhall ſo incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the Church the Latine Maſſe and ſervice that nothing edifieth us, and caſting out of Chriſts holy communion and Engliſh ſervice, ſo cauſing us to ſinne againſt our redemption. For ſuch as willingly and wittingly againſt their conſciences ſhall ſo doe (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miſerable ſtate, untill the mercy of God turne them; which if he doe not, we certainly beleeve, that they ſhall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Chriſts holy word and communion before men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his heavenly father and his angels.

The popiſh following of Chriſts croſſe in proceſſion.

And whereas it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go in proceſſion (as they call it) at which time the Prieſts ſay in Latine ſuch things as we are ignorant of, the ſame edifieth nothing at

all

The true followers of Chriſts croſſe.

all unto godlineſſe, and we have learned that to follow Chriſts Croſſe, is another matter, namely, to take up our Croſſe, and to follow Chriſt in patient ſuffering for his love, tribulations, ſickneſſe, povertie, priſon, or any other adverſitie, whenſoever Gods holy will and pleaſure is to lay the ſame upon us. The triumphant Paſſion, and death of Chriſt, whereby in his own perſon he conquered death, ſinne, hell, and damnation hath moſt lively beene preached unto us, and the glory of Chriſts Croſſe declared by our Preachers; whereby we have learned the cauſes and effects of the ſame more lively in one Sermon, then in all the proceſſions that ever we went in, or ever ſhall go in.

When we worſhipped the divine Trinitie kneeling, and in the Letanie invocating the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, asking mercie for our ſinnes, and deſiring ſuch petitions as the need of our fraile eſtate and this mortall life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all Chriſtian prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of Gods hand we receive all things, as well to the ſalvation of our ſoules, as to the reliefe of our mortall neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the Queenes Majeſtie, that the ſame moſt holy prayers may be continued amongſt us; that our Miniſters praying in our mother tongue, and we underſtanding their prayers and petitions, may anſwer, Amen, unto them. At evening ſervice we underſtood our Miniſters prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the Scriptures then read; which in the Latine Evenſong is all gone.

Prayers and evening ſervice in Engliſh.

Baptiſme in Engliſh.

At the miniſtration of holy baptiſme, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vowes and promiſes we upon our part had made, namely to beleeve in him, to forſake Satan and his workes, and to walke in the way of Gods holy word and commandements.

Catechiſme in Engliſh.

The Chriſtian Catechiſme continually taught and called to remembrance the ſame, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of fortie yeers, that had been godfathers to thirtie children, knew no more of the Godfathers office, but to waſh their hands ere they departed the Church, or elſe to faſt five Fridaies with bread and water.

The effects of Gods word deſcribed.

Oh mercifull God, have pitie upon us. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy preſence? we may well lament our miſerable eſtate, to receive ſuch a commandement, to reject and caſt out of our Churches all theſe moſt godly prayers, inſtructions, admonitions and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to denie God, and Chriſt our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our ſalvation, the candle to our feete, and the light to our ſteps, the bread coming downe from heaven that giveth life, which whoſo drinketh, it ſhall be in him a wel-ſpring ſtreaming unto eternall life; whereby we have learned all righteouſneſſe, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governours, all charitie one towards another, all good workes that God would us to walke in, what puniſhment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to thoſe that reverently walke in his waies and commandements.

Wherefore right honorable Commiſſioners, we cannot without impietie refuſe and caſt from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemne any thing ſet forth by our moſt godly late King Edward and his vertuous proceedings, ſo agreeable to Gods word. And our moſt humble ſute is, that the commandement may be revoked, ſo that we be not conſtrained thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we thinke if the holy word of God had not taken ſome roote amongſt us, we could not in times paſt have done that poore dutie of ours, which we did in aſſiſting the Queen our moſt deare Soveraigne againſt her graces mortall foe, that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden dutie, and we thanke God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden ſervice.

Suffolke and Norfolke men moved by Gods word did ſet up the Queene.

And we meekly pray and beſeech the Queenes Majeſtie for the deare paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that the ſame word be not taken away out of her Churches, nor from us her loving, faithfull and true ſubjects; leſt if the like neceſſitie ſhould hereafter chance (which God for his mercie ſake forbid, and ever ſave and defend her grace, and us all) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of Gods word may be occaſion of great ruine to an infinite number of her graces true ſubjects. And truly we judge this to be one ſubtile part of the Divell (enemie to all godly peace and quietneſſe) that by taking Gods word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all miſchife and wickedneſſe; and by baniſhing the holy Goſpel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavie wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, ſtrange ſickneſſe, peſtilence, murren, moſt terrible uprores, commotions, and ſeditions. Theſe things did the Lord threaten, unto the Jewes for refuſing his word, ſaying, Goe, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this people: Ye ſhall heare indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand, ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, ſtop their eares, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not with their eyes, heare not with their eares, and underſtand not with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I ſaid, How long Lord? And he anſwered, Vntill the Cities be deſtroyed, utterly waſted without inhabitants, and the houſes without men, till the Land alſo be deſolate and lye unbuilded. And the Prophet Micheas, conſidering the contempt of Gods word among the Iſraelites, threatned them thus, When the day, that thy preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no man beleeve his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keepe the doore of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy boſome: for the ſonne ſhall put his father to diſhonour, and the daughter ſhall riſe againſt her mother, the daughter in law againſt the mother in law; and a mans foes ſhall be even they of his owne houſhhold. The ſame plague threatned Chriſt unto the Jewes, for refuſing his peace profered them in the Goſpel, and he wept on the citie Jeruſalem, which murdered the Prophets, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent unto her.

Inconveniences that followed by taking away Gods word.

Eſay 6.

Mich. 6.

Luke 19.

The ſame plagues we are afraide, will alſo fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Chriſts word and peaceable Goſpel, we had great benedictions of God, eſpecially this chriſtian concord and holy peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect ſtay in religion, no man offended with another, but as the ſons of peace, each of us with Chriſtian charitie imbraced other: now alas for pitie, the Devill (riding upon the red horſe, ſhewed unto St. John in the Revelation) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can goe to no place, but malicious buſie-bodies curiouſly ſearch out his deeds, marke his words, and if he agree not with them in deſpiſing Gods word, then will they ſpitefully and hatefully rayle againſt him and it, calling it error and hereſie, and the profeſſors thereof heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, with other odious and deſpitefull names, as traitors and not the Queens friends, not favourers of the Queens proceedings; as if to love Gods word were hereſie, and as though to talke of Chriſt, were to be ſchiſmatike; as though none could be true to the

Apoc. 6.

Loving Gods word made hereſie.

Queene, that were not falſe to God; as though none were the Queenes friends, but ſuch as deſpitefully raile on her graces father and brother, and on Gods word that they ſet forth; as though none favoured the Queenes Maieſtie, but ſuch as hate all godly knowledge.

All that the papiſts ſtrive for are but mans meere inventions beſides Gods word.

And in very deed theſe things that all this turmoyle is made for, are meere inventions of Popes, brought into the Church of their owne imaginations, without commandement or enſample either of Chriſt or of his Apoſtles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truely alledged, maintaineth them, nor any Doctor of antiquitie before Saint Auſtins dayes, as it hath beene divers times ſufficiently proved before all the whole Parliament and Convocation of this Realme. Yet theſe, being meere traditions of Biſhops, are ſet out for Gods commandements; and the Queenes authoritie (given to her of God to maintaine his word) muſt be abuſed to put downe Gods word. And you right honorable Juſtices, and keepers of lawes and righteouſneſſe, are alſo abuſed and made the Biſhops Apparatours, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh traſh as is to Chriſts diſhonour, and againſt the ſupreme authoritie of the Regall eſtate of this Realme. And we poore ſubjects, for ſpeaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegeance, are daily puniſhed, railed upon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the Queenes friends.

The Queene, her Commiſſioners, and Juſtices abuſed by the Biſhops.

True ſubjects wrongfully ſlandered.

But God (who is bleſſed for ever) knoweth that they ſlander us, and pull the thorne out of their owne foote, and put it in ours: for the ſearcher of hearts knoweth, that we beare a faithfull and true heart unto her grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not againſt GOD and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly father, to lighten her Graces royall heart with the glorious light of the Goſpel, that ſhe may eſtabliſh and confirme that Religion, that her Graces brother, our moſt deare King, did ſet out amongſt us; and ſo governing and ruling this her Realme in the feare and true way of God, ſhe may long live, and with proſperitie, peace, and honor reigne over us.

But we cannot thinke that thoſe men doe ſeeke either Gods honor, or her Graces proſperitie, or wealth of the Realme, that take from her Graces faithfull ſubjects Gods word, which onely is the roote of all love and faithfull obedience under her Grace, and of all honeſty, good life, and vertuous concord among her Commons. And this we feare, leſt the roote being taken away, the branches will ſoone wither and be fruitleſſe. And when the Philiſtines have ſtopped up the wellſpring, the faire ſtreames that ſhould flow ſhall ſoon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true Preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained Gods word, we ſhould have God our gracious mercifull Father; but if we refuſed and caſt off the Lords yoke of his doctrine, then ſhall we looke for the Lords wrath, and ſevere viſitation to plague us, as he did the Jewes for the like offences. And Paul ſaith, Rom. 2. God gave to them the ſpirit of unquietneſſe and uprore, eies wherewith they ſhould not ſee, and eares wherewith they ſhould not heare, untill this day: And as David ſaid, Pſal. 69. Let their table be made a ſnare to take themſelves with all, a trap to catch them, and a ſtumbling block to fall at. Let their eies be blinded, that they ſee not, and bow thou downe their backs alwaies.

What unquietneſſe followeth the lack of Gods word.

O mercifull God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increaſed, and we feare at laſt it will ſo bow downe our backs, that we ſhall utterly be deſtroyed; the troubleſome ſpirit of uprores and unquietneſſe daily troubleth mens hearts, and worketh ſuch unquietneſſe in all places, that no man that loveth quietneſſe, can tell where to place himſelfe. Men have eyes, and ſee not how grievous an offence it is to caſt off the yoke of Gods doctrine, and to beare the heavie burden that unfaithfull hypocrites lay upon us. We have eares and heare not the warning of Gods word, calling us to true repentance, nor his threats againſt our impietie. Our moſt ſweet table of Chriſts word and moſt holy Communion is taken away, and turned to a moſt perillous ſnare, through the brawling diſputations of men. And as the Idoll of abomination betokened finall ſubverſion unto the Jewiſh Nation; ſo we feare, this ſetting aſide of the Goſpel and holy Communion of Chriſt, and the placing in of Romiſh Religion, betokeneth deſolation of this noble Realme of England to be at hand.

For the plagues of hunger, peſtilence, and ſword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turne againe to the Lord, our backs ſhall be ſo bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never ſeene. And no marvell: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and caſt off Chriſt and his word, and in plaine Engliſh to ſay, We will not have him to reigne over us. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the Goſpel? Thoſe mine enemies that would not have me to reigne over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before me, Luke 19. God be mercifull unto us, and move the Queenes Maieſties heart, and the hearts of her honourable Councell, and your hearts (right honourable Commiſſioners) to weigh theſe dangers in due time; and to call Gods word into you Councell, and then you ſhall ſee how it agreeth with this Biſhoplike commandement; and to be as warie to avoide the contempt of the eternall God, and dangers of the ſame, as you are prudent and wiſe in matters of this world, leſt if the Almightie be contemned, he ſtretch forth his arme which no man can turne, and kindle his wrath, that no man can quench.

Warning to Q. Mary, to her Councell and Commiſſioners.

The dutie of true ſubjects declared, firſt to Chriſt, then to the Queene.

We have humbly opened unto your conſciences, doubtleſſe ſore wounded and grieved by this commandement; and we meekely pray and beſeech the Queenes Maieſtie, for the precious death and bloudſheding of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, to have mercie and pitie upon us her gracious poore Commons, faithfull and true ſubjects, members of the ſame body politike, whereof her Grace is ſupreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands, and lives are ready to doe her Grace faithful obedience, and true ſervice of all commandements that are not againſt God, and his word: but in things that import a deniall of Chriſt, and refuſall of his word and holy communion, we cannot conſent nor agree unto it. For we have bound our ſelves in baptiſme to be Chriſts Diſciples, and to keepe his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy Angels in the day of judgement: which we truſt her benigne Grace will not require of us.

How farre a Prince ought to require obedience of his ſubjects.

And we humbly beſeech her Maieſtie, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we ſerve her Grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to Gods commandement: ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerve GOD and Chriſt our Saviour, and keepe unto him our ſoules, which he hath with his precious bloud redeemed, that ſo (as Chriſt teacheth) we may render to Cæſar that which is due to Cæſar, and to God that which is due to God.

True obedience how farre it ſtretcheth.

For we thinke it no true obedience unto the Queenes highneſſe, or to any other Magiſtrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrarie to Gods word, although the ſame be never ſo ſtraitly charged in her graces name. The Biſhop of Wincheſter hath truely taught in the point, in his booke of true obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not againſt the Lord: as the Apoſtle anſwered before the Councell at Ieruſalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Ieſus, Iudge you (ſaid they) whether it be right in the ſight of God, to heare you rather then God. And again they ſaid, We muſt obey God rather then man. Wherefore we learne, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, in him, and not againſt him and his word, to obey the Princes and Magiſtrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

Acts 4.

True obedience

Example of true obedience.

Tobias diſobeyed not his King, although contrary to his commandement, and contrary to the uſage of all other, when they went to Dan, and Bethel, he went unto Ieruſalem, and worſhipped in the Temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refuſing Nabuchodonoſors commandement, pleaſed GOD more then the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to King Darius commandement, bare a more true and faithfull heart to the King, then thoſe wicked Counſellors, that procured that wicked law, or thoſe that for feare or flatterie obeyed it. Which two peſtilences (feare and flatterie) have ever deſtroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked godleſſe men (that care not if the Devill were worſhipped, ſo they might get and obtaine riches, promotions, and dignitie, and worldly glorie) turne to and fro, as every winde bloweth; and weake and fraile men fearing loſſe of goods, puniſhment, or death, doe outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and conſciences inwardly abhorreth, and ſo outwardly diſobey God, and in heart diſſemble with man, which diſſimulation we thinke worthy hate of all men, and moſt uncomely for Chriſtian men.

Feare and flattery, enemies to true obedience, to God and man.

Falſe diſſemblers worthy to be hated of all men.

Wherefore we humbly beſeech the Queenes Majeſtie, with pitie and mercie to tender the lamentable ſute of us her poore ſubjects, which be by this commandement ſore hurt, and wounded in our conſciences, and driven to many miſeries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men ſuffer great wrongs and injuries, ſlanders, loſſe of goods, and bodily vexations. We thinke not good, by any unlawfull ſtirre or commotion to ſeeke remedie; but intend, by Gods grace, to obey her Majeſtie in all things, not againſt God, and his holy word. But unto ſuch ungodly Biſhoplike commandements, as are againſt God, we anſwer with the Apoſtles, God muſt be obeyed rather then man. If perſecution ſhall enſue (which ſome threaten us with) we deſire the heavenly Father, according to his promiſe, to looke from heaven, to heare our cry, to judge between us and our adverſaries, and to give us faith, ſtrength and patience to continue faithfull unto the end, and to ſhorten theſe evill dayes, for his choſens ſake; and ſo we faithfully beleeve he will.

Queene Maries authoritie, ſtriving againſt mens conſciences.

Notwithſtanding, we truſt the Queenes gracious and mercifull heart will not ſuffer ſuch tyrannie to be done againſt her poore, innocent, faithfull, and obedient ſubjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world, but to ſue unto her highnes, our moſt gracious and benigne Soveraigne; whom we pray and beſeech, for the deare bloud of Chriſt, to pitie our lamentable caſe and hurt of conſcience, and to call back all ſuch commandements as are againſt Gods honour, as the good King Darius, Aſſuerus, Trajanus, Theodoſius, and divers other have done, and permit the holy Word of God and true religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy & innocent King Edward, a very Saint of God) to be reſtored againe unto our Churches, to be frequented amongſt us. So ſhall we grow and increaſe in the knowledge of God and of Chriſt, in true repentance and amendment of life: ſo ſhall we exhibite true obedience to our lawfull Magiſtrates and all ſuperiours ordained of God: ſo ſhall love and charitie (of late through this commandement ſo decayed) be again reſtored, the honour of her regall eſtate the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, and godlineſſe and vertuous life among her loving ſubjects increaſed and maintained.

And we moſt heartily pray you (right honorable Commiſſioners) to be meanes unto the Queenes Highneſſe, and to her honorable Councel, that this our humble ſute may be favourably tendered, and graciouſly heard and granted. And we ſhall not ceaſe day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preſerve her Grace, and all other Magiſtrates in his feare, and love, and in proſperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

Your poore ſuppliants, the lovers of
Chriſts true Religion in Norfolke
and Suffolke.

The ſtory of Iohn Harpole, of the pariſh of S. Nicholas in Rocheſter, Ioane Beach widow, of Tunbridge, Martyrs.

Iohn Harpole, Ioane Beach, martyrs.

TOuching the examination of Ioane Beach widow, and of Iohn Harpole within the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter, by Maurice biſhop of the ſaid Dioceſſe, remembrance was made before in the ſtory of Nicholas Hall, wherein was declared the foure articles Conſiſtoriall of the Biſhop, objected and laid, as unto the ſaid Nicholas Hall and his company, ſo alſo to this Ioane Beach widow: whereof the firſt was this;

Ex Regiſt. Articles laid to Ioane Beach.

1 That ſhe was of the Pariſh of Tunbridge, in the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter.

2 Item, that all perſons which preach, teach, beleeve, or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to that their mother holy Catholike Church of Chriſt, are excommunicate perſons and heretikes.

3 Item, that the ſaid Ioane Beach hath, and yet doth affirme, maintaine, and beleeve contrary to the ſaid mother Church of Chriſt, videlicet, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, under forme of bread and wine, there is not the very body and bloud of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but onely a token and memoriall thereof; that the very body and bloud of Chriſt is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

4 Item, that ſhe hath been, and yet is, amongſt the Pariſhioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected to be a Sacramentarie, and heretike.

Her perſonall Anſwers to the ſaid Articles.

Anſwers of Ioane Beach to the articles.

TO the which foreſaid articles, her anſwers were theſe. Firſt, that ſhe was and is of the ſaid Pariſh of Tunbridge, in the Dioces of Rocheſter.

2 That all perſons which doe preach and hold otherwiſe and contrary to that, which the holy Catholike church of Chriſt doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretikes; adding withall, that nevertheleſſe ſhe beleeveth not the holy Catholike Church to be her mother, but beleeveth onely the Father of heaven to be her Father.

The Catholike Church no mother.

3 Thirdly, that ſhe hath, & yet doth verily beleeve, hold, & affirme, in the ſacrament of the altar under formes of bread and wine, not to be the very body and bloud of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but onely a token and remembrance of his death to the faithfull receiver, and that his body and ſubſtance is onely in heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

Laſtly, as touching how ſhe hath beene or is noted and reputed among the Pariſhioners of Tunbridge, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not tell; howbeit ſhe beleeved, ſhe was not ſo taken and reputed.

Examination and condemnation of Iohn Harpole and Ioane Beach.

The martyrdome of Iohn Harpole, and Ioane Beach, at Rocheſter, Anno 1556. April 1.

THe like matter, and the ſame foure articles were alſo the ſame preſent time and place miniſtred to John Harpole by the foreſaid Biſhop Maurice; who after the like anſwers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one forme of ſentence, according to the tenour and courſe of their ſeverall ſentence, which ye may reade before in Maſter Rogers ſtorie.

And thus theſe two Chriſtian Martyrs coupled in one confeſſion, being condemned by the biſhop, ſuffered together at one fire, in the towne of Rocheſter, where they together ended their lives about the firſt day of this preſent moneth of April.

Iohn Hullier, Miniſter and Martyr.

John Hullier Martyr.

The martyrdome of John Hullier Miniſter, who ſuffered at Cambridge, Anno 1556. April 2.

NExt after theſe enſueth the Martyrdome of John Hullier, Miniſter, who firſt being brought up in the Schoole of Eaton, was afterward Scholler, and then Conduct in the Kings Colledge at Cambridge ſuffered under Doctor Thurlby Biſhop of Ely, and his Chancellour, for the ſincere ſetting out of the light of Gods gracious Goſpel revealed in theſe our daies. In whoſe behalfe this is to be lamented, that among ſo many freſh wits and ſtirring pennes in that Univerſitie, ſo little matter is left unto us touching the proceſſe of his judgement, and order of his ſuffering, which ſo innocently gave his life in ſuch a cauſe among the middeſt of them. By certaine letters which he himſelfe left behinde, it appeareth that he was zealous and earneſt in that doctrine of truth, which every true Chriſtian man ought to embrace. His Martyrdome was about the ſecond day of this preſent moneth of April.

Letters of Maſter Iohn Hullier, Miniſter.

*A Letter of Iohn Hullier to the Chriſtian Congre*gation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the doctrine of the Lord.

A letter exhortatory of John Hullier to the flock of the faithfull Chriſtians.

IT ſtandeth now moſt in hand (O deare Chriſtians) all them that looke to be accounted of Chriſts flock at the great and terrible day, when a ſeparation ſhall be made of the ſort that ſhall be received from the other which ſhall be refuſed, faithfully in this time of great afflictions, to heare our Maſter Chriſts voyce, the onely true ſhepheard of our ſoules, which ſaith, Whoſoever ſhall endure to the end, ſhall be ſafe. For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well ſee) that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of ſo long before, which ſhould follow the true & ſincere preaching of his Goſpel. Therefore in this time we muſt needs either ſhew that we be his faithfull Souldiers, and continue in his battell unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breſtplate of love, the helmet of hope and ſalvation, and the ſword of his holy word (which we have heard plentifully) with all inſtance of ſupplication and prayer; or elſe if we doe not worke and labour with theſe, we are Apoſtataes and falſe ſouldiers, ſhrinking moſt unthankfully from our gracious and ſoveraigne Lord and Captaine Chriſt, and leaning to Belial. For as he ſaith plainly, Luke 14. Whoſoever beareth not my croſſe and followeth me, he cannot be my diſciple. And Matth. 6. No man can ſerve two maſters: for either he muſt hate the one, and love the other, or elſe he ſhall leane to the one, and deſpiſe the other. The which thing the faithful Prophet Helias ſignified when he came to the people, and ſaid, Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him, 3 Reg. 18.

Matth. 24.

Epheſ. 6.
1 Theſ. 5.

Now let us not think, but that the ſame was recorded in writing for our inſtruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the Apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, Rom. 15. Whatſoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning. If Chriſt be that onely good and true ſhepheard that gave his life for us, then let us that beare his mark, and have our conſciences ſprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our ſalvation, his heavenly voyce and calling, according to our profeſſion and firſt promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo doe, certainly (ſay what we can) although we beare the name of Chriſt, yet we be none of his ſheepe indeed. For he ſaith very manifeſtly, Iohn 10. My ſheepe heare my voyce, and follow me: a ſtranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voyce of a ſtranger.

The wilineſſe of the ſubtle Serpent.

Therefore let every man take good heed in theſe perillous dayes (whereof we have had ſo much warning aforehand) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward ſhew and appearance, as Eve was of our old ſubtill enemie, whoſe craft and wilineſſe is ſo manifold and divers, and ſo full of cloſe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plaine ſtraight way to conſent to his ſuggeſtions, then he wil allure him and winde him in by ſome other falſe waies (as it were by a traine) that he ſhall not perceive it, to deceive him withall, and to ſteale from him that goodly victorie of the incorruptible and eternall crowne of glory, which no man elſe can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this preſent day, if he cannot induce him throughly, as other doe, to favour his Devilliſh Religion, and of good will and free heart to helpe to uphold the ſame, yet he will inveigle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh ſchoole-houſe, and at the leaſt wiſe to be converſant and keepe company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and ſay nothing, whatſoever he thinke, ſo that he be not a diligent ſouldier and a good labourer on Chriſts ſide, to further his Kingdome; by that ſubtill meanes flattering him that he ſhall both ſave his life, and alſo his goods, and live in quiet.

2 Tim. 2.

Matth. 10.
Iohn 14.15.16.

The peace of Chriſt to them that ſuſtaine the troubles of this world.

Luke 14.

But if we looke well on Chriſts holy will and teſtament, we ſhall perceive that he came not to make any ſuch peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any ſuch peace to his Diſciples; I leave peace with you (ſaith he) my peace I give you, not as the world giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearefull. Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me ye ſhould have peace. In the world ye ſhall have affliction, but be of good cheare, I have overcome the world. The ſervant is not greater then his Lord and Maſter: If they have perſecuted me, they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, ſiſters, yea, and moreover his owne life, it is not poſſible for him to be my diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weep, for ye ſhall laugh: and woe be unto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourne and weepe. He that will finde his life, ſhall loſe it.

Q. MARIE.
Anno 1556.

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerve and keep us, that we never obey ſuch a falſe flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporall peace and quietneſſe, everlaſting trouble, vexation, and diſquietneſſe; for theſe vain and tranſitorie goods, extreme loſſe and utter damage of the eternall treaſure and inheritance; for this mortall life, deprivation of the moſt joyfull life immortall; finally, the entrance into endleſſe death moſt miſerable, unmeaſurable pain and torment both of bodie and ſoul.

The ſtrait way of Chriſt better then the broad way of this world.

Now conferring theſe two Schoolmaſters together, let us conſider the thing well, and determine with our ſelves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt part of people take. Surely I judge it to be better, to go to ſchoole with our Maſter Chriſt, and to be under his Ferula and rod (although it ſeemeth ſharpe and grievous for a time) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlaſting joy, rather then to keep companie with the Devils ſchollers, the adulterous generation, in his ſchoole that is all fall of pleaſure for a while, and at the end to be paied with the wages of continuall burning in the moſt horrible lake which burneth evermore with fire and brimſtone without any end. What ſhall then theſe vain goods and temporall pleaſures availe? Who ſhall then help when we crie inceſſantly, Wo, wo, alas, and weale away, for unmeaſurable paine, griefe, and ſorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take paines in this world for a time, that we may pleaſe God. Our Saviour Chriſt the true teacher ſaith; Everie branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, Iohn 15.

Ungodly company to be avoided.

It is alſo not written in vain, Eccleſ. 41. The children of the ungodly are abominable children, and ſo are they that keep companie with the ungodly. What doth he elſe, I pray you, that reſorteth to the miniſtration and ſervice that is moſt repugnant and contrarie to Chriſts holy Teſtament, there keeping ſtill ſilence, and nothing reproving the ſame, but in the face of the world, by his verie deed it ſelfe, declare himſelfe to be of a falſe, fearfull, diſſembling, fained, and unfaithfull heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, diſcouraging as much as lieth in him all the reſidue of Chriſts hoſte, and giving a manifeſt offence to the weake, and alſo confirming, encouraging, and rejoycing the hearts of the adverſaries in all their evill doing? By which example he doth ſhew himſelfe neither to love God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian miniſter, nor yet his neighbour before whom he ſhould rebuke the evill, as it is expreſly commanded in Gods holy Law, where it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou beare not ſinne for his ſake, Levit. 18. Wherefore let ſuch a one never fantaſie to deceive himſelf, that his name is regiſtred in the book of life, to have the ſtipend of Chriſts ſouldier, except he do the dutie, and performe the part of a faithfull and right true ſouldier, as other have done before. For ſuch fearfulneſſe cometh not from God, as teſtifieth ſaint Paul, 2 Tim. 1. ſaying, God hath not given us the ſpirit of feare, but of power and love. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtifie our Lord, but ſuffer adverſitie alſo with the Goſpel, through the power of God, which ſaved us, and called us with an holy calling.

Gods ſtipend cometh not, but to ſuch as play his ſouldiers.

Fearfulneſſe in Chriſts cauſe diſproved.

To be now fearfull, when moſt need is that we ſhould be of ſtrong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulneſſe and diſobedience to the expreſſe commandement of our Saviour Chriſt, which ſaith in his holy Goſpel, Matth. 10. Fear not them that kill the body, &c. For what faithfulneſſe do we expreſſe towards him, when he ſaith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the verie contrarie, being ever fearfull, even as the unbeleeving Iſraelites, which unfaithfully feared Gods enemies the heathen Cananites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandement by his true Prophet Moſes, to do the contrarie? For the which cauſe, all the whole number of that ſect were deſtroyed in proceſſe of time in the wilderneſſe, and enjoyed not the pleaſant land of promiſe. Which was a bodily figure ſhewed before, and now agreeing to the promiſe of the heavenly inheritance, which ſhall be given to none other, but onely to all ſuch as with love unfained be wholly bent, without any fear of man, to fulfill Gods holy will and pleaſure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the ſoul, will faithfully ſtick to the commandement, truſting moſt firmly and faithfully, that he that gave the ſame, will alſo give ſtrength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakeſt veſſels of all, even as we have heard and ſeen by many and divers examples; he onely be praiſed therefore.

Numb. 13. 14.

Example by the fearfull Iſraelites.

Saint Peter ſaith, 1 Pet. 3. Fear not though they ſeeme terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hearts. Onely (ſaith ſaint Paul, Philippi. 1.) let your converſation be as it becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt. Continue in one ſpirit, and in one ſoul, labouring as we do, to maintaine the faith of the Goſpel, and in nothing fearing your adverſaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of ſalvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not onely ye ſhould beleeve in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. Wherefore let us be right well aſſured, that we ſhall yeeld a moſt ſtrait reckoning and account, if we tranſgreſſe the ſaid moſt wholſome precepts given us of our Maſter Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles, and now in this troubleſome time wherein the Goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew our ſelves fearfull ſouldiers; as it is manifeſtly declared in the Revelation of Saint Iohn, Chapter 21. where it is written, That the fearfull ſhall have their part with the unbeleeving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death. Againe, it is written in the ſame booke for our warning, Chapter the third, Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my mouth.

Now therefore (good Chriſtians) theſe true teſtimonies of Gods lively word deeply conſidered and weighed, let us chiefly ſtand in aw of his moſt terrible judgements, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt him. Let him alwayes be our fear and dread. He now chaſteneth, he now nourtereth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving father in his beloved childe, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holineſſe. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlaſting love and mercie from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuſe his moſt loving chaſtiſing, and follow the world, we muſt needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be which go in thereat. But ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that finde it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a time?

Iſa. 8.
Prov. 3.
Hebr. 12.
1 Cor. 11.
2 Reg. 7.

Matth. 7.

In conſideration whereof, let us without any more ſlacking and further delayes in this great warning by Gods loving viſitation, ſubmit our ſelves betime under his mightie hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the Word of his grace, which is able to build further, beſeeching you moſt heartily to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the power of his might, and ſtand perfect in all things, being alwayes prepared and readie, looking for the mercie of our Lord unto eternall reſt, and I will pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he will graciouſly hear us for his promiſe ſake made unto all the faithfull in his dearly beloved Son Chriſt our alone Saviour, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, moſt dear Chriſtians, for ever. So be it.

1 Pet. 5.

By your chriſtian brother, Iohn Hullier,
a priſoner of the Lord.

Iohn Hullier being of long time priſoner, and now openly judged to die for the teſtimonie of the Lord Ieſus, wiſheth heartily to the whole congregation of God, the ſtrength of his holy ſpirit, to their everlaſting health both of bodie and ſoule.

Another letter of Jo. Hullier to the congregation of Chriſts faithfull followers.

I Now (moſt dear Chriſtians) having the ſweet comfort of Gods ſaving health, and being confirmed with his free ſpirit (be he onely praiſed therefore) am conſtrained in my conſcience, thinking it my very dutie to admoniſh you, as ye tender the ſalvation of your ſouls, by all manner of means to ſeparate your ſelves from the companie of the Popes hirelings, conſidering what is ſaid in the Revelation of ſaint John, by the Angel of God, touching all men. The words be theſe; If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is powred into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be puniſhed with fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lambe, and the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth up evermore. Mark well here (good Chriſtians) who is this Beaſt and worſhippers that ſhall be partakers of that unſpeakable torment. The beaſt is none other but the carnall and fleſhly kingdome of Antichriſt, the Pope with his rabble of falſe prophets and miniſters, as it is moſt manifeſt: which to maintain their high titles, worldly promotions and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more ſet forth and eſtabliſh their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrarie to Gods holy ordinances, ſtatutes, laws, and commandements, and wholly repugnant to his ſincere and pure religion and true worſhipping.

Apoc. 14.

He exhorteth the faithfull to ſeparate themſelves from the Popes marked miniſters.

Now what do they elſe but worſhip this Beaſt and his Image, who after they had once alreadie eſcaped from the filthineſſe of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, are yet again tangled therein and overcome, uſing diſſimulation unfaithfully for feare of their diſpleaſure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; ſo having them in reverence under a cloke and colour, to whom they ought not ſo much as to ſay, God ſpeed; and adjoyning themſelves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhorre as a denne of theeves and murtherers, and as the brothel houſe of moſt blaſphemous fornicators: whoſe voices being contrarie to Chriſts voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himſelf being the good Shepheard of our ſoules doth full well in his holy Goſpel teſtifie. Again, what do they elſe I pray you, but receive the Beaſts marke in their foreheads and in their hands, which do beare a faire face and countenance outwardly in ſupporting them as other do, being aſhamed openly to confeſſe Chriſt and his holy Goſpel? But this fainedneſſe and diſſimulation Chriſt and his Goſpel will in no wiſe allow. Of whom it is ſaid, Luke 9. Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of him alſo ſhall the Sonne of man be aſhamed, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his holy Angels. Therefore ſaith Almightie God by his Prophet Malachy, Malach. 1. Curſed be the diſſemblers. Ye were once lightned, and taſted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and taſted of the Word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Luke 6. No man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is apt for the kingdome of God. Therefore ſaint John the Apoſtle uſeth this for a manifeſt token, that the backſliding of the true Preachers of Gods Word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, ſaith he, 1 Iohn 2. They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us. Surely ſo long as we uſe diſſimulation, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatſoever is manifeſt, the ſame is light, as the elect veſſell of GOD ſaint Paul witneſſeth in Epheſ. 4.

2 Pet. 2.

John 2.

John 10.
Ezech. 16.

John 10.

Againſt diſſembling hearers with the Papiſts.

Mark 18.

Hebr. 6.

Wherefore (good Chriſtians) for Gods moſt deare love, deceive not your ſelves through your owne wiſedome, and through the wiſedome of the world, which is fooliſhneſſe before God; but certifie and ſtay your owne conſcience with the ſure truth and faithfull Word of God, and with the infallible teſtimonies of holy Scripture. For although Gods mercie is over all his works; yet it doth not extend but onely to them that hold faſt the confidence and rejoycing of hope unto the end, not being wearie in well doing, but rather waxing everie day ſtronger and ſtronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of ſaint John, where it is entreated of the Beaſt and his Image, it is alſo ſaid, Here is the ſufferance of Saints, and here are they that keep the Commandements, and the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, Revelat. 13. Whereby Almightie GOD doth ſhew plainly, that he doth uſe thoſe wicked men as inſtruments for a time, to trie the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof, we can have no part among the living; but as it is ſaid in the ſame Revelation, The fearfull ſhall have their part in the Lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.

1 Cor. 3.

Pſal. 145.
Heb. 3.

Gods mercy to whom it belongeth.

But peradventure ye will object and ſay unto me; What ſhall we do? Shall we caſt our ſelves headlong to death? I ſay not ſo. But this I ſay, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive ſalvation at Gods hand) in this caſe wholly to be obedient to his determinate counſell and foreknowledge, expreſſed by the gift of the Spirit in holy Scripture; and then to caſt all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the beſt, unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandement, ſaying; Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues, Apoc. 18. Now who hearing this terrible voice of GOD, which muſt needs be fulfilled, will not with all ſpeed and diligence apply himſelf to do thereafter, except ſuch as will preſumptuouſly tempt him? And as touching ſuch, the wiſe man ſaith, Eccleſ. 3. He that loveth perill and danger, ſhall periſh therein. But they that be of the faith of Abraham, even as he did, ſo will they in all aſſayes and trials be obedient to the heavenly voice, howſoever it ſeemeth contrarie to their owne naturall will and carnall reaſon, according to the ſure word of faith, which ſaith; Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way:

Objection anſwered.

1 Cor. 12.
Rom. 18.

Pſal. 36.

2 Cor. 6.

Q. MARIE.

Anno 1556.

way : hold thee ſtill in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. Let not thy jealouſie move thee alſo to do evill. Come out from among them, and joyne not your ſelves to their unlawfull aſſemblies; yea, do not once ſhew your ſelves with the leaſt part of your bodie to favour their wicked doings, but glorifie GOD (as moſt right is) as well in your whole bodie outwardly, as inwardly in your ſpirit, or elſe you can do neither of both well; for your bodie doth belong to GOD as well as your ſpirit. At the dreadfull day of judgement we ſhall all receive the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

The body muſt joyne with the ſpirit in ſerving God.

Therefore whatſoever we do, we may not bring the ſpirit in bondage to the bodie, but contrariwiſe we muſt ſubdue the bodie and the will of the fleſh to the ſpirit, that the ſpirit may freely accompliſh the will of GOD in all things; for otherwiſe we ſhall never be partakers of his promiſe, with the true children of Abraham. For as Saint Paul ſaith; They which are the children of the fleſh, are not the children of God. If we ſhall live according to the fleſh, we ſhall die. For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be ſpiritually minded, is life and peace, becauſe that the fleſhly minde is enmitie to God : for it is not obedient to the Law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God. Now chuſe you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Chriſt himſelf and his faithfull followers have gone thorow before; or elſe the broad path-way that leadeth to deſtruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleaſure in for a while. I for my part have now written this ſhort admonition unto you of good will (as GOD is my witneſſe) to exhort you to that way, which at length you your ſelves ſhall prove and finde to be beſt, yea and rejoyce thereof. And I do not onely write this, but I will alſo (with the aſſiſtance of Gods grace) ratifie and confirm, and ſeale the ſame with the effuſion of my blood, when the full time ſhall be expired that he hath appointed; which (ſo farre forth as I may judge) muſt needs be within theſe few dayes. Therefore I now bid you all moſt heartily farewell in the Lord, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

Faithfull admonitions.

Iohn Hullier.

Beſides theſe letters, the ſaid John Hullier left alſo a godly prayer, which if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, it is extant in the old book of Acts to be found. pag. 1515.

The death and martyrdome of ſix conſtant profeſſors of Chriſt, burned at Colcheſter, for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, the 28. day of April.

April 28. The Martyrdome of 6. men at Colcheſter.

NOt long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Eſſex Martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is above ſpecified, followed in the ſame order likewiſe of martyrdome, at one like fire in the town of Colcheſter, (where the moſt part of them did inhabite) ſix other bleſſed Martyrs, whoſe names be theſe :

Chryſtopher Lyſter of Dagneham, husbandman.
Iohn Mace of Colcheſter, Apothecary.
Iohn Spenſer of Colcheſter, Weaver.
Simon Ioyne, Sawyer.
Richard Nichols of Colcheſter, Weaver.
Iohn Hamond of Colcheſter, Tanner.

With theſe ſix was alſo joyned another, whoſe name was Roger Graſbroke, but he afterward ſubmitted himſelf. Of theſe above named, the Biſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemed by the ſhort proceſſe recorded by his Regiſter) waxed now wearie, made a very quick diſpatch. For ſoon after that, they were delivered unto one John Kingſtone, Bachelor of Civill law, and then Commiſſarie to the Biſhop, by the Earle of Oxford and other Commiſſioners (as appeareth by a bill endented, made between the Commiſſioners and the ſaid Commiſſarie, for the receit of the ſaid priſoners dated the 28. day of March, Anno regni Regis & Reginæ Philippi & Mariæ ſecundo & tertio, which is the yeer of our Lord, 1556.) and by him ſent up unto his Lord and Maſter, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought unto his houſe at Fulham: Where in the open Church, judicially were miniſtred unto them the ſame Articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their ſeverall anſwers, agreeing altogether in one truth, as by the ſumme and effect thereof here enſuing, more plainly appeareth.

Roger Graſbroke.

John Kingſton Biſhop Boners Commiſſary in Eſſex.

Theſe martyrs were delivered by the Earl of Oxford to the Commiſſary, & by the Commiſſary ſent to the Biſhop.

Their anſwers to the Biſhops Articles.

The Church of Rome no part of Chriſts Catholique Church.

1 To the firſt Article they all conſented and agreed; John Spenſer adding further thereto, that the Church malignant (which is the Church of Rome) is no part of Chriſts Catholique Church; and that he neither hath, nor doth beleeve the doctrine and religion taught and ſet forth in the ſaid Romiſh and malignant Church.

Two Sacraments.

2 To the ſecond they anſwered, that they beleeved, that in the true Catholique Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments; that is to ſay, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and the ſacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt.

Profeſſion of Baptiſme.

3 To the third Article they all agreed, confeſſing that they were baptized in the faith and beliefe of the Catholique Church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had profeſſed and promiſed for them, as is contained in the ſame Article.

4 To the fourth they anſwered, that they alwayes were, and yet then did continue in the faith and profeſſion wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding alſo, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profeſſion by the doctrine ſet forth in King Edward the ſixth his dayes, and thereupon he had builded his faith, and would continue in the ſame to his lives end, God aſſiſting him.

To denie the beggarly uſages of the Popes Church, is not to deny the Catholique faith of Chriſt.

5 To the fifth they anſwered, that they neither ſwarved nor went away from the catholique faith of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that within the time articulate (and before) they had miſliked, and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and againſt the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, becauſe they had and then did beleeve, that they were ſet forth and uſed contrary to Gods word and glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had ſpoken againſt the uſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, as an oppreſſor of Chriſts Church and Goſpel, and that he ought not to have any authoritie in England. For all which ſayings they were no whit ſorrie, but rather rejoyced and were glad.

The Pope ought to have no authority in England.

6 To the ſixth they anſwered, that they never refuſed, nor yet then preſently did refuſe to be reconciled to the unity of Chriſts catholike Church: but they ſaid they had, and then did, and ſo ever would hereafter utterly refuſe to come to the Church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the ſeat thereof, but did utterly abhor the ſame, for putting down the book of God the Bible, and ſetting up the Babylonicall Maſſe, with all other of Antichriſts merchandiſe.

The Church of Rome to be abhorred.

7 To the ſeventh Article, the effect thereof they

all

Againſt the Popes trumpery.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Againſt the Maſſe.

all granted. And Simon Joyne declared further, that the cauſe of his refuſing to be partaker of their trumperie was, for that the commandements of God were there broken, and Chriſts ordinances changed and put out, and the Biſhop of Romes ordinances in ſtead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the ſacrament of Chriſts bodie, Chriſtopher Liſter affirmed, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is the ſubſtance of bread and wine, as well after the words of conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the verie bodie and blood of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but onely ſacramentally and ſpiritually by faith in the faithfull receivers, and that the Maſſe is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but meer idolatrie and abomination.

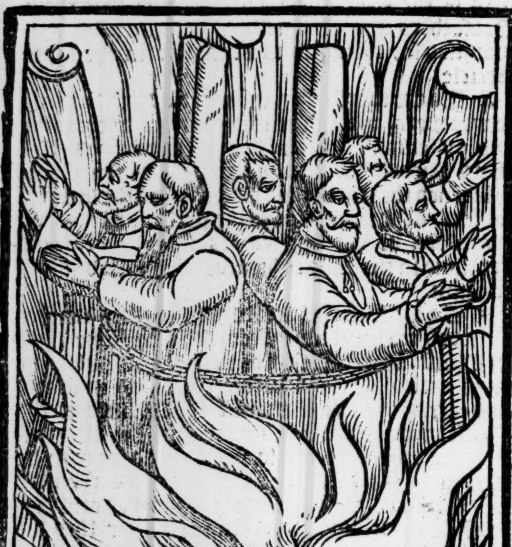
8 To the eighth they ſaid, that they were ſent to Colcheſter priſon by the King and Queenes Commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to their Pariſh Churches, and by them ſent unto the Biſhop of London, to be thereof further examined.

9 To the ninth they all generally agreed, that that which they had ſaid in the premiſſes was true, and that they were of the Dioceſſe of London.

These anſwers thus made, the Biſhop did diſmiſſe them for that preſent untill the afternoon. At which time having firſt their Articles and anſwers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their Chriſtian profeſſion, they were by divers wayes and means aſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed faith, and return to the unitie of Antichriſts Church.

The burning of the foreſaid ſix men at Colcheſter.

The martyrdom of Chriſtopher Liſter, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Joyne, Richard Nichols, John Hamond, at Colcheſter. Anno 1556. April 28.



Sentence given againſt them by Boner.

Which thing when they refuſed, the Biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the temporall power. Who, upon the receit of the King and Queens Writ, ſent them unto Colcheſter, where the 28. day of April moſt cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glorie of Gods holy name, and the great incouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock an old lame man, Iohn Apprice a blinde man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bowe.

May 15. Two burned together at one ſtake, Hugh Laverock an old lame man, and John Apprice a blinde man.

IN the diſcourſe of this parcell or part of hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvell at the great and unſearchable mercies of God (with whom there is no reſpect in degrees of perſons, but he chuſeth as well the poore, lame, and blinde, as the rich, mightie, and healthfull, to ſet forth his glorie) or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnaturall doing of theſe unmercifull Catholikes (I mean Biſhop Boner and his complices) in whom was ſo little favour or mercie to all ſorts and kindes of men, that alſo they ſpared neither impotent age, neither lame nor blinde, as may well appear by theſe poore creatures, whoſe names and ſtories here under follow.

Hugh Laverock, of the Pariſh of Barking, Painter, of the age of 68. a lame cripple.

Iohn Apprice, a blinde man.

These two poore and ſimple creatures being belike accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of theirs, unto the Biſhop and other of the King and Queens Commiſſioners, were ſent for by their Officer; and ſo being brought and delivered into the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, were the firſt day of May examined before him in his palace at London: where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine Articles, whereof mention is made before, miniſtred as well unto Bartlet Greene, as alſo unto many others. To the which they anſwered in effect, as Chriſtopher Liſter, John Mace, and other before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again ſent to priſon, and beſide other times, the ninth day of the ſame moneth, in the Conſiſtorie of Pauls were again openly produced, and there (after the old order) travelled withall to recant their opinions againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

The words of Hugh Laverock to Boner.

Whereunto Hugh Laverock firſt ſaid; I will ſtand to mine anſwers, and to that that I have confeſſed; and I cannot finde in the Scriptures, that the Prieſts ſhould lift up over their head a cake of bread.

The Biſhop then turned him unto John Apprice, and aſked what he would ſay.

The words of John Apprice to the Biſhop.

To whom he anſwered; Your doctrine (ſaid he) that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreeable with the world, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scripture of GOD. And ye are not of the Catholique Church; for ye make laws to kill men, and make the Queene your Hangman.

Sentence of condemnation given againſt Hugh Laverock and John Apprice.

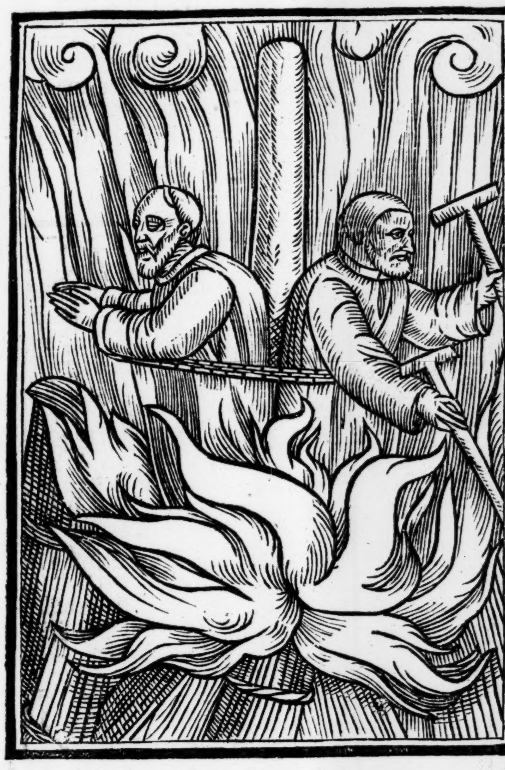
At which words the Biſhop, belike, ſomewhat tickled, and therefore verie loth to delay their condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burning charitie) commanded that they ſhould be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he before dinner did go, and there in the afternoon, after his ſolemne manner, in the open Church he pronounced the definitive ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and ſo delivering them into the hands of the temporall Officer, thought to diſpatch his hands of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his conſcience before the judgement of God, from the guiltineſſe of innocent blood.

The poore men, being now in the temporall Officers hands, might not there be ſuffered long to remain, and therefore the fifteenth day of May, verie early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford the Bowe, and moſt quietly in the fire praiſing God, yeelded up their ſouls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jeſus Chriſt, whom unto the end they did moſt conſtantly confeſſe.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, caſting away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-Martyr, ſaid unto him; Be of good comfort my brother; for my Lord of London is our good Phyſitian. He will heal us both ſhortly; thee of thy blindneſſe, and me of my lameneſſe. And ſo patiently theſe two good Saints of God together ſuffered.

The martyrdome of a blinde man, and a lame man, at Stratford the Bowe.

The martyrdome of Hugh Laverock and John Apprice at Stratford the Bowe. Anno 1556. May 15.



Three women the ſame time burned in Smithfield, Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Ioan Horns.

May 16.

The next day after the martyrdome of this lame and blinde man above ſpecified, in the ſaid moneth of May, were brought to the fire three women, with whom alſo was adjoyned another, who being in the ſame conſtancie with them, was likewiſe partaker of the ſaid condemnation. The names of theſe were:

Katherine Hut, Elizab. Thackvell, Joan Horns, Martyrs.

Katherine Hut of Bocking, Widow.
Ioan Horns of Billerica, Maid.
Elizabeth Thackvell of great Burſted, Maid.
Margaret Ellis of Billerica, Maid.

How theſe with divers other moe were perſecuted and ſent up, eſpecially by ſir John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrel Eſquire, Juſtices of Peace, this their letter following will declare.

A letter ſent unto Boner Biſhop of London, from ſir Iohn Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrel Eſquire, Iuſtices of Peace for the County of Eſſex.

A letter of certain perſecuting Juſtices to Boner.

Our humble commendations to your Lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that we have ſent unto your good Lordſhip Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, ſervant of William Harris of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the Church, nor to the reall preſence of Chriſts bodie and blood in the ſacrament of the Altar, to uſe your Lordſhips pleaſure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the puniſhment of theſe and other before ſent to your Lordſhip, but that the Pariſh of great Burſted and Billerica ſhall be brought to good conformitie. Thus, committing your good Lordſhip to the tuition of the Almightie God, we take our leave. From great Burſted this preſent ſecond day of March, 1556.

Your Lordſhips to command, Iohn
Mordant, Edmund Tyrel.

After the receit of theſe letters, Biſhop Boner entring to examination of theſe foure women above named, laid and objected the like articles to them, as after his uſuall form he uſed to miniſter, and are before expreſſed: Whereunto the ſaid women likewiſe agreeing in the ſame unity of ſpirit and doctrine, accorded in their anſwers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

As firſt, to the article in the firſt place objected, they conſented and granted, beleeving the ſaid article to be true in every part thereof.

The ſimple ignorance of theſe women had more need to be inſtructed, then they to be burned.

2 To the ſecond, partly they anſwered, they could not tell what a Sacrament is; Elizabeth Thackvell, and Katherine Hut adding moreover, that Matrimonie, and Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper were ſacraments ordained in the Church: but whether the other ſpecified in this Article be ſacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. Margaret Ellis being examined ſeverally, as the other were, upon the ſame, how many Sacraments there were, anſwered (as a young maid unſkilled, in her ſimple ignorance) that ſhe could not tell. Howbeit ſhe had heard (ſhe ſaid) that there was one Sacrament, but what it was ſhe could not tell, &c.

3 To the third likewiſe they granted, that they were baptized by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which Godfathers and Godmothers (ſaid Margaret Ellis) did not then know ſo much, as ſhe doth now know: Katherine Hut adding withall and ſaying, that ſhe was baptized; but what her Godfather and Godmothers did then promiſe for her in her name, ſhe could not tell, &c.

4 To the fourth Article, Margaret Ellis, and Elizabeth Thackvell did grant thereunto: Katherine Hut ſaid moreover, that ſhe, being of the age of fourteen yeers, was of the faith wherein ſhe was chriſtned; and yet nevertheleſſe the ſaid faith in that age (ſhe ſaid) was but a dead faith, becauſe ſhe did not then underſtand what ſhe did beleeve. Joan Horns added, that ſhe, being eleven yeers of age, began to learn the faith ſet forth in King Edwards daies, in the which faith and religion (ſhe ſaid) ſhe hath hitherto, and yet doth, and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

Againſt the Maſſe and Sacrament of the altar.

5 To the fifth Article they anſwered and confeſſed, according all in this effect, that as touching the Maſſe, they knew no goodneſſe in it; and as touching the ſacrament of the Altar, they beleeved that Chriſts naturall bodie is in heaven, and not in the ſacrament of the Altar: and as concerning the See of Rome, they acknowledged no ſuch ſupremacie in that See, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

6 In anſwering the ſixth Article, they did all generally refuſe to be reconciled or united to the Church of Rome, or any other Church, contrarie to that wherein they now ſtood and did profeſſe.

7 To the ſeventh Article they anſwered likewiſe,

wiſe, that they had ſo done and ſaid in all things, as it is in this Article contained: Katherine Hut adding moreover the reaſon why; for that (ſaid ſhe) neither the Service in Latine, Maſſe, Mattens, and Evenſong, nor the Sacraments were uſed and miniſtred according to Gods word: And furthermore, that the Maſſe is an Idol, neither is the true bodie and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, as they make men beleeve.

Sir Iohn Mordant Promoter.

8 Their anſwer to the eighth Article, declared that they were all and everie one ſent up to Boner by ſir Iohn Mordant Knight, and Iuſtice of Peace in Eſſex (the Lord of his mercie ſend us better Iuſtices I beſeech him) for that they could not affirm the preſence of Chriſts bodie and blood to be truly and really in the ſacrament, and for that they came not to their Popiſh Pariſh Church.

Katherine Hut.

9 To the ninth Article, they anſwered and confeſſed the premiſſes thereof to be true, and denied not the ſame; ſave that Katherine Hut ſaid, that ſhe was of Bocking in Eſſex of the peculiar juriſdiction of Canterburie, and not of the Dioceſſe and juriſdiction of London.

After theſe their anſwers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and ſo at length to their finall judgement; where Katherine Hut widow, ſtanding before the Biſhop, boldly and conſtantly ſtood to that which ſhe had ſaid before, neither yeelding to his faire promiſes, nor overthrown with his terrour. Who being required of the ſacrament to ſay her minde, and to revoke her ſelfe unto the fellowſhip of the Catholique faith, openly proteſted, ſaying; I denie it to be God, becauſe it is a dumbe God, and made with mens hands. Wherein the good and faithfull Martyr of Chriſt firmly perſiſting, ſo received her ſentence, being condemned of Boner to the fire; which ſhe with great conſtancie ſuſtained by the grace and ſtrength of the Lord, and did abide for the cauſe and love of Chriſt.

The words of Katherine Hut of the ſacrament.

Ioan Horns maid.

Ioan Horns maid, produced likewiſe to her judgement and condemnation, with like firmneſſe and Chriſtian fortitude declared her ſelf a true Martyr and follower of Chriſts teſtament, giving no place to the adverſarie; but being charged that ſhe did not beleeve the ſacrament of Chriſts body and blood to be Chriſt himſelf, of the which ſacrament (contrarie to the nature of a ſacrament) the adverſaries are wont to make an Idoll ſervice; to this ſhe proteſting openly her minde, ſaid as followeth; If you can make your God to ſhed blood, or to ſhew any condition of a true lively bodie, then will I beleeve you: but it is but bread (as touching the ſubſtance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the ſacrament conſiſteth; and that which you call hereſie, I truſt to ſerve my Lord God in, &c.

The words and profeſſion of Ioan Horns touching the ſacrament.

And as concerning the Romiſh See, ſhe ſaid; My Lord (ſpeaking to Boner) I forſake all his abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her ſtable and conſtant aſſertion when the Biſhop was too weak to remove her; and too ignorant to convince her, he knockt her down with the butcherly ax of his ſentence. And ſo the holy Virgin and Martyr committed to the ſhambles of the ſecular ſword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt ſacrifice to the Lord, In odorem bonæ fragrantiæ, in the ſavour of a ſweet and pleaſant ſmell.

The butcherly Ax of Boner.

As touching Margaret Ellis, ſhe likewiſe perſevering in her foreſaid confeſſion, and reſiſting the falſe catholique errors and hereſies of the Papiſts, was by the ſaid Boner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate priſon, departed and ſlept in the Lord.

Margaret Ellis died in Newgate.

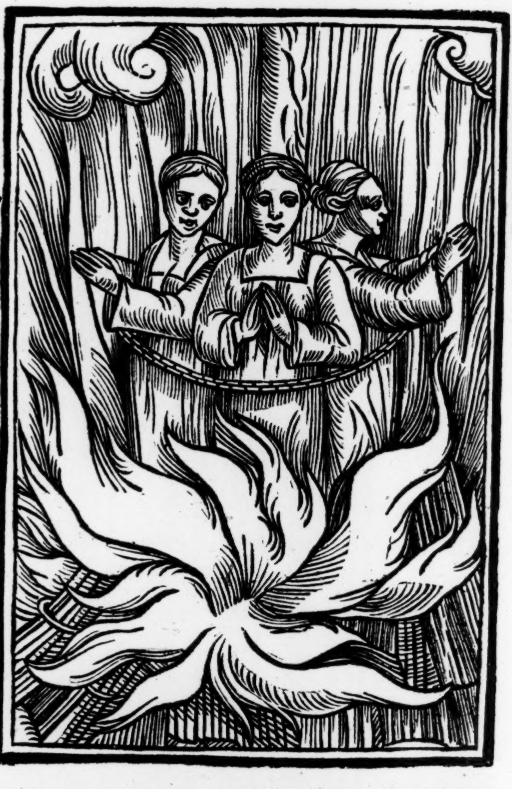
No leſſe ſtrength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid Elizabeth Thackvell, whoſe heart and minde the Lord had ſo confirmed in his truth, ſo armed with patience, that as her adverſaries could by no ſufficient knowledge of Scripture convince her affirmation, ſo by no forcible attempts they could remove her confeſſion. Whereupon ſhe ſtanding to the death, being in like ſort condemned, by the ſaid unbiſhoplike “ πλήκτης, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and ſealing up of the ſincere truth of Gods Word.

Elizabeth Thackvell, maid & martyr.

“ i. A perſecutor.

Theſe three innocent and godly women, thus falſly and wrongfully by men condemned for the juſt quarrell and cauſe of Gods Goſpel, were had to Smithfield, and there cruelly bound to the ſtake, gave their bodies to the tormentors, their ſpirits they commended to God. For whoſe glorie they were willing and readie to ſuffer whatſoever the cruell hands of their enemies ſhould work againſt them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, then ſome of them that burned them did peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderfull in all his Saints. The martyrdome of theſe Saints of God was the 16. of May.

The martyrdome of three women.



The martyrdome of Katherine Hut, Ioan Horns, Elizabeth Thackvel, in Smithfield. Anno 1556. May 16.

Thomas Drowry a blinde boy, and Thomas Croker Bricklayer, Martyrs.

May 5. Tho. Drowrie a blinde boy, and Tho. Croker, Martyrs. Perſecution at Glocester.

YE heard a little before of two men, the one blinde, the other lame, which ſuffered about the 15. of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which ſuffered the like paſſion and martyrdome for the ſame cauſe of religion at Glocester: of the which two, the one was the blinde boy, named Thomas Drowrie, mentioned before in the hiſtory of Biſhop Hooper, whom the ſaid vertuous Biſhop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his Word.

Of this blinde boy, read before.

With him alſo was burned another in the ſame place, and at the ſame fire in Gloceſter, about

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

bout the fifth of May, whoſe name was Thomas Croker Bricklayer.

Concerning the which blinde boy, how long he was in priſon, and in what yeere he ſuffered, I am not certaine. Of this credible intelligence I have received by thee teſtimonie of the Regiſter then of Gloceſter, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the ſaid blinde boy at his laſt examination and finall condemnation, was brought (by the Officers, under whoſe cuſtodie he had remained) before Doctor Williams then Chancellor of Gloceſter, ſitting Judicially with the ſaid Regiſter in the Conſiſtorie, neere unto the South doore, in the neather end of the Church of Gloceſter. Where the ſaid Chancellor then miniſtred unto the boy ſuch uſuall Articles as are accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, and are ſundry times mentioned in this booke. Amongſt which, he chiefly urged the Article of Tranſubſtantiation, ſaying in effect as followeth.

Chancellor. Doeſt thou not beleeve, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth the very reall body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar?

Thom. To whom the blinde boy anſwered; No, that I doe not.

Chan. Then thou art an heretike, and ſhalt be burned: But who hath taught thee this hereſie?

Thom. You Maſter Chancellor.

Chan. Where I pray thee?

Thom. Even in yonder place; pointing with his hand, and turning towards the Pulpit, ſtanding upon the North ſide of the Church.

Chan. When did I teach thee ſo?

Thom. When you preached there (naming the day) a ſermon to all men as well as to me, upon the Sacrament. You ſaid, the Sacrament was to be received ſpiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the Papiſts have heretofore taught.

Chan. Then doe as I have done, and thou ſhalt live as I doe, and eſcape burning.

Thom. Though you can ſo eaſily diſpenſe with your ſelfe, and mock with God, the world, and your conſcience, yet I will not ſo doe.

Chancel. Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the condemnation ſentence againſt thee.

Thom. Gods will be fulfilled.

The Regiſter being herewith ſomewhat moved, ſtood up, and ſaid to the Chancellor;

Regiſter. Fie for ſhame man, will you reade the ſentence againſt him, and condemne your ſelfe? away, away, and ſubſtitute ſome other to give ſentence and judgement.

Chan. No Regiſter, I will obey the law, and give ſentence my ſelfe according to mine office.

And ſo he read the ſentence condemnatory againſt the boy (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conſcience) delivering him over unto the ſecular power. Who the ſaid fifth day of May, brought the ſaid blinde boy to the place of execution at Gloceſter; together with one Thomas Croker a Bricklayer, condemned alſo for the like teſtimonie of the truth. Where both together in one fire moſt conſtantly and joyfully yeelded their ſoules into the hands of the Lord Jeſus,

Ex teſtimo. Io. Lond.

Perſecution in Suffolke.

Three burnt at Beckles, May 21.

The martyrdome of three men burned at Beckles.

After the death of theſe above rehearſed, were three men burnt at Beckles in Suffolke, in one fire, about the 21. of May, Anno 1556. Whoſe names are here ſpecified.

Thomas Spicer of Winſton, Labourer.
Iohn Denny and Edmund Poole.

This Thomas Spicer was a ſingle man, of the age of nineteene yeeres, and by vocation a Labourer, dwelling in Winſton in the Countie of Suffolke, and there taken in his Maſters houſe in Summer, about or anon after the riſing of the Sunne (being in his bed) by James Ling and John Keretch of the ſame towne, and William Davies of Debnam in the ſaid Countie.

James Ling, John Keretch, Wil. Davies, perſecutors.

The occaſion of his taking was, for that he would not goe to their Popiſh Church to heare Maſſe, and receive their Idoll at the commandement of ſir John Tyrel Knight, of Gipping hall in Suffolke, and certaine other Juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to Eye dungeon in Suffolke, till at length they were all three together brought before Dunning then Chancellor of Norwich, and M. Mings the Regiſter ſitting at the town of Beckles to be examined.

Dunning, and Mings, perſecutors.

And there the ſaid Chancellor, perſwading what he could to turne them from the truth, could by no means prevaile of his purpoſe. Wherefore minding in the end to give ſentence on them, he burſt out in teares, intreating them to remember themſelves, and to turne againe to the holy mother Church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they ſhould not wilfully caſt away themſelves, with ſuch like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and ſeemed very loth to read the ſentence (for they were the firſt that he condemned in that Dioceſſe) the Regiſter there ſitting by, being wearie belike of tarrying, or elſe perceiving the conſtant Martyrs to be at a point, called upon the Chancellor in haſte to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At the which words the Chancellor read the condemnation over them with teares, and delivered them to the ſecular power.

Their Articles.

The Articles objected to theſe, and commonly to all other condemned in that Dioceſſe by Doctor Hopton Biſhop of Norwich, and by Dunning his Chancellour, were theſe:

The articles whereupon they were condemned.

1 Firſt, it was articulate againſt them, that they beleeved not the Pope of Rome to be ſupreme head immediately under Chriſt in earth of the univerſall Catholike Church.

2 Item, that they beleeved not holy bread and holy water, aſhes, palmes, and all other like ceremonies uſed in the Church, to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the people to devotion.

Ceremonies.

3 Item, that they beleeved not, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the very naturall body of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance of bread and wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.

4 Item, that they beleeved it to be Idolatrie to worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

Sacrament of the Altar.

5 Item, that they took bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſts paſſion.

6 Item, that they would not follow the Croſſe in Proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a Prieſt.

7 Item, that they affirmed no mortall man to have in himſelfe free-will to doe good or evill.

For this doctrine and articles above prefixed, theſe three (as is aforeſaid) were condemned by D. Dunning, and committed to the ſecular power, ſir John Silliard being the ſame time high Sheriffe of Norfolke and Suffolke.

And the next day following upon the ſame, they were all burnt together in the ſaid towne of Beckles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that

Execution of burning in Suffolke done without a writ.

the Writ De comburendo was not yet come down, nor could be, the Lord Chancellour Biſhop Heath being the ſame time at London. Which if it be true, then it is plaine, that both they went beyond their Commiſſion, that were the Executioners, and alſo the Clergie, which were the inſtigators thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend; ſaying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Lord finde out when he ſeeth his time.

In the meane time while theſe good men were at the ſtake, and had prayed, they ſaid their beliefe; and when they came to the reciting of the Catholike Church, ſir John Silliard ſpake to them; That is well ſaid ſirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you ſay, you do beleeve the catholike Church. That is the beſt word I have heard of you yet.

Sir John Silliards words.

Edmund Pool refuſeth the Popiſh Church.

To which his ſayings Edmund Poole anſwered, that though they beleeve the catholike Church, yet doe they not beleeve in their Popiſh Church, which is no part of Chriſts Catholike Church, and therefore no part of their beliefe.

When they roſe from prayer, they all went joyfully to the ſtake, and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible voice, that it was wonderfull to all thoſe which ſtood by and heard them.

Robert Bacon an enemy.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the ſaid Beckles, a very enemie of Gods truth, and a perſecutor of his people, being there preſent within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw one fagot to ſtop the knaves breathes, as he termed them; ſo hot was his burning charitie. But theſe good men, not regarding their malice, confeſſed the truth, and yeelded their lives to the death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and joyfully. The which their conſtancie in the like cauſe the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end: Whether it be death or life, to glorifie the name of Chriſt, Amen.

And forſomuch as we have here entred into the perſecution of Northfolke and Suffolke, it cometh therefore to minde, by occaſion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, ſome part (for the whole matter cannot be ſo expreſt as it was done) touching the troubles of the towne of Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke, raiſed and ſtirred by the ſaid ſir John Tyrel and other Juſtices there of the like affinitie. The ſumme and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me by writing.

The perſecution in the townes of Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke.

Sir Jo. Tyrel perſecutor. Perſecution at Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke.

By the procurement of ſir John Tyrel Knight, and other of his colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the towne of Winſon in Suffolke theſe perſons hereafter following, Anno 1556.

The names of good men perſecuted in Suff. at Mendleſam.

Miſtreſſe Alice Twaites Gentlewoman, of the age of threeſcore yeeres and more, and two of her ſervants.
Humfrey Smith and his wife.
William Catchpoole and his wife.
Iohn Mauling and his wife.
Nicholas Burlingham and his wife.
And one Rought and his wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driven out of the towne of Mendleſam, in the Countie of Suffolke.

Simon Harlſtone, and Katherine his wife, with his five children.
William Whitting, and Katherine his wife.
Thomas Dobſon and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his wife.
Iohn Doncon, and his wife, and his mayde.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the elder.
One Konnolds wife.
A poore widow.
One mother Semons mayde.

Gods people perſecuted.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrained to doe againſt their conſcience, by the helpe of the Pariſh Prieſt, whoſe name was ſir John Brodiſh.

Theſe be the chiefeſt cauſes why thoſe above named were perſecuted.

The faith and doctrine of theſe men.

First, they did hold and beleeve the holy Word of God to be the ſufficient doctrine unto their ſalvation.

Secondly, they denied the Popes uſurped authoritie, and did hold all that Church of Antichriſt to be Chriſts adverſaries. And further, they refuſed the abuſed ſacraments, defied the Maſſe and all Popiſh ſervice and ceremonies, ſaying, they robbed God of his honour, and Chriſt of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, they did hold that the Miniſters of the Church by Gods Word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, they held the Queene to be as chiefe head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague ſent of God for ſinne, &c.

Fifthly, they denied mans free-will, and held that the Popes Church did erre, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their falſe confidence in workes, and their falſe truſt in mans righteouſneſſe. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely; their anſwer was, they knowledged, confeſſed, and beleeved, and therefore they muſt ſpeake: and that their tribulation was Gods good will and providence, and that his judgements were right, to puniſh them with other for their ſins; and that of very faithfulneſſe and mercy GOD had cauſed them to be troubled, ſo that one haire of their heads ſhould not periſh before the time, but all things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love GOD, and that Chriſt Jeſus was their life and onely righteouſneſſe, and that onely by faith in him, and for his ſake all good things were freely given them, alſo forgiveneſſe of ſins and life everlaſting.

Witneſſed by the faithfull report of Suffolke men.

Many of theſe perſecuted were of great ſubſtance, and had poſſeſſions of their owne.

Give God the praiſe.

¶ Foraſmuch as we are now in the moneth of May, before we overpaſſe the ſame, and becauſe the ſtorie is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it ſhall not grieve the ſtudious Reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learne to marvell and muſe at the great workes of the Lord. They that goe downe (ſaith the Pſalme) into the ſea, labouring upon the water, have ſeene the workes of the Lord, and his mightie wonders upon the deepe, Pſal. 106. &c. The truth whereof may well appeare in this ſtorie following; which ſtorie as it is ſignified and written to me by relation of the partie himſelfe which was doer thereof, called Thomas Morſe, ſo I thought to purport the ſame as followeth.

A ſtory of one Gregory Crow, marvellouſly preſerved with his New Teſtament upon the ſeas, May 26.

A ſtory of Gregory Crow marvellouſly preſerved upon the ſea with his New Teſtament.

Vpon Tueſday after Whitſunday, which was the 26. day of May, in this preſent yeere 1556. (or elſe, as he rather thinketh, in the yeere next before, which was 1555.) a certaine poore man, whoſe name was Gregorie Crow, dwelling in Maulden, went to the ſea, minding to have gone into Kent for Fulling earth, but by the way, being foule weather, was driven upon a ſand, where preſently the boate ſunke, and was full of water, ſo that the men were forced to hold themſelves by the maſt of the boate, and all things that would ſwimme did ſwimme out of her. Amongſt which Crow ſaw his Teſtament in the water, and caught it and put it in his boſome. Now it was ebbing water, ſo that within one houre the boate was drie, but broken ſo as they could not ſave her; but they went themſelves upon the ſand (being ten miles at the leaſt from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would ſend ſome ſhip that way to ſave them (being two men and one boy in all;) for they might not tarry upon the ſand but halfe an houre, but it would be floud. In the which time they found their cheſt wherein was money to the ſumme of five pound ſixe ſhillings eight pence, the which money the man which was with the ſaid Crow (whoſe name I know not) tooke and gave it unto Crow who was owner thereof, and he caſt it into the ſea, ſaying; If the Lord will ſave our lives he will provide us a living, and ſo they went upon the maſt there, hanging by the armes and legges for the ſpace of ten houres, in the which time the boy was ſo weary and beaten with the ſea, that he fell off and was drowned.

Crowes boate broken upon the ſand.

Crow taketh his Teſtament, and caſteth his money away.

The boy beaten with the ſea, and drowned.

And when the water was gone againe, and the ſand drie, Crow ſaid to his man, It were beſt for us to take down our maſts, and when the floud cometh we will ſit upon them, and ſo it may pleaſe GOD to bring us to ſome ſhip that may take us up. Which thing they did, and ſo at ten of the clocke in the night of the ſame Tueſday, the floud did beare up the maſt whereupon they ſate.

And upon the Wedneſday in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who, driving up and down in the ſea, called upon God as he could, and might not ſleep for feare that the ſea would have beaten him off.

Crowes man dead upon the maſt.

Gregorie Crow driven upon the ſeas ſitting upon a maſt.

So at length I my ſelfe (ſaid Thomas Morſe) being laden to Antwerpe with my Crayer, going from Lee upon Friday, having within my Crayer, of Mariners and Merchants, to the number of 46. perſons, and ſo coming to the Foreland, the winde was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrained to goe ſomewhat out of my way, being in the afternoone about ſixe of the clocke, where at the laſt we ſaw a thing a farre off, appearing unto us like a ſmall boy, that Fiſhermen do uſe to lay with their hookes.

Gods providence to be noted.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſaid, Let us have ſome fiſh. And I ſaid to him that was at the helme; Keepe your courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the Fiſherman, and have no fiſh neither, and ſo at my commandement he did. But at length he at the helme ſtanding higher then all we did, ſaid; Me thinke Maſter, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a Fiſhers Boy, returned the ſhip from him againe to keepe their courſe.

God a marvellous helper in time of need.

Crow beholding the ſhip to turne from him, being then in utter deſpaire, and readie now to periſh with watching, famine, and moreover miſerably beaten with the ſeas, at laſt tooke his Mariners cap from his head, and holding up the ſame with his arme, as high as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as he might, to give them ſome token of better ſight.

Whereupon the Steeremán more ſenſibly perceiving a thing to move, advertiſed us againe, declaring how he did ſee plainly a mans arme; and with that we all beheld him well, and ſo came to him and tooke him up. And as ſoone as we had him in our ſhip, he began to put his hand in his boſome; and one asked him if he had money there. No, ſaid he, I have a booke here, I thinke it be wet; and ſo drew out his Teſtament which we then dried. But the ſea had ſo beaten him, that his eyes, noſe, and mouth were almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heate of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and ſhifted him with drie clothes, and gave him Aqua compoſita to drinke, and ſuch meate as was in the ſhip, and then let him ſleep.

Crow with the Teſtament preſerved on the ſea.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clocke in the morning, and his blood began ſomewhat to appeare in his fleſh (for when we tooke him up, his fleſh was even as though it had beene ſodden, or as a drowned mans is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſayling to Antwerpe, the Merchants which ſaw the thing publiſhed the ſame in Antwerpe; and becauſe it was wonderfull, the people there both men and women came to the ſhip to ſee him many of them. Some gave him a petticoate, and ſome a ſhirt, ſome hoſen, and ſome money (alwaies noting how he caſt away his money, and kept his booke.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And Maſter Governour of the Engliſh nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and pittying his caſe, commanded the Officer of the Engliſh houſe to goe with him to the free Oſte houſes amongſt the Engliſh Merchants, and I with them, and at three houſes there was given him ſix pound ten ſhillings. And ſo from thence he went with me to Roane, where the people alſo came to him to ſee him, marvelling at the great workes of God.

The ſumme of his money caſt into the ſea reſtored him againe.

And thus much concerning this poore man with his New Teſtament preſerved in the Sea (which Teſtament the Popes Clergie condemneth on the land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the partie above named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Lee, well knowne to all Merchants of London. In which ſtorie this by the way underſtand, good Reader (which rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poore man, thus found and preſerved in the Sea with a New Teſtament in his boſome, had had inſtead of that a Pixe with a conſecrated hoſte about him, no doubt it had beene rung ere this time all Chriſtendome over for a miracle, ſo farre as the Pope hath any land. But to let the Pope with his falſe miracles goe, let us returne again to our matter begun, and adjoyne another hiſtorie of much like condition, teſtified likewiſe by the information of the ſaid Thomas Morſe above mentioned, to the intent to make knowne the worthy acts of the Almightie; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The ſtorie is thus declared, which happened, Anno 1556. about Michaelmas.

Another like ſtory of Gods providence, upon three men delivered upon the ſea.

There was a ſhip (ſaith the ſaid Thomas Morſe) whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay for ſalt, with two ſhips of Brickleſey, which

Another like ſtory of three men that feared God, by Gods providence preſerved on the ſeas.

Three ſitting upon a peece of their ſhip two dayes and two nights in the ſea.

were altogether going for ſalt, as before is ſaid. At what time we were within tenne mile of the North Foreland, otherwiſe called Tenet, the winde did come ſo contrarie to our ſhip, that we were forced to goe cleane out of the way, and the other two ſhips kept their courſe ſtill, untill our ſhip was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thing driving upon the ſea, and hoiſed up their boat and went unto it; and it was three men ſitting upon a peece of their ſhip, which had ſitten ſo two dayes and two nights.

There had beene in their ſhip eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called Olloronne. They had beene at Danſwike and loſt their ſhip about Orford Nas, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the Ship. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhip, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before and after meate; and when they came into France, our ſhips went to the ſame place where theſe men dwelled, and one of them did ſell unto our men their ſhips lading of ſalt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that time onely, but alwaies whenſoever that ſhip cometh thither (as ſhe hath beene there twice ſince) he alwaies doth for them, ſo that they can lacke nothing. I ſhould have noted that after our ſhip had taken up thoſe three men out of the ſea, they had the winde faire preſently, and came and overtooke the other two ſhips againe, and ſo they proceeded in their voyage together.

¶ For the more credit of this ſtory above recited, to ſatisfie either the doubtfull, or to prevent the quareller, I have not onely alledged the name of the partie which was the doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his owne words as I of him received it; the partie and reporter himſelfe being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, a man ſo well knowne amongſt the merchants of London, that whoſoever heareth the name of Thomas Morſe, will never doubt thereof. And againe, the matter it ſelfe being ſo notoriouſly knowne to Merchants as well here as at Antwerpe, that though his name were not expreſſed, the ſtory can lack no witneſſes.

The death of William Slech in the Kings Bench.

May 31. William Slech dead in the Kings Bench, and buried in the fields.

The laſt day of the ſaid moneth of May, in the yeere aforeſaid, William Slech being in priſon for the ſaid doctrine of the Lords Goſpel, and the confeſſion of his truth, died in the Kings Bench, and was buried on the backſide of the ſaid priſon, for that the Romiſh Catholike ſpiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their Pope holy Church-yards, neither in any other Chriſtian buriall, as they call it.

The ſtory of foure men condemned at Lewys the 6. day of Iune.

June 6. 4. Martyrs burnt at Lewys

In June next following, about the firſt day of the ſame moneth, foure Martyrs ſuffered together at Lewys, whoſe names were theſe:

Thomas Harland of Woodmancote,
Carpenter.
Iohn Oſwald of Woodmancote,
Huſbandman.
Thomas Avington of Ardingly,
Turner.
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I finde in the Biſhop of Londons Regiſters, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he anſwered, that after the maſſe was reſtored, he never had will to heare the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was in Latine which he did not underſtand, and therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

Ex Regiſt. Anſwer of Tho. Harland.

Anſwer of Io. Oſwald.

John Oſwald denied to anſwer any thing, untill his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him; and nevertheleſſe ſaid, that fire and fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good Preachers which were in King Edwards time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

Theſe foure, after long impriſonment in the Kings Bench, were burned together at Lewys in Suſſex, in one fire, the day of the moneth aforeſaid.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Whood, and Thomas Milles.

June 20. Two Martyrs burnt at Lewys

In the ſame towne of Lewys, and in the ſame moneth likewiſe, were burned Thomas Whood Miniſter, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the ſame moneth, for reſiſting the erroneous and hereticall doctrine of the pretended Catholike Church of Rome.

Two dead in the Kings Bench.

June 24. W. Adherall.

June 25. John Clement.

In the which moneth likewiſe, William Adherall Miniſter, impriſoned in the Kings Bench, there died the 24. day of the ſame moneth, and was buried on the backſide: Alſo John Clement Wheelewright, who dying in the ſaid priſon, in like ſort upon the dunghill was buried in the backſide two dayes after, viz. the 25. day of June.

A Merchants ſervant burned at Leyceſter.

June 26. A Merchants ſervant.

The next day following of the ſaid moneth of June, we reade of a certaine young man a Merchants ſervant, who for the like godlineſſe ſuffered cruell perſecution of the Papiſts, and was burnt at Lyceſter, the 26. day of the moneth of June above named.

Thirteene Martyrs burned at Stratford the Bowe.

June 27. 13. Martyrs ſuffering at Stratford the Bowe.

Not long after the death of the Merchans ſervant, before mentioned, there followed in this happie and bleſſed order of Martyrs burned in one fire at Stratford the Bowe by London, eleven men and two women; whoſe dwellings were in ſundry places in Eſſex, and whoſe names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.
Laurence Parnam.
Henry Wye.
William Hallywel.
Thomas Bowyer.
George Searles.
Edmund Hurſt.
Lyon Cawch.
Ralph Iackſon.
Iohn Derifall.
Iohn Routh.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.

Unto whom the 6. of June, An. 1556. D. Darbyſhire, Boners Chancellor, in forme of law miniſtred the ſame articles that were propounded unto Tho. Whittle and his company, mentioned before, to the which they made their ſeverall anſwers, in ſimplicitie and in a good conſcience. The ſumme and effect whereof enſueth.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively;

but Lyon Cawch added further, that he beleeved that the true faith and religion of Chriſt is, whereſoever the Word of God is truly preached.

Anſwer to the 2. article.

To the ſecond Article they all anſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeven Sacraments; ſome affirming that in the Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſme and the Lords Supper: Others referring themſelves to beleeve as the Scripture teacheth them: And other ſome refuſed to make anſwer becauſe of their ſimplicitie.

Anſwer to the 3. article.

To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

Anſwer to the 4. article.

To the fourth Article they all anſwered affirmatively; ſaving John Routh, who ſaid he would make no anſwer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he beleeved the Article to be true; but it was becauſe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in King Edward the ſixth his time ſhe went from her old faith and religion, and beleeved in the faith and religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

Anſwer to the 5. article.

To the fifth they all anſwered in effect affirmatively; ſaving John Routh, whoſe anſwer was, that the Maſſe is ſuch a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conſcience. And Henrie Adlington anſwered, that for nine or ten yeeres before, he miſliked the Maſſe, and alſo the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the authoritie of the See of Rome, he being but foureteene yeeres of age, took an oath againſt the ſame, which oath (he ſaid) he intended to keepe by the grace of God.

Anſwer to the 6. article.

To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively; ſaving John Routh, and William Halliwell, who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then uſed in the Realme of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to unitie of the Catholique Church of Chriſt.

Anſwer to the 7. article.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but William Halliwell denied that ever he called the Maſſe Idolatrie and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the Article to be true; yet he confeſſed his infirmitie, that he went to his Pariſh Church and received, before he was put in priſon.

Anſwer to the 8. article.

To the eighth Article Edmund Hurſt, Ralfe Jackſon, and George Searles anſwered affirmatively: Henry Wye ſaid he was brought before certaine Juſtices of Peace in Eſſex, concerning one Higbed his late Maſter, and thereupon he was committed to Colcheſter Caſtle, and from thence ſent to London to the Biſhop to be further examined. William Halliwell affirmed the like confeſſion as Henrie Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall ſaid he was called before the Lord Rich, and Maſter Mildmay of Chelmeſford, and was by them ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be further by him examined. Thomas Bowyer ſaid he was brought before one Maſter Wiſeman of Felſed, and by him was ſent to Colcheſter Caſtle, and from thence was carried to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cawch ſaid that he was ſent to come before the King and Queenes Majeſties Commiſſioners, and there before them appearing three times, was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington ſaid, that he coming to Newgate to ſpeake with one Gratwike there being priſoner for the teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Doctor Storie, and by him ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. John Routh ſaid, that he was convented before the Earle of Oxford, and by him ſent to the Caſtle of Colcheſter, and from thence conveighed to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam ſaid; that he was committed to Hartford priſon, becauſe he would not goe to Church, and from thence ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Agnes George ſaid, that ſhe was committed to priſon in Colcheſter, at the commandement of one Maſter Maynard an Alderman of the towne, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Church, and from thence was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper ſaid ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables and an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to Church, and by them was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

Anſwer to the 9. article.

To the ninth Article, they all beleeved the premiſſes to be true above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the Dioceſſe and juriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that ſhe was of the towne of Colcheſter.

And Agnes George added, that ſhe was of the Pariſh of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was then of the Citie of London, by reaſon that he was at that preſent a Merchant there.

Henry Wye.

Henry Wye Brewer, was of the Pariſh of Stantford le Hore, and of 32. yeeres of age.

Wil. Halliwel.

William Halliwell was a Smith, of the Pariſh of Waltham Hollecroſſe, and of the age of 24. yeeres, or thereabouts.

Rafe Jackſon.

Rafe Jackſon was a Servingman, of Shepping Onger, and of the age of 24. yeeres.

Lau. Pernam.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of Hodſdon, within the Pariſh of Amwell, in the Countie of Hartford, and of the age of 22. yeeres.

John Derifall.

John Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of Kettington in Eſſex, and of the age of 50. yeers.

Edmund Hurſt.

Edmund Hurſt was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of St. James in Colcheſter, and of the age of 50. yeers and above.

Tho. Bowyer.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weaver of Much Dunnemowe, and of the age of 36. yeers.

Geor. Searles.

George Searles was a Taylor, between 20. or 21. yeers of age, of the Pariſh of White Nottle, where he was taken and carried to the Lord Rich, who ſent him to Colcheſter Caſtle, with a commandement that no friend he had ſhould ſpeake with him. There he lay ſixe weeks, and was ſent up to London, where he was ſometime in the Biſhops Colehouſe, ſometime in Lollards Tower, and laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent about a fortnight before Eaſter in the place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch.

Lyon Cawce was a Broker, borne in Flanders, and then reſident, at his taking, in the Citie of London, and of the age of 28. yeeres or thereabouts.

Hen. Adlington.

Henrie Adlington was a Sawyer, and of Greenſted in the countie of Suſſex, and of the age of 30. yeers.

John Routh.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the pariſh of Wiekes in Eſſex, and of the age of 26. yeers.

Eliz. Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper Weaver, of the Pariſh of Saint James in the Towne of Colcheſter, and of the age of 30. yeers, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with childe, as ſhe then teſtified to one Boſoms wife, who then unlooſed her neckerchiefe, ſaying moreover, when ſhe was asked why ſhe did not tell them, and anſwering, Why, quoth ſhe, they knew it well enough. Oh ſuch be the bloudie hearts of this cruell generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murthering of the

Another like ſtory of three men that feared God, by Gods providence preſerved on the ſeas.

Three ſitting upon a peece of their ſhip two dayes and two nights in the ſea.

were altogether going for ſalt, as before is ſaid. At what time we were within tenne mile of the North Foreland, otherwiſe called Tenet, the winde did come ſo contrarie to our ſhip, that we were forced to goe cleane out of the way, and the other two ſhips kept their courſe ſtill, untill our ſhip was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thing driving upon the ſea, and hoiſed up their boat and went unto it; and it was three men ſitting upon a peece of their ſhip, which had ſitten ſo two dayes and two nights.

There had beene in their ſhip eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called Olloronne. They had beene at Danſwike and loſt their ſhip about Orford Nas, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the Ship. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhip, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before and after meate; and when they came into France, our ſhips went to the ſame place where theſe men dwelled, and one of them did ſell unto our men their ſhips lading of ſalt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that time onely, but alwaies whenſoever that ſhip cometh thither (as ſhe hath beene there twice ſince) he alwaies doth for them, ſo that they can lacke nothing. I ſhould have noted that after our ſhip had taken up thoſe three men out of the ſea, they had the winde faire preſently, and came and overtooke the other two ſhips againe, and ſo they proceeded in their voyage together.

¶ For the more credit of this ſtory above recited, to ſatisfie either the doubtfull, or to prevent the quareller, I have not onely alledged the name of the partie which was the doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his owne words as I of him received it; the partie and reporter himſelfe being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, a man ſo well knowne amongſt the merchants of London, that whoſoever heareth the name of Thomas Morſe, will never doubt thereof. And againe, the matter it ſelfe being ſo notoriouſly knowne to Merchants as well here as at Antwerpe, that though his name were not expreſſed, the ſtory can lack no witneſſes.

The death of William Slech in the Kings Bench.

May 31. William Slech dead in the Kings Bench, and buried in the fields.

THe laſt day of the ſaid moneth of May, in the yeere aforeſaid, William Slech being in priſon for the ſaid doctrine of the Lords Goſpel, and the confeſſion of his truth, died in the Kings Bench, and was buried on the backſide of the ſaid priſon, for that the Romiſh Catholike ſpiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their Pope holy Church-yards, neither in any other Chriſtian buriall, as they call it.

The ſtory of foure men condemned at Lewys the 6. day of Iune.

Iune 6. 4. Martyrs burnt at Lewys

IN Iune next following, about the ſixt day of the ſame moneth, foure Martyrs ſuffered together at Lewys, whoſe names were theſe:

Thomas Harland of Woodmancote,
Carpenter.
Iohn Oſwald of Woodmancote,
Huſbandman.
Thomas Avington of Ardingly,
Turner.
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I finde in the Biſhop of Londons Regiſters, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he anſwered, that after the maſſe was reſtored, he never had will to heare the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was in Latine which he did not underſtand, and therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

Ex Regiſt. Anſwer of Tho. Harland.

Anſwer of Io. Oſwald.

Iohn Oſwald denied to anſwer any thing, untill his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him; and neverthelesse ſaid, that fire and fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good Preachers which were in King Edwards time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

Theſe foure, after long impriſonment in the Kings Bench, were burned together at Lewys in Suſſex, in one fire, the day of the moneth aforeſaid.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Whood, and Thomas Milles.

Iune 20. Two Martyrs burnt at Lewys.

IN the ſame towne of Lewys, and in the ſame moneth likewiſe, were burned Thomas Whood Miniſter, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the ſame moneth, for reſiſting the erroneous and hereticall doctrine of the pretended Catholike Church of Rome.

Two dead in the Kings Bench.

Iune 24. W. Adherall.

Iune 25. Iohn Clement.

IN the which moneth likewiſe, William Adherall Miniſter, impriſoned in the Kings Bench, there died the 24. day of the ſame moneth, and was buried on the backſide: Alſo Iohn Clement Wheelewright, who dying in the ſaid priſon, in like ſort upon the dunghill was buried in the backſide two dayes after, viz. the 25. day of Iune.

A Merchants ſervant burned at Leyceſter.

Iune 26. A Merchants ſervant.

THe next day following of the ſaid moneth of Iune, we reade of a certaine young man a Merchants ſervant, who for the like godlineſſe ſuffered cruell perſecution of the Papiſts, and was burnt at Leyceſter, the 26. day of the moneth of Iune above named.

Thirteene Martyrs burned at Stratford the Bowe.

Iune 27. 13. Martyrs ſuffering at Stratford the Bowe.

NOt long after the death of the Merchans ſervant, before mentioned, there followed in this happie and bleſſed order of Martyrs burned in one fire at Stratford the Bowe by London, eleven men and two women; whoſe dwellings were in ſundry places in Eſſex, and whoſe names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.
Laurence Parnam.
Henry Wye.
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George Searles.
Edmund Hurſt.

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Unto whom the 6. of Iune, An. 1556. D. Darbyſhire. Boners Chancellor, in forme of law miniſtred the ſame articles that were propounded unto Tho. Whittle and his company, mentioned before, to the which they made their ſeverall anſwers, in ſimplicitie and in a good conſcience. The ſumme and effect whereof enſueth.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively; but

Their anſwers to the articles.

but Lyon Cawch added further, that he beléeved that the true faith and religion of Chriſt is, wherſoever the Word of God is truly preached.

Anſwer to the 2. article.

To the ſecond Article they all anſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeven Sacraments; ſome affirming that in the Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſme and the Lords Supper: Others referring themſelves to beléeve as the Scripture teacheth them: And other ſome refuſed to make anſwer becauſe of their ſimplicitie.

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Anſwer to the 5. article.

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To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively; ſaving John Routh, and William Halliwell, who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then uſed in the Realme of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to unitie of the Catholique Church of Chriſt.

Anſwer to the 7. article.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but William Halliwell denied that ever he called the Maſſe Idolatrie and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the Article to be true; yet he confeſſed his infirmitie, that he went to his Pariſh Church and received, before he was put in priſon.

Anſwer to the 8. article.

To the eighth Article Edmund Hurſt, Ralfe Jackſon, and George Searles anſwered affirmatively: Henry Wye ſaid he was brought before certaine Juſtices of Peace in Eſſex, concerning one Higbed his late Maſter, and thereupon he was committed to Colcheſter Caſtle, and from thence ſent to London to the Biſhop to be further examined. William Halliwell affirmed the like confeſſion as Henrie Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall ſaid he was called before the Lord Rich, and Maſter Mildmay of Chelmeſford, and was by them ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be further by him examined. Thomas Bowyer ſaid he was brought before one Maſter Wiſeman of Felſed, and by him was ſent to Colcheſter Caſtle, and from thence was carried to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cawch ſaid that he was ſent to come before the King and Quéenes Majeſties Commiſſioners, and there before them appearing thrée times, was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington ſaid, that he coming to Newgate to ſpeake with one Gratwike there being priſoner for the teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Doctor Storie, and by him ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. John Routh ſaid, that he was convented before the Earle of Oxford, and by him ſent to the Caſtle of Colcheſter, and from thence conveighed to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam ſaid, that he was committed to Hartford priſon, becauſe he would not goe to Church, and from thence ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Agnes George ſaid, that ſhe was committed to priſon in Colcheſter, at the commandement of one Maſter Maynard an Alderman of the towne, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Church, and from thence was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper ſaid ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables and an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to Church, and by them was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

Anſwer to the 9. article.

To the ninth Article, they all beleeved the premiſſes to be true above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the Dioceſſe and juriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that ſhe was of the towne of Colcheſter.

And Agnes George added, that ſhe was of the Pariſh of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was then of the Citie of London, by reaſon that he was at that preſent a Merchant there.

Henry Wye.

Henry Wye Brewer, was of the Pariſh of Stantford le Hore, and of 32. yéeres of age.

Wil. Halliwel.

William Halliwell was a Smith, of the Pariſh of Waltham Hollecroſſe, and of the age of 24. yéeres, or thereabouts.

Rafe Jackſon.

Rafe Jackſon was a Servingman, of Shepping Onger, and of the age of 24. yeeres.

Lau. Pernam.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of Hodſdon, within the Pariſh of Amwell, in the Countie of Hartford, and of the age of 22. yeeres.

John Derifall.

John Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of Rettington in Eſſex, and of the age of 50. yeers.

Edmund Hurſt.

Edmund Hurſt was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of St. James in Colcheſter, and of the age of 50. yeers and above.

Tho. Bowyer.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weaver of Much Dunnemowe, and of the age of 36. yeers.

Geor. Searles.

George Searles was a Taylor, between 20. or 21. yeers of age, of the Pariſh of White Nottle, where he was taken and carried to the Lord Rich, who ſent him to Colcheſter Caſtle, with a commandement that no friend he had ſhould ſpeake with him. There he lay ſixe weeks, and was ſent up to London, where he was ſometime in the Biſhops Colehouſe, ſometime in Lollards Tower, and laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent about a fortnight before Eaſter in the place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch.

Lyon Cawce was a Broker, borne in Flanders, and then reſident, at his taking, in the Citie of London, and of the age of 28. yeeres or thereabouts.

Hen. Adlington.

Henrie Adlington was a Sawyer, and of Greenſted in the countie of Suſſex, and of the age of 30. yeers.

John Routh.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the pariſh of Wiekes in Eſſex, and of the age of 26. yeers.

Eliz. Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper Weaver, of the Pariſh of Saint James in the Towne of Colcheſter, and of the age of 30. yeers, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with childe, as ſhe then teſtified to one Boſoms wife, who then unlooſed her neckerchiefe, ſaying moreover, when ſhe was asked why ſhe did not tell them, and anſwering, Why, quoth ſhe, they knew it well enough. Oh ſuch be the bloudie hearts of this cruell generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murthering of the

Saints of the Lord, which truly profeſſe Chriſt crucified onely and alone, for the ſatisfaction of their ſinnes.

Agnes George. Ex. Regiſt.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George Husbandman, of Weſt Barefold in the countie of Eſſex, and of the age of 26. yeers. This Richard George had another wife burned beſide her in the Poſterne at Colcheſter, and himſelfe lay in priſon untill Queene Elizabeth came to the crowne, and then was delivered.

When theſe thirteene were condemned, and the day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the 27. day of June, An. 1556. they were carried from Newgate in London the ſaid day to Stratford the Bowe (which was the place appointed for their martyrdome) and there divided into two parts, in two ſeverall chambers. Afterward the Sheriffe who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore ſhould be ſaved, willing and exhorting them to doe the like, and not to caſt away themſelves.

A practice of policy in the Sheriffe of London.

Unto whom they anſwered, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the Sheriffe perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and ſaid (like a lyar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and ſhould therefore not ſuffer death, counſelling them to doe the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelves, but to play the wiſe men, &c.

Unto whom they anſwered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Chriſt and his Word, &c.

Now when he ſaw it booted not to perſwade (for they were, God be praiſed, ſurely grounded on the Rock Jeſus Chriſt) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and being all there together, moſt earneſtly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to thrée ſtakes, and the two women looſe in the middeſt without any ſtake, and ſo they were all burnt in one fire, with ſuch love to each others, and conſtancie in our Saviour Chriſt, that it made all the lookers on to marvell. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like neede, according to the good pleaſure of his will, Amen.

Two women ſtanding at the ſtake unbound.

In the companie of theſe foreſaid thirteen were three more condemned to die; whoſe names are here under ſpecified:

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

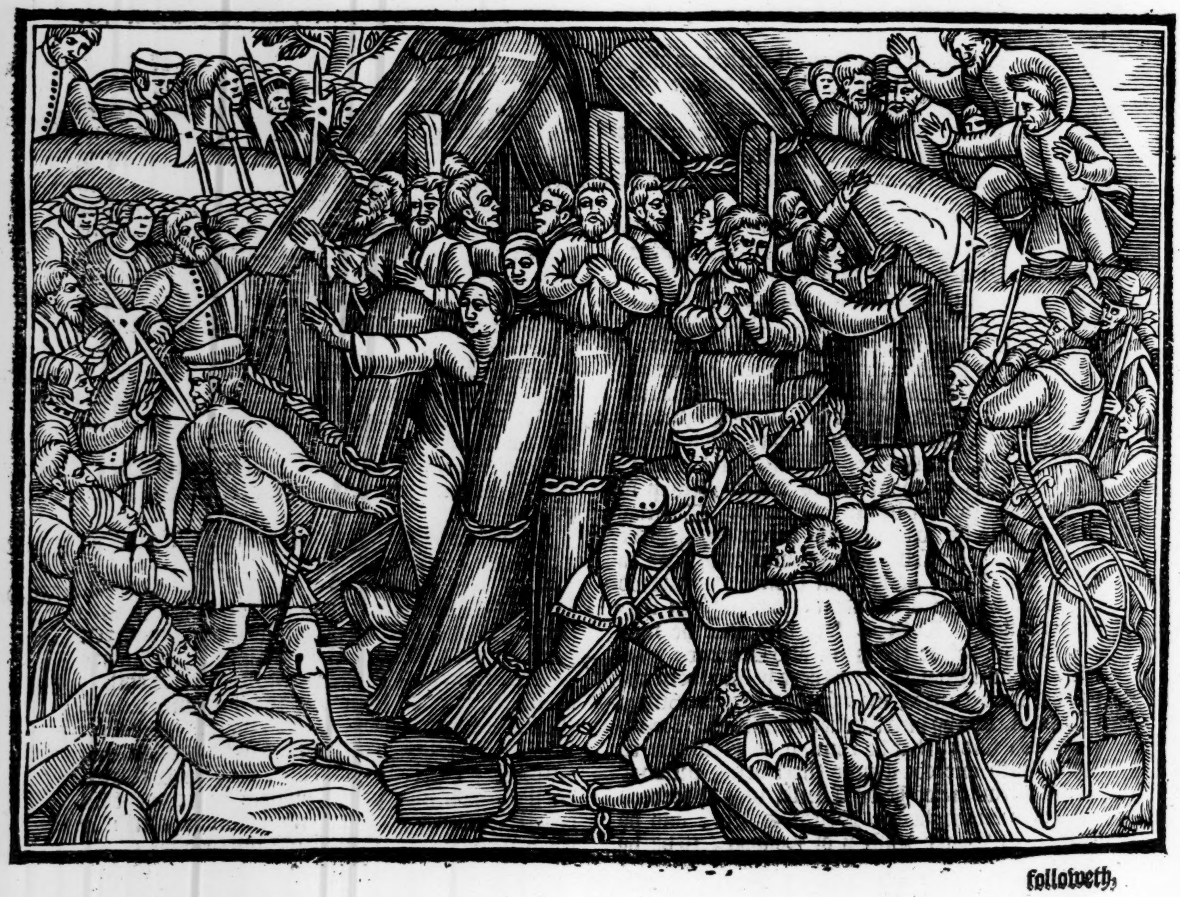
Theſe three were diſpenſed all by the Cardinall.

Which thrée anſwered to thoſe Articles that were propounded unto the ſaid thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the ſecular power, Cardinal Pool ſent his diſpenſation for their lives, by what occaſion I cannot ſafely ſay, but by meanes thereof they then eſcaped. The copy of which diſpenſation, becauſe it is exemplified in our firſt impreſſion, I ſhall deſire the Reader to reſort to the place of the page. 1525.

The Sunday after theſe aforeſaid 16. were condemned, Fecknam Deane of Pauls preached at Pauls Croſſe, where he declared, that they had as many ſundrie opinions as they were ſundrie perſons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and ſet to their hands as hereafter

The ſlanders of Fecknam reproved.

The burning of thirteene perſons at Stratford the Bowe neer London, whereof the two women went in among them to the ſtake untied.



followeth, and directeth the ſame to their friends, and the faithfull congregation, as followeth.

Vnto all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy Congregation of Ieſus Chriſt, even ſo many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.
So be it.

A letter oꝛ apology of the martyꝛs, purging themſelves of the falſe ſlander oꝛ M. Fecknam

BE it manifeſt to all unto whom this our Certificate ſhall be ſeene, that whereupon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of Iune, at Fulham before the Biſhop of London, ſixteen of us (whoſe names here under are ſubſcribed) were condemned to die for the moſt pure and ſincere truth of Chriſts veritie; which moſt godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adverſaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Devill and his imps even at this preſent likewiſe daily ſlandered: Vpon this occaſion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea conſtrained, in the eares of all men to manifeſt our beliefe, and alſo briefly the Articles wherefore we are condemned, for the avoiding of falſe reports and ſlanderous tongues, which might happen by the moſt ungodly and uncharitable Sermon lately preached at Pauls Croſſe, the fourteenth of the ſaid moneth, being Sunday, by maſter Fecknam, now Deane of the ſame Church; where he in that moſt worthie audience defamed us to be in ſixteene ſundrie opinions, which were a thing prejudiciall to all Chriſtian veritie; and for a teſtimoniall thereof, this here under written ſhall anſwer our cauſe, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

Uniform agreement in their faith.

The firſt, we beleeve we were baptized in the faith of Chriſts Church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his Church, in the which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preſerved in us by the holy Ghoſt, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the ſame, and we do perſiſt, and will by Gods aſſiſtance to the end. Now mark, that although the Miniſter were of the Church malignant, yet his wickedneſſe did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

The pꝛofeſſion of their baptiſme.

There was both the Word and the Element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for us the Devill and all his works, and confeſſing the Articles of the Chriſtian faith for us, and alſo witneſſes that we were baptized, not in the faith of the Church of Rome, but in the faith of Chriſts Church.

Sacraments of the Church.

1 Item, there are but two Sacraments in Chriſts Church, that is, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper. For in theſe are contained the faith of Chriſt his Church; that is, the two Teſtaments, the Law and the Goſpel. The effect of the Law is repentance, and the effect of the Goſpel remiſſion of ſins.

The viſible Church.

2 Item, we beleeve that there is a viſible Church, wherein the Word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly miniſtred, viſible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Helias the Prophet as well as now.

The See of Rome.

3 The See of Rome is the See of Antichriſt, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the Pope is head under the Devill.

The Maſſe.

4 Item, the Maſſe is not onely a prophanation of the Lords Supper, but alſo a blaſphemous Idoll.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

5 Item, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the ſacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no ſubſtance in the ſame, but onely the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

For theſe the Articles of our beliefe we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be diſſolved in the fire, all with one voice aſſenting and conſenting thereunto, and in no point diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former Articles.

Apparant alſo let it be and known, that being of the former Articles before the bloodie biſhop examined, the ſaid day and time, we affirmed to beleeve all that he or they would approve by the Scriptures. But he ſaid that he would not ſtand to prove it with Heretiques, but ſaid they themſelves were the holy Church, and that we ought to beleeve them, or elſe to be cut off like withered branches.

Their names ſubſcribed to the ſame.

Rafe Iackſon.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon Cawch.
Wil. Halliwell.
George Searles.
Iohn Routh.
Iohn Derifall.
Henry Wye.
Edmund Hurſt.
Laurence Parnam.
Thomas Bowyer.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Thirteen of theſe were martyꝛs, as is befoꝛe ſaid.

Trouble and buſineſſe in the Dioceſſe of Lichfield.

June 14. Rafe Bane B. of Coventry & Lichfield, a cruell perſecutoꝛ.

IN the Dioceſſe of Lichfield, about the fourteenth of June, in the ſame yéer, John Colſtock who was lately come from London befoꝛe, and now dwelling at Welington, though he ſuffered no martyꝛdome, yet ſuſtained ſome trouble, being attached and examined by the Biſhop named Rafe Bane, foꝛ his religion, eſpecially foꝛ two points, in holding againſt the realtie of Chꝛiſt in the ſacrament, and againſt auricular confeſſion to be made to the Pꝛieſt. Foꝛ the which cauſe being compelled to recant, he was injoyned in the Church of Saint Cedde to beare a fagot befoꝛe the Croſſe, bare-headed, having in the one hand a Taper, and in the other a paire of Beads, &c.

Amongſt divers other which in the ſame Dioceſſe, and the ſame time were ſuſpected and troubled foꝛ the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttorater Shoomaker, Nich. Ball of Uttorater Capper, Thomas Pyot of Chedull.

Marrying in Lent puniſhed. June 26. Thomas Johnſon foꝛ ſwearing by the holy Maſſe, did penance.

Item, Henry Crimes foꝛ marrying his wife on Palm-ſunday even, &c. Some other alſo there were which had the like penance injoyned them, as Thom. Johnſon about the 26. day of this moneth of June, becauſe he ſware by the holy Maſſe befoꝛe the Biſhop ſitting in judgement; who foꝛ the ſame was dꝛiven to go befoꝛe the croſſe with his Taper and Beads, &c.

Concerning the which Thomas Flier above named, being a godly and a zealous man, this furthermoꝛe is to be noted, and not unwoꝛthie of gratefull memoꝛie, that whereas in the towne of Uttorater commandement was directed unto him amongſt others from the Oꝛdinarie, foꝛ pulling down monuments of ſuperſtition, and namely the Rood loft; he being one of the Churchwardens oꝛ Sidemen, on a time had talk upon the ſame with certain of his neighbours, where one wiſhed them ill to chieve, that ſhould go about ſuch an act.

Thomas Flier ſlain in Gods quarrell.

What woꝛds paſſed elſe amongſt them, miniſtring matter of further pꝛovocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the ſaid Flier being offended, and afterward méeting with him that had uſed ſuch woꝛds befoꝛe, began to commune with him of the matter; but in the end the man ſo little repented him of thoſe ſayings, that he added yet moꝛe fierce woꝛds, and at length ſtrokes alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that at that conflict the ſaid Thomas Flier was ſlain; and yet ſo was the matter handled, and ſuch amends was made with money by the murtherer and his friends, to the ſaid Fliers wife, that he ſuffered little or nothing for the ſame, ſave onely that he was baniſhed the town, and ſworn and bound never to come in it ſo long as the ſaid Fliers wife ſhould live.

Three men dead in the priſon of the Kings Bench.

June 27. Tho. Parret.

After the burning of theſe in Stratford, the ſame moneth died in the priſon of the Kings Bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, and was buried in the backſide, the 27. day of the moneth abovesaid.

June 29. Martin Hunt.

Alſo Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the ſame priſon was famiſhed the 29. day. At which time likewiſe died in the ſame priſon, as I finde recorded, one John Norice, and after the ſame ſort as the other was buried on the backſide of the ſaid priſon, the day above mentioned.

The ſtory of three Martyrs ſuffering at Saint Edmundsbury.

June 30.

After the death of the aforeſaid Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, were three martyred at Saint Edmundſburie in Suffolk, in one fire, whoſe names are hereunder ſpecified.

Roger Bernard.
Adam Foſter.
Robert Lawſon.

The firſt examination of Roger Bernard, before D. Hopton Biſhop of Norwich.

Roger Bernard Martyr.

Roger Bernard refuſeth auricular confeſſion.

WHen Roger Bernard came before the Biſhop, firſt he was aſked whether he had been with the Prieſt at Eaſter to be ſhriven, and whether he had received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard anſwered no: I have not been with the Prieſt, nor confeſſed my ſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my ſins to Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me; whereof I ſhall not need to go to the Prieſt for ſuch matters, who cannot help himſelf.

Biſh. Surely Bernard thou muſt needs go, and confeſſe thy ſelf unto him.

Rog. That ſhall I not do (by Gods grace) while I live.

Biſh. What a ſtout boyly heretique is this? How malapertly he anſwereth?

Rog. My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretique at your hands: for ſo your forefathers called the Prophets and Confeſſors of Chriſt, long before this time.

At theſe words the Biſhop roſe up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the Biſhop went and kneeled before that they call the ſacrament of the Altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and aſked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard anſwered, I cannot tell why I ſhould ſo do. Why, quoth the Biſhop, thou lewd fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder, pointing to the pix over the Altar?

Rog. I ſee no bodie there. Do you my Lord?

Biſh. Why naughty man, doeſt thou not ſee thy maker?

Note the Catholique charity of this Prelate.

Rog. My maker? No, I ſee nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap. With that the Biſhop roſe up ſore diſpleaſed, and commanded the jayler to take him away, and to lay irons enow on him. For, quoth he, I will tame him ere he go from me, I trow ſo: and ſo he was carried away.

The ſecond examination of Roger Bernard before the ſaid Biſhop.

Another examination of Roger Bernard.

THe next day Bernard was brought again before the Biſhop, who aſked him if he did not remember himſelf ſince the day before, that he was before him.

Rog. Yes my Lord, I have remembred my ſelf very well, for the ſame man I was yeſterday, I am this day, and I hope ſhall be all the dayes of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

One of the guard taketh Bernard to ſchoole.

Then one of the guard ſtanding by, ſaid, My Lord, I pray you trouble not your ſelf any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I ſhall handle him after another ſort, I trow, and make him a fair childe ere he go, you ſhall ſee.

A wholſome company of caterpillers.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to an Inne, where were a great many of Prieſts aſſembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him and perſwading him with gay intiſing words what they could; but when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord aſſiſted the good poore man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, ſtocking, burning, and ſuch like, that it was wonderfull the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard ſaid, Friends, I am not better then my Maſter Chriſt and the Prophets, which your Fathers ſerved after ſuch ſort; and I for his Names ſake am content to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his promiſe, in ſpite of the devil and all his miniſters. So when they could not make him to relent or yeeld, they ſaid, behold a right ſcholler of John Fortune, whom they had then in priſon. Then carried they him to the Biſhop, who immediately condemned him as an heretique, and delivered him to the ſecular power.

Roger Bernard condemned by the Biſhop of Norwich.

This Roger Bernard was a ſingle man; and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Franſden in Suffolke, who was taken in the night by maſter Tamages men, becauſe he would not go to church to hear their unſavorie ſervice, and ſo by them carried to priſon.

Bernard taken by Tamages men.

Adam Foſter.

June 30. Adam Foſter Martyr.

ADam Foſter of the age of ſix and twenty yeers, huſbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendleſam in the County of Suffolke, was taken at home in his houſe a little before the Sun going down by the Conſtables of the ſaid town, George Revet and Thomas Mouſe, at the commandement of ſir John Tyrrell of Gyppinghall in Suffolke, Knight, becauſe he would not go to Church and heare Maſſe, and receive at Eaſter, except he might have it after Chriſts holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them unto the Juſtice. Unto whom Adam Foſter ſaid, for Chriſts cauſe, and to ſave his conſcience, he was well contented, and ſo they led him to ſir John Tyrrell, and he ſent him to Aye dungeon in Suffolke, from whence at length he was ſent to Norwich, and there condemned by Biſhop Hopton.

George Revet, Tho. Mouſe, ſir Jo. Tyrrell perſecutors.

Gods ſtroke upon wilfull perſecutors.

Now after his taking, the ſaid Thomas Mouſe and George Revet were ſtricken with a great feare and ſickneſſe, whereby Mouſe pined and conſumed away even unto death, although he was a man of young and luſtie age. But George Revet who was the ſaid Mouſes fellow, and a great Reader of the Scripture, or (as a man may terme it) a talkative Goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the works of God, but ſet his ſon to help the Prieſt ſay Maſſe, and to be clerk of the ſame town of Mendleſham for lucres ſake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace ſo to conſider it, the which thing was this.

A young man pariſh clerk againſt his conſcience.

A young man of the ſame pariſh newly married, called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and ſound, was clerk in the ſaid Church before the ſaid Revet ſet his ſon in that roome, and executed the office a little, yea, alas too long, againſt his own conſcience; whereby at length the Lord ſo took away his wits, that many yeers after, his poore and wofull wife, good woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, leſt he ſhould unawares do himſelf or ſome other ſome miſchief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) would not adminiſh Revet, but needs he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at the length, as many men were offended with him in the pariſh, ſo honeſt women eſpecially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and ſaid, Neighbour Revet are ye not afraid to let your ſon help the naughty prieſt to ſay Maſſe, and to ſerve that abominable idol? and he ſaid, No.

Then ſaid they, we fear not to go to Church and hear Maſſe, ſeeing you, being a man that ſo much profeſſe Chriſtianitie, will let your ſon help the prieſt ſay Maſſe, &c.

Revet prayed for a ſtrange token.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner or with ſuch like words, ſaying; O Lord, if it be not thy will that my ſon ſhould ſo do, then I beſeech thee ſend ſome ſtrange token to let me underſtand what thy good pleaſure is therein, &c. So according to his petition, within ſhort ſpace after, his neighbors Bull came into his paſture, and there he having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the Bull running upon him, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his Gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lords hand upon him for the ſufferance of his ſon in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to uſe and frequent the ſame againſt his own conſcience.

Revet confeſſed the Lords hand againſt him, & yet continued in his ſin.

Revet died of a ſtrange ſicknes. The Lords hand upon Revet.

At the laſt the Lord juſtly ſent upon him a great ſwelling in his legges, which did ſo grievouſly vex and trouble him by reaſon it ſwelled upward, that at length having thereby brought upon him a very ſtrange ſickneſſe, he died moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant for Chriſts ſake, that we may obſerve his judgements better, to his glorie and our comfort, Amen. Ex teſtimonio quorundam Suffolcenſium.

Robert Lawſon.

June 30. Robert Lawſon Martyr. Robert Kereth a perſecutor.

Robert Lawſon was a ſingle man, of the age of thirtie yeers, and by vocation a linen Weaver, who was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the commandement of Sir John Tyrrel of Gyppinghall in Suffolke, Knight, and ſo was immediately carried to Aye dungeon in Suffolke, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Burie. The cauſe of his taking was, for that he would not go to Church to heare Maſſe, and receive their Popiſh Idoll.

The Martyrdome of Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, Robert Lawſon at Bury Ann. 1556. June 30.

When theſe three foreſaid Martyrs were carried to their deaths, viz. Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, and Robert Lawſon at Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the ſtake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their lives, in ſuch happy and bleſſed condition, as did notably ſet forth their conſtancie and joyfull end, to the great praiſe of God, and their commendation in him, and alſo to the incouragement of others in the ſame quarrell to do the like. The Lord of ſtrength fortifie us to ſtand as his true ſouldiers in what ſtanding ſoever he ſhall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the prieſts there, to John Fortune, and called his ſcholler. This John Fortune, otherwiſe called Cutler, of Hintleſham in Suffolke, was by his occupation a black Smith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, the 20. day of April. In ſpirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures readie, in Chriſts cauſe ſtout and valiant, in his anſwers marvellous, and no leſſe patient in his wrongfull ſuffering then conſtant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in priſon, I cannot certainly finde; but rather I ſuppoſe that he was burned. Certain it is, howſoever he was made away, he never yeelded. What his anſwers and examinations were before D. Parker and the Biſhop, ye ſhall hear him, although not with his own mouth ſpeaking, yet with his own hand you ſhall ſee written, what he did ſay, as followeth.

The examination of Iohn Fortune before Doctor Parker and M. Foſter.

The examination of John Fortune before D. Parker, and M. Foſter.

First D. Parker aſked me how I beleeved in the Catholike faith.

And I aſked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

D. Parker being moved, ſaid, What a naughtie fellow is this? you ſhall ſee anon he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

M. Foſter. Then ſaid maſter Foſter, I know you well enough. You are a buſie Merchant. How ſayeſt thou by the bleſſed Maſſe?

For. And I ſtood ſtill and made no anſwer.

Foſt. Then ſaid Maſter Foſter, why ſpeakeſt thou not, and make the Gentleman an anſwer?

Fort. And I ſaid, ſilence is a good anſwer to a fooliſh queſtion.

The ſacrament of the altar.

Park. Then ſaid the Doctor, I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar alſo.

Fort. And I ſaid, I know none ſuch, but onely the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Park. Then ſaid he, you deny the order of the ſeven ſacraments. And why doeſt thou not beleeve in the ſacrament of the Altar?

Fort. And I ſaid, becauſe it is not written in Gods book.

Park. Then ſaid he, you will not beleeve unwritten verities.

Fort. And I ſaid, I will beleeve that thoſe unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but thoſe unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not beleeve.

M. Foſter threatneth Io. Fortune to be whipped.

Foſt, Well, ſaid M. Foſter, you ſhall be whipped and burned for this geare I trow.

Fort. Then ſaid I, if you knew how theſe words do rejoyce my heart, you would not have ſpoken them.

Foſt. Why thou foole, doeſt thou rejoyce in whipping?

Fort. Yea, ſaid I, for it is written in the Scriptures, and Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt be whipped for my names ſake: and ſince the time that the ſword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happie were I, if I had the maiden-head of this perſecution.

Away with him then (ſaid he) for he is ten times worſe then Sammel: and ſo was he carried to priſon again.

The ſecond examination of Iohn Fortune before the Biſhop of Norwich.

WHen I came before the Biſhop, he aſked me if I did not beleeve in the Catholique Church. I ſaid, I beleeve that Church whereof Chriſt is the head.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Doeſt thou not beleeve that the Pope is ſupreme head of the Church? And I ſaid, No, Chriſt is the head of the true Church.

Biſh. So do I beleeve alſo: but the Pope is Gods vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I beleeve that he hath power to forgive ſins alſo.

Pſal. 49.

Fort. Then ſaid I, the Pope is but a man, and the Prophet David ſaith, That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: For it coſt more to redeem their ſouls, ſo that he muſt let that alone for ever.

The Pope likened to a Belweather or a Maſter Bee.

Biſh. And the Biſhop again fetching about a great circumſtance, ſaid, Like as the Belweather weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of ſheep: ſo is the Pope our head. And as the hives of Bees have a maſter Bee that bringeth the Bees to the hive again: ſo doth our head bring us home again to our true Church.

Poyſoned Popes.

Fort. Then I aſked him, whether the Pope were a ſpirituall man: and he ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid again, They are ſpitefull men; for in ſeventeen moneths there were three Popes, and one poyſoned another for that preſumptuous ſeat of Antichriſt.

Biſh. It is maliciouſly ſpoken (ſaid he) for thou muſt obey the power and not the man. And thus was the Pope denied to be ſupreme head.

Ceremonies of the Church.
Matth. 15.

Well, ſaid he, what ſayſt thou to the ceremonies of the Church?

Fort. And I anſwered, All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, ſhall be plucked up by the roots, ſaith Chriſt. For they are not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Biſh. They are good and godly and neceſſary to be uſed.

Fort. Saint Paul called them weake and beggarly.

Biſh. No that is a lie.

Fort, I hearing that, ſaid, that ſaint Paul writeth thus in the fourth to the Galathians, You fooliſh Galathians (ſaith he) who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeek to be in bondage to theſe weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you do lie? you or ſaint Paul? And alſo it is ſaid, that works inſtituted, and injoyned without the commandement of God, pertain not to the worſhip of God, according to the text, Matth. 15. In vain do men worſhip me with mens traditions and commandements. And ſaint Paul ſaith, Wherefore do ye carrie us away from the grace of Chriſt to another kinde of doctrine? And Chriſt openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Phariſees, Doctors, Prieſts, Biſhops, and Hypocrites, for making Gods commandements of none effect, to ſupport their own tradition.

Biſh. Thou lieſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty heretique. Thou art worſe then all other heretiques: for Hooper (ſaid he) and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou doeſt not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive, how that the Catholique Church cannot erre, but whatſoever they ſay muſt needs be true. And ſo my Lord Biſhop cannot lie, as it may appeare to all men plainly in the Text.

Q. MARIE.

It is pitie that popiſh Prelates cannot lie.

The third examination of Iohn Fortune before the Biſhop of Norwich.

Anno. 1556.

Another examination of Iohn Fortune.

THe next day I was brought before the ſaid Biſhop again, where he made a Sermon upon the ſixth Chapter of St. Iohns Goſpel, of Chriſts words, I am the bread that came down from heaven, &c. And thereupon had a great bibble babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſaid to me:

Sacrament of the altar.

Biſh. How beleeveſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar? Doeſt thou not beleeve, that after the conſecration, there is the reall ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt?

Fort. And I anſwered him, that is the greateſt plague that ever came into England.

Biſh. Why ſo?

Fort. I ſaid, If I were a Biſhop, and you a poore man as I am, I would be aſhamed to aſke ſuch a queſtion. For a biſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learn.

Biſh. I am appointed by the Law to teach, ſo are not you.

Catholique prelates obſequious to higher powers ſo long as they make for their dignitie, but when they do otherwiſe, then they excommunicate them.

Fort. And I ſaid, Your Law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true Biſhops and Preachers, and maintained liars to be in their ſtead.

Biſh. Now you may underſtand that he is a Traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fort. I am no Traitor: for ſaint Paul ſaith, All ſouls muſt obey the higher powers, and I reſiſt not the higher powers, concerning my body, but I muſt reſiſt your evill doctrine wherewith you would infect my ſoul.

A Doct. Then ſaid a Doctor, My Lord, you do not well; let him anſwer ſhortly to his articles.

Biſh. How ſaieſt thou? make an anſwer quickly to theſe articles.

Fort. Saint Paul ſaith, Heb. 10. Chriſt did one ſacrifice once for all, and ſet him down on the right hand of his Father, triumphing over hell and death making interceſſion for ſins.

Biſh. I aſke thee no ſuch queſtion, but make anſwer to this article.

Fort. If it be not God before the conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Biſh. Then ſaid he, lo, what a ſtiffe heretique is this? He hath denied all together: how ſayeſt thou? Is it idolatry to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament or no?

Fort. God is a ſpirit, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth.

Biſh. I aſke thee no ſuch queſtion: anſwer me directly.

Dan. 11.

Fort. I anſwer that this is the god Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Biſh. It is pitie that the ground beareth thee, or that thou haſt a tongue to ſpeak. Then ſaid the Scribe; Here are a great many more articles.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Away with him: for he hath ſpoken too much.

Another examination of Iohn Fortune.

Other talk between Iohn Fortune and the B. of Norwich.

ANd when I came to mine examination again, the Biſhop aſked me if I would ſtand unto mine anſwer that I had made before: and I ſaid, Yea: for I had ſpoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumſtance upon the ſacrament.

Then I deſired him to ſtand to the Text, and he read the Goſpel on Corpus Chriſti day, which ſaid, I am the bread which came down from heaven: beleeveſt thou not this? And I ſaid, Yea truly.

John 6.

And he ſaid, Why doeſt thou denie the Sacrament?

Becauſe your doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

Then ſaid he, How can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the Scripture? And I ſaid, Chriſt ſaid, I am the bread, and you ſay the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

And he ſaid, Doſt thou not beleeve that the bread is he? And I ſaid, No.

Biſh. I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures.

Fort. Hold that faſt my Lord: for that is the beſt argument that you have yet.

Biſh. Thou ſhalt be burned like an heretique.

Fort. Who ſhall give judgement upon me?

Biſh. I will judge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and never be ſhriven upon it.

Fort. Is there not law for the Spiritualtie as well as for the Temporalty? And Sir Clement Higham ſaid, Yes. What meaneſt thou by that?

The B. of Norwich charged with perjury.

Fort. When a man is perjured by the law, he is caſt over the Bar, and ſitteth no more in judgement. And the biſhop is a perjured man, and ought to ſit in judgement of no man.

Biſh. How proveſt thou that?

Fort. Becauſe you took an oath in King Henries dayes to reſiſt the Pope. So both ſpirituall and temporall are perjured, that here can be no true judgement.

Biſh. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape judgement by that? No: for my Chancellor ſhall judge thee. He tooke no oath, for he was then out of the Realme.

M. Higham. It is time to weede out ſuch fellows as you be, indeed.

Biſh. Good fellow, why beleeveſt not thou in the ſacrament of the altar?

Fort. Becauſe I finde it not in Gods book, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there I would beleeve it with all my heart.

Biſh. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fort. Becauſe it is contrarie to the ſecond commandement: and ſeeing it is not written in Gods book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the Biſhop having no more to ſay, commanded the Bailiffe to take him away.

The death of John Fortune.

And thus much touching the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwiſe prevented with death, as I ſaid before I am uncertain.

In the Regiſters of Norwich this I do finde, that his ſentence of condemnation was drawn and regiſtred; but whether it was pronounced, in the ſaid Regiſter it is not expreſſed, according as the uſuall manner of the Notarie is ſo to declare, in the end of the ſentence. Nevertheleſſe this is moſt certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howſoever it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

The death of Iohn Careles in the Kings Bench.

July 1. The death of John Careles priſoner in the Kings Bench.

About this time, the firſt day of July, amongſt divers other priſoners which died the ſame yeer in the Kings Bench, was alſo one John Careles of Coventry a Weaver. Who though he were by the ſecret judgement of Almightie God prevented by death, ſo that he came not to the full Martyrdome of his bodie, yet is he no leſſe worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſts Martyrs, then other that ſuffered moſt cruell torments, as well for that he was for the ſame truths ſake a long time impriſoned, as alſo for his willing minde and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as well may appear by his examination had before Doctor Martin. Which examination becauſe it containeth nothing almoſt but wrangling interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctor Martin would enter into no communication about the articles of his accuſation, but onely urged him to detect his fellows, it ſhall not be greatly materiall therefore to expreſſe the whole, but onely to excerpt ſo much as pertaining to the queſtion of predeſtination, may bring ſome fruit to the Reader.

John Careles examined before D. Martin.

The effect of Iohn Careles examination before Doctor Martin briefly declared.

The effect of John Careles examination.

First, Doctor Martin calling John Careles to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name. To whom when the other had anſwered, that his name was John Careles, then began Doctor Martin to deſcant at his pleaſure upon that name, ſaying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careles man indeed. And ſo after other by-talke there ſpent about much needleſſe matter, then he aſked him where he was born.

Careles. Forſooth, ſaith he, at Coventry.

How John Careles was brought to the Kings Bench.

Martin. At Coventry? what ſo far, man? How cameſt thou hither? Who ſent thee to the Kings Bench to priſon?

Carel. I was brought thither by a writ, I trow, what he was I cannot tell. I think maſter Marſhall can tell you.

Marſhal. In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my Lord chief Juſtice ſent him from the bar.

Mart. Well Careles, I would wiſh thou ſhouldſt play the wiſe mans part. Thou art a handſome man, and it is pitie but thou ſhouldeſt do well, and ſave that which God hath bought.

Carel. I thank your good maſterſhip moſt heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certain of my ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my ſoul is ſafe already, whatſoever pains my body ſuffer here for a little time.

John Careles examined upon predeſtination.

Mart. Yea marie, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh, in whatſoever opinion thou doſt die.

Carel. That God hath predeſtinate me to eternall life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am moſt certain, and even ſo am I ſure that his holy ſpirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerve me from all hereſies and evil opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me hear your faith in predeſtination. For that ſhall be written alſo.

Carel. Your maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſaid your ſelf ere while, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my conſcience. I will trouble my ſelfe with anſwering no moe matters then I needs muſt, untill I come before them that ſhall have more authoritie further to examine me.

D. Martin declareth his commiſſion.

Mart. I tell thee then I have Commiſſion; yea, and commandement from the Councell to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

Carel. Yea I think indeed that your Maſterſhip is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confeſſe them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, whereof my articles ſpeak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch things as be in controverſie betweene thee and thy fellows in the Kings

Bench, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy fellow N. hath confeſſed, and thy ſelf doſt not deny it.

Carel. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that matter, might have found himſelf much better occupied.

Why D. Martin would not examine him of the ſacrament.

Mart. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkeſt that I would not have known it? Yes, or elſe thou ſhouldeſt have withſtood my Commiſſion. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the bleſſed Sacrament, or any other thing that I liſt, but that I would ſhew thee favour, and not be too haſty with thee at the firſt.

Marſh. Yea in deed Careles, M. Doctor hath commiſſion to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea marie have I, I tell thee the truth of it.

Carel. Then let your Scribe ſet his pen to the paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I beleeve that almighty God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſſe, did elect in Chriſt.

Mart. Tuſh, what need all that long circumſtance? Write, I beleeve God elected, and make no more ado.

Carel. No, not ſo M. Doctor. It is an high myſtery, and ought reverently to be ſpoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſineſſe then needeth.

Careles opinion of Gods election.

Carel. I beleeve that almightie God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſſe (through Ieſus Chriſt) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a Church or Congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and holy ſpirit, ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh. When this was written, M. Doctor took it in his hand and read it, ſaying:

Mart. Why, who will deny this?

D. Martin avoweth Careles judgement of Gods election.

Carel. If your Maſterſhip do allow it, and other learned men when they ſhall ſee it, I have my hearts deſire.

Mart. And do you hold none otherwiſe, then is there written?

Carel. No verily, nor never did.

Mart. Write what he ſaith, otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written. It was told me alſo that thou doeſt affirm, that Chriſt did not die effectually for all men.

Carel. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed I do beleeve that Chriſt did effectually die for all thoſe that do effectually repent and beleeve, and for none other: ſo that was written alſo.

Mart. Now Sir, what is Trews faith of predeſtination? He beleeveth that all men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned. Doth he not?

A wrong faith of predeſtination beleeving to be elected in reſpect of good works.

Carel. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

Carel. Truly I think he doth beleeve as your Maſterſhip and the reſt of the Clergie do beleeve of predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good works, and ſo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Mart. Write what he ſaith, that his fellow Trew beleeveth of predeſtination as the Papiſts do beleeve.

Carel. Ah maſter Doctor, did I ſo terme you? Seeing that this my confeſſion ſhall come before the Councell, I pray you place my termes as reverently as I ſpake them.

Mart. Well, well, write that Trew is of the ſame faith as the Catholiques be.

Carel. I did not ſo call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Mart. You ſaid the Clergie, did you not Careles?

Carel. Yes forſooth did I. So then it was written of the Clergie.

Mart. Now ſir, what ſay you more?

Carel. Forſooth I have no further to ſay in this matter.

Mart. Well Careles, I pray thee prove thy ſelf a wiſe man, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good M. Doctor, I would full gladly live, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience. And your maſterſhip ſhall right well perceive that I will be no wilfull man, but in all things that I ſtand upon I will have ſure ground.

D. Martin pretendeth favour to Careles.

Mart. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careles, that I would gladly make ſome means to preſerve thy life. But thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwater into Ireland? me thinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the Queene ſervice there. How ſayſt thou?

Carel. Verily maſter Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spaine, or any place, elſe, I am ready to do her Grace the beſt ſervice that I can, with body, goods, and life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Mart. That is honeſtly ſaid, I promiſe thee every man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you M. Marſhall? this man is meet for all manner of ſervice. Indeed thou art worthie Careles to have the more favour.

Carel. Indeed ſir, I hope to be meet and readie unto all things that pertain unto a true Chriſtian ſubject to do. And if her Grace or her officers under her do require me to any thing contrarie to Chriſts religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſervice in Smithfield for not obſerving it, as my bed-fellow and other brethren have done, praiſed be God for them.

Mart. By my troth thou art a pleaſant fellow as ever I talked with of all the Proteſtants, except it were Tomſon. I am ſorie that I muſt depart with thee ſo ſoone; but I have ſuch buſineſſe now, that I can tarrie with thee no longer. Well yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at jarre amongſt your ſelves in the Kings Bench, and it is ſo throughout all your congregation: for you will not be a Church.

More varietie in the Popes church then is amongſt the Proteſtants.

Careles. No Maſter Doctor that is not ſo. There is a thouſand times more varietie in opinions among your Doctors, which you call of the Catholique church, yea and that in the ſacrament, for the which there is ſo much blood ſhed now adayes, I meane of your later Doctors and new Writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Mart. No Careles this is not ſo; there thou art deceived.

Carel. Verily it is ſo, maſter Doctor. I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by ſuch as GOD hath indued with great learning. Then he turned to the Marſhall, and whiſpered with him a while.

D. Martin taketh his leave gently of Careles.

Mart. Turning unto me again, he ſaid, Farewell Careles: for I can tarrie no longer with thee now, my buſineſſe is ſuch.

Carel. God be with you, good Maſter Doctor, The Lord give your maſterſhip health of bodie and ſoul.

Mart. God have mercy good Careles, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wiſh my ſelf.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1556.

Carel. I thank your good Maſterſhip. I pray God I may do alwayes that is acceptable in his ſight. Whereunto they all ſaid, Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad heart; God onely have the whole praiſe, Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the foreſaid John Careles, that he endured priſoner the ſpace of two whole yeers, having wife and children. In the which his captivitie, firſt being in Coventrie jayle, he was there in ſuch credit with his Keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the Pageant about the Citie with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his keeper, he turned again into priſon at his houre appointed.

John Careles died in priſon, and was buried in the fields.

And after that being brought up to London, he was indued with ſuch patience and conſtant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earneſtly, than to come to the promotion to die in the fire for the profeſſion of his faith: and yet it ſo pleaſed the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the priſon, and after was buried in the fields in a dunghill.

In the meane time while he was in priſon in the Kings Bench, it chanced he was in great heavineſſe and purturbation of minde and conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Maſter Philpot being then in the Colehouſe. Upon the occaſion hereof M. Philpot ſent an Epiſtle conſolatory unto him, ſpecified before among M. Philpots letters. Unto the which Epiſtle John Careles maketh anſwer again as followeth.

Letters of Iohn Careles.

A letter of Iohn Careles anſwering to the loving Epiſtle or letter ſent to him before by M. Iohn Philpot.

A faithfull friend is a ſtrong defence, whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure.

A faithfull friend hath no peere, the weight of gold and ſilver is not to be compared to the goodneſſe of his faith.

A faithfull friend is a medicine of life, and they that feare the Lord ſhall finde him, Eccleſ. 6.

A letter of Joh. Careles to M. Philpot.

The Father of mercie and God of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternall ſpirit (my moſt dear and faithfull loving friend, good Maſter Philpot) as you have comforted me by the mightie operation of the ſame; the everlaſting God be praiſed therefore for ever, Amen.

Ah my deare heart and moſt loving brother, if I ſhould do nothing elſe day and night ſo long as the dayes of heaven do endure, but kneele on my knees, and reade Pſalmes, I can never be able to render unto God condigne thanks, for his great mercie, fatherly kindneſſe, and moſt loving compaſſion extended unto me moſt vile, ſinfull, wicked, and unworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would open my mouth and give me a thankefull heart, that from the bottome of the ſame might flow his continuall praiſe. Oh that my ſinfull fleſh (which is the cauſe of ſorrow) were cleane ſeparated from me, that I might ſing Pſalmes of thankſgiving unto the Lords name for ever; that with good Samuels mother I might continually record this noble verſe following, the which by good experience I have found moſt true, praiſed be my good God therefore.

1 Reg. 2. John Careles raiſed up by the Lord, out of great heavines.

The Lord (ſaith that good woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth downe to hell, and fetcheth up againe. Praiſed be the Lord for ever, yea and praiſed be his name, for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord God, whoſe mercie endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deepe deſerts, nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure when I had juſtly deſerved it. Oh what reward ſhall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my ſoule? I will gladly receive the cup of ſalvation at his hand, and will worſhip his name with prayer and with praiſe.

Ah my deare heart, yea moſt deare unto me in the Lord, thinke not this ſudden change in me, to be ſome fickle phantaſie of my fooliſh head (as indeed ſome other would ſurely ſuſpect it to be.) For doubtleſſe it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, moſt mercifull unto me his unworthy creature. God for his great mercies ſake give me grace to be more thankfull unto him then I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

And now my deare brother, and moſt bleſſed meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautifull feet have brought much glad tidings to my ſoule, what ſhall I doe or ſay unto you, in the leaſt part to recompence the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? Oh that GOD would give me the ſpirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome little part of my dutie toward you. Ah my true loving friend, how ſoone did you lay aſide all other buſineſſe, to make a ſweet plaiſter for my wounded conſcience, yea and that out of a painfull paire of ſtocks, which place muſt needs be uneaſie to write in? But God hath brought you into a ſtraight place, that you might ſet my ſoule at libertie. Out of your pinching, and painfull ſeat you have plentifully poured upon me your precious Nard, the ſweet ſavour whereof hath greatly refreſhed my tired ſoul. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you both body and ſoule, by pouring the oyle of his gracious ſpirit into your ſweet heart.

This comfort received of M. Philpot, reade in M. Philpots letters.

Ier. 20. Ier. 26.

Ah good Jeremy, hath Phaſſur put thee into the ſtocks? why, now thou haſt the right reward of a Prophet. Thy glorie never began to appeare untill now. I doubt not but ſhortly, in ſtead of Ahikam the ſonne of Shaphan, Jeſus the ſonne of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will alſo make good, againſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagogue, all the words that thou haſt ſpoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defenſed Tower, an iron Pillar, and a brazen Wall againſt the whole robble of Antichriſt, and though they fight againſt thee never ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himſelfe is with thee to help and deliver thee; and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the Tyrants. And in that you are not buſie in caſting pearles before ſwine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my ſimple judgement. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt behaviour hitherto hath beene as much to Gods glory and to the ſhame and confuſion of your enemies, as any mans doings that are gone before you.

Ier. 1. Ier. 15. Math. 7.

The circumſpect behaviour of M. Philpot.

John Careles advice to M. Philpot.

Wherefore mine advice and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you ſtill keepe that order with thoſe blood-thirſtie biteſheepes, Biſhops I ſhould ſay, that you have begun. For though in concluſion they will ſurely have your blood, yet ſhall they come by it with ſhame enough, and to their perpetuall infamy whiles the world doth endure. They would in deede condemne you in hugger mugger, to darken Gods glorie if it might be. But Sathans thoughts are not unknowne to you, and the depth of his ſubtiltie is by you well foreſeen. Therefore let them do whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all things ſhall turne to your beſt. Though you lie in the darke, ſloried with the Biſhops blacke coale duſt: yet ſhall you be ſhortly

Pſal. 68.

reſtored unto the heavenly light, and made as white as ſnow in Salmon, and as the wings of a Dove that is covered with ſilver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the veſſell, before it be made bright, is ſoiled with oile, and other things, that it may ſcoure the better.

I. Careles care turned into joy.

Oh happy be you that you be now in the ſcouring houſe: for ſhortly you ſhall be ſet upon the celeſtiall ſhelfe as bright as Angels. Therefore my deare heart, I will now according to your loving requeſt, caſt away all care, and rejoyce with you, and praiſe God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now with Gods grace ſing Pſalmes of praiſe and thankeſgiving with you. For now my ſoule is turned to her old reſt againe, and hath taken a ſweet nap in Chriſts lap. I have caſt my care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be Careles, according to my name, in that reſpect which you would have me. I will leave out my unſeemely addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoone as I had read your moſt godly and comfortable letter, my ſorrowes baniſhed away as ſmoke in the winde, my ſpirit revived, and comfort came againe, whereby I am ſure the ſpirit of God was author of it.

Gods gracious worke through M. Philpots letter.

Oh my good M. Philpot, which art a principall pot indeed filled with moſt precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame; Oh pot moſt happie, of the high potter ordained to honour, which doeſt containe ſuch heavenly treaſure in the earthen veſſell; Oh Pot thrice happy, in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the Maſter of the feaſt hath filled my cup ſo full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the ſpirit through the ſame: When Martyrdome ſhall break thee (O veſſell of honor) I know the fragrant ſavor of thy precious Nard will much rejoyce the heavie hearts of Chriſts true members, although the Judaſſes will grudge and murmure at the ſame. Yea and burſt out into words of ſlander, ſaying, it is but loſt and waſte.

John Careles drunken with the joy of the ſpirit.

2 Reg. 6.

Be not offended deare heart, at my metaphoricall ſpeech. For I am diſpoſed to be merry, & with David to dance before the Arke of the Lord; and though you play upon a paire of Organs not very comely or eaſie to the fleſh, yet the ſweet ſound that came from the ſame cauſeth me thus to doe. Oh that I were with you in body, as preſent I am in ſpirit, that I might ſing all care away in Chriſt: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all things happen right. For my old friends of Coventrie have put the Councel in remembrance of me, not ſixe dayes ago, ſaying, that I am more worthy to be burned then any that was burned yet. Gods bleſſing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignitie, and haſten the time that I might ſet forth his glory.

Careles accuſed to the Councell by certaine back friends in Coventry.

Pray for me deare heart, I beſeech you, and will all your company to doe the ſame, and I will pray God for you all, ſo long as I live. And now farewell in Chriſt, thou bleſſed of Gods owne mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my laſt farewel. Bleſſed be the time that ever I came into the Kings Bench, to be joyned in love and fellowſhip with ſuch deare children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford ſhall not be dead whiles you be alive: for verily the ſpirit of him doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point doe agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you doe water, the Lord give good increaſe. My deare brethren and fellow priſoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you, and your company, mourning for your miſery, but yet rejoycing for your plenteous conſolation and comfort in Chriſt. We are all cheerefull and merry under our croſſe, and do lack no neceſſaries, praiſed be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

Note how comfortably the Lord worketh in his priſoned Saints.

Gods providence toward his people.

To his Wife.

Another letter of J. Careles to his wife.

AS by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed (my dearely beloved Wife) you and I were joyned together in the holy and chriſtian ſtate of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the increaſe of his bleſſed Church and faithfull Congregation, by having lawfull children by & in the ſame, with the which God of his mercy hath bleſſed us, praiſed be his name therefore: even ſo now by his mercifull will and divine ordinance, the time is come (ſo far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glorie and our eternall comfort, diſſolve the ſame, and ſeparate us aſunder againe for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea and my bounden dutie, by this ſimple letter to provoke, ſtirre, and admoniſh you, to behave your ſelfe in all your doings, ſayings, and thoughts, moſt thankfully unto our good God for the ſame. And therefore (my deare wife) as you have heartily rejoyced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodnes, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even ſo now I deſire you, when this time of our ſeparation ſhall come, to rejoyce with me in the Lord, and to give him moſt heartie thankes, that he hath (to his glory and our endleſſe commoditie) ſeparated us againe for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himſelfe, forth of this miſerable world, into his celeſtiall Kingdome; beleeving and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodneſſe, for his Son Chriſts ſake, wil ſhortly bring you, and your deare children thither to me, that we may moſt joyfully together ſing praiſes unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once againe I deſire you for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoyce with me, and to give God continuall thankes for doing his moſt mercifull will upon me.

Here is a true marke of a faithfull Chriſtian, forſaking wife and children for Chriſts ſake.

True obedience of a faithfull woman.

I heare ſay that you doe oftentimes uſe to repeate this godly ſaying, The Lords will be fulfilled. Doubtleſſe it rejoyceth my poore heart to heare that report of you, and for the Lords ſake, uſe that godly prayer continually, and teach your children and family to ſay the ſame day and night: and not onely ſay it with your tongues, but alſo with your heart and minde, and joyfully ſubmit your will to Gods will in very deede, knowing and beleeving aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours, otherwiſe then it ſhall be his Almightie and Fatherly good will and pleaſure, and for your eternall comfort and commoditie. Which thing to be moſt true and certaine, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy Goſpel, ſaying, Are not two little Sparrowes ſold for a farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the will of your heavenly Father? And he concludeth ſaying, Feare not ye therefore, for ye are better then many Sparrowes. As though he ſhould have ſaid, If God have ſuch reſpect and care for a poore Sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the limetwig, net, nor pitfall, untill it be his good will and pleaſure; you may be well aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearely loveth, that he hath given his onely deare Son for you) ſhall periſh, or depart forth of this miſerable life without his Almightie good will and pleaſure.

Matth. 10.

Therefore deare wife, put you truſt and confidence wholly and onely in him, and ever pray that his

Q. Marie.

Anno 1556.

Good counſell given to his wife.

his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; the which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lord your deare God and Father will not ſee you nor yours lacke, if you continue in his love and childly feare, and keepe a cleare conſcience from all kinde of idolatrie, ſuperſtition and wickedneſſe, as my truſt is that you will doe, although it be with the loſſe and danger of this temporall life. And good Margaret, feare not them that can but kill the bodie (and yet can they not doe that, untill God give them leave, but feare to diſpleaſe him that can kill both body and ſoule, and caſt them into hell fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himſelfe will be a father and a mother, better then ever you or I could have been unto them. He himſelfe will doe all things neceſſarie for them; yea, as much as rock the cradle, if need be. He hath given his Angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a cleare conſcience (for elſe I would not have you to live) and ſee the bringing up of your children your ſelfe, looke that you nurture them in the feare of God, and keepe them farre from idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and other kinde of wickedneſſe; and for Gods ſake help them to ſome learning if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in vertue and godly knowledge, which ſhall be a better dowrie to marry them withall, then any worldly ſubſtance; and when they be come to age, provide them ſuch husbands as feare God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no Papiſts; and if you live and marry again your ſelf (which thing I would wiſh you to do, if need require, or elſe not) good wife take heed how you beſtow your ſelfe, that you and my poore children be not compelled to wickedneſſe. But if you ſhall be able well to live Gods true widow, I would counſell you ſo to live ſtill, for the more quietneſſe of your ſelf and your poore children. Take heed Margaret, and play the wiſe womans part. You have warning by other, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my ſweet children unto Gods moſt mercifull defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewell in Chriſt, farewell mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

Care of children to be caſt upon the Lord.

The mothers dutie in bringing up her children.

To my good brother, Maſter Iohn Bradford.

A ſweet letter of Io. Careles to M. Bradford a little before his martyrdom.

The peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the eternall comfort of his ſweet ſpirit, which hath ſurely ſealed you unto eternall ſalvation, be with you and ſtrengthen you in your joyfull journey towards the celeſtiall Hieruſalem (my deare friend and moſt faithfull brother Maſter Bradford) to the ſetting forth of Gods glorie, and to your eternall joy in Chriſt, Amen.

He mourneth for the loſſe and lacke of M. Bradford in the Church.

Ever ſince that good M. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter (my deare heart in the Lord) I have continued in great heavineſſe and perplexitie; not for any hurt or diſcommoditie that I can perceive comming towards you, unto whom doubtleſſe death is made life and great felicitie, but for the great loſſe that Gods Church here in England ſhall ſuſtaine by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life and a thouſand ſuch wretched lives moe might goe for yours. Oh, why doth God ſuffer me and ſuch other Caterpillers to live, that can doe nothing but conſume the almes of the Church, and take away you, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lords vineyard? But woe be to our ſinnes and great unthankfulneſſe, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away of ſuch worthie inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glorie, and inſtruct his people. If we had beene thankfull unto God for the good Miniſters of his word, we had not beene ſo ſoone deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and ſinnes, and give us true repentance and faith and hold his hand of mercie over us, for his deare Sonne Chriſts ſake. Take not away all thy true Preachers forth of this Realme (O Lord) but leave us a ſeed, leſt England be made like unto Sodome and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

He rejoyceth for the honour of M. Bradfords martyrdome.

But what goe I about to mingle your mirth, with my mourning, and your juſt joy with my deſerved ſorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoyce with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalfe from the very bottome of my heart; I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercie, and ſhould give him moſt humble thankes for your vocation by his Goſpell, and your true knowledge in the ſame; I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certaine by Gods grace and ſpirit, and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue; I ſhould rejoyce and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by the crown of Martyrdome, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtifie his truth, and to ſeale it with your blood; I ſhould highly extoll the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victorie over all your enemies, viſible and inviſible, and hath given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the Tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoyce and be glad to ſee you delivered from his body of ſinne and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more.

This and much more ſhould I doe, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his deare childe. But (alas) I am an hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but mine own commoditie. I would have Gods everlaſting providence give place to my peeviſh will and purpoſe, although it were to the hinderance of his glorie and your ſweet commoditie. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, ſinnes and offences againſt him: and good brother, doe you forgive mee my great negligence and unthankfulneſſe toward you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I will put my will to Gods will, and pray that the ſame may be fulfilled in you, ſo long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will moſt heartily praiſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I have my being in this world. Ah my dear heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and as I think, my Vltimum vale in this life; but in the life to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leave of you (my deare heart in the Lord) I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God and moſt dear loving Father hath ſent you by me his moſt unworthie ſervant, which as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truly accompliſhed upon you eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof to your godly conſcience, he hath commanded me to repeat the ſame unto you again, in his own name and word.

Io. Careles taketh his leave of M. Bradford.

Teſtimony of Gods ſpirit.

Io. Careles doth Gods meſſage to M. Bradford.

Therefore now give ear and faithfull credence. Hearken O ye heavens, and thou earth give eare, and beare me witneſſe at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lords meſſage unto his dear ſervant, his ſingularly beloved and elect childe John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God, I pronounce & teſtifie

Power and practice of the keyes of the Goſpel.

unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Iehova that all thy ſinnes whatſoever they be, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Ieſus Chriſt thine onely Lord and ſweet Saviour, in whom thou doeſt undoubtedly beleeve. Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his bloud, and clothed the withe his righteouſnes, and hath made thee in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinkle; ſo that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou ſhalt be received (as a ſweete burnt ſacrifice) into heaven, where thou ſhalt joyfully remaine in Gods preſence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting Kingdome, unto the which thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained by the Lords infallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is moſt true that I have ſaid, I call the whole Trinitie, the almightie and eternall Maieſty of God the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly beſeech to confirme and ſtabliſh in thee the true and lively feeling of the ſame, Amen. Selah.

Now with a merry heart and joyfull ſpirit, ſomething mixed with lawfull teares, I take my farewell of you, mine owne deare brother in the Lord; who ſend us ſhortly a merry meeting in his Kingdome, that we may both ſing praiſes together unto him with his holy Angels and bleſſed ſpirits for ever and ever. Farewell thou bleſſed in the Lord, farewell in Chriſt, depart unto my reſt in the Lord; and pray for me for Gods ſake.

As I had made an end of this ſimple letter, I heard ſome comfort both of good Maſter Philpots ſervant and yours: but (alas) I doe ſcarcely beleeve them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will ſend me ſome comfort to morrow, and if the Lord give you ſparing to morrow, let me heare foure words of comfort from you, for Gods ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Yours for ever in the Lord Ieſus, I. Careles,
living in hope againſt hope.

In reading this letter of Iohn Careles to M. Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh ſo much mention of a certaine letter of his ſent to him, and of the great exceeding conſolation he received of the ſame, thou wilt wiſh peradventure (good loving Reader) in thy minde, to have ſome ſight alſo of the ſaid letter of M. Bradford. Wherein to ſatiſfie thy deſire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hereunto annexed the ſame, to the intent thou mayſt not onely underſtand the contents thereof, but alſo receive fruite thereof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purport of the letter here followeth.

M. Bradford to Careles.

A comfortable letter of M. Bradford to Iohn Careles.

ALmighty God our deare Father, through and for the merits of his dearely beloved Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, be mercifull unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evill, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Deare brother Careles, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold ſinnes and moſt grievous offences, which neede none other demonſtration unto you then this, namely, that I have behaved my ſelfe ſo negligently in anſwering your godly triple letters, which are three witneſſes againſt me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will, but his will be done. Concerning your requeſt of abſolution (my deareſt Brother) what ſhall I ſay, but even as truth is, that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his deare Sonne thy onely Lord and Saviour, hath clearely remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatſoever they be, that ever hitherto thou haſt committed againſt his Majeſtie: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his childe (deare brother Iohn Careles) in token that thy ſinnes are pardoned; he (I ſay) hath given thee a penitent and beleeving heart, that is, a heart which deſireth to repent and beleeve: For ſuch a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and beleeving heart in deed.

Practice of the keyes of the Goſpel.

Wherefore (my good brother) be merry, glad, and of good cheare, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſinnes; thou ſhalt not die. Goe thy wayes; the Lord hath put away thy ſinnes. The Eaſt is not ſo farre from the Weſt, as the Lord hath now put thy ſinnes from thee. Looke how the heavens be in compariſon of the earth, ſo farre hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his deare childe, Iohn Careles, through Chriſt the beloved. Say therefore with David, Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy ſins; as truely he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witneſſe. God make me worthy to heare from you the like true meſſage for my ſelfe. Mine owne dearely beloved, you have great cauſe to thanke God moſt heartily that he hath given you ſuch repentance and faith; the Lord increaſe the ſame in you and me a moſt miſerable wretch, whoſe heart is harder then the Adamant ſtone, or elſe I could not thus long have ſtayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amends. Pray for me, my moſt deare brother, I heartily beſeech you, and forgive me my long ſilence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

Yours in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

To my moſt deare and faithfull brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the teſtimonie of Gods everlaſting truth.

Another letter of Io. Careles to the conſtant brethren in Newgate condemned.

THe everlaſting peace of God, in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall joy, ſtrength and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirit, with the increaſe of faith & lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my moſt deare and faithfull loving brother Tyms, and with all the reſt of my deare hearts in the Lord, your faithfull fellow ſouldiers, and moſt conſtant companions in bonds, yea of men condemned moſt cruelly for the ſincere teſtimony of Gods everlaſting truth, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all, that the ſame may be to his glory, the commoditie of his poore afflicted church, and to your everlaſting comfort in him, Amen.

Ah my moſt ſweet and loving brethren, and deareſt hearts in the Lord, what ſhall I ſay, or how ſhall I write unto you, in the leaſt point or part to utter the great joy that my poore heart hath conceived in God, through the moſt godly example of your Chriſtian conſtancie and ſincere confeſſion of Chriſts veritie? Truly my tongue cannot declare nor my pen expreſſe the abundance of ſpirituall mirth and gladneſſe, that my minde and inward man hath felt, ever ſince I heard of your hearty boldneſſe, and modeſt behaviour before that bloudy butcher, in the time of all your craftie examinations, eſpecially at your cruell condemnation, in their curſed Conſiſtorie place. Bleſſed be God the Father of all mercie, and praiſed be his name, for that he hath ſo graciouſly performed upon you his deare dearelings, his moſt ſweet and comfortable promiſes, in not onely giving you the continuall ayd, ſtrength, & comfort

Example of true love and charitie among the Martyrs.

of

The enemies not able to withſtand the wiſdome of God in his Saints, but compelled to bid them hold their peace.

of his holy and mightie ſpirit to the faithfull confeſſion of his Chriſt, for whoſe cauſe (O moſt happy men) ye are condemned to die: but alſo in giving you ſuch a mouth and wiſdome, as all your wicked enemies were not able to reſiſt, but were faine to crie, Peace, peace, and not ſuffer you to ſpeake. As truely as God liveth (my deare brethren) this is not onely unto you a moſt evident probation that God is on our ſide, and a ſure certaintie of your everlaſting ſalvation in him, but alſo to your cruell adverſaries (or rather Gods curſed enemies) a plaine demonſtration of their juſt eternall woe and damnation, which they ſhall be full ſure ſhortly to feele, when ye ſhall ful ſweetly poſſeſſe the place of felicitie and pleaſure prepared for you from the beginning.

Therefore (my dearely beloved) ceaſe not ſo long as ye be in this life, to praiſe the Lord with a luſtie courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodneſſe, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to ſuffer for his ſake not onely the loſſe of goods, wife, and children, long impriſonment, cruell oppreſſion, &c. but alſo the very deprivation of this mortall life with the diſſolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is the greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of miſerie, yea ſo great an honour, as the higheſt Angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his deare Sonne Chriſts ſake reputed you worthy of the ſame, yea and that before me and many other, which have both long looked and longed for the ſame.

Io. Careles longeth to die a Martyr in the Goſpels cauſe.

Ah my moſt deare brother Tyms, whoſe time reſteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full happy time cameſt thou into this troubleſome world, but in a much more bleſſed houre ſhalt thou depart out of the ſame: ſo that the ſweete ſaying of Solomon, or rather of the holy Ghoſt, ſhall be ful well verified upon thee, yea and all thy faithfull fellowes, Better is the day of death (ſaith he) then the day of birth. This ſaying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee my deare brother, and ſuch as thou art, whoſe death is moſt precious before God, and full deare ſhall your bloud be in his ſight. Bleſſed be God for thee my deare brother Tyms, and bleſſed be God againe that ever I knew thee, for in a moſt happy time I came firſt into thy company. Pray for me, deare brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy of that great dignitie whereunto he hath brought you.

Eccleſ. 7.

Of the martyrdome of this Tyms, reade before.

Ah my loving brother Drake, whoſe ſoule now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the ſame, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his ſake: Full well will he reſtore it to you againe in a thouſand fold more glorious wiſe. Praiſe God, good brother, as you have a great cauſe, and pray for me, I beſeech you, which am ſo much unworthy (ſo great are my ſinnes) of that great dignitie whereunto the Lord hath called you and the reſt of your godly brethren; whom I beſeech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well; praiſed be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the ſetting forth of his glory, & the commodity of his poore afflicted Church. Which thing ſhal ſurely redound to your everlaſting joy, and comfort, as you ſhall moſt effectually feele ere ever it be long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwiſe.

The martyrdome of Drake reade before.

Ah mine owne hearts, and moſt dearely beloved brethren, Cavel, Ambroſe, and both the Spurges; bleſſed be the Lord on your behalfe, and praiſed be his name, which hath given you ſuch a glorious victorie; Full valiant have you ſhewed your ſelves in the Lords fight, and full faithfull in your painefull ſervice. Faint not, but goe on forward as yee have moſt godly begun, for great ſhall your reward be at the end of this your travell. Ah my good faithfull brethren all, what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I write unto you, but even the ſame that good Elizabeth did ſay to her godly kinſwoman Marie the bleſſed Mother of Chriſt, Happy art thou (quoth that good woman) which haſt beleeved: for all things which the Lord hath ſpoken to thee, ſhall be fulfilled. So I ſay to you (my deare hearts in the Lord) happie are ye all, yea twice happie ſhall you be for evermore, becauſe ye have ſtedfaſtly beleeved the moſt ſweet promiſes which God the Father hath made unto you with his owne mouth, in that he hath promiſed you (which are the faithfull ſeed of the beleeving Abraham) that ye ſhall be bleſſed ever, world without end. The promiſes of God your moſt ſweet Father, as ye doe beleeve, ſo do ye beare record that God is true. The teſtimonie whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and ſhortly will full ſurely ſeale the ſame with your bloud, yea even to morrow, I doe underſtand. Oh conſtant Chriſtians, O valiant ſouldiers of the high Captaine Jeſus Chriſt, who for your ſake hath conquered the Devill, death, ſinne, and hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. Oh worthy witneſſes, and moſt glorious Martyrs, whoſe invincible faith hath overcome that proud, ſturdy, bragging Prince of the world, and all his wicked armie, over whom ye ſhall ſhortly triumph for evermore. Ah my ſweete hearts, the everlaſting treaſures are full ſurely laid up for you in heaven. The immarceſſible and moſt glorious crowne of victorie is already made and prepared for you, to be ſhortly clapt upon all your happie heads. The holy Angels of you heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your ſweet ſoules into Abrahams boſome. All the heavenly hoſt rejoyceth already, for that they ſhall ſhortly receive you with joy, and felicitie, into their bleſſed fellowſhip, Selah.

The martyrdome of Cavel, Ambroſe, and both the Spurges, reade before.

Luke 1.

He incourageth Gods martyrs unto their death.

Rejoyce with double joy, and be glad my deare brethren, for doubtleſſe ye have more cauſe then can be expreſſed. But (alas) I that for my ſins am left behinde, may lie and lament with the holy Prophet, ſaying, Woe is me that the dayes of my joyfull reſt are prolonged. Ah curſed Satan, which hath cauſed me ſo ſore to offend my moſt deare loving Father, whereby mine exile and baniſhment is ſo much prolonged. Oh Chriſt my deare Advocate, pacifie thy Fathers wrath, which I have juſtly deſerved, that he may take me home to him in his ſweet mercie. O that I might now come home unto thee with thy bleſſed brethren. Well, thy will O Lord be effectuouſly fulfilled, for it is onely good, and turneth all things to the beſt, for ſuch as thou in thy mercy haſt choſen.

Pſal. 119.

And now farewell my deare hearts, moſt happy in the Lord, I truſt in my good God, yet ſhortly to ſee you in the celeſtiall Citie, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free Citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in heaven, where your treaſure doth remaine with your ſweet Lord and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe calling you have heard with the eares of your hearts, and therefore ye ſhall never come into judgement, but paſſe from death to life. Your ſins ſhal never more be remembred, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great: for your Saviour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the ſea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and his mercie hath much more prevailed over you, then is diſtance betweene heaven and earth; and he hath given you for an everlaſting poſſeſſion of the ſame, all his holines, righteouſnes, and juſtification, yea and the holy Ghoſt into your hearts, wherewith ye are ſurely ſealed unto the day of redemption, to certifie you of your eternall election, and that ye

Pſal. 103.

Triumph of Martyrs.

are his true adopted ſons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, Abba deare father, for evermore: ſo that now no creature in heaven, earth nor hell, ſhall be able to accuſe you before the throne of the heavenly King. Sathan is now caſt out from you; he himſelfe is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heele, and then he hath done, for at that time you ſhall ſquiſe his head through your owne good Chriſt, and ſo have you finall victory for evermore. In joyfull triumph whereof, ye ſhall ſweetly aſcend into the place of eternall reſt, whither your eldeſt brother Chriſt is gone before you, to take poſſeſſion for you, and to prepare your place under the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Sanders, Farrar, Tailor, Bradford, Philpot, with many other, who will be full glad of your coming, to ſee ſixe more of their appointed number, that their bloud may ſo much the ſooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the earth.

Geneſ. 3.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to Gods moſt mercifull defence, whoſe quarrell ye have defended, whoſe cauſe ye have promoted, whoſe glory ye have ſet forth, and whoſe name ye have conſtantly confeſſed. Farewell for a while my deare hearts in the Lord, I will make as much haſte after you as I may. All our deare brethren ſalute you. They pray for you, and praiſe God for you continually. Bleſſed be the dead that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, ſaith the holy Ghoſt, and their works follow them.

Apoc. 11.

Your own Iohn Careles, a moſt unprofitable ſervant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

Ye heard before the letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careles, wherein he yeeldeth great thankes unto him for the ſingular joy & conſolation received by his letters. The copy of which letters ſent unto him if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, here under followeth to ſatisfie his deſire.

To M. Green, M. Whittle, and certaine other priſoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the teſtimonie of our Lord Ieſus.

Another letter of Jo. Careles, wherein he doth animate Green, Whittle, & the reſt of that company unto their martyrdome.

The everlaſting peace in Jeſus Chriſt, the continuall comfort of his moſt pure and holy ſpirit, be with you my moſt deare and faithfull brethren and ſiſters of Newgate, the Lords appointed ſheep unto the ſlaughter, to the good performance of the great and notable work of the Lord, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all; that the ſame may redound to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to the commoditie of his Church, and to your owne everlaſting comfort in him. So be it.

Ah my deare hearts, and moſt faithfull brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, what high lauds and praiſe, yea what humble and continuall thankes am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your moſt happy behalfe, who ſo mightily hath magnified himſelfe in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mightie ſpirit, to the conſtant confeſſing of Chriſts veritie, even to the cruell condemnation, and I doubt not but he will doe the ſame to the death. Oh happie and bleſſed are you that ever you were borne, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignitie, to die for his ſake. Doubtleſſe it is the greateſt honour that God can give you in this life. Yea if they be ſo bleſſed of God that die in the Lord, as the holy Ghoſt ſaith they be; how much more bleſſed and happy then are you, that die not onely in the Lord, but alſo for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good houre were now come, that I might goe with you. Ah that my ſins made me not unworthy of ſuch an excellent dignitie.

Apoc. 11.

To die in the Lord, and for the Lord.

Be thankfull deare hearts, be thankfull and rejoyce in the Lord: for mightie is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in heaven, the which you like faithfull perſons have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. Oh worthy Warriours of the moſt high Captaine. Oh conſtant confeſſors of the everlaſting veritie, how glorious a crowne of victorie ſhall you ſhortly receive, which is prepared for all ſuch as doe continue to the end? Oh you ſweete Saints of the Lord, how precious ſhall your death be in his ſight? Oh how deare are your ſoules to your Redeemer, in whoſe hand they ſhall moſt joyfully reſt, and the paines of death ſhall never touch you? Oh how bleſſed ſhall you be, when Chriſt ſhall appeare, at the which time you ſhall receive your bodies againe full of immortalitie? Oh how joyfull ſhall you be, when Chriſt according to his promiſe ſhall knowledge you before his Father and his holy Angels, as you have moſt conſtantly confeſſed him to be your Lord and onely Saviour before men?

Of this Bartlet Green, reade before.

Oh bleſſed Green, thou meek and loving lambe of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his ſake? A full daintie diſh art thou for the Lords owne tooth. Freſh and Green ſhalt thou be in the houſe of the Lord, and thy fruits ſhall never wither nor decay. Although thou goe here forth ſowing thy good fruits with teares, the time ſhall come that thou ſhalt reap with joy and gladneſſe the fruits of everlaſting life, and that without ceaſing. Be merrie therefore and feare not, for it is thy Fathers will to give thee a Kingdome, whereunto he hath choſen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

Luke 12.

Of this Tho. Whittle, reade before.

Oh happie Miniſter, thou man of God, how glad mayeſt thou be of Gods moſt gracious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy triall? Oh happie Peter, whoſe part thou haſt well played; therefore thy reward and portion ſhall be like unto his. Now haſt thou good experience of mans infirmitie, but much more proofe and taſte, yea ſenſe and feeling of Gods abundant bottomeleſſe mercie. Although Satan deſired to ſift thee, yet Chriſt thy good Captaine prayed that thy faith ſhould not faile. Gods ſtrength is made perfect by thy weakeneſſe, and his grace is ſufficient for thee his deare childe. Thine example did ſo encourage and ſtrengthen thy poore brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee, and ſhortly will he glorifie thee with himſelfe, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect deareling before the world was made. Therefore rejoyce and be glad, for thou haſt good occaſion, in finding ſuch favour in his ſight.

Luke 22.

This is moſt true (O my other brethren, whom I doe not know, neither have I heard much of you) happy are you that ever you were borne, and bleſſed be our God which hath given you ſuch victory over the bloudy beaſt; ſhortly ſhall you be cloathed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteouſnes, and ſo ſhall you follow the lambe on Mount Sion with new ſongs of mirth and melodie, for your delivery forth of Satans power and tyrannie. God for evermore be bleſſed for you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he never failed them that put their truſt in him.

Apoc. 15.

Of Joane Warne, reade before.

O my deare and faithfull ſiſter Joane Warne, what ſhall I ſay to thee? Thy triall hath beene great; thy victorie in Chriſt hath beene notable. Thou haſt overcome many a ſharpe ſhower and ſtorme. Shortly ſhalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet reſt, and receive a reward due to a conſtant Martyr. Thou ſhalt goe home to thy heavenly Father, and poſſeſſe for ever the inheritance which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parents be, ſtil looking for thee, which have

triumphed

Q. MARIE.
Anno 1556.

He meaneth Elizabeth Foſter.

Matth. 25.

Iohn 5.

Biſhop Boner called the ſlaughter ſlave of England.

Pſal. 60.

4. Reg. 2.

triumphed over Antichriſt moſt victoriouſly. Oh bleſſed parents of happie children, which have ſhewed ſuch an example as the like hath been ſeldome ſeen. I ſalute thee dear ſiſter of like conſtant minde, whoſe conſtant example is worthie of continuall memorie. Praiſed be God for you mine own ſweet ſiſters, which hath made you play ſuch wiſe virgins parts. He hath plentifully poured the oile of his ſpirit into the lamps of your faith, ſo that the light thereof ſhall never be extinct. You ſhall enter with your Bridegroome into everlaſting joy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginning.

Oh my deare brethren and ſiſters, you bleſſed Saints of the Lord, how much, and how deeply am I bound to praiſe God for you both day and night. Pray, pray for me (my deare hearts) for the tender mercie of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your trace. Oh that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours, and were as nigh my journeys end as you be unto yours. But alas, I lie like the lame man at the pools ſide by Solomons porch, and everie man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I truſt my Lord of Londons Colehouſe is emptie, and all his Officers idle. Therefore they muſt ſhortly fetch more ſheep to the ſhambles; for he is the common ſlaughter ſlave of all England. But happie are you that are paſſed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands, and from all the angels of the darkneſſe of this world, which long tempted you in the wilderneſſe of the ſame: but now ſhall the Angels of God come and miniſter unto you; for they are your ſervants to hold you up in their hands, that you ſhall not hurt your foot, no nor one haire of your head ſhall periſh. They ſhall carrie you up to heaven in a fierie chariot, though you leave your mantle behinde you for a time, untill God reſtore the ſame again in a more ample and glorious ſort.

Thus in haſte, as it doth appeare, I am conſtrained to make an end, committing you all to Gods moſt mercifull defence; who ever have you in his bleſſed keeping, deſiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithfull prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by Gods grace. The bleſſing of God be with you all my deare brethren and ſiſters. All our brethren and fellow-priſoners here have them moſt heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceaſing. God ſend us a merrie meeting in his Kingdome, Amen.

By your brother and unfained lover, Iohn Careles, priſoner, abiding his moſt mercifull will and pleaſure. Pray, pray, pray.

To my dear and faithfull brother, William Tyms, priſoner in Newgate.

Another letter of Jo. Careles, privately written to his bedfellow Wil. Tyms.

The everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, with the continuall joy, comfort, and ſtrength of his ſweet ſpirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increaſed in your good heart (my moſt faithfull and deare brother Tyms) to the full quieting of your conſcience, and beating back of all the fierie darts of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receive the glorious crown of victorie, and in the ſame triumph over all your enemies, for evermore, Amen.

Gods children never tempted above their ſtrength.

He confirmeth W. Tyms, being condemned, to the day of his martyrdome.

I cannot expreſſe the exceeding great joy and conſolation of my poore heart, conſidering the marvellous works of GOD moſt graciouſly wrought upon you, not onely in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge croſſes, both inwardly and outwardly, but alſo in giving you ſo great conſolation and conſtancie in the midſt of the ſame. Faithfull is God, and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid; That he will never ſuffer his choſen children to be tempted above their ſtrength, but in the middeſt of their temptation will make an out-ſcape for them, by ſuch means as may make to his glorie and their everlaſting conſolation. My deare heart, great cauſe have you to be of good comfort, for I ſee in you as lively a token of Gods everlaſting love and favour in Jeſus Chriſt, as ever I perceived in any man. In reſpect whereof, I do even with my heart, love, honour, and reverence you, beſeeching God for his glorious Names ſake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to finiſh his good worke in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promiſes, yea I am well aſſured thereof, foraſmuch as you have ſo effectually received his holy ſpirit into your heart, as a pledge and a ſure ſeale of your eternall redemption, and a teſtimonie of your adoption in Chriſt Jeſus. For which cauſe Satan ſo ſore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce Ordnance againſt you, thinking thereby utterly to deſtroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded moſt firmly upon the unmoveable Rock Chriſt, againſt the which neither the Devill, ſin, nor yet hell gates ſhall ever prevail, Selah.

It is the nature of Gods children to be tempted.
Math. 4.

Satans tempting tools.

2 Cor. 2.

Therefore mine own bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, which doubtleſſe ſhall greatly increaſe your crown of glorie, triumph and victorie; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himſelfe and his ſubtle members. It is the verie divine ordinance of GOD, that all his regenerate people ſhall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we ſee by the example of our Saviour Chriſt; who as ſoone as he was baptized, was ſtraightwayes led of the holy Ghoſt into the wilderneſſe, there to be tempted of the Devill. But there got he ſuch a glorious victorie of Satan, that he could never ſince finally prevail againſt any of his poore members, but in everie aſſault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foile, and taketh ſhame; ſo that now he rageth with all the ſpite poſſible, ſpecially becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort. Saint James teſtifieth that he is but a verie coward, that will ſoone flee if he be faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tempting tooles, the Lord hath made them manifeſt unto us, ſo that he cannot deceive us though he aſſault us; for as ſaint Paul ſaith; His verie thoughts are not unknown to us, as it doth in you largely appear, praiſed be the Lords Name therefore.

Two principall pellets at Satan whereby he aſſaulteth Gods ſervants.
1. Fear of ſin and death, and infidelity of Gods promiſes.

Remedy againſt fear and infidelitie.

You ſee (deare brother) that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be even paſſing from this vale of miſerie, he hath but two wayes, or two peeces of Ordnance to ſhoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, becauſe you have two Bulwarks to defend you. The firſt of theſe terrible Gunnes that Satan hath ſhot at you, is the verie ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, feare and infidelitie; for the uglesomeneſſe of death, and horror of my ſinnes, which be ſo many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away with the ſure ſhield of faith, in the moſt precious death and blood-ſhedding of our deare Lord and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as Paul ſaith; ſo that though we be never ſo great ſinners, yet Chriſt is made unto us holineſſe, righteouſneſſe, and juſtification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and moſt ſweet ſufferings, and hath taken unto him all our miſerie, wretchedneſſe, ſinne, and infirmitie,

mitie. So that if any ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needs be Jeſus Chriſt, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made ſatiſfaction for them to the uttermoſt jot; ſo that for his ſake they ſhall never be imputed to us, if they were a thouſand times ſo many moe as they be. This do you moſt effectuouſly feele and know (deare brother) a great deale better then I can tell you, bleſſed be GOD therefore.

And now Satan, ſeeing that he cannot prevail with his boyſterous batterie againſt this Bulwarke of faith, which doth ſo quench all his fierie darts, that they can do you no harme, but rather do you good ſervice to caſt you down, under the mightie hand of GOD, that he may take you up by his onely grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glorie by Jeſus Chriſt (which thing the enemy can in no wiſe abide) therefore he ſhooteth off his other Peece moſt peſtilent, to provoke you to put ſome part of your truſt and confidence in your ſelf, and in your own holineſſe and righteouſneſſe, that you might that way rob GOD of his glorie, and Chriſt of the honour and dignitie of his death. But bleſſed be the Lord God, you have alſo a full ſtrong Bulwarke to beat back this peſtiferous pellet alſo, even the pure Law of GOD, which proveth the beſt of us all damnable ſinners in the ſight of GOD, if he would enter into judgement with us, according to the ſeveritie of the ſame, and that even our beſt works are polluted and defiled in ſuch ſort, as the Prophet deſcribeth them. With which manner of ſpeaking our free-will Phariſees are much offended; for it felleth all mans righteouſneſſe to the ground (I had like to have ſaid, to the bottome of hell) and extolleth onely the righteouſneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before GOD, and is freely given to all thoſe that firmly beleeve, as bleſſed be GOD you do.

The ſecond pellet of Satan, is confidence and truſt in our good works.

Remedy againſt the ſecond pellet Iſa. 64.

Ah my good brother Tyms, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to vaine-glorie or miſtruſt: for you are an old beaten ſouldier, and have had good experienre of theſe manner of temptations, both by your ſelfe and other, whom you know well were beloved of GOD. Be of good cheere therefore deare heart, be of good cheere, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhot off all his laſt Peeces, wherewith he had thought to have done moſt miſchiefe; but now he ſeeth he cannot prevaile (the ſtrong Tower of your faith being ſo invincible) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to ſome other place to practiſe the like aſſaults, and then will the Angels of GOD come and miniſter unto you the moſt ſweet and heavenly conſolations of the holy Ghoſt. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can deſire or think, I do moſt heartily commit you, with all the reſt of your godly priſon-fellows, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you with his grace and mightie operation of his holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a moſt glorious victorie over the ſubtle Serpent, and all his wicked ſeed, may alſo receive the Crowne of glorie and immortalitie prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the hands of him whoſe promiſe is unfallible, that the Devill, ſinne, death, or hell, ſhall never be able to deprive you of the ſame. The bleſſing of GOD be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

Satan overcome in Gods Saints.

Your own for ever,
Iohn Careles.

To my good ſiſter M. C.

Another letter of Io. Careles to Miſtreſſe Cotton, a faithfull ſiſter and favourer of the Goſpel.

The peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, and the eternall comforts of his ſweet ſpirit, be with you my dear and faithfull ſiſter, to the full accompliſhment of that good work which he hath moſt graciouſly begun in you, that the ſame may be effectually to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to your everlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

My loving and faithfull ſiſter in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving kindneſſe ſhewed unto me in your fervent and faithfull prayers, and for your moſt godly and comfortable letter, whereby you do not onely much increaſe my joy and comfort, but alſo put me in remembrance of my dutie towards you.

Bleſſed be the Lord God, which of his great mercie hath ſo beautified his Church in theſe our dayes, that even unto many godly women he hath given moſt excellent gifts of knowledge and underſtanding of his truth, ſo that they are not onely well able to informe their owne conſciences in all things neceſſarie to ſalvation, but alſo moſt ſweetly comfort their ſorrowfull brethren and ſiſters that ſuſtaine any trouble for the teſtimonie of Gods truth, yea and that which is more, even in the middeſt of their great conflicts of conſcience. Of which moſt happie number of godly and vertuous women (my deare heart) you are one, and that of the chiefeſt, being plentifully indued with the gifts of Gods moſt gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appeare in your daily doings. God onely have the praiſe therefore.

Gods great gifts in women.

Foraſmuch then as GOD hath given you the gift to write, I ſhall moſt heartily deſire you to let me hear from you ſometimes, be it never ſo little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby, ſpecially in my poore conſcience, which is ſore aſſaulted of ſubtle Satan, and in a manner oppreſſed of my ſinnes. Pray (deare ſiſter) that GOD may give me true, heartie, and earneſt repentance, and increaſe my faith, for they are both the good gifts of God onely, and far paſſe the reach of my power, to take at my pleaſure.

Note how God ſometime gives comfort by weaker veſſels.

Therefore (deare ſiſter) if you helpe me to beg the ſame of our deare loving Father, I am ſure that he both can and will give them in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terror of the fire, I moſt heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; onely it is mine own ſins and unthankfulneſſe which holdeth hard battell, and wageth ſtrong war againſt me, which onely goeth about to ſeparate me from my good Captain Chriſt, that I ſhould not enjoy his glorious victorie; but God being on my ſide (as I am ſure he is) that cannot continually prevail againſt me. Though GOD for a time permit Satan to take his pleaſure on me, as he did upon Job, yet I doubt not but in the end all ſhall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe moſt mercifull defence I commit you (dear ſiſter) with all the reſt of the Lords elect. Farewell in Chriſt.

Jo. Careles nothing touched with fear of death, or of the fire, but onely of his ſins.

Yours unfainedly, Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

To my deare brother T. V.

Another letter of Jo Careles, wherein he comforteth the afflicted minde of a certain good brother, mourning for lack of Gods feeling.

The everlaſting peace of GOD in Jeſus Chriſt, the continuall comforts of his moſt pure and holy Spirit, be with you my moſt deare friend and faithfull brother W. to the increaſe of your faith, and comfort of your ſorrowfull ſpirit, which is to the Father a ſweet ſacrifice through

Chriſt,

Q. Marie. Anno 1556.

Chriſt, for whoſe ſake he will never deſpiſe your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the ſame, and will in moſt ample wiſe perform the deſire thereof to his glory, and your eternall comfort in him.

In the midſt of my manifold croſſes and troubles, wherein I am conſtrained to flee unto God for refuge and ſuccour by earneſt and faithfull prayer, I cannot forget you my deare heart in the Lord, but eſteeming your ſtate for mine owne, I do poure forth my complaint for you, as I do for my ſelfe, and rather more, as I thinke preſent need doth require, deſiring moſt heartily to heare the good ſucceſſe of the ſame in you. The Lord God for his great mercies ſake accompliſh my deſire, as I doubt not but he will, when he ſeeth it good and moſt to his glorie, and to your comfort and commoditie. Oh that I might once ſee you ſo merrie in Chriſt, as you have juſt cauſe to be, that you might ſay with David, Pſalme 57. Awake my glorie, awake Lute and Harpe, bring forth the Pſalter with the merrie Song, that I might ſing a new Song of praiſe and thankſgiving unto the Lord, for the light of his favourable countenance, his help and deliverance. Oh, that would refreſh me as a moſt precious oyle, and gladden my poore heart, which is aſſaulted with ſorrow moe wayes then one. I doubt not but the ſame ſhall by your meanes receive much comfort, though for a time it doth mourne with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea and that with ſuch gladneſſe as ſhall continue for ever. But in the meane ſpace (I ſay) moſt happie are you, that ſo heartily mourne for the abſence of the Bridegroome. If you were not a wedding childe, you could never do it. Onely Chriſts true Diſciples do mourne for his abſence: therefore ſhall they doubtleſſe rejoyce at his preſence, which will be ſo much more joyfull, by how much the abſence is more ſorrowfull.

Comfort for a ſick conſcience.

Therefore (my good brother) take a good heart unto you, and be of good cheere. Say with the Prophet David, Pſalme 42. O my ſoule, why art thou ſo heavie, and why art thou ſo diſquieted within me? O put thy truſt in GOD, for I will yet give him thanks for the helpe of his loving countenance, and becauſe he is my GOD. Reade Pſalme 41. and 42. for your comfort, and conſider that the holy King and Prophet, at the making and firſt ſaying of them, was even in the ſame caſe that you are now in; but he ſtill comforted himſelf with the ſweet promiſes of God: and ſo do you my deare heart, for to you they do as well pertaine as they did to him, and as ſurely ſhall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him; for he is one God and deare Father unto you both, and for his mercie, truth, and promiſe ſake, he muſt needs make good unto you all that he hath ſaid. If his love towards you ſtood in the reſpect of your owne merit and worthineſſe, you might well mourne, lament, and complaine; yea, you had good cauſe to doubt, feare, and miſtruſt. But ſeeing he loveth you onely for and in Ieſus Chriſt, who is your whole holineſſe, righteouſneſſe, and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining; baniſh from you all feare, miſtruſt, and infidelitie, and know that as long as Chriſt doth continue Gods Sonne, ſo long muſt the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is moſt true, that as long as the cauſe of any thing doth laſt, ſo long muſt the effect remaine: but Chriſt is the whole cauſe why the Father loveth you, and he alſo continueth for ever; then muſt I needs conclude, that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the Pſalmiſt moſt joyfully ſo often ſingeth) His mercie endureth for ever and ever.

Gods love goeth not by our deſervings, but by faith in Ieſus Chriſt.

Chriſt onely is the cauſe why his Father loveth us.

This is moſt true (mine own dear heart) although the Lord for a time hide it from your ſenſes, that you might be the more earneſt in prayer to him for the feeling of it, and alſo the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taſte of it, as doubtleſſe he will do ere ever it be long; and then ſhall you be well able to comfort other in the ſame ſtate that you are now in, with the ſame comfort wherewith you are, and further ſhall be comforted of God.

Why God ſometime hideth himſelf from us.

Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and ſtretch forth the weake knees of your troubled minde, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore ſhall it be full well comforted with that ſweet peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding: and you are ſure alreadie to enjoy the bleſſing that Chriſt gave unto the godly mourners of Sion upon the Mount, at the firſt Sermon that he made. Oh happie W. in whoſe mourning companie I had rather be, then in the houſe of mirth and banquetting of ſuch as ſee not what cauſe they have to mourne and be ſorrie. But yet (my good brother) uſe a meaſure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithfull friends too much ſorrie for you. Let the perſwaſions of ſuch godly lovers as you do daily companie withall, or rather the perſwaſions of the holy Ghoſt by them, move you to ſome godly mirth and rejoycing. Conſider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of ſaint Paul thereto; Rejoyce in the Lord (ſaith he) and I ſay again rejoyce, Phil. 4. Mark how he doubleth the ſentence, that we may perceive it is a moſt earneſt and neceſſarie thing he requireth. Obey the commandement of GOD in this behalfe; wherein as you cannot but highly pleaſe him, ſo I aſſure you, you ſhall verie much rejoyce my poore heart, and the hearts of other which pray for you with mourning teares, and make that cruell enemie Satan and all your adverſaries ſorrie, which will rejoyce and laugh to ſee you mourne. Oh my good brother, let it manifeſtly appeare, that the Lord of his great mercie hath heard our faithfull and heartie requeſts for you. Oh how would that rejoyce me in the midſt of my troubles!

Heb. 12.

Eccleſ. 7.

Meaſure ought to be in mourning.

Example of chriſtian charity and compaſſion toward his afflicted brother.

Therefore now to conclude, becauſe the darkneſſe conſtraineth me to make an end for this time, I ſay, my dear and faithfull brother W. in reſpect of the great cauſe you have of your owne part through Chriſt, and for the glory and honour of Almightie God, the comfort, joy, and rejoycing of your dear brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, alſo your own dutie to the commandement of God; and laſt of all to vex, moleſt, and grieve Satan withall, rejoyce in the Lord, and be moſt heartily glad in him, who is wholly yours, and you are his, and ſhall be for evermore, Selah.

Farewell mine own bowels in the Lord, and praiſe God with joyfull lips and a merrie heart, and pray for me his moſt unprofitable ſervant, which have more cauſe concerning my ſelf to lament, then any one man elſe living: but my good Bridegroome is preſent, and biddeth me caſt away my mourning garments, and therefore I muſt needs be merrie with him: and ſo he biddeth you to be, by my mouth, for he is preſent with you, although for ſorrow you cannot know him, as Magdalen could not in the garden, untill he ſpake unto her. The Lord GOD ſpeake theſe words of comfort in your heart, and open the eyes of your minde, that you may perfectly perceive and feele his bleſſed preſence, and ſo rejoyce in the ſame for evermore, Amen. Comfort your heart in Chriſt, and caſt your care upon him, for he careth for you.

Your brother in the Lord, abiding his
good pleaſure, Iohn Careles.

To my deare and faithfull brother, Auguſtine Bernher.

Another letter of Io. Careles to faithfull Auguſtine Bernher, counſelling him to be circumſpect, in theſe dangerous dayes.

THe peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the help, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his eternall Spirit be with you, my deare and faithfull brother Auguſtine, and with all the reſt of my good brethren and ſiſters of the houſes of Barterley and Mancetter (which mourn for the miſerie of GODS people) to your everlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithfull brother Auguſtine) that GOD of his great mercie and infinite goodneſſe hath yet ſo graciouſly delivered and preſerved you out of your enemies hands, beſeeching almightie GOD alſo from the bottome of my heart, to be your continuall defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath moſt graciouſly been, that you may live and die both to Gods glorie, the commoditie of his Church, and to the increaſe of your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him.

Know you (deare brother) that I have received your letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it verie ſhort, although it ſeemeth ſomething ſharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promiſe in not writing to you of this long time. Well brother, I am content to beare it with patience, conſidering that you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comfort you and all heavie hearts) neither will I ſpend inke and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be ſo mindleſſe of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly perform to the uttermoſt of my power, as gladly as any poore wretch ſhall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no leſſe of long time. And as my poore prayer ſhall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way ſoever you ride or go; ſo I beſeech you that my ſimple counſell may take ſome place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you paſſe in no ſmall perill. God keep and preſerve you for his Names ſake.

He counſelleth Auguſtine to be circumſpect, and not raſhly to thruſt himſelf in danger.

I do not diſallow, but much praiſe and commend your heartie boldneſſe in putting your ſelfe in preaſe, when any one of Gods people needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thruſt your ſelfe in danger, when you can do them no good, or at leaſt wiſe when they may well enough ſpare that good you would do them: For if you ſhould then chance to be taken, you ſhall not onely be no comfort unto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow unto their ſorrow.

I do not perſwade you to abſent your ſelf from any place where your preſence of neceſſitie is required; for in all ſuch places, I know, God will preſerve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praiſed be his Name therefore: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permit you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetly comfort your conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you ſhould there and then be taken up for a witneſſe of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you ſhould raſhly or negligently thruſt your ſelfe into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea and lay wait for you, when no neceſſitie of your ſelf, nor of any other of Gods people doth require your companie. If they need any of your godly counſell, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which (I dare ſay) will be ſufficient unto them. For (continuall thanks and praiſes be given unto the everlaſting God) there is none of thoſe that be cruelly condemned for Gods truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully paſſed through the pikes, and they have boldly abiden the brunt of the battell, and therefore I reckon the worſt is paſt with them alreadie. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them ſhall do as much good, as your companie ſhall do, and perchance more too; for writing ſticketh longer in the memorie then words do, yea though your letters were as ſhort to them, as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame be ſomething ſweeter, and not all thing ſo ſharp.

This (dear brother) is the ſimple counſel which I would gladly have you obſerve, partly for that I heartily pray for your preſervation to the commoditie of Chriſts Church, and partly for that I unfainedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquillitie of your own conſcience, which I know will be quickly readie to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the Word of GOD for your warrant. For as in a glaſſe that is cleer, a ſmall mote will ſoon appeare: even ſo the good conſcience of Gods choſen children, being more cleer then chryſtall, will quickly accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their conſcience ſo clogged, and corrupted through the cuſtome of ſin, that they cannot once ſee or perceive their ſhamefull deeds and wicked works, untill God ſet the ſame before them for their utter deſtruction, and then deſpaire they immediately. But ſeeing that God hath given you a cleer conſcience, and a pure, ſharp, quick, and lively ſight in your ſoul, I would wiſh you to beware that you do nothing unadviſedly, but upon a good ground. For an accuſing conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not ſtick to tell you that you have too much tempted GOD, when peradventure you have done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe (I ſay) partly I have thought it good to admoniſh you (as I have done often) to be circumſpect, according to the counſell of Chriſt, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certifie you of all things at large, better then I can declare it by writing.

A good conſcience is ſoone troubled.

Conſcience of ſin ſometime is taken where none is committed.

Matth. 10.

D. Storie.

I beſeech you, good Auguſtine, help me forwards with your heartie prayers, for I truſt I have but a ſmall time to tarrie in this troubleſome world. Doctor Storie told our Marſhall that we ſhould all be diſpatched ſo ſoone as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloodie Butchers be gone to make ſlaughter of Chriſts ſheep that lie there appointed to be ſlain. God for Chriſts ſake put them and ſuch like beſides their cruell purpoſe, if it be his good will and pleaſure, Amen good Lord. I pray you do my moſt heartie commendations to my dear ſiſter and faithfull friend, good Miſtreſſe Marie Glover. I beſeech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am verie glad to heare that ſhe doth ſo joyfully and ſo patiently beare this great croſſe that God hath laid upon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all other his deare Saints unto the end, Amen. Commend me unto my deare and faithfull ſiſter Elizabeth B. I thank her moſt heartily for my napkin, and ſo I do your dear brother, for my ſhirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our anſwer before the Commiſſioners (which had ſent word the ſame morning this they would come to the Kings Bench by eight of the clock, and the houſe and all things were trimmed and made readie for them) I got that ſhirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and me thought they did help to harneſſe me, and weapon me well to go fight againſt that bloodie beaſt of Babylon. And truſt me truly, if they had come, I would have ſtricken three ſtrokes the more for your two ſakes, as well as God would have abled me to have ſet them on, as by Gods grace I will not fail to do at the next ſkirmiſh that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardie to lay on good load. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him downe, that he ſhould never be able to riſe againe. But that ſtroke belongeth onely unto the Lord, to ſtrike at his coming, the which I truſt will be ſhortly. Oh haſten it good Lord, and ſhorten theſe ſorrowfull and ſinfull dayes, for thy great mercies ſake.

The Chriſtian courage of Ioh. Careles.

Farewell my dear and faithfull loving brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preſerve you from the power of your enemies viſible and inviſible, and ſend us a moſt joyfull and merrie meeting here or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodneſſe to appoint us.

In the meane ſpace I ſhall moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtleſſe you ſhall never want my poore prayer, if it ſhall pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinfull a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my ſins to me, for Ieſus Chriſts ſake; unto whoſe moſt merciful defence I do moſt heartily commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, Amen. I pray you do my moſt heartie commendations unto maſter Iohn Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Your poore brother alwayes mindfull
of you in my prayer, Iohn Careles
priſoner, abiding Gods pleaſure.

To my deare brother Henry Adlington, priſoner in the Lollards Tower.

Another letter of Io. Careles to Henry Adlington, after a Martyr, partly comforting, and partly counſelling him how to anſwer his adverſaries.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall aid, ſtrength, joy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mightie Spirit, with the increaſe of faith, and lively feeling of his mercies be moſt effectuouſly wrought in your heart, my dear and faithfull loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly priſon-fellows, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which the Lord hath moſt graciouſly begun in you; that the ſame may be to the advancing and ſetting forth of his glorie, the commoditie of his poore afflicted church, and to your own eternall joy and comfort in him, Amen.

My moſt deare and faithfull loving brother in the Lord, I with all the reſt of my loving brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithfull remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earneſt thanks on your moſt happie behalfe, for that he hath given you ſuch heartie boldneſſe and Chriſtian conſtancie in the faithfull confeſſion of his everlaſting veritie. Bleſſed be God for thee my dearly beloved brother, which hath vouched thee worthie of ſo great dignitie, as to ſuffer for his ſake, and ſetting forth of his glorie. Oh glad in heart maieſt thou be, to whom it is given, not onely to beleeve in thy Lord and Chriſt moſt lively, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſeely ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therefore my good brother; for your calling unto the Croſſe of Chriſt was after a marvellous ſort. Surely, it was onely the Lords appointment, and therefore he will well performe his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glorie, and comfort of your brethren, whoſe hearts are mightily refreſhed, to heare how heartily you have behaved your ſelfe hitherto.

This preſent day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt, and your continuance ſo ſtedfaſt in him; which things be the ſpeciall gifts of God, not given unto everie man, but to you his deare dearling, elect and choſen in Chriſt, and ſuch as you be. And whereas you do require to know my ſimple minde concerning your anſwer unto Doctor Storie and the Chancellour; truly I ſay you did anſwer them verie well: for there are but two ſacraments indeed, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, as you have full well anſwered them, praiſed be God for his good gifts, who chuſeth the weak to confound the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If, when you come before them againe, they do aſke you what a Sacrament is, ſay you that a Sacrament, being miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, is a viſible ſigne of an inviſible grace, and hath the promiſe of Gods mercie annexed unto it, available to all ſuch as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worſhip it, as they would have us to do, contrarie to GODS commandement. And theſe properties, belonging to Chriſts true Sacraments, cannot be applied unto any one of thoſe five ſacraments which they have invented of their own braine, ſince Antichriſt began to reigne, to blinde the people withall.

What a ſacrament is.

I perceive (deare heart) that upon Friday they do intend to condemne you, and to give you your judgement. Therefore I thinke they will have no great reaſoning with you, but bid you anſwer them directly, either yea, or nay, to all ſuch things as they have to charge you withall, which they have gathered of you ſince you came into their cruell hands. But if they will needs make many words with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therefore perchance they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtions, to comber your knowledge, and then ſeeme to triumph over you and that truth that you do hold; if (I ſay) they do this (as perhaps for ſome evill purpoſe they will) then be you ſo plaine and as ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly unto them theſe or ſuch like words, as nigh as you can:

Be it knowne unto you, that I in all points do beleeve as it becometh a true Chriſtian, and as I have been truly taught in the dayes of that good King Edward, of ſuch godly Preachers and Prophets ſent of God, as have ſealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poore man without learning, but am commanded of God to follow the counſell of his conſtant Preachers, and ſo do I intend to do, God giving me grace and aſſiſtance thereto.

He inſtructeth him how and what to anſwer to the adverſaries.

As for you, I know you to be none of Chriſts Shepherds, but ravening Wolves, which come to kill and ſcatter the flocke of Chriſt, as the Lord ſaid you ſhould; and doth will us to beware of you and your poyſoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may ſee and know what ye be, that will not be wilfully blinde. But the good Shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Chriſts flocke; and I am commanded to follow their faithfull and godly example, and to confeſſe with them one truth, even to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it

We are bound to follow our true preachers.

good; and this as a true Chriſtian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by Gods grace intend to do.

God will require account of blood.

And if for the ſame God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented therewith; his will be done, for that onely is good. But of this be you ſure, the Lord will ſhortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is ſhed within this Realme; which you have brought into a moſt wofull caſe, and made many a heavie heart in the ſame, and moe I perceive you will make, ſo long as the Lord for our ſins will ſuffer you to proſper, and untill the time that your iniquities ſhall be full ripe. But then be you ſure, the Lord will ſit in judgement upon you, as well as you do now upon his Saints, and will reward you according to your deſervings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cauſe, and he will make anſwer for me, when the full time of my refreſhing cometh. In the meane ſpace, I will keep ſilence with this that I have ſaid, truſting that I have ſufficiently diſcharged my conſcience in confeſſing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the Catholique Church of Ieſus Chriſt, which was well knowne to be here in England in our late good King Edwards dayes, by two ſpeciall tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet ſuffer me to be deceived; that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy Word, and the due adminiſtration of his holy Sacraments, which is not to be ſeen in your Romiſh Church, and therefore it cannot juſtly be called the Church and Spouſe of Chriſt. I beleeve in the holy Trinitie, and all the other Articles of the Chriſtian faith contained in the three Creeds; and finally all the Canonicall Scripture to be true in everie ſentence. And I deteſt all ſects both of the Arrians and Anabaptiſts, or any other that divide themſelves from the true Church of Chriſt, which is his myſticall body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very houſe of the living GOD. And if for theſe things you take away my life, and make your ſelves guiltie of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the ſheep brought to the ſhambles, abiding the grace of the Butcher. And be you ſure your judgement ſleepeth not, but when you crie peace, peace, and all is ſafe, then ſhall your plagues begin like the ſorrow of a woman travelling with childe, according to Chriſts infallible promiſe.

The catholique Church in king Edwards daies in England. Two ſpeciall marks to know the true church in England in king Edwards dayes.

This kinde of anſwer, my dear heart, it ſhall be beſt for you to make; and by Gods grace I do intend to take the ſame order my ſelf in time to come, when the Lord ſhall vouch me worthie of that great dignitie, whereunto he hath called you. And if they ſhall laugh you to ſcorn, as I know they will, ſaying thou art a Foole, and an unlearned Aſſe-head, and art able to make anſwer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but ſtill commit your cauſe unto God, who will make anſwer for you, and tell them that they have been anſwered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one ſolution of all manner of queſtions, even a faire fire and fagots, this will be the end of your diſputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God ſhall permit the time. I am no better then Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other of my good brethren that are gone before me.

1 Theſſ. 5.
The Papiſts have one ſolution for all manner of queſtions

This kinde of anſwer will cut their combes moſt, and edifie the people that ſtand by, ſo that the ſame be done coldly, with ſobrietie, meekneſſe, and patience; as I heard ſay our ſweet brethren Thomas Harland and Iohn Oſwald did at Lewes in Suſſex, to the great rejoycing of the children of GOD that were in thoſe parts: and I hear ſay, that they were diſſolved from this earthly Tabernacle at Lewes on Saturday laſt, and were condemned but the Wedneſday before; ſo that we may perceive the Papiſts have quicke worke in hand, that they make ſuch haſte to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make our ſelves readie to ride in the fierie chariot, leaving theſe ſorrie mantles and old cloaks behinde us for a time, which GOD ſhall reſtore unto us againe in a more glorious wiſe.

Of Thomas Harland and Iohn Oſwald reade in the ſecond impreſſion pag. 295.

4 Reg. 2.

My good brother Henrie, you ſhall underſtand that bragging Iohn T. hath beguiled his keepers (who truſted him too well) and is run away from them, and hath brought the poore men into great danger by the ſame. The one of them is caſt by the Councels commandement into the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, the other is fled forth of the countrey for fear.

Free-will.

Thus you may ſee the fruits of our free-will men, that made ſo much boaſt of their owne ſtrength. But that houſe which is not builded ſurely upon the unmoveable Rocke, will not long ſtand againſt the boyſterous windes and ſtormes, that blow ſo ſtrongly in theſe dayes of trouble.

But my dearly beloved brother, bleſſed be God for you and ſuch as you be, which have played the parts of wiſe builders. You have digged down paſt the ſand of your own naturall ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wiſedome, and are now come to the hard ſtone and unmoveable Rock Chriſt, who is your onely Keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your faith moſt firmly, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wavering. Therefore neither the ſtormes nor tempeſts, windes nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring againſt you, with the verie gates of hell to help them, ſhall ever be able once to move your houſe, much leſſe to overthrow it; for the Lord GOD himſelf, and no man is the builder thereof, and hath promiſed to preſerve and keep the ſame ſafe for ever. Unto his moſt mercifull defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good companie, deſiring him for his ſweet Son Ieſus Chriſts ſake, to confirm and ſtrengthen you all, that you may be conſtant unto the verie end; that after the finall victorie is once gotten, you may receive the immarceſſible crown of glorie, of Gods free gift, through his great mercie in Ieſus Chriſt our onely Saviour. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and evermore, Amen. The bleſſing of God be with you all.

Iohn Careles.

To my moſt dear and faithfull brother, T. V.

A letter of Io. Careles written with heavenly power to comfort an afflicted brother oppreſſed with penſiveneſſe & mourning for his ſins.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall joy and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mightie Spirit, with the increaſe of faith, and lively feeling of his mercie, be with you my deare heart in the Lord, and faithfull loving brother T. V. to the full accompliſhing of that good work which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, that the ſame by all means may be to the ſetting forth of his glorie, to the commoditie of his poore afflicted congregation, and to the ſweet comfort and quietneſſe of your conſcience in him now and evermore, Amen.

With ſuch due honour, love, and reverence, as it becometh me to beare unto the ſweet Saints and dearly beloved children of God, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you my deare brother W. with all earneſt and faithfull remembrance of you in my daily prayers, thanking God right heartily that you doe likewiſe remember me in yours; aſſuring you that my poore heart doth daily feele great conſolation thereby, God onely have the praiſe for the ſame and all other his benefits. Ah my deare heart to the Lord, well is me that ever I was borne, that God of his great mercy & infinite goodneſſe hath uſed me (moſt miſerable wretch) at any time, as his inſtrument, to miniſter any thing unto you either by word or writing, that might be an occaſion of your joy and comfort in the Lord, and a provoking of you to praiſe and thankeſgiving unto God for the ſame, as your moſt loving and godly letter ſeemeth to import. Oh, happy am I that the Lord hath appointed me unto ſo good a ground to ſowe his ſeede upon; but much more happy are you, whoſe heart the Lord hath prepared and made ſo meete to receive the ſame ſo effectuouſly, giving thereto the ſweet ſhowers and heavenly dewes of his grace and holy Spirit, that it may bring forth fruite in due ſeaſon accordingly; the increaſe whereof we ſhall ſhortly reape together with perfect joy and gladneſſe, and that continually.

Therefore (my deare brother) I ſay unto you as good Elizabeth did to her deare couſin Marie, Luke 1. Happy are you, and happy ſhall you be for evermore, becauſe you have beleeved. The moſt ſweete and faithfull promiſes of your Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt you have ſurely laid up in the treaſurie of your heart. His comfortable dealings you have faithfully heard, his faithfull admonitions you have humbly obeyed; and therefore you ſhall never come into judgement: your ſins ſhall never be remembred; for your Saviour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the ſea, he hath removed them from you as farre as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and hath given you for an everlaſting poſſeſſion, his juſtification and holineſſe, ſo that now no creature, neither in heaven nor in earth, ſhall be able to accuſe you before the throne of the heavenly King.

Remiſſion of ſinnes. Math. 7.

Pſal. 103.

Satan is now judged, he is now caſt out from you, he hath no part in you; you are wholly given unto Chriſt, which will not loſe you: your ſtedfaſt faith in him hath overcome that ſturdie and bragging Prince of the world; Chriſt hath given you the finall victory over him and all his army, that they ſhall never hurt you.

What would you have more? Oh my deare heart, how great treaſures are laid up in ſtore for you, and how glorious a Crowne is already made and prepared for you?

Teſtimony of Gods Spirit.

And albeit the Holy Ghoſt doth beare witneſſe of all theſe things in your heart, and maketh you more ſure and certaine thereof, then if you had all the outward Oracles in the world; yet I, being certainly perſwaded, and fully aſſured by the teſtimonie of Gods Spirit in my conſcience of your eternall and ſure ſalvation in our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, have thought it good, yea and my bounden dutie, not onely at this time to write unto you, and to ſhew you my joyfull heart in that behalfe, but alſo by the word and commandement of Chriſt to pronounce and affirme in the Name and Word of the heavenly King Jehovah, and in the behalfe of his ſweet Sonne Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom all knees ſhall bow, whom all creatures ſhall worſhip, and alſo by the impulſion of the Holy Ghoſt, by whoſe power and ſtrength all the faithfull be regenerate; I doe (I ſay) pronounce to thee my deare brother T. W. that thou art already a Citizen of heaven.

Practice of the true keyes of the Goſpel.

The Lord thy God in whom thou doeſt put all thy truſt, for his deare Sons ſake, in whom thou doeſt alſo undoubtedly beleeve, hath freely forgiven thee all thy ſinnes, clearely releaſed all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great, and will never remember them any more to condemnation. As truely as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death, but hath utterly determined, purpoſed, and eternally decreed, that thou ſhalt live with him for ever. Thy ſore ſhall be healed, and thy wounds bound up even of himſelfe for his owne names ſake. He doth not, nor will he looke upon thy ſinnes in thee; but he reſpecteth and beholdeth thee in Chriſt, into whom thou art lively graffed by faith in his bloud, and in whom thou art moſt aſſuredly elected and choſen to be a ſweete veſſell of his mercy and ſalvation, and waſt thereto predeſtinate into him before the foundation of the world was laid. In teſtimonie and earneſt whereof he hath given thee his good and holy Spirit, which worketh in thee faith, love, and unfained repentance, with other godly vertues, contrary to the corruption of thy nature.

Experience of Chriſt working in his Church.

Alſo he hath commanded me this day (although a moſt unworthy wretch) to be a witneſſe thereof by the miniſterie of his holy Word, grounded upon the truth of his moſt faithfull promiſes; the which thou beleeving, ſhalt live for ever. Beleeveſt thou this my deare heart? I know well thou doeſt beleeve. The Lord increaſe thy faith, and give thee a lively feeling of all his mercies, whereof thou art warranted and aſſured by the teſtimonie of the holy Ghoſt, who confirme in thy conſcience (to the utter overthrowing of Satan, & thoſe his moſt hurtfull dubitations, whereby he is accuſtomed to moleſt and vex the true children of God) all that I have ſaid; and by Gods grace I will, as a witneſſe thereof, confirme and ſeale the ſame with my bloud, for a moſt certaine truth.

Wherefore (my good brother) praiſe the Lord with a joyfull heart, and give his thankes for this his exceeding great mercie, caſting away all dubitation and wavering, yea all ſorrow of heart, and penſiveneſſe of minde: for this, the Lord your God, and moſt deare and loving Father commandeth you to doe by me, nay rather by his owne mouth and word pronounced by me. But now my deare brother, after that I have done my meſſage, or rather the Lords meſſage indeed, I could finde in my heart to write two or three ſheets of paper, declaring the joy I beare in my heart for you, mine owne bowels in the Lord: yet the time being ſo ſhort (as you do well know) I am here conſtrained to make an end, deſiring you to pardon my ſlackneſſe, and to forgive my great negligence towards you, promiſing you ſtill that ſo long as my poore life doth laſt, my prayer ſhall ſupply that my pen doth want, as knoweth the Almightie God, to whoſe moſt mercifull defence I doe heartily commit you and all other his deare children, as well as though I had rehearſed them by name, deſiring them moſt heartily to remember me in their hearty and daily prayers, as I know right well they do; for I feele the daily comfort and commoditie thereof, and therefore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, or any ſuch like. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

Yours for ever unfainedly,
John Careles.

A letter of thankes to a faithfull friend of his, by whom he had received much comfort in his inward troubles.

Bleſſed be God the Father of all mercie, for the great comfort and Chriſtian conſolation which

A letter of Io. Careles to a faithfull friend of his, of thanksgiving.

he hath ſo mercifully miniſtred unto my poore afflicted heart by your meanes, my moſt deare and faithfull brother. Truly me thinketh your words, or rather Gods words by you uttered, have a wonderfull power and efficacie working in my heart at the hearing or reading of them. Rejoyce therefore my deare brother, and be thankfull unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many waies, both to the ſtrengthening of them that ſtand in his truth, and alſo to the raiſing up of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankfull for you, and on your behalfe; for verily great is the goodneſſe of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithfull love and amitie with you; Gods name for ever be praiſed therefore, and he performe all his mercifull promiſes upon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

He giveth him thankes.

I thanke my GOD moſt heartily, and alſo you my good brother, for that you are carefull for me in your faithfull prayers, remembring my juſt deſerved ſorrowes, as though they were your owne, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy deare children ſhould be ſo carefull? O ſweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and ſinne, and grant that I never abuſe thy great benefits. O let the love of thine elect, which love me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſigne and token, yea a moſt firme teſtimonie and ſeale to my ſinfull conſcience of thine everlaſting love and mercy towards me in Chriſt; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelitie did not let it. Oh circumciſe therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect, that I may alwaies be thankfull for the ſame, and love thee and them againe moſt heartily and unfainedly.

What a treaſure a truſty friend is.

Ah my deare heart, how ſweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearſed the ſweet ſaying of Solomon concerning proſperitie with true and godly friends? I will joyne with it the ſentence which goeth a little before, for doubtleſſe it may be well verified on you. A ſure friend (ſaith the wiſe man in Eccleſ. 6.) will be unto thee even as thine owne ſoule, and deale faithfully with thy houſhold folke. If thou ſuffer trouble and adverſitie, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithfull friend is a ſtrong defence: whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure. A faithfull friend hath no peere: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodneſſe of his faith. A faithfull friend is a medicine of life, and they that feare the Lord ſhall finde him, &c. Loe (my deare heart in the Lord) here is a lively image or deſcription of you; for verily ſuch a one have I alwaies found you unto me, not onely ſorrowing for my great ſorrow, but alſo oftentimes making me merrie and joyfull, with ſuch joyes as the world cannot feele. Now let the world bragge of his fained friendſhip; but I will boaſt of this true friendſhip in GOD, and eſteeme it a more treaſure then all tranſitorie things. And as for my mourning, deare brother, God hath made you to turne it unto mirth; for God hath put you in ſtead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercie taken away. I truſt henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loſſe, and to praiſe God for gaining unto himſelfe ſo great glorie by his choſen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine owne ſinne and wickedneſſe, and alſo to ſee his honour defaced, that I may be made meete and apt to beare the ioyfull and comfortable meſſage that your beautifull feete ſhall bring me. God bleſſe thee my deare heart and faithfull loving brother, and increaſe his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath moſt happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feele and lively perceive the certainty of Gods grace wherein you ſtand, and firmely teſtifie the ſame to the converſion or confounding of all gaine-ſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all Gods deare children, Amen. Farewell mine own ſweete brother, farewell as mine own heart.

There is no true friendſhip but amongſt godly perſons.

Such mourners ſhould we be continually with this and others Gods deare children, and bleſſed be they that ſo mourne.

Your own in Chriſt,
Iohn Careles.

Another letter of Iohn Careles, to a certaine godly faithfull ſiſter, by the name of E. K.

Another letter of Io. Careles to a godly chriſtian woman.

THe grace and free mercie of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the ſweet conſolations of the holy ghoſt, the guide of all Gods deare children, be with you, ſtrengthen and comfort you my dearely beloved ſweete ſiſter, E. K. now and ever, Amen.

Albeit (my dearely beloved ſiſter in Chriſt) as yet we did never ſee one another perſonally to any knowledge, yet by the vertuous report that I have heard of you, & alſo by the large loving token that I have received from you, me thinke that I doe even preſently ſee you, and behold your perſon faithfully walking in the feare and love of God, joying and rejoycing with you in the ſpirit, as though we were ſweetly talking together of Chriſts veritie. The Lord God do I humbly beſeech in the bowels and bloud of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that he will ſtrengthen us both with his holy and mightie Spirit, that we may conſtantly continue in the confeſſion of his truth unto the end; that like as we now ſee one another preſently in ſpirit, we may alſo ſee one another perſonally in the glorious preſence of God and his holy Angels, where undoubtedly we ſhall know one anothers perſonage, to our great joy, felicitie, and endleſſe comfort.

Preparation to the croſſe.

And now therefore deare ſiſter K. be ſtrong in the Lord our God, for doubtleſſe the time of triall is at hand; a great perſecution, with cruell murthering of Gods deare Saints is like to be very ſhortly in this wofull wicked Realme of England. Therefore (deare ſiſter) for the love of God prepare you to the Croſſe with all diligence, and make your ſelfe ready to die with Chriſt, that you may alſo live with him for ever. There is no remedie, if you will be Chriſts Diſciple, you muſt needs take up your croſſe and follow him; for the Diſciple muſt not looke to be above his Maſter, nor the ſervant to be better intreated then his Lord. If we were of the world (good ſiſter) no doubt the world would love us. But foraſmuch as Chriſt hath choſen us out of the world to ſerve God in ſpirit and veritie, let us be well aſſured the world will hate us and perſecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Maſter Chriſt. But yet let us be of good cheere, for Chriſt hath overcome the world. The paine is but ſhort that we can feele here, but the pleaſure is perpetuall that we ſhall feele elſewhere.

Conſolation under the croſſe.

Let us ſet before us the example of Chriſt, which abode the Croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame, in reſpect of the joy that was ſet before him; even ſo let us conſider for whoſe ſake we ſuffer, whoſe cauſe we defend, & what glorious reward we ſhall have at the day of our victorie, and then doubtleſſe the conſolation of theſe things will make ſweete all our ſufferings, and ſoone ſwallow up all the ſorrowes that we are ſowſed in for Gods ſake. I could recite divers texts of the Scriptures to confirme this point. But I need not, for I am well aſſured that you doe know them moſt perfectly already. The Lord give you ſtrength, and aſſiſt you with his holy Spirit, that you may continually walke in all points according to your godly knowledge: And then ſhall you not do as the moſt part of our Goſpellers do now adaies, the more is the pitie.

Againſt maſſing Goſpellers.

There are a great many in England that doe perfectly know, that the Idolatrous Maſſe is abominable, devilliſh, and deteſtable in the ſight of GOD. And yet alas, they be not afraide to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the holy Ghoſt, with being preſent at it, ſo ſinning againſt God and their owne conſcience.

Exhortation to flie from the Maſſe.

But deare ſiſter K. doe you flie from it both in bodie and ſoule, as you would flie from the verie Devill himſelfe. Drink not of the Whore of Babylons cup by any means; for it will infect the body, and poyſon the ſoule. Be not partakers of her ſins (ſaith the Angel) leſt ye be partakers of the plagues that ſhall ſhortly be poured upon her. O what an aray is this? that ſo many that know Gods truth will now turn again and defile themſelves in the filthy puddle of Antichriſts ſtinking religion? They goe about to ſave their lives with their double diſſimulation; but doubtleſſe, they ſhall loſe everlaſting life by it, if they doe not repent in time, and turne unto the Lord. But (deare ſiſter) my truſt is, that you doe utterly abhorre the coming to any ſuch thing. I hope that you will not by any means turn back into Egypt now, but that you will boldly venter through the wilderneſſe of trouble and perſecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kinde of heavenly pleaſures and joyfull delectations, and poſſeſſe the ſame for ever.

Let us conſider, how that every one of us doth owe unto God a death by nature, and how ſoone the Lord will require it of us we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodneſſe appoint us to pay natures debt with ſuffering for his truth and Goſpels ſake, and ſo making us his faithfull witneſſes with the Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Confeſſors, yea, with his dearely beloved Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, to whom he doth here begin to faſhion us like in ſuffering, that we might be like him alſo in glorie. Thus my dearely beloved ſiſter, I have beene bold to trouble you a little with my rude and ſimple letter, being made in haſte as it doth appeare. Yet I deſire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poore zeale unto you, and to accept my good will. And if it pleaſe God to ſpare me life and libertie, I truſt hereafter to write unto you more largely. Fare ye well deare ſiſter, E. K. the Lord bleſſe you and all yours, and poure upon you the heavenly dewe of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentifull knowledge of his veritie, and fill you with his holy and mighty Spirit, that you may continually rejoyce in the comforts of the ſame now and ever, Amen. Pray, pray, pray with ſtedfaſt faith.

Your daily Oratour Iohn Careles,
priſoner of the Lord.

In the letters of William Tyms, yee heard before much mention made of Agnes Glaſcock. This Agnes Glaſcock, through infirmitie, and her husbands perſwaſion, was allured to goe to Maſſe. For which cauſe ſhe falling into great ſorrow and repentance, was raiſed up againe by the comfortable Letters of William Tyms, and Iohn Careles, as before you may reade; and after that was conſtant in the ſincere profeſſion of the veritie, and in danger for the ſame of perſecution; unto whom Iohn Careles writeth therefore his Letter, as followeth.

A letter of I. Careles to Agnes Glaſcocke.

A letter of Io. Careleſſe to Miſtreſſe Agnes Glaſcocke.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall aide, ſtrength, and comforts of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty Spirit be with you my deare and faithfull ſiſter Glaſcocke, to the good performance of that good worke which GOD hath ſo graciouſly begunne in you, to his glory, the commoditie of his poore afflicted Church, and to your owne eternall comfort in him, Amen.

In our Lord I have my moſt humble and heartie commendations unto you, my deare ſiſter and moſt faithfull mother Glaſcocke, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God moſt hearty laud, praiſe, and thankes for you, and on your behalfe, in that he of his great mercie hath hitherto ſo mightily ſtrengthened you, conſtantly to cleave unto your Captaine Chriſt, notwithſtanding the great aſſaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtleſſe (deare heart) it cannot be expreſſed what joy and comfort it is unto my very ſoule, to ſee how mightily the Lord hath magnified himſelfe in you, and other his deare elect dearelings, whom he will ſhortly glorifie with himſelfe, as he hath done other of his ſweete Saints, that are gone before you. Rejoyce therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cauſe, if you diligently conſider the great dignitie that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witneſſes unto the world, and I thinke you ſhall with me and other your brethren in bonds, ſeale the Lords veritie with the teſtimony of your blood. Surely (ſweete ſiſter) this is the greateſt promotion that GOD can bring you or any other unto in this life; and an honour that the higheſt Angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

What an high honour it is to ſuffer for Chriſt.

Therefore happy are you, O faithfull Daughter of Abraham, that the Lord will now preferre you before many other, yea or any other of your age, that I doe know in England. Oh faithfull and vertuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the ſure Rock Chriſt, upon whom you have ſo firmely built your houſe, that neither ſtormes nor tempeſts, neither yet hell gates, or any other temptations, ſhall ever be able to prevaile againſt it. Full well doth it appeare by your conſtant continuance, that you have played the part of a wiſe builder, in counting the coſt aforehand, belonging to the finiſhing up of your Tower. And I doubt not but (through Gods gift) you have ſufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part ſhall have no juſt cauſe to triumph againſt you, or to mocke you, ſaying; Loe, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore goe on boldly and feare not; for God is faithfull (as Saint Paul ſaith) which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength, but either he will give you grace and ſtrength to ſtand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life) or elſe he will make ſuch an outſcape for you, as ſhall be to the ſetting forth of his glorie; the which above all other things, we that are his choſen children ought to ſeeke, yea even with the loſſe of our owne lives, being yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhall not be ſhortened one minute of an houre before the time that God hath appointed.

Caſt therefore (deare ſiſter) all your care upon the Lord, which (as S. Peter ſaith) careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mightie is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you unto the day of redemption;

He exhorteth her to be ſtrong.

he hath alſo given you the ſame in earneſt for the recoverie of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be ſtrong therefore, and take a good heart, as I heare ſay you be. God for ever be bleſſed for you, which hath ſo graft his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer adverſitie with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleaſure of ſinne for a little ſeaſon. Oh happie woman that canſt finde in thine heart to eſteeme the rebukes of Chriſt to be greater riches then all the treaſures of the world, as good Moſes did. Doubtleſſe great is your reward in heaven; which you ſhall ſhortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deſerving.

The charitie of Miſtreſſe Glaſcocke to the priſoned Saints.

Thus (deare mother Glaſcocke) I have beene bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple letters, deſiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haſte, as it doth appeare, but yet proceeding from a poore heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can teſtifie; which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my dutie towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thanke you deare heart for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindneſſe you have hitherto ſhewed unto my poore brother Tyms and his wife and children, with all other of Gods people, to whom you daily doe good: the Lord recompence the ſame ſeven fold into your boſome, as I doubt not but he will, according to his unfallible promiſes. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your husband. I beſeech the Lord ſtrengthen him in the confeſſion of his truth (as my truſt is that he will) that we may all joyfully reſt with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob in the Kingdome of God; unto the which he bring us, that with his moſt precions bloud hath bought us. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, Amen.

Your daily Oratour and unfained
lover, Iohn Careles, priſoner of
the Lord. Pray,pray,pray.

A briefe admonition written to Miſtreſſe Agnes Glaſcocke,in a book of hers, when ſhe came to the priſon to viſit him.

A note or poeſie written in Miſtreſſe Glaſcocks booke by Iohn Careles.

There is nothing that the holy Scripture throughout doth ſo much commend unto us, as true faith and ſtedfaſt truſt in the promiſes of Gods eternall mercies towards us in Jeſus Chriſt. For from the ſame, as forth of the chiefe fountaine and welſpring of life, doe flowe all kinde of vertues and godly fruits, ſpecially true love towards God, in the which we ought purely to ſerve him all the dayes of our life; and alſo chriſtian charitie towards our neighbours, as well to helpe them at all needs, as alſo not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of Gods mercie; for all things are poſſible unto him that can undoubtedly beleeve. Faith is that thing which aſſureth us of Gods mercie, and whereby wee vanquiſh all the fiery darts of the Devill; our victorie that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſh: and finally that which ſetteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our conſciences alwayes before him, and maketh us merrie and joyfull under the Croſſe, with many moe things then I can now expreſſe. Pray therefore for Faith, in faith. And for the Lords ſake beware of Poperie and Popiſh Idolatrie, the Idoll of the wicked Maſſe, and other Idolatrous ſervice. Make not your bodie, which is a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that we ſhall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evill. Therefore glorifie God in your body which is dearely bought. Betray not the truth, leſt the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot ſerve two maſters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keepe you from all evill.

The effects of faith.

My ſiſter deare, God give you grace,
With ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſts name,
His Goſpel ſtill for to embrace,
And live according to the ſame.
To die therefore thinke it no ſhame,
But hope in God with faithfull truſt;
And he will give you praiſe with fame,
When you ſhall riſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſweet and joyfull day,
To God with faith your prayer make:
And thinke on me I doe you pray,
The which did write this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your caſtle and ſtrong rocke;
He keepe you whether you ſleepe or wake,
Farewell deare Miſtreſſe A. Glaſcocke.

Another letter of Iohn Careles to Miſtreſſe A. G. to comfort her in her repentance, after ſhe had bin at Maſſe, fruitfull for all them to be read,which have fallen, and are to be raiſed up again.

Another comfortable letter of Io. Careleſſe to Miſtreſſe Agnes Glaſcocke being in great repentance for going to the Maſſe.

The peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternall comforts of his ſweet Spirit be with you, and ſtrengthen and comfort you my deare and faithfull ſiſter, Amen.

Although the perillous daies be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceived; yet let the true faithfull Chriſtians rejoyce and be glad, knowing that the Lord himſelfe is their Keeper, who will not ſuffer one haire of their heads to periſh without his almightie good will and pleaſure, neither will ſuffer them to be further tempted then he will give them ſtrength to beare; but will in the middeſt of their temptation make a way for them to eſcape out; ſo good and gracions a God is he to all his choſen children. And though ſometimes he doe let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raiſe them up againe, to the further increaſe of their comfort, and to the ſetting forth of his glory and praiſe. Which thing (my deare and faithfull loving ſiſter) I truſt ſhall be well verified on you. For I doe heare ſay, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea and inforcements that you deare heart have had, your foot hath chanced to ſlip forth of the way, to the great diſcomfort of your ſoule, and the heavineſſe of your heart: But my good ſiſter be of good cheere, for the Lord will not ſo leave you, but he will raiſe you up againe, and make you ſtronger then ever you were; ſo that your fall ſhall turne to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your owne ſtrength, or rather your owne weakneſſe, you would have ſtood too much in your owne conceit, or perchance have gloried in your ſelfe, and have deſpiſed and condemned other weake perſons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may ſee what the beſt of us all can doe, if God leave us to our ſelves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earneſtly upon God for his grace and the ſtrength of his holy Spirit (without the which we are not able to ſtand one houre) and to be moſt thankfull for the ſame when you have it, and then to be more circumſpect in time to come.

Therefore (deare ſiſter) ſeeing that you have done otherwiſe then the Word of God and your owne conſcience would allow, yet deare heart, doe you not thinke that God therefore will caſt you cleane away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for all them that truly repent and beleeve in him, although the ſins of them were as many in number as the ſands in the ſea, and as great as the ſinnes of the whole world. It is a greater ſinne to miſtruſt the mercy and promiſes of God, then to commit the greateſt offence in the world. Therefore (good ſiſter) beware in any wiſe, that you doe not once miſtruſt the promiſes of Gods mercy towards you; but know for a very ſurety, that all your ſins be utterly forgiven you for Chriſts ſake, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great.

To truſt to Gods promiſes.

But now (deare heart) take heede and beware that you doe not cloake that ſinne, and increaſe the ſame daily, in communicating with the wicked in their Idolatry, and deviliſh doings at their denne of theeves. Doe not (I ſay) deare ſiſter, come at any of their Antichriſtian Service, leſt by little and little you utterly loſe a good conſcience, and at length eſteeme it for none offence; as alas, a great number do at this day, to the great perill of their ſoules. The Lord be mercifull to them, and give them grace to repent in time and turne to the Lord, and then they ſhall be ſure to finde mercy at the Lords hand, as doubtleſſe you have done, praiſed be his name therefore.

Cuſtome of ſin a perillous matter.

Ah my deare ſiſter, you may now ſee the words of Chriſt verified upon your ſelfe, that a mans greateſt foes ſhall be they of his own houſhold; for your huſband hath gotten you to do that, which all the Tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtleſſe he may be ſorrie for it. God give him grace to repent, or elſe, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will heare it for all the goods in the world. Well, I thinke my brother Tyms will write him a letter ſhortly that ſhall touch his conſcience, if he have any conſcience at all.

A. G. inticed by her huſband to go to the maſſe.

But now againe to you deare ſiſter. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the firſt that hath offended, neither are you ſo good and ſo holy, as hath at a time ſlipt forth of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I heare ſay you be, as thou God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his deare Saints that offended him in times paſt; or as though God were not as mercifull now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, There is with the Lord (as the Prophet ſaith) mercy & plentifull redemption, and his mercie farre ſurmounteth all his workes; and he never faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidence in him, how great an offender or how wicked a treſpaſſer ſoever he be: No, he maketh their fals and backſlidings many times to turne to their profit and commoditie, and to the ſetting forth of his glory; as doubtleſſe, dear ſiſter, yours ſhall doe, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt onely in his infinite and eternall ſweete mercies.

The raiſing up of a troubled conſcience after his fall.

God turneth all things to the beſt, to them that be his.

Oh what a ſubtle, craftie, lying Serpent is that Satan our old enemie, that when he ſeeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedneſſe to do him ſervice, would then bring us into a doubting and miſtruſting of the mercy of God, which is the greateſt offence that can be; yea, infidelitie is the roote and originall of all other ſinnes. Therefore (my ſweet ſiſter) give no place to that cruell adverſarie of mankinde, who hath beene a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but ſtedfaſtly beleeve the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt unworthy ſervant, that all your ſinnes be pardoned, forgiven, and cleane releaſed for Ieſus Chriſts ſake our onely Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thankes, power, rule, and dominion for ever and for ever, Amen. Farewell, my deare ſiſter, and be of good cheere. Beleeve in the Lord and you ſhall live for ever. The Lord increaſe your faith, Amen, Amen.

Satan when he cannot bring a man to his ſervice, he preſſeth him with diſtruſt of Gods mercy.

Your poore brother, and daily faithfull
Orator Iohn Careles, priſoner of
the Lord. Pray for me.

Another letter of Iohn Careles to A. B. a faithfull Miniſter of the Lord, containing certaine fruitfull precepts of Matrimonie.

I Beſeech the ſame everlaſting Lord (my deare and faithfull brother) that bleſſed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and feare, preſerve and bleſſe you both, and your ſeed after you, that they may increaſe the number of the faithfull by thouſands and thouſands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath beene alwaies carefull for you, and now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good worke in coupling you with a faithfull mate; ſo ſee that you be thankfull for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increaſe of love and godlineſſe, yea of chriſtian joy and gladneſſe in theſe ſorrowfull daies, but yet ſo, that you mourne with the true mourners of Sion, and be ſorry (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperitie, that the Lord may build up the wals of Ieruſalem againe.

A letter of Io. Careles to A. B. a faithfull ſervant of Chriſt.

Oh that the Lord would turne Sions captivitie as the rivers into the South: Then ſhould our hearts be made glad, and our mouthes filled with laughter. Then would the heathen Hypocrites ſay; The Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for us alreadie, whereof let us heartily rejoyce and praiſe his name therefore. For though we now ſowe with teares, yet ſhall we be ſure to reape with gladneſſe: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good ſeede, ſo ſhall we come againe with joy, and bring our ſheaves full of corne. Yea the death of the Martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhall be the life of the Goſpel, ſpite of the Papiſts hearts.

Pſal. 145.

The death of the Martyrs is the life of the Goſpel.

Pray for me (deare heart) that I may be counted worthy to ſowe ſome ſeed amongſt the ſweete Saints of the Lord, that I may reape the ſame againe, without ceaſing, at the harveſt. It is now ſowing time of the yeere, men ſay in the countrey, and I thinke I ſhall make an end of ſowing before all March be paſt; for I heare ſay that I ſhall prove how my plough will enter into the ſtonie ground of the hard hearted Papiſts, within theſe foure daies. I hope to hold faſt, and not to looke back, neither for feare nor flatterie, untill I have made an end of ſowing, and then will I ſet me downe and reſt me, and aſke them all no leave, and looke for the lively fruit and increaſe thereof with joy and gladneſſe.

A ſowing time in Chriſts Church.

My deare brother, the time approacheth neere (I praiſe GOD therefore) that I muſt put off this ſinfull tabernacle, and goe home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my deare brethren are already looking and wiſhing for me. I beſeech you therefore that you will helpe me forward with your faithfull prayers, as I know you doe, for I doe feele the comfort and commoditie thereof.

That you have obſerved my ſimple counſell, I am right glad, and I truſt in the Lord God, you

This counſell was that he ſhould marry, notwithſtanding certaine lets whereby Satan ſought to hinder his marriage.

The root of bitterneſſe to be weeded out with the ſpade of patience.

ſhall find comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo doe indeede, I have beene ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life; therefore marke them well. Firſt and above all things you muſt be very circumſpect to keepe the band of love, and beware that there never ſpring up the roote of bitterneſſe betweene you. If at any time there happen to riſe any cauſe of unkindneſſe betweene you, (as it is unpoſſible alwaies to be free from it) ſee that you weed up the ſame with all lenitie, gentleneſſe, and patience, and never ſuffer your ſelfe, nor your wife to ſleepe in diſpleaſure.

How and when the husband ought to reprove.

Faults ſometime muſt be covered with love.

Not to take unkindneſſe for every trifle.

If you have cauſe to ſpeake ſharpely, and ſometimes to reprove, beware that you doe not the ſame in the preſence of other, but keepe your words untill a convenient time (which is the point of a wiſe man, ſaith Solomon) and then utter them in the ſpirit of meekeneſſe, and the groaning ſpirit of perfect love; which you muſt alſo let ſometimes to cover faults, and winke at them if they be not intollerable. Whatſoever loſſe and miſchance ſhall happen unto you, take it patiently, and beare it merrily; and though the ſame ſhould come partly through your wives negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heede in time to come, then a cauſe of ſorrow for that which is paſt and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life ſubject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure, and ready to thinke unkindneſſe for every little trifle, and ſpecially with our beſt friends, yea ſooneſt with our loving wives, which be moſt loth to diſpleaſe us.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all in love to beare with them, according to Chriſts example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himſelfe to cleanſe it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted and otherwiſe letted. I doubt not but you know your dutie therein a great deale better then I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, ſo will doe it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your wife very ſhortly, and ſo take my laſt farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haſte I am now conſtrained to make an end. The bleſſing of God be alwaies with you.

Your owne for ever, Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Another letter of Iohn Careles to Elizabeth, wife of the ſaid A. B. containing certaine godly precepts of Matrimony pertaining to her duty.

Another letter of Io. Careles to the wife of the party above ſpecified.

The everlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall aide, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holy and mighty Spirit, with increaſe of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of Gods eternall mercy, be with you my deare and faithfull loving ſiſter E. B. and with your godly loving husband my deare and faithfull brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and bleſſed in him, and your ſeede after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have beene long deſirous to write unto you (my deare heart in the Lord) not onely being thereto bound of dutie, but alſo often provoked of him, to whom I owe my ſelfe and all that I am able to doe (I meane even that bleſſed of the Lords owne mouth, whom God hath joyned with you in that holy and chriſtian ſtate of matrimonie) even ſo at the laſt I have obtained time and occaſion in ſome part to performe that which I have long purpoſed. And forasmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his deare childe, hath now graciouſly accompliſhed that good worke amongſt many others, which I (as a friend of the Bridegroome) have full heartily wiſhed and often prayed for; I thinke it good, yea and my bounden dutie, to treate of ſuch things as may be profitable to preſerve mutuall love and faithfull amitie betweeen you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminiſh, if he cannot altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many joyfull occaſions you ſhould be provoked continually to praiſe God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all meanes ſought to hinder from you.

Satan an enemy to all godly affaires.

As for all other things I know you are ſufficiently inſtructed, & alſo have a moſt learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need doe require: But in this thing I know my experience is more then his. Therefore (my good ſiſter) firſt and before all things ſee that you do diligently conſider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to ſoule and body, is given from above, and cometh from the Father of light: even ſo to whomſoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require alwaies a thankfull heart for the ſame; for elſe he will either take away his good gifts againe, or turne the ſame to their great diſcommoditie, and in the end to the increaſe of their damnation: ſo deteſtable in his ſight is the ſinne of ingratitude. But to ſuch as be thankfull for his benefits, he doth not onely to the old ever adde new, but alſo maketh the commoditie of his former gifts ever more and more to increaſe, untill by them they are fully perſwaded and throughly certified of his everlaſting love in Chriſt Ieſus, which is eternall life it ſelfe: ſo much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankfull heart.

The ſigne of ingratitude.

God loveth a thankfull heart.

Therefore I doe yet once againe earneſtly require you, that above all things you be thankfull to God for his benefits; not onely for your election, creation, redemption, and preſervation; but alſo for his other temporall gifts, wherewith he hath indued you: amongſt the which the chiefe and moſt excellent is (as teſtifieth the holy Ghoſt) your good, godly, and faithfull loving husband. For (as the wiſe man ſaith) Goods and poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his friends, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to ſuch as feare him.

A good wife is the gift of God.

And the like is of a good husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praiſed be his name therefore. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churliſh, brawling, waſtefull, rioting, drunken husband, wherewith he hath plagued may other (as he might alſo have done you) but he hath given you a moſt godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and ſober husband, by whom he will nouriſh, cheriſh, keepe, and defend you, inſtruct and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your children (the which he will alſo by him give you) ſuch things as be neceſſary for you. He hath not dealt ſo with every body; and yet he hath done this much more for you my deare ſiſter, and will thereto increaſe joy and love betweene you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; ſo is it he onely that maketh them and all the whole houſhold to be of one minde. Unto the which his gracious worke he requireth your diligence, and will uſe you as his inſtrument and meane, the more effectuouſly to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerve this my ſimple counſell, the which I have here written as a teſtimoniall of my good will towards you, becauſe I think in this life I ſhall never more ſee you,

God delighteth in the agreement betweene man and wife.

The duty of wives toward their huſbands.

Now as I have ſhewed you how you ſhould be thankfull unto God for his good gifts, ſo I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you to be evermore thankfull unto your dear loving huſband, who hath given himſelf unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the Church of God, then perchance you are yet aware of. Think your ſelf unworthy to be matched with ſuch an inſtrument of God; and alſo reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and ſeek with true obedience and love to ſerve him, in recompence of his true and painfull heart towards you. Be loath in any wiſe to offend him, yea rather be carefull and diligent to pleaſe him, that his ſoul may bleſſe you. If at any time you ſhal chance to anger him, or to do or ſpeak any thing that ſhall grieve him, ſee that you never reſt untill you have pacified him and made him merrie again.

If at any time he ſhal chance to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing hapneth ſometimes to the beſt men living) ſee that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkinde word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving and cheerfull countenance, and rather take the fault upon you, then ſeeme to be diſpleaſed.

A cheerfull countenance.

Be alwayes merrie and cheerfull in his companie, but not with too much lightneſſe. Beware in any wiſe of ſwelling, powting, or lowring, for that is a token of a cruell and unloving heart; except it be in reſpect of ſin, or in the time of ſickneſſe.

Temperance in apparell.

Be not ſorrowfull for any adverſitie that God ſendeth; but beware that nothing be ſpilt or go to waſte through your negligence. In any wiſe ſee that you be quicke and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the ſame according to his diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanly and well favouredly in your apparell, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Finally, in word and deed ſhew your ſelf wiſe, humble, merrie, and loving towards him, and alſo towards ſuch as he doth love, and then ſhall you lead a bleſſed life. I could ſpeak of many things, the which I have learned and proved true by experience: but I know that you will do in all things much better then I can teach you, becauſe you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, who hath alſo given you an heart to obey, and ſerve him. Yet I truſt you will not be offended for this, which I have written, but rather accept my good will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Iudith.

Thus as mine own ſoul I commend you both to God, deſiring him to bleſſe you with all manner of ſpirituall bleſſings in heavenly things, and alſo with the dew of heaven, and fatneſſe of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and onely Saviour. The Lord increaſe and bleſſe the fruit of your bodies, that your children may ſtand round about your table, thick, freſh, and luſtie, like the Olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may ſee and bleſſe your childrens children, unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for the which they ſhall be accepted in his ſight.

Note that both theſe departed in quiet peace, the one 1565. the other 1568.

God let you ſee the proſperitie of Sion, for whoſe lying in the duſt let your hearts mourne. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and alwayes increaſe the ſame, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both moſt heartily farewell; and I think I ſhall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beſeech you both to aid me with your continuall prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyfull victorie through Ieſus Chriſt: To whoſe moſt mercifull defence I do moſt heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable untill his coming. The which I beſeech him to haſten for his mercies ſake.

Your own unfained, Iohn Careles,
priſoner of the Lord.

Here endeth the Letters of Iohn Careles.

¶ The Hiſtorie and Martyrdome of a learned and vertuous young man, called Iulius Palmer, ſometime Fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, with two other Martyrs, to wit, Iohn Gwin, and Thomas Askine, burned together in Newberie, at a place there called the Sand pits.

3. Martyrs ſuffering at Newbery, Iulius Palmer, Iohn Gwin, Tho. Askine, Martyrs. Iuly 16.

The ſame moneth of Iuly, in which Careles, as before is declared, was releaſed out of priſon by death, in ſhort time after, about the ſixteenth day of the ſame moneth of Iuly, ſuffered theſe three godly and conſtant Martyrs above mentioned, at Newberie, in which number was Iulius Palmer, ſometime ſtudent and Fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and afterwards School-maſter in the towne of Reding. Concerning whoſe ſtorie and martyrdome here followeth, although not ſo much as he deſerveth to have ſaid, yet ſo much as ſufficiently may ſet forth the great working of God in this young man.

Iulius Palmer.

The ſtory of Palmer.

AS all Gods works are wondrous, in calling of all ſorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witneſſe unto his aſſured and infallible word, which the adverſaries have depraved, and corrupted with their falſe gloſſes, to eſtabliſh the fleſhly kingdome of Antichriſt, and to purchaſe ſecuritie in the world, which they ſeek to keep in their poſſeſſion by all means poſſible, rather curſing with the thunderbold of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, ſcourging, and perſecuting by ſecret practice, and open violence, the ſimple ſheep of our Saviour Chriſt, then that their falſe forged packing ſhould be detected, their eſtimation appaired, their kitchen cooled, their rents, revenews, goods, lands and poſſeſſions abated: I ſay, as GODS works be wonderfull, which chuſeth ſome of all ſorts to confeſſe his Goſpel; ſo there is no one example, in the whole godly fellowſhip of Martyrs, more to be marked, yea more to be wondred at, then this, that one, which all King Edwards dayes was a Papiſt within the Univerſitie of Oxford, and ſo obſtinate, as that he did utterly abhor all godly prayer, and ſincere preaching, and almoſt of all them, with whom he lived, was therefore likewiſe abhorred, and (as I may ſay) pointed at with the finger, did yet after in Queene Maries time ſuffer moſt cruell death, at the Papiſts hands at Newberie in Barkſhire, for the moſt readie and zealous profeſſion of the bleſſed truth.

Iulius Palmer born in Coventrey.

Iulius Palmer ſcholler to M. Harley, ſchoolmaſter of Magdalen Colledge.

His name was Iulins Palmer, born in Coventrey, where alſo his parents dwelt. His Father had ſometime been Maior of that Citie, and occupied Merchandiſe, albeit he was an Upholſter by his myſterie. How he was brought up in his young and tender yeers, from his firſt entring, we know not, but as we have learned, he was ſometime ſcholler to maſter Harley, which taught the free ſchoole of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, by whoſe diligence, and the goodneſſe of his own

capaſity

capacitie, he became a toward young ſcholler in proſe and verſe. For he had a very prompt and readie memory, a wit ſharp and pregnant. He ſpake Latine with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; inſomuch that divers times he ſupplied the roome of the Greek Reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtle diſputer, both in the publike ſchools, and alſo at home. He uſed to ſay, that he was never ſo pleaſantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound queſtions in Philoſophie; ſo that he hath oftentimes watched and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſing and ſearching out the truth of deep and diffuſe queſtions, as De principiis, de infinito, de vacuo, de tempore, de caſu, & fortuna, &c. And this uſed he to do ſundrie times, with divers of his equals.

Julius Palmer addicted to philoſophy.

Julius Palmer beginneth to apply Divinity.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exerciſe of his learning, to defend the contrarie to that which was affirmed, yet with modeſtie, and without all oſtentation. For he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavelling, all frivolous talk, and unſaverie brabling. He was not captious, but would reaſon ſo ſoberly, and with ſuch probability, that even his adverſaries would no leſſe marvell at the dexteritie of his invention, then at his comely and decent behaviour in proſecuting the ſame.

And although he applied Divinitie verie lately, it appeareth that he recompenced the ſmall time of his ſtudy with the greatneſſe of his diligence beſtowed in the ſame, and his late coming to the truth, with his earneſt and zealous proceeding therein. For by the ſecret inſpiration of Gods holy ſpirit, inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparant ſignification in his young yeers, that if God had ſpared his life to age, he would have growne to ſuch maturitie and ripeneſſe of judgement, as whereby he ſhould have been an ornament to Chriſts Church, and an honour to his countrey.

The civill behaviour of Julius Palmer.

And ſomewhat to ſpeak of his civill behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curioſitie, of countenance cheerfull, without high looks, of ſpeech pleaſant, without affectation, he was affable and lowly as any childe, and yet quicke ſpirited, and vehement in reaſoning. He practiſed no deceit toward any man, for he was of ſuch ſimplicitie, that he was apter to be deceived, then to deceive, and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would ſay, None were to be counted valiant, but ſuch as could deſpiſe injurie.

Palmers proverb.

In private ſtudie he was ſo infatigable, that he aroſe ordinarily every morning at foure of the clock, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night. Inſomuch that as he grew in yeers and underſtanding; ſo he came to be a Bachelor of Art, and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowſhip in Magdalen Colledge, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a Reader in Logicke, Anno 1550. Now if he had at the firſt favoured ſincere Religion, ſo much as he followed his book, then had we had the leſſe matter to note in him. But indeed he was ſo much (as is aforeſaid) addicted to the Romiſh faith, that his companie and converſation in the ſame houſe was altogether with ſuch, as were utter enemies to the Goſpel of Chriſt. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulſion, for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he hear none himſelf, nor yet ſuffer his ſchollers to reſort unto them by his good will: for he was fully perſwaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers themſelves, he did both diſdain and deſpiſe, and all ſuch as were ſetters forth of ſound doctrine beſide. For the which contumacie and ſtubbornneſſe, he was ſo oft called before the Officers of the Colledge, and puniſhed ſometime by the purſe, ſometime by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain taſkes, and exerciſes of learning, injoyned unto him, that divers ſuppoſed him to have endeavoured, of ſet purpoſe, continually to ſeek occaſion, whereby he might be counted a ſufferer for the fantaſied religion of the Romiſh Church.

Palmer fellow of Magdalen Colledge. Palmer Reader of Logick in his Colledge.

Palmer an utter enemie to ſound religion. Palmer impugner of true Preachers in King Edwards time.

In the end, not long before the death of King Edward that godly Prince, certaine ſlanderous libels, and railing verſes, were privily fixed to the walls and doores in ſundrie places of the Colledge againſt the Preſident, which was then Doctor Haddon, whereby was miniſtred further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and ſome of his companions, had a verie little while before ſpoken contumelious words againſt the Preſident; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby aroſe a vehement ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion, that he conſpiring with others, had contrived, made and ſcattered abroad the ſaid ſlanderous writings. Great inquiſition was made in the Colledge, to ſearch out the Author of ſo malicious and deſpitefull a deed, but nothing could be found and proved againſt Palmer, or any of his companions. Now Palmer, being hereupon examined by the Officers, did not onely with ſtout courage deny the fact to have been his, but alſo ſpake further many reproachfull words touching the ſaid Officers, and ſent the ſame to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that ſocietie. And ſo for this, and other Popiſh pranks (continuing obſtinate ſtill) he was expelled the houſe.

Libels ſet up in Oxford againſt D. Haddon Preſident.

Julius Palmer expelled the Colledge for Popery.

After he was thus diſpatched of his roome, he was faine for his owne maintenance to apply himſelf to be a teacher of children in the houſe of Sir Francis Knolles, in the which trade he continued untill the coming in of Queene Marie. And when her Viſitors were ſent to Magdalen Colledge, under a title of reformation (whereas all things were better afore) I meane to diſplace divers of the fellows that were learned, and to put right Catholiques (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be reſtored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be reſtored of them, whoſe faith and religion (as he ſaid) he did to the uttermoſt of his power defend and maintaine. And indeed at length he obtained the ſame. Then after he was reſtored again to his houſe in Queen Maries reign, God dealt ſo mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obſtinate Papiſt, an earneſt and zealous Goſpeller.

Julius Palmer driven to teach children.

Palmer reſtored again to his Colledge.

Concerning whoſe converſion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the ſame, we have here put down a letter written by one maſter Bullingham, fellow in ſome part of King Edwards time with the ſaid Palmer, then alſo of the ſame faction of religion with him, and toward the latter end of the ſaid Kings reign, a voluntary exile in France for Papiſtrie. In Queen Maries dayes, likewiſe a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Winchester. And after the coming in of Queen Elizabeth ſuch a one, as for his obſtinacie was quite and clean diſpatched from all his livings by her Majeſties Commiſſioners. And yet now (God be praiſed therefore) a moſt conſtant Profeſſor, and earneſt teacher of the word of God. This man at the requeſt of a certain friend of his in London, being deſirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius. The copie of which letter we thought good here to inſert, for that the parties being alive can teſtifie the ſame to be true and certain, if any man ſhall doubt thereof.

The letter of maſter Bullingham is this.

MAſter Bullingham, I wiſh you and all yours continuall health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Iulius Palmer, that conſtant witneſſe of Gods truth, for that his doings and ſayings known unto me, were worne out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth it were rather to deface and blemiſh, then to adorn and beautifie him. After his converſion to the moſt holy Goſpel I never ſaw his face. Wherefore the leſſe have I to certifie you of. But ſo much as ſeemeth to me to ſerve moſt unto the purpoſe, here I commend unto you; and in witneſſe that my ſayings are true, I ſubſcribe my name, willing, praying, and beſeeching you to publiſh the ſame to the whole world, &c. At what time I Bullingham intended to forſake England, and to flie into France for the wicked Popes ſake (which came to paſſe indeed: for in Roan I was for a time) this Iulius Palmer, and Richard Duck, brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London: whereon a day Iulius Palmer and I walked to Saint Iames the Queenes place; and as we leaned at the great gate of that place, Palmer ſpake thus unto me. Bullingham, you know into what miſerie and calamities we are fallen for the Pope and his religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now preſently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us conſider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a ſtrange countrey, both friendleſſe and monileſſe, where I feare me you ſhall taſte of ſowrer ſawces then hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits end. The face of hell it ſelfe is as amiable unto me, as the ſight of Magdalen Colledge. For there I am hated as a venemous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth. And as touching our religion, even our conſciences bear witneſſe that we taſte not ſuch an inward ſweetneſſe in the profeſſion thereof, as we underſtand the Goſpellers to taſte in their religion. Yea, to ſay the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of wil then of knowledge. But what then? Rather then I will yeeld unto them, I will beg my bread. So Palmer bequeathed himſelf to the wide world, and I paſſed over into Normandie. At my return into England again, my chance was to meet Palmer in Pauls, where a rood was ſet up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, and our miſerable departing not long before the end of King Edwards dayes.) Then after our greeting, thus ſaid Palmer. Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have ſmarted? No Palmer, quoth I, it is an image of him. An image, quoth he? I tell thee plainly Bullingham, Iohn Calvin (whoſe Inſtitutions I have peruſed ſince our departure) telleth me plainly by GODS Word that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Clergie the filthie ſink-hole of hell: and now I beleeve it. For I feele it ſenſibly. Oh that God had revealed theſe matters unto me in times paſt. I would have bequeathed this Romiſh religion or rather irreligion to the devill of hell from whence it came. Beleeve them not Bullingham. I will rather have theſe knees pared off, then I will kneele to yonder Iacknapes (meaning the rood.) God help me, I am born to trouble and adverſitie in this world. Well Palmer, ſaid I, is the winde in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little eaſe at the end. I will never have to do with you againe. So I left Palmer walking in Pauls, who thorow the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternall reſt is prepared for perſecuted Martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be knowne that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to ſay. In theſe words and deeds it appeareth that GOD had elected him. From Bridgewater, April 26. Anno 1562.

Behold the obſtinacie of the Papiſts, which knowing the truth will not yeeld.

Behold his earneſtneſſe now he is turned to the truth.

By me Iohn Bullingham.

When he was by the Viſitors reſtored to his Colledge, although he began ſomething to ſavour and taſte of Gods truth, by conference and companie of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulſion, ſpecially at the houſe of Sir Francis Knowls: yet was he not throughly perſwaded, but in moſt points continued for a while either blinde, or elſe doubtfull. Neither could he chuſe, but utter himſelf in private reaſoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully reſolved, and alſo of what points he doubted. For ſuch was his nature alway, both in Papiſtrie, and in the Goſpel, utterly to detect all diſſimulation, inſomuch that by the meanes of his plainneſſe, and for that he could not flatter, he ſuffered much woe, both in King Edwards, and alſo in Queene Maries time. Whereas he might at the firſt have lived in great quietneſſe, if he could have diſſembled, and both done and ſpoken againſt his conſcience, as many ſtirring Papiſts then did. And likewiſe he might have eſcaped burning in Queene Maries time, if he would either have ſpoken, or kept ſilence againſt his conſcience, as many weake Goſpellers did. But Palmer could in no wiſe diſſemble.

The converſion of Palmer after his reſtoring again into the Colledge.

Plain Palmer could never diſſemble with his conſcience.

Now within ſhort ſpace, God ſo wrought in his heart, that he became very inquiſitive, and carefull to hear and underſtand, how the Martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were uſed, and after what ſort they took their death. Inſomuch that he ſpared not at his owne charges to ſend over one of his ſcholers, in the companie of a Bachelor of that houſe, to Gloceſter, to ſee and underſtand the whole order of Biſhop Hoopers death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing ſome think he the rather did, becauſe he was wont in King Edwards time to ſay; that none of them all would ſtand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible crueltie the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kinde of torments to the end. Whereof he himſelf alſo did ſee more experience afterward, at the examination and death of thoſe holy confeſſors and Martyrs which were burned at Oxford before his eyes; inſomuch that the firſt hope, which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of Biſhop Ridley, and Biſhop Latimer. At what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he braſt out into theſe words and ſuch like; Oh raging crueltie, Oh tyrannie tragicall, and more then barbarous.

The firſt occaſion of Iulius Palmers converſion was by the conſtant death of the Martyrs.

Note how the blood of Martyrs worketh.

From that day forward he ſtudiouſly ſought to underſtand the truth, and therefore with all ſpeed he borrowed Peter Martyrs Commentaries upon the firſt to the Corinths, of one of Magdalens yet alive, and other good books of other men. And ſo through hearty prayer and diligent ſearch and conference of the Scriptures, at length he beleeved and imbraced the truth with great joy; and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: In ſuch ſort, as he never hated the truth more ſtubbornly before, then afterward he willingly imbraced the ſame, when it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he ſhould come to Church, in thoſe

Palmer fervent in the Goſpels cauſe.

dayes

Superſtitious toyes.

dayes of Poperie, there to be occupied among the reſt, in ſinging of Reſponds, reading of legends, and ſuch like ſtuffe allotted unto him, he had as much pleaſure, he ſaid, to be at them, as a Bear to be baited, and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid diſpleaſure and danger, then for any good will, and readie affection.

At length through Gods grace, he grew up to ſuch maturity and ripeneſſe in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare certain ſparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he ſhould keep his bowing meaſures at * Confiteor, (as the cuſtome there was) in turning himſelf to and fro, ſometime Eaſtward, ſometime Weſtward, and afterward knock his breſt at the elevation time, againſt theſe idolatrous adorations his heart did ſo vehemently riſe, that ſometime he would abſent himſelf from them, and ſometime being there, he would even at the ſacring time (as they termed it) get him out of the Church, to avoid thoſe ungodly geſtures, and idolatrous adoration. To be ſhort, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly ſuſpected and abhorred of the Preſident then being, which was M. Cole, and of divers others which before were his friends, and therewithall feeling great conflict and torment of conſcience daily to grow, with his converſation with idolaters; ſeeing alſo that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly ſtand together, he addreſſed himſelf to depart the houſe. For he thought it not beſt to abide the danger of expulſion, as he did at the firſt; ſeeing the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a ſpeciall friend (who would gladly have perſwaded him to ſtay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this anſwer, Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo ejus, i. The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſſe thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit my ſelf to God, and the wide world.

* By theſe meaſures he meaneth a certain ceremony of the colledge, which was this, That in the Confiteor time at evenſong, the whole company of the quire (which was there to the number of a C) ſtanding up, & turning their faces firſt to the high Altar, ſhould then turn them to the Preſident, and from the Preſident to the high Altar again, and ſo after turning and returning three times together, the Preſident ſhould ſay, Miſereatur, which done every man to place himſelf again in his ſtall.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painfull ſurges that he ſuffered after he came abroad into the perillous gulphes, and deep ſea of this wretched wide world, firſt, to rehearſe one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at ſuch times as he had recourſe to the Colledge, after his laſt departure, whereby the Reader may yet better underſtand of his ſimplicitie and plainneſſe, and how far wide he was from all cloked diſſimulation in Gods cauſe, which certain godleſſe perſons have ſought maliciouſly to charge him withall. Being at Oxford on a certain time in Magdalen Colledge, and having knowledge that the Spaniſh Frier John (who ſucceeded D. Peter Martyr, in the office of the Divinitie Lecture) would preach there that preſent Sunday, he would not at the firſt grant to be preſent at it. At length a friend of his, a Fellow of that houſe, perſwaded ſo much with him, that he was content to accompany his ſaid friend to the Church. But ſuddenly as the Frier vehemently inveyed againſt Gods truth, in defending certain Popiſh hereſies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongſt the midſt of the auditorie, and was found in his friends chamber weeping bitterly. Afterward being demanded why he ſlipt away upon ſuch a ſudden, Oh ſaid he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould have openly ſtopped mine eares. For the Friers blaſphemous talk, in diſproving, or rather depraving the veritie, made mine eares not to glow, but my heart worſe to ſmart, then if mine eares had been cut from my head.

Doct. John the Spaniſh Frier ſucceeded Doc. Peter Martyr in the Divinity Lecture.

Palmer could not abide the blaſphemous ſermon of Frier John.

It chanced another time, that the ſame friend of his, called maſter Shipper, being then Burſar of the houſe, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer not knowing what gheſts were alſo thither invited and bidden, hapned there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the foreſaid Frier, with whom were preſent D. Smith, D. Treſham, and divers other Papiſts, whoſe company Palmer could not well bear: and therefore whiſpering his friend in the eare, he ſaid he would be gone, for that was no place for him. I will, ſaith he, to the Burſars table in the great hall. The Burſar underſtanding his minde, deſired him of all friendſhip not ſo to depart, alledging that it were the next way to bewray himſelf, and as it were of purpoſe to caſt himſelf into the Briers, with many other perſwaſions, as the ſhortneſſe of time would permit. In the end he condeſcended to his requeſt and tarried. Now as he came to the fire ſide, the Frier ſaluted him cheerfully in Latine, for he could not ſpeak Engliſh. Palmer with an amiable countenance reſaluted him gently. But when the Frier offered him his hand, he caſting his eye aſide, as though he had not ſeen it, found matter of talk to another ſtanding by, and ſo avoided it; which thing was well marked of ſome, not without great grudge of ſtomack.

Palmer refuſeth to take Frier John by the hand.

After they were ſet and had well eaten, the Frier with a pleaſant look offering him the cup, ſaid, Propino tibi, juvenis erudite, i. I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer at that word bluſhing as red as ſcarlet, anſwered, Non agnoſco nomen, domine, i. I knowledge no ſuch name, O ſir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he ſet it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was alſo well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being ſharply rebuked of the ſaid Burſar his friend, for his ſo unwiſe, uncivill and unſeemly behaviour (as he termed it) he made anſwer for himſelf, and ſaid, Oleum eorum non demulcet, ſed frangit caput meum, i. The oyle of theſe men doth not ſupple, but breaketh my head.

Julius Palmer refuſeth to drink with Frier John.

Another time, which was alſo the laſt time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick an old acquaintance of his, being ſometime Clerk of Magdalens, and then Fellow of Trinitie Colledge, a rank Papiſt, began to reaſon with him in his friends chamber aforeſaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earneſt in the defence of the veritie, he ſaid unto him in the hearing of maſter Thomas Parry, and others there preſent: Well Palmer, well, now thou art ſtout, and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the ſtake, I beleeve thou wouldeſt tell me another tale. I adviſe thee beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewd matter to burn. Truly, ſaid Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have eſcaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the laſt, welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the minde and ſoul linked to the bodie, as a thiefs foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of Gods ſpirit, to ſeparate and divide the ſoul from the body, for him it is no more Maſtery to burn, then for me to eat this peece of bread.

Barwicks words to Palmer.

Palmers godly anſwer to Barwick.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainneſſe, without diſſimulation, and how he feared not openly to ſhew himſelf more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blaſphemed, then to ſuffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our ſtorie, and faithfully declare both the occaſion and manner of his death.

Within ſhort ſpace after he had yeelded up his Fellowſhip in Oxford, he was through Gods providence (who never faileth them that firſt ſeek his glorie) placed ſchool-maſter by Patent in the Gramar ſchoole of Reding, where he was well accepted

Julius Palmer placed by Patent to be ſchoolmaſter at Reding.

ted of all thoſe that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning & knowledge, as alſo for his earneſt zeal, and profeſſion of the truth. But Satan the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and proſperous ſucceſſe in the ſame, would not ſuffer him there long to be in quiet. Wherefore he ſtirred up againſt him certain double faced hypocrites, which by diſſimulation and craftie inſinuation had crept in, to underſtand his ſecrets, under a pretenſe of a zeal to the Goſpel. Which men he (ſuſpecting no deceit) right joyfully imbraced, making them privie of all his doings. For as he himſelf was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine; ſo had he an incredible deſire by all means poſſible to allure and incourage others to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Palmer circumvented by falſe Iudaſſes.

These faithfull and truſtie brethren, ſo ſoon as they had found good opportunity, ſpared not in his abſence to rifle his ſtudie of certain godly books and writings; amongſt the which was his replication to Morwines verſes, touching Wincheſters Epitaph, and other arguments both in Latine and Engliſh, written by him againſt the Popiſh proceedings, and ſpecially againſt their unnaturall and brutiſh tyrannie, executed toward the Martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not aſhamed to threaten him that they would exhibite the ſame to the Councell, unleſſe he would without delay depart out of their coaſts, and give over the Schoole to a friend of theirs. The truth of this ſtory appeareth in part by a letter written with his own hand, out of priſon, eight dayes before he was burned; which becauſe it is of certaine credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Palmers ſtudy ſearched for books.

Thus then was this ſilly young man, for the ſafegard of his life, forced to depart upon the ſudden from Reding, leaving behinde him in the hands of his enemies his ſtuffe, and one quarters ſtipend, and ſo he took his journey toward Euſham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain Legacies due to him by his fathers laſt Will, which he ſhould have received certain yeers before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requeſted certain of his friends to accompanie him thither. His mother underſtanding his ſtate and errand by maſter Shipper and his brother (whom he had ſent before to intreat for him) as ſoon as ſhe beheld him on his knees, aſking her bleſſing as he had been accuſtomed to do: thou ſhalt, ſaid ſhe, have Chriſts curſe and mine wheresoever thou go. He pauſing a little, as one amazed at ſo heavie a greeting, at length ſaid, Oh mother, your own curſe you may give me, which God knoweth I never deſerved, but Gods curſe you cannot give me, for he hath alreadie bleſſed me. Nay, ſaith ſhe, thou wenteſt from Gods bleſſing into the warm Sun, when thou was baniſhed for an heretique out of that worſhipfull houſe in Oxford, and now for the like knaverie, art driven out of Reding too. Alas mother, ſaith he, you have been miſ-informed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely reſigned of mine own accord. And heretique I am none, for I ſtand not ſtubbornly againſt any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be ſure, they uſe not to expell nor baniſh, but to burn heretiques (as they terme them.) Well, quoth ſhe, I am ſure thou doeſt not beleeve as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done; but as we were taught by the new law in King Edwards dayes, which is damnable hereſie.

Iulius Palmer forced to depart the town of Reding.

Unnaturall words of a mother.

Mothers may give their own curſe, but Gods curſe they cannot give, much leſſe can the Pope.

Indeed I confeſſe, ſaid he, that I beleeve that doctrine which was taught in King Edwards time, which is not hereſie but truth, neither is it new, but as old as Chriſt and his Apoſtles. If thou be at that point, ſaith ſhe, I require thee to depart from my houſe, and out of my ſight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretiques. Fagots I have to burn thee, more thou getteſt not at my hands. Mother, ſaith he, whereas you have curſed me. I again pray God to bleſſe you, and proſper you all your life long, and with like ſoft talk, ſweet words and abundance of teares trickling downe his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he ſo mollified her hard heart, that ſhe hurled an old Angel after him, and ſaid, take that to keep thee a true man.

The father ſhall be divided againſt the ſon, the mother againſt, &c. Luke 12.

Palmer driven from his mother.

Thus poore Palmer being deſtitute of worldly friendſhip, and cruelly repelled of her, whom he took to have been his ſureſt friend, wiſt not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himſelf, it came to his minde to return ſecretly to Magdalen Colledge, upon the aſſured truſt and affiance, that he had a privie friend or two in that houſe. At what time, by the ſute of one Alane Cope, then fellow of the houſe, he obtained letters commendatorie, from maſter Cole Preſident there, for his preferment to a Schoole in Gloceſter ſhire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to Gods divine protection, of whom ſome accompanied him as far as Euſam Ferrie, and ſome to Burford.

Alane Cope an helper and ſupporter of Iulius Palmer.

Afterward as he went alone, muſing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an Epiſtle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return cloſely to Reding, truſting there by the help of friends, to receive his quarters ſtipend, and convey his ſtuffs to the cuſtody of ſome truſty bodie. To Reding he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the Cardinal Hat, deſiring his hoſteſſe inſtantly to aſſigne him a cloſe chamber, where he might be alone from all reſort of companie. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and conſulted what way they might moſt ſafely proceed againſt him, to bring their old cankered malice to paſſe. And ſoon it was concluded, that one maſter Hampton (which then bare two faces in one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a diſſembling hypocrite) ſhould reſort to him under the pretence of friendſhip, to feele and fiſh out the cauſe of his repair to Reding.

Hampton of Reding, a diſſembling hypocrite, and a falſe witneſſe.

Palmer as he was a ſimple man, and without all wrinkles of cloked colluſion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earneſtly perſwaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might enſue if this were attempted. Againſt his counſell Palmer replied verie much, and as they waxed hot in talk, Hampton flang away in a furie, and ſaid; as he had fiſhed, ſo ſhould he fowl for him. Palmer not yet ſuſpecting ſuch pretenſed and deviſed miſchief, as by this crooked and peſtiferous generation was now in brewing againſt him, called for his ſupper, and went quietly to bed: But quietly he could not long reſt there. For within ſhort ſpace after, the Officers and their retinue came ruſhing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the King and Queens name to make ready himſelf and quietly to depart with them. So this ſilly young man perceiving that he was thus Iudaſly betrayed (without opening his lips) was led away as a lambe to the ſlaughter, and was committed to ward, whom the Keeper, as a ravening Wolfe greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, ſtinking, and blinde dungeon, prepared for theeves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of ſtocks, ſo high, that well-neer no part of his bodie toucht the ground.

Palmer betrayed and apprehended.

Palmer miſerably uſed in priſon.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten dayes, under the tyranny of this unmercifull Keeper.

¶ Here by the way, gentle Reader, I have by a little digreſſion to give thee to underſtand, concerning one Thomas Thackham, for that the ſaid Thomas Thackham in the ſtorie of this Iulius Palmer, was noted and named in our former booke, to be a doer and a worker againſt the ſaid bleſſed Martyr: he therefore being not a little grieved, made his reply again in writing, for purgation and defence of himſelf againſt the falſe information of his ſlanderer. Albeit for his confutation in writing I paſſe not much upon, either what he hath written or can write. Onely the thing that moveth me moſt is this; For that the ſaid Thomas Thackham not long ſince, coming to me himſelf, hath ſo atteſted and depoſed againſt the information, with ſuch ſwearing and deep adjuration, taking the name of the Lord God to witneſſe, and appealing to his judgement to the utter perdition of his ſoul, if it were not falſe which by information was reported of him, and he faultleſſe in the matter. Which being ſo, I could not otherwiſe refuſe, but to give credit to his oath, and upon the ſame to alter and correct ſo much as appertaineth to the defamation (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his own conſcience, and the judgement of the Lord God, to whom either he ſtandeth if it be true, or falleth if it be falſe.

And now to our ſtorie again, concerning the proceſſe and accuſation of Iulius Palmer, omitting by the way the names of Thomas Thackham, and Downer.

Here followeth the firſt examination and accuſation of Iulius Palmer at Reding.

The firſt examination of Iulius Palmer.

AFter this he was brought before the Maior, and there by the procurement of certain falſe brethren (the Lord knoweth what they were) who had been converſant with Palmer, and robbed his ſtudy, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treaſon, ſedition, ſurmiſed murther, and adulterie.

To whom Palmer anſwered, that if ſuch horrible and hainous crimes might be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit himſelf to all kinde of torments that could be deviſed. But O ye cruell blood-ſucklers (ſaith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the Viperous and Woolviſh generation of Phariſees and Papiſts: but be ye well aſſured, that God alreadie ſeeth your ſubtle devices and craftie packing, and will not ſuffer the outragious furie of your venemous tongues and fierie hearts to eſcape unpuniſhed. All this while no mention was made of hereſie or hereticall writings.

Their greateſt proofs againſt him were theſe.

Evidence put up againſt Palmer.

FIrſt, that Palmer ſaid, the Queens ſword was not put in her hand to execute tyrannie, and to kill and murder the true ſervants of God.

Item, that her ſword was too blunt toward the Papiſts, but toward the true Chriſtians it was too ſharp.

Note the worſhipfull proceſſe of the quarrelling Papiſts.

Item, that certain ſervants of Sir Francis Knowls and others, reſorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themſelves, and were like to have committed murther, and therefore he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of unlawfull aſſemblies.

Item, that his hoſteſſe had written a letter unto him (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to return to Reding, and ſent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him to murder her husband.

Item, that they found him alone with his hoſteſſe by the fire ſide in the hal, the doore being ſhut to them forſooth. When this evidence was given up, the Maior diſmiſſed them and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the Cage, to make him an open ſpectacle of ignominie to the eyes of the world. And Thackham, the better to cover his own ſhame, cauſed it to be bruted, that he was ſo puniſhed for his evill life and wickedneſſe already proved againſt him.

Palmer cleareth himſelf.

Note here the fruit of Romiſh religion.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his anſwer, and did ſo mightily and cleerly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocencie, proving alſo that the ſaid letters were by themſelves forged, that the Maior himſelf was much aſhamed that he had given ſuch credit unto them, and ſo much born with them, ſo that he ſought meanes how they might convey him out of the countrey privily.

John Galant, a zealous profeſſor.

But here among other things this is not with ſilence to be paſſed over, that one John Galant, a zealous profeſſor of the Goſpel, a little after this came to the priſon and found him ſomewhat better intreated then before. When he beheld him, O Palmer, ſaith he, thou haſt deceived divers mens expectation: for we heare that you ſuffer not for righteouſneſſe ſake, but for your owne demerits.

Oh brother Galant, ſaith he, theſe be the old practices of that Satanicall brood. But be you well aſſured, and GOD be praiſed for it, I have ſo purged my ſelf, and detected their falſhood, that from henceforth I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith. And there having pen and inke, he did write ſomewhat whereby part of his ſtorie here rehearſed, is well confirmed. But now to theſe bloodie adverſaries.

New policie deviſed againſt Julius Palmer.

After this, when they ſaw the matter frame ſo ill-favouredly, fearing that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, their doing would tend no leſſe to their ſhame and danger, then to the Maiors diſhoneſtie; they deviſed a new policie to bring to paſſe their long hidden and feſtered malice againſt him, which was by this extreme refuge. For, whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of hereſie, ſeeing they had been counted earneſt brethren themſelves; and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken up his ſtudie, and committed theft: yet now leſt their iniquitie ſhould have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and ſhame aſide, and began to refricate and rip up the old ſore, the ſcar whereof had been but ſuperficially cured, as you have heard; and ſo to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writings that they had ſtollen out of his ſtudie.

Palmer called before the Maior of Reding, Bird the Officiall, and two Juſtices.

D. Jeffery the Biſhops Chancellor of Sarum.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the priſon to appeare before the Maior, and Bird the Officiall, and two other Juſtices, to render an account of his faith before them; to anſwer to ſuch articles and informations, as were laid againſt him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth ſufficient matter to intrap him, they deviſed a certificate, or bill of inſtructions againſt him, to be directed to Doctor Jeffery, who had determined to hold his Viſitation the next Tueſday at Newberie, which was the ſixteenth of July. And thus were the falſe witneſſes and bloodie accuſers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the Lyon to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer ſhould be ſent over to Newberie, the ſaid letters teſtimoniall were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof ſhall partly appeare hereafter. In the mean time I think it good here to rehearſe one example among other, both of charitable affection toward him, and of his modeſtie correſpondent to the ſame.

M. Rider of Reding a faithfull favourer of Gods Goſpel.

Maſter Rider of Reding, a faithfull witneſſe of Gods truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had beene dealt withall in the priſon, and pined away for lacke of neceſſaries, and how evidently he had proved himſelfe innocent before the Officers, of ſuch crimes as were objected againſt him, he ſent to him his ſervant ſecretly the night before his departure to Newberie, with a bowed grote in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him underſtand if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would provide for him. Palmer anſwered, the Lord reward your M. for his benevolence toward me, a miſerable abject in this world, and tell him that (God be praiſed) I lack nothing.

Thom. Aſkine or Roberts, fellow priſoner with Iulius Palmer.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Aſkine, alias Roberts, being fellow priſoner with him in Chriſts cauſe, ſitting at breakfaſt, and beholding Palmer very ſad, leaning to a window in the corner of the houſe, asked why he came not to breakfaſt. Becauſe I lack money (ſaith Palmer) to diſcharge the ſhot. Come on man (quoth he) God be praiſed for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when M. Rider heard of, it cannot be expreſſed, how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with ſo modeſt an anſwer.

Iulius Palmer brought to Newbery.

Thus to Newbery they came on Munday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hoſtrie of the blinde houſe, where they found Iohn Guin, their faithfull brother in the Lord. Now how they came before the Conſiſtorie of D. Ieffery, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appeare by this examination hereunto annexed, which although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchance altogether in ſuch forme of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and diſpoſe it, being gathered out of ſeverall notes of Richard Shipper, Iohn Hunt, Iohn Kirry of Newberie, Richard White of Marleborough, which were oculati teſtes, and preſent at the hearing thereof.

Witneſſes to the ſecond part of this ſtory.

The ſecond examination and accuſation of Iulius Palmer at Newbery, in the hearing of moe then three hundred perſons.

The examination of Iulius Palmer before D. Ieffrey at Newbery.

D. Ieffrey, Sir Rich. Abridges Knight, M. Io. Winchcomb, the Parſon of Inglefield, judge againſt Iulius Palmer.

IN the yeer 1556. the xvj. of Iuly, foure or five ſeats were prepared in the Quire of the Pariſh Church of Newberie for the Viſitors, whoſe names here enſue; Doctor Ieffrey for the Biſhop of Sarum, ſir Richard Abridges Knight, and then high Sheriffe of the Shire, Sir William Ramsford Knight, M. Iohn Winchcomb Eſquire, and the Parſon of Inglefield. After the priſoners were preſented, the Commiſſion read, and other things done in order accordingly, Doct. Ieffrey called to Palmer, and ſaid; Art thou that jolly writer of three halfepenny bookes that we heare of?

Palm. I know not what you meane.

Ieff. Have you taught Latine ſo long, that now you underſtand not Engliſh?

To this he anſwered nothing.

Then D. Ieffrey ſtanding up ſaid, We have received certaine writings and articles againſt you, from the right worſhipfull the Maior of Reding, and other Iuſtices, whereby we underſtand; that being convented afore them, you were convict of certaine hereſies.

Firſt, that you deny the Popes holineſſe ſupremacie.

Next that there are but two Sacraments.

Thirdly, that the Prieſt ſheweth up an Idoll at Maſſe; and therefore you went to no Maſſe, ſince your firſt coming to Reding.

Fourthly, that there is no Purgatorie.

Laſt of all, that you be a ſower of ſedition, and have ſought to divide the unitie of the Queenes ſubjects.

The Sheriffe. You were beſt ſee firſt what he will ſay to his owne handy work.

Ieff. Ye ſay truth. Tell me Palmer, art thou he that wrote this faire volume? Look upon it.

Palm. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Ieff. Is this doggiſh rime yours alſo? Look.

Palm. I wrote this, I deny not.

Ieff. And what ſay you to theſe Latine verſes, entituled Epicedion, &c. Are they yours too?

Palm. Yea Sir.

Ieff. Art thou not aſhamed to affirme it? It came of no good ſpirit that thou didſt both raile at the dead, and ſlander a learned and catholike man yet alive.

Palm. If it be a ſlander, he hath ſlandered himſelfe: for I doe but report his owne writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh againſt Annas and Caiphas being dead.

Ieft. Saiſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant it, and wring peccavi out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee.

Palm. But I know, that although of my ſelfe I be able to doe nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies both bodily and ghoſtly, ſhould doe your worſt, you ſhall not be able to bring that to paſſe, neither ſhall ye prevaile againſt Gods mighty ſpirit, by whom we underſtand the truth, and ſpeak it ſo boldly.

Ieff. Ah, are you full of the ſpirit? are you inſpired with the holy Ghoſt?

Palm. Sir, no man can beleeve, but by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt. Therefore if I were not a ſpirituall man, and inſpired with Gods holy ſpirit, I were not a true Chriſtian. Qui ſpiritum Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt ejus, i. He that hath not the ſpirit of Chriſt, is none of his.

Ieff. I perceive you lack no words.

Palm. Chriſt hath promiſed not onely to give us ſtore of words neceſſarie, but with them, ſuch force of matter, as the gates of hell ſhall not be able to confound, or prevaile againſt it.

Ieff. Chriſt made ſuch a promiſe to his Apoſtles, I trow you will not compare with them.

The holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you in that houre what you ſhall anſwer. Luke 12.

Palm. With the holy Apoſtles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine owne wit or learning, which I know is but ſmall: yet this promiſe I am certaine pertaineth to all ſuch as are appointed to defend Gods truth againſt his enemies, in the time of their perſecution for the ſame.

Ieft. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palm. Yes, I am right wel aſſured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall (I doubt not) appeare, if you give me leave to diſpute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written.

Ieff. Thou art but a beardleſſe boy, ſtart up yeſterday out of the Schooles, and dareſt thou preſume to offer diſputation, or to encounter with a Doctor.

A marvel to the Papiſts, that young men ſhould have the gift of the holy Ghoſt.

Palm. Remember Maſter Doctor, Spiritus ubi vult ſpirat. And againe, Ex ore infantium, &c. And in another place, Abſcondiſti hæc a ſapientibus, &c. i. The ſpirit breatheth where it pleaſeth him, &c. Out of the mouth of infants, &c. And thou haſt hidden theſe things from the wiſe, &c. God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor perſon. And although your wit and learn-

Gods ſpirit not bound to place or perſon.

ing be greater then mine; yet your beleefe in the truth, and zeale to defend the ſame, is no greater then mine.

Regiſt. **Sir, if you ſuffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.**

Note how theſe men dare not abide diſputation

Ieffrey. **Well, ye ſhall underſtand, that I have it not in Commiſſion at this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it meet that we ſhould call againe into queſtion ſuch articles as are already diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy Church, whom we ought to beleeve without why, or wherefore, as the Creed telleth us. But the cauſe why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon ſuch articles as are miniſtred againſt you, and ſuch matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be ſeene whether you will ſtand to it, or nay. How ſay you to this?**

The Church of Rome is but a particular Church.
The Church is not to be beleeved for her ſelfe.

Palmer. **By your holy Church you meane the Synagogue of Rome, which is not univerſall, but a particular Church of ſhavelings. The Catholike Church I beleeve, yet not for her owne ſake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that is to ſay, a Church that grounded her beliefe upon the word of her Spouſe Chriſt.**

Ieffrey. **Leave railing, and anſwer me directly to my queſtion. Will you ſtand to your writing, or will you not?**

Palmer. **If ye prove any ſentence therein comprized, not to ſtand with Gods word, I will preſently recant it.**

Ieffrey. **Thou impudent fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to diſpute with thee, but to examine thee?**

Here the Parſon of Ingleſield pointing to the pix, ſaid, What ſeeſt thou yonder?

Palm. **A canopie of ſilke broidered with gold.**

Parſon. **Yea, but what is within it?**

Palmer. **A peece of bread, in a clout, I trow.**

Parſon. **Thou art as froward an heretike as ever I talked withall. Here was much ſpoken of** Confiteor, **and other parts of the Maſſe.**

Parſon. **Doe you not beleeve that they which receive the holy Sacrament of the altar, doe truely eate Chriſts naturall body?**

The ſacrament of the Lords Supper.

Palmer. **If the Sacrament of the Lords Supper be miniſtred, as Chriſt did ordaine it, the faithfull receivers do indeed ſpiritually and truely eate and drinke in it Chriſts very naturall bodie and bloud.**

Parſon. **The faithfull receivers? Ye cannot bleare our eies with ſuch ſophiſtrie. Doe not all maner of receivers, good and bad, faithfull and unfaithfull receive the very naturall body in forme of bread?**

Palmer. **No Sir.**

Parſon. **How prove you that?**

The wicked receive not the Lords body.

Palm. **By this place,** Qui manducat me, vivet propter me. i. **He that eateth me, ſhall live for me.**

Parſon. **See that fond fellow, whiles he taketh himſelfe to be a Doctor of the law, you ſhall ſee me prove him a ſtarke fooliſh dawe. Doe you not reade likewiſe,** Quicunque invocaverit nomen domini, ſalvus erit? id eſt, **Whoſoever invocateth the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved?** Ergo, **Doe none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you muſt marke how Saint Paul anſwereth you. He ſaith, that the wicked doe eat the true body to their condemnation.**

As Palmer was bent to anſwer him at the full, the Parſon interrupted him, crying ſtil, what ſaiſt thou to S. Paul?

Palm. **I ſay that S. Paul hath no ſuch words.**

Parſon. **See, the imputent fellow denieth the plaine Text.** Qui edit & bibit corpus Domini indigne, reus erit iudicii. i. **He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of iudgement.**

Palmer. **I beſeech you lend me your book.**

Parſon. **Not ſo.**

The Sheriffe. **I pray you lend him your book. So the book was given over to him.**

Palmer. **Your owne book hath,** Qui manducat hunc panem, &c. i. **He that eateth this bread.**

Parſon. **But Saint Hieromes tranſlation hath** Corpus.

The Parſon confounded with his owne booke.
The Parſons mouth ſtopped.

Palmer. **Not ſo M. Parſon, and God be praiſed that I have in the meane ſeaſon, ſhut up your lips with your own book.**

Ieffrey. **It ſkilleth no matter whether ye write bread or body, for we be able to prove that he meant the body. And whereas you ſay, they eate it ſpiritually, that is but a blinde ſhift of deſcant.**

Palmer. **What ſhould I ſay elſe?**

Ieffrey. **As holy Church ſaith, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.**

Palmer. **And with as good Scripture, I may ſay, groſly or monſtrouſly.**

Ieffrey. **Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me, Is Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament or no?**

Palmer. **He is preſent.**

Ieffrey. **How is he preſent?**

Preſence in the Sacraments.

Palmer. **The Doctors ſay,** modo ineffabili. **Therefore why doe ye aske me? Would God ye had a minde ready to beleeve it, or I a tongue able to expreſſe it unto you.**

Baptiſme of Infants.

Ieffrey. **What ſay you to the baptiſme of Infants?**

Palmer. **I ſay, that it ſtandeth with Gods word, and therefore it ought of neceſſitie to be retained in the Church.**

Ieffrey. **Ye have forgotten your ſelfe I wis, for ye write that children may be ſaved without it.**

Palmer. **So I write, and ſo I ſay.**

Children dying before they come to baptiſme are ſaved: of this it followeth not, Ergo, children that are brought, ought not to be baptized.

Ieffrey. **Then it is not neceſſary to be frequented and continued in the Church.**

Palm. **Your argument is not good, M. Doctor.**

Ieffrey. **Will you ſtand to it?**

Palmer. **Yea M. Doctor, God willing.**

Ieffrey. **Note it, Regiſter.**

More of his examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands: whenſoever God ſendeth it, I will impart and communicate the ſame to the Reader. In the meane ſeaſon we are credibly informed of this, that Sir Richard Abridges, the ſame day after dinner, ſent for him to his lodging, and there, in the preſence of divers perſons yet alive in Newberie and elſewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his opinion, to ſpare his young yeers, wit, and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thy ſelfe corrigible and repentant, in good faith (ſaid he) I promiſe thee before this companie, I will give thee meate and drinke, and bookes, and ten pound yeerely, ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farme, and helpe to ſtuffe and fit thy farme for thee.

Sir Richard Abridges gentle offer to Palmer.

How ſayſt thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further anſwer concerning his religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two placed renounced his living for Chriſts ſake, ſo he would with Gods grace be ready to ſurrender and yeeld up his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſend time.

Palmer refuſed worldly offers to keepe his conſcience.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no meanes relent: Well Palmer (ſaith he) then I perceive one of us twaine ſhall be damned. For we be of two faiths, and certane I am that there is but one faith that leadeth to life and ſalvation.

Palm. **O ſir, I hope that we both ſhall be ſaved.**

Sir Richard. **How may that be.**

Palm. **Right well ſir. For as it hath pleaſed our**

mercifull

God calleth at divers times and houres.

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

mercifull Saviour, according to the Goſpels Parable, to call me at the third houre of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of foure and twenty yeers, even ſo I truſt he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh houre of this your old age, and give you everlaſting life for your portion.

Sir Rich. Sayeſt thou ſo? Well Palmer well, I would I might have thee but one moneth in my houſe, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou ſhouldeſt convert me.

Then ſaid M. Winchcome, take pitie on thy golden yéers, and pleaſant flowers of luſty youth, before it be too late.

Palm. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpringing flowers, that ſhall never vade away.

Winchcom. If thou be at that point, I have done with thée.

John Guin, Thomas Askin, Martyrs, condemned. Sir Richard Abridges, Sheriffe.

Then was Palmer commanded againe to the blinde houſe, but the other two ſilly men were led againe the ſame afternoone to the Conſiſtorie, and there were condemned, and delivered to the ſecular power of the Sheriffe there preſent, by name Sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported alſo, that Doctor Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living if he would outwardly ſhew himſelfe conformable, kéeping his conſcience ſecret to himſelfe, or at leaſt declare that he doubted which was the trueſt doctrine. But I cannot affirme it for a ſuretie.

Palmer required to ſet his hand to his articles.

The next morning the 16. of July, Palmer was required to ſubſcribe to certaine articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cauſe of his condemnation: In the Front whereof, were heapt together many heinous termes, as horrible, hereticall, damnable, divelliſh, and execrable doctrine. To theſe words Palmer refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the doctrine which he profeſſed, was not ſuch, but good and ſound doctrine.

Ieffrey. Ye may ſée good people what ſhifts theſe heretikes ſéek, to eſcape burning, when they ſee juſtice miniſtred unto them. But I tell thee, this ſtyle is agréeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palm. Then I cannot ſubſcribe to it.

Ieffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercie, if thou like not juſtice, and revoke thy hereſie?

Palmer. I forſake the Pope, and his Popelings, with all Popiſh hereſie.

Ieffrey. Then ſubſcribe to the articles.

Palmer. Alter the Epithetons, and I will ſubſcribe.

Ieffrey. Subſcribe, and qualifie the matter with thine owne Pen. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Doctor Jeffrey procéeded to reade the Popiſh ſentence of his cruell condemnation, and ſo was he delivered to the charge of the ſecular power, and was burned the ſame day in the afternoone, about five of the clock.

The Popiſh ſentence read againſt Palmer.

Palmer comforteth his two fellow martyrs going to their death.

Within one houre before they went to the place of execution, Palmer in the preſence of many people, comforted his fellowes with theſe words. Brethren (ſaith he) be of good cheere in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, Happy are you when men revile you and perſecute you for righteouſneſſe ſake. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Feare not them that can the body, and bee not able to touch the ſoule. God is faithfull, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted further then we ſhall be able to beare it. We ſhall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea for coales, we ſhall receive pearles. For Gods holy ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweete ſupper in heaven for his ſake which ſuffered firſt for us.

Palmer, Guin, Askine, brought to the place of ſlaughter.

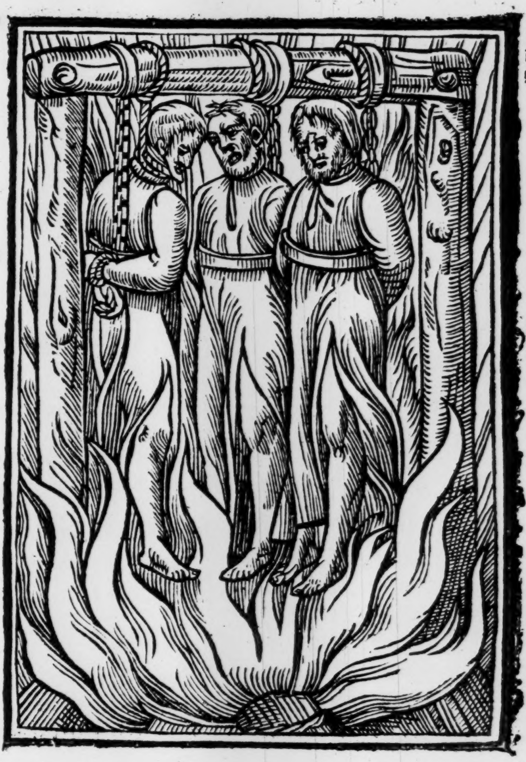
With theſe and ſuch like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his ſilly brethren that were with him appointed as ſhéepe to be ſlaine, but alſo wreſted out plentifull teares from the eies of many that heard him. And as they were ſinging a Pſalme, came the Sheriffe Sir Richard Abridges and the Bayliffes of the towne, with a great company of harneſſed and weaponed men to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell all thrée to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voyce pronounced the 31. Pſalme, but the other two made their prayers ſecretly to Almightie God.

The words of Palmer to the popiſh prieſts.

And as Palmer began to ariſe, there came behinde him two Popiſh Prieſts, exhorting him yet to recant and ſave his ſoule. Palmer anſwered and ſaid, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away I ſay from me all ye that worke iniquitie: for the Lord hath heard the voyce of my teares. And ſo forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the ſtake, and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the poſt, Palmer ſaid, Good people pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end. And for Chriſts ſake beware of Popiſh teachers, for they deceive you.

The words of theſe martyrs at their death.

As he ſpake this, a ſervant of one of the Bayliffes, threw a fagot at his face, that the blood guſhed out in divers places. For the which fact the Sheriffe reviled him, calling him cruell tormentor, and with his walking ſtaffe brake his head, that the bloud likewiſe ranne about his eares. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and chéerfully, as though they had felt no ſmart, they cried; Lord Jeſus ſtrengthen us, Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us, Lord Jeſus receive our ſoules. And ſo they continued without any ſtrugling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jeſus untill they had ended their mortall lives.



The martyrdome of the 3. godly Saints.

A notable ſpectacle in the martyrdome of Julius Palmer.

Among other things this is alſo to be noted, that after their thrée heads by force of the raging and devouring flames of fire, were fallen together in a plumpe or cluſter, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the Ghoſt, ſuddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of ſleepe, moved his tongue and jawes, & was heard to pronounce this word Ieſus. So, being reſolved into aſhes, he yeelded to God as joyfull a ſoule (confirmed with the ſweet promiſes of Chriſt) as any one that ever was called beſide to ſuffer for his bleſſed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like ſpirit, working in our hearts conſtantly to ſtand in defence and confeſſion of Chriſts holy Goſpel, to the end, Amen.

De martyrio Palmeri hexaſticon.

Epitaphium in Palmerum.

Palmerus flammas Chriſti pro dogmate paſſus,
Impoſitum pondus, ceu bona palma, tulit.
Non retroceſſit, ſed contra audentior ivit,
Illæſam retinens, fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cœlum nunc Palmifer iſte receptus
Iuſtitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.

Iuſtus ut Palma florebit.

A memorable ſtory of one Agnes Wardall in the towne of Ipſwich, purſued for the true faith of Chriſts Goſpel.

A notable ſtory of Agnes Wardall of Ipſwich.

D. Argentine ſchoole-maſter. Mat. Butler Conſtable. Philip Ulmes, Edm. Leach. Iohn Steward perſecutors.

ABout the ſaid moneth of Iuly, in this preſent yeer, 1556. there was one Rich. Argentine, Doctor of Phyſick, otherwiſe called Richard Sexten, with certain other dwelling in the town of Ipſwich, not many in number, but in heart and purpoſe mightily bent to impugne and impeach the growing of Chriſts Goſpel and the favourers of the ſame. In the number of whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, Iohn Steward, and Mathew Butler Apothecarie, a curious ſinging man, a fine player of the Organs, a perfect Papiſt, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then Conſtable in the town of Ipſwich, as he was in the watch by night upon Cornhill, cometh to him Doctor Argentine in great haſte, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her houſe in Ipſwich. Whereupon immediately, ſuch a way was contrived betweene them, that the ſaid Agnes Wardall forthwith ſhould be apprehended: but God, in whoſe providence the direction of all things conſiſteth, by whoſe diſpoſition they have their operation, ſo graciouſly provided for his ſervant, and ſo prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrarie part there wanted no good will, as here conſequently you ſhall further underſtand.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lived in Gods fear, and was at defiance with their Romiſh traſh, deſiring rather with hard fare and evill lodging to be abroad, then to be at home in her houſe, and among the tents of the ungodly: her huſband alſo being a man living in the fear of God, and for the teſtimonie of his conſcience being alſo hunted, by force of the law was conſtrained to avoid his houſe, and got into a craire with an honeſt man, ſerving as a Saylor, a facultie not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, becauſe God had given him an impediment by reaſon of a ſtumped foot, unfit to climbe to top and yard; yet ſo it pleaſed God to inable him with his ſtrength, that he was ſtrong and luſtie to do good ſervice, as they can well witneſſe that were of his company.

Rob. Wardall driven by perſecution to ſerve in a ſhip.

Agnes Wardall perſecuted by D. Argentine and his mates.

The ſaid Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come home to ſee her poore houſe and children, which was under the guiding of a young maid, and being eſpied, news was borne to Doctor Argentine: who having knowledge thereof, as is aforeſaid, went ſpeedily unto the Apothecarie the Conſtable aforeſaid, and informed him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardals wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to ſpeed then miſſe, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the Conſtable, the watch was charged ſpeedily, and each company ſent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number, and forth they goe unto the houſe of this poore woman to lay hands upon her, and beſet the houſe on the foreſide and backſide, lying open in the fields, and otherſome were ſent to the houſe of his mother, which was not farre from his houſe. This done one knockt at the ſtreet doore where Argentine and Butler was, with one of their weapons, and no anſwer was made; the ſecond time ſomewhat harder, but had no anſwer. In the meane time they fearing that ſome conveyance was made, knocked the third time more hard then before.

Unmercifull ſeekers of a poore womans blood.

There was not farre from the doore where they knocked, a certaine bay window, where one might looke out and ſpeake: And ſo at the third knocking, a woman who at that time was tenant to R. Wardals mother, and had but two nights before lyen in the houſe, ſpeaking out hard by their eares, asked who was there?

Ah ſirrah, quoth Argentine, are you ſo nigh and will not ſpeake? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, being ſo nigh? How fortuned it, quoth the woman? Marie I ſhall tell you; I am but a ſtranger here, and I have heard ſay, that there be ſpirits walking here about, which if a man do anſwer at the firſt call or ſecond, he ſtands in great danger, and I was never ſo affraid of my life. At this her anſwer they laughed, and commanded her to open the doore in the Queenes name, for they were the Queenes watch.

The Lord bleſſe every good man and woman from ſuch wicked ſpirits.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maide with her, and her two children, ſhe being at that time very heavy aſleepe, heard not the knocking. Her maide hearing at the ſecond knock, called and ſhogged her dame, and with much adoe awaked her, and ſaid, The watch is at the doore. What? thou lyeſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly ſaid the maide, and hath knockt twice. With that ſhe aroſe with all ſpeed, and put on her clothes very ſlightly, and tooke with her a buckeram apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her head, when ſhe was faine to creep in a ditch with nettles, and ſo paſſed down into a parlour, wherein ſtood a cupbord with a faire preſſe, into the which the maide did locke her.

He ſleepeth not nor ſlumbreth not that keepeth Iſrael. Pſal. 121.

Agnes Wardall hideth her ſelfe in a preſſe from the hands of her perſecutors.

And immediately went up to a chamber which was hard by the ſtreet, where ſhe might ſee & ſpeak to the Watch, & ſaid, Who is there? Then they bade her open the doore. And ſhe ſaid, We have no candle. And they ſaid, Open the doore, or we will lay it on the floore. With that ſhe came downe and opened the doore. Then asked they the maide, who is within? And ſhe ſaid, none but a woman that dwelleth within us, & two childrē. Then ſaid they, where is thy dame? Truly ſaid ſhe I cannot tell, ſhe is not within. She was here in the evening, ſaid they. Yea, ſaid the maide, but ſhe went forth I know not whither. Notwithſtanding they charged her that ſhe knew where ſhe was, which ſhe denied. Thē got they a candle light at one of the neighbors houſes, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had anſwered them at the window, and ſaid ſhe was affraid of ſprites. Argentine looking upon her, clapt her on the back, and ſaid, Thou art not the woman whom we ſeeke for.

Example of a faithfull maide to her miſtres.

The houſe ſearched for Agnes Wardall.

So entred they the houſe, and ſearched a Parlour next the ſtreete where the woman lay which was his mothers tenant, and a young childe that ſucked on her breaſt, and not onely in the bed, turning it downe paſt all honeſt humanitie, but alſo under the bed behinde the painted clothes, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney, and finding the bed hot, ſaid, Who lay here in the bed? The woman ſaid, I and the childe. And none elſe, quoth they? No ſaid the woman. When they could finde nothing there for their purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in the which ſtood the cupbord wherein ſhe was, and ſearched the parlour which was but a little one. And one of the company, laying his hand on the cupbord, ſaid, This is a faire cupbord, ſhe may be here for any thing that is done. That is true ſaith another of them. Notwithſtanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber aloft, wherein the ſaid Agnes had lyen with her mayde and children, with all other roomes and chambers.

Gods marvellous protection working for his ſervant.

At length they came downe into the yard, where they found a horſe tied at a pale eating of ſhorne graſſe. Then aſked they the maid, whoſe horſe is this? She anſwered, it is her horſe indeed, and ſhe came in before night, & went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to finde their prey, and beſtirred them with ſpeed, and went into an out chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed of 13. or 14. yeeres old. And being in his dead ſleepe, they ſuddenly awaked him, and examined him for his dame. Who anſwered, he knew not where ſhe was, and unto that ſtood firmely, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poore ſilly boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plain maide. Then cauſed they him to ariſe and dreſſe him, and ſent both maide and boy up to the cage, where they put the maide, but kept the boy among their truſtie ſouldiers, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeake with another.

Agnes Wardall in danger to be ſmothered.

Now while ſome were on the Cornehill, and other ſome ſearching the neighbours houſes and backſides, the wife of Wardall being in the preſſe faſt locked up, and almoſt ſmoothered for want of breath, deſired the woman her mothers tenant, when ſhe heard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the keyes were, who anſwered they were in a hamper, which ſhe found, and aſſayed to unlock the preſſe, and of a long time could not. Then deſired ſhe her to break it open; for (ſaid ſhe) I had rather fall into their hands, then to kill my ſelfe. Then went her mothers tenant and ſought for her husbands hammer and chiſell, to breake it open, but could not finde it, nor any thing elſe to breake it open withall, and came again and told her ſhe could finde nothing to break it open with.

Gods mercifull helpe in the time of need.

Then ſaid ſhe, aſſay againe to open it, for I truſt God will give you power to open it. And being within in much extremitie, ſhe heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her: for at the firſt aſſay and turne of the key, it opened eaſily. When ſhe came out, ſhe looked as pale and as bleak, as one that were laid out dead by the wals, and as ſhe her ſelfe looked afterward when ſhe was dead, as the ſame woman reported, which then let her out, and was alſo at her death long after in the Queenes Maieſties reigne that now is, and all on a vehement ſweat was ſhe like drops of raine.

Then went ſhe out into the backſide, where was a pale toward the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two looſe pales, by the which both ſhe and her huſband had divers times uſed to come and goe in and out, ſo went ſhe out into the fields. And paſſing one little field, and over a ſtyle, ſhrouded her ſelfe in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the buckeram apron afore mentioned, & ſo crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long ſearch when they could not finde her in the towne, certaine of the watch returned again into the fields ſide; among whom was one George Manning, with John Bate the Crier of the ſame town coming together. This Manning was a ſimple honeſt plaine man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in Queene Maries time would have been a Prieſt as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning eſpying where ſhe lay, gave a hemme, and made a noiſe with his bill, he being before Bate; at the which ſhe lay ſtill, and at the laſt they departed to the ſtreet ſide to the Conſtable. Al this time the maide was in the Cage, and the boy with the other of the watch untill perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the maide, and ſent her home, and the boy alſo; but they made the maide beleeve they had found her dame. Who anſwered, if ye have her, keep her faſt.

Another eſcape of Agnes Wardall, by Gods good providence.

On the morrow, Manning ſent her word to beware that ſhe ſhould hide her ſelfe no more ſo neer.

George Manning an honeſt man.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithfull ſervant delivered from their cruelty, and they knowne to be his adverſaries, not onely at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid Argentine, at his firſt coming to Ipſwich, came in a ſervingmans coat. And then being in the daies of K. Henrie the Eighth, he would accuſtomably uſe the reading of Lectures himſelfe, in the which he was well commended at that time. After obtained the office of Uſher of the free Grammer ſchoole, and the Maſter being dead, got to be Maſter himſelfe. And being married to a very honeſt woman, remained there the daies of King Edward. And when God tooke him from us for our juſt deſerved plague, and Queene Marie came to her reigne, none more hote in all Papiſtrie and ſuperſtition then he, painting the poſtes of the towne with Vivat Regina Maria, and in every corner.

The doings and conditions of Argentine deſcribed.

D. Argentine in K. Edwards time a Proteſtant.

D. Argentine in Q. Maries time a foule Papiſt and a perſecutor.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife (which was an honeſt woman) he was made a Prieſt; taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white minerver hoode) ſuch doctrine as was ſhamefull to heare, ſaying Maſſe, and carrying about the pixe in high poſſeſſions. Furthermore, leading the boy S. Nicholas with his minerver hood about the ſtreets for apples and belly cheer. And who ſo would not receive him, he made them heretikes, and ſuch alſo as would not give his fagot to the Bonfire for Queen Maries child. And thus continued he at Ipſwich the moſt part of Queene Maries daies, moleſting their good men, ſome for not going to the Church, ſome for not being confeſſed, ſome for not receiving, &c. till at length, toward the end of Queen Mary he came to London, and in this Queens time began to ſhew himſelfe againe a perfect Proteſtant. And thus much of Argentine. Ex teſtimon. Petri Moonæi.

The trouble of Peter Moone and his wife, and of other godly Proteſtants at Biſhop Hoptons viſitation in Ipſwich.

In the yeere of our Lord God, 1556. the ſceans or viſitation being kept before Whitſontide in the towne of Ipſwich in Suffolke, by D. Hopton being then Biſhop of Norwich, and Myles Dunnings, being then his Chancellor, divers and ſundry godly Proteſtants, through the accuſation of evill men, were ſore troubled and preſented before him: among whom were accuſed one Peter Moone a Taylor, and Anne his wife, for their diſobedience to the Law, in not ſhewing their readineſſe to come to the Church, and to be partakers of ſuch Romiſh obſervances as at that time were uſed.

Peter Moone accuſed to B. Hopton.

And firſt the ſaid Peter Moon was commanded to come before the biſhop, where he was examined

3. Articles obiected to Peter Moone.

of thrée ſundrie articles, to wit: 1. Whether the Pope were ſupreme head: 2. Whether King Philip and Queene Marie were right inheritors to the crowne: 3. And whether in the ſacrament of the altar was the very body of Chriſt ſubſtantially and really there preſent.

Peter Moone granteth to the biſhops articles through infirmitie.

Unto the which the ſaid Peter being timorous and weake, fearing more the face of man then the heavie wrath of God, affirmed, and in manner granted unto their demands. Whereupon the Biſhop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the Church, nor received the ſacrament of the altar, nor beene ready to doe his dutie as the law had commanded; yet there ſhewing his minde, ſaid, that he liked well the man: for ſuch as have been (ſaid he) earneſt in evill things, will alſo be earneſt in that that is good and godly, if once they be wonne.

Thus as this ſpirituall father was commending his carnall childe, and rather preferring him to hell fire, then unto the ſincere word and commandements of God, it chanced amongſt many others in the chamber, was one of the Portmen of the ſame towne, named Smart, and earneſt member of their Romiſh Law, doing of a very conſcience that he did, who after the death of Quéene Marie lived not many yeers, but rendred his life, in godly repentance, proteſting, that if God ſhould ſuffer him to live, he would never be the man he had beene before, what lawes ſoever ſhould come againe: ſo that before the time of his ſickneſſe he frequenting earneſtly the Sermons in the ſame town, made by divers godly learned men, would weepe as it had beene a childe, being notwithſtanding of courage as ſtout a man as any was in Ipſwich. Such is the marvellous mercie of God, in calling to his kingdome, whom, and when he pleaſeth.

Commendation of Smart of Ipſwich. Richard Smart of Ipſwich repenteth his popery at his death.

This Portman aforeſaid, perceiving the Biſhop thus, as it were, at an end with the ſaid Moone, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid unto the Biſhop; My Lord, indéed I have a good hope in the man, and that he will be conformable: but my Lord, he hath a perillous woman to his wife. For I will tell you my Lord, ſhe never came to Church yet, ſince the Queenes reigne, except it were at Evenſong, or when ſhe was churched. And not then untill Maſſe were done. Wherefore your good Lordſhip might doe a good deed to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if you could doe any good. And therefore I beſeech your good Lordſhip to command him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip.

Smart accuſeth Moones wife.

At which words Moone was ſomewhat ſtirred, in that he ſaid command him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip. And he ſaid unto him, under my Lords correction I ſpeake, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are to command the worſt boy in your houſe. Yea my Lord, ſaid the other, I cry your Lordſhip mercie; I have informed your Lordſhip with an untruth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he ſaith, he might have commanded her to have come to Church in all this time, if it had pleaſed him. Wel ſaid the Biſhop, look you come before me at afternoone, and bring your wife with you; I will talke with her.

Peter Moone commanded to bring his wife before the Biſhop.

As my Lords dinner at that time was ſerving up, Moone departed and tarried not to take part thereof, having ſuch an hard breakfaſt given him before to digeſt. At afternoone Moone delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might moſt coveniently come, eſpecially when his accuſer and his wives ſhould not have beene there. And according to the commandement came with his wife; which was not ſo ſecretly done, but his accuſer had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in ſuch poſt ſpeede, that in manner he was windeleſſe entering into the Biſhops chamber.

Moone and his wife brought before the Biſhop.

The Biſhop hearing that Moone and his wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to Moone; Is this your wife, Moone? Yea, my Lord, ſaid he. O good Lord (ſaid the Biſhop) how a man may be deceived in a woman. I promiſe you a man would take her for as honeſt a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my Lord, ſaid Moons wife, I truſt there is none that can charge me with any diſhoneſty, as concerning my body; I defie all the world in that reſpect.

B. Hopton preferreth 20. men committing adultery, before one woman tranſgreſſing the Popes ordinances.

Nay (quoth the Biſhop) I meant not as concerning the diſhoneſtie of thy body: but thou hadſt been better to have given the uſe of thy body unto twentie ſundry men, then to do as thou haſt done. For thou haſt done as much as in thee lyeth, to pluck the King and the Queenes Majeſties out of their royall ſeates through thy diſobedience, in ſhewing thy ſelfe an open enemy unto Gods laws, and their proceedings.

Then began the Biſhop to examine the ſaid Moone againe, with the aforeſaid articles, and his wife alſo. And ſhe hearing her husband relent, did alſo affirme the ſame, which turned unto either of them to no ſmall trouble of minde afterward, but yet neither were they like thus to eſcape, but that in the mean time Dunning the Biſhops chancellor came up in great haſte, and brought newes to the Biſhop, that there were ſuch a number of heretikes come, of which ſome came from Boxford, ſome from Lanham, and about from the cloth countrey, that it would make a man out of his wits to heare them: and there are among them both heretikes, and Anabaptiſts, ſaid he. And thus Doctor Dunning with his bluſtering words interrupting Moones examination, went down againe as the Devill had driven him, to kéep his ſtirre among them, and to take order what ſhould be done with them.

The Biſhop beginning to bewaile the ſtate of the countrey, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a number of heretikes, and rehearſing partly their opinions to theſe that were at that time in the chamber, Moones wife had a young childe, which ſhe her ſelfe nurſed, and the childe being brought into the yard under the Biſhops chamber, cried, ſo that ſhe heard it, and then ſaid; My Lord, I truſt ye have done with me. My childe crieth beneath, I muſt goe give my childe ſuck, with ſuch like words. And the Biſhop being (as it were) out of minde to talke with them any more, ſaid; Goe your way, I will talke with you in the morning; look ye be here againe in the morning: with this they both departed.

Moones childe a part of Gods providence in their deliverance from further trouble.

And beneath in the ſtone Hall of the ſame houſe, the Chancellor Dunning being very buſie about his bloudie buſineſſe, eſpyed Moone and his wife coming, and muſt néeds paſſe by the place where he ſtood, and ſaid: Nay ſoft, I muſt talke with you both; for ye are as evill as any that are here to day. To whom Moones wife anſwered; My Lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye ſhall have nought to doe with us. Nay, quoth he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talke with you alſo. Unto whom Moone anſwered; In the preſence of the more, the leſſe hath no power: My Lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his Lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repaire before him againe to morrow. At the which he let them goe, although he was earneſtly procured by the partie above ſpecified to have ſhewed his qualitie, which was nothing elſe but tyrannie.

Moons anſwer to the Biſhops Chancellor.

Moone and his wife eſcaped from the biſhop and his Chancellor.

Moone and his wife confounded in conſcience for their deniall.

So departed Moone and his wife without hurt of bodie: but afterward when they with Peter the Apoſtle beheld the face of Chriſt, they were ſore wounded in their conſciences, aſhamed of their doings, and alſo at the doore of deſperation. Inſomuch, that when the ſaid Moone came home to his houſe, and entering into a parlour alone by himſelf, conſidering his eſtate, and ſeeing where a ſword of his did hang againſt a wall, he was earneſtly allured by the enemie Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have ſlain himſelf: but God, who caſteth not away the penitent ſinner repenting his fall with heart, defended his unworthie ſervant from that temptation, and hath (I truſt) left him to the amendment of life by the aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that ſhall be ſaved.

Moone ſeeketh to kill himſelf, but by Gods mercifull providence was preſerved.

The morrow they both remained and kept houſe with no ſmall griefe of conſcience, waiting and looking with feare, when to be ſent for to the Biſhop, rather then offering their diligence to keep the Biſhops appointment: but GOD ſo wrought, that when the time drew neer that they feared calling forth, the bels rung for the Biſhops departure out of the towne. For the which they were not onely glad, but alſo many a good heart in Ipſwich rejoyced and gave thanks to GOD. God for his mercie grant, that our ſin never deſerve to provoke Gods ire, that the like dayes come again. And if it ſo do, GOD make them, with all other weaklings, ſtrong and worthy ſouldiers to encounter with the ghoſtly enemies, the world, the fleſh, and the devill; and boldly to ſtand to the confeſſion of Chriſt, and of his Goſpel, ſaying with the Apoſtles; Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more then God, judge ye.

Gods providence in ſending away the biſhop.

Teſtified and recorded by Peter Moone.

¶ A tragicall, lamentable, and pitifull hiſtorie, full of moſt cruell and tyrannicall murther, done by the pretenſed Catholiques, upon three women and an Infant; to wit, the mother, her two daughters, and the childe, in the Iſle of Garnſey, for Chriſts true religion, the yeer of our Lord, 1556. July 18.

The martyrdome of three women with a young infant, burned in the Iſle of Garnſey. July 18.

AMongſt all and ſingular Hiſtories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, ſome horrible and tragicall; ſo is there none almoſt either in crueltie to be compared, or ſo far off from all compaſſion and ſenſe of humanitie, as this mercileſſe fact of the Papiſts, done in the Iſle of Garnſey, upon three women and an Infant, whoſe names be theſe as follow:

Katherine Cawches, the mother.
Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter.
Perotine Maſſey, the other daughter.
An Infant, the ſon of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpoſe of this ſtorie, it ſhall be neceſſarie, for the better explaining of the matter, to begin firſt with the circumſtances, whereupon the firſt originall and occaſion did riſe of this tragicall crueltie, the caſe was this:

The 17. day of May, Anno 1556. in the Iſle of Garnſey, which is a member of England, in a town there called S. Peters Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Goſſet, who being evill diſpoſed, (went the day aforeſaid) to the houſe of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the ſaid St. Peters Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking the key of the houſe (lying under the doore) entred into a chamber toward the ſtreet, where ſhe eſpying a cup of ſilver within a cubboord, took it away, and ſo conveighed her ſelf out of the houſe again. Who immediately after this fact done (whether by counſell or by what occaſion elſe I have not to ſay) brought the ſaid cup to one Perotine Maſſey, an honeſt woman dwelling in the ſaid town, deſiring her to lend her 6. d. upon the ſame.

The firſt occaſion of the trouble of theſe women.

Perotine ſeeing the cup or goblet, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) the ſame to be ſtollen, anſwered, that ſhe would not take it: yet nevertheleſſe having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to reſtore it again to whom it did appertain; and to the end ſhe ſhould not carry it to another, gave her then preſently 6. d. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart ſaith and teſtifieth, that knowledge was given by the ſaid Perotine to Conronney touching the ſtealing of this peece, who eftſoons upon the miſliking thereof attached the ſaid Vincent Goſſet of the treſpaſſe. Who being apprehended and examined upon the ſame, immediately confeſſed the fact, deſiring to have one ſent with her (which was Collas de Lontre) with 6. d. to fetch again the goblet, where it was; and ſo did.

The next day following, the Kings Officers being informed of the premiſſes by one Nicholas Cary, of the ſaid town, Conſtable, aſſembled the Juſtices there to inquire and examine further, as wel upon the fact of Vincent Goſſet, as upon other griefs and things there amiſſe. So that after declaration made by the Officers and Conſtable before the Juſtice, for that the ſaid Conſtable did report to have found a certain veſſell of Pewter in the houſe of the foreſaid Perotine Maſſey (who then dwelt with her mother Katherine Cawches, and her ſiſter Guillemine Gilbert) the which veſſell did bear no mark, and eſpecially for that there was a Pewter diſh, whereof the name was ſcraped out, their bodies upon the ſame were attached, and put in priſon, and their moveable goods taken by inventorie. Within a few dayes after theſe things thus done and paſt, theſe three ſilly women, abiding thus in durance in the Caſtle, made their ſupplication to the Juſtices to have juſtice miniſtred unto them, viz. If they had offended the law, then to let them have the law; if not, beſeeching to grant them the benefit of ſubjects, &c. Which ſupplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their anſwer the fifth day of June, in the yeer aforeſaid. Upon which day, after ſtrait examining of the matter, and the honeſt anſwering of the cauſe by the ſaid good woman, at the laſt they ſubmitted them to the report of their neighbours, that they were no theeves, nor evill diſpoſed perſons, but lived truly and honeſtly, as became chriſtian women to do, the falſe and untrue report of their accuſers notwithſtanding.

Nicholas Cary Conſtable, accuſer.

Katherine with her two daughters impriſoned in the Caſtle.

Katherine with her two daughters ſtand to the judgement of their neighbours.

So the cauſe being thus debated, after the inquirie made by the Kings Officers, they were found by the ſaid neighbours not guiltie of that they were charged with, but had lived allwayes as honeſt women among them; ſaving onely that to the commandements of holy Church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this triall and verdict of their neighbors, it was in fine adjudged, firſt that the ſaid Vincent Goſſet, being attainted of Felonie, and condemned for the ſame, ſhould be whipped, add after her eare being nailed to the pillorie, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the Iſle without further puniſhment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to the Church, they were returned priſoners again into the Caſtle the firſt of July. And thus far concerning the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtances and appurtenance of the ſame in everie point as the caſe ſtood, according to the faithfull tenor and teſtimonie of the Garnſey men, written with their own hands both in the French and Engliſh tongue. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended againſt theſe women, and nothing proved, and how by the atteſta-

The three women quit of theft and diſhoneſty.

New trouble againſt the three women for not coming to the Church.

tion of their neighbours they were fully cleered of the fact, and ſhould by the temporall Court have been diſmiſſed, had not the ſpirituall Clergie men, picked matter of religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuch extremitie in perſecuting theſe miſerable priſoners, that in no caſe they ſhould eſcape their bloodie hands, till at length they had brought them (as you ſhall hear) to their finall end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to the Church, the Bayliffes Lieutenant and the Juſtice thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the Clergie, forthwith wrote their letters or Mandate under their ſignets to the Deane, whoſe name was Jaques Amy, and Curates of the ſaid Iſle: The contents whereof here followeth.

Jaques Amy Dean of Garnſey, perſecutor.

A letter ſent from the Bayliffes Lieutenant, and Iurates of St. Peters Port, to the Deane and Curates of the Iſle of Garnſey.

A letter of the Bayliffe to the Deane of Garnſey.

MAſter Deane and Iuſtices in your Court and juriſdiction, after all amiable recommendations, pleaſeth you to know that we are informed by the diſpoſition of certain honeſt men, paſt before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquirie Katherine Cawches and her two daughters have ſubmitted themſelves in a certain matter criminall: Wherein we be informed that they have been diſobedient to the commandements and ordinances of the Church, in contemning and forſaking the Maſſe, and the ordinances of the ſame, againſt the will and commandement of our Soveraigne Lord the King and the Queene. Whereof we ſend you the ſaid matter, foraſmuch as the matter is ſpirituall, to the end you may proceed therein after your good diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and juſtice. Written the firſt day of the moneth of Iuly, the yeer of our Lord, 1556.

¶ After theſe letters, and information thus addreſſed to Jaques Amy Dean, and to other of the Clergie, the ſaid women were again convented before the Juſtice aforeſaid with his aſſiſtants. In the preſence of whom they being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romiſh Church, made their anſwer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the King and Queene, and the commandements of the Church; notwithſtanding that they had ſaid and done the contrarie in the time of King Edward the ſixth, in ſhewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which anſwer take͂, they were returned again to priſon, untill the other had an anſwer of their letter from the Deane and his complices. During which time, the Deane and Curate gave their information touching the ſaid women, and delivered the ſame to the Bayliffe and Jurates, condemning and reputing them for heretiques, the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon when the ſaid Bayliffe and Jurates underſtood that the ſaid Deane and Curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not ſit in judgement on that day, but ordained the women to come firſt before the Deane and Curates to be examined of their faith. And ſo the Officers, at the commandement of the Juſtices, did fetch and preſent them before the ſaid Deane and Curates. The which being accompliſhed and done, they were examined apart ſeverally one from another: After which examination, they incontinently were returned again into priſon.

Raſh information given, before the cauſe was heard.

Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, Guillemine Gilbert, examined before the Dean and his fellows.

Then the fourteenth day of the ſaid moneth of July, in the yeer aforeſaid, after the examination above ſpecified before Elyer Goſſelin Bayliffe, in the preſence of Thomas Devick, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blondel, Nicholas de Liſle, John Laverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonnamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la March, Jurates; Sir Jaques Amy Deane, and the Curates, did deliver before the Juſtice under the ſeale of the Deane, and under the ſignes of the Curates, a certain act and ſentence, the ſumme whereof was, that Katherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretiques, and ſuch they reputed them, and have delivered them to Juſtice, to do execution according to the ſentence; of the which the tenor followeth.

The names of the perſecutors which ſat upon the death of the three women.

The Sentence.

ANno Domini milleſimo, quingenteſimo, quinquageſimo ſexto, die verò 13. menſis Iulii apud Eccleſiam divi Petri in portu maris inſula promotor. per nos Dominum Decanum inquiſitio facta fuit de fide Catholica, & ſuper Sacramenta Eccleſiaſtica, videlicet ſuper ſacramentum Baptiſmi, Confirmationis, Pœnitentiæ, Ordinis, Matrimonii, Euchariſtiæ, & extremæ Vnctionis, nec non ſuper ceremonias Eccleſiæ, ac de veneratione & honoratione beatæ Mariæ & Sanctorum, de Miſſa & ejus efficacia, & de ceremoniis Eccleſiæ, videlicet Katherinæ Cawches, ejuſdemque duarum filiarum Guilleminæ & Parotinæ nuncupatarum, & harum tam conjunctim quam ſeparatim, & via juris. Et quamvis pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delecta ſua cognoſcenda " hortavimus & invitavimus, quæquidem prædicta omnino negaverunt & negant, quod locutæ fuerunt aliquod verbum inane, inhoneſtum, ocioſum, & vanum contra fidem Catholicam, ſacramenta Eccleſiæ, & alias ceremonias Eccleſiæ. Quapropter auditis negationibus prædictarum, & atteſtationibus & depoſitionibus teſtium per nos viſis, conſideratis, & bene ponderatis, & per opiniones Curatorum & Vicariorum ibidem aſſiſtentium ſuper eaſdem Kather. & Parotinam, nec non & Guelleminam crimine hæreticas invenimus & reputamus. Quapropter coram vobis Domino Balivo omnino remittimus ut antea remiſimus. Thomas le Coll de mandato, Iohn Alles, Guillielmus Panquet, Petrus Tardiſe, & Iohannes Manatiel.

Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, Guillemine Gilbert, wrongfully condemned by the Deane and Juſtices.

The unjuſt ſentence of the Dean againſt the 3. Martyrs.

" Solœciſmus catholicus.

When this was done, commandement was given to the Kings Officers, to go to the Caſtle to fetch the ſaid women, to heare the ſentence againſt them in the preſence aforeſaid. And they appearing before them, ſaid in the eares of all the auditorie, that they would ſee their accuſers, and know them that have depoſed againſt them, becauſe they might make anſwers to their ſayings and perſonages, and to have their libell accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majeſties of the King and Queene, nor of the Church, but intirely would obey, ſerve, and keep the ordinances of the King and Queen, and of the Church, as all good and true Subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the King and Queens laws that they had done, they required juſtice. All which their reaſons and allegations notwithſtanding, the ſaid poore women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, untill they were conſumed unto aſhes, according to a ſentence given by Elyer Goſſelin Bayliffe: of the which ſentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

The 3. women willing to be conformed to the Queens ordinances, were notwithſtanding condemned.

Q. MA-RIE.
Anno 1556.

The wilfull ſentence and murther of Elier Goſſelin Bailiffe, againſt the 3. innocent women in Garnſey.

¶ The effect of the ſentence in Engliſh.

THe 17. (or ſome other think the 27.) day of the moneth of Iuly, 1556. Elier Goſſelin Bayliffe in the preſence of Thomas Devick, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, Iohn Bloundel, Nicholas Deviſe, Iohn le Marchaunt, Iohn le Feaver, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, and Iohn de la March Iurates, Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, Guillemine Gilbert, the ſaid Perotine and Guillemine daughters to the ſaid Katherine, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, untill they be conſumed to aſhes in the place accuſtomed, with the confiſcation of all their goods, moveables, and heritages, to be in the hands of the King and Queens Majeſties, according and after the effect of a ſentence delivered in juſtice by maſter Deane and the Curates, the 13. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeer aforeſaid, in the which they have been approved Heretiques.

The mother & two daughters made their appeal to the King and Queen, but could not be heard.

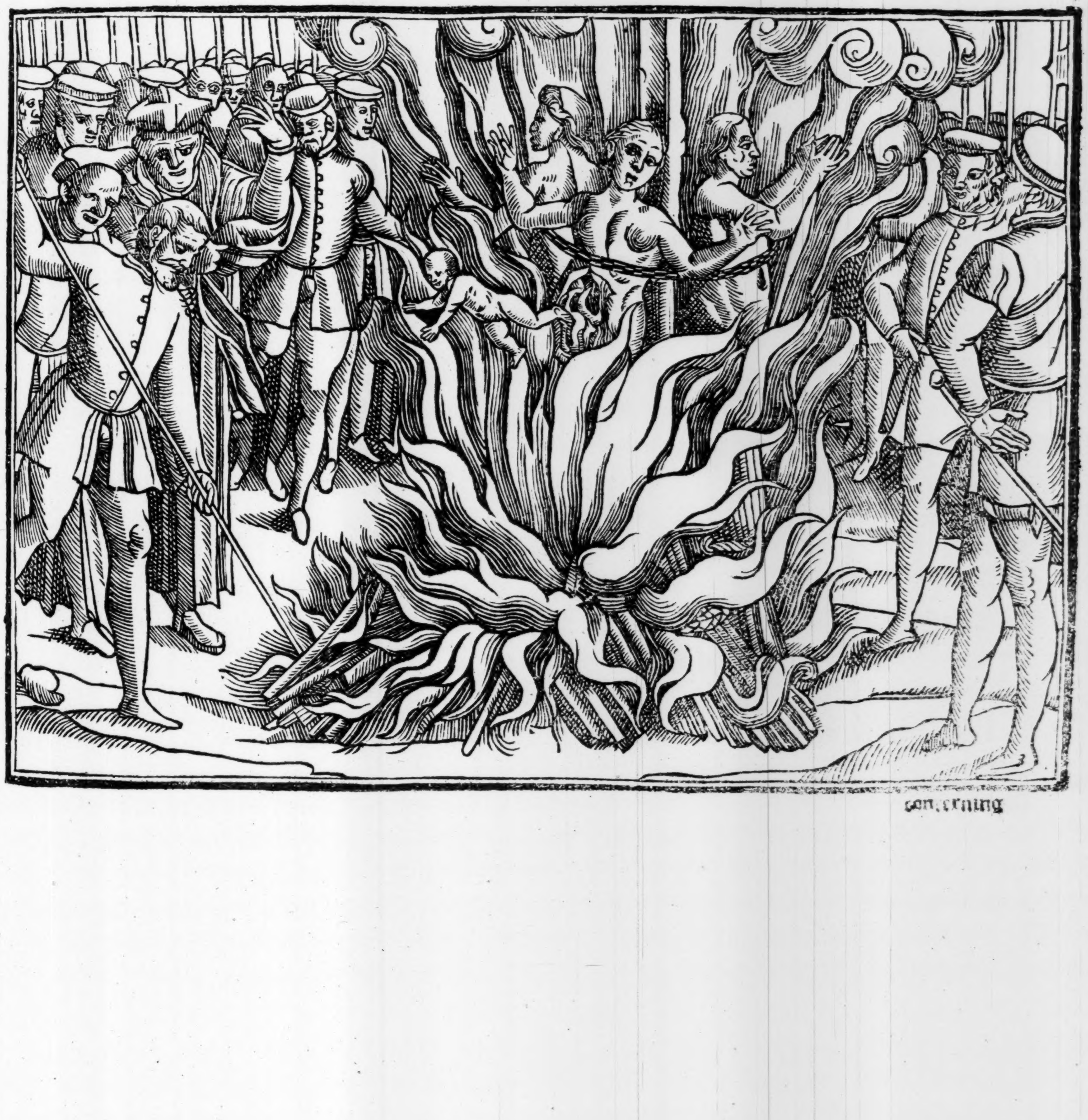
After which ſentence pronounced, the ſaid women did appeal unto the King and the Queen, and their honourable Councell, ſaying, that againſt reaſon and right they were condemned, and for that cauſe they made their appeal; notwithſtanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the ſaid bayliffe to the King and Queens officers, to ſee the execution done on them according to the ſaid ſentence.

The time then being come, when theſe three good ſervants and holy Saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters ſhould ſuffer, in the place where they ſhould conſummate their martyrdome were three ſtakes ſet up. At the middle poſt was the mother, the eldeſt daughter on the right hand, the youngeſt on the other. They were firſt ſtrangled, but the Rope brake before they were dead, and ſo the poore women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her ſide, where happened a ruefull ſight, not onely to the eyes of all that there ſtood, but alſo to the eares of all true-hearted Chriſtians that ſhall read this hiſtorie. For as the belly of the woman braſt aſunder by the vehemencie of the flame, the Infant being a faire man-childe, fell into the fire, and eftſoones being taken out of the fire by one W. Houſe, was laid upon the graſſe.

Then was the childe had to the Provoſt, and from him to the Bayliffe, who gave cenſure that it ſhould be carried backe againe and caſt into the fire. And ſo the Infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of Gods innocent Saints, was both born and died a Martyr, leaving behinde to the world, which it never ſaw, a ſpectacle wherein the whole world may ſee the Herodian crueltie of this graceleſſe generation of Catholique tormentors, Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.

Now forſomuch as this ſtorie percaſe, for the horrible ſtrangeneſſe of the fact, will be hardly beleeved of ſome, but rather thought to be forged, or elſe more amplified of me then truth will beare me out, therefore to diſcharge my credit herein, I have not onely foretold thee a little before, how I received this ſtorie by the faithfull relation both of the French and Engliſh, of them which were there preſent witneſſes, and lookers upon; but alſo have hereto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſaid inhabitants of Garnſey, and of the brother of the ſaid two ſiſters, complaining to the Queene and her Commiſſioners,

A lamentable ſpectacle of three women, with a ſilly Infant braſting out of the mothers wombe, being firſt taken out of the fire, and caſt in again, and ſo all burned together, in the Iſle of Garnſey, 1556. Iuly 18.



concerning the horribleneſſe of the act; which ſupplication, for the more evidence, here under followeth to be ſeen.

To the right honourable, and the Queens Highneſſe moſt gracious Commiſſioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of Religion and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

A ſupplication.

MOſt lamentably and wofully complaining, ſheweth unto your gracious and honourable Lordſhips, your poore and humble Orator Mathew Cawches, of the Iſle of Garnſey, that where Jaques Amy Clerk, Dean of the Iſle aforeſaid, aſſiſted by the Curates there, againſt all order, law, and reaſon, by colour of a ſentence of hereſie, pronounced againſt Katherine Cawches, the ſiſter of your Honours ſaid ſuppliant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cauſe the ſaid Katherine, being a poore widow, and her ſaid two daughters moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſaid perſons, ne any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly againſt the Eccleſiaſticall laws then in place, under the reign of the late Queen Marie, but in all things ſubmitted themſelves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the crueltie of the ſaid Dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating ſuch murther as aforeſaid, raged ſo far, that whereas, whileſt the ſaid perſons did conſume with violent fire, the wombe of the ſaid Perotine being burned, there did iſſue from her a goodly man-childe, which by the Officers was taken up and handled, and after in a moſt deſpitefull manner thrown into the fire, and there alſo with the ſilly mother moſt cruelly burnt: In tender conſideration whereof, and forſomuch as this bloodie murther was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to juſtice, but of meere malicious hatred, as the true copie of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the ſaid Dean and his accomplices, here readie to be ſhewed to your Honours, will make verie plain and manifeſt: It may therefore pleaſe your good and gracious Lordſhips, of the zeal that you bear to juſtice, and for our Lord Jeſus Chriſts ſake, to have due conſideration in juſtice of ſuch horrible murther, ſo cruelly committed as aforeſaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may pleaſe your honourable Lordſhips to order and decree alſo, that all the goods of all the ſaid parties, by pretence aforeſaid wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be delivered to your ſaid poore beſeecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honors ſaid Suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preſervation, to his glorie, and your everlaſting health.

This ſupplication being preſented in manner aforeſaid to the Queens honourable Commiſſioners, in the yeer 1562. ſuch order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the ſaid countrey, further to be examined, the Dean thereupon was committed to priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his livings. So that in concluſion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murther, whether of conſcience, or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their treſpaſſe, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Queens pardon. The tenor of whoſe ſeverall ſubmiſſions, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publiſh to the world, for a memoriall of more truth of this ſtorie.

Jaques Amy the Dean diſpoſſeſſed of his livings.

The ſeverall ſubmiſſion of certain Garnſey men, confeſſing their treſpaſſe in the wrongfull condemnation of the three women above ſpecified.

The ſubmiſſion of the Garnſey men, confeſſing their treſpaſſe againſt the Garnſey women aforeſaid.

HElyer Goſſeline, of the Pariſh of St. Peter le port in Garnſey, Merchant, Nicholas Cary the elder, John Marchant, Peter Bonamy, of the Pariſh of Saint Martin, and Nicholas Martin, ſon of John, having humbly ſubmitted themſelves to the Queens moſt excellent Majeſtie, acknowledging their erroneous judgements, as well againſt Katherine Cawches, and Guillemine, and Perotine, her two daughters, and the Infant of the ſaid Perotine, executed by fire for ſuppoſed hereſie, as alſo for the acquitting of Nicholas Norman, a wilfull murtherer, and other matters contained in their ſeverall ſubmiſſions; pray the Queens Majeſties pardon for the ſaid crimes and others committed in their ſeverall ſubmiſſions.

John Blundel the elder, of the Pariſh of Saint Saviour, within the Iſle of Garnſey, upon like ſubmiſſion and acknowledging of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent given to the execution of the ſaid three women.

Richard Devicke, of the Pariſh of ſaint Peter le port, Merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent and judgement given for the acquitting of the ſaid Norman, according to his ſupplication and ſubmiſſion late preſented by Peter Bonamy, the ſame Devicke, and Peter Pelley, of the Pariſh of Saint Peter le port, Merchants.

The ſaid Peter Pelley prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon to be extended unto him, according to his ſubmiſſion in the ſaid ſupplication.

Jaques Amy Clerk, prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon for his ſentence with the Clergies againſt the ſaid women, according to his ſubmiſſion.

Thomas Effart, of the Pariſh of Saint Peter le port, humbly prayeth, as procurour lawfully conſtituted by the Chapiter, Bayliffe and Jurates, that the ſame pardon may extend to acquite all the inhabitants of the ſaid Iſle, of the arrerages, &c.

The copy of the Queens pardon following upon their ſubmiſſion, as in form here under followeth.

The copy of the Queens pardon to them of Garnſey.

REgina, omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quòd nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris pardonavimus, remiſimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes pardonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus Hillerio Goſſeline, de Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra inſulam noſtram de Garnſey, Mercatori; Iohanni Blundel de Parochia ſancti Salvatoris infra prædictam inſulam de Garnſey ſeniori, Mercatori; Nicolao Carie ſeniori de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra eandem inſulam de Garnſey, Mercatori; Ioanni Marchant de ejuſdem Parochia & inſula, Generoſo; Nicolao Martin filio Iohannis de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garnſey, Mercatori; Richardo Devike de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garnſey, Mercatori; Petro Pelley de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garnſey, Mercatori; & Iacobo Amy de Parochia ſancti Salvatoris, infra dictam inſulam de Garnſey, Clerico; & eorum cuilibet, conjunctim & diviſim, ſeu quocunque alio nomine, ſive quibuſcunque aliis nominibus, cognominibus ſive additionibus, nominis vel cognominis, officiorum, artium, vel locorum, iidem Hillerius, Nic. Carie, Iohannes, Nicholaus Martin, Ioannes Blundel, Richardus, Petrus, & Iacobus cenſeantur, vocentur, ſive nuncupentur aut nuper cenſebantur, vocabantur ſive nun-

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1556.

cupabantur, aut quocunque alio nomine, ſeu cognomine, aut additione nominis, vel cognominis, dignitatis, officii, artis aut loci, aliqui eorundem Hillerii, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Iohannis Blundel, Richardi, Petri, & Iacobi, cenſeantur, vocentur, ſive nuncupentur, aut nuper cenſebantur, vocabantur, ſive nuncupabantur, omnia & omnimoda murdra, homicidia, felonias, & felonicas interfectiones Katherinæ Cawches, & Guillemine & Perotinæ filiarum ejuſdem Katherinæ & earum cujuſlibet, ac acceſſarias earundem; ac omnia, & ſingula, felonias, inſultus, verberationes, vulnerationes, combuſtiones, tranſgreſſiones, offenſas, riotas, routas, conventicula illicita, aſſemblationes, congregationes, inſidiationes, conſpirationes, acceſſarias auxiliationes, compercutiones, procurationes, abbettationes, confortationes, & manutentiones, concelamenta, forisfacturas, contemptus, impetitiones, negligentias, & alia malefacta quæcunque, murdra, homicidia & felonicam interfectionem prædictarum Katherinæ, Guillemin. & Perotinæ, ſeu alicujus earum tangen. in aliquo, ſeu concern. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem, Nicolaum Martin, Ioannem Blundel, Richardum, Petrum, & Iacobum, ſeu eorum aliquem vel aliquos, ante præſentem diem, qualitercunque fact. habit. commiſſ. ſive perpetrat. ac omnes & ſingulas fugam & fugas, quaſcunque per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Iohannem Blundel, Richardum Devicke, Petrum Pelley, & Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorum aliquem, ſive aliquos, ratione ſeu occaſione murdra, homicidia, aut felonicam interfectionem prædictar. fact. ſive habit. adeo plenè & integrè, ac in tam ampliſ. modo, & forma, prout, ſi quilibet prædictorum Hillerii Goſſeline, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Iohannis Blundel, Richard. Devicke, Petri Pelley, & Iacobi Amy, ſpecialiter literas noſtras patentes de perdonatione habuiſſet.

Perdonavimus etiam, remiſimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfato Hillerio Goſſeline, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundel, Richardo Devicke, Petri Pelley, & Amy, & eorum unicuique, hæredibus, executoribus, adminiſtratoribus, & aſſign. ſuis imperpet. omnes & omnimodas intruſiones, infractiones, & ingreſſus, per ipſos ſeu eorum aliquem, ejuſvè aut eorum vel alicujus eorum procuratores, agentes, vel miniſtros, in omnia & ſingula maneria, terras, tenementa, poſſeſſiones, & hæreditamenta noſtra quæcunque, quaruncunque nuper Cantariarum, Gildarum, obit. fraternitat. ſeu collegiorum noſtrorum, aut alicujus ſeu aliquorum progenitorum noſtrorum, infra prædictam inſulam de Garnſey exiſten. ante decimum ſeptimum diem Novemb. Ann. regni noſtri primo fact. perpetrat. ſive commiſſ. Ac omnia & ſingula debita, redditus, computa, arreragia, & collectiones, receptiones, detentiones, & non ſolutiones granorum, & aliorum reddituum, exituum, proficuorum quoruncunque nobis aut alicui progenitorum noſtrorum pro eiſdem Cantariis, Gildiſ. obit. fraternitatibus, ſeu collegiis, ſive eorum aliquo vel aliquibus, quoviſmodo ante prædictum decimum ſeptimum diem Novemb. Decimo Anno regni noſtri primo, debit. pertinent. ſive ſpectant.

Perdonavimus, remiſimus, & relaxavimus, ac de gratia ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia, & mero motu noſtris prædictis, pro nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes pardonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus præfatis Hillerio Goſſeline, Nicolao Carie, Iohann. Marchant, Nicolao Martin, & Richardo Devicke, & eorum cuique liberationem, evaſionem, eſcapiam, & voluntar. ad libertatem poſitionem cujuſdam Nicolai Norman, nuper de Parochia ſancti Salvatoris, infra prædictam inſulam, Yeoman, de homicidio, ſive murdro, nuper judicat. attinct. & convict. exiſten. pro interfectione ſive murderatione, cujuſdam Iohannis Breghault, de dicta Parochia ſancti Salvatoris, infra inſulam prædictam, Husbandman. At omnia & omnimoda, felonias, crimina, offenſas, pœnas, mortes, punitiones, forisfactur. contemptus, negligent. ignorantias ac alia delicta & offenſas, quæcunque prædictam liberationem, evaſionem, eſcapiam, & ad libertatem poſitionem prædicti Nicolai Norman tangendi, ſeu aliquo modo concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, & Richardum Devicke, ſeu eorum aliquem, vel aliquos, ante præſentem diem, qualitercunque habit. fact. commiſſ. ſive illapſa.

Perdonavimus etiam, remiſimus, & relaxavimus, ac per præſentes, ex certa ſcientia et mero motu noſtris, pro nobis, hæredibus, et ſucceſſoribus noſtris, perdonamus, remittimus, et relaxamus, præfatis Hillerio Goſſeline, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundel, Richardo Devicke, Petro Pelley, et Iacobo Amy, omnia et omnimoda riotas, routas, illicitas congregatienes, et conventicula illicita, in pacis noſtræ perturbationem, per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem Marchant, Nicholaum Martin, Iohannem Blundel, Richardum Devicke, Petrum Pelley, et Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorum aliquem, ſive aliquos, antehac qualitercunque infra inſulam prædictam habit. commiſ. fact. ſive perpetrat. &c,

¶ A defence of this Garnſey ſtory againſt M. Harding.

Defence of this Garnſey ſtorie againſt M. Harding.

AND thus have you the true narration of this hiſtorie, diſcourſed without corrupting or falſifying any part or ſentence thereof, no leſſe faithfully of my part reported, then I received of them, who dwelling in the ſame Iſle, and being preſent the ſame time, were beſt acquainted with the matter, and have given ſufficient evidence, not onely to me, but alſo to the Quæenes Highneſſe Commiſſioners, concerning the ſame, as both by the letter of the Bayliffe, by the ſentence of the Dean, by the ſupplication of the Plaintife, and ſubmiſſion of the parties, and likewiſe by the Quæenes pardon granted unto them, may well appeare.

By all which proofes and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for all men to perceive, what crueltie and wrong was wrought againſt theſe poore women above ſpecified, and no leſſe matter offered, in a caſe ſo unjuſt, juſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of theſe men, but eſpecially of the Catholique Clergie of Garnſey, who profeſſing the Goſpel of peace and charitie, ſhould after the example of Chriſt walk in the ſteps of mækneſſe and mercie, and yet contrarie, not onely to all chriſtian charitie and manſuetude, but alſo againſt all order of equitie or humanitie, were ſo extreme and rigorous, to condemne them to the burning fire, under the pretenſed colour of hereſie. Who if they had bæn heretiques indæd, yet mercie would have corrected the errour, and ſaved life; equitie would have conſidered mans weake fragilitie, at leaſt true juſtice would have heard both the parties adviſedly, and alſo ſubſtantially have ſurvaied the cauſe, and not have raſhed out the ſentence of death ſo haſtily as they did: yea, and though they had bæn heretiques indæd, yet true Chriſtian charitie would have ſtretched farther, and at leaſt have given them leaſure and reſpite of time to reclaime themſelves. But now what is here to be ſaid? they being no heretiques at all,

The cruell dealing of the Garnſey men againſt theſe three women.

as neither it could then, nor yet can be proved. For if King Edwards religion (which was objected to them) were hereſie, yet were they then no heretiques, when they revoked the ſame; and if Queen Maries religion were hereſie, then were they much more heretiques themſelves, which condemned them of hereſie.

M. Harding in his Rejoynder againſt M. Jewel, pag. 184.

But moſt of all we have herein to wonder at maſter Harding, who in his late Rejoynder, written againſt the Biſhop of Saliſburie, notwithſtanding all theſe evidences and demonſtrations ſo certaine and manifeſtly appearing, yet goeth about firſt to denie the ſtorie, terming it to be a fable; and afterward being forced to flie à ſtatu inficiali, to admit the ſtorie, he removeth ad tranſlationem criminis; and there ſeeking by all means to cleere the Clergie from the ſpot of crueltie, transferreth the whole blame onely upon the women that ſuffered; but principally upon poore Perotine, whom he ſpecially charged with two capitall crimes: to wit, whoredome and murder.

Two crimes objected againſt Perotine Maſſey.

M. Harding in his Rejoynder, fol. 184. pag. 2.

And firſt, touching his accuſation of whoredome, let us heare how he proveth this matter. Becauſe (ſaith he) by ſtorie it is granted, that ſhe was with childe: and yet the Hiſtoriographer doth not declare (neither durſt for ſhame) who was her husband, or father to the childe, &c. As though that Hiſtoriographers, being occupied in ſetting forth the perſecution of Gods people, ſuffering death for religion and doctrine of Chriſt, were bound, or had nothing elſe to do but to play the Sumner, and to bring forth who were huſbands to the wives, and fathers to their children; which new found law of hiſtorie being never required before, nor obſerved of any ſtorie writers. If maſter Harding now ſhall exact of me, firſt let him begin with himſelf, and ſhew us (as wiſe as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I thinke not contrarie, but his mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſſe alſo do I thinke of this of Perotine aforeſaid; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

Perotine untruly accuſed of whoredome.

But in the meane time here cometh in the cavilling objection of maſter Harding, who beareth the Reader in hand, as though for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſſe it, &c. My anſwer whereunto is this: Firſt, to expreſſe everie minute of matter in everie ſtorie occurrent, what ſtorie writer in all the world is able to performe it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reaſonable Reader would require it? Thirdly, albeit ſome curious Readers would ſo require, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite, nor convenient to be obſerved. And fourthly, what if it were not remembred of the Author? What if it were to him not known? what if it were of purpoſe omitted, as a matter not materiall to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incur, which the Reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to ſhame and blame, whatſoever in everie narration is not expreſſed? or doth maſter Harding himſelfe in all his Sermons never pretermit any thing, that conveniently might be inferred? Who was the huſband of this Perotine the Hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed; I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, that for ſhame I durſt not. Nay, I may marvell rather, that he durſt for ſhame utter ſuch untidie Arguments, or ſo aſſeverantly pronounce of another mans minde and purpoſe, which is as privie to him, as then it was to me unknowne what was her huſbands name. And though it had been knowne, what was that materiall in the ſtorie to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruell parts of them, which burned both the mother and infant together, though the infants father had been expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceale that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to expreſſe, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſdeeme?

Neverthelesse, if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this infants father, I will not ſtick with maſter Harding, although I cannot ſweare for the matter, yet to take ſo much pain for his pleaſure, to go as neer as I may. For preciſely and determinately to point out the right father either of this, or any childe; I trow, neither will maſter Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himſelf being aſked, to demonſtrate his own. And yet as much as I may, to ſatiſfie his daintie deſire herein, and partly to help the innocencie of the woman, touching this demand, who ſhould be the infants father: Who, ſay I, but his own mothers huſband? the name of which huſband was David Jores, a Miniſter, and married to the ſaid Perotine in King Edwards time, in the Church of our Ladies Caſtle Pariſh at Garnſey; the partie which married them being called maſter Noel Regnet a Frenchman, and yet alive, witneſſe hereunto, and now dwelling in London in ſaint Martins Le grande.

M. Harding requireth of others to do that, which he is not able to do himſelf.

David Jores husband to Perotine Maſſey.

Perotine married, where, and by whom.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have ſhewed forth, for maſter Hardings pleaſure, the right huſband of this Perotine, and what was his name, who was alſo alive, his wife being great with childe, and partaker of the perſecution of the ſame time, and a Schoolmaſter afterward in Normandie, &c. Now if maſter Harding can take any ſuch advantage hereof to diſprove that I have ſaid; or be ſo privie to the begetting of this childe, that he can prove the ſaid David Jores, which was the right huſband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning by what mightie demonſtrations he can induce us to deeme the contrarie; and as I ſhall ſee his reaſon, I ſhall ſhape him an anſwer, in ſuch ſort (I truſt) that he will perceive, that whoredome, whereſoever I may know it, ſhall finde no bolſtering by me; I wiſh it might finde as little amongſt the chaſte Catholiques of maſter Hardings Church.

From this I proceed now to the ſecond part of his infamous accuſation, wherein he chargeth her of murther. A ſtrange caſe, that ſhe which was murthered her ſelf, with her childe, and died before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murther the childe. Murther doubtleſſe is an horrible iniquitie in any perſon; but the mother to be murderer of her own infant, it is a double abomination, and more then a monſter, ſo far diſagreeing from all nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Perotine falſly accuſed of murther.

Wherefore, to trie out this matter more thorowly touching this murthering mother, let us ſee: Firſt, what hand did ſhe lay upon the childe? None. What weapon had ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drowne it, or caſt it in ſome pond, as we reade of the ſtrumpets at Rome, whoſe childrens heads were taken up in Pope Gregories Mote by hundreds, what time Prieſts began firſt to be reſtrained of a lawfull wedlock: witneſſe the Epiſtle of Voluſianus? or elſe did ſhe throw it by the walls into ſome privie corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth yeer of Queene Elizabeth, certaine ſcalps and other young infants bones were found and taken out with a ſtick in the hole of a ſtone wall in Lenton Abbey, by certain Gentlemen within the countrey of Nottingham, James Baruſſe, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace walking in the Prior chamber; witneſſe the ſaid W. Lovelace,

Vide ſupra.

A ſtory of young infants murthered in Lenton Abbey, & found in the eighth yeer of Q. Elizabeth.

with other which ſaw the bones aforeſaid? Or otherwiſe did ſhe take any hurtfull drinke to impotionate the childe within her, as commonly it is reported few Nunneries to have beene in England, wherein ſuch a tree hath not beene growing within their ground, meet for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wittingly thruſt her ſelfe in jeopardie, to the deſtruction of her childe, when ſhe needed not, as Pope Joane, when ſhe might have kept her bed, would needs adventure forth proceſſion, where both ſhe her ſelfe, and her infant periſhed in the open ſtreet?

Pope Joane murderer of her childe.

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accuſed of murdering her childe, which neither laid hand upon it, nor uſed weapon againſt it; neither uſed any other practiſe in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poyſoning, or any other wilfull meanes, whereby to deſtroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forſooth (ſaith M. Harding) when ſhe was accuſed and condemned to be burned, ſhe did not claime the benefit of her belly, whereby the life both of her ſelfe for the time might have beene delayed, and the childe preſerved.

How and by what reaſon M. Harding proveth Perotine to be a murderer.

Whether ſhe did or no, I have not perfectly to ſay; no more, I weene, hath Maſter Harding. Howbeit this is certaine, and by witneſſe known, that ſhe uttered no leſſe to her ghoſtly father in confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame to the Judges? They would (ſaith he) have ſpared her life for the time, and ſo the Innocent had been preſeaved. And how is M. Harding ſure of this, more then was the life ſpared of the young Ladie, and Miſtreſſe ſometime of M. Harding, who ſuffered, notwithſtanding ſhe was reported of ſome to be with childe? becauſe the law (ſaith he) is beneficiall to women in her caſe, claiming the benefit thereof.

Lady Jane thought to be with childe at her death.

The law beneficiall to women claiming the benefit of their belly.

The law ſo giveth I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatſoever the law giveth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put by and by in execution. But many times the law goeth as it pleaſeth them which have the handling of the law. As for example, the law willeth none to be condemned by ſentence of death for hereſie, which the firſt time revoke their opinion, and yet contrarie to this law they condemned her unlawfully. Againe, the like law, none to be executed for hereſie, before the Writ be ſent downe de comburendo, and yet contrarie to this law, without any ſuch Writ (as farre as I yet underſtand) they burned her moſt cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doings herein ſeemed neither to obſerve law, nor to regard honeſtie, nor much to paſſe for charitie? And albeit ſhe had claimed never ſo much the priviledge of the law, what had that availed with thoſe men, whoſe hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appeare) ſeemeth to be for the houſhold goods of theſe women, which after their death immediately they incroached into their owne hands.

Unlawfull proceeding in the death of Perotine.

But be it admitted, that neither ſhe demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the Judges would ever have denied her, if ſhe had ſo done; yet it had beene the part of a grave accuſer, before he had beene deſcended into ſuch a railing action of murder againſt a poore woman now dead and gone, firſt to have adviſed wiſely with himſelfe, whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligence what benefit the law would have given, in caſe it had beene required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea, then no, that the ſimple woman, brought up all her life long in her mothers houſe in an obſcure Iland, and in ſuch an out-corner of the Realme, farre off from the Court, and practiſe of Engliſh lawes, never heard before of any ſuch benefit of the law; and therefore upon meere ſimplicitie, and for lacke of skill required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require. Peradventure alſo her ſenſes might be ſo aſtonied with the greatneſſe and ſuddenneſſe of the feare, that it was out of her remembrance. Certes, it had beene the dutie of the Judges, which knew the law, and having the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her caſe, to have queſtioned with her thereof, and to have holpen her ſimplicitie in that behalfe. Or at leaſt, if they had diſdained, yet it had beene the Prieſts part, who was her ghoſtly Father, and made privie thereunto, either to have inſtructed her, or to have ſtayed the execution of her death for ſafeguard of the childe.

Perotine defended by ſimple ignorance.

Lacke in the Judges.

The Prieſt to blame.

But all this denieth Maſter Harding, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that the note of any ſimple unskilfulneſſe of the law, but onely of meere wilfulneſſe, for avoiding of worldly ſhame, concealed her owne turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her babe, &c. Theſe be the words of Maſter Harding, written by him not of any ſure ground, but onely upon his Catholike conjecture; for other demonſtration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to anſwer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him againe, that in caſe he had beene asked the queſtion of the Judges and Inquiſitors, whether ſhe had beene with childe, and then had denied the ſame; or elſe if ſhe, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being with childe, whereby it ſhould not appeare, this accuſer might have ſpoken probable advantage againſt the woman. Now, as ſhe was never demanded of their parts any ſuch queſtion, nor did ever deny any ſuch matter; ſo to anſwer this man with as good probabilitie, I hold, that in caſe they had required that matter of her, ſhe would never have denied it. And therfore whereas ſhe is accuſed for her not uttering of her childe; why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon againe be defended for not denying the ſame?

Reſpond. fol. 185. pag. 1.

M. Hardings ground onely upon conjectures.

Perotine as ſhe did not open her being with childe; ſo neither did ſhe ever deny it.

But ſhe ſhould have uttered it, ſaith he. It had been well done, ſay I; and I would ſhe had: but yet that is not the queſtion between him and me, what ſhe ſhould have done, but why ſhe did it not. M. Harding wandring in his blinde ſurmiſes, phantaſieth the cauſe onely to be, for hiding her diſhoneſtie, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpel. So that in Summa, to this effect tendeth all his accuſation.

The ſtate of M. Hardings accuſation.

> Perotine being big with childe, at her condemnation did not ſhew it to the Judges:
> Ergo, ſhe did it to conceale her turpitude, and becauſe ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpel.

M. Hardings argument.

But here this accuſer muſt underſtand, if he have not forgot his Logick, that ſuch arguments which do truely hold, à ſignis, doe alwaies preſuppoſe, that the ſignes which goe before the things ſignified, muſt be neceſſarie, perpetuall and firme, as is between cauſes naturall and their effects. Otherwiſe, if the ſignes be doubtfull, voluntarie, or accidentall, there is no firme conſequent can proceed thereof.

The argument anſwered.

Now, if the ſaid accuſer ſhould be put to his proofe, how to juſtifie this his ſequele to be true by evident demonſtration, that ſhe did it onely for covering her diſhoneſtie; I ſuppoſe verily he ſhould be found to ſay more then he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into the like caſe, as where the Phariſees, who coming to accuſe the adultereſſe before Chriſt, went away mute, with as much ſhame out of the temple, as the woman her ſelfe came in, having

Arguments of ſignes and conjectures how they hold.

not one worde to anſwer. For, a man to pronounce aſſuredly upon the ſecret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, farther then by utterance of ſpeech is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacitie, and is to be left onely to him, which is ſcrutans corda & renes Deus.

But forſomuch as Maſter Harding worketh (as I ſaid) by ſurmiſes, confirming every thing to the worſt, let us ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much againe to the contrary, concerning the qualitie of this ſurmiſed murder: wherein divers things are to be conſidered, as hereunder followeth.

The firſt conjecture.

The firſt conjecture is this, that ſuch manner of women, which for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, have other waies to compaſſe that wickedneſſe, then by ſilence keeping. Now, as touching this Perotine going to be burned, neither could this ſilence ſave her, if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame, neither is it to be thought any ſuch intent ever to be in her, to murder her childe; as might well appeare in her mothers houſe, where if ſhe might have continued her whole time out, ſhe intended no leſſe but honeſtly to be brought to bed, and to nurſe up her childe, neither caring for ſhame of the world, nor fearing any ſlander to the Goſpel. Whereby may be argued, that no ſuch intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it like that ſhe, which had gone ſo long with childe, almoſt to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought, nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that while, ſhould now, going to her owne death, minde more hurt to her childe, then ſhe did before, hoping her ſelfe to live?

The ſecond conjecture.

Secondly, how knoweth Maſter Harding to the contrarie, but that ſhe was knowne in the towne to be with childe, and went boldly abroad without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe, why ſhe ſhould conceale her childe more now after her condemnation, then ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

The third conjecture.

Thirdly, admit the caſe it was not knowne before, what advantage thereby ſhould riſe to her being now appointed to die, by concealing her being with childe. She ſhould have eſchewed (ſaith Maſter Harding) the publike ſhame and obloquie of the world, in that none ſhould have knowne her to be with childe. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with childe? Againe, what gaine had that beene to her, to avoide the ſhame and fame of the world, which had not to live in the world, being now condemned to die?

The fourth conjecture.

Fourthly, how is it like, that for ſhame ſhe meant to conceale that from the world, which both knew ſhe ſhould not live in the world, and alſo ſuffer that kinde of death whereby her childe could not be hidden from the ſight of the world, though ſhe had gone about her ſelfe never ſo much to conceale it?

The fifth conjecture.

Fifthly, how is it to be thought that any woman, going to ſuch a ſharpe puniſhment of fire to be conſumed, would let for any worldly ſhame to reſcue her owne life from ſo bitter torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafeguard alſo of her childe, if by any meanes ſhe had knowne any remedie.

The ſixth conjecture.

Sixthly, forſomuch as Maſter Harding doth ſo hainouſly charge her with the wilfull murdering of her owne naturall childe, let all indifferent conſciences this conſider with themſelves, what was the cauſe that moved her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſave her owne life, and eſpecially the poore innocent? Whereby it is manifeſt to be underſtood, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſave her infant, if the fathers of the ſpiritualtie had not beene ſo cruell, againſt all order of law to caſt both her and her childe away, all this her ſaid recantation notwithſtanding.

The ſeventh conjecture.

Seventhly and laſtly, when Maſter Harding hath enveighed all that ever he can againſt this poore Perotine, yet is all the ſame but a by-matter from this principall purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing thereby, through his depraving of her, to juſtifie and excuſe the Popes holy Clergie, which wrought her death. Which will not be: For whatſoever her life was beſides, yet forſomuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredome, nor murder, but onely and meerely for religion, which deſerved no death; I therefore having in my ſtorie no further to deale, as I ſaid before, ſo doe I ſay againe, that the cauſe of her condemning was wrongfull, her death was cruell, the ſight of the babe was ruefull, the proceeding of the Judges was unlawfull, the whole ſtorie is pittifull, and of all this the Prieſts and Clergie were the authors principall. All which being conſidered, and well expended, Maſter Harding, I truſt, may ſtand ſufficiently contented. Or if he thinke murder to be a thing, which ought not (as it ought not indeede) lightly to be paſſed over, let him then finde out murder where it is, and tell us truely without affection of partialitie, where the true murder lyeth; whether in the poore woman, which together with her child was murdered, or in them, which without all law and conſcience brought them both to death.

The concluſion of this defence.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this man, whatſoever the woman was, ſhe is now gone. To bite ſo bitterly againſt the dead is little honeſtie. And though the accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here needed not. Now the ſame being falſe, it is too much unmercifull. At leaſt being doubtfull and to him unknowne, charitie would have judged the beſt. Humanitie would have ſpared the dead. And if he could not afford her his good word; yet he might have left her cauſe unto the Lord, which ſhall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his Maſſe; but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his Maſſe, Mattens, nor Evenſong. And no doubt but in his Diridge and commendations he commendeth many a one, leſſe deſerving to be commended then this woman, let Catholike affection be ſet aſide. And though the merits of her cauſe deſerved not his commendations, yet did ſhe never deſerve at Maſter Hardings hand to give her ſuch a Kyrieleſon (as they ſay) after her departure. Crueltie ſhe ſuffered enough alive, though Maſter Harding had not added this cruell invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithſtanding he hurteth not her, but hurteth peradventure himſelfe, neither ſo much diſtaineth her honeſtie, as he blemiſheth his owne. It hath beene the manner of learned men in time paſt, with their defending Oration ever to be more ready, then to accuſe. And if they did at any time accuſe, yet never but inforced; neither did they accuſe any but ſuch onely as were alive, and that neither but in ſuch matters, wherein either the Common-wealth or themſelves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him ſo greatly, that in my ſtory I have termed her to be a Martyr; let him conſider the cauſe wherefore ſhe ſuffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredome, but onely for the religion in King Edwards time received, and when he hath confuted that religion, I ſhall croſſe her out of the booke and fellowſhip of Martyrs. In the meane time my exhortation ſhall be this to Maſter Harding.

Firſt, that if he will needs become a writer in

theſe

Exhortation to M. Harding.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1556.

theſe ſo furious and outragious daies of ours, he will ſeaſon his veine of writing with more mildeneſſe and charitie, and not give ſuch example of railing to others.

Secondly, that he will moderate his judging and condemning of other with more equitie and indifferencie, and not be ſo raſh and partiall. For if ſhe be to be accounted a murderer, which ſo carefully went about by recantation to ſave both her ſelf and her childe from the fire; what is to be ſaid of them which condemned her ſo cruelly, & cauſed both her and the infant to be burned, notwithſtanding that ſhe for ſafeguard of their lives had (as I ſaid) recanted. And yet ſo partiall is he, that in all this invective, crying out ſo intemperately againſt the woman and the child that were burned, he ſpeaketh never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Murder in the ſpirituall Clergie noted.

Thirdly, forſomuch as Maſter Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and with a caſting away young childrens lives, I would wiſh, that as he hath ſifted the doings of this woman to the uttermoſt, who was rather murdered then a murderer; ſo he would with an indifferent eye looke on the other ſide a little upon them of his owne Clergie, and ſee what he could finde there amongſt thoſe wilfull contemners of immaculate marriage. Not that I doe accuſe any of incontinencie, whoſe lives I know not, but there is one above, that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they never ſo ſecret to man, and moſt certainly will pay home at length with fire and brimſtone when he ſeeth his time.

God knoweth what ſpilling and murdering of infants there is in the world.

I ſay no more, and not ſo much as I might, following herein the Painters, which when their colours will not ſerve to expreſſe a thing that they meane, they ſhadow it with a vaile. But howſoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide; moſt ſure and maniſeſt it is that they are more then worthily to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the children and ſervants of God, both men and women, wives and maydes, old and young, blinde and lame, mad and unmad, diſcreet and ſimple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high Archbiſhop to the Clerke and Sexton of the Church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſion of innocent Chriſtian bloud, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Maſter Harding, in my minde ſhould doe well, to ſpare a little time from theſe his invectives, wherewith he appeacheth the poore proteſtants of murder, whom they have murdered themſelves, and exerciſe his pen with ſome more fruitfull matter, to exhort theſe ſpirituall fathers firſt to ceaſe from murdering of their owne children, to ſpare the bloud of Innocents, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members as they doe: And furthermore, to exhort in like manner theſe Agamiſts, and wilfull rejecters of matrimonie, to take themſelves to lawfull wives, and not to reſiſt Gods holy Ordinance, nor incounter his inſtitution with another contrarie inſtitution of their own deviſing, leſt perhaps they prevented by fragilitie, may fall into danger of ſuch inconveniences above touched: which if they be not in them, I ſhall be glad; but if they be, it is neither their railing againſt the poore Proteſtants, nor yet their ſecret auricular confeſſion, that ſhall cover their iniqnties from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reveale abſcondita tenebrarum, & judicare, ſæculum per ignem.

Agamiſta, of ἄγαμος, which ſignifieth men unmarried, or againſt marriage.

And thus, for lack of further leaſure, I end with Maſter Harding; having no more at this time to ſay unto him, but wiſh him to feare God, to embrace his truth, to remember himſelfe, and to ſurceaſe from this uncharitable railing and brawling, eſpecially againſt the dead, which cannot anſwer him; or if he will needs continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of other, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, that his accuſation be true; ſecondly, that no blinde affection of partiality be mixt withall: thirdly, whoſoever taketh upon him to carpe and appeach the crimes of other, ought themſelves to be ſincere and upright, and to ſee what may be written in their owne foreheads.

The parts of a true accuſer.

Whoredome and murder be grievous offences, and worthy to be accuſed. But to accuſe of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other perſons untouched which were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuſer, which deſerveth himſelfe to be accuſed of partialitie.

As verily I thinke by this woman, that if ſhe had been a Catholike Papiſt, and a devout follower of their Church, as ſhe was a Proteſtant, ſhe had neither been condemned then alive of them, nor now accuſed, being dead, of M. Harding. But God forgive him, and make him a good man, if it be his will.

Three Martyrs burned at Greenſtead in Suſſex.

July 18. The martyrdome of two men and one woman at Greeneſtead in Suſſex.

NEere about the ſame time that theſe three women with the infant were burned at Garnſey, ſuffered other three likewiſe at Greenſtead in Suſſex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and mother Tree, who for righteouſneſſe ſake gave themſelves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could ſay or worke againſt them, at the ſaid Towne of Greenſtead ending their lives, the 18. of the ſaid moneth of July, and in the yeere aforeſaid.

The burning and Martyrdome of Thomas Moore in the towne of Leiceſter, June 26. the yeere, 1556.

July 26.

AS the bloudie rage of this perſecution ſpared neither man, woman, nor childe, wife, nor maide, lame, blinde, nor cripple, and ſo through all men and women, as there was no difference either of age or ſex conſidered; ſo neither was there any condition or qualitie reſpected of any perſon: but whoſoever he were, that held not as they did on the Pope, and ſacrament of the Altar, were he learned or unlearned, wiſe, or ſimple innocent, all went to the fire; as may appeare by this ſimple poore creature and innocent ſoule, named Thomas Moore, retaining as a ſervant to a mans houſe in the Towne of Leiceſter, about the age of 24. and after manner of an huſbandman, who for ſpeaking certaine words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the Pixe, was thereupon apprehended in the countrey, being with his friends. Who coming before his Ordinarie, firſt was asked, whether he did not beleeve his Maker there to be, pointing to the high Altar. Which he denied.

The burning of Tho. More a ſimple innocent, at Leiceſter.

Then asked the Biſhop, how then, ſaid he, doeſt thou bleeve?

Tho. More examined before the Biſhop.

The young man anſwered againe; as his Creede did teach him.

To whom the Biſhop ſaid; And what is yonder that thou ſeeſt above the Altar? He anſwering, ſaid; Forſooth I cannot tell what you would have me to ſee. I ſee there fine clothes, with golden taſſels, and other gay geere hanging about the Pixe, what is within I cannot ſee.

Why? Doeſt thou not beleeve, ſaid the Biſhop, Chriſt to be there, fleſh, bloud, and bone? No, that I doe not, ſaid he.

The condemnation and martyrdome of Tho. More. Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Lincol.

Whereupon the Ordinarie making ſhort with him, read the ſentence, and ſo condemned the true and faithfull ſervant of Chriſt to death, in Saint Margarets Church in Leiceſter; who was burnt, and ſuffered a joyfull and glorious martyrdome, for the teſtimonie of righteouſneſſe, in the ſame Towne of Leiceſter, the yeer of our Lord above mentioned, 1556. about the 26. of June.

To this Thomas More, we have alſo annexed the anſwers and examination of one John Jackſon, before Doctor Cooke, one of the Commiſſioners, for that it belongeth much unto the ſame time.

The examination of Iohn Iackſon, had before Doctor Cook, the 11. day of March, Anno 1556.

Examination of Jo. Jackſon before Doctor Cooke.

First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretike. I anſwered and ſaid, I am no heretike.

Cooke. Yes, quoth he. For M. Read told me, that thou waſt the rankeſt heretike of all them in the Kings Bench.

Iackſon. I ſaid, I knew him not.

Cook. No, quoth he? Yes, he examined thee at the Kings Bench.

Iack. I anſwered him, and ſaid, he examined five other, but not me.

Cook. Then anſwer me: what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? tell me.

Iack. I anſwered, it is a diffuſe queſtion, to aſke me at the firſt daſh, you promiſing to deliver me.

Cook. What heretike is this, quoth he?

Iack. I ſaid, it is eaſier to call a man heretike, then to prove him one.

Cooke. Then he ſaid, What Church art thou of?

The Church.

Iack. What Church, quoth I? I am of the ſame Church that is builded on the foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt being the head corner ſtone.

Cook. Thou art an heretike, quoth he.

Iackſon. Yea, quoth I? how can that be, ſeeing that I am of that Church? I am ſure that you will not ſay that the Prophets and Apoſtles were heretikes.

The ſacrament of the altar.

Cook. No, quoth he. But what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar againe? Tell me.

Iackſon. I anſwered him and ſaid, I finde it not written.

Cook. No, quoth he? Keeper away with him.

Iack. Yet I tarried there long, and did talke with him, and I ſaid; Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the Word of God.

Cook. He anſwered and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the Word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Iackſon. I anſwered, and ſaid to him, yea that I doe.

Cook. Whereby, quoth he?

Iackſon. Hereby, ſaid I. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; Search the Scriptures; for in them you thinke to have eternall life. For they be they that teſtifie of me.

Cook. This is a wiſe proofe, quoth he.

Iack. Is it ſo, quoth I? What ſay you then to theſe words that the Prophet David ſaid? Whatſoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will ſhew him the way that he hath choſen: his ſoule ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſeed ſhall poſſeſſe the land. The ſecrets of the Lord are among them that feare him, and he ſheweth them his covenant.

Cook. Well, quoth he, you ſhall be rid ſhortly one way or other.

Iack. Then I ſaid to him, my life lieth not in mans hands; therefore no man ſhall do more unto me then God will ſuffer him.

Cook. No, quoth he? Thou art a ſtubborne and naughtie fellow.

Iack. You cannot ſo judge of me, quoth I, except you did ſee ſome evill by me.

Although they call you Papiſts, yet they judge you not to death.

Cook. No, quoth he? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellowes judge us, and call us Papiſts?

Iack. Why, quoth I? that is no judgement: but Chriſt ſaith; If you refuſe me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have ſpoken unto you now, ſhall judge you in the laſt day.

Head of the Church.

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the Congregation?

Iack. I anſwered, and ſaid, Chriſt is the head.

Cook. But who is head in earth?

Iack. I ſaid, Chriſt hath members here in earth.

Cook. Who are they, quoth he?

Iack. They, quoth I, that are ruled by the word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow, quoth he.

Iack. I am that I am, quoth I.

Cook. Then he ſaid to my Keeper, Have him to priſon againe.

Iack. I am contented with that, quoth I; and ſo we departed. I anſwered no further in this matter, becauſe I thought he ſhould not have my bloud in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time ſhall come, before the Congregation I ſhall ſhake their building after another manner of faſhion. For they build but upon the ſand, and their wals be dawbed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot ſtand long.

The buildings of the Papiſts be but dawbed wals.

Therefore (good brothers and ſiſters) be of good cheere: for I truſt in my God, I and my other priſon-fellowes ſhall go joyfully before you, praiſing God moſt heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. I pray you accept my ſimple anſwer, at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this John Jackſon, beſides theſe his foreſaid anſwers and examination before D. Cooke one of the Commiſſioners, no more as yet came unto our hands:

The examination of Iohn Newman, Martyr, which is to be referred to his ſtory before.

John Newman was firſt apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the towne of Maidſtone, and there was examined before D. Thornton Suffragan and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with Maſter Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before ſtoried. But becauſe his examinations and anſwers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather then they ſhould utterly be ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwers was by writing to the ſaid Suffragan after his apprehenſion, you ſhall heare by the tenor of his owne words, as follow.

The copy of John Newmans words in writing to D. Thornton.

IT may pleaſe you to underſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of King Edwards reigne, we were diligently inſtructed with continuall ſermons, made by ſuch men, whoſe faith, wiſdome,

learning,

Q. MA-RIE.
Anno. 1556.

learning, and vertuous living was commended unto all men, under the Kings hand and ſeale, and under the hands of the whole Councell. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſwading us by the allegations of Gods Word, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation, nor corporall preſence in the Sacrament. Their doctrine was not beleeved of us ſuddenly, but by their continuall preaching, and alſo by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but if it were true that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were not true, that we might never beleeve it.

We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we finde that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learne, that the Kings Grace and his Councell, and the moſt part of all the whole Realme, beleeved as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrary. Alſo we know, that the Preachers were commanded by the King, and the Lawes of the Realme, to preach unto us ſuch doctrine, as was to the authoritie of Gods Word agreeable, and none other. And by their diligent ſetting forth of it, by the Kings commandement, and the conſent of the whole Councell, and by the authoritie of the Parliament, we embraced it, and received it, as a very infallible truth taught unto us, for the ſpace of ſeven yeers. Wherefore untill ſuch time as our conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by Gods Word, we cannot with ſafeguard of our conſciences take it, as many ſuppoſe at this time. And we truſt in God, that the Queenes mercifull Highneſſe, neither yet her moſt honourable Councell, will in a matter of faith uſe compulſion or violence, becauſe faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of mans lawes, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch time as God giveth it.

The examination and anſwers of Iohn Newman Martyr, before Doctor Thornton, and others.

The examination & anſwers of Iohn Newman.

First, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or Fauced, or ſome other, whoſe name Iohn Newman doth not expreſſe, beginneth, asking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay you to this? This is my body, which is given for you.

Newman. It is a figurative ſpeech, one thing ſpoken, and another meant, as Chriſt ſaith, I am a vine, I am a doore, I am a ſtone, &c. Is he therefore a materiall ſtone, a vine, or a doore?

Doct. This is no figurative ſpeech. For he ſaith; This is my body, which is given for you. And ſo ſaith he not of the ſtone, vine, or doore; but that is a figurative ſpeech.

This cup is the New Teſtament, is a figurative ſpeech.

New. Chriſt ſaith, This cup is the New Teſtament in my bloud. If ye will have it ſo meant, then let them take and eate the cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not ſo meant; ſo it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among our ſelves: We ſay to our friend, Drinke a cup of drinke, and yet we meane he ſhould drinke the drinke in the cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one ſo underſtood, ye muſt ſo underſtand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common uſe of ſpeech, to ſay drinke a cup of ale or beere: and therefore it is no figurative ſpeech.

What is a figurative ſpeech.

New. The often uſing of a thing, doth not make that thing otherwiſe then it is: but whereſoever one thing is ſpoken, and another meant, it is a figurative ſpeech.

Doct. Well, we will not ſtand here about. How ſay ye by the reall preſence? is not Chriſts naturall body there that was borne of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I doe not ſo beleeve, neither can I ſo beleeve; for the ſoule of man doth not feed upon naturall things, as the body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the ſoule of man doth feed as the Angels in heaven, whoſe feeding is onely the pleaſure, joy, felicitie, and delectation that they have of God; and ſo the ſoule of man doth feed and eate, through faith, the body of Chriſt.

Collins reaſoneth with Newman.

Collins. Yea, but if the bodie doe not feede upon naturall things, the ſoule cannot continue with the bodie: therefore the bodie muſt needs feede upon naturall things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true: but yet the ſoule doth live otherwiſe then the body, which doth periſh; therefore naturall things doe but feed the body onely. I pray you what did Iudas receive at the Supper?

Collins. Marie, Iudas did receive the very body of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

Whether Iudas received the body of Chriſt, or no?

New. Why? was the Devill entred into him before? Then he had both the Devill and Chriſt in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the Devill did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before too: what do you think? had he but one Devill? Nay, I thinke he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Collins. Well, put caſe it be ſo, what ſay you to that?

New. Marie, if Chriſt and the Devill were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Collins. We grant they were both in Iudas at that time; for Chriſt may be where the Devill is, if he will: but the Devill cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſt will not be in an uncleane perſon that hath the Devill.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with Io. Newman.

Thornton. Why, will ye not beleeve that Chriſt was in hell? yet ye will grant that the Devill is there; and ſo might he be in Iudas if it pleaſed him.

New. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which ſought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much leſſe he will ſuffer an ungodly man to receive him into his uncleane body.

Thornton. Yes, ſeeing God may doe all things, he may doe what he liſt, and be where he will: And doth not the Pſalme ſay, he is in hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his humanitie is in all places.

Thorn. No? do you not beleeve that God is omnipotent, and may doe all things?

New. I doe beleeve that God is almightie, and may doe all that he will doe.

The omnipotency of Chriſt doth not prove him to be really in the ſacrament.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may doe all things, and there is nothing unpoſſible for him to doe.

New. I know God is almighty, and can doe all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a lyar, he cannot deny himſelfe, nor can he reſtore virginitie once violated and defiled.

Thorn. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile virginitie; we ſpeake but of things that God doth.

New. Why? will ye have the humanity of Chriſt in all places, as the deitie is?

Absurditie in the Popes doctrine.

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places, as the deitie is, if it pleaſe him.

New. I will promiſe you that ſeemeth to me a very great hereſie; for heaven and earth are not able to containe the divine power of God: for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet ye will ſay, that whereſoever the deitie is, there is alſo the humanitie; and ſo ye will make him no body, but a phantaſticall body, and not a body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we doe not ſay he is in all places, as the deitie is; but if it pleaſe him, he may be in all places with the deitie.

The humanity of Chriſt may not be in all places.

New. I promiſe you that ſeemeth to me as great an hereſie as ever I heard of in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould denie Chriſt to be a very man, and that were againſt all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not beleeve that Chriſt came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Doe you beleeve that Chriſt roſe from death, and came thorow the ſtone?

New. I doe beleeve that Chriſt roſe from death, but I doe not beleeve that he came thorow the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſay.

Thorn. Loe, how ſay you? he doth not beleeve that Chriſt came thorow the ſtone: And if he doth not beleeve this, how ſhall he beleeve the other? If he could beleeve this, it were eaſie for him to beleeve the other.

Note the groſſe ignorance of this Suffragan.

New. The Scripture doth not ſay he went thorow the ſtone, but it ſaith the Angels of God came downe, and rolled away the ſtone, and for feare of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. Ah foole, ah foole, that was becauſe the women ſhould ſee that he was riſen againe from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well, let us not ſtand any longer about him. Back again to the reall preſence. How ſay ye? is the body of Chriſt really in the ſacrament, or no?

New. I have anſwered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not beleeve that he is there really?

New. No, I beleeve it not.

Thorn. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſwaded to a further truth.

Thorn. Nay, ye will not be perſwaded, but ſtand to your owne opinion.

New. Nay, I ſtand not to mine owne opinion, God I take to witneſſe, but onely to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſſe with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witneſſe, that I doe nothing of preſumption, but that which I doe is onely in regard of my conſcience; and if there be a further truth then I ſee, except it appeare a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And ſeeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man (for it is not you that can give me faith, nor any man elſe) therefore I truſt ye will beare the more with me, ſeeing it muſt be wrought by God; and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.

Thornton had many other queſtions, which I did not beare away; but as I doe underſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for taunts, fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gifts, and God increaſe in us ſtrength.

The Argument of Iohn Newman.

Argument in the 2. figure.

If the body of Chriſt were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then whoſoever received the Sacrament, received alſo the body.
The wicked, receiving the ſacrament, receive not the body of Chriſt:
Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not really in the ſacrament.

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the fleſh, and drink the bloud of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.
meſ- The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them:
tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the fleſh, nor drinke the bloud of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. Iohn 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruite, &c.
meſ- The wicked bringeth forth no fruite of goodneſſe:
tres. Ergo, they have not Chriſts body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Argument in the 3. figure.

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.
ti- Remembrance of Chriſts bodie is in the ſacrament; Doe this in remembrance of me, &c.
ſi. Ergo, Chriſts body there is imported to be abſent.

Marie they will ſay, we ſee him not with our outward eies; but he is commended under the formes of bread and wine: and that that we ſee, is nothing but a qualitie or an accident. But let them ſhew me a qualitie or an accident without a ſubſtance, and I will beleeve them. And thus much concerning Newmans examinations and arguments, whoſe martyrdome is before expreſſed.

The martyrdome of Ioane Waſte, a blinde woman, in the towne of Darby.

Auguſt. 1. Ioane Waſte a blind woman and Martyr.

THe firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeere above ſpecified, ſuffered likewiſe at the towne of Darby a certaine poore honeſt godly woman, being blinde from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of 22. named Ioane Waſte, of the Pariſh of Alhallowes. Of them that ſate upon this innocent womans bloud, the chiefeſt was Raſe Baine Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, Doctor Draicot his Chancellor, ſir Iohn Port Knight, Henrie Vernon Eſquire, Peter Finch Officiall of Darby, with the aſſiſtance alſo of divers other, Richard Warde, and William Bembridge the ſame time being Bayliffes of the towne of Darby, &c. Friſt, after the above named Biſhop and Doctor Draicot had cauſed the ſaid Ioane Waſte to be apprehended in the towne of Darby, ſuſpecting her to be guiltie of certains hereſies, ſhe was divers times privily examined, as well in priſon as out of priſon, by Finch the Officiall aforeſaid: After that, brought to publike examination before the Biſhop; at laſt, was there burnt in Darby, as is abovesaid. Touching whoſe life, bringing up, and converſation, ſomewhat more amply we minde to diſcourſe, as by faithfull relation hath come to my hands.

The life and converſation of Ioane Waſte.

Firſt, this Ioane Waſte was the daughter of one William Waſte, an honeſt poore man, and by his ſcience a Barber, who ſometimes alſo uſed to make ropes. His wife had the ſame Ioane and one other at one birth, and ſhe was borne blinde. And when ſhe was about 12. or 14. yeeres old, ſhe learned to knit hoſen and ſleeves, and other things, which in time ſhe could doe verie well. Furthermore, as time ſerved, ſhe would helpe her Father to turne ropes, and do ſuch other things as ſhe was able, and in no caſe would be idle. Thus continued ſhe with her father and mother, during their lives. After whoſe departure, Joan Waſte drawn by the ſpirit of God, to the love of religion.

ture, then kept ſhe with one Roger Waſte her brother, who in the time of King Edward the ſixth, of bleſſed memorie, gave her ſelf daily to go to the Church to heare divine ſervice read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing Homilies and ſermons, ſhe became marvellouſly well affected to the religion then taught. So at length having by her labour gotten and ſaved ſo much money as would buy her a New Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one to be provided for her. And though ſhe was of her ſelfe unlearned, and by reaſon of her blindneſſe unable to read, yet for the great deſire ſhe had to underſtand, and have printed in her memorie the ſayings of the holy Scriptures contained in the New Teſtament, ſhe acquainted her ſelfe chiefly with one John Hurt, then priſoner in the Common Hall of Darbie for debts.

The earneſt deſire of Joan Waſte to learn the ſcriptures.

John Hurt and John Pemerton, readers to Joan Waſte.

The ſame John Hurt being a ſober grave man, of the age of threeſcore and ten yeeres, by her earneſt entreatie, and being priſoner, and many times idle and without companie, did for his exerciſe daily read unto her ſome one Chapter of the New Teſtament. And if at any time he were otherwiſe occupied or letted through ſickneſſe, ſhe would repair unto one John Pemerton Clerke of the Pariſh Church of All-ſaints in the ſame Towne of Darbie, or to ſome other perſon which could read, and ſometime ſhe would give a penny or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch perſons as would not freely read unto her, appointing unto them aforehand how many Chapters of the New Teſtament they ſhould read, or how often they ſhould repeat one Chapter upon a price.

A notable gift of God in a blinde woman.

Joan Waſte both blinde and unlearned, yet was perfect in the ſcriptures.

Moreover, in the ſaid Joan Waſte this was notorious, that ſhe being utterly blinde, could notwithſtanding, without a guide, go to any Church within the ſaid towne of Darbie, or to any other place or perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By the which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not onely to recite many Chapters of the New Teſtament without book, but alſo could aptly impugne, by divers places of Scriptures, as well ſin, as ſuch abuſes in religion, as then were too much in uſe in divers and ſundrie perſons.

As this godly woman thus daily increaſed in the knowledge of Gods holy word, and no leſſe in her life expreſſed the vertuous fruits and exerciſe of the ſame: Not long after, through the fatall death of bleſſed King Edward, followed the wofull ruin of religion, in the reign of Queen Marie his ſiſter. In which alteration, notwithſtanding the general backſliding of the greateſt part and multitude of the whole Realme into the old Papiſme again, yet this poore blinde woman, continuing in a conſtant conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former exerciſe, both being zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in religion with thoſe which taught contrarie doctrine to that ſhe before had learned in King Edwards time, as it is above declared.

For the which ſhe was called and convented before the foreſaid Biſhop and Doctor Draicot, with divers other called in to bear witneſſe.

Articles miniſtred unto her.

The articles objected againſt Joan Waſte.

THe Articles miniſtred unto her, and wherewith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe did hold the ſacrament of the altar to be but onely a memorie or repreſentation of Chriſts bodie, and materiall bread and wine, but not his naturall bodie, unleſſe it were received. And that it ought not to be reſerved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, that ſhe did hold, in receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe did not receive the ſame bodie that was born of the Virgin Marie, and ſuffered upon the croſſe for our redemption, &c.

Item, ſhe did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper did not bleſſe the bread that he had then in his hands, but was bleſſed himſelf, and by the vertue of the words of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the ſubſtance of the bodie and blood of Chriſt.

Item, that ſhe did grant that ſhe was of the Pariſh of All-hallows in Darbie, &c.

Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes are true and notorious by publike report and fame, &c.

The anſwer of Joan Waſte to the articles.

Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe beleeved therein ſo much as the holy Scripture taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached unto her by divers learned men. Whereof ſome ſuffered impriſonment, and other ſome ſuffered death for the ſame doctrine. Amongſt whom ſhe named, beſide other, Doctor Taylor, who ſhe ſaid, took it of his conſcience, that that doctrine which he taught was true, and aſked of them, if they would do ſo in like caſe for their doctrine: which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for Gods ſake not to trouble her, being a blinde, poore, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, ſaying (by Gods aſſiſtance) that ſhe was ready to yeeld up her life in that faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

Well argued. Becauſe Chriſt is omnipotent, ergo, there is no bread in the ſacrament.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſt by the ſaid Biſhop and Doctor Draicot, with many arguments of Chriſts omnipotencie, as, why was not Chriſt able as well to make the bread his bodie, as to turn water into wine, raiſe Lazarus from the dead, and ſuch other like arguments; and many times being threatned with grievous impriſonments, torments, and death: The poore woman thus being, as it were, halfe aſtonied through their terrors and threats, and deſirous (as it ſeemed) to prolong her life, offered unto the Biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that companie, take it upon his conſcience, that that doctrine which he would have her to beleeve concerning the ſacrament, was true, and that he would at the dreadfull day of judgement anſwer for her therein (as the ſaid Doctor Taylor in divers of his ſermons did offer) ſhe would then further anſwer them.

The Biſhop and his Chancellor durſt not take upon their conſcience to anſwer before God for their doctrine.

Whereunto the Biſhop anſwered, he would. But Doctor Draicot his Chancellor, hearing that, ſaid, My Lord, you know not what you do, you may in no caſe anſwer for an heretique. And immediately he aſked the poore woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould anſwer for her ſelf. Unto whoſe ſayings the Biſhop alſo reformed himſelf.

Sentence pronounced againſt Joan Waſte.

The Writ brought down for the burning of Joan Waſte.

The poore woman perceiving this, anſwered again, that if they refuſed to take of their conſcience that it was true they would have her to beleeve, ſhe would anſwer no further, but deſired them to do their pleaſure, and ſo after certain circumſtances, they pronounced ſentence againſt her, and delivered her unto the Bailiffes of the ſaid Towne of Darbie aforenamed. Who after they had kept her about a moneth or five weeks, at length there came unto them a writ De hæretico comburendo; by vertue whereof they were appointed by the ſaid Biſhop to bring her to the Pariſh Church of All-Saints at a day appointed, where Doctor Draicot ſhould make a Sermon.

When the day and time was come that this innocent Martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt cometh to the Church Doctor Draicot, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, as M. Thomas Powthread,

maſter

D. Draicots railing ſermon againſt Joan Waſte.

Bleſſed are you when men ſhall revile you, and ſay all evil againſt you for my names ſake. Matth. 5.

maſter Henry Vernon, maſter Dethick of Newall, and divers others. This done, and all things now in a readineſſe, at laſt the poore blinde creature and ſervant of God was brought and ſet before the Pulpit, where the ſaid Doctor being entred into his ſermon, and there inveighing againſt many matters, which he called hereſies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the verie bodie and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, and was thereby cut off from the bodie of the Catholique Church; and ſaid, that ſhe was not onely blinde of her bodily eyes, but alſo blinde in the eyes of her ſoul. And he ſaid, that as her bodie ſhould be preſently conſumed with materiall fire, ſo her ſoul ſhould be burned in hell with everlaſting fire, as ſoon as it ſhall be ſeparated from the bodie, and there remain world without end, and ſaid, it was not lawfull for the people to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible threats he made an end of his ſermon, and commanded the Bayliffes and thoſe Gentlemen to ſee her executed. And the ſermon thus ended, eftſoons the bleſſed ſervant of God was carried away from the ſaid Church, to a place called the Windmill pit, neer unto the ſaid town, and holding the foreſaid Roger Waſte her brother by the hand ſhe prepared her ſelf, and deſired the people to pray with her, and ſaid ſuch prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried upon Chriſt to have mercie upon her, as long as life ſerved. In this mean ſeaſon, the ſaid Doctor Draicot went to his Inne, for great ſorrow of her death, and there laid him down, and ſlept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joan Waſte.

Joan Waſte brought to the place of execution.

The martyrdom of Joan Waſte.

Now, foraſmuch as I am not ignorant (faithfull Reader) that this, and other ſtories more, ſet forth of the Martyrs, ſhall not lack carpers and markers enow, readie to ſeek all holes and corners how to defame the memorie of Gods good Saints, and to condemne theſe hiſtories, of lies and untruths, eſpecially hiſtories wherein they ſee their ſhamefull acts and unchriſtian crueltie detected and brought to light, therefore for better confirmation of this hiſtorie above written, and to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch Momes, this ſhall be to admoniſh all and ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poore blinde womans life and death, in ſuch ſort as is above prefixed, hath been confeſſed to be verie true, by divers perſons of worthy credit, and yet living; and alſo hath been ſpecially peruſed and examined by W. Bainbridge, before mentioned, Bayliffe then of Darby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by ſpeciall inquirie and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the ſame to be undoubted; beſide the teſtimoniall of John Cadman, Curate of the ſaid Town, and of other alſo, upon whoſe honeſty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from ſuch as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this ſtorie to poſteritie, for all good men to conſider, and judge upon.

Edward Sharp.

September 8.

The martyrdom of Edw. Sharp at Briſtow.

ABout the beginning of the next moneth following, which was September, a certain godly, aged, devout perſon, and zealous of the Lords glory, born in Wiltſhire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of fourtie yeers or thereabout, was condemned at Briſtow to the like Martyrdome, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the juſt quarrell of Chriſts Goſpel, for miſliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romiſh Church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively ſacrifice in the fire: in whoſe death, as in the death of all his other Saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of conſtancie; to whom be praiſe for ever, Amen.

Foure ſuffered at Mayfield.

September 24. The Martyrdome of 4. at Mayfield in Suſſex.

NExt after the martyrdome of Edward Sharp, above ſaid, followed foure, which ſuffered at Mayfield, in Suſſex, the 24. day of September, Ann. 1556. of whoſe names, two we finde recorded, and the other two we yet know not, and therefore according to our regiſter, hereunder they be ſpecified, as we finde them.

John Hart.
Thomas Ravenſdale.
A Shoemaker.
And a Currier.

Which ſaid foure, being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the ſtake ready to abide the force of the fire, they conſtantly and joyfully yeelded their lives for the teſtimonie of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

September 25. The Martyrdome of a Carpenter at Briſtow.

The day after the Martyrdome of theſe foreſaid at Mayfield, which was the 25. of September, Ann. 1556. was a young man (which by ſcience was a Carpenter, whoſe name we have not) put to death, for the like teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt, at Briſtow, where he yeelding himſelf to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with ſuch joyfull conſtancy and triumph, as all the church of Chriſt have juſt cauſe to praiſe God for him.

The martyrdome of Iohn Horn and a woman.

September 27. The martyrdome of John Horn, and a woman at Wotton Underhedge in Gloceſterſhire.

NOw not long after the death of the ſaid young man at Briſtow, in the ſame moneth were two moe godly Martyrs conſumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in Gloceſterſhire, whoſe names are above ſpecified, which died very gloriouſly in a conſtant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So graciouſly did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conſcience was death.

A pitifull ſtory concerning the unmercifull handling of William Dangerfield, and Ioan his wife being in child-bed, taken out of her houſe, with her ſucking Infant of fourteen dayes old, and laid in the common jayle amongſt theeves and murtherers.

The cruell handling of W. Dangerfield and Joan his wife.

VVHen I had written and finiſhed the ſtorie of the Garnſey women, with the young Infant there with them burned, and alſo had paſſed the burning of the poore blinde woman Joan Waſte at Darbie, I well hoped I ſhould have found no more ſuch ſtories of unmercifull crueltie ſhewed upon ſilly women with their children and young infants: but now coming to the perſecution of Gloceſterſhire about the parts of Briſtow, I finde another ſtory of ſuch unmercifulneſſe ſhewed againſt a woman in child-bed, as far from all charitie and humanitie, as hath been any other ſtory yet hitherto rehearſed, as by the ſequell hereof may appear.

In the Pariſh of Wotton Underhedge, not far from Briſtow, was dwelling one W. Dangerfield, a right honeſt and godly poore man, who by Joan Dangerfield his wife had nine children, and ſhe now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William after he had been abroad from his houſe a certaine ſpace, for feare of perſecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to viſit her, as naturall duty required, and to ſee his children, ſhe being now delivered foure dayes before.

The returne of this man was not ſo ſoone knowne to ſome of his unkinde and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incenſed with the ſpirit of Papiſtrie, eftſoones beſet the houſe about, and there tooke the ſame William Dangerfield, and carried him to priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the Biſhop, being then Brookes, in whoſe cruel handling he remained a certain ſpace, ſo long, till his legs almoſt were fretted off with irons.

W. Dangerfield apprehended in his own houſe.

After the apprehenſion of the huſband, the wife likewiſe was taken, with her young born childe, being but fourteene dayes old (as is ſaid) out of her child-bed, and carried into the common Jayle, and there placed amongſt theeves and murtherers, where both ſhe & her poore innocent found ſo ſmall charitie amongſt the Catholique men, that ſhe never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that ſhe ſhould put about the childe in her boſome.

No charity in Popery to be noted.

Joan the wife of W. Dangerfield taken with her young infant out of child-bed, and had to priſon.

In the meane ſeaſon while they lay thus incloſed in ſeverall priſons, the huſband and the wife, the Biſhop beginneth to practiſe not with the woman firſt, as the Serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his ſimplicitie with faire glozing words, falſly perſwading him that his wife had recanted, and aſking him, wherefore he ſhould more ſtand in his owne conceit, then ſhe being as well learned as he, and ſo ſubtlely drew out a forme of recantation, wherewith he deceived the ſimple ſoul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered him to go to his wife, where ſhe lay in the Common Jayle.

Dangerfield made to beleeve falſly, that his wife had recanted.

Dangerfield upon hope of his wives recantation, conſented to the Biſhop.

Then they with melting hearts opening their mindes one to another, when he ſaw his wife not releaſed, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falſly he was circumvented by the ſubtle flatterings of the Biſhop, bearing him in hand, that certainly ſhe had recanted: and thus deceiving me (ſaid he) brought this unto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſome the copie of the recantation, wherunto he had granted his promiſe. At the ſight whereof the wife hearing what her huſband had done, her heart clave aſunder, ſaying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan ſo prevailed, to cauſe you to break your firſt vow made to Chriſt in baptiſme? And ſo departed the ſaid William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promiſe made to the Biſhop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, deſiring him that he might not live ſo long as to call evill good, and good evill; or light darkneſſe, or darkneſſe light; and ſo departed he home toward his his houſe: where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he tooke his death, and ſhortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in priſon 12. weekes.

The prayer of Dangerfield to God.

The death of the huſband.

After this, Joan his wife continued ſtill in priſon with her tender infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before that Biſhop to be examined. Whereunto what her anſwer were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit moſt like it is whatſoever they were, they pleaſed not the Biſhop, as appeared by his ire increaſed againſt the poore woman, and her long continuance in the priſon, together with her tender babe, which alſo remained with her in the Jayle, partaker of her Martyrdome, ſo long as her milk would ſerve to give it ſuck, till at length the childe, being ſtarved for cold and famine, was ſent away when it was paſt all remedie, and ſo ſhortly after died. And not long after the mother alſo followed. Beſides the old woman which was mother of the huſband, of the age of eightie yeers and upward, who being left in the houſe after their apprehenſion, for lack of comfort there periſhed alſo.

The young infant famiſhed in priſon.

The martyrdome of the mother.

The death of the old woman.

And thus have ye in one ſtorie the death of foure together; firſt of the old woman, then of the huſband, after that of the innocent childe, and laſtly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly underſtand, that they were all undone by the ſame.

This ſtorie is reported and teſtified as well by other, as namely by Miſtreſſe Bridges, dwelling in the ſame Towne, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and hardly eſcaped with her life.

A Shoo-maker ſuffering in Northhampton.

In the moneth of October following, was burned at the town of Northhampton a Shoo-maker, a true witneſſe and diſciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving faſt to the ſound doctrine and preaching of Gods word, renounced the untrue and falſe coloured religion of the Romiſh See, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

October 11. The martyrdom of a ſhoo-maker of Northhampton.

After whom, not long after in the ſame moneth of October, died alſo in the Caſtle of Chicheſter three godly Confeſſors, being there in bonds for the like cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel, who alſo ſhould have ſuffered the like martyrdome, had not their naturall death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruell handling of the Papiſts, made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

October 18. Three died in the Caſtle of Chicheſter, Confeſſors.

I read moreover that in this preſent yeer, to wit, Anno 1556, was burnt one called Hooke, a true witneſſe of the Lords truth at Cheſter.

John Hooke Martyr.

Five famiſhed in Canterbury Caſtle, by the unmercifull tyranny of the Papiſts, about the beginning of November.

As among all the Biſhops, Boner Biſhop of London, principally excelled in perſecuting the poore members and ſaints of Chriſt; ſo of all Archdeacons Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterburie (as may by mans ſight appeare) was the ſoreſt, and of leaſt compaſſion (onely Dunning of Norwich excepted by whoſe unmercifull nature and agreſt diſpoſition, very many were put to death in that Dioceſſe of Canterbury, not onely in the bloody time of that Queen, but ſome alſo in the bleſſed beginning of this our moſt renowmed Queen that now is, as by the grace of Chriſt hereafter ſhall appear.

B. Boner, Nicholas Harpsfield, D. Dunning, three ſore perſecutors.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in Queen Maries time within the aforeſaid Dioceſſe of Canterburie, ſome be recited already, with the order and forme ſet down of ſuch articles as then were moſt commonly miniſtred to the examinates by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, and the ſaid Nicholas Harpsfield, and other, as before in the volume of this hiſtorie may appear.

Perſecution in Kent.

Now to proceed in order and courſe of time where we left, next followeth the moneth of November.

In the beginning whereof were together in the Caſtle of Canterburie fifteene godly and innocent Martyrs, of which number not one eſcaped with their life, but either were burned, or elſe famiſhed in priſon. Of the which two ſorts, which is the eaſier death, God knoweth, it is hard to judge.

15. Martyrs & Confeſſors together priſoners in Canterbury.

Notwithſtanding, the truth is, that of theſe fifteen, ten were burned and ſuffered in the fire, of whom in the next book more ſhall follow hereafter the Lord willing. The other five were pined and famiſhed moſt unmercifully in the ſtrait priſon, of whom we have here preſently to intreat. Whoſe names were theſe.

Five Confeſſors and Martyrs famiſhed in priſon.

1 Iohn Clark. | Which two were yet
2 Dunſton Chittenden. | uncondemned.
3 William Foſter of Stone.
4 Alice, Potkins wife, of Stapleherſt.
5 Iohn Archer of Cranbroke, Weaver.
These were condemned to be burnt.

W. Foſter, Alice Potkins, John Archer, died after their condemnation.

Of theſe five priſoners, the firſt two were uncondemned, the other three laſt were condemned, and ſhould have been burned, but ſuffered no leſſe torments then if they had abid the fire, being macerate and pined to death by famine. What their articles and anſwers were, I need not here to recite, ſeeing all they, in that time of Queen Marie, commonly ſuffered for one manner and ſort of cauſe, that is, for holding againſt the ſeven ſacraments, againſt the realitie of Chriſts being in his ſupper, for ſpeaking againſt the Church of Rome, and determinations of the ſame, againſt images ſet up and worſhipped in the Church, for not coming to Church, and other like, &c.

W. Foſter, Martyr. His anſwer to the articles.

Carrying about the croſſe. Neceſſity alwayes excuſed in matters indifferent.

Firſt, William Foſter, anſwering to theſe and like articles, ſaid, that he beleeved well in all the articles of the Creed: but to beleeve that there be mo ſacraments then two, and to pray to ſaints either to profit us, or to pray for ſouls in Purgatory to profit them, that faith and works do juſtifie, or to allow the Popiſh ceremonies in the Church, that he denied. Moreover he ſaid, to carry candles upon Candlemas day, were as good for him, as to carry a dung forke, and that it is as neceſſarie to carry the gallows about, if his father were hanged, as the croſſe. To come to the Church he cannot, ſaid he, with a ſafe conſcience. Concerning fiſh dayes and fleſh dayes, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where neceſſitie required the contrarie.

W. Foſter apprehended by ſir Tho. Moyle.

This William Foſter was a labouring man, of the age of fourty years. He was apprehended and impriſoned by ſir Thomas Moyle, Knight.

Mother Potkins Martyr, troubled by M. Roberts.

Alice Potkins for the like confeſſion, was condemned to be burned, for that ſhe was not, neither would be confeſſed to the Prieſt, for that ſhe received not the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to ſaints, nor creep to the croſſe, &c. Being demanded of her age, ſhe ſaid that ſhe was 49. years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, ſince ſhe learned Chriſt, ſhe was of one years age, and was committed by M. Roberts to priſon.

Alice Potkins in Chriſt but one yeer old.

The anſwer of John Archer Martyr.

The anſwer and confeſſion of John Archer of Cranbroke was much in like ſort. And although certain of theſe upon ignorant ſimplicitie ſwerved a little in the number of ſacraments, ſome granting one ſacrament, that is, the body of Chriſt hanging upon the croſſe, ſome moe, ſome leſſe, &c. yet in the principall matter touching the doctrine of ſalvation for faith to ſtay upon, and in diſagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the Popiſh Church, they moſt agreed. Concerning the not praying to ſaints, and for the dead in Purgatorie, for not creeping to the croſſe, for faith onely to juſtifie, for taking of an oath, and other ſuch like, he granted as the other had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a Weaver of the town of Cambroke, of the age of fiftie years, was attached and impriſoned by ſir John Gilford Knight. And thus have ye the cauſe and impriſonment of theſe five godly priſoners. Now as touching the crueltie of their death, that ye ſhall not ſurmiſe the ſuſpicion or relation thereof to proceed of my ſelf, ye ſhall hear their own teſtimonie and certification by their own letter thrown out of the priſon concerning the unmercifull dealing of the Catholique tyrants in famiſhing them, as is aforeſaid. The words and copie of their letter is this.

Sir John Gilford committed Father Archer to priſon.

The copie of a letter written and caſt out of the Caſtle of Canterbury by the priſoners there in bonds for Gods word, declaring how the Papiſts went about to famiſh them to death; of the which company five were famiſhed among them already.

The priſoners letter, declaring how they were handled and famiſhed in priſon.

BE it known to all men that ſhall read, or hear read theſe our letters, that we the poore priſoners of the Caſtle of Canterbury for Gods truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other food, the ſaid keeper will charge them that ſo bring us any thing, except money or rayment, to carry it them again; or elſe if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himſelf, and he and his ſervants do ſpend it, ſo that we have nothing thereof; and thus the Keeper keepeth away our victuals from us. Inſomuch that there are foure of us priſoners there for Gods truth, famiſhed alreadie, and thus is it his minde to famiſh us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the Biſhops and Prieſts, and alſo of the Juſtices, ſo to famiſh us, and not onely us of the ſaid Caſtle, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed: notwithſtanding we write not theſe our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famiſhed for the Lord Jeſus ſake, but for this cauſe and intent, that they, having no law ſo to famiſh us in priſon, ſhould not do it privily, but that the murtherers hearts ſhould be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what Church they are, and who is their father. Out of the caſtle of Canterbury.

The trouble and vexation of good people in the Dioceſſe of Lichfield.

Doctor Bane, D. Draicot, his Chancellor in Liechfield cruell perſecutors.

THeſe foreſaid moneths of September, November, and December, as they were troubleſome to divers other places, and eſpecially to the Dioceſſe of Canterburie, by reaſon of the Archdeacon above named; ſo likewiſe they brought no little buſineſſe in the countrey of Lichfield and Coventrie, by a cruell Biſhop there called Ralfe Bane, and a more cruell Chancellor named Doctor Draicot, through the fierce inquiſition of whom great ſtir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many cauſed to beare fagots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet becauſe it may appeare what a number there is in the countreys of England abroad, which in their hearts have a miſliking of the Popes Romiſh laws and religion, if for fear they durſt utter their mindes, I thought to make a rehearſal of their names, which in the foreſaid Dioceſſe of Coventrie and Liechfield, were taken in ſuſpition and examined for their religion.

The names of them that bare fagots in the Dioceſſe of Liechfield and Coventrey.

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoyned to the Popiſh penance, that is, to beare a fagot, candle, and beads about in proceſſion, were Agnes Forman, detected, examined, and by witneſſe convicted, and bare a fagot the 12. of September. Likewiſe Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Tho. Stiffe, Will. Raime, Robert Ratrenes, Tho. Smith, John Borſley the younger. Item, John Waterhouſe, againſt whom came in witneſſe

Q. MARIE. Anno 1556.

witneſſe and accuſers Richard Caterbanke, I. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying againſt him for ſeldome coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the ſacrament, but looking upon his booke, for not kiſſing the Pare, &c. Robert Biſſel, Leonard Weſt, Richard Baily of the Pariſh of Whiteacre.

These were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doctor.
Richard Iurdian, Prieſt.
Edmund Crokel, Prieſt.
Thomas Witehead, Prieſt.
William Taylor, Prieſt.
Anſelme Sele, Prieſt.
Richard Slavy, Prieſt married.
Edward Haukes, Prieſt married.
Robert Aſton, Prieſt deprived.
Henry Tecka, Prieſt deprived.
Robert Moſſey, Prieſt, married and deprived.

The names of them which were troubled there, and bare no fagots.

Beſide theſe were divers other, which in like ſort were detected, accuſed and examined although they bare no fagot, but were diſmiſſed, as Richard Kempe, John Frankling, William Marler, Jelius Dudley, Euſtache Byſacre, William Shene, Antonie Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henrie Birdlim, William Moſſey, John Leach, John Richardſon, Antonie Jones, alias Pulton, Thomas Wilſon, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres his ſon, Iſabell Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preſton, Tho. Saulter, John Stamford Shoomaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal Shoomaker, John Robinſon, Hugh More Shoomaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxall, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

Joyce Lewes Martyr, read hereafter.

The next moneth following, being October, came under examination Joyce Lewes Gentlewoman, of whom we deferre to ſpeake untill the next yeere, at what time ſhe was burned.

Theſe forenamed perſons with many moe following in the next yeere after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through feare of death; yet for this cauſe I doe here recite them, that by them it might appeare, what a number there were, not only in the Countrey of Liechfield, but alſo in other parts, in heart ſet againſt the Popes proceedings, if that feare rather then conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The concluſion of this eleventh Booke, with a briefe ſtorie of Sir Iohn Cheeke, &c.

The concluſion of the xi. book.

AND thus have ye the whole perſecution of this yeere declared, which was the yeere of our Lord 1556. and the fourth of Queene Maries reigne, with the name and cauſes of all them which ſuffered martyrdome within the compaſſe of the ſaid yeere: the number of all which, ſlaine and matyred in divers places of England at ſundrie times this yeere, came to above 84. Perſons, whereof many were women, wives, widowes, and maidens; beſides them which otherwiſe by ſecret practiſe were made away, or driven out of goods and houſes, or out of the realme, or elſe within the realme were put to penance and coacted by forcible violence to recant, ſave onely that I have omitted the ſtory of ſir Jo. Cheek, Knight, and Schoolemaſter ſometime of K. Edward. The worthines of which man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his fall would rather be covered in ſilence and oblivion. Onely to note a word or two of a few things to the preſent ſtorie moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

84. Martyrs and above in this yeer 1556. put to death in this realm.

A brief declaration of M. Cheekes recantation.

Firſt Maſter Cheeke being in the Countrey of Germany, out of all danger of perſecution, with many moe of his owne countrimen and acquaintance, was not onely in ſafetie, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germans, and alſo well placed in the City of Strauſbourge. Where if he had contented himſelfe to have remained, rather giving place to time, then to preſume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatall inſtigation wrought in his minde I know not. In the end ſo it fell, that he would needs take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from high Germanie unto Bruxels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew ſomewhat) not without the forecaſting of his adventured journey by the conſtellation of the ſtars, and diſpoſition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famouſly expert, and travelled in the knowledge of ſundrie arts and ſciences; ſo was he a little too much addicted to the curious practiſing of this Star Divinitie, which we call Aſtrologie. But howſoever it was, or whatſoever it was that the ſtars did promiſe him, truth was, that men here in earth kept little promiſe with him. For having (as it is ſaid) King Philips ſafe conduct to paſſe and repaſſe, and that by the means (as I finde) of the Lord Paget, and ſir John Maſ. pledging for his ſafeguard King Philips fidelitie, he came to Bruxels to ſee the Queens Ambaſſadors: and having brought the Lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return betweene Bruxels and Antwerp he was taken with ſir Peter Carew by the Provoſt Marſhall, ſpoiled of their horſes, and clapped into a cart, their legs, armes, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and ſo ſhipped being blindfold under the hatches, and ſo brought to the Tower of London.

Aſtrologie.

M. Cheek and ſir Peter Carew apprehended in their journey to Antwerp.

Thus the good man being intrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two wayes to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedie with thoſe holy Catholiques there was none. Neither could his conſcience excuſe him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

M. Fecknam ſpeaketh for M. Cheeke.

Albeit maſter Fecknam, whether by the Queen ſuborned, or upon his owne devotion or friendſhip toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Maſter Cheek, ſpeaking in his behalfe: yet no mercie could be had with the Queen, but he muſt needs recant, and ſo did he. The copie of whoſe recantation preſcribed unto him, becauſe it is known and in the hands of divers, it needeth not here to be expreſſed.

The death and repentance of ſir John Cheek.

Then after his recantation, he was through the craftie handling of the Catholiques, allured firſt to dine and companie with them, at length drawne unawares to ſit in place, whereas the poore Martyrs were brought before Boner and other biſhops to be condemned; the remorſe whereof ſo mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortall life. Whoſe fall although it was full of infirmity, yet his riſing again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praiſed.

The end of the X I. Book,

HERE BEGINNETH THE Twelfth Book, containing the bloody doings and perſecutions of the Adverſaries, againſt the faithfull and true ſervants of Chriſt, with the particular proceſſes and names of ſuch as were put to ſlaughter from the beginning of January 1557. and the fifth yeer of Queen MARY.

The ordet and manner of the Cardinals viſitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the bones and books of Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

Anno 1557. *Ianuary* 9.

Viſitation of Cambridge, with the burning of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius bones.

Cardinall Poole, thrée yéers after his return into England, having ſomewhat withdrawn his minde from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion, began to have an eye to the Univerſitie of Cambridge, which place among other, ſpecially ſéemed to have néed of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were choſen Cutbert Scot, not long before conſecrated Biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, Archprieſt of the people of Bodolon, in the Dioceſſe of Veron, profeſſed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the Popes Datarie, Thomas Watſon, elected biſhop of Lincoln, John Chriſtopherſon, elected Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Henrie Cole Provoſt of the Colledge of Eaton. There was good cauſe why the matter was eſpecially committed to theſe perſons. For as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much eſtimation with Julius the third, at that time Biſhop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinall Poole, becauſe without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chiefe truſt and confidence) the Biſhop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

The inquiſitors.

These perſons thus appointed (in the meane while as the viſitors were addreſſing themſelves to their journey) ſent their letters with the Cardinals citation before to Doctor Andrew Pern, Vicechancellor then of Cambridge with the other Commiſſioners aſſociate, commanding him to warne all the Graduats of the Univerſitie, in their name, to be in a readineſſe againſt the 11. day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the Church of St. Marie the Virgin: willing him eſpecially to be there himſelf in preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the reſidue, to whoſe charge it belonged, that they ſhould ſearch out all Statutes, Books, Priviledges, and Monuments appertaining to the Univerſity, or to any of the Colledges, or finally to any of themſelves, and theſe to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and every man to appeare there perſonally: for they would not fail, but be there at the ſame time, to lay before them ſuch things as ſhould ſéeme neceſſarie to this charge of reforming the Univerſitie, and further to give charge of all ſuch things as ſhould ſéeme moſt for the profit and behoofe of the ſame, together with ſuch things as were to be done on their part, according as ſhould ſéeme moſt agréeable to the Decrées of the Canon Law.

A citation ſent before to D. Andrew Pern, Vicechancellor.

This citation of the Cardinall, being brought to Cambridge by maſter Bullock, was firſt exhibited in the Convocation houſe of regents, and there openly read by the Orator of the Univerſity the 11. of December.

After this, upon the 24. of December, which was Chriſtmaſſe even, the Vicechancellor with the heads of the houſes méeting together in the ſchools, it was there concluded, that the Viſitors charges ſhould be born by the Univerſity and Colledges (which then coſt the Univerſitie an hundred pound thick) and alſo that no Maſter of any Colledge ſhould ſuffer any of the Fellows, Schollers, or Miniſters to go forth of the town, but to return before the viſitation.

Preparation in Cambridge toward the Viſitation.

On Friday the eighth of Januarie, the Quéens Commiſſioners, videlicet, Doctor Perne Vicechancellor, Doctor Segewicke, Doctor Harvie, maſter Franck, Ruſt, and another who is here nameleſſe, and alſo Sir James Dier, the Recorder, Maſter Chapman, Evered ſitting together in the Hall, certain were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what ſhould be done. And firſt the Commiſſion was read. Then were all the high Conſtables called to bring in their precepts, and ſworn. Alſo two of every Pariſh of ten or twelve hundreds, were ſworn to inquire of hereſie, lollardie, conſpiracie, ſeditious words, tales, and rumours againſt the King and Quéene. Item, for hereticall and ſeditious books, for negligences and miſdemeanor in the Church, for obſervation of ceremonies, for Ornaments, and ſtocke of the Church.

We ſaid at the firſt, that the Cardinall thought the Univerſitie to have néed of reformation. The reaſon why he ſhould think ſo, was this; either becauſe the ſame of long continuance ſince any man could remember, had caſt off the yoke of the Biſhop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholſome doctrine of the Goſpel; or elſe by reaſon that both for the late ſchiſme, not yet worne out of memorie, and for the doctrine of Martine Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſaid Univerſitie interpreted holy Scripture, they ſaw many ſo ſore corrupted and ſpotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is ſpread in a town) unleſſe a ſpéedie remedie were adhibited out of hand, it were not poſſible to their thinking, to quench it many yéers after. Who alſo feared (if it were not looked to in time) leſt this miſchiefe ſhould take root, and by little and little infect all the members next unto it, which yet were whole and ſound.

The cauſe why the reformation was taken in hand.

This was the yéer of our Lord, 1556. To the intent therefore to make a ſalve for this ſore, the inquiſitors, of whom we ſpake before, came un-

The coming of the inquiſitors, and of their entertainment.

M. Chriſtopherſon M. of Trinitie Colledge, B. elect of Chicheſter.

to Cambridge the ninth day of Januarie. And as they were yet in their iourney, not farre from the towne, divers of the Maſters and Preſidents of the Colledges met them, and brought them courteouſly, firſt into the town, and after to their lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity Colledge by Maſter John Chriſtopherſon Maſter of the ſame houſe, and lately before elected biſhop of Chicheſter. Notwithſtanding they were deſired, ſome to one place, and ſome to another, as occaſion ſerved, either to do their duties, or to ſhew their good wils: Cole to the Kings Colledge, and Doctor Watſon to Saint Johns. But whether it were for the acquaintance of Chriſtopherſon, or for the largeneſſe of the houſe, which ſeemed moſt convenient for their purpoſe, they all took up their lodgings in the ſaid colledge with M. Chriſtopherſon.

An Oration gratulatory at their coming thither.

At their coming thither an Oration was made by a fellow of the houſe, who in the name of all the reſt, with long proteſtation declared that they were moſt heartily welcome thither, and that he and his fellowes gave them great thanks, that it had pleaſed their Lordſhips to have ſo good opinion of them, as to chuſe their houſe eſpecially to lodge in, whereby they had both incouraged them to ſtand in hope of ſome further benevolence towards them, and alſo done great worſhip to their Colledge by their being there: wherefore they ſhould look at their hand againe foraſmuch dutie and reverence, as lay in their power to performe.

Watſon anſwereth to the Oration.

To this Oration Watſon made anſwer, that this forward and earneſt good wils and mindes of theirs, in doing ſuch courteſie, was right thankfully taken, both of him, and his, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſtly in the ſame, and to proceed alſo when need ſhould require: for it was ſo far from any of their thoughts, to ſtop them in this their race, that they would rather haſte them forward to run through more ſpeedily, being not without good cauſe perſwaded to conceive good hope of their benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whatſoever might turne to their profit and commoditie.

January 9. January 10. S. Maries and S. Michaels interdicted becauſe of Martin Bucer & Paulus Phagius buriall.

This day, forſomuch as it was toward Evening ere they came, and the Sun was going downe, was nothing elſe done. The next day, being the tenth of Januarie, they beſtowed in recreating themſelves after their iourney, and in ſetting other things at a ſtay. Neverthele ſſe, to the intent the ſame ſhould not eſcape altogether without doing ſomewhat, they interdicted the two Churches, namely St. Maries, where M. Bucer, and Saint Michaels, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

Commendation of Martin Bucer.

Theſe men were dead a good while before Paulus Phagius had ſcarce yet ſhewed the proofe of his wit and learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time ſomewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painfull in the word of God, never ſpared himſelf, nor regarded his health) he brought all men into ſuch admiration of him, that neither his friends could ſufficiently praiſe him, neither his enemies in any point finde fault with his ſingular life and ſincere doctrine. A moſt certaine token whereof may be his ſumptuous buriall, ſolemnized with ſo great aſſiſtance and gladneſſe of all the degrees of the Univerſitie, that it was not poſſible to deviſe more to the ſetting out and amplifying of the ſame. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Maſter Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatiſe to Sir John Cheeke Knight, with an Epiſtle full of conſolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was ſent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the buriall of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of theſe Viſitors, were paſſed about three or foure yeers more or leſſe. And from the time that that bleſſed King, Edward the Sixth deceaſed, unto that day, the Prieſts never ceaſed to celebrate their maſſes, and other kinde of ceremonies in thoſe places, and that without ſcruple of conſcience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that theſe Commiſſioners came thither, thoſe things that before were accounted for ſacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all thoſe aſſemblies that ſhould hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, ſhould be removed to the Kings Chappell, which is a place far more ſtately then all the other.

January 11.

Now was come the 11. day, in the which the Vicechancellor of the Univerſitie, with the Maſters and Preſidents of Colledges, and all the other Graduates of every houſe, were commanded to appeare before the ſaid Commiſſioners in their Habits. It was commanded that the ſchollers alſo ſhould come in their ſurplices, but that was not done. They aſſembled in great number to Trinity Colledge, having the Univerſitie croſſe borne before them, and in the gatehouſe a fourme was ſet and covered, with cuſhions and carpet on the ground for the Viſitors. Where the Vicechancellor, having on a Tiſhew cope, ſprinkled holy water on them, and purpoſed to cenſe them, but they refuſed it there, which notwithſtanding afterward in the Queens Colledge and elſewhere they refuſed not.

There Maſter John Stokes, common Orator of the Univerſitie, made an Oration in the name of all the reſt. The Copie whereof I thought good here to exemplificate in Latine, as it was pronounced.

Maſter Stokes Oration to Queene Maries Viſitors at Cambridge, An. 1557. *Ianuarie* 11.

The Oration of M. Stokes publike Orator of the Univerſitie.

ACademia, Reverendi Patres, in expectatione adventus veſtri ſollicita aliquandiu fuit; nunc præſentiæ dominationum veſtrarum valde recreata libentiſſime vultus veſtros intuetur, & ad apertam voluntatis ſuæ teſtificationem ecce univerſa ſe ſuaſq; opes effudit. Convenit in hunc locum tota Cantabrigiæ frequentia, adſunt omnes ordines, de quorum certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem voluntate illud publica fide apud dominationes veſtras affirmo, eos, & ſeparatim ſingulos, & conjuctim omnes, optatiſſimum hunc adventum mirificis ſtudiis, & conſentientibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus perſuaſum, & negotium hoc quod hodierno die, favente Deo, excellentia veſtra auſpicatur, ad academiæ rationes fore accommodum, neque in re ad communem ſalutem tam neceſſaria operam aliquando veſtram nobis defuturam. Permulta ſunt ad hanc opinionem confirmandam, ſed cætera non perſequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quæ ita intime cum præſenti negotio cohærent, ut divelli ab eo diſjungique nulla ratione poſſint. Atque ſunt illa quidem numero certa & finita; verum re & virtute ita immenſa, ut nulla dicendi facultate mea plenè comprehendi poſſint: quoniam tamen ut antea ſum profeſſus ſummam eſſe academiæ lætitiam, eamque juſtis de cauſis in adventu veſtro ſuſceptam, quæſo à vobis ut dum eas breviter recenſeo faciles mihi aures præbeatis.

Cardinal Polus.

Reverendiſ. in Chriſto Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionem oppreſſam reſtituit, patriæ ruinas ſuffulſit, leges & decreta quaſi poſtliminio reduxit, iſte inquam, iſte Polus Anglus & vere noſter Moſes, legationis veſtræ autor eſt, a cujus excellenti vertute in omnes ſuæ patriæ partes plurima commoda dimanarunt. Quo vinculo neceſſitudinis, etſi omnibus temporibus optima ab illo ſperare liceret, quod ex corpore ſinus ipſius Reipub. arctior eſt tamen & inte-

rior cauſa, quæ nobis cum dominatione illius ſeparatim intercedit. Superiore anno academiæ procurationem in ſe humaniſ. recepit, quam liberari cuſtodia ita cœptam tenere ſe velle literis ſignificavit, ut non ſolum incommoda dimoveret, quibus ſtudia noſtra affligerentur, ſed ut ornamenta adjiceret ea, quorum ſplendore augeri dignitas Academiæ aut maxime illuſtrari poſſet. Quæ res & ſpem antea noſtram confirmavit, & nunc in eam cogitationem nos adducit, ut omnem illius humanitatem in hanc unam viſitationem eſſe collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea à vobis expectamus omnia, quæ ſummi Cancellarii noſtri inſignis amor, præter communem charitatem Academiæ, quaſi pupillæ ſuæ propriæ pollicetur. Atque utinam quidem ipſe ſine Reipublicæ detrimento hoc tempore adeſſe poſſet, & Academiam ſuam è tenebris & profunda nocte emerſam ipſe ſuis radiis veræ religionis ſplendore illuſtraret: verum optioni noſtræ publica utilitas repugnat, qua valde impeditus ſanctiſſimæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ legatus vos vicarios ſubſtituit; quorum naturas propter providentiam, perſonas propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationem aptiſſimas ad hanc rem eſſe judicavit. Itaque illud verè & ex animis iſtorum omnium affirmare poſſum, vos eos eſſe viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutem colimus, voluntatem, fidem, & conſilium ad publicam ſalutem impendimus. Poſtquam enim ſingulari & præſtantiſſima virtute Cardinalis Poli, Legati, è ſuperiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucem in republica reſpicere cœpimus, una certè graviſſima etiam ſuperioris ætatis mala ſenſimus, qubus profecto infinitis & miſerrimis etſi antea præmeremur, tamen ad calamitatis noſtræ magnitudinem acceſſit ejuſdem ignoratio, ut (mea quidem opinione) eo magis ſimus miſerabiles judicandi, quòd tam turbulenta tempeſtate jactati ne moveri quidem nos, tam gravi & periculoſa hæreſis morbo oppreſſi, aut ægrotare mentes noſtras intelleximus. Valde enim periculoſa eſt ægrotatio illa, quæcunque ſine doloris ſenſu naturam conficit, & affectos ſæpe prius extinguit, quam ægrotare ſe fateantur. Ejuſmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quæ ad alias fortaſſe res ſatis ingenioſa & ſolers, in hac Religionis cauſa, propter caput Eccleſiæ læſum, unde omnis ſentiendi vis eſt, omnino hæbes, ſtupida, & ſine mente fuit, quoad tertio ante hunc anno divina ſanctiſſimi Patris Iulii Clementia Angliæ fere emortuæ miſerata, iterum nos Eccleſiæ inſerit, corpus ſenſuſque recreat, cujus ope convaleſcens Britannia, quam certa gehennæ pericula effugerit quivis facile intelligit. Idem Academia cernit acutius, neque quicquam mali uſpiam accidiſſe putat, quo noſtra regio in hac religionis vaſtitate & ſchiſmate miſerius fuerit afflicta. Non eſt opus recenſere in hoc loco everſa Monaſteria, ſpoliata Templa, ſtrages ſacerdotum, cædes nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius regni egeſtatem, quæ etſi aliunde accidere poſſunt, tamen cum tam gravia ſint ut opprimant, ultionis & vindictæ potius quam probandi cauſa in malos & nocentes infligi putamus. Sed ſunt iſta fortunæ ludibria, graviora ſumus paſſi religionis & conſcientiæ detrimenta: pietas in Deum omnis evanuerat, virginalis ſacerdotum profeſſio ad libidinem ſoluta eſt, animus quaſi conſopitus jacebat, quem nullæ Ceremoniæ excitabant, ipſa mens opinionum varietate ita diſtricta, ita ſibi ipſi diſſentiens, ut infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In his erant duo præcipue fontes, ex quorum rivulis & hauſiſſe Academiam paulo liberalius, & illa potione ferme inebriatam confitemur.

Prior ortum habebat ex illa noſtri violenta divulſione à Catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitate, re non diſſimili illius pugnæ, quam olim Menenius Agrippa, in inteſtina civium diſcordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Poſterior ex immenſa palude & cœno Wicleviano emanavit: quem celebris apud nos imo miſerabilis de Sacramento altaris patefecit. De cujus rei veritate plerique ſuo ſenſu abundantes pro arbitrio quiſque ſuo ſtatuerat. Nos Philoſophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorum ſchola ad ſcripturæ lumen aliquid attulimus. Quod enim Chriſtus omnino, præciſe, & ſine exceptione, de vera & perpetua ſui corporis præſentia affirmarat (in cujus verbi veritate fundamentum fidei noſtræ collocatur) id nos ita ſumus interpretati, ut mancam & alienam Chriſti vocem judicaremus, niſi illa Epicuri propria particula (quaſi) adderetur, & quod Chriſtiani corpus & ſanguinem, id nos quaſi corpus & ſanguinem diceremus. Sed non eſt iſtius temporis præterita nimium meminiſſe, quæ utinam æterna oblivione obrui poſſent, neque ulla tantæ labis memoria ad poſteros noſtros propagetur; tamen fuerunt attingenda generatim quidem, quòd erranti confeſſio ſalutaris ſit: membratim vero, quod Academia his vulneribus à Cenſoria poteſtate confecta, à Cenſoria medicina ad ſalutem reduci poſtulat. Ipſa vero pro ſe & ſuis ſpondet omnes in authoritate veſtra futuros, quos aſſiduis concionibus adeo ad pœnitentiam edocuit, ut et eos ad ſanam religionem fidiſſime tranſiſſe, & in eadem diligenti præſentis vitæ uſu ſuperioris ætatis damna ſarcituros putetis. Nam qui primi in hoc curſu ſunt, acerrimè contendunt in eo, quod tam voluntariè ſuſceperunt: & qui pigrius egreſſi quaſi pomeridianis horis ad hoc certamen acceſſerunt, ea certè præbent jam immutatæ voluntatis indicia, ut quomodo temere & juveniliter à ſana religione defecerunt, ita non niſi maturi & cum judicio ab hæreſi deſciviſſe videantur. Vniverſis vero ſimul reſtituta & deſiderata religio magis placere videtur, quam ſi aſſidue præcepta, neque ad tempus obſcurata fuiſſet.

Quapropter Academia ſupplex & proſtrata primum à Deo immortali pacem & veniam petit, precaturque ab eo, ut hodiernum diem ad ſuorum ſalutem conſervandam, & Rempubl. hanc conſtituendam illuxiſſe patiatur. Deinde pro ſe, pro ſuis, pro univerſis, pro ſingulis, hanc petitionem ad celſitudines veſtras affert, ut ſuperiorum temporum offenſas ex errore & injuſtitia profectas præſenti hominum induſtriæ condonetis. De reliquis vero pro ſumma prudentia veſtra, & ſingulari in nos amore, eam ſententiam feratis, ut ſuorum cauſas vel juſtitia veſtra bonas inveniat, vel clementia bonas eſſe faciat. In utroque par erit beneficium, ſive Academiam pro cauſarum æquitate judicaveritis, ſive pro amoris veſtri abundantia innocentem eam eſſe volueritis. Nos pro referenda gratia ſummam in ſacris modeſtiam, aſſiduam in litteris operam, perpetuum veræ religionis amorem, ſempiternam veſtri beneficii memoriam repromittimus.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Biſhop of Cheſter anſwered thereunto, that they tooke in right good part, that the mother the Vniverſitie had made ſo open a declaration of her good will toward them: for the which he gave moſt hearty thankes, deſiring her to performe in deed, and in her workes, the things that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of her ſelfe in words and communication.

The anſwer of M. Scot, B. of Cheſter, to the Oration of John Stokes.

AS concerning their good wils, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For their coming thither was not to deale any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to the amendment: but both the Cardinall himſelfe, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew favour, deviſing how to bring all things to peace and tranquilitie, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, then that they which have erred and gone aſtray, ſhould returne into the right path againe. The right reverend father, the

Lord Cardinall whom he wiſhed to have beene preſent, wiſhed the ſelfe ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as he with his owne hands to ſuſtaine and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raiſe up already fallen to the ground, the Univerſitie his Ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and dutie of her Guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the times paſt had ſpread abroad ſo grievous diſeaſes, that even the Univerſitie it ſelfe was touched with the contagious ayre thereof. For he would gladlier have come hither to viſit and ſalute it, then to correct it, if the weightie affaires of the realme would have permitted it. But now ſeeing he could not ſo doe, he had appointed this Commiſſion, in the which he had aſſigned them to be his Deputies, which (becauſe they knew him to ſet ſo much ſtore by the Univerſitie) ſhould extend the more favour to it, and (becauſe they themſelves had been there brought up) would the more earneſtly imbrace it. The chiefe matter that they came for, tended to this end, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſſe their faults, and returne into the right way againe. For they were in good forwardneſſe of healing, that acknowledged themſelves to have offended. And therefore it was wiſely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuſe the faults of the Univerſitie, nor of other men, but confeſſe and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

The Commiſſion ſigned by the Cardinall, and why.

The cauſes declared.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither, was to raiſe up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour ſuch as were ſory and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would: yet notwithſtanding according to their dutie they would ſhew themſelves ſo diligent for their part, as that no lacke might be found in them. For it was more openly knowne, then that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulneſſe, and tooke ſtoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved (as reaſon was) ſo they coveted to remedie the miſchiefe. Againſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeeme hereafter to be ſtraitly determined, it was to be imputed to their owne deſerts, and not to the wils of them. Neither ought ſuch as are whole and ſound to be moved at the chaſtiſement of others, for ſo much as it pertained not onely to the wiping out of the foule blot which now ſticked in the Univerſitie, but alſo to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts they more inclined unto mercie then rigor. Howbeit, conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, yet were driven of neceſſitie no uſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought againe to their right mindes, which thing they chiefely coveted (for they wiſhed that all ſhould amend and be led by wholeſome counſell) and would yet at length waxe wearie of their errors, and in ſtead of them frequent againe the ancient cuſtomes of themſelves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly looke for all kinde of humanitie and gentleneſſe at their hands, in all this their buſineſſe of reformation, which they had now entred and begun, requeſting no more of the Univerſitie, but to doe as became them: which being performed, he promiſed that their benevolence, neither in any publike nor in any private perſons caſe, ſhould in any wiſe be behinde hand.

Mercy more commended of all men, but rigor moſt commonly in acts of moſt men expreſſed.

These things being finiſhed, they were brought proceſſionaliter to the Kings Colledge, by all the Graduates of the Univerſitie, where was ſung a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt with great ſolemnitie, nothing wanting in that behalfe that might make to the ſetting forth of the ſame. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly ſurnamed Datarie, (who albeit he were inferior in eſtate unto Cheſter being a Biſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authoritie) while the maſſe was celebrating, eft ſtanding, eft ſitting, and ſometime kneeling on his knees, obſerved certaine ceremonies, which afterward were required of all others to be obſerved, as in proceſſe hereof was to be ſeene.

A Maſſe at the Kings colledge.

Ormanet Datary.

From thence they attended all upon the Legates to Saint Maries Church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In the which place, for ſo much as it was ſuſpended, although no Maſſe might be ſung, yet there was a Sermon made in open audience by Maſter Peacock in the Latine tongue, preaching againſt hereſies and heretikes, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. The which being ended, they proceeded eftſoones to the viſitation. Where, firſt Doctor Harvy did in the Cardinals name exhibit the Commiſſion to the B. of Cheſter with a few words in Latine. Which being accepted, and by Maſter Clerke openly read to the end, then the Vicechancellor with an Oration did exhibite the certificate under his ſeale of Office with the Cardinals citation annexed, containing every mans name in the Univerſitie and Colledges, with the officers and all the Maſters of houſes. Among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey Maſter of Kings Colledge, a worthy old man, both for his wiſdome and his hoare haires. Who hearing his owne name recited next after the Vicechancellors, ſaid; he was there preſent as all the other were: nevertheleſſe, for ſo much as the reformation of his houſe was wholly reſerved to the diſcretion of the Biſhop of Lincolne, not onely by the Kings letters Pattents, but alſo by grant of confirmation from the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe, under a penaltie, if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtrangers to intermeddle, he openly proteſted in diſcharge of his dutie, that unleſſe their commiſſion gave them authoritie and juriſdiction upon the Colledge, either by expreſſe words or manifeſt ſenſe, he utterly exempted himſelf from being preſent. This his exception they tooke all in great diſpleaſure; alleaging that they were fully authoriſed for the order of the matter by the Cardinall, out of whoſe juriſdiction, no place nor perſons was exempted: wherefore he had done evill to call into queſtion their authority, ſo well knowen to all men. Cheſter ſeemed to be more moved with the matter then all the other; and that was becauſe Braſſey had a little before obtained the worſhip of that roome, even utterly againſt his will, and manger his head, he doing the worſt he could againſt him.

Peacocke preacheth at S. Maries.

The citation of the maſters of the Colledges.

Rob. Braſſey exception.

Alteration betwixt Doctor Braſſey and D. Scot.

After the formall ſolemnitie of theſe things thus accompliſhed, the commiſſion being read, and the citation exhibited, all the Maſters of houſes being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his owne houſe, with commandement to be at the common Schooles of the ſaid Univerſitie at one of the clocke the ſame day. When the degrees of the Univerſitie, commonly called Regents and non Regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpent the reſt of the day in reading over of Charters, granted to the Univerſitie by Kings an Princes, in ſearching out of Buls and Pardons from the Pope, and in peruſing of other Monuments pertaining to the Univerſitie.

Inquiſition at the common Schooles.

The next day following, being the 12. of Januarie, they reſorted to the Kings Colledge to make Inquiſition, either becauſe the ſame for the worthineſſe thereof was chiefe and soveraigne of all the reſidue, or elſe becauſe that that houſe ſpecially before all others had beene counted, time out of minde, never to be without an

Januar. 12. Inquiſition at the Kings Colledge.

heretike (as they termed them) or twain. And at that preſent time, albeit that many now a late had withdrawn themſelves from thence, yet they judged there were ſome remaining ſtill. The order and manner how they would be entertained of every Colledge, when they ſhould come to make inquiſition, they themſelves appointed, which was in this ſort.

The manner of receiving the Inquiſitors when they went to make Inquiſition.

They commanded the Maſter of every houſe together with the reſidue, as well fellowes as ſchollers, apparelled in Prieſtlike garments (which they call habits) to meet them at the uttermoſt gate of their houſe towards the towne. The Maſter himſelfe to be dreſſed in like apparell as the Prieſt when he harneſſeth himſelfe to Maſſe, ſaving that he ſhould put on uppermoſt his habite, as the reſt did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wiſe, The Maſter of the houſe to go foremoſt. Next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, ſeignioritie, or of peers. Before the Maſter ſhould be carried a croſſe and holy water to ſprinkle the Commiſſioners withall, and then after that the ſaid Commiſſioners to be cenſed. And ſo after this meeting, and mumbling of a few devotions, they determined with this pompe and ſolemnitie to be brought to the Chappell.

Note the ambitious pomp of theſe Papiſts.

The Commiſſioners repreſent the Pope.

Many thought they tooke more honour upon them then belonged to the ſtate of man. Otherſome (foraſmuch as at that time they not onely pretended the juriſdiction of the Cardinall; but alſo repreſented the power and authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe, who was accounted to be more then a mortall man) ſaid; it was farre leſſe then of dutie appertained to his holineſſe, in that the honour that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to his Holineſſe. Now was the houre come, at which they appointed to meete: and being entered the Kings Colledge gate, where they looked for the Maſter and fellows of the houſe, ſeeing no man came to meete them, they proceeded forth to the Church doore, where they ſtayed. There perceiving how the Maſter and the reſt of the houſe were dreſſing themſelves as faſt as they could, in ſuch order as was appointed before, they came in ſuddenly upon them, before they had ſet out any foote out of their places.

Here was a foule fault committed, that theſe men came in without Proceſſion.

D. Braſſey excuſeth himſelf for the ſlackneſſe of his Proceſſion.

Then the Maſter firſt excuſed himſelfe, that he was ready no ſooner, acknowledging that it had beene his dutie to have been in a readineſſe. Secondly, he ſaid he was very glad of their comming, promiſing firſt in his owne name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utilitie, the which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in S. Maries Church, the ſame exception he made to them now alſo; the which his doing he beſought them not to be offended withall. For ſeeing he did it onely for the diſcharge of his dutie, he had juſter cauſe to be held excuſed.

M. Braſſey maketh exception again.

D. Scots anſwer to M. Braſſey.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his tale, but the Biſhop of Cheſter with a frowning looke and an angrie countenance interrupting him of his talke, ſaid, he needed not to repeat the things he had proteſted be fore, nor they to make anſwer any more to thoſe things wherein they had ſufficiently informed him before. He rather feared that their quarrell was not good, that they made ſuch adoe about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting holes. For ſo were diſeaſed perſons oftentimes wont to doe, when for the paine and griefe they are not able to abids a ſtrong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant ſo ſtrong a priviledge, as to withſtand the Popes authoritie. As for the Popes letters, he ſaid, muſt needs make on his ſide, and with ſuch as were with him, and could not in any wiſe be alledged againſt him. Therefore he admoniſhed him to deſiſt from his unprofitable alteration, and to conforme himſelfe and his to ſuch things as then were in doing.

The Popes authoritie ſwalloweth up all other priviledges.

The Legates ſaluting firſt their god.

After this they went to Maſſe. Which finiſhed, with great ſolemnitie, firſt they went to the high altar of the Church, and having there ſaluted their god, and ſearching whether all were well about him or no, they walked thorow all the inner Chappels of the Church. The Church goods, the croſſes, the challices, the Maſſe bookes, the veſtments, and whatſoever ornaments were beſides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had ſufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and ſcholler of the houſe, they went to the Maſters lodging, where firſt and formoſt ſwearing them upon a booke to anſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be propounded unto them (as farre as they knew) they examined firſt the Maſter himſelfe, and afterward all the reſidue, every man in his turne. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this oath, becauſe they had given their faith to the Colledge before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all right and reaſon to ſweare againſt themſelves: for it was contrarie to all law, that a man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelfe, and not to be ſuffered to keepe his conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt proofe to be laid to his charge: but much more unjuſt it is, that a man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelfe. Nevertheleſſe theſe perſons alſo, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the Colledge, were not impeached thereby) were contented to be ſworne.

The oath refuſed of ſome in the Kings Colledge, and why?

The conſultation of Maſters upon the taking up of M. Bucer.

Three dayes long laſted the Inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the caſe of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer then needed. For they looked to have had much altercation and buſineſſe about the matter. Now, foraſmuch as the preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and adviſement, the Vicechancellor and the Maſters of the Colledges aſſembled at the common Schooles, where every man gave his verdict what hee thought meete to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed all together in this determination; that foraſmuch as Martin Bucer, whiles he lived, had not onely ſowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelfe beene a ſectarie and famous heretike, erring from the Catholike Church, and giving others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe: a ſupplication ſhould be made to the Lord Commiſſioners, in the name of the whole Univerſitie, that his dead carkaſſe might forthwith be digged up (for ſo it was needfull to be done) to the intent that Inquiſition might be made as touching his doctrine, the which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholeſome, the law might proceede againſt him: for it was againſt the rule of the holy Canons, that his body ſhould be buried in Chriſtian buriall. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open derogation of Gods honor, and the violating of his holy lawes, with the great perill of many mens ſoules, and the offence of the faithfull, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which utterly diſſented from all other men in the trade of their living, lawes, and cuſtomes, ſhould have any part with them in the honor of buriall. And therefore the glorie of GOD firſt and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this

Inquiſition to be made of M. Bucers doctrine.

Martin Bucers buriall againſt the holy Canon lawes.

Cauſes why M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius bodies ought to be taken up.

things

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1557.

thing riſeth on them) with all ſpeed put away, no roome at all left unto thoſe perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame places where they lay, were injurious and noyſome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying of the conſciences of the weake. In executing whereof, ſo notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

They gave the ſame verdict by common aſſent upon Phagius alſo. Unto this writing they annexed another, by the which they lawfully authoriſed Andrew Perne the Vicechancellor, to be the common factor for the Univerſitie. He was a man meeteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimonie of Chriſtopherſon he was deemed to be the moſt Catholike of all others. This ſupplication, confirmed by the conſent of all the Degrees of the Univerſitie, and ſigned with their common Seale, the next day, which was the 13. of Januarie, the Vicechancellor put up to the Commiſſioners. Note here, good Reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to ſuborne the Univerſitie under a colourable pretence to deſire this thing of them by way of petition. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would never have gone about it of themſelves.

Andrew Perne Vicechancellor, made factor for the Univerſitie in the caſe of M. Bucer and Phagius.

M. Chriſtopherſons teſtimony of Perne.

A ſupplication put up to the Inquiſitors by the Univerſitie.

Note this feate of conveyance.

But this gloſe was ſoone found out. For the Commiſſioners had given the Vicechancellor inſtructions in writing before. But peradventure they thought by this meanes to remove the envie of this act from themſelves.

Thus the Vicechancellor came unto the Commiſſioners, according to appointment made the day before, about ſeven of the clock in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his coming, but that he had not onely obtained his ſute, but alſo even at the very ſame time received the ſentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, faire copied out by Ormanet Datarie himſelfe. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the Degrees of the Univerſitie. Whereupon a ſolemne Convocation, called Congregatio regentium & non regentium, for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at nine of the clocke; where the graduates being aſſembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this: Pleaſeth it you that Martin Bucer, for the hereſies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Chriſtian buriall, may be exhumate and taken up againe, &c. After this grace eftſoons being granted, then was the ſentence of condemnation, drawn by the Datarie, openly read, and immediately another grace asked, that the ſame might be Signed with the common Seale. The which requeſt was very lightly and eaſily obtained. And it was no marvell.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, copied out by the Datary.

Grace asked in the congregation for the taking up of M. Bucer.

For now after the death of King Edward, ſince the time that the government of the Realme came to the hand of Queene Marie, all ſuch perſons being driven away as had rejected the Romiſh Religion (in whom well nigh alone reſted whatſoever wit and learning was in the whole Univerſitie beſides) ſuch a ſort of Raſcals were put in their roome, that all places now ſwarmed with unlearned and unnurtured Chaplaines: To whom nothing was greater pleaſure, then to cauſe all men to ſpeake ſlander and reproach of Bucer. There were divers yet left among them that ſpake againſt their demands. But they (becauſe, as it commonly cometh to paſſe, that Might overcometh Right) could nothing availe. For this is a common cuſtome in all ſuch matters and ordinances, that look what the greater number decreeth, is publiſhed in the name of all: and that which the better part diſallowed, ſeemeth as though no man at all diſallowed it.

The next day being the 14. of Januarie, all the Viſitors (only Chriſtopherſon elect of Chicheſter, excepted) came to the Kings Colledge. Where, firſt going into the Church, and there making their prayers at the greeſings, they ſo proceeded into the ſtalls, there ſitting all the Maſſe time, the companie ſtanding in their Copes, and ſinging a ſolemne Reſpond in honor of the Viſitors. After the Reſpond done, the Provoſt in the beſt Cope made to them his proteſtation, unto whom the Biſhop of Cheſter made anſwer alſo in Latine, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpoſe his proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and beare with him. Then went they to Maſſe, which ended, the Catholike Viſitors approached up to the Altar, and tooke downe the Sacrament, and ſearched the Pixe, but firſt the two Biſhops cenſed the Sacrament.

January 14.

Then they went unto the Reveſtry, and opened the Chalices, Corporas caſes, and Chriſmatorie, and viewed all thoſe things. And ſo returning into the Provoſts chamber, divided themſelves in examination of the Provoſt, Viceprovoſt, and the reſt of the companie. The ſame day Doctor Bacon, Maſter of Gonwell hall, bade the Vicechancellor, D. Young, D. Harvy, Swineborne, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. Theſe men immediately after dinner, cauſed the common Seale of the Univerſitie to be put to the foreſaid inſtrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the generall conſent of the Graduates of the Univerſitie. And by and by after, they carried the ſame to the Commiſſioners to their lodging. The which when they had received, foraſmuch as after more diligent peruſing thereof, it liked them not in all points, ſome things they raſed out, ſome they enterlined, otherſome they changed; ſo that in fine, they were faine to take the paine to ingroſſe it new againe.

The ſentence is ſigned with the common Seale of the Univerſitie.

The ſentence engroſſed new againe.

To the ſigning whereof, a Congregation was eftſoones called of all the Graduates of the Univerſitie againſt the next day, which there being read over, a new grace againe was asked and granted for ſetting to the Seale. Then were the Graduates diſmiſſed, with commandement to reſort forthwith to S. Maries Church, whither the Commiſſioners alſo repaired. When they had taken their places, Doctor Harvy preſented to them before all the company, a new Commiſſion to make inqueſt upon hereſie then newly ſent from the Cardinall, which was read immediately by Vincent of Noally, Ormanets Clerke. This done, Doctor Perne, who, as ye heard, was factor for the Univerſitie, exhibited to the Commiſſioners in the name of the Univerſitie the ſentence of the foreſaid condemnation. The copie and tenour whereof, hereafter (God willing) ſhall follow. This condemnation, being openly read, then Doctor Perne aforeſaid deſired to ſend out proceſſe to cite Bucer and Phagius to appeare, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the court againſt the next Munday: to the intent that when they had exhibited themſelves, the Court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of Law.

January 15.

D. Harvy preſenteth a mandate from the Cardinall.

D. Perne maketh petition that Bucer and Phagius may be cited to the Court.

The Commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſſe went out to cite the offendors. This Citation Vincent of Noally

M. Bucer and Phagius cited out of their graves to appeare, or any other that would anſwer for them.

their common Notarie, having firſt read it over before certaine witneſſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon S. Maries Church doore, the doore of the common Schooles, and the croſſe in the market ſtead of the ſame towne. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or ſtand in defence of their doctrine, ſhould at the eighth day of the ſame moneth, ſtand forth before the L. Commiſſioners in Saint Maries Church, which was appointed the place of judgement, and there every man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commandement was ſet out with many words.

January 17. Witneſſes ſworn againſt M. Bucer.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward judgement. Therefore the next day before the day limited, which was the xvij. of Januarie, the Vicechancellor called to him to Peterhouſe (whereof he was maſter) D. Young, D. Segiſwike, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, and Redman, Whitlocke, Mitch, and certaine others. Theſe men caſt their heads together how they might bear witneſſe againſt Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of hereſie. For ſeeing the matter was brought in face of open court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſſe, that ſome Patrones of their cauſe would come out, they thought it needfull to have witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine. What came of this their conſultation, it is not perfectly knowne.

January 18.

The eighteenth day, the Vicechancellor, going to the Inquiſitors ſitting at the Kings Colledge, did put them in remembrance, that the ſame was the day, in the which, by their Proceſſe ſent forth the xvj. day before, they had commanded to appeare in Saint Maries Church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the Law. He deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the Law. They lightly condeſcended thereunto. When the Vicechancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the Proceſſe of the Citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying, that he had diligently executed whatſoever the contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and that no man put forth himſelfe to anſwer for the offenders, the Judges called aſide Doctor Young, Doctor Segiſwike, Bullocke, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above mentioned. Alſo Browne, Gogman, Rud, Johnſon, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the buriall of Bucer, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſent it to Sir John Cheek Knight. Theſe men taking firſt their oath upon a booke, were commanded to beare witneſſe againſt the hereſies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The 22. day of the ſame moneth was limited to this Jurie to bring in their verdict.

Other witneſſes ſworne againſt M. Bucer.

In the meane while, Ormanet and Doctor Watſon abode at home in their lodging to take the depoſition of them whom we ſhewed you before to have beene called to Peterhouſe and to have communicated with the Vicechancellor as concerning that matter, whoſe depoſitions (as I told you) never came to light. The Biſhop of Cheſter, and Doctor Cole this day viſited them of Katherine Hall, where, as farre as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearſall.

A relique given by Ormanet to Trinitie Colledge.

As Ormanet the Popes Datarie was ſitting at Trinitie Colledge, John Dale one of the Queenes Colledge came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the Pixe, wherein the Biſhop of Romes god of bread is wont to be encloſed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the ſame was a linnen clout that the Pope had conſecrated with his owne hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a gift. But Dale miſunderſtanding Ormanet, in ſtead of the Pixe brought a Chalice and a ſinging cake called the hoſte, the which he had wrapped up and put in his boſome. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he ſent him for. To whom he anſwered, he had brought it. Then give it me, qnoth he. Dale pulled out the Chalice, and the ſinging cake. When Ormanet ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat backe as it had beene in a wonder, calling him block-head, and little better then a mad man, demanding what he meant by thoſe things, ſaying; he willed him to bring none of that geare, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a benefit: yet notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would performe his promiſe. Whereupon with great reverence and ceremonie, hee pulled out the linnen cloth and laid it in the Chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both for the holineſſe of the thing, and alſo for the authour of it, to keepe in among them with ſuch due reverence as belonged to ſo holy a relique.

Ormanet in a pelting chafe with M. Dale.

A commandement for bringing in of hereticall books.

About the ſame time, the Commiſſioners had given commandement to the Maſters of the Colledges, that every man ſhould put in writing what bookes he had, with the authors names. And to the intent that every man ſhould execute it without deceit, they tooke a corporall oath of them. This commandement ſome executed exactly and diligently; otherſome, foraſmuch as they deemed it wrongfull, executed it ſlack enough.

Graciouſly conſidered.

We declared before that the xviij. day was limited for the day of judgement. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appeare at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himſelfe to defend them; yet the courteous Commiſſioners would not proceede to judgement, which nevertheleſſe, for their contumacie, in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that day was peremptorie. But theſe men, being bent altogether to equitie and mercie, had rather ſhew ſome favour, then to doe the uttermoſt they might by the Law. Whereupon Vincent publiſhed the ſecond Proceſſe, and ſet it up in the ſame places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the judgement day unto the 26. of the ſame moneth. Upon the which day the Vicechancellor was ſent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publiſhing the ſentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no ſolemnitie in the matter, they commanded him further to warne the Maior of the Towne to be there at the day appointed with all his Burgeſſes, which the Vicechancellor did ſpeed with all readineſſe.

January 26.

An high matter in a low houſe.

This day (as I ſaid) was the twentie ſixth of Januarie, which being now come, firſt all degrees of the mother Univerſitie were aſſembled. And to fill up this Pageant, thither came alſo the Maior and his Townſmen, and all met together in Saint Maries Church, to behold what there ſhould be determined upon theſe men. After long attendance, at length the Commiſſioners came forth, and went up to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher then the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Doctor Perne the Vicechancellor, the Player of this Enterlude, faſhioning his countenance with great gravitie, reached to them the proceſſe that was lately publiſhed, to cite them, ſaying theſe words; I bring forth againe (quoth he) to you right reverend father, and Commiſſioners of the moſt reverend my Lord Cardinall Pool (painting out the reſt of his ſtile) this Citation executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame; omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finiſhed his tale, by and by the Biſhop of Cheſter, after he had a little viewed the people, began in manner as followeth.

The Oration of Doctor Scot Biſhop of Cheſter, before the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE ſee (quoth he) how ſore the Univerſitie preſſeth upon us, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh unto us, not onely to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which theſe certain yeers paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine among you, to be Heretiques (as they be indeed) but alſo that we will command their dead carkaſſes, which unto this day have obtained honourable buriall among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the Canon law, to be caſt into fire, or whatſoever is more grievous then fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the Univerſitie deale not ſleightly nor ſlackly with us in this caſe, but do ſo preſſe upon us, and follow the ſute ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of it ſelfe be ſuch, as that even the unworthineſſe of thoſe perſons, though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions; it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of our ſelves are enclined to mercie in our hearts (then the which we proteſt there is nothing under the Sunne to us more deare and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the verie law riſeth up to revengement; ſo that the common ſalvation of you all, which the law provideth for, muſt be preferred before the private charitie of our mindes. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhipwrack of our former calamitie, ſhould now ſuffer this unexpiable miſchiefe, to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weake.

The Oration of D. Scot biſhop of Cheſter, before the pronouncing of the ſentence of condemnation.

What diſſembling is here in theſe Pope holy Catholiques.

Tyranny covered with the viſor of mercy.

Satan transforming himſelf into an angel of light.

Moreover, it is but reaſon that we ſhould do ſomewhat at ſo earneſt intreatance and ſute of the Univerſitie. I need not to ſpeak much of our ſelves. For if we had been deſirous to enterpriſe this matter, it had been lawfull after the firſt Citation, to have proceeded to judgement: but becauſe we were willing that their defendours ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſſe.

O Lord God, as though this were the doing of the Univerſity, and not your own.

If we had deſired revengement, we might have ſhewed crueltie upon them that are alive: of the which (alas the more pitie) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirſted for blood, it was not ſo to be ſought in withered carcaſſes and drie bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wils that we now came hither; but partly induced at the intreatie of the Univerſitie, partly moved with the unworthineſſe of the caſe it ſelfe: but eſpecially for the care and regard we have of your health and ſalvation, which we covet by all meanes to preſerve.

The Wolfe pretendeth to be a Lambe.

As though the Cardinall ſent you not down, before you came to the Univer-ty.

For you your ſelves are the cauſe of this buſineſſe: you gave occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remaine as a memoriall to them that ſhall come after, as in that which ye may learn not onely to ſhake off the filth which ye have taken of theſe perſons; but alſo to beware hereafter that ye fall no more ſo ſhamefully as ye have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you mindes to keep your ſelves from it.

As concerning the parties themſelves, whoſe caſe now hangeth in law, they bare about the name of the Goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe then theeverie and deceit. And ſo much the wickeder were they, in that they ſought to cover ſo ſhamefull acts, with the cloak of ſo faire and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of it ſelf wicked, to you pernicious, by the authors thereof ſhamefull and abominable.

Bucer & Phagius falſly accuſed of hypocriſie by falſe hypocrites.

But if G O D, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeance, will winke at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lords flocke leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one houre.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſie; the form and tenor of which ſentence, framed after the barbarous rude ſtile of that Church, thus followeth.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

NOs Curbertus Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus Ceſtrenſis, Nicolaus Ormanetus Archiepiſcopus plebis Bodolini Veronen. diocesis infra ſcripti, Reverendi Domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watſon Decanus Dunelmenſ. & Henricus Cole, Præpoſitus Collegii Etonenſ. ad Vniverſitatem ſtudii generalis oppidi Cantabrigien. Elien. dioceſ. viſitand. Nec non ad in quibuſcunque cauſis in eodem oppido Cantabrigiæ & locis ei adjacend. commorantes perſonas, motis, & movendis inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expreſſe ad eorum, qui in hæreſi deceſſerint, memoriam damnandum, per literas illuſtriſſim. ac reverendiſſim. in Chriſto patris, D. Reginaldi Mariæ in Coſmedin, S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, ſanctiſſim. Domini noſtri Papæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad Sereniſſim. Philippum ac Sereniſſim. Mariam Angliæ Regem & Reginam, & univerſum Angliæ regnum de latere Legati, Commiſſarii, ſive delegati ſpecialiter deputati, & ad hujuſmodi peragendum ſufficienti facultate muniti Salvatoris & Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti nomine invocato, pro tribunali ſedend. & ſolum Deum qui juſtus eſt Dominus præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram definitivam ſententiam, quam de ſacræ Thologiæ, & Iuriſperitorum conſilio ferimus, in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis, quæ coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Vniverſitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex una, & iniquitatis filios quondam Martinum Bucerum et Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, et in hoc oppido olim commorantes et decedentes, reos denunciatos de et ſuper crimine hæreſis notoriè per eos, dum vixerint, incurſo, rebuſque aliis in actis cauſæ et cauſarum hujuſmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus, in prima verſæ fuerunt et vertuntur inſtantia, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, et declaramus prædictos.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas et dogmata ſanctorum patrum, nec non Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, et ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones, Chriſtianæque religionis, hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus ac proceſſus (qui ſingulis annis die cœnæ Domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari et legi conſueverunt, in quibus, inter alia

Againſt Martin Bucer.

Wickleſiſtæ,

Wickleffiſtæ, & Lutherani, & omnes alii hæretici damnati, & anathematizati fuerunt) de ſacramentis Eccleſiæ,preſertim circa illorum numerum,aliter quam ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſervat, ſentiendo, & docendo, ac ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ,& ſummi Pontificis primatum, & authoritatem negando, & publicè damnando, & præſertim hunc articulum :

Quod Eccleſia erret in fide & moribus.

Hic in publicis comitiis expreſſe defendendo, & illum verum eſſe definiendo, & determinando,ac multa alia tam per damnatæ memoriæ Iohannem Wickleffe, & id maxime,

Omnia fato & abſoluta neceſſitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum & alios hereſiarchas propoſita & damnata, quam à ſe etiam inventa & fabricata, falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo, & ſequendo, ac deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimis faciendo, impreſſoſque publicando, in illiſque ſcripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione hujuſmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non ſolum hæreticum, ſed hæreſiarcham.

Againſt Paulus Phagius.

Paulus Phagius for commending Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancton, and Brentine, condemned.

Paulum verò Phagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæreſim ſapiunt, ab eo in ſuis ſcriptis prolata, impiæ memoriæ Iohannem Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum prædictum, nec non Philippum Melancthonem, & Iohannem Brentium, notorios & inſignes hæreſiarchas, & eorum doctrinam, & in ejus ſcriptis impreſſis & vulgo æditis, non ſolum probando, ſed ſummis laudibus attollendo, ſe non ſolum hæreticis favere, ſed eorum falſis dogmatibus aſſentire, & ea credere, & probare : ad ea quæ credenda alios inducere, niti manifeſtè ſe oſtendit, & hic pro hæretico communiter & notoriè habitus & reputatus in hujuſmodi errore impœnitens deceſſit, non ſolum hæreticorum fautorem, ſed hæreticum fuiſſe, nec non eoſdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias quaſcunque contra hujuſmodi perſonas, tam de jure communi, quàm per literas, proceſſum, prædictorum ſtatutas ſententias, cenſuras et pœnas damnabiliter incidiſſe et incurriſſe; et eorum memoriam condemnandum eſſe, et condemnamus, ac eorum corpora et oſſa quæ hoc tempore pernicioſiſſimi ſchiſmatis, et aliarum hæreſium, in hoc regno vigentium, Eccleſiaſticæ fuerunt temere tradita ſepulturæ, quatenus ab aliis fidelium corporibus, et oſſibus diſcerni poſſunt juxta canonicas ſanctiones, exhumanda, et procul ab Eccleſia projicienda, et exhumari et projici mandamus, et eorum libros ac Scripturas, ſi quæ hic reperiantur, publicè comburend. et comburi præcipimus : ac eoſdem libros et Scripturas quibuſcunque, tam hujus Vniverſitatis, quam oppidi, et locorum eis adjacentium perſonis, ſub pœnis, tam ex jure communi, quàm literis proceſſuum prædictorum, ſeu quomodolibet alias contra habend. et legend. libros hæreticos ſtatutis, interdicimus.

After the ſentence thus read, the Biſhop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the ſecular power. For it was not lawfull for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring from all blood-ſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murther, to put any man to death.

The effect of Doctor Pernes Sermon againſt Martin Bucer.

Perns ſermon againſt Bucer.

Over and beſides this oration and ſentence of Doctor Scot, came in alſo Doctor Perne Vicechancellor, with his Sermon tending to the ſame effect, to the depraving of maſter Bucer, taking for his theame the place of the 132. Pſalme, Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is, &c.

Where beginning firſt with the commendation of concord, and of the mutuall knitting together of the mindes, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to hold together, unleſſe the concord were derived out of the head, the which he made to be the Biſhop of Rome, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof, he paſſed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a ſhamefull railing, ſaying, that his doctrine gave occaſion of diviſion in the Common-wealth, and that there was not ſo grievous a miſchiefe, which by his meanes had not been brought into the Realme.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; yet notwithſtanding (he ſaid) he knew it more perfectly himſelfe, then any did, and that he had learned it apart at the Authors hand himſelfe.

D. Perns accuſation againſt Martin Bucer.

For at ſuch time as they had communication ſecretly among themſelves, Bucer (ſaid he) would oftentimes wiſh he might be called by ſome other name, then by the name he had; for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf guiltie of ſo grievous a crime, he might by this means eſcape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

A ſore hereſie noted of Do. Perne.

Moreover, among other things he told how Bucer held opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſſe to him his own ſelf) that God was the author and wellſpring, not onely of good, but alſo of evill; and that whatſoever was of that ſort flowed from him, as from the head-ſpring and maker thereof. The which doctrine he upheld to be ſincere; howbeit, for offending divers mens conſciences, he durſt not put it into mens heads.

Shamefull railing of D. Pern againſt Martin Bucer.

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, of the marriage of Prieſts, of divorcements, and of ſhamefull uſurie alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawfull to be uſed among Chriſtian people, with divers other of the like ſort.

In all which his allegations, conſidering how lewdly, without all ſhame, he lied upon Bucer (as his writings evidently declare) he did not ſo much hinder his name with railing upon him, as win unto himſelf an inexpiable infamy, by forging ſo ſhamefull leaſings upon ſo worthy a man.

But what needeth witneſſe to prove him a lyar? his own conſcience ſhall make as much againſt him, as a number of men.

D. Pern ſpeaketh againſt his own conſcience in railing againſt M. Bucer.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his own familiar friends teſtified, that the ſaid Doctor Perne himſelf, either immediately after his Sermon, or elſe ſomewhat before he went to it, ſtriking himſelfe on the breaſt, and in manner weeping, wiſhed at home at his houſe with all his heart, that GOD would grant his ſoule might even then preſently depart and remaine with Bucers. For he knew well enough that his life was ſuch, that if any mans ſouls were worthie of heaven, he thought his in eſpeciall to be moſt worthie.

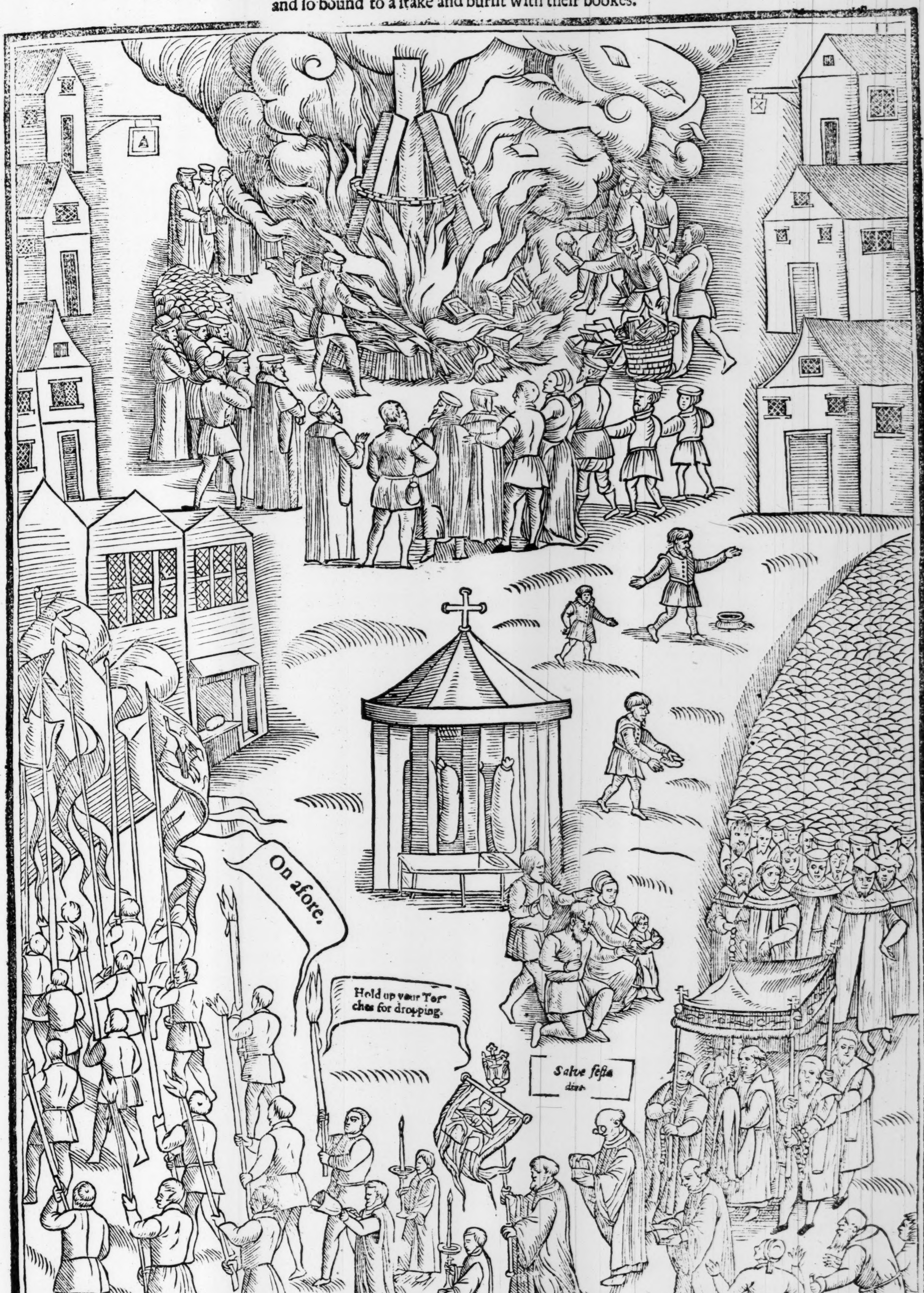
Verſes againſt M. Bucer and Phagius.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the meane time the leaves of the Church doores were covered over with Verſes, in the which the young men to ſhew their folly, which ſcarce knew him by ſight, blazed Bucers name with moſt reproachfull Poetrie.

These things being diſpatched, Perne (as though he had ſped his matter marvellouſly well) was for his labour, of curteſie bidden to dinner

to

How *Bucers* bones, and *Paulus Phagius* bones were put into two new Cofins, and ſo bound to a ſtake and burnt with their bookes.


A
On afore.
Hold up your Torches for dropping.
Salve feſta dies

Place this between 770 and 771, Voll. 3.

Q. Marie.

Anno 1557.

to Trinitie Colledge by the Commiſſioners. Where, after the table was taken up, they cauſed the ſentence of condemnation to be copied out with all ſpeed: which being ſigned with the Biſhop of Cheſters ſeal, the next day following was for a triumph ſent to London, with divers of thoſe Verſes and ſlanderous Libels.

The ſentence of condemnation ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their own letters, wherein they both advertiſed the Cardinall how far they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his Grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to Smith the Maior of the town, the Commandement, commonly called a Writ, for the burning of Heretiques. For unleſſe he had the Queens Warrant to ſave him harmles, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched till that Warrant came.

A Writ for burning of heretiques.

Whiles this Purſivant went on his journey, they willed to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the ſame time Doctor Watſon taking occaſion upon the day, becauſe it was a high feaſt, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memoriall of the Purification of the bleſſed Virgin, made a Sermon to the people upon that Pſalm, We have received thy mercy (O Lord) in the midſt of thy Temple, &c, In the which Sermon he ſpake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

Watſons Sermon upon Candlemas day.

He ſaid, that theſe men, and all the Heretiques of our time that were of the ſame opinion (the which for the moſt part, he ſaid, were budded out of Germanie) among other things which they had perniciouſly put into mens heads, taught to caſt away all ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtanding the Apoſtle himſelf commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the bleſſed Virgin and Joſeph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifeſtly apparant, that they with our Saviour, being then a little Babe, obſerved theſe rites and ceremonies for Catholique men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the Temple the ſame time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of Proceſſion (as they terme it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe things with the Heretiques and Schiſmatiques.

Mary and Joſeph went a proceſſion with wax candles, or elſe D. Watſon ſaith falſe.

As he was telling his tale of Chriſt, Marie, and Joſeph, one of them that heard him, a pleaſant and merrie conceited fellow, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him; And if it be true (quoth he) that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might ſpur him a queſtion) bare the Croſſe before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemne Ceremonies. Not onely this man jeſted at the Preachers folly, but divers other alſo laughed at his manifeſt unſhamefaſtneſſe, in preaching theſe ſo vaine and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

A queſtion to be ſpurred to D. Watſon.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Chriſtopherſon elected biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſſe, fell down in a ſowne among the preaſe: and with much ado, being ſcarce able a good while to come to himſelf again, in the meane time babbled many things unadviſedly, and as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occaſion, becauſe he had been greatly accuſed before the Commiſſioners for miſ-ſpending and miſ-ordering the goods of the Colledge; and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by that that Ormanet had cancelled before his face a Leaſe of his, by the which he had let to farme to his brother-in-law a certain Manor of that Colledge, becauſe the covenants ſeemed unreaſonable.

The ſudden ſowne of Chriſtopherſon.

By this time was returned again the Purſivant, who (as we before told) was ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters, and brought with him a Warrant for the burning of theſe men.

Upon the receit whereof, they appointed the ſixth day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter. For it had hanged alreadie a great while in hand.

The day aſſigned for burning M. Bucer, and Paulus Phagius bones.

Therefore when the ſaid day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent for the Vicechancellor, demanding of him in what caſe things ſtood; whether all things were in a readineſſe for the accompliſhment of this buſineſſe, or no. Underſtanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The Vicechancellor therefore taking with him Marſhall the common Notarie, went firſt to St. Michaels Church where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henrie Sawyer, and Henrie Adams, men of the ſame Pariſh, and bound them with an oath, to dig up Phagius bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhall took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Haſell the Town Sergeants, and of J. Caper, Warden of the ſame Church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith the Maior of the Town, which ſhould be their executioner (for it was not lawfull for them to intermeddle in caſes of blood) commanded certain of his Townſ-men to wait upon him in harneſſe, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon mens ſhoulders (for they were encloſed in Cheſts, Bucer in the ſame that he was buried, and Phagius in a new) they were born into the midſt of the Market ſtead, with a great train of people following them.

The taking of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

This place was prepared before, and a great poſt was ſet faſt in the ground to binde the carkaſes to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withall.

The burning of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

When they came thither, the Cheſts were ſet up on end with the dead bodies in them, and faſtned on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the poſt with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as ſoon as it began to flame round about, a great ſort of books that were condemned with them, were caſt into the ſame.

There was that day gathered into the Town a great multitude of countrey folke (for it was Market day) who ſeeing men born to execution, and learning by inquirie that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extreme crueltie of the Commiſſioners toward the rotten carkaſſes, and partly laughed at their folly in making ſuch preparative. For what needeth any weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome harme: Or to what purpoſe ſerveth that Chaine wherewith they are tyed, ſince they might be burnt looſe without perill? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

The talk of the countrey folk of the burning of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

Thus, everie bodie that ſtood by found fault with the cruelneſſe of the deed, either ſharply or elſe lightly, as everie mans minde gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

The purpoſe of D. Watſons Sermon againſt Martin Bucer.

Watſons Sermon at the burning of Bucer and Phagius.

As though in theſe dayes of Queen Mary had been raiſed no Subſidies at all.

IN the meane time that they were a roſting in the fire, Watſon went into the Pulpit in Saint Maries Church, and there before his audience railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the ground of all miſchiefe that had happened of a long time in the common-weale. For behold (ſaid he) as well the proſperitie as the adverſitie of theſe yeers that have enſued, and ye ſhall finde that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new found faith; as contrarily all things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we ſeene in this Realme, as long as Religion was defaced with Sects, the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole publike weal) and the goods of the Realme ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the maintenance of a few folks luſts, all good order broken, all diſcipline caſt aſide, Holidayes appointed to the ſolemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and that more is, the places themſelves beaten down, fleſh and other kinde of prohibited ſuſtenance eaten every where upon dayes forbidden, without remorſe of conſcience, the Prieſts had in deriſion, the Maſſe rayled upon, no honour done to the Sacraments of the Church; all eſtates and degrees given to ſuch a licentious libertie, without checke, that all things may ſeeme to draw to their utter ruine and decay.

Watſon ſlanderouſly depraveth the doctrine of the Proteſtants.

And yet in the meane time, the name of the Goſpel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of dutie to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more diſcrepant, or more to the ſlander of GODS word then the ſame. For what other thing taught they to remain in that moſt bleſſed and myſticall Sacrament of the bodie of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what elſe do the remnant of them teach unto this day? whereas Chriſt by expreſſe words doth aſſure it to be his verie bodie. How perillous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatall and abſolute neceſſitie of Predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choiſe at all in things. As who ſhould ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe then the matter ſhould come to paſſe. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evill, bringing men through this perſwaſion into ſuch a careleſſe ſecuritie of the everlaſting eternitie, that in the meane ſeaſon it made no matter either toward ſalvation, or toward damnation, what a man did in this life. Theſe errours (which were not even among the Heathen men) were defended by them with great ſtoutneſſe.

Watſon and Scot had both ſubſcribed to the doctrine of the Goſpel in the reign of king Edward the ſixth.

Theſe and many ſuch other things he ſlanderouſly and falſly alledged againſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he himſelfe taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was minded to ſlander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things then the very ſame whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of King Edward the ſixth, had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their owne hands. While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written Verſes before, did ſet up other new, in the which, like a ſort of water Frogs, they ſpued out their venemous malice againſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this Enterlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among the which was the reconciling of two Churches, of our Ladie, and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

The reconciling of the Churches that were interdicted.

A ſolemne Proceſſion of the Univerſity and of the towns-men.

This was done the next day following, by the aforeſaid Biſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremoniall ſolemnitie as the law required. But that impanate God, whom Bucers carkaſſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet returned thither again; neither was it lawfull for him to come there any more, unleſſe he were brought thither with great ſolemnitie: As I ſuppoſe, during all the time of his abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſſioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there continued as a ſojourner. For thither came all the Graduates of the Univerſitie, the 8. of February, of gentleneſſe and curteſie, to bring him home again. Amongſt the which number, the Biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neereſt to him, becauſe he was a Biſhop) took and carried him clad in a long Rochet, and a large Tippet of Sarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his Idoll alſo. Ormanet Datarie had given the ſame a little before to the Univerſitie, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

The order of Proceſſion in Cambridge.

When this Idoll ſhould return home, he went out the ſtraiteſt and neereſt way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compaſſe about the moſt part of the Town, and romed through ſo many of the ſtreets, that it was a large houre and more, ere he could finde the way into his Church again. I beleeve the ancient Romanes obſerved a cuſtome not much unlike this in their Proceſſion, when they made ſupplications at the ſhrines of all their gods. The order of which Proceſſion was this; The Maſters Regents went before, ſinging with a loud voice; Salve feſta dies, &c. Next them followed the Biſhop of Cheſter, about him went Ormanet and his fellow Commiſſioners, with the Maſters of the Colledges, bearing every man a long Taper light in his hand. After whom, a little ſpace off, followed other degrees of the Univerſitie. Laſt behinde came the Maior and his Townſ-men. Before them all went the Bedles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bowe themſelves humbly before the hoſte. If any refuſed ſo to do, they threatned to ſend them forthwith to the Tolboth. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with great ſacrificed hoſtes of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſetled himſelf again in his accuſtomed roome.

Certain of the Univerſity amerced and puniſhed.

Scot of Cheſter prayed with many words, that that day might be luckie and fortunate to himſelfe, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that Gods wrath was appeaſed, and all other things ſet in good order) all men ſhould make themſelves conformable to peace and quietneſſe, namely, in matters appertaining to religion. After this, they beſtowed a few dayes in puniſhing and amercing ſuch as they thought had deſerved it. Some they ſuſpended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, leſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable, to take what print ſoever ſhould be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſie, others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrarie to all right and reaſon.

The decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certain Statutes, by the which they would have the Univerſitie hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things as concerning the election of their Officers of the Univerſitie, of keeping and adminiſtring the goods of the Univerſitie, and of many other things. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for religion. In the which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all things either with open blaſphemy, or with ridiculous ſuperſtition. For they preſcribed at how many Maſſes every man ſhould be day by day, and how many Pater noſters and Avies everie man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the Church, and in his entrance, after what ſort he ſhould bowe himſelf to the Altar; and how to the Maſter of the houſe, what he ſhould do there, and how long he ſhould tarrie, how many, and what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations others ſhould uſe while the Prieſt is in his Memento, mumbling ſecretly to himſelf, what time of the Maſſe a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make curteſie, when excluſively, when incluſively, and many other ſuperſtitious toyes they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover theſe Maſters of good order, for faſhions ſake, ordained that everie man ſhould put on a Surpleſſe, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes thereon.

Ormanet and Cole proceeded Doctors.

Theſe things thus ſet at a ſtay, when the Commiſſioners were now readie to go their wayes, the Univerſitie for ſo great benefits (which ſhe ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembrance many yeers after) coveting to ſhew ſome token of curteſie towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctorſhip for all the reſidue, ſaving Chriſtopherſon, who now, by reaſon he was elected Biſhop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace-makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarrels, who through provoking every man to accuſe one another, left ſuch gaps and breaches in mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be cloſed nor joyned together again.

The departing of the Inquiſitors.

Swinborns ſaying as concerning the decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Theſe Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the Univerſitie, gave commandement, that the Maſters of everie houſe ſhould copie out their Statutes, the which beſide common Ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order, for every houſe particularly. Swinborn (who as I ſaid, was Maſter of Clarehall) being demanded whether he would have thoſe things ingroſſed in parchment or in paper, anſwered, that it made no matter wherein they were written: For the paper, or a ſleighter thing that were of leſſe continuance then paper, would ſerve the turn well enough: For he ſaid, a ſlenderer thing then that would laſt a great deale longer then thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture; for within two yeers after, God beholding us with mercie, called Queen Mary out of this life the 17. of November, Anno 1558. After whom her ſiſter ELIZABETH ſucceeding in the Kingdome, raiſed to life again the true Religion. Whereupon, as the Church of Chriſt began by little and little to flouriſh; ſo the memorie of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by Cardinall Poole) was reſtored again by this godly Queen ELIZABETH, who gave then in Commiſſion to Matthew Parker then Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Edmund Grindall then Biſhop of London, to Maſter Gualter Haddon and others: For the performance of which Commiſſion, the ſaid reverend Biſhops addreſſed their Letters to the Vicechancellour, &c.

¶ The Oration of Maſter Acworth, Oratour of the Vniverſity, at the reſtitution of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

The Oration of M. Acworth.

I Am in doubt, whether I may intreat of the praiſe and commendation of ſo great a Clerke (for the celebrating whereof, this aſſembly and concourſe of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of the which we be newly delivered, or of them both, conſidering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which times ye felt ſo much anguiſh and ſorrow (my right dear brethren) that if I ſhould repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear me, I ſhould not ſo much work a juſt hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, and renew our old ſorrow and heavineſſe. Again, men muſt needs account me unadviſed and fooliſh in my doing, if I ſhould think my ſelf able to make him which hath lived before our eyes in praiſe and eſtimation, more famous and notable by my Oration, which he by his living and converſation hath oftentimes poliſhed. But the wickedneſſe of the times, which endeavoured to wipe cleane out of remembrance of men the name that was ſo famous and renowned in everie mans mouth, did much profit him. Inſomuch, that both in his life time all things redounded to his continuall renown, and in eſpeciall, after his deceaſe, nothing could be deviſed more honorable, then with ſo ſolemne furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memoriall of ſuch a worthy man, and yet could not bring to paſſe the thing that was ſo ſore coveted; but rather brought that thing to paſſe, which was chiefly ſought to be avoided. For the deſire that men have of the dead, hath purchaſed to many men everlaſting fame, and hath not taken away immortalitie, but rather amplified and increaſed the ſame. By meanes whereof it cometh to paſſe, that he that will intreat of thoſe things that pertain to the praiſe of Bucer after his death, cannot chuſe but ſpeak of the crabbedneſſe of the times paſt, upon the which riſeth a great increaſe and augmentation of his praiſe. But his life ſo excellently ſet forth, not onely by the writings of the Clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Doctor Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his bodie ſhould be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his buriall, by the godly and moſt holy preachings of the right reverend father in Chriſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury that now is, and of Doctor Redman, the which for the worthineſſe and excellencie of them, ought to ſtick longer in our minds unwritten, then many things that are penned and put in print; but alſo by the great aſſembly of all the degrees of the Univerſitie the ſame day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the induſtrie of everie man that was endued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latine tongues; of the which, there was no man but ſet up ſome Verſes, as witneſſes of his juſt and unfained ſorrow, upon the wals of the Church: that neither at that time any reverence or dutie which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overſlipped, or now remaineth undone, that may ſeem to pertaine either to the celebrating of the memoriall of ſo holy or famous a perſon, or to the conſecrating of him to everlaſting memorie. We at that time ſaw with our eyes this Univerſitie flouriſhing by his inſtitutions, the love of ſincere religion not onely ingendred, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened through his continuall and daily preaching. Inſomuch, that at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man that for ſorrow could finde in his heart to

rear,

bear with the preſent ſtate of this life, but that either he wiſhed with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortalitie, or elſe endeavoured himſelf with weeping and ſighing to call him again, being diſpatched of all troubles, into the priſon of this bodie, out of the which he is eſcaped, leſt he ſhould leave us as it were ſtanding in battell ray without a Captain, and he himſelf as one caſhed, depart with his wages, or as one diſcharged out of the Camp, withdraw himſelf to the everlaſting quietneſſe and tranquillitie of the ſoul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how ſore they took his death to heart, and alſo how hardly they could away with the miſture of ſuch a man. As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flouriſhed, it wrought in our hearts an incredible deſire of his preſence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceaſed to be any more in our ſight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after (which were both miſerable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vaniſhed away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troubleſomeneſſe of the popiſh doctrine; the old rites and cuſtomes of the Romiſh Church were reſtored again, not to the garniſhment and beautifying of the Chriſtian Religion (as they ſurmiſed) but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the ſame. Death was ſet before the eyes of ſuch as perſevered in the Chriſtian doctrine that they had learned before. They were baniſhed the Realme that would not apply themſelves to the time, and do as other men did: ſuch as remained, were enforced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves, and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Cerces, to be turned and altered, not onely from the nature of man, into the nature of brute beaſts, but (that far worſe and much more monſtrous is) from the likeneſſe of God and his Angels, into the likeneſſe of Devils. And all England was infected with this maladie. But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhelmed all the whole Realme, had not at leaſt wiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of the which there was not one, but that (beſides the griefe that it felt, with the reſidue of the bodie, by reaſon of the ſickneſſe and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamitie peculiarly by it ſelf. And to omit the reſt (of the which to intreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the Muſes (which we call the Univerſitie) may be a ſufficient witneſſe what we may judge of all the reſt of the bodie. For certes, my brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled, that cannot be hidden. We, applying our ſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yeelded, like faint-hearted cowards, which had not the ſtomacks to ſuſtain the adverſities of povertie, baniſhment, and death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancie taught us by Philoſophie, nor yet the patience taught us by holy Scripture, which have done all things at the commandement of others. And therefore that which the Poet (although in another ſenſe) hath trimly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us:

The times and ſeaſons changed be :
And changed in the ſame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgement as concerning religion, being driven from hence and diſtroubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanitie of them in whoſe hands the authoritie of doing things here conſiſted; although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler terme then behooved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanitie, but rather immanitie and beaſtly crueltie: the which, when they had ſpent all kindes of torments and puniſhments upon the quicke, when they had cruelly taken from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered, life, from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion, yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater furie, it began to outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was executed a ſingular kinde of crueltie, inſomuch, that there was no kinde of cruelneſſe that could be deviſed, but it was put in ure in one place or other, this was propper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exerciſe the crueltie upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quicke. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the cleere light of the Goſpel. Moreover, at London periſhed theſe two lanternes of light, Rogers and Bradford: In whom it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſſe of life and converſation. Many other without number, both here and in other places were conſumed to aſhes for bearing record to the truth. For what Citie is there that hath not flamed, I ſay not with burning of houſes and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might ſpue out their bitter poyſon, played the mad Bedlem againſt the dead. The dead men, whoſe living no man was able to finde fault with, whoſe doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by falſe ſlanderous accuſers indited, contrary to the laws of God and man, ſued in the law, condemned, their ſepulchres violated and broken up, their carkaſſes pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing ſurely incredible, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the hainouſneſſe of this wicked act was ſpread abroad as a common talk in every mans mouth, and was blown and diſperſed through all Chriſtendome. Bucer by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countreymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the intent he might inſtruct our Cambridge men in the ſincere doctrine of the Chriſtian religion, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength utterly decayed, forſook his own countrey, refuſed not the tediouſneſſe of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himſelf upon the ſea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the Church of Chriſt, then of all other things. So in concluſion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in ſuch wiſe, as it might appeare he came not hither for his own ſake, but for ours. For he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſſe that he had taken by the troubleſome travell of his long journey: and albeit his ſtrength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recoverie of his health, but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable paine, onely to teach and inſtruct us. And yet toward this ſo noble and worthie a perſon, while he lived, were ſhewed all the tokens of humanitie and gentleneſſe, reverence and courteſie that could be; and when he was dead, the moſt horrible crueltie and ſpight that might be imagined. For what can be ſo commendable, as to grant unto the living,

Q. MARIE. Anno 1557.

houſe and abiding place, and to the dead, buriall? Or what is he that will finde in his heart to give entertainment, and to cheriſh that perſon in his houſe with all kinde of gentleneſſe that he can deviſe, upon whom he could not vouchſafe to beſtow buriall when he is dead? Againe, what an inconſtancie is it, with great ſolemnitie, and with much advancement and commendation of his vertues to burie a man honourably, and anon after to breake up his Tombe, and pull him out ſpitefully, and wrongfully to ſlander him being dead, who during his life time alway deſerved praiſe? All theſe things have happened unto Bucer, who whilſt he lived had free acceſſe into the moſt gorgeous buildings and ſtately palaces of the greateſt Princes, and when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poore grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternall fame, was afterward, to his utter defacing, ſpitefully taken up and burned. The which things albeit they did no harme to the dead (for the dead carkaſſes feele no paine, neither doth the fame of godly perſons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightfull cenſure and juſt judgement of God) yet it reproveth an extreme cruelneſſe and unſatiable deſire of revengement in them which offer ſuch utter wrong to the dead. Theſe perſons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I beleeve (if they had beene alive) they would have caſt out of houſe and home, they would have driven out of all mens companie, and in the end with moſt cruell torments have torne them in peeces, being nevertheleſſe Aliens, being ſtrangers, and being alſo fetched hither by us out of ſuch a countrey, where they not onely needed not to feare any puniſhment, but contrariwiſe were alwaies had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as alſo among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle then theſe men was Biſhop Gardiner, otherwiſe an earneſt defender of the Popiſh doctrine? who againſt his owne Countreymen, let paſſe no crueltie whereby he might extinguiſh with fire and ſword the light of the Goſpel: and yet he ſpared forraigners, becauſe the right of them is ſo holy, that there was never Nation ſo barbarous, that would violate the ſame. For when he had in his power the renowned Clerke Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keepe him to puniſh him, but (as I have heard reported) when he ſhould goe his way, he gave him wherewith to beare his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right doe to his Countriemen, he judged unlawfull to doe to ſtrangers. And whom the law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his owne Countriemen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of ſtrangers, the which hath ever appeaſed all barbarous beaſtlineſſe, and mittigated all crueltie. For it is a point of humanitie for man and man to meete together, and one to come to another, though they be never ſo farre ſeparated and ſet aſunder, both by ſea and by land, without the which acceſſe there can be no intercourſe of merchandiſe, there can be no conference of wits, which firſt of all ingendred learning, nor any commoditie of ſocietie long to continue. To repulſe them that come to us, and to prohibite them our countries, is a point of inhumanitie. Now to entertaine them evill, that by our ſufferance dwell among us, and have increaſe of houſhold and houſhold ſtuffe, it is a point of wickedneſſe. Wherefore this cruelty hath far ſurmounted the crueltie of all others, the which, to ſatisfie the unſatiable greedines thereof, drew to execution not onely ſtrangers, brought hither at our intreatance and ſending for, but even the withered and rotten carkaſſes digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeaſurable thirſt which could not be quenched with ſhedding the bloud of them that were alive, might at the leaſt be ſatisfied in burning of dead mens bones. Theſe (my brethren) theſe I ſay, are the juſt cauſes which have ſo ſore provoked the wrath of God againſt us, becauſe that in doing extreme injurie to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the ſame away we have beene ſlow and ſlack. For verily I beleeve (if I may have libertie to ſay freely what I thinke) (ye ſhall beare with me, if I chance to caſt forth any thing unadviſedly in the heate and haſtie diſcourſe of my Oration) that even this place, in the which we have ſo oftentimes aſſembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedneſſe, ſuch as man never heard of before, is a let and hinderance unto us, when we call for the helpe of God, by meanes whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appeaſe the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us againe.

The bloud of Abel ſhed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that ſucked it up: likewiſe, the undeſerved burning of theſe bodies, calleth upon Almightie God to puniſh us, and crieth, that not onely the Authors of ſo great a wickedneſſe, but alſo the miniſters thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which theſe things were perpetrated, the ayre infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by ſundry diſeaſes and ſickneſſes we may receive puniſhment for ſo execrable wickedneſſe. Looke well about ye (my deare brethren) and conſider with your ſelves the evils that are paſt; and ye ſhall ſee how they tooke their beginning at Bucers death, following one in anothers necke even unto this day. Firſt and formoſt, when we were even in the chiefeſt of our mourning, and ſcarcely yet recomforted of our ſorrow for his death, the ſweating ſickneſſe lighted upon us, the which paſſed ſwiftly thorow all England, and as it were in haſte diſpatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our moſt noble King Edward the ſixth (whoſe life in vertue ſurmounted the opinion of all men, and ſeemed worthy of immortalitie) hapned contrarie to mens expectation in that age, in which unleſſe violence be uſed, few doe die. The converſion of religion, or rather the everſion and turning thereof into Papacie. The incurſion and domination of ſtrangers, under whoſe yoke our necks were almoſt ſubdued. The importunate crueltie of the Biſhops againſt the Chriſtians, which executed that wickedneſſe, for making ſatiſfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. Theſe are the things that enſued after his death; but after his burning enſued yet grievouſer things: Namely, new kindes of plagues, and contagious diſeaſes, unknowne to the very Phyſicians, whereby either every mans health was impaired, or elſe they were brought to their graves, or elſe very hardly recovered; bloudy battels without victorie, whereof the profit redounded to the enemie, and to us the ſlaughter with great loſſe. The which things doe evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no eare to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and ſighes, but that he looketh that this our meeting and aſſembly ſhould be to this end, that foraſmuch as we have violated their coarſes, we ſhould doe them right againe; ſo that the memoriall of theſe moſt holy men may be commended unto poſteritie unhurted and undefamed. Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren) which hitherto, by reaſon of the variableneſſe and unconſtancie of the times, have beene wavering and unſtedfaſt in your hearts; ſhew your ſelves cheerefull and forward in making ſatisfaction for the injurie you have done to the dead, whom with ſo great wickedneſſe of late ye indammaged and defiled; not cenſing them with the perfumes of thoſe odours and ſpices now worne out of ure, and put to flight, but with a true and unfained repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble ſubmiſſion be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requeſts.

When Acworth had made an end of his Oration, Maſter James Pilkinton the Queenes Reader of the Divinitie Lecture, going up into the Pulpit made a Sermon upon the 112. Pſal. the beginning whereof is, Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord.

The ſermon of Doctor James Pilkinton.

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the juſt man ſhall not periſh, and that Bucer is bleſſed, and that the ungodly ſhall fret at the ſight thereof, but yet that all their attempts ſhall be to no purpoſe, to the intent this ſaying may be verified; I will curſe your bleſſings, and bleſſe your curſings, he tooke his beginning of his owne perſon, that albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthineſſe of the matter it ſelfe, and eſpecially for certain ſingular vertues of thoſe perſons, for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithſtanding he ſaid he was nothing meet to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reaſon, that he which before had done Bucer wrong, ſhould now make him amends for the diſpleaſure. As for his owne part, he was ſo farre from working any evill againſt Bucer, either in word or deed, that for their ſingular knowledge almoſt in all kinde of learning, he imbraced both him and Phagius with all his heart. But yet he ſomewhat more favoured Bucer, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In conſideration whereof, although that it was ſcarce convenient, that he at that time ſhould ſpeake, yet notwithſtanding he was contented for friendſhip and courteſie ſake, not to faile them in their buſineſſe. Having made this Preface, he entred into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous crueltie of the Court of Rome, ſo fiercely extended againſt the dead. He ſaid it was a more haynous matter then was to be borne with, to have ſhewed ſuch extreme cruelneſſe to them that were alive; but for any man to miſbehave himſelfe in ſuch wiſe toward the dead, was ſuch a thing as had not lightly bééne heard of: Saving that he affirmed this cuſtome of excommunicating and curſing of dead folke, to have come firſt from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutichius was of the ſame opinion, induced by the example of Joſias, who ſlew the Prieſts of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the Altars. Whereas, before the time of Eutichius this kinde of puniſhment was welnéere unknowne, neither afterward uſurped of any man (that ever he heard of) untill a nine hundred yéers after Chriſt. In the latter times (the which how much the further they were from the golden age of the Apoſtles, ſo much the more they were corrupted) this kinde of cruelneſſe began to creepe further. For it is manifeſtly knowne, that Stephen the ſixth Pope of Rome digged up Formoſus, his laſt Predeceſſour in that Sea, and ſpoiling him of his apparrell, buried him againe in a lay-mans apparrell (as they call it) having firſt cut off and throwne into Tyber his two fingers, with which according to their accuſtomed manner, he was wont to bleſſe and conſecrate. The which his unſpeakable tyranny uſed againſt Formoſus, within ſixe yeeres after, Sergius the third increaſed alſo againſt the ſame Formoſus. For taking up his dead body, and ſetting it in a Popes chaire, he cauſed his head to be ſmitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be caſt into the river of Tyber, abrogating and diſannulling all his decrées, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cauſe why ſo great crueltie was exerciſed (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; Becauſe that Formoſus had beeen an adverſarie to Stephen and Sergius when they ſued to be made Biſhops.

This kinde of crueltie unheard of before the Popes awhile exerciſed one againſt another. But now, ere ever they had ſufficiently felt the ſmart thereof themſelves, they had turned the ſame upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wiſhed, that ſeeing it began among them, it might have remained ſtill with the authors thereof, and not have been ſpread over thence unto us. But ſuch is the nature of all evill, that it quickly paſſeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the yéer of our Lord 1400. John Wickliffe was in like manner digged up, and burnt into aſhes, and throwne into a brꝏk that runneth by the towne where he was buried. Of the which ſelfe ſame ſawce taſted alſo William Tracie of Gloceſter, a man of a worſhipfull houſe, becauſe he had written in his laſt will, that he ſhould be ſaved onely by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that there needed not the helpe of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or in earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacie to that purpoſe, as all other men were accuſtomed to do. This déed was done ſince we may remember, about the 22. yéere of the reigne of King Henry the eighth, in the yéer of our Lord, 1530.

Now ſéeing they extended ſuch crueltie to the dead, he ſaid it was an eaſie matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had ſufficient triall by the examples of our owne men, theſe few yéeres paſt. And if we would take the paines to peruſe things done ſomewhat longer agoe, we might finde notable matters out of our owne Chronicles. Howbeit, it was ſufficient for the manifeſt demonſtration of that matter, to declare the beaſtly butchery of of the French King, executed upon the Waldenſes at Cabrier, and the places néere thereabout, by his Captaine Miner, about the yeere of our Lord, 1545. than the which there was never thing read of more crueltie done, no not even of the barbarous Pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had ſhewed their uttermoſt crueltie both againſt theſe and many others, they were ſo far from their purpoſe, in extinguiſhing the light of the Goſpel, which they endeavoured to ſuppreſſe, that it increaſed daily more and more. The which thing Charles the fifth (then whom all Chriſtendome had not a more prudent Prince, nor the Church of Chriſt almoſt a ſorer enemy) eaſily perceived; and therfore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomeran with certain other Preachers of the Goſpel alive, he not onely determined not any thing extremely againſt them, nor violated their graves, but alſo intreating them gently, ſent them away, not ſo much as once forbidding them to publiſh openly the doctrine that they profeſſed. For it is the nature of Chriſts Church, that the more that Tyrants ſpurne againſt it, the more it increaſeth and flouriſheth. A notable prꝏfe aſſuredly of the providence and pleaſure of GOD in ſowing the Goſpel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to heare Wickliffe, of whom we ſpake before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and alſo the going of our men to the ſaid Bohemians, when perſecution was raiſed againſt us. But much more notable was it, that we had ſeene come to paſſe in theſe our dayes; that the Spaniards, ſent for into this Realme of purpoſe to ſuppreſſe the Goſpel as ſoone as they were returned home repleniſhed many parts of their countrey with the ſame truth of religion, to the which before they were utter enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the Princes of this World labour in vaine to overthrow it, conſidering how the mercie of GOD hath ſowne it abroad, not onely in thoſe countries that we ſpake of, but alſo in France, Pole, Scotland, and almoſt all the reſt of Europe. For it is ſaid, that ſome parts of Italy (although it be under the Popes noſe) yet doe they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth: Wherefore ſufficient argument and proofe might be taken by the ſucceſſe and increaſement thereof, to make us beleeve that this doctrine is ſent us from heaven, unleſſe we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that deſired to be perſwaded more at large in the matter, he might adviſedly conſider the voyage that the Emperour and the Pope with both their powers together, made joyntly againſt the Bohemians. In the which the Emperour tooke ſuch an unworthy repulſe of ſo ſmall a handfull of his enemies, that he never almoſt in all his life tooke the like diſhonour in any place. Hereof alſo might be an eſpeciall example of that death of Henrie, King of France, who the ſame day that he had purpoſed to perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and to have burned certaine of his Guard whom he had in priſon for religion, at whoſe execution he had promiſed to have beene himſelfe in proper perſon; in the middeſt of his triumph at a tourney, was wounded ſo ſore in the head with a Speare by one of his owne Subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalfe, the dreadfull judgements of GOD were no leſſe approved in our owne Countriemen. For one that was a notable ſlaughter-man of Chriſt Saints rotted alive, and ere ever he died, ſuch a ranke ſavour ſteamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come at him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter deſpaire welnigh of all health, howled out miſerably. The third ranne out of his wits. And divers other that were enemies to the Church periſhed miſerably in the end. All the which things were moſt certain tokens of the favor and defence of the divine Majeſtie towards his Church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the Tyrants. And foraſmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he ſaid it was a moſt apt example that was reported of their Captaine Ziſca;. who, when he ſhould die, willed his body to be ſlaine, and of his ſkin to make a parchment to cover the head of a Drumme. For it ſhould come to paſſe, that when his enemies heard the ſound of it, they ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them. The like counſell (he ſaid) he himſelfe now gave them as concerning Bucer. That like as the Bohemians did with the skinne of Ziſca, the ſame ſhould they doe with the Arguments and doctrine of Bucer. For as ſoone as the Papiſts ſhould heare the noiſe of him, their gew-gawes would forthwith decay. For ſaving that they uſed violence to ſuch as withſtood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might ſeeme to any man (having but meane underſtanding in holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reaſon. As for thoſe things that were done by them againſt ſuch as could not play the madmen as well as they, ſome of them ſavoured of open force, and ſome of ridiculous fooliſhneſſe. For what was this firſt of all? was it not frivolous, that by the ſpace of three yeeres together, Maſſe ſhould be ſung in thoſe places where Bucer and Phagius reſted in the Lord, without any offence at all? and as ſoone as they tooke it to be an offence, ſtraightway to be an offence if any were heard there? or that it ſhould not be as good then as it was before? as if that then upon the ſudden it had been a hainous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was paſt ſhould be counted the grievouſer, becauſe it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius onely ſhould be digged up, as who ſhould ſay, that he onely had embraced the religion which they call Hereſie. It was well known how one of the Burgeſſes of the Town had been minded toward the Popiſh religion. Who when he ſhould die, willed neither ringing of Bels, Diriges, nor any other ſuch kinde of trifles to be done for him in his anniverſarie, as they terme it, but rather that they ſhould go with inſtruments of muſicke before the Maior and Councell of the Citie, to celebrate his memoriall, and alſo that yeerly a Sermon ſhould be made to the people, bequeathing a peece of money to the Preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to ſpeake of Warde the Painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be diſpiſed for the religion ſake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other moe to be paſſed over with ſilence, who were knowne of a certaintie to have continued in the ſame ſect, and to reſt in other Church-yards in Cambridge, and rather through the whole Realme, and yet defiled not their Maſſes at all. All the which perſons (foraſmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or elſe all to have been let lie with the ſame religion; unleſſe a man would grant, that it lyeth in their power to make what they liſt lawfull and unlawfull at their own pleaſure. In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius to ſay the truth they uſed too much crueltie, and too much violence. For howſoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainely they could finde nothing whereof to accuſe Phagius, inaſmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, ſaving a few things that he had tranſlated out of the Hebrew and Caldæ tongues into Latine; after his coming into the Realme he never read, he never diſputed, he never preached, he never taught. For he deceaſed ſo ſoone after, that he could in that time give no occaſion for his adverſaries to take hold on, whereby to accuſe him, whom they never heard ſpeake. In that they hated Bucer ſo deadly, for the allowable marriage of the Clergie, it was their owne malice conceived againſt him, and a very ſlander raiſed by themſelves. For he had for his defence in that matter (over and beſides other helpes) the teſtimonie of Pope Pius the ſecond, who in a certaine place ſaith, that upon weightie conſiderations Prieſts wives were taken from them, but for more weighty cauſes were to be reſtored againe. And alſo the ſtatute of the Emperour, they call it the Interim, by the which it is enacted, that ſuch of the Clergie as were married, ſhould not be divorced from their wives.

Steven Gardiner of Wincheſter.

Fande ſometime Maior of the towne.

Thus turning his ſtyle from this matter to the Univerſitie, he reproved in few words their unfaithfulneſſe towards theſe men. For if the Lord ſuffered not the bones of the King of Edome, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revengement (as ſaith Amos) let us aſſure our ſelves he will not ſuffer ſo notable a wrong done to his godly Preachers unrevenged. Afterward, when he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Perne the Vicechancellor, in the name of them all) being ſomewhat more moved at the matter, he admoniſhed them how much it ſtood them in hand, to uſe great circumſpectneſſe, what they decreed upon any man by their voyces, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrées of the Univerſitie. For that which ſhould take his authoritie from them, ſhould be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgement, allowance, and knowledge) did thinke nothing but well of them. For it would come to paſſe, that if they would beſtow their promotions upon none but méete perſons, and let the unméete go as they come, both the Common-wealth ſhould receive much commoditie and profit by them, and beſides that they ſhould highly pleaſe God. But if they perſiſted to be negligent in doing thereof, they ſhould grievouſly endamage the Common-weale, and worthily worke their owne ſhame and reproach. Over and beſides that, they ſhould greatly offend the Maieſtie of God, whoſe commandement (not to beare falſe witneſſe) they ſhould in ſo doing breake and violate. In the meane while that he was ſpeaking theſe and many other things before his audience, many of the Univerſitie, to ſet out and defend Bucer withall, beſet the wals of the Church and Church porch on both ſides with Verſes; ſome in Latine, ſome in Gréeke, and ſome in Engliſh, in the which they made a manifeſt declaration how they were minded both toward Bucer, and Phagius. Finally, when his Sermon was ended, they made common ſupplication and prayers. After thanks rendred to God for many other things, but in eſpeciall for reſtoring of the true and ſincere Religion, every man departed his way.

Foraſmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous Clerke, Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it ſhall not be unfruitfull, as the place here ſerveth, to induce the teſtimonie or Epitaph of Doctor Redman, which came not yet in print, upon the deceaſe of that man.

The Epitaph or funerall Verſe of D. Redman, upon the death of Maſter Bucer.

ET tu livor edax procul hinc abſcede, maligna
  faceſſito invidentia,
Et procul hinc Nemeſis, procul hinc & Momus abeſto,
  labes lueſque mentium,
Dæmonibus ſimiles homines quæ redditis, almam
  fœdatis atque imaginem
Quam noſtro impreſſit generi pater ille ſupremus,
  ſimiles ſui dum nos creat :
Contemptrix odii & mendacis neſcia fuci
  Adeſto ſancta Veritas.
Dicito quis qualiſque, elatum funere nuper
  quem vidimus tam flebili ?
Eſt inquam miſera hac defunctus luce Bucerus,
  lux literati & dux Chori,
Doctrinæ radios qui totum ſolis ad inſtar
  miſit per orbem ſplendidos.
Hunc diræ nuper ſublatum vulnere mortis
  lugubre flet Gymnaſium.
Et pullata gemit mærens ſchola Cantabrigenſis
  orbata claro ſydere,
Ergo, quaſi obſtructo doctrinæ fonte querelas
  preceſque nunc fundit.
Agnoſcit numquam ſe talem habuiſſe magiſtrum
  ex quo ſit olim condita.
Non unquam Cathedræ gaviſa eſt præſide tanto,
  tam nobili & claro duce.
Cujus & ingenii & doctrinæ munera, ſummum
  virtutis ornaverat decus,
Integritas morum, gravitas, prudentia ſermo
  ſemper Dei laudem ſonans,
Et ſale conditus, qualem vult eſſe piorum
  Apoſtoli ſententia.
Acceſſit zelus fervens & præſule dignus,
  peccata ſemper arguens.
Nunquam deſidiæ, aut languori deditus,
  ullum indulſit otium ſibi.
Credibile eſt nimio fatum acceleraſſe labore,
  prodeſſe cunctis dum ſtudet.
Sed fruſtra laudes anguſto carmine nitor
  tam copioſas claudere.
Ergo Bucere, ſcholæ & ſuggeſtus gloria ſacri,
  valeto etiam vel mortuus.
Æternum in ſuperis fœlix jam vivito regnis,
  exutus etſi corporis
Terrenis ſpoliis, hujus miſeri atque caduci :
  Quod eſt ſepulchro conditum
Chriſtus depoſitum reddet cum fœnore magno,
  Iudex brevi quum venerit.

The deſpightfull handling and madneſſe of the Papiſts toward Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinall Poole, and after buried in a dunghill.

The taking up of Peter Martyrs wives bones.

AND because the one Univerſitie ſhould not mocke the other, like crueltie was alſo declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, an honeſt, grave, and ſober Matron, while ſhe lived, and of poore people alwaies a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well teſtifie. In the yéere of our Lord, 1552. ſhe departed this life, with great ſorrow of all thoſe néedie perſons, whoſe neceſſities many times and often ſhe had liberally eaſed and relieved. Now, when Brookes Biſhop of Gloceſter, Nicholas Ormanet Datary, Robert Morwen Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, Cole and Wright Doctors of the Civill law, came thither as the Cardinals viſitours, they among other things had in Commiſſion to take up this good woman againe out of her grave, and to conſume her carkaſſe with fire, not doubting but that ſhe was of the ſame religion that her husband had profeſſed before, when he read the Kings Lecture there. And to make a ſhew that they would doe nothing diſorderly, they called all thoſe before them that had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They miniſtred an oath unto them that they ſhould not conceale whatſoever was demanded. In fine, their anſwer was, that they knew not what religion ſhe was of, by reaſon they underſtood not her language.

Commendation of Peter Martyrs wife.

Iurers ſworne against Peter Martyrs wife.

To be ſhort, after theſe Viſitours had ſped their buſineſſe they came for, they gate them to the Cardinall again, certifying him that upon due inquiſition made, they could learne nothing, upon which by the law they might burne her. Notwithſtanding the Cardinall did not leave the matter ſo, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marſhall, then Deane of Frideſwides, that he ſhould digge her up, and lay her out of Chriſtian buriall, becauſe ſhe was interred nigh unto Saint Frideſwides reliques, ſometime had in great reverence in that Colledge. Doctor Marſhall like a prettie man, calling his ſpades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well whitled cauſed her to be taken up, and buried in a dunghill.

Cardinall Poole earnest in burning dead mens bodies.

D. Marſhall Deane of Frideſwides.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed GOD under good Quéen Elizabeth to give quietnes to his Church, long time perſecuted with priſon and death, then Doctor Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Edmund Grindall Biſhop of London, Richard

Goodrick, with divers others her Majeſties high Commiſſioners in matters of religion (nothing ignorant how farre the adverſaries of the truth had tranſgreſſed the bounds of all humanitie, in violating the ſepulchre or grave of that good and vertuous woman) willed certaine of that Colledge, in the which this uncourteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that uncleane and diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole Towne to burie her againe in a more decent and honeſt monument. For though the body being once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was ſome reverence to be uſed toward her for ſexe and womanhood ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had travelled ſo farre at King Edwards requeſt, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly and had taken ſo earneſt paines, being an old man, in reading and ſetting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerved of that Univerſitie; ſhould with ſo ungentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded againe, as to have his wife that was a godly woman, a ſtranger, good to many, eſpecially to the poore, and hurtfull to none, either in word or deede, without juſt deſerving, and beſide their owne law, not proceeding againſt her according to the order thereof, ſpitefully to be laid in a ſtinking dunghill.

Peter Martyrs wives bones again reduced out of the dunghill, and laid in a decent monument

Great ingratitude ſhewed to Peter Martyr.

To all good natures the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be indued with humanitie, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Maſter Calfield, then Subdeane of the Colledge, diligently provided, that from Marſhals dunghill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place againe, yea, and withall coupled her with Frideſwides bones, that in caſe any Cardinall will be ſo mad hereafter to remove this womans bones againe, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcerne the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the ſame might be notified to the mindes of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, M. Rogerſon preached unto the people, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the adverſaries, which were not contented to practiſe their cruelty againſt the living, but that they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lien two yeeres in her grave. God grant them once to ſee their own wickedneſſe, Amen.

M. James Calfield.

The bones of Peter Martyrs wife coupled with the bones of S. Frideſwide.

And thus much touching the noble acts and ſtrangeneſſe of this worthy Cardinall in both the Univerſities; whereunto it ſhall not be impertinent, here alſo conſequently to adjoyne and ſet forth to the eies of the world, the blinde and bloudie Articles ſet out by Cardinall Poole, to be inquired upon, within his Dioceſſe of Canterburie, whereby it may the better appeare what yoakes and ſnares of fond and fruitleſſe traditions were laid upon the poore flock of Chriſt, to intangle and oppreſſe them with loſſe of life and libertie. By the which, wiſe men have to ſee what godly fruits proceeded from that catholike church and See of Rome. In which, albeit thou ſeeſt (good Reader) ſome good Articles inſparſed withall, let that nothing move thee; for elſe how could ſuch poyſon be miniſtred, but it muſt have ſome honie to reliſh the Readers taſte.

Here follow the Articles ſet forth by Cardinall Poole, to be enquired in his ordinary viſitation, within his Dioceſſe of Canterburie.

Touching the Clergie.

Articles of the Cardinall to be inquired in his viſitation of Kent.

1 FIrſt, whether the divine Service in the Church at times, dayes, houres, be obſerved and kept duly, or no.

2 Item, whether the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themſelves, or no.

3 Item, whether they do reverently and duely miniſter the ſacraments or ſacramentals, or no.

4 Item, whether any of their Pariſhioners doe die without miniſtration of the ſacraments, through the negligence of their Curates, or no.

5 Item, whether the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, or Curates, do haunt Taverns or Alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamy and ſlander, or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the Midwives how to chriſten children in time of neceſſitie, according to the Canons of the Church, or no.

7 Item, whether they ſee that the font be comely kept, and have holy water alwaies ready for children to be chriſtened.

8 Item, if they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the dutie of the Church.

9 Item, whether there be any Prieſts, that late unlawfully had women under pretenſed marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they do diligently teach their Pariſhioners the Articles of the faith, and the ten Commandements.

11 Item, whether they doe decently obſerve thoſe things that doe concerne the ſervice of the Church, and all thoſe things that tend to a good and chriſtian life, according to the Canons of the Church.

12 Item, whether they doe devoutly in their prayers pray for the proſperous eſtate of the King and Queens Majeſties.

13 Item, whether the ſaid Parſons and Vicars do ſufficiently repaire their Chancels, Rectories, and Vicarages, and do keep and maintain them ſufficiently repaired and amended.

14 Item, whether any of them doe preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Catholike faith and unitie of the Church.

15 Item, whether any of them do ſay the divine Service, or do miniſter the ſacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the uſuall order of the Church.

16 Item, whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keep any women in their houſes, or do keep company with men ſuſpected of hereſies, or of evill opinion.

17 Item, whether any of them that were under pretence of lawfull matrimonie married, and now reconciled, doe privily reſort to their pretenſed wives, or that the ſaid women do privily reſort unto them.

18 Item, whether they do go decently apparrelled, as it becometh ſad, ſober, and diſcreet Miniſters, and whether they have their crownes and beards ſhaven.

19 Item, whether any of them do uſe any unlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to ſlander and evill report.

20 Item, whether they do keep reſidence and hoſpitalitie upon their Benefices, and doe make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes Eccleſiaſticall.

21 Item, whether they do keep the book of Regiſters of chriſtenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers.

Touching the lay-people.

1 FIrſt, whether any manner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he be, do hold, maintaine, or affirme any hereſies, errours, or erroneous opinions, contrarie to the

Articles of Cardinall Poole to be inquired upon toucing the Laity.

lawes Eccleſiaſticall, and the unitie of the Catholike Church.

2 Item, whether any perſon do hold, affirme, or ſay that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar there is not contained the reall and ſubſtantiall preſence of Chriſt; or that by any manner of meanes do contemne and deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed ſacrament, or do refuſe to do reverence or worſhip thereunto.

3 Item, whether they do contemne or deſpiſe by any manner of meanes any other of the Sacraments, Rites, or Ceremonies of the Church, or do refuſe or deny auricular confeſſion.

4 Item, whether any do abſent or refraine, without urgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the Church, and reverently to heare the divine Service upon Sundaies and Holy dayes.

5 Item, whether being in the Church, they doe not apply themſelves to heare the divine Service, and to be contemplative in holy Prayer, and not to walke, iangle, or talke, in the time of the divine Service.

6 Item, whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit inceſt, or be bawdes, and receivers of evill perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

7 Item, whether any do blaſpheme and take the Name of God in vaine, or be common ſwearers.

8 Item, whether any be periured, or have committed Simonie or Uſurie, or do ſtill remaine in the ſame.

9 Item, whether the churches and church yards be well and honeſtly repaired and incloſed.

10 Item, whether the Churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all ornaments and bookes neceſſarie, and whether they have a Rood in their Church of a decent ſtature, with Marie and Iohn, and an image of the Patron of the ſame Church.

11 Item, whether any do withhold, or doth draw from the Church any manner of money or goods, or that doe withhold their due and accuſtomed tithes from their Parſons and Uicars.

12 Item, whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evill living, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtimes, eſpecially in the time of divine ſervice.

13 Item, if there be any that do practiſe or exerciſe any arts of Magike, or Necromancie, or do uſe or practiſe any Incantations, Sorceries, or Witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof.

14 Item, whether any be married within the degrees of affinitie, or conſanguinitie, prohibited by the lawes of holy Church, or that do marrie, the banes not asked, or do make any privie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Eaſter laſt, any were not confeſſed, or did not receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, or did irreverently behave themſelves in the receiving thereof.

16 Item, whether any do keep any ſecret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion, contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether any do now not duely keepe the faſting and embring daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the Churches be conſecrated, or no.

19 Item, whether the ſacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall ſick, with light, and with a little Sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common Schooles be wel kept, and that the Schoolemaſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo Catholike, and men of good and upright iudgement, and that they be examined and approved by the Ordinarie.

21 Item, whether any do take upon them to adminiſter the goods of thoſe that be dead, without authoritie from the Ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poor people in every Pariſh be charitably provided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a lampe or a candle before the ſacrament. And if there doe not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25 Item, whether any do keep, or have in their cuſtodie any erroneous or unlawfull bookes.

26 Item, whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highwayes, or any other charitable deed.

27 Item, whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themſelves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28 Item, whether any do violate or breake the Sundaies and Holy dayes, doing their daily labors and exerciſes upon the ſame.

29 Item, whether the Taverns or Alehouſes, upon the Sundaies and Holy dayes, in the time of Maſſe, Mattins, and Evenſong, do keep open their doores, and do receive people into their houſes to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the Church.

30 Item, whether any have, or do deprave or contemne the authority or iuriſdiction of the popes Holineſſe, or the See of Rome.

31 Item, whether any Minſtrels, or any other perſons doe uſe to ſing any ſongs againſt the holy ſacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the Church.

32 Item, whether there be any Hoſpitals within your Pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duely and truely obſerved and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

33 Item, whether any goods, plate, iewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or withholden from the ſaid Hoſpitals, and by whom.

A hiſtory of tenne Martyrs condemned and burned within the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, and truth of his Goſpel.

January 15. The martyrdome of ten burned in the Dioceſſe of Canterburie.

MEntion was made a little before of the perſecution in Kent. Where we declared, that 15. were in the Caſtle of Canterburie impriſoned and condemned for Gods Word. Of the which 15. moreover we ſhewed and declared 5. to be famiſhed unto death within the ſaid Caſtle, and buried by the high-way, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the firſt moneth of the next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1557. were committed unto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by Thornton, called Biſhop or Suffragan of Dover, otherwiſe called Dick of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield the Archdeacon of the ſaid Province.

The names of theſe ten godly and Chriſtian Martyrs be theſe:

The names of the Martyrs.

Iohn Philpot of Tenterden.
W. Waterer of Bedingden.
Stephen Kempe of Norgate.
W. Hay of Hithe.
Thomas Hudſon of Salenge.
Matt. Bradbridge of Tenterden.
Thomas Stephens of Bedingden.
Nich. Final of Tenterden.
W. Lowick of Cranbroke.
W. Prowting of Thornham.

Concerning their Articles read before.

What the ordinarie Articles were, commonly objected to them of Canterburie Dioceſſe, is before rehearſed, ſave only that to ſome of theſe, as to

Q. MARIE.

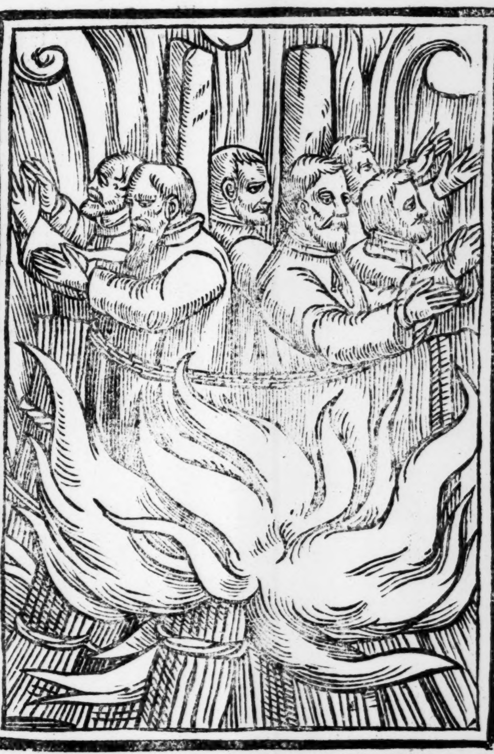
Anno 1557.

them that follow after, as the time of their perſecution did grow, ſo their articles withall did increaſe to the number of two and twenty, containing ſuch like matter as ſeemed to the maintenance of the Romiſh See.

The cauſe of their martyrdome.

To theſe articles what their anſwers were likewiſe, needeth here no great rehearſall, ſeeing they all agreed together, though not in the ſame form of words, yet in much like effect of purpoſes; firſt granting the Church of Chriſt, and denying the Church of Rome, denying the ſeven ſacraments, refuſing the Maſſe, and the hearing of Latine ſervice, praying to ſaints, juſtification of works, &c. And though they did all anſwer uniformly in ſome ſmaller things, as their learning ſerved them, yet in the moſt principall and chiefeſt matters they did not greatly diſcord, &c.

The burning of ſix Martyrs at Canterbury.



The martyrdome of Waterer, Hay, Hudſon, Kemp, W. Lowick, W. Prowting, at Canterbury, Anno 1557. January 15. The other four were burned at the ſame time. Two at Wye, and two at Aſhford.

Of theſe ten godly Martyrs of Chriſt, ſix were burned at Canterbury, about the 15. of January, that is, Kemp, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudſon, and Haie. Other two, that is, Stephens, and Philpot, at Wye, about the ſame moneth. Other two, which were Finall and Bradbridge, were burned both together at Aſhford, the 16. of the ſame.

Examples how Kings and Princes, and the power of the world bend themſelves againſt Chriſt and his word, and yet could never prevail.

The next moneth following, which was February, came out another bloody Commiſſion from the King and Queen, to kindle up the fire of perſecution, as though it were not hot enough alreadie; the contents of which Commiſſion I thought here not to pretermit: not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the Reader may underſtand how Kings and Princes of this world, like as in the firſt perſecutions of the Primitive Church under Valerianus, Decius, Maximian, Diocleſian, Licinius, &c. ſo now alſo in theſe latter perillous dayes, have ſet out all their main force and power, with laws, policie, and authority to the uttermoſt they could deviſe againſt Chriſt and his bleſſed Goſpel. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe laws, conſtitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, Chriſt yet ſtill continueth, his Goſpel flouriſheth, and truth prevaileth; Kings and Emperors in their own purpoſes overthrown, their deviſes diſſolved, their counſels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifeſt. But now let us hear the intent of this Commiſſion, in tenor as followeth.

¶ A bloody Commiſſion given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, to perſecute the poore members of Chriſt.

A terrible proclamation of K. Philip and Q. Mary, againſt the poore ſervants and members of Chriſt.

Perſecutors.

Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England, &c. To the right reverend Father in God our right truſtie and welbeloved Counſellor Thomas Biſhop of Ely, and to our right truſtie and welbeloved William Windſore Knight, Lord Windſore, Edw. North Knight, Lord North, and to our truſty and welbeloved Counſellors, J. Bourn Knight, one of our chief Secretaries, J. Mordaunt Knight, Francis Englefield Knight, Maſter of our Wards and Liveries, Edw. Walgrave Knight, Maſter of our great Wardrope, Nicholas Hare Knight, Maſter of the Rolls, and our high Court of Chancerie, and to our truſtie and welbeloved Tho. Pope Knight, Roger Cholmley Knight, Richard Reds Knight, Rowland Hill Knight, William Raſtall Sargeant at Law, Henry Cole Clerk, Dean of Pauls, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, Eſquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, Doctors of the Law, greeting.

The meaning of the Goſpellers falſly reported and ſlandered.

Foraſmuch as divers divelliſh and ſlanderous perſons have not onely invented, bruted and ſet forth divers falſe rumors, tales, and ſeditious ſlanders againſt us, but alſo have ſown divers hereſies, and hereticall opinions, and ſet forth divers ſeditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to ſtir up diviſion, ſtrife, contention, and ſedition, not onely amongſt our loving ſubjects, but alſo betwixt us and our ſaid ſubjects, with divers other outragious miſdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of us and our people, we, minding the due puniſhment of ſuch offendors, and the repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpeciall truſt and confidence in your fidelities, wiſedomes and diſcretions, have authoriſed, appointed and aſſigned you to be our Commiſſioners, and by theſe preſents do give full power and authoritie unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawfull men, as by witneſſes and all other means and politike wayes you can deviſe, of all and ſingular hereticall opinions, Lolardies, hereticall and ſeditious books, concealments, contempts, conſpiracies, and all falſe rumors, tales, ſeditious and ſlanderous words or ſayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruted, invented, or ſet forth againſt us, or either of us, or againſt the quiet governance and rule of our people, and ſubjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwiſe, in any County, Key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our Realm of England or elſewhere, in any place or places beyond the ſeas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, ſellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any ſuch letter, books, rumor, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counſellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full power and authoritie by vertue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your hands and poſſeſſions, all manner of hereticall, and ſeditious books, letters, and writings, whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, as well in Printers houſes and ſhops, as elſewhere, willing you, and every of you to ſearch for the ſame in all places, according to your diſcretions.

What watch is here to keep down Chriſt, but yet he will riſe.

And

Enormities or miſbehaviors.

And alſo to enquire, hear and determine all and ſingular enormities, diſturbances, miſbehaviors, and negligences committed in any Church, Chappell, or other hallowed place within this Realm, and alſo for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, ſtocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the ſame Churches and Chappels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the ſame.

Not coming to the Church ſervice.

And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, to hear Maſſe, or to come to their Pariſh Churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine ſervice, and all ſuch as refuſe to go on Proceſſion, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any Church or other hallowed place, whereſoever any of the ſame offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be committed within this our ſaid realm.

Heretikes to be committed to their Ordinary.

Nevertheleſſe, our will and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt, or ſtand in any manner of hereſie, or hereticall opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the ſpirituall and Eccleſiaſticall Laws.

Vagabonds, or maſterles men.

And alſo we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authoritie, to enquire and ſearch out all vagabonds, and maſterleſſe men, Barettours, quarrellors, and ſuſpect perſons, abiding within our Citie of London, and ten miles compaſſe of the ſame, and all aſſaults and affraies done and committed within the ſame Citie and compaſſe.

Decay of Churches and Chappels.

And further to ſearch out all waſte, decays, and ruines of Churches, Chancels, Chappels, Parſonages and Vicarages in the Dioceſſe of the ſame, being within this Realm, giving you and everie of you full power and authoritie by vertue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your wiſedomes, conſciences, and diſcretions, willing and commanding you or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politike wayes and means, for the triall and ſearching out of the premiſſes, as by you or three of you ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſarie: and upon enquirie and due proofe had, known, perceived and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficient witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the premiſſes or any part thereof, or by any other wayes or means requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the offendors, by fine, impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch order for redreſſe and reformation of the premiſſes, as to your wiſedoms, or three of you ſhall be thought meet and convenient.

Priſoning of the obſtinate.

Further willing and commanding you and everie three of you, in caſe you ſhall finde any perſon or perſons obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you at your calling or aſſignement, or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your Decrees, orders and commandements in any thing or things, touching the premiſſes or any part thereof, to commit the ſame perſon or perſons ſo offending, to Ward, there to remain, till by you or three of you he be diſcharged or delivered, &c. And ſo forth with other ſuch like matter, as followeth, ſee in our firſt edition, pag. 1563.

¶ The apprehenſion of two and twenty priſoners ſent up together for Gods word, to London, from Colcheſter.

AFter this bloodie Proclamation or Commiſſion thus given out at London, which was Februarie 8. the third and fourth yeers of the King and Queens reign, theſe new Inquiſitors, eſpecially ſome of them began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; ſo that all quarters were full of perſecution, and priſons almoſt full of priſoners, namely, in the Dioceſſe of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Chriſt) we will ſay more anon.

Perſecution about Colcheſter.

Twenty two for Gods word apprehended.

The aray and order of theſe 22. priſoners coming up to London.

In the meane time, about the town of Colcheſter, the winde of perſecution began fiercely to riſe; inſomuch that three and twentie together, men and women, were apprehended at one clap; of the which twentie three, one eſcaped: the other twentie two were driven up like a flock of Chriſtian Lambes to London, with two or three leaders with them at moſt, ready to give their ſkins to be pluckt off for the Goſpels ſake. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, afraid belike of the number, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought means to deliver them, and ſo they did, drawing out a verie eaſie ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffering them to draw it out themſelves; notwithſtanding divers of them afterward were taken again and ſuffered, as hereafter ye ſhall hear (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way coming up, ſaw them in the fields ſcattering in ſuch ſort, as that they might eaſily have eſcaped away. And when they entred into the towns, their Keepers called them again into aray, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the ſame in their hands, having another cord everie one about his arme, as though they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to GOD for them, to give them ſtrength. At their entring into London, they were pinioned, and ſo came into the Citie, as the picture here ſhortly after following with their names alſo ſubſcribed, doth deſcribe. But firſt let us declare concerning their taking and their attachers, contained in the Commiſſaries letter, written to Boner; then, the Indenture made between the Commiſſioners and the Popiſh commiſſarie. The letter of the Commiſſary is this.

The letter of the Commiſſary called Io. Kingſton, written to Biſhop Boner.

Lord of Oxford, L. Darcy, H. Tyrel, Anthony Brown, W. Bendlows, Edm. Tyrel, Rich. Weſton, Roger Appleton, Io. Kingſton Commiſſary, perſecutors.

AFter my dutie done in receiving and accompliſhing your honorable and moſt loving letters, dated the 7. of Auguſt: Be it known unto your Lordſhip, that the 28. of Auguſt, the Lord of Oxenford, Lord Darcie, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendlows, E. Tyrel, Rich. Weſton, Roger Appleton, publiſhed their commiſſion, to ſeiſe the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, ſo that the owners ſhould have neither uſe nor commodity thereof, but by Inventorie remain in ſafe keeping, untill the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the Queens graces warrant for the reſtitution of the Church goods within Colcheſter and the hundreds thereabout, to the uſe of Gods ſervice. And then were called the Pariſhes particularly, and the heretikes partly committed to my examination. And that divers perſons ſhould certifie me of the ornaments of their Churches, betwixt this and the Iuſtices next appearance, which ſhall be on Michaelmas even next. And the Pariſh which had preſented at 2. ſeverall times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And thoſe names blotted in the Indenture, were indicted for treaſon, fugitives, or diſobedients, and were put forth by M. Browns commandement. And before the ſealing, my Lord Darcie ſaid unto me apart and maſter Bendlows, that I ſhould have ſufficient time to ſend unto your Lordſhip, yea, if need were the heretiques to remain in durance till I had an anſwer from you; yea till the Lord Legates graces Commiſſioners come into the countrey.

And maſter Brown came unto my Lord Darcies houſe and parlour belonging unto maſter Barnaby, before my ſaid Lord and all the Juſtices, and laid his hand on my ſhoulder, with a ſmiling countenance, and deſired me to make his heartie commendations to your good Lordſhip, and aſked me if I would: and I ſaid, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not have been charged with ſo ſudden carriage. But after dinner, the Juſtices counſelled with the Bayliffes, and with the Jaylers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the Indentures, and ſealed them; and then maſter Browne commanded me this afternoon, being the 30. of Auguſt, to go and receive my priſoners by and by. And then I ſaid, it is an unreaſonable commandement, for that I have attended on you here theſe three dayes, and this Sunday earely I have ſent home my men. Wherefore I deſire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will pleaſe my Lord my Maſter to ſend his Commiſſioners hither, or that I ſhall make carriage of them unto his Lordſhip. Then M. Browne; We are certified, that the Councell have written unto your maſter, to make ſpeed, and to rid theſe priſoners out of hand: therefore go receive your priſoners in haſte. Then I: Sir, I ſhall receive them within theſe ten dayes. Then maſter Brown: The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

M. Brown a hot and haſty Juſtice in perſecuting Gods people.

Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this Indenture, whoſe faith or opinions I knew not, truſting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, leſt I ſhould puniſh the Catholiques: Well, ſaid maſter Brown, for that cauſe ye ſhall have time betwixt this and wedneſday. And I ſay unto you maſter Bailiffes, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wedneſday, ſet open your doore, and let them go.

Then I: My Lord, and Maſters all, I promiſe to diſcharge the town and countrey of theſe heretiques, within ten dayes. Then my Lord Darcie ſaid; Commiſſarie, we do and muſt all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on, or before Wedneſday.

Then I: My Lord, the laſt I carried, I was going betwixt the Caſtle and ſaint Katherines Chappell, two houres and a half, and in great preaſe and danger: Wherefore this may be to deſire your Lordſhip, to give in commandement unto my maſter Sayer, Bailiffe, here preſent, to aid me thorow his liberties, not onely with men and weapons, but that the Town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the moſt buſie perſons, and this upon three houres warning, all which both my Lord and M. Brown commanded.

What ado is here with the Butchers to bring the poore Lambs to the Shambles?

The 31. of Auguſt, William Goodwin of Muchbirch huſbandman, this bringer, and Tho. Alley of Copford your Lordſhips apparator of your Conſiſtorie in Colcheſter, covenanted with me, that they ſhould hire two other men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a bowe-man, to come to me the next day about two of the clock at afternoon, ſo that I might recite this bargain before maſter Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, 46. ſhillings 8. pence. Wherefore they ſhould then go forth with me unto Colcheſter, and on Wedneſday before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the Caſtle and Motehall, fourteene men and eight women, readie bound with gyves and hemp, and drive, carrie, or lead and feed with meat and drink, as heretiques ought to be found continually, unto ſuch time that the ſaid William and Thomas, ſhall cauſe the ſaid two and twenty perſons to be delivered unto my Lord of Londons officers, and within the ſafe keeping of my ſaid Lord, and then to bring unto me again the ſaid gives, with a perfect token of or from my ſaid Lord, and then this covenant is void, or elſe, &c.

Thomas Alley of Copford Apparator to B. Boner.

Twenty two poore priſoners in bonds for Chriſt and his word.

Maſter Bendlows ſaid unto me in my Lord of Oxenfords chamber at the Kings head, after I had ſaid Maſſe before the Lords, that on the morrow after holy Rood day, when we ſhall meet at Chelmesford for the diviſion of theſe lands, I think maſter Archdeacon, you, and M. Smith, ſhall be faine to ride with certain of the Jurie to thoſe portions and manors in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe divide your ſelves, to tread and view the ground with the Queſt, or elſe I think the Queſt will not labour the matter, and ſo do you ſay unto M. Archdeacon.

Alice the wife of William Walleys of Colcheſter, hath ſubmitted her ſelf, abjured her erroneous opinions, aſked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemne penance in her Pariſh Church at ſaint Peters on Sunday next, and to continue a Catholique and a faithfull woman, as long as God ſhall ſend her life. And for theſe covenants, her huſband ſtandeth bound in five pound. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your Indenture; and ſhe is big with childe. Wherefore ſhe remaineth at home, and this done in the preſence of the Bailiffes, Aldermen, and Town-clerk. And for that maſter Brown was certified, there was no Curate at Lexdon, he enquired who was the former. The anſwer was made, Sir Francis Jobſon. Who is the Parſon? They of the Queſtmen anſwered, Sir Roger Ghoſtlow. When was he with you? Not this fourteen yeers. How is your Cure ſerved? Now and then. Who is the Patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within ſhort time after, Sir Francis Jobſon came with great courteſie unto my Lord Darcies place. And of all Gentlemen about us, I ſaw no more come in: Sir Robert Smith Prieſt, ſometime Chanon of Bridlington, now Curate of Appledoore, in the Wild of Kent, came to Colcheſter the 38. day of Auguſt, with his wife big with childe, of late divorced, taken on ſuſpition, examined of the Lords, and maſter Brown told me that they have received letters from the Councell for the attachment of certain perſons, and eſpecially of one Prieſt, whoſe name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this prieſt to be the ſaid Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confeſſe the ſame.

Alice Walleys big with childe, one of the nine women, promiſeth to recant.

A Cure well ſerved.

M. Pullen laid for.

Wherefore he lieth ſtill in priſon, but ſurely this is not Pullen. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip to have in remembrance, that the houſholders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own ſeat in the Church in time of Divine ſervice, it would profit much. And alſo there be yet ſtanding Hoſpitals, and other of like foundation about Colcheſter, which I have not known to appeare at any viſitation, as the Maſters and Lazars of Marie Magdalen in Colcheſter, the Proctor of ſaint Katherines Chappell in Colcheſter, the Hoſpitall or Breadhouſe of the foundation of the Lord H. Harney, in Laxemarny, the Hoſpitall and Beadman of little Horkſley.

Thus preſuming of your Lordſhips goodneſſe, I am more then bold ever to trouble you, with this worldly buſineſſe, beſeeching Almighty GOD to ſend your honourable Lordſhip a condigne reward.

From Eaſtthorp this preſent xxx. day of Aug.

M. Brown doer of all things.

We found a letter touching the marriage of Prieſts, in the hands of the foreſaid Sir Robert Smith. Alſo I deſired maſter Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawfull writings and books. Who aſked me if I had proclaimed the Proclamation. I ſaid, Yea. Then he ſaid openly on the Bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed every quarter once. And then take the Conſtables and Officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offendors accordingly.

By your poore Beadman, Iohn Kingſton, Prieſt.

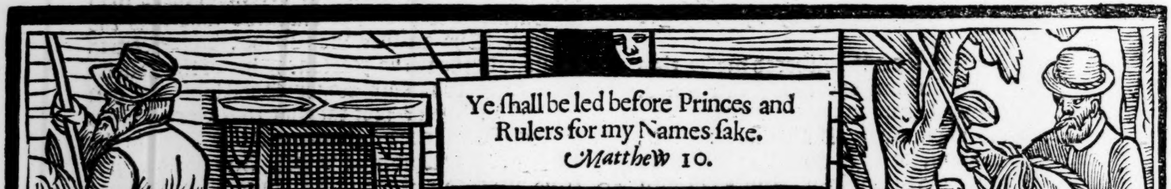
An Indenture made between the Lords and the Iuſtices within ſpecified, and Boners Commiſſarie, concerning the deliverie of the priſoners above named.

Indenture between the Juſtices and Boners Commiſſary, for receiving of priſoners.

THis Indenture made the 19. day of Auguſt, in the third and fourth yeers of the reigns of our Soveraign Lord and Ladie, Philip and Marie by the grace of God King and Queen of England, Spaine, France, both Cicils, Jeruſalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Burgundie, Millain, and Brabant, Counties of Haſburgh, Flanders, and Tirell, between the right honourable Lord John de Vere, Earle of Oxford, Lord high Chamberlain of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chiche, Henry Tirell Knight, Anthony Brown, the King and Queens Majeſties Sergeant at law, William Bendelows Sergeant at law, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, Eſquires, Juſtices of Oyer and Determiner, and of the Peace, within the ſaid Countie of Eſſex, to be kept of the one partie, and John Kingſton Clerk Bachelor at law, Commiſſarie to the Biſhop of London, of the other party, witneſſeth that Ro. Colman of Walton in the Countie of Eſſex labourer, Joan Winſeley of Horſeley Magna in the ſaid Countie Spinſter, Stephen Glover of Rayly, in the Countie aforeſaid, Glover, Rich. Clerke of Much Holland in the ſaid Countie, mariner, Will. Munt of Much Bentley in the ſaid Countie, huſbandman, Thomas Winſeley of Much Horſeley in the ſaid Countie, ſawyer, Margaret Field of Rameſey in the ſaid Countie, ſpinſter, Agnes Whitlack of Dovercourt in the ſaid Countie, ſpinſter, Alice Munt of Much Bentley in the ſaid Countie, ſpinſter, Roſe Allin of the ſame town and Countie, ſpinſter, Richard Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſaid Countie, Cozier, Richard Atkin of Halſtead in the ſaid County, weaver, Robert Barcock of Wiſton in the countie of Suffolke, carpenter, Rich. George of Weſtbarhoult in the countie of Eſſex, labourer, Rich. Jolley of Colcheſter in the ſaid Countie, mariner, Tho. Feereſanne of the ſame town and countie, mercer, Robert Debnam late of Dedham in the ſaid countie, weaver, Cicely Warren of Cockſall in the ſaid countie, ſpinſter, Chriſtian Pepper widow, of the ſame town and countie; Allin Simpſon, Ellen Euring, Alice the wife of Will. Wallis of Colcheſter, ſpinſter, and W. Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſaid Countie, glaſier, being indited of hereſie, are delivered to the ſaid John

The names of Chriſts priſoners perſecuted.

The Picture of xxii. godly and faithfull Chriſtians, apprehended about Colcheſter, priſoned together in one band, and ſo with three Leaders at the moſt brought up to London.


Ye ſhall be led before Princes and Rulers for my Names ſake. Matthew 10.

Kingſton

Kingſtone Clerk, Ordinary to the Biſhop of London, according to the ſtatute in that caſe provided.

In witneſſe whereof to the one part of this Indenture remaining with the ſaid Earle, Lord, and other the Juſtices, the ſaid Ordinarie hath ſet to his hand and ſeal, and to the other part remaining with the ſaid Ordinarie, the ſaid Earle, Lord, and other the Juſtices have ſet to their ſeverall hands and ſeals, the day and yéers above written.

The names of the perſecutors.

Oxenford.
Thomas Darcy.
Henry Tyrell.
Anthony Brown.
William Bendelows.
Edmund Tyrell.
Richard Weſton.
Roger Appleton.

These xxii. aforeſaid priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to Biſhop Boner. As touching the order and manner of their coming and bringing, the ſaid Boner himſelf writeth to Cardinall Poole, as you ſhall hear.

A letter of Biſhop Boner to Cardinall Poole.

B. Boners letter to Cardinall Pool, concerning the 22. priſoners aforeſaid.

May it pleaſe your good grace with my moſt humble obedience, reverence, and dutie, to underſtand, that going to London upon Thurſday laſt, and thinking to be troubled with maſter Germaines matter onely, and ſuch other common matters as are accuſtomed, enough to wearie a right ſtrong bodie, I had the day following to comfort my ſtomacke withall, letters from Colcheſter, that either that day, or the day following, I ſhould have ſent thence 22. heretiques, indicted before the Commiſſioners, and indéed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the other, which both ſtood me above twenty Nobles, a ſum of money that I thought full evill beſtowed. And theſe heretiques, notwithſtanding they had honeſt Catholique Kéepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colcheſter to Stratford of the Bowe did go quietly, and obediently, yet coming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increaſed till they came to Algate, where they were lodged Friday night.

And albeit I took order that the ſaid heretiques ſhould be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was betwéen ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take, but thorow Cheapſide, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with about a thouſand perſons. Which thing I took verie ſtrange, and ſpake to ſir John Greſſam then being with me, to tell the Maior and the Sheriffes that this thing was not well ſuffered in the Citie. Theſe naughty heretiques all the way they came thorow Cheapſide, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort é promiſcuo plebe, and being entred into my houſe, and talked withall, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate, and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt meanes I could, both of my ſelf and other, to have won them, cauſing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulneſſe, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, and here to give ſentence againſt them. Nevertheleſſe, perceiving by my laſt doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I any thing further procéeded herein, to advertiſe firſt your grace hereof, and know your good pleaſure, which I beſéech your grace I may do by this truſtie bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leave of your good grace, beſéeching Almighty God alwayes to preſerve the ſame. At Fulham, poſtridie Nativ. 1556.

Your graces moſt bounden Bedeſman
and ſervant, Edmund Boner.

B. Boners cruelty ſomewhat ſtayed by the Cardinall.

By this letter of Biſhop Boner to the Cardinall, is to be underſtood, what good will was in this Biſhop to have the blood of theſe men, and to have paſt with ſentence of condemnation againſt them, had not the Cardinall ſomewhat (as it ſéemed) ſtayd his fervent headineſſe. Concerning the which Cardinall, although it cannot be denied by his Acts and writings, but that he was a profeſſed enemie, and no otherwiſe to be reputed but for a Papiſt: yet again it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the bloody and cruell ſort of Papiſts, as may appeare, not onely by ſtaying the rage of this Biſhop, but alſo by the ſollicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, alſo by the complaints of certain Papiſts accuſing him to the Pope, to be a bearer with the heretiques, and by the Popes letters ſent to him upon the ſame, calling him up to Rome, and ſetting Frier Peto in his place, had not Quéen Mary by ſpeciall intreatie, kept him out of the Popes danger. All which letters I have (if néed be) to ſhew: and beſides alſo, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began ſomewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no leſſe ſuſpected at Rome: Yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from papiſme to Luthers ſide; notwithſtanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the Papiſt thus as he did. But of this Cardinall enough.

Card. Poole a Papiſt, but no bloody Papiſt.

Card. Poole halfe ſuſpected for a Lutheran at Rome.

To return now to this godly companie again, firſt how they were brought up in bands to London, ye have heard: Alſo how Boner was about to have read the ſentence of death upon them, and how he was ſtayed by the Cardinall, ye underſtand. As touching their confeſſion, which they articled up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the Article of the Lords Supper (for the which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

The Supper of the Lord.

Their opinion and judgement of the Lords Supper.

Chriſts language to ſpeak in parables.

WHereas Chriſt at his laſt Supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my bodie. And likewiſe took the cup and thanked, &c. We do underſtand it to be a figurative ſpéech, as the moſt manner of his language was in parables and darke ſentences, that they which are carnally minded, ſhould ſée with their eyes, and not perceive, and hear with their eares, and not underſtand, ſignifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loafe, and they all were partakers thereof, ſo we through his bodie, in that it was broken, and offered upon the croſſe for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood clenſeth us from all our ſins, and hath pacified Gods wrath towards us, and made the attonement betwéen God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

The cauſe why the bread and cup was given in the Supper.

And in that he ſaid further, Do this in remembrance of me, it is a memoriall and token of the ſuffering and death of Jeſus Chriſt: and he commanded it for this cauſe, that the congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnifie his holy Name, and ſo to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Chriſt had given his body, and ſhed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Chriſt called the bread his bodie, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtance of his body ſhould be in the bread and wine; as divers places in Scripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the Apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeech, as in John 15. I am the true vine. Alſo in John 10. I am the doore. And as it is written in the 9. to the Hebr. and in Exod. 24. how Moſes took the blood of the calves, and ſprinkled both the book and all the people, ſaying, This is the blood of the covenant or Teſtament. And alſo in the 5. chapter of Ezek. how the Lord ſaid unto him concerning the third part of his haire, ſaying, This is Ieruſalem, &c.

How the Scriptures ought to be examined.

Thus we ſee the Scriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would have us to ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous underſtanding of the godly word, and is contrarie to all holy Scriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great Idolatrie is ſprung out of the carnall underſtanding of the words of Chriſt, This is my bodie, and yet daily ſpringeth, to the great diſhonour of God; ſo that men worſhip a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker.

Idolatry in worſhipping the ſacramentall bread and wine.

After this confeſſion of their faith and doctrine, being written and exhibited, they alſo deviſed a letter withall, in manner of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the Judges and Commiſſioners, requiring that juſtice and judgement, after the rule of Gods word, might be miniſtred unto them. The copie of which their letter I thought here alſo to ſhew unto the reader in form as followeth.

A letter or ſupplication of the priſoners to the Iudges.

A letter of requeſt of the priſoners to the Judges.

TO the right honorable audience, before whom theſe our ſimple writings, and the confeſſion of our faith ſhall come to be read or ſeen, we poore priſoners being faſt in bands upon the triall of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures, pray moſt heartily, that foraſmuch as God hath given you power and ſtrength over us, as concerning our bodies, under whom we ſubmit our ſelves as obedient ſubjects in all things due, ye being Officers and Rulers of the people, may execute true judgement, keep the laws of righteouſneſſe, govern the people according to right, and heare the poore and helpleſſe in truth, and defend their cauſe.

God for his Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, give you the wiſedome and underſtanding of Solomon, David, Ezekias, Moſes, with divers other moſt vertuous Rulers, by whoſe wiſedome and moſt godly underſtanding, the people were juſtly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedneſſe was by them overthrowne and beaten downe, and all godlineſſe and vertue did flouriſh and ſpring. O God which art the moſt higheſt, the Creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, which doeſt try all mens works and imaginations, before whoſe judgement ſeat ſhall come both high and low, rich and poore; we moſt humbly beſeech thee to put into our Rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy Name, that even as they themſelves would be judged, and as they ſhal make anſwer before thee, ſo they may hear our cauſes, judge with mercie, and read over theſe our requeſts and confeſſions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgement.

And if any thing here ſeemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or diſagreeing to the Scripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to heare us patiently, which do offer our ſelves to the Scriptures, thereby to make anſwer and to be tried, in ſo doing we poore ſubjects being in much captivitie and bondage are moſt bound to pray for your noble eſtate and long preſervation.

The requeſt of theſe men being ſo juſt, and their doctrine ſo ſound, yet all this could not prevail with the Biſhop and other Judges, but that ſentence ſhould have proceeded againſt them incontinent, had not the goodneſſe of the Lord better provided for his ſervants, then the Biſhop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the ax, ready to be condemned by ſentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the Cardinall, and ſome other wiſer heads, fearing belike, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbance might riſe peradventure among the people; and ſo it was decreed among themſelves, that rather they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, ſuch as they would themſelves, and ſo be ſent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the meane ſpace as touching their ſubmiſſion which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth.

The ſubmiſſion or confeſſion of theſe aforeſaid priſoners.

An eaſie ſubmiſſion of the priſoners.

BEcauſe our Saviour Chriſt at his laſt Supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my bodie which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me; Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we do beleeve in the Sacrament to be Chriſts bodie. And likewiſe he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, This is my blood of the new Teſtament which is ſhed for many.

Therefore likewiſe we do beleeve that it is the blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſts Church doth miniſter the ſame. Unto the which Catholique Church of Chriſt, we do in this like as in all other matters ſubmit our ſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good Chriſtian men, and here in this realm to uſe our ſelves, as it becometh faithfull ſubjects unto our moſt gracious King and Queen, and to all other ſuperiours both ſpirituall and temporall, according to our bounden duties.

The names of them which ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion, were theſe, John Atkine, Alyn Symſon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winſley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Chriſtian Pepper Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winſley, Cyſly Warren, Roſe Alyn, Anne Whitelocke, George Barker, John Sarby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

A ſtory of five other godly Martyrs, burned at one fire in Smithfield, the twelfth day of Aprill.

TO proceed further in this ſtorie of perſecuted Martyrs, next in order follow five other burned at London in Smithfield in the foreſaid yeer of the Lord 1557. April 12. whoſe names were theſe:

Q. MARIE. Five Martyrs. Anno 1557.

Thomas Loſeby.
Henrie Ramſey.
Thomas Thirtel.
Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley.

Touching theſe articles, reade before.

Who being, ſome by the Lord Rich, ſome by other Iuſtices of Peace, and Conſtables (their owne neighbours) at the firſt accuſed, and apprehended for not coming to their Pariſh Churches, were in the end ſent unto Boner Biſhop of London, and by his commandement the 27. day of Ianuarie were examined before D. Darbiſhire, then Chancellor to the ſaid Biſhop, upon the former generall Articles mentioned.

Anſwers to the Articles.

Their anſwers to the articles.

VVhoſe anſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and Catholike Church, whereof they ſtedfaſtly beleeved, and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member: ſo in the ſame Church they beleeved there were but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord. Howbeit ſome of them attributed the title and honour of a ſacrament, to the holy eſtate of Matrimonie, which undoubtedly was done rather of ſimple ignorance then of any wilfull opinion, and are thereof to be adiudged as before is admoniſhed.

Two Sacraments onely.

Moreover, they acknowledged themſelves to be baptized into the faith of that true Church, as in the third article is ſpecified. And here in reading as well of theſe articles, as alſo of the reſt, marke I beſeech you the craftie ſubtiltie of theſe Catholike Champions, who intermixing certaine points of Faith, and of the true Church, with the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious maumetrie of their Romiſh Synagogue, cauſe the poore and ſimple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their craftie nets.

Crafty dealing of the Papiſts. Simple ignorance deceived.

For after they have made them grant a true Church with the ſacraments of the ſame, though not in ſuch number as they would have them, and alſo they that were chriſtened into the faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, they craftily now in the other their objections, deſcending as it were from the faith of the Trinitie, unto their idolatrous maſſe and other ſuperſtitious ceremonies, would make them grant that now in denying thereof, they have ſevered themſelves from the faith of the true Church, whereunto they were baptized; which is moſt falſe. For though the true light of Gods Goſpel and holy word, was marvellouſly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguiſhed: yet the true faith of the Trinitie, by the mercifull providence of God, was ſtil preſerved, and into the faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the beliefe and profeſſion of their horrible idolatrie and vain Ceremonies.

They which ſeparate themſelves from certaine traſh brought into the church, do not ſeparate themſelves from the Church.

Theſe things not throughly weighed by theſe poore, yet faithfull, and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the yeers of diſcretion, and underſtood the light of the Goſpel, they did ſeparate themſelves from the faith of the Church, meaning none other but onely to ſeparate themſelves from the admitting or allowing of ſuch their Popiſh and erroneous traſh as they now had defiled the church of Chriſt withall, and not from their faith received in Baptiſme, which in expreſſe words in their anſwers to the other articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the maſſe and ſacrament of the altar, to be moſt wicked blaſphemy againſt Chriſt Ieſus, and contrary to the truth of his Goſpel, and therefore utterly they refuſed to aſſent unto and to be reconciled againe thereunto.

Theſe anſwers in effect of them thus taken by the ſaid Chancellor, they were for that time diſmiſſed; but the Biſhop, taking the matter into his own hands, the firſt day of March, propounded unto them certain other new Articles: the copy whereof followeth.

Other Articles objected by Boner, Biſhop of London, againſt Thomas Loſeby, Henrie Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, the ſixth day of March, being the ſecond time of their examination.

Other new articles propounded to them by B. Boner.

1 FIrſt, that thou haſt thought, beleeved, and ſpoken, within ſome part of the Citie and Dioceſſe of London, that the faith, religion, and Eccleſiaſticall ſervice here obſerved and kept, as it is in the Realme of England, is not a true and a laudable faith, religion, and ſervice, eſpecially concerning the Maſſe, and the ſeven ſacraments, nor is agreeable to Gods word and Teſtament, and that thou canſt not finde in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or ſcruple to receive and uſe it, and to conforme thy ſelfe unto it, as other ſubjects of this realme cuſtomably have done and doe.

Maſſe & ſeven Sacraments.

English ſervice

2 Item, that thou haſt thought, &c. that the Engliſh ſervice ſet forth in the time of K. Edward the ſixth, here in this Realme of England, was and is good and godly, and Catholike in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realme to be received, uſed, and practiſed, and none other.

Coming to Church.

3 Item, likewiſe thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy Pariſh Church, and there to be preſent, and heare Mattins, Maſſe, Evenſong, and other divine ſervice, ſung or ſaid there.

Aſhes, Palmes, creeping to the croſſe, holy bread, holy water, &c.

4 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to Proceſſion to the Church, upon daies and times appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the Pariſh ſinging or ſaying then the accuſtomed prayers uſed in the Church, nor to beare a taper or candle on Candlemas day, nor take aſhes upon Aſhwedneſday, nor beare palmes upon Palme Sunday, nor to creep to the croſſe upon daies accuſtomed, nor to receive and kiſſe the pax at Maſſe time, nor to receive holy water or holy bread, nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and uſages of the Church, after the manner and faſhion, as they are uſed in this Realme.

Confeſſion.

5 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confeſſe thy ſinnes to any Prieſt, and to receive abſolution at his hands, as Gods miniſter, nor to receive at any time the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, eſpecially as it is uſed in this Church of England.

6 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, thou muſt follow and beleeve thine own conſcience onely, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the Catholike Church, and the See of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

Abſolute neceſſitie.

7 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that all things do chance of an abſolute and preciſe meere neceſſitie, ſo that whether man do well or evill, he could not chooſe but do ſo, and that therefore no man hath any free will at all.

Chriſtening of infants.

8 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that the faſhion and manner of chriſtening of infants, is not agreeable to Gods word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby ſaved, except he have yeers of diſcretion to beleeve himſelfe, and ſo willingly accept or refuſe baptiſme at his pleaſure.

Praying for the dead.

9 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that prayers to ſaints, or prayers for the dead, are not availeable, and not allowable by Gods word, or profitable

in any wiſe, and that the ſoules departed doe ſtraightwaies go to heaven or hell, or elſe do ſleepe till the day of doome, ſo that there is no place of purgation at all.

Martyrs that ſuffered.

10 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that all ſuch as in the time of King Henry the 8. or in the time of Queene Marie in England, have beene burned as heretikes, were no heretikes at all, but faithfull and good Chriſtian people; eſpecially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and ſuch like, and that thou diddeſt and doſt allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and doeſt miſlike their condemnations and burnings.

Faſting daies.

11 Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that faſting, and prayers uſed in this Church of England, and the appointing of daies for faſting, and the abſtaining from fleſh upon faſting dayes, and eſpecially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by Gods word, but is hypocriſie and fooliſhneſſe: and that men ought to have libertie to eate at all times all kindes of meate.

Sacrament of the altar.

12 Item, thou haſt taught, &c. that the ſacrament of the Altar is an Idoll, and to reſerve and keepe it, or to honor it, is plaine idolatrie and ſuperſtition: and likewiſe of the Maſſe and elevation of the ſacrament.

Taking of an oath.

13. Item, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou or any elſe, convented before an Eccleſiaſticall Judge concerning matters of beliefe and faith, are not, nor is bound to make anſwer at all, eſpecially under an oath upon a booke.

Their anſwers to the Articles before objected.

Their anſwers to the articles before objected.

THeir anſwers to theſe objections were, that as touching the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, ſaving that they denied the ſoules of the departed to ſleep till the day of judgement, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

And as concerning the ſixth objection, they thought themſelves bound to beleeve the true Catholike Church, ſo farre forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them according to Gods holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonicall Church of Rome.

As for the ſeventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any ſuch abſurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himſelfe without the help and aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in Gods ſight.

True faſting.

To the eleventh they ſaid, that true faſting and prayer, uſed according to Gods word, are allowable and availeable in his ſight, and that by the ſame word every faithfull man may eate all meats at all times, with thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

After this, the firſt day of Aprill, they were againe convented before the Biſhop in his Palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their anſwers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant and denie the received and infallible truth, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open Conſiſtorie, the third day of the ſame moneth of April in the forenoone, where firſt underſtanding by them their immutable conſtancie and ſtedfaſtnes, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation.

Tho. Loſebyes words to the Biſhop.

To whom Thomas Loſeby firſt anſwered, God give me grace and ſtrength to ſtand againſt you, and your ſentence, and alſo againſt your Law, which is a devouring Law, for it devoureth the flock of Chriſt. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would conſent to your devouring Law, and beleeve in that Idoll the Maſſe.

Tho. Thirtels words to Boner.

Next unto him anſwered Thomas Thirtell, ſaying, My Lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an heretike, then you make Chriſt and all the twelve Apoſtles heretikes: for I am in the true faith and right beliefe, and I will ſtand in it, for I know ful well I ſhall have eternall life therefore.

Henrie Ramſeys words to Boner.

The Biſhop then asked the like queſtion of Henry Ramſey: who ſaid againe, My Lord, will you have me to goe from the truth that I am in? I ſay unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will ſtand unto, and not go from them: and I ſay unto you further, that there are two Churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himſelfe and other true Martyrs and Profeſſors of Chriſt) be of the true Church, and ye be not.

Margaret Hides words to Boner.

Unto this queſtion next anſwered Margaret Hide, ſaying, My Lord, you have no cauſe to give ſentence againſt me: for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forſake it; and I doe wiſh that I were more ſtrong in it then I am.

Agnes Stanleys words to Boner.

Laſt of all anſwered Agnes Stanley, and ſaid, I had rather every haire of my head were burned, if it were never ſo much worth, then that I will forſake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith.

Loſebys words to Boner.

Sentence given againſt Loſeby.

The time being now ſpent, they were commanded to appeare againe at afternoone in the ſame place: which commandement being obeyed, the Biſhop firſt called for Loſeby, and after his accuſtomed manner willed his articles and anſwers to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the ſacrament of the altar, the biſhop with his Colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loſeby ſaid, My Lord, ſeeing you put off your cappe, I will put on my cappe, and therewithall did put on his cappe. And after, the Biſhop continuing in his accuſtomable perſwaſions, Loſeby againe ſaid unto him, My Lord, I truſt I have the ſpirit of truth, which you deteſt and abhorre, for the wiſdome of God is fooliſhneſſe unto you. Whereupon the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. And delivering him unto the Sheriffe, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he uſed the like order of exhortations.

The words of Margaret Hide to the Biſhop.

Sentence given againſt Margaret Hide.

To whom notwithſtanding ſhe ſaid, I will not depart from my ſayings till I be burned: and my Lord (quoth ſhe) I would ſee you inſtruct me with ſome part of Gods word, and not to give me inſtructions of the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture. But he, being neither himſelfe, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſh her requeſt, to make ſhort work, uſed his finall reaſon of convincement, which was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. Agnes Stanley, who upon the Biſhops like perſwaſions made this anſwer.

The words of Agnes Stanley to the Biſhop.

My Lord, where you ſay I am an heretike, I am none; neither yet will I beleeve you, nor any man that is wiſe will beleeve as you doe. And as for theſe that ye ſay be burnt for hereſie, I beleeve are true Martyrs before God: therefore I will not goe from my opinion and faith as long as I live.

The words of Tho. Thirtell to the Biſhop.

Her talke thus ended, ſhe received the like reward that the other had. And the biſhop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtell, received of him likewiſe this finall anſwer, My Lord, I will not hold with

Q. Marie.

Tho. Thirtell condemned.

Anno 1557.

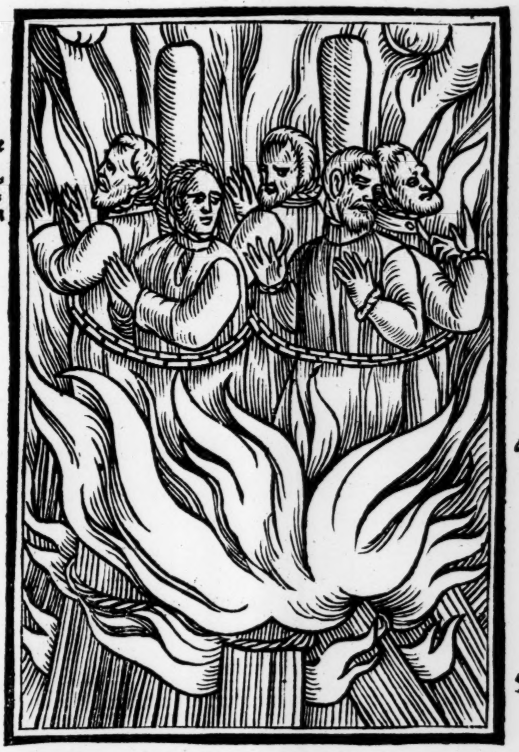
The anſwer & condemnation of Hen. Ramſey.

your idolatrous waies, as you doe: for I ſay, the Maſſe is idolatrie, and will ſticke to my faith and beliefe, ſo long as the breath is in my body. Upon which words he was alſo condemned as an heretike.

Laſt of all, was Henrie Ramſey demanded if he would (as the reſt) ſtand unto his anſwers, or elſe recanting the ſame, come home againe, and be a member of their Church. Whereunto he anſwered, I will not go from my religion and beliefe as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods word.

After theſe words, the Biſhop (to conclude) pronouncing the ſentence of condemnation againſt him and the reſt (as ye have heard) charged the Sheriffes of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the ſame moneth of April, brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire, moſt joyfully and conſtantly they ended their temporall lives, receiving therefore the life eternall.

The cruell burning of five Martyrs in Smithfield.



The Martyrdome of Tho. Loſebie, Henrie Ramſey, Tho. Thirtell, Margaret Hide, Agnes Stanley in Smithfield, Anno 1557. April 12.

Three burned in Saint Georges fields in Southwarke.

May. W. Morant, Ste. Gratwick, one King, Martyrs.

After theſe, moreover in the moneth of May followed three other that ſuffered in St. Georges field in Southwark, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, with one King.

The ſtrange dealing of the Biſhops with Stephen Gratwick, martyr.

Among other hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned Saints of God, I finde the condemnation of none more ſtrange nor unlawfull, then of this Stephen Gratwick: who firſt was condemned by the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, which were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeale from theſe incompetent Judges to his right Ordinarie, his appeale could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other ſhift to colour their inordinate proceedings withall, they ſuborned one of the Prieſts to come in for a counterfait and a falſe Ordinarie, and ſit upon him.

Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter D. White, neither would yeeld to the force of truth, nor ſuffer any of the audience aſſiſtant once to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Fifthly, as they brought in a falſe Ordinarie to ſit upon him; ſo they pretended falſe articles againſt him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their deviſing, to have his bloud.

Sixthly and laſtly, having no other ground nor juſt matters againſt him, but onely for ſaying theſe words; that which I ſaid, I have ſaid, they read the ſentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of theſe men, which needs will be reputed for Catholike Fathers of the Spiritualty, ſucceeders of the Apoſtles, diſciples of Chriſt, pillars of the holy Church, and leaders of the people. Of whoſe doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, I leave to diſcuſſe, referring the the judgement hereof to them, which know the inſtitution of Chriſts religion and doctrine.

The inordinate handling of Ste. Gratwick written and teſtified by his owne record.

Now leſt peradventure the diſordered miſrule of theſe Chriſtmas Lords, will not be credited upon the ſimple narration of the ſtorie, ye ſhall heare the whole diſcourſe of this proceſſe regiſtred by the hand of the Martyr himſelfe, who as he could tell beſt what was done; ſo I am ſure would not teſtifie otherwiſe then truth was, according as you ſhall heare by his owne declaration here following.

The declaration of Stephen Gratwick concerning his own ſtory and condemnation.

The ſtory and examination of Ste. Gratwick, Martyr, under the B. of Win. & Rocheſter, &c.

Upon the 25. day of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1557. I Stephen Gratwick came before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, D. White, into S. Georges Church in Southwark at 8. of the clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and ſaid unto me.

B. Winch. Stephen Gratwick, how ſtandeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy hereſies, the which thou haſt maintained and defended here within my Dioceſſe, oftentimes before me; and alſo upon Sunday laſt ye ſtood up in the face of the whole Church maintaining your hereſies, ſo that you have offended within the libertie of my Dioceſſe: and now I being your Ordinary you muſt anſwer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not; the which I have here in writing, and if ſo be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I reade here the articles againſt you.

And ſo when he had ended, he bade me anſwer unto them.

Grat. My Lord, theſe articles which you have here objected againſt me, are not mine, but of your own making. For I never had any of mine examinations written at any time, and therefore theſe be the objections that you lay againſt me as a ſnare to get my bloud.

Ste. Gratwick appealeth from the B. of Win. to his owne Ordinarie.

Wherefore I deſire your lawfull favour, to allow my lawfull appeale unto mine Ordinarie: for I have nothing to doe with you. And whereas you doe burden me, that I have offended within your dioceſſe, it is nothing ſo: for I have not enterpriſed either to preach or teach within your Dioceſſe, but was apprehended by mine owne Biſhop and ſent priſoner into your dioceſſe, by the conſent of the Councell and mine owne Ordinarie, and therefore I ſo being in your dioceſſe, you have no cauſe to let my lawfull appeale.

The B. of Rocheſter cometh in.

And with that there came the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and was received at the Biſhop of Winceſters hands with much gladneſſe, according

Catholike conveyance among theſe Biſhops.

to their determinate purpoſe before invented. And ſo followed the Archdeacon of Canterburie. And then the Biſhop againe ſtart up as a man halfe raviſhed of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and ſaid, that he was very glad of his coming, making himſelfe ignorant thereof, as he thought it ſhould appeare to me. Then ſaid Wincheſter.

Ste. Gratwick not of Rocheſt. Dioceſſe.

B. Winch. Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you being his Ordinarie. Then ſaid the Archdeacon of Canterburie.

Arch. Cant. I know this man very well. He hath beene divers times before me. And then I anſwered and ſaid:

Gratw. My Lord, I am not of his Dioceſſe, not by five miles: for his Dioceſſe reacheth on that part but to the Clifts of Lewes, and I dwelled at Bright Hempſon, five miles beyond, in the Dioceſſe of the Biſhop of Chicheſter; and therefore I am not of his Dioceſſe.

The Biſhops counterfait a falſe Ordinarie againſt Steven Gratwick.

Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the Archdeacon of Canterburie, caſt their heads together, and laughed: and then they ſaid, My Ordinarie would be here by and by, and ſo they ſent forth for a counterfait inſtead of mine Ordinarie, and then I ſaw them laugh, and ſpake unto them and ſaid:

See what care theſe men have of poore mens bloud.

Grat. Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my bloud, and therein triumph? you have more cauſe to look weightily upon the matter: for I ſtand here before you upon life & death. But you declare your ſelves what you are: for you are lapped in Lambes apparell, but I would to God ye had coats according to your aſſembly here, which is ſcarlet gownes, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my bloud.

And then came ruſhing in that counterfaited Biſhop, who was the hired ſervant to deliver me into the hands of the high Prieſt; and the Biſhop hearing him come, with haſte inquired of his man, who was there: and he ſaid, My Lord of Chicheſter. Then the Biſhop with haſte roſe up and ſaid.

Here cometh in the vice in the play.

Winch. Ye are moſt heartily welcome, and required him to ſit downe; and then ſaid the Biſhop of Wincheſter to me, Lo here is your Ordinarie, What have you now to ſay unto him?

Grat. I have nothing to ſay unto him. If he have nothing to ſay unto me, I pray you let me depart. Then anſwered my counterfait Ordinarie and ſaid.

Counterf. Here you ſtand before my Lords and me in triall of your faith, & if you bring the truth, we ſhall by compulſion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word, and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.

Grat. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authoritie, or by the judgement of the ſpirit of God in his members.

And he anſwered me, by authoritie as well as by the ſpirit.

Chriſt bringing the truth could not be heard of the Scribes and Phariſees.

Grat. Then I ſaid. Now will I turne your owne argument upon you: for Chriſt came before the high Prieſts, Scribes, and Phariſees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himſelfe, which truth cannot lie, yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them. And alſo the Apoſtles, and all the Martyrs that died ſince Chriſt: therefore I turne your owne argument upon you, anſwer it if you can.

Counterf. Then he with a great heat of choler, ſaid unto the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Object ſome articles againſt him, for he is obſtinate, and would faine get out of our hands, therefore hold him to ſome particular: ſo that other anſwer could I not have of his argument.

Objections of the Biſhops owne making.

Winch. Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter began to reade his objections of his owne making againſt me, and bade me anſwer unto them. And I ſaid:

Grat. No, except you would ſet the law apart, becauſe I ſee you are mindfull of my bloud.

Winch. Now you may ſee he will not anſwer to theſe, but as he hath aforeſaid. Then ſpake the Counterfait Ordinarie againe, and ſaid:

Counterf. My Lord, aske him what he ſaith to the Sacrament of the Altar. Then the Biſhop asked me, as my counterfait Ordinarie required him.

Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Grat. My Lord, I doe beleeve that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truely miniſtred in both kindes, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth myſtically by faith the body and bloud of Chriſt. Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he ſaid, Yes. Then ſaid I, Beare witneſſe of the truth.

The ſacrament of the Altar no Sacrament.

Winch. Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe head being ſubtileſt to gather upon my words, ſaid, My Lord, ſee you not how he creepeth away with his hereſies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here ſeparateth the Sacrament of the Altar from the Supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our miniſtration in one kinde, and alloweth that the unworthy receiver doth not eate and drinke the bodie and bloud of Chriſt; which be ſore matters truely weighed, being covered very craftily with his ſubtile ſhifts and ſophiſtrie, but he ſhall anſwer directly or ever he depart.

The wicked eate not the body of the Lord.

Grat. My Lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confeſſed the ſame ſayings to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and faine would have a vantage for my bloud: but ſeeing you judge me not to meane the ſacrament of the Altar, now come to the probation of the ſame Sacrament, and prove it to be the true Sacrament, and I am with you; or elſe if you can prove your Church to be the true Church, I am alſo with you.

The Biſhop of Wincheſters reaſon to prove the ſacrament in one kinde.

But then he called to memory the laſt probation of the Church and Sacraments, how he before was driven to forſake the Scriptures, and to ſhew me by good reaſon how they might miniſter the Sacrament in one kinde: and his reaſon was this, Like as a man or woman dyeth on a ſudden, and ſo when we have given him the body of Chriſt, in the meane time the partie dieth, and ſo he eateth the body of Chriſt, and not drinketh his bloud. And this was his ſimple ſhift in the proving of their Sacraments: ſo that he was now halfe abaſhed to beginne that matter againe.

But yet a little ſhift he brought in, and ſaid:

Winch. What ſayſt thou by the adminiſtration of the Prieſts every day for themſelves, and they miniſter in both kindes?

To that I anſwered, you have two adminiſtrations, for I am ſure at Eaſter you miniſter but in one kinde, and therefore it is not according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your own imaginations.

Winc. Why, then what ſaiſt thou to theſe words, Take, eate, this is my body. Theſe are the words of Chriſt. Wilt thou deny them?

Grat. My Lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirme them, and not deny them.

Rocheſter. Why, then thou doeſt confeſſe in the Sacrament of the Altar to be a reall preſence, the ſelfe ſame bodie that was borne of the Virgin Marie, and is aſcended up into heaven.

Grat. My Lord, what do you now mean? do you not alſo meane a viſible body? for it cannot be, but of neceſſitie, if it be a reall preſence, and a materiall body, it muſt be a viſible body alſo.

Winc. Nay, I ſay unto thee, it is a reall preſence, and a materiall body, and an inviſible body too.

The Catholikes make a fantaſticall body in the ſacrament.

Grat. My Lord, then it muſt needs be a fantaſticall body, for if it ſhould be a materiall and inviſible as you affirme, then it muſt needs be a fantaſticall body: for it is apparent, that Chriſts humane body was viſible and ſeen.

Winc. Then the Biſhop brake out and ſaid, when diddeſt thou ſee him? I pray thee tell me.

Grat. To that I anſwered and ſaid, a ſimple argument it is; Becauſe our corporall eies cannot comprehend Chriſt, doth not prove or follow, that he is inviſible, becauſe we cannot ſee him?

Winc. And with that the Biſhop began to waxe wearie of his argument, and removed his talke to Judas in eating the ſacrament, and ſaid, He eate him wholly, as the Apoſtles did.

Grat. And then I asked him, if he meant Chriſts fleſh and bloud, the which he ſpeaketh of in the ſixth of John, and ſaith, He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall life in me.

Winc. To that he anſwered and ſaid, Yea.

If the wicked do eate the body of Chriſt, they muſt needs be ſaved: and if Infants eate him not, they muſt be condemned by the Popes doctrine

Grat. Then ſaid I, of neceſſitie Judas muſt needs be ſaved, becauſe he did eate the fleſh, and dranke the bloud of Chriſt, as you have affirmed, and alſo all the ungodly that die without repentance, becauſe they have eaten your ſacrament, which you ſay is the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt: therefore of neceſſitie they ſhall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternall life. Which is a great abſurditie to grant, and then of neceſſitie it muſt follow, that all that eate not, and drinke not of your ſacrament, ſhall finally periſh and be damned: for Chriſt ſaith, Except ye eate my fleſh, and drinke my blood, you can have no life in you. And you have afore ſaid that of your ſacrament, which you ſay is the ſame fleſh and bloud that Chriſt ſpeaketh of: and here I prove, that all children then, that die under age to receive the ſacrament, by your own argument muſt be damned, which is horrible blaſphemy to ſpeake. Now here I turn your owne argument upon you, anſwer it if you can.

Winc. My Lord, doe you not ſee what deceitfull arguments he bringeth in here againſt us, mingled with ſophiſtrie, and keepeth himſelfe in vantage, ſo that we can get no hold upon him? But I ſay unto thee, thou perverſe heretike, I ſee now, thou art a perverſe fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I ſee we loſe our time about thee, yet I anſwer thee, St. Paul doth open the ſixth of John plainly, if thou wilt ſee: for he ſaith, They eate Chriſts body, and drinke his bloud unworthily, and that was the cauſe of their damnation.

Falſhood in alledging the Scriptures.

Grat. My Lord, take heed ye doe not adde unto the Text, for he that addeth unto the Text, is accurſed of God, & I am ſure here you have brought more then Paul hath ſpoken: for he ſaith not, becauſe they have eaten his body and drunke his bloud unworthily; but S. Paul ſaith, Whoſoever ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of the cup unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the body and bloud of Chriſt. Note my Lord, he ſaith not as you have affirmed, but cleane contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

The Biſhops failed of their purpoſe, and are in a rage.

Winc. And the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, I belied the Text.

Grat. And then I called for the Text.

Winc. And he ſaid, I asked thee even now if thou underſtoodeſt Latine, and thou ſaidſt, whether I can or no, the people ſhall beare witneſſe in Engliſh.

Grat. And ſo I called againe for the Teſtament, whether it were Latine or Engliſh for the triall of the Text.

Winc. And then when the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaw that I cared not whether of the tranſlations I had, he ſtood up, thinking to beguile ſome ſimple man that had a booke there, and bade him that had an Engliſh Teſtament to bring it in, that he might get ſome hold at him that ſhould bring a Teſtament: but God diſappointed him thereof, and ſo he flew away from his matter, and began to raile upon me, and ſaid my ſubtle arguments ſhould not ſerve: for if I would not anſwer directly, I ſhould nevertheleſſe be excommunicated. For (ſaid he) I ſee a mad toy in thine head; thou glorieſt much in thy talke, and thinkeſt now the people are come about thee, that thou ſhalt incourage them with thy conſtant hereticall opinion. For the laſt day when thou waſt before me upon Sunday in St. Marie Overies Church, thou there reprovedſt my Sermon, and hadſt a thouſand by thee at the leaſt, to bid God ſtrengthen thee: but now let me ſee him here that dare open his mouth to bid God ſtrengthen thee; he ſhall die the death that thou ſhalt die.

No Engliſh teſtament durſt be brought.

The Biſhop of Win. reproved of Gratwick in his ſermon. The Biſhop of Winch. threatneth them that pray to God to ſtrengthen Gratwicke.

Grat. To that I anſwered, My Lord, I know your crueltie doth extend more largely then your pitie. Good experience ſo I have to ſay, for you keepe men in priſon a yeere or two, taking their bookes from them, permitting them not ſo much as a Teſtament to looke upon for their ſoules comfort, the which all men ought to have: and ſo you intreat them more like brute beaſts then Chriſtian men.

The crueltie of Catholikes upon Chriſtian priſoners.

Winc. No Sir, we will uſe you as we will uſe the childe: for if the childe will hurt himſelfe with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So becauſe you will damne your ſoule with the word, therefore you ſhall not have it.

Grat. My Lord, a ſimple argument you bring to maintaine and cover your fault. Are you not aſhamed to make the word the cauſe of our damnation? I never knew any man but onely you that did not affirme our ſinnes to be the cauſe of our damnation, and not the word, as you ſay: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good alſo; Becauſe that ſome men do abuſe drinke, therefore the benefit of drinke ſhould be taken from all men, or any other ſuch like good gift.

A popiſh ſimilitude well applied.

Winch. overthrowne in his own ſimilitude.

Winc. My Lords, here we loſe much time, for this fellow is perverſe, ſpeaking nothing but ſophiſtrie and perverſe queſtions: ſo that we can get no advantage upon him.

Then ſpake my counterfait Ordinarie, as one halfe aſleep all this while; yet ſomewhat with haſte when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and ſaid:

Counterf. Reade theſe articles againſt him once more, and if he will not anſwer them, take him upon his firſt words; That which I ſaid, that I have ſaid.

Winc. Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter began to reade them againe.

Grat. But I ſaid unto him, I would not anſwer them, becauſe they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their owne making, becauſe they would have my bloud. But yet I ſaid, if they would ſet the Law apart, I would talke my conſcience freely to them.

Counterf. Then my counterfait Ordinarie began to ſpeake again, charging me with the ſaying of S. Peter, that I ſhould render account of ſuch hope as was in me.

Grat. So can I do, and yet I ſhall not pleaſe you, for here I now render my hope as S. Peter willeth me: I beleeve onely in Jeſus Chriſt to have my ſalvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in ſuch ſort, as you may have my bloud, and therefore you bring good Scriptures and evill apply them.

Theſe Catholikes will not be contented with confeſſing of Chriſt onely.

Winc. Why, this fellow is perverted, and we ſhall get no more at his hands then we have alreadie; therefore let us pronounce ſentence againſt him, for we do but loſe our time.

Grat. Nay good my Lord, ſeeing you will needs have my bloud, let me ſay a little more for my ſelfe.

The railing ſermon of Winc. againſt good men.

Winch. preacheth againſt himſelfe.

Upon Sunday laſt, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the Apoſtle St. James, and ſaid, If any man thinke himſelfe a religious man, and in the meane time ſeduce his tongue or his heart, the ſame mans religion is a vaine religion; and ſo my Lord, you ſtanding there in the pulpit, in the meane time ſeduced your tongue to ſlander us poore priſoners being there preſent in iron bonds, burdening us with the ſect of Arrians, and with the ſect of Herodians, and with the ſect of Anabaptiſts, and with the ſect of Sacramentaries, and with the ſect of Pelagians.

True Chriſtians not ſuffered to purge themſelves.

He meaneth againſt the reall preſence.

And when we ſtood up to purge our ſelves thereof, you ſaid you would cut out our tongues, and cauſe us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave your ſelfe a ſhrewd blow, for your tongue in the meane time ſlandered your neighbour. For I my Lord will give my life againſt all theſe hereſies, the which you there burdened us withall, even as I will give my life againſt that wherein I now ſtand before you. And with that he was raging angrie, and caught my condemnation, and ſaid.

Winc. Thou wilt grant here no more, but this word, that I have ſaid, I have ſaid: and here I gather matter enough to condemne thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou haſt heretofore ſaid.

Grat. Then I anſwered, If you can prove that ever any of mine examinations were written, it were enough: but you have nothing againſt me, but objections of your owne making.

Winch. condemneth Ste. Gratwick, and why?

Winch. Have at thee now. If thou wilt not yeeld, I will pronounce ſentence againſt thee, and ſo he proceeded forth onward apace, curſing and banning in Latine; ſo that I told him, If the people might heare it in Engliſh, they would thinke you an uncharitable Biſhop.

Ste. Gratwick condemned againſt order, both of temporall and ſpirituall law.

Grat. And then I ſaid, ſtay my Lord, & note what you doe: for you have neither temporall law nor ſpirituall here againſt me in any cauſe.

Then ſtepped forth a Gentleman, and ſaid unto my Lord, Take heed what you do: for he doth here ſay, that you have no title nor cauſe why you ſhould condemne him.

Then the Biſhop looked about him againe, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I ſhould recant.

Then ſaid the Biſhop. Are you there? nay then I know what I have to doe: and ſo he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another Gentleman which began to ſnap and ſnatch at me: and then ſaid I, I would God I had knowne this or ever I had come from home, I would ſurely have put on breeches, and not had my skin thus torne. And all this while the Biſhop read forth ſtill.

At laſt his Chaplaines cried, Stop, ſtop, my Lord: for now he will recant. And then the biſhop asked me againe.

Ste. Gratwick conſtant in Chriſt and in his death.

And I anſwered and ſaid, My Lord, my faith is grounded more ſtedfaſtly, then to change in a moment, it is no proceſſe of time can alter me, unleſſe my faith were as the waves of the ſea: and ſo the Biſhop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the Sheriffe, to be carried priſoner to the Marſhalſey againe. And when I was condemned, I deſired God with a loud voyce, that he would not lay my bloud to their charge, if it were his good will, and ſo then they refuſed my prayer, and ſent me away. Then I began to talke as I went, and they cried, Cut out his tongue, or ſtop his mouth: and ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſey, and lapped in iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this preſent writing ſhall come, may take example by my death and ſouldier-fare. So be it.

Gratwick after his condemnation prayeth for his enemies.

Q. Marie. Anno. 1557.

By me Stephen Gratwick, condemned for Gods everlaſting truth.

Ste. Gratwick to the reader.

Here for want of time, I have left out many matters, becauſe the Lord hath haſtened the time, ſo that I have written but the briefeneſſe of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, the which the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and I debated upon; the which matter I would have been very glad to have ſet downe in writing.

Winc. attempteth Ste. Gratwick with flattering and praiſing.

Alſo much more talke there was, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter and I had concerning my worldly friends and perſonall eſtate: for he plaid Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountaines and there told me, my learning was good, and my eloquence, and alſo my knowledge, ſave that I did abuſe it, ſaid he; and then he fell to prayſing of my perſon, that it was comely, and worthy to ſerve a Prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me anſwer unto ſuch objections as he would lay againſt me, that I might fall into his Dioceſſe.

Thus Steven Gratwick this Chriſtian Martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (as ye have heard) was burned with W. Morant, and one King, in S. Georges field, about the latter end of May.

Seven godly Martyrs, five women and two men, burned at Maidſtone for the word of truth, and profeſſing the ſincere religion of Chriſt.

June 18.

Ric. Thornton, Nich. Harpsfield, perſecutors.

I Shewed a little before, how after the univerſall Proclamation was ſent and ſet forth by the King and Queene in the moneth of Februarie laſt, the ſtorme of perſecution beganne in all places to riſe (whereof ſome part alſo is declared before: but yet in no place more then in the Countrey and Dioceſſe of Canterburie, by reaſon of certaine the aforeſaid inquiſitors, being now armed with authoritie, but eſpecially by reaſon of Richard Thornton Suffragan of Dover, and the Archdeacon of Cant. who of their owne nature were ſo furious and fiery againſt the harmeleſſe flock of Chriſt, that there was no neede of any proclamation to ſtirre up the coales of their burning crueltie, by reaſon whereof many a godly Saint lyeth ſlain under the altar; and in divers places of this booke well may appeare.

And now to returne to the ſaid Dioceſſe of Canterburie againe, in the next moneth following, being the moneth of June, the 18. day of the ſame, were ſeven Chriſtian and true faithfull Martyrs of Chriſt burned at Maidſtone, whoſe names here follow:

The names of the Martyrs.

Ioane Bradbridge of Stapleherſt.
Walter Appleby of Maidſtone.
Petronill his wife.
Edmund Allin of Fritenden.
Katherine his wife.
Ioane Mannings wife of Maidſtone.
Elizabeth a blinde Maiden.

As concerning the generall articles commonly objected to them in the publike Conſiſtorie, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the uſuall manner expreſſed before, neither did their anſwers in effect much differ from the other that ſuffered under the ſame Ordinarie in the foreſaid Dioceſſe of Canterburie.

Now as touching their accuſers, and manner of apprehenſion, and their private conflicts with the adverſaries, I finde no great matter coming to my hands, ſave onely of Edmund Allin ſome intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cauſe and anſwers before the Juſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall underſtand.

The examination of Edmund Allin.

The ſtory of Edmund Allin, with his trouble and examination before ſir John Baker.

This Allin was a Milner, of the Pariſh of Frytenden in Kent, and in a dear yeer, when as many poore people were like to ſtarve, he fed them, and ſold his corn better cheap by halfe then others did; and did not that onely, but alſo fed them with the food of life, reading to them the Scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the Popiſh Prieſts thereabouts dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely, of John Tailor Parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden Parſon of Stapleherſt, he was eftſoons complained of to the Juſtices, and brought before ſir John Baker Knight; who firſt ſending for them, committed both him and his wife to Ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went over unto Calice. Where after that he had continued a certain ſpace, he began to be troubled in conſcience, and there meeting with one John Webbe, of the ſame Pariſh of Fritenden (who was likewiſe fled from the tyrannie of ſir John Baker, and Parſon Tailor) ſaid unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatſoever the cauſe was; for God (ſaid he) had ſomething to do for him in England: and thus ſhortly he returned home again to the Pariſh of Frytenden, where was a cruell Prieſt, there Parſon, called John Tailor.

Edmund Allin went to Calice.

Edmund Allin returneth again from Calice, & is apprehended.

This Parſon Tailor, being informed by his brother Sextan, that Edmund Allin the Milner and his wife were returned, and were not at Maſſe time in the Church; as he was the ſame time in the midſt of his Maſſe, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they terme it) even almoſt at the lifting up of his Romiſh God, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all ſpeed to go unto their houſe, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haſte as might be poſſible. Which promiſe he well performed. For he had not ſo ſoon made an end of Ite, miſſa eſt, and the Veſtments off his back, but by and by he was at the houſe, and there laying hand of the ſaid Allin, cauſed him again to be brought to ſir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people, and ſo was he and his wife ſent to Maidſtone priſon. Witneſſed by Richard Fletcher Vicar of Crambroke, and John Webbe of Frytenden.

Mark what a holy Maſſe ſaying was here, & what a charitable religion is this.

Witneſſes to the ſtorie.

John Dove, Tho. Beſt, Tho. Linſey, Percival Barber, perſecutors.

They were not ſo ſoon in priſon, but maſter Baker immediately ſent unto their houſe certain of his men, John Dove, Thomas Beſt, Thomas Linley, Percivall Barbel, with the foreſaid John Tailor Parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden Parſon of Stapleherſt, to take an Inventorie of all the goods that were in the houſe. Where they found in the bedſtraw a casket locked with a padlock, and ſo cutting the wiſt thereof, opened it, and found therein a ſackcloth bag of money, containing the ſum of thirteen or fourteen pound, partly in gold, and partly in ſilver. Which money after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themſelves, they carried it away with them.

Beſides alſo they found there certain books, as Pſalters, Bibles, and other writings. All which books, with the money, were delivered to the foreſaid Prieſt Thomas Henden, Parſon of Stapleherſt, and after in the reign of this Queen, Anno 5. Reg. Elizab. was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be ſeen.

Tho. Henden Prieſt, perſecutor.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly ſpoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought (as is aforeſaid) before ſir John Baker the Juſtice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercie and pitie, asked him if thoſe were the fruits of his Goſpel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conſpiracies to ſowe ſedition and rebellion; and thus he began with him to reaſon.

The talk or reaſoning between ſir Iohn Baker, Collins his Chaplain, and Edmund Allin.

The examination of Edm. Allin before ſir John Baker.

Baker. Who gave thee authoritie to preach and interpret? Art thou a Prieſt? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy licence.

Mart. Collins, ſir John Bakers Schoolmaſter ſaid, ſurely he is an arrant Heretique, and worthy to be burned.

Private reading or expounding of the Scriptures forbidden to no man.

Allin. And it may pleaſe your honour to give me leave to anſwer in the cauſe of my faith, I am perſwaded that God hath given me this authoritie, as he hath given to all other Chriſtians. Why are we called Chriſtians, if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his Law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not ſo much underſtanding? Is not Chriſt our Father? ſhall not the Sonne follow the Fathers ſteps? is not Chriſt our Maſter? and ſhall the Scholler be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? is not Chriſt our Redeemer? and ſhall not we praiſe his name, and ſerve him that hath redeemed us from ſinne and damnation? Did not Chriſt being but twelve yeers of age diſpute with the Doctors, and interpret the Prophet Iſaiah? and yet notwithſtanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were Prieſts, but of the Royall tribe of Juda, neither had taken any outward Prieſthood; wherefore if we be Chriſtians, we muſt do the ſame.

Luke 4.

Collins. And it ſhall like your Honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himſelfe with Chriſt?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thy ſelf?

Allin. Yea that I have. Adam was licenced of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and poſteritie, and ſo David teacheth in divers Pſalms; and Solomon alſo preached to the people, as the book of the Preacher proveth verie well, where he teacheth that there is no immortall felicitie in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were diſobedient in his dayes, and therefore is called the eighth Preacher of righteouſneſſe, in the ſecond Epiſtle of Peter. Alſo in the 11. of Numbers, where Moſes had choſen ſeventy elders to help him to teach and rule the reſt, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joſua being offended, complained to Moſes, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moſes anſwered, and wiſhed that all the people could do the like. What ſhould I be long? moſt of the Prieſts were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Preaching without licence in the Old Teſtament.

Col. Theſe are authorities of the Old Teſtament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knoweſt no Schoole points. Is not the

Law divided into the law ceremoniall, morall, and judiciall?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as S. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Coloſſians, where he ſaith, Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Chriſt is the body.

Coloſ. 1.

Col. And are not the Judicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the fifth of Matthew, and by Paul in the 1. Epiſtle to Timoth. 4. The Law, ſaith he, is not ſet forth for the vertuous and godly, but for men-ſlayers, perjured, adulterers, and ſuch like.

Col. "Thou art an Heretique. Wilt thou call the Judicials of Moſes again? wilt thou have adulterie puniſhed with death? diſobedient children to their parents to be ſtoned? Wilt thou have Legem talionis? But thou art an Aſſe. Why ſhould I ſpeak Latine to thee thou erroneous rebell? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

" Albeit the poſitive law of Moſes Judicials do not binde the Gentiles with the ſame neceſſity abſolutely to every condition, as it did the Jews, to whom it was peculiarly given: yet may the Gentiles borrow out of the ſame law ſuch things that ſhall be expedient for their regiment, neither can they borrow any laws better then out of Moſes.

Allin. If we had that law, we ſhould neither have diſobedient children, neither adulterers, neither falſe witneſſe bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker. Maſter Collins, let us return to our firſt matter. Why didſt thou teach the people, whom thou ſaidſt, thou didſt feed both bodily and ſpiritually, being no Prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all Kings to rule our affections, Prieſts to preach out the vertues and Word of G O D, as Peter writeth, and lively ſtones to give light to other. For as out of Flint ſtones cometh forth that, that is able to ſet all the world on fire; ſo out of Chriſtians ſhould ſpring the beams of the Goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the world. If we muſt give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then muſt we ſtudie the Scriptures, and practiſe them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparrell, and will weare none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a Lawyer, and utter none? Shall every Artificer be ſuffered, yea and commended to practiſe his facultie and ſcience, and the Chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not every Lawyer practiſe his Law? Is not every Chriſtian a follower of Chriſt? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all Sciences, be practiſed of Chriſtians? Doth not ſaint Paul forbid any mans ſpirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibite any man that hath any of theſe gifts, which he repeateth, 1. Cor. 14. to practiſe the ſame? Onely he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apoſtles. And the reſtraint was made by Gregorie the ninth Pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in King Edwards dayes.

In time of publike corruption, and in want of true teachers, it is not forbidden to any man to teach.

Pope Gregory the ninth firſt reſtrained lay-men to teach and inſtruct others in Scriptures.

Collins. This villaine (and it like your Honour) is mad. By my Prieſthood, I beleeve that he will ſay, that a Prieſt hath no more authoritie then another man. Doth not a Prieſt binde and looſe?

Allin. No, my ſinne bindeth me, and my repentance looſeth. God forgiveth ſinne onely, and no Prieſt. For every Chriſtian, when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelf, and when he repenteth, looſeth himſelf. And if any other be looſed from his ſinne by my exhortation, I am ſaid to looſe him; and if he perſevere in ſinne, notwithſtanding my exhortation, I am ſaid to binde him, although it is God that bindeth and looſeth, and giveth the increaſe. Therefore ſaith Chriſt, Matth. 18. Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them, and whoſeſoever ſins they forgive, they are forgiven; and whoſeſoever they retain, they are retained. Neither hath the Pope any keyes, ſave the keyes of errour; for the key that openeth the lock to Gods myſteries and to ſalvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reaſon, Saint Auguſtine and Origen, with others are of this opinion. Then they reviled him, and laid him in the Stocks all the night. Wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with ſuch extremitie, willed Allin to keep his conſcience to himſelf, and to follow Barucks counſell in the ſixth chapter. Wherefore when ye ſee the multitude of people worſhipping them, behinde and before, ſay ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought onely to be worſhipped.

Sin bindeth, repentance looſeth, God forgiveth, man exhorteth.

How man remitteth ſin, or retaineth.

The Popes keyes be the keyes of error.

Wherewith he was perſwaded to go to hear Maſſe the next day, and ſuddenly before the ſacring went out, and conſidered in the Church-yard with himſelf, that ſuch a little cake between the Prieſts fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a materiall bodie, neither to have ſoul, life, ſinews, bones, fleſh, legs, head, arms, nor breſt, and lamented that he was ſeduced by the place of Baruck, which his conſcience gave him to be no Scripture, or elſe to have another meaning: and after this he was brought again before ſir John Baker, who asked why he did refuſe to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar.

Allin brought again before ſir John Baker.

Allin. It is an Idoll.

Col. It is Gods body.

Talk of the ſacrament.

Allin. It is not.

Col. By the Maſſe it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Col. How proveſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſat at his ſupper, and gave them bread to eat.

Col. Bread knave?

Allin. Yea bread, which you call Chriſts bodie. Sat he ſtill at the table, or was he both in their mouthes, and at the table? If he were both in their mouthes, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or elſe had a fantaſticall bodie; which is an abſurditie to ſay it.

Baker. Chriſts body was glorified, and might be in moe places then one.

This Papiſt granteth that Chriſt had a glorified body at his Supper.

Allin. Then he had more bodies then one, by your own placing of him.

Col. Thou ignorant Aſſe, the Schoolmen ſay, that a glorified body may be every where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it roſe again, then was it not glorified at his laſt ſupper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouthes by your own reaſon.

Col. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing elſe: but Chriſts body, ſay you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing elſe. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the perſon of the Father, the perſon of the Son, the perſon of the holy Ghoſt, the humane nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothing, which you muſt needs confeſſe, if he occupieth no place, then is our ſtudy in vain, our faith fruſtrate, and our hope without reward.

The Papiſts make foure perſons in one Trinity.

Col. This rebell will beleeve nothing but Scripture. How knoweſt thou that it is the Scripture but by the Church? and ſo ſaith St. Auſten.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Auſten ſaith, but I am perſwaded, that it is Scripture by divers arguments: Firſt, that the Law worketh in me my condemnation. The Law telleth me that of my ſelf I am damned; and this damnation M. Collins, you muſt finde in your ſelf, or elſe you ſhall never come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of conſcience, without faith, is deſperation; ſo is a glorious and Romiſh faith, without the lamentation of a mans ſins, preſumption.

How the Scripture is known to be Scripture.

The ſecond is the Goſpel, which is the power and ſpirit of God. This ſpirit (ſaith S. Paul) certified my ſpirit, that I am the ſon of God, and that theſe are the Scriptures.

The third are the wonderfull works of God, which cauſe me to belœve that there is a God, though we glorifie him not as God, Rom. 1. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and other his works (as David diſcourſeth in Pſal. 19.) declare that there is a God, and that theſe are the Scriptures, becauſe that they teach nothing elſe but God and his power, maieſtie, and might; and becauſe the Scripture teacheth nothing diſſonant from this preſcription of nature. And fourthly, becauſe that the Word of God gave authoritie to the Church in Paradiſe, ſaying, that the ſœd of the woman ſhould break down the Serpents head. This ſœd is the Goſpel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are aſſured of eternall life; and theſe words, The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the Serpents head, gave authoritie to the Church, and not the Church to the Word.

Baker. I heard ſay, that you ſpake againſt Prieſts and Biſhops.

The revenews of Biſhops and Prelates in England.

Allin. I ſpake for them; for now they have ſo much living, and eſpecially Biſhops, Archdeacons, and Deans, that they neither can nor will teach Gods Word. If they had a hundred pounds apœce, then would they apply their ſtudy; now they cannot for their affairs.

Col. Who will then ſet his children to ſchool?

Allin. Where there is now one ſet to ſchool for that end, there would be fourty, becauſe that one Biſhops living divided into thirty or fourty parts, would finde ſo many as well learned men as the Biſhops be now, who have all this living, neither had Peter or Paul any ſuch revenew.

Baker. Let us diſpatch him; he will mar all.

Col. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he ſaith, it would make moe learned men.

Baker. But our Biſhops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a Common-wealth to have ſuch Biſhopricks divided, for the further increaſe of learning.

Baker. What ſayſt thou to the ſacrament?

Allin. As I ſaid before.

The Martyrdom of five women and two men at Maidſtone. Anno 1557. June 18.

Baker. Away with him. And thus was he carried to priſon, and afterward burned. And thus much touching the particular ſtorie of Edmund Allin and his wife. Who with the five other Martyrs above named, being ſeven, to wit, five women and two men, were altogether burned at Maidſtone, the yœr and moneth aforementioned, and the 18. day of the ſame moneth.

Another ſtory of like cruelty, ſhewed upon other ſeven Martyrs, burnt at Canterbury, three men, and foure women.

June 19. The ſtory of 7. other Martyrs.

Unmercifull crueltie of the Catholiques againſt poore women.

AMong ſuch infinite ſeas of troubles in theſe moſt dangerous dayes, who can withhold himſelf from bitter tears, to ſœ the madding rage of theſe pretenſed Catholiques, who being never ſatiſfied with blood to maintain their carnall kingdome, preſume ſo highly to violate the preciſe Law of Gods commandements, in ſlaying the ſimple poore Lambes of the glorious congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, and that for the true teſtimonie of a good conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate Goſpel of their ſalvation? What heart will not lament the murdering miſchief of theſe men? who for want of work do ſo wrack their tine on ſilly poore women, whoſe weak imbecillitie the more ſtrength it lacketh by naturall imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of Prieſts that ſhould be charitable.

But bleſſed be the Lord omnipotent, who ſupernaturally hath indued from above ſuch weak creatures with ſuch manly ſtomack and fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the uttermoſt extremitie of theſe pitileſſe perſecutors: as he did before ſtrengthen the mother of the ſeven ſons in the Macchabœs, and as he hath done ſince with divers and ſundrie other godly women in theſe our later dayes, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, and here preſently may appear by the martyrdome of theſe ſeven hereunder following, of the which were foure women and thrœ men, burnt together at Canterbarie the 30. of the ſaid moneth of June, in the yœr aforeſaid, whoſe names are theſe:

Iohn Fiſhcock.
Nicholas White.
Nicholas Pardue.
Barbara Final, widow.

Bradbridges widow.
Wilſons wife.
Bendens wife.

This Bradbridges wife was thought to be with childe.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to proſecute the ſeverall ſtory of every one of theſe godly Martyrs; ſo I cannot paſſe over untouched the cruell and unchriſtian handling of Alice Benden during her impriſonment, according as I have received by the faithfull relation of them which beſt were acquainted with her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, being her own naturall brethren. The ſtory is thus.

Roger and Tho. Hall, two godly brethren of Alice Benden.

¶ The order of the impriſonment and tragicall handling of Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden of the Pariſh of Staplehurſt, in the County of Kent, for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

The impriſonment of Alice Benden, and manner of her handling.

M. Roberts of Crambroke perſecutor.

FIrſt, Alice Benden was brought before one maſter Roberts of Crambroke, in the ſaid County, the 14. day of October, in the yœr of our Lord, 1556. of whom ſhe was demanded why ſhe would not go to the Church. And ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not ſo do with a good and clœr conſcience, becauſe there was much idolatrie committed againſt the glorie of God. For the which with many mocks and taunts ſhe was ſent to priſon, where ſhe lay fourtœn dayes. For on the 20. day of October her husband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurſt, to write to the biſhop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannicall ſword in Kent for thoſe dayes, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Alice Benden impriſoned for not coming to the Church.

Alice Benden delivered by ſute of her neighbours.

Wherefore the Biſhop called her before him, and aſked her if ſhe would go home, and go to the Church. Whereunto ſhe anſwered; If I would have ſo done, I nœd not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be ſhriven of thy Pariſh Prieſt? And ſhe ſaid, No, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſaid he, go thy wayes home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Whereunto ſhe anſwered nothing. But a Prieſt that ſtood by, ſaid; She ſaith, ſhe will my Lord. Wherefore he let her go, and ſhe came forthwith home.

The husband procureth the trouble and impriſonment of his wife.

Sir John Gilford commandeth Alice Benden to the caſtle of Canterbury.

On the Saturday following, her husband willed her to go to the Church; which ſhe both then and elſe when refuſed to do. Wherefore on the Sunday fourtœn dayes after, he going to the Church, came into the companie of divers inhabitants of the ſame Pariſh, among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be ſent to ſir John Gilford, who commanded her to priſon again: yea, and the more to utter his own ſhame, the ſaid her huſband took money of the Conſtable to carry her to priſon, the price of his wives blood, meaning indeed to carry her to priſon himſelf. But ſhe having much more care of his honeſt and good report, then he had regard (as it is eaſie to ſee) of his own infamy, and no leſſe aſhamed of his ſo rude and unnaturall doings, choſe rather to commit her ſelf willingly into the hands of her enemies, then that the world ſhould witneſſe againſt her huſband of ſo facinorous a fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the Conſtable, deſiring him to go with her. But he anſwered that he could not ſo do, but granted her his boy to go with her; with whom ſhe went to priſon, namely, the Caſtle of Canterbury, according to the commandement given.

The ſpare diet of Alice Benden and Potkins wife in Canterbury Caſtle.

Where this one thing is worthie to be noted, that while ſhe was in this priſon, ſhe practiſed with a priſon-fellow of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them with two pence half-peny a day, to trie thereby how well they could ſuſtain penurie and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they ſhould be removed from thence to the Biſhops priſon, there livings ſhould be but three farthings a peece a day, and did indeed both ſo live for fourteen dayes ere ſhe was from thence removed.

The 22. day of Januarie following, her huſband went again to the Biſhop, deſiring him to deliver his wife out of priſon: but he ſaid ſhe was an obſtinate Heretique, and would not be reformed; and therefore ſaid that he could not deliver her.

The huſband complaineth of his wives brother Roger Hall.

Then ſaid he; My Lord, ſhe hath a brother, whoſe name is Roger Hall, that reſorteth unto her. If your Lordſhip could keep him from her, ſhe would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and perſwadeth her not to return or relent.

Alice Benden removed from the Biſhops priſon.

This occaſion was not ſo ſoone given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the Biſhop commanding her upon the ſame to a priſon called Mondayes hole, there alſo he gave a ſtrait charge, that if at any time her brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

The Biſhops priſon deſcribed.

This priſon was within a Court where the Prebends chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window incloſed with a pale, of height, by eſtimation, foure foot and a half, and diſtant from the ſame three foot, ſo that ſhe looking from beneath, might onely ſee ſuch as ſtood at the pale. After this her brother ſought often for her, with no leſſe danger of life then diligence. But for the unknown ſituation of the place, it being alſo but rarely uſed for a priſon, and the matter as cloſely kept, as it was ſecretly done, he could never come to underſtand of her being there, until through Gods mercifull will and unſearchable providence, he coming thither very rathe in the morning, her Keeper being then gone to the Church to ring (for he was a Bell-ringer) chanced to hear her voice, as ſhe powred out unto God her ſorrowfull complaints, ſaying the Pſalms of David; and there could he no otherwiſe relieve her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and ſticking the ſame on a pole, and ſo reached it unto her; for neither with meat nor drink he could ſuſtain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither. All the which time no creature was known to come at her, more then her Keeper.

Example of Gods mercifull providence in relieving his ſaints.

Her lying in that priſon was onely upon a little ſhort ſtraw betweene a paire of Stocks and a ſtone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, a halfe penny bread, and a farthing drink, neither could ſhe get any more for her money. Wherefore ſhe deſired to have her whole allowance in bread, and uſed water for her drink. Thus did ſhe lie nine weeks. During all which time ſhe never changed her apparell; whereby ſhe became at the laſt a moſt pitious and loathſome creature to behold.

Alice Benden kept in the Biſhops priſon nine weeks with bread & water.

The affliction of Alice Benden at her firſt coming to priſon.

At her firſt coming into this place, ſhe did grievouſly bewail with great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with her ſelf; why her Lord God did with his ſo heavie juſtice ſuffer her to be ſequeſtred from her loving fellows into ſo extreme miſery.

In theſe dolorous mournings did ſhe continue, till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorrowfull ſupplications, rehearſing this verſe of the Pſalm; Why art thou ſo heavie O my ſoul? And again, The right hand of the moſt high can change all: ſhe received comfort in the midſt of her miſeries, and after that continued very joyfull untill her deliverie from the ſame.

Alice Benden receiveth comfort of the Lord in the midſt of her miſeries.

Alice Benden called before the Biſhop.

About the 25. day of March, in the yeer of our Lord, 1557. ſhe was called before the Biſhop, who demanded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and go to the Church or no, promiſing her great favour, if ſhe would be reformed and do as they did.

The anſwer of Alice Benden to the Biſhop.

To whom ſhe anſwered, I am throughly perſwaded by the great extremitie, that you have alreadie ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I ſee, ſaith ſhe, that you ſeek my utter deſtruction, ſhewing how lame ſhe then was of cold taken, and for lack of food, while ſhe lay in that painfull priſon; whereby ſhe was not able to move her ſelf without great pain.

Alice Benden from the Biſhops priſon ſent to Weſtgate.

Then did the Biſhop deliver her from that filthie hole, and ſent her to Weſtgate, where after ſhe had been changed, and for a while been clean kept, her ſkin did wholly ſo pill and ſcale off, as if ſhe had been with ſome mortall venome poyſoned. Here ſhe continued till the latter end of April. At which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the priſon called the Caſtle. Where ſhe continued till the ſlaughter day, which was the nineteenth day of June, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

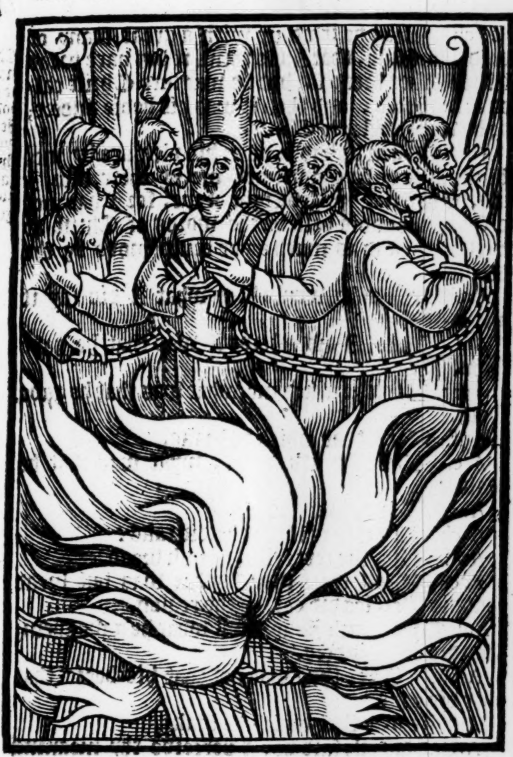
Alice Benden condemned and ſent to the Caſtle in Canterbury.

When ſhe was at the ſtake, ſhe caſt her handkerchief unto one John Banks, requiring him to keep the ſame in memorie of her, and from about her middle ſhe took a white lace, which ſhe gave to the Keeper, deſiring him to give the ſame to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bound with, except the chain. A ſhilling alſo of Philip and Marie ſhe took forth, which her father had bowed and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to priſon, deſiring that her ſaid brother ſhould with obedient ſalutations render the ſame to her father again, and ſhew him that it was the firſt piece of money that he ſent her after her troubles began, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept, and now ſent him to do him to underſtand, that ſhe never lacked money while ſhe was in priſon.

With this Alice Benden were burned alſo the reſidue of the other bleſſed Martyrs above named, being ſeven in number. Who being brought to the place where they ſhould ſuffer for the Lords cauſe at Canterbury, undreſſed themſelves joyfully to the fire; and being readie thereto, they all (like the communion of Saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with ſuch zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they roſe and went to the ſtake, where being compaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yeelded their ſouls and lives gloriouſly into the hand of the Lord.

The burning of ſeven Martyrs at Canterbury.

The Martyrdome of three men and foure women at Canterbury. Anno 1557. June 19.



This Bradbridges wife, when ſhe was condemned of the Biſhop to be burned, had two children named Patience and Charitie. Who then ſaid to the Biſhop, that if he would needs burn her, yet ſhe truſted, that he would take and keep Patience and Charitie, meaning her two children. Nay, quoth the Biſhop, by the faith of my bodie, I will meddle with neither of them both.

The Biſhop will neither keep Patience nor Charity.

The troubles and examinations of Matthew Plaiſe.

Matthew Plaiſe.

Unto theſe holy Martyrs of Kent above ſpecified, whereof ſeven ſuffered at Maidſtone, and ſeven at Canterburie, I thought not unmeet here alſo to be adjoyned the examination of Matthew Plaiſe, a Weaver of the ſame Countie of Kent, and a faithfull Chriſtian. Who being apprehended and impriſoned likewiſe for the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, in the Caſtle of Canterburie, was brought to examination before the Biſhop of Dover, and Harpſfield the Archdeacon, as here is to be read and ſeen.

The examination and anſwers of Matthew Plaiſe Weaver, of the Pariſh of Stone, in the County of Kent, before Thornton Biſhop of Dover, Harpſfield Archdeacon, Collins Commiſſary, and other Inquiſitors. Anno 1557.

Examination of Matthew Plaiſe before the Biſhop of Dover, Harpſfield Archdeacon, and Collins Commiſſary, &c.

First, when I came before the Biſhop, he asked me whether I were not of that Dioceſſe, and where I dwelt; for that was my firſt Article.

Anſ. I anſwered, I was of the pariſh of Stone in Kent, and ſubject unto the King and Queen of England.

Biſhop. Then he ſaid, I was indited by twelve men at Aſhford, at the Seſſions, for hereſie.

Anſ. I ſaid, that was ſooner ſaid then proved.

Biſh. Then he ſaid it was the truth that he had ſpoken to me, for he had whereby to prove.

Anſ. Then I deſired him to let me hear it, and I would anſwer to it.

Biſh. But he ſaid he would not do ſo, but I ſhould anſwer to my Article, yea or nay.

Anſ. I ſaid, he could not; for I was not at Aſhford, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

Archdeac. After many words betwixt the Biſhop and me, the Archdeacon ſaid; Peace, peace, we do not deſire thy blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no Heretique, with many flattering words, and ſaid, yet I was ſuſpected of hereſie; and if I would be content to confeſſe how I did beleeve as concerning thoſe Articles, they would gladly teach me.

Anſ. But I ſaid I did not ſo think, for I talked with one of your Doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did beleeve in the ſacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and becauſe I would not make unto him an expoſition, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him for my learning to write his minde; and if it were the truth, I would beleeve him; and this I did deſire him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Then ſaid he, it was not ſo, he durſt ſwear upon a book.

Anſ. I ſaid, it would be ſo proved.

Arch. Then he ſtood up with a long proceſſe, and ſaid, he would tell me the truth, and was ſure that the ſame Doctor did beleeve as he did.

Anſ. I asked him how he knew that, ſeeing ſaint Paul doth ſay, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the ſpirit which dwelleth in him: but if you wiſt what Chriſt meant by theſe words; I require mercy and not ſacrifice, Matth. 12. you would not kill innocents.

Oſe 6.

Biſhop. The Biſhop began with me again, and charged me in the King and Queens name, and the Lord Cardinals, to anſwer yea or nay to the Articles that followed.

Anſ. Then I commanded him in his name that ſhould come in flaming fire with his mightie Angels to render vengeance to the diſobedient, and to all thoſe that beleeved not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhould be puniſhed with everlaſting damnation, that he ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth grounded upon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then I would anſwer him, or elſe not.

Biſh. Then he was very angry, and ſaid; if I would not anſwer, he would condemne me indeed, unleſſe I would anſwer every Article.

Anſ. Well, ſaid I, if you do, you ſhall be guiltie of my blood, and prove your ſelf a murtherer.

Archd. Then the Archdeacon took the Articles in his hand, and read the ſecond Article, which was, that I was a Chriſtian man, and did beleeve in their mother the Catholique Church, and the determination thereof.

The Catholike Church.

Anſ. I ſaid I was a Chriſtian man indeed; and therefore they had nothing againſt me.

Archd. Then ſaid he, what ſayſt thou to the Catholique Church, which hath ſo long continued, except it were nine or ten yeers, that this hereſie hath ſprung up here in this Realm?

Anſ. I ſaid, no man can accuſe me of any thing ſpoken againſt the Catholique Church of Chriſt.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop; Doeſt thou not beleeve the Creed?

Anſ. Yes verily, I beleeve my Creed, and all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the Scriptures.

Biſhop. Then, ſaith he, thou doeſt confeſſe that there is a Catholique Church, I am glad of that; but tel me, is the King and Queen of that Church, or no?

The article of the King and Queen is no article of his Catholique Church.

And yet he ſaid before that he went not about to ſeek his blood.

Anſ. Well, ſaid I, now I perceive, you go about to be both mine accuſer, and alſo my Judge, contrarie to all right. I confeſſe Chriſt hath a Church upon earth, which is built upon the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the head thereof, and as touching the King and Queen, I anſwer, I have nothing to do with any mans faith but mine own: neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not my ſelf, but the Lord muſt judge me.

Biſh. Then ſaid he; Is there no part of that Church here in England?

Anſ. Well, I perceive you would fain have ſomething to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Chriſt ſaith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the middeſt among them.

Judgement without truth.

Then the Archdeacon ſtood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and ſaid to the people, that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived ſo long time, and that half a dozen of us ſhould have the truth in a corner, and that all they ſhould be deceived, with ſuch like taunts and mocks; but would not ſuffer me to ſpeak one word.

Arch. Then he read the article of the ſacrament, and ſaid, I did denie the reall preſence to be in the ſacrament after it was once conſecrated, and that I ſaid, Chriſts bodie was in heaven, and no where elſe, and that the bread was nothing but a ſigne, token, or remembrance.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, you have to ſhew where and what my words were, and hereof we talked a great while.

Biſh. At the laſt the Biſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me in the Kings, Queens, and Cardinals name before the Maior and his brethren, taking them to witneſſe, if I did not ſay yea or nay, he would condemne me.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, ſeeing you have nothing to accuſe me of, wherefore ſhould I ſo anſwer?

Archdeac. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, I was guiltie; and ſaid I was like a thief at the Bar, which would not confeſſe his fault, becauſe his accuſers were not preſent; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth againſt him.

Matth. Plaiſe confeſſeth his minde of the ſacrament.

Anſ. Then I ſaw whereabout they went, granting to anſwer them by the word, or elſe I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I beleeve that Chriſt took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid; Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me.

Arch. Doeſt thou beleeve that Chriſt meant even as he ſaid?

Anſ. I ſaid, Chriſt was no diſſembler, but he ſpake the very truth.

Arch. Thou haſt very well ſaid, we will make the beſt of thy words. Then he praiſed me with many words, going about to prove it his bodie reall and ſubſtantiall, and ſaid, Chriſt called himſelf bread: and this to prove, when Chriſt ſaid, This is my bodie, the bread was his bodie, ſaid he, indeed, reall, and ſubſtantiall, not ſo long and ſo big as it hung on the Croſſe, as the Capernaites did think; but we eat it, as mans weak nature can eat Chriſt. Therefore when he had ſaid, This is my body, the bread was his bodie in very deed.

Capernaicall doctrine.

Anſ. Then I aſked him, what Chriſt meant by theſe words, Which is given for you?

Arch. He ſaid, Chriſt ſpake that by the bread alſo; but it was not written in Matthew, but Luke had thoſe words.

Anſ. Then I aſked him, if Chriſts bodie were made of bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for us, or not?

Arch. Then he ſaid, No, by Saint Mary, I ſay not ſo.

Anſ. You have ſaid the truth indeed, and even as I beleeve.

Arch. Then he ſtood up with a great many of words, and ſaid, that I did think it but bare bread ſtill, as other bread is; but he was ſure Chriſt called it his bodie, and then it was his bodie indeed; for he would beleeve Chriſt.

Chriſt called it his body: Ergo, he made it his body. It followeth not: For a thing may be called, and yet no nature changed.

Anſ. When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their law, I ſaid, he had not judged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did beleeve the words of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the Word.

Arch. Then he would hear what I did ſay it was.

Anſ. I ſaid, I did beleeve it was that he gave them.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what was that he gave them.

Anſ. I ſaid, that which he brake.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what was that he brake?

Anſw. I ſaid, that he took.

Arch. What was it that he did take?

Anſ. I ſaid, the text ſaith, he took bread.

Arch. Well then, thou ſayſt it was but bread that his diſciples did eat, by thy reaſon.

Anſ. Thus much I ſay, Look what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Arch. Why, then was not that his bodie that they did eat?

Anſ. It was that which he brake.

Arch. Well, ſaid he, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou doeſt think it is but bread ſtill, and that he was not able to make it his bodie.

Anſ. That is your expoſition upon my minde.

Arch. Then ſaid he, what didſt thou receive when thou didſt receive laſt?

Anſw. I ſaid, I do beleeve, that I did eat Chriſts fleſh, and drink his blood. For he ſaith, My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.

Arch. Then he ſaid, I had well anſwered, thinking to have had ſome advantage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his fleſh, and drink his blood.

Anſ. Then he ſaid, I muſt anſwer you by the word which Chriſt ſaith; He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.

Arch. Then he faced out the matter with Sophiſtrie, and ſaid I did eat Chriſt, as that Church was in his eye, with many ſuch mocks, but would not let me anſwer one word.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſarie did aſk me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinths for their evil behaviour, and becauſe they made no difference of the Lords bodie, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himſelf bread in the ſixth of John. So Paul ſaith, So oft as ye eat of this bread (meaning Chriſts bodie) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, becauſe ye make no difference of the Lords bodie. For thus ſaith Chriſt; The bread that I will give you is my fleſh. Now it is no bread, but it is his fleſh. And thus he alledged every Scripture falſe, to make up the matter.

Falſe alledging of Scriptures.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I did beleeve the words of Saint Paul verie well, even as he had ſpoken them. For thus he ſaith; He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords body.

Commiſſ. What is the cauſe that he eateth his own damnation?

Anſ. I ſaid, St. Paul declareth it plainly with theſe words; If ye had judged your ſelves, ye ſhould not have been judged of the Lord.

They ſaid, that Chriſt called it his body; but they ſaid not, that it was his body.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, he marvelled why I would not ſay, that he called the bread his body, ſeeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many other, ſaid he, called it his body.

Anſ. I ſaid, you have condemned them as Heretikes, and you would have me ſay with them, becauſe you would kill me.

Arch. Then he ſaid; In that they ſaid it was his body, they did ſay the truth.

Anſ. I asked wherefore they were killed, ſeeing they ſaid the truth.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, that he had all their anſwers, and that they did not beleeve as they ſaid. For they ſaid, Chriſt called it his body, but it was not his naturall body: but thou ſhalt anſwer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or elſe I will anger thee.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I had anſwered him by the Word already, and did beleeve it alſo; therefore if he did condemne me for that, my life was not deare unto me, and I was ſure he ſhould not ſcape unpuniſhed: for God will be revenged upon ſuch murderers.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercie while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I muſt needs be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my ſoule might be ſaved; with many moe words, and deſired me that I would beleeve him, for he would ſpeake the truth: beginning how Chriſt fed five thouſand people with foure loaves, and how he turned the water into wine, even ſo Chriſt took bread and bleſt it, & when he had done, he brake it, and ſaid; This is my body, and then he commanded them to eate it: and therefore it muſt needs be his body.

Anſ. Then I deſired him to ſpeak the text right, or elſe I would not beleeve him.

Arch. Then he ſtood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and ſaid, I was a ſtubborne fellow, and took ſcorne to be taught.

Anſ. I ſaid, I ought to hold him accurſed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Arch. Then he asked me, whether I did beleeve that Chriſt did give that he took, or not?

Anſw. I ſaid, I do beleeve as much as can be proved by the Scripture, and more I will not beleeve.

Compariſon between turning Moſes rod and the bread into Chriſts body, not like.

Arch. Then he began with Moſes rod, how God commanded him to lay it downe, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seeing that this was by Moſes being but a man, how much more Chriſt being both God and man took one thing, and gave to his Diſciples another?

Anſ. I ſaid, his compariſon was nothing like, for Moſes rod when it was laid down, he ſaw that it was turned into a very Serpent indeed; but in this ſacrament no man can ſee either qualitie or yet quantitie to be changed.

The opinion of the Papiſts much like to the Capernaites.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, that mine opinion and faith was like unto the Capernaites.

Anſ. I ſaid, theirs was more like their opinion then mine.

Arch. The Archdeacon aſked me, whether Chriſt took not one thing, and gave another?

Anſ. I ſaid, look what he brake, he gave unto them, and bade them eate; and other anſwer I will make none, contrary to the Word.

Arch. Then he ſaid, he marvelled why I would not beleeve them, ſeeing this learning had continued this fifteene hundred yeeres; neither yet did ſay, as other had before, how Chriſt did call it his body.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, when Cranmer, which was here Biſhop, was in authoritie, he ſaid, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to beleeve him, and he hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me to beleeve you, becauſe you ſay, that you hold the truth? and that which makes me beleeve chiefely, is the Scripture, which I am ſure is the truth indeed.

Biſh. The Biſhop ſaid, he had ſpoken the truth, and that I would not beleeve.

Anſ. I ſaid, if he did not now ſpeake the truth, I was ſure he had ſpoken the truth; for he had preached before doctrine cleane contrary unto this.

Then were the reſt of my Articles read; which I anſwered, and in every Article he had up this breaden God. And they ſent for a candle light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not ſuffer their cruell hearts to have their pleaſure that time: bleſſed be his name for evermore, Amen.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, becauſe I would not deſire a day of the Biſhop, and ſaid, I was a naughty ſtubborne fellow, and ſaid, it had beene my dutie to have deſired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I have ſpoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own minde.

Commiſ. Then ſaid the Commiſſarie; Doeſt thou not think that thou maiſt be deceived, ſeeing he may be deceived that hath gone to ſtudie all the daies of his life?

Anſ. I ſaid, Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was ſure Gods Word could not be deceived.

Commiſ. Then he prayed me to be content, and confeſſed that I might learn, and ſaid, they would be glad to teach me.

Anſ. And I ſaid, I would be as glad to learn as any man. And thus they roſe up and went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaiſe after, whether he died in priſon, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The hiſtorie of ten true godly Diſciples and Martyrs of Chriſt, burnt together in one fire at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

June 22.

IN the towne of Lewes were ten faithfull ſervants of GOD put in one fire, the 22. day of June, whoſe names follow:

Ten godly Martyrs.

1. Richard Woodman.
2. George Stevens.
3. W. Mainard.
4. Alexander Hoſman. his ſervant.
5. Thomaſin a Wood, Mainards maide.
6. Margerie Moris.
7. James Moris her ſonne.
8. Denis Burgis.
9. Aſhdons wife.
10. Groves wife.

Of the which number Richard Woodman was the firſt. Concerning whoſe apprehenſion, firſt by his enemies, and of his deliverance out of Biſhop Boners hands, then of his ſecond taking againe by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolkes, and friends, alſo of his ſundrie examinations and couragious anſwers before the Biſhops: and laſtly of his condemnation, and of his Letters ſent to his faithfull friends, here followeth to be declared by his owne words and relation reported. Which Richard Woodman, by his occupation was an Ironmaker, dwelling in the Pariſh of Warbleton, in the Countie of Suſſex, and Dioceſſe of Chicheſter, of the age of thirtie yeeres and ſomewhat more. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this:

Fairebanke preaching contrary to himſelfe.

There was one Fairebanke, who ſometimes had beene a married Prieſt, and ſerved the cure of Warbleton, where he had often perſwaded the people not to credit any other doctrine, but that which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in K. Edwards daies. And afterward in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, the ſaid Fairebanke, turning head to taile, preached cleane contrarie to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman, hearing him in the Church of Warbleton ſo to preach contrary to himſelfe, admoniſhed him of his inconſtancie, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and deſired him to teach them the truth. For the which words he was apppehended, and brought before Maſter John Aſhbornham, Maſter Tolton, and Maſter Culpepper, and Maſter Roberts, Juſtices of Peace in the Countie of Suſſex, and by them committed to the Kings Bench, where he continued from June, the ſpace almoſt of a yeer and a halfe; and from thence was transferred by Doctor Story into Boners Colehouſe, where he remained the ſpace of a moneth before he came to examination.

Juſtices of Suſſex, troublers of Rich. Woodman, and what were their names.

At length, the ſame day when Maſter Philpot was burned, which was the 18. of December, he with foure other priſoners was delivered and ſet at libertie by Boner himſelfe. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after he was ſought for againe, and at laſt found out and taken by meanes of his father, brother, and certaine other his acquainted friends, and ſo was ſent up againe to London to Biſhop Boner; where he remained in the Colehouſe eight weekes. He was there ſixe times examined, and twentie ſix times before, ſo that his examinations in all were thirtie two, from his firſt apprehenſion to his condemnation. Touching the whole diſcourſe whereof, forſomuch as the matter is ſomething ſtrange, and will peradventure ſcarce finde credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that like them not to beleeve, ye ſhall himſelfe ſpeake and teſtifie both of the manner of his troubles, and alſo his owne examinations by himſelfe recorded, in order as followeth.

Rich. Woodman delivered out of his firſt trouble.

Rich. Woodman againe apprehended, and by whoſe meanes.

32. examinations of Richard Woodman.

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, of his taking, and how he was brought to the Sheriffes the 15. of March. 1556. and how long he was in priſon, and how he was there uſed, till he was brought before the Biſhop of Chicheſter at Black-Friers in London, with the order of his examinations following after the ſame.

The Certificate of Richard Woodman concerning the truth of his owne ſtory and trouble.

Gentle Reader, here you ſhall perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poore Lambes. Firſt, you ſhall underſtand, that ſince I was delivered out of the Biſhop of Londons hands, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1555. and the ſame day that Maſter Philpot was burned, which was the 18. of December, I lay in his Colehouſe eight weekes lacking but one day: and before that I was a yeere and a halfe almoſt in the Kings Bench after my firſt apprehenſion, for reproving a Preacher in the Pulpit, in the Pariſh of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two Seſſions before I was ſent to priſon, and carried to two more Seſſions while I was in priſon, twice before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and five times before the Commiſſioners, and then ſent to Londons Colehouſe, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I have wrote, the which examinations the Biſhop of Chicheſter now hath, for they were found in my houſe when I was taken, wherein is contained all the talke which I had before them aforenamed. Alſo there be in London that had copies of the ſame of me, when I was in the Colehouſe.

The firſt apprehenſion of Rich. Woodman.

And it pleaſed God to deliver me with 4. more out of the Butchers hands, requiring nothing elſe of us but that we ſhould be honeſt men, and members of the true Catholike Church that was builded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head of the true Church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true Church, and purpoſed by Gods help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to ſpeake good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praiſed, becauſe he had beene ſo faithfull an aid in his Maſter the Devils buſines. For he had burnt good Maſter Philpot the ſame morning, in whoſe bloud his heart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two daies before, he promiſed us that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he ſought for ſome of us againe, yea and that earneſtly. He waxed drie after his great drunkenneſſe, wherefore he is like to have bloud to drinke in hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with ſpeede. The Lord turne all their hearts, if it be his will.

Rich. Woodman delivered out of Boners hands with foure moe.

What the Biſhop required at their deliverance.

Biſhop Boner bloud thirſtie.

This have I written, chiefely to certifie all people how we were delivered, becauſe many carnall Goſpellers and Papiſts have ſaid, that it was preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo delivered, becauſe they think that God is ſubject to man, and not man to God. For if they did, they would not blaſpheme him as they do, or if they thought they ſhould give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Iſrael out of Egypt? Daniel out the Lions denne? Sydrach, Miſaach, and Abednago out of the burning Oven? with divers other ſuch like examples; yea, God is the ſame God that he was then. He is no older, nor leſſe in power, as ſome count him in wondring at his workes. Now to the matter.

Woodman purgeth himſelfe of falſe ſlander.

After I was delivered, the Papiſts ſaid that I had conſented to them, whereof they made themſelves glad; the which was the leaſt part of my thought (I praiſe God therefore) as they well perceived and knew the contrarie within a while. For I went from Pariſh to Pariſh, and talked with them, to the number of 13. or 14. and that of the chiefeſt in all the countrey; and I angred them ſo, that they with the Commiſſioners complained on me to my Lord Chamberlaine that was then to the Queene, ſir John Gage, ſhewing him that I baptized children, and married folkes, with many ſuch lies, to bring me into their hands againe. Then the Commiſſioners ſent out certain Citations to bring me to the Court. My Lord Chamberlaine had directed out foure or five Warrants for me, that if I had come there, I ſhould have beene attached, and ſent to priſon ſtraight-way. Which was not Gods will; for I had warning of their laying awaite for me, and came not there, but ſent my deputy and he brought me word that the Bayliffes waited for me there, but they miſt of their prey for that time, whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Falſe ſurmiſes againſt Richard Woodman.

Woodman complained of to ſir John Gage, Lord Chamberlaine.

Warrants ſent out to attach Woodman.

Then within three dayes after, my Lord ſent three of his men to take me, whoſe names were Deane, Jeffery, and Frances. I being at plough with my folkes, right in the way as they were coming to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all other, came to them and ſpake to them, asking

L. Chamberlaine ſendeth to take Woodman at his plough.

them

Woodman arreſted.

Q. Marie. Anno 1557.

Feare coming upon Woodman at his firſt taking.

them how they did. And they ſaid, they arreſted me in the King & Queenes name, and that I muſt go with them to their Maſter the Lord Chamberlaine. Which words made my fleſh to tremble and quake, becauſe of that ſudden. But I anſwered them, that I would go with them. Yet I deſired them, that they would go to my houſe with me, that I might breake my faſt, and put on ſome other geare, and they ſaid, I ſhould. Then I remembred my ſelfe, ſaying in my heart; Why am I thus affraid? they can lay no evill to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may thinke my ſelfe happy. I remembred how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrell, and ſo had continued ever ſince; and ſhould I now fear to die? God forbid, that I ſhould, for then were all my labour in vaine.

Woodman comforted in his ſpirit after his feare.

So by and by I was perſwaded, I praiſe God, conſidering it was but the frailtie of my fleſh, which was loth to forgo my wife and children, and goods; for I ſaw nothing but preſent death before mine eies. And as ſoone as I was perſwaded in my minde to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad, and joyfull, I praiſe God, as ever I was. This battell laſted not a quarter of an houre; but it was ſharper then death it ſelfe for the time, I dare ſay.

Woodman asketh for their Warrant.

How God worketh for his ſervants.

The inorderly doings of the Papiſts in attaching men without any Warrant.

Woodman refuſeth to go with them, unleſſe they ſhew their Warrant.

So when I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their Warrant, thinking thereby I ſhould have ſeene wherefore I was arreſted, to the intent I might the better anſwer for my ſelfe, when I came before their Maſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not their Warrant there. Which words made me aſtonied, and it was put in my minde by GOD, that I neede not to go with them, unleſſe they had their Warrant. Then ſaid I to them, that is marvell that you will come to take a man without a Warrant. It ſeemeth to me, that you come of your owne minde to get thanke of your Maſter; for indeed I heard ſay (ſaid I) that there was foure or five Warrants out for me, but they were called in againe, becauſe I had certified my Lord and the Commiſſarie, by a letter that I had ſent to the Commiſſaries Court, that I was not faultie in that they laid to my charge, which was for baptizing of children, and marrying of folkes: the which I never did; for I was never Miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing: wherefore ſet your hearts at reſt, I will not goe with you (ſaid I) unleſſe you will carrie me by force, and if you will do ſo, at your owne adventures. And ſo I roſe from the boord, and ſtepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could poſſible, ſeeing GOD had made the way ſo open for me. I meant to play Peters part with them, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a feare amongſt them, that as ſoone as I was gone into my chamber, ere ever I could come out againe, they were gone out of my houſe.

Gods great worke, how the perſecutors which came to take Woodman went away without him.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was Gods doing, to ſet me at libertie once againe. Yet I was compelled to ſpeake to them, and ſaid; If you have a Warrant, I deſire you for Gods ſake to ſhew it me, and I will goe with you with all my heart: if not, I deſire you to depart in Gods peace and the Kings: for ſurely I will not go with you without the order of the law; for I have beene too ſimple in ſuch things already. For before I was ſent to priſon firſt, I went to the Juſtices to two Seſſions, without any Warrant or commandement, but had word by one of their men, & I went gently to them, and they ſent me to priſon, and kept me there almoſt a yeere and three quarters, without all right or equitie, as it is openly knowne, not hearing my cauſe juſtly debated. And it ſeemeth ſtrange to me, that I ſhould be thus evill handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremitie of the law.

Woodman eſcaped the hands of his takers.

Woodmans houſe againe ſearched for him.

Then one of them anſwered me, and ſaid; We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my houſe; the worſt is, you can but make us fetch it. Then I ſaid, Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my houſe before you have it, at your own adventure be it. So I ſhut my doore, and went my way out at the other doore. So they got helpe to watch my houſe, while one of them fet the Conſtable and many moe, thinking to have had me in my houſe, and to have taken me in my houſe, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithſtanding they ſought every corner of my houſe, but could not prevaile. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came ſeven of his men and the Conſtable, and ſearched my houſe.

And when they ſaw that they could not meete with me, they were ready to rent their coats, that I had eſcaped them ſo, knowing they ſhould have ſuch a check of their Maſter. When I heard that they had ſought ſo for me againe, I perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

Woodman lodged ſixe weekes in a wood.

All the countrey and Sea coaſts laid for Woodman.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would lay all the countrey for me, and the Sea coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go over, and then I thought that they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife, that I would make my lodging in a wood not paſt a flight ſhot from my houſe, as I did indeed, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, my pen, and mine inke, and other neceſſaries, and there continued a ſix or ſeven weekes, my wife bringing me meate daily as I had neede. Yea, I thought my ſelfe bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the woods for the name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the countrey, that I was ſeene and ſpoken to in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in waite for me: for they had laid all the countrey for me, and the Sea coaſt from Portſmouth to Dover, even as God put in my minde they would.

Woodman delivered by his own brother into his enemies hands.

So when all was huſht, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the ſea both into Flanders and in France; but I thought every day ſeven yeere or ever I were at home againe. So I came home againe as ſoone as it was poſſible. I was there but three weekes, but aſſoone as I was come home, and it was once knowne among Baals Prieſts, they could not abide it, but procured out Warrants againſt me, cauſing my houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a weeke. This continued from St. James tide to the firſt Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weekes, otherwhiles I was at home a moneth or five weekes together, living there moſt commonly and openly, doing ſuch workes as I had to do; and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the houre was full come: and then by the voyce of the countrey, and by manifeſt proofes, mine owne brother, as concerning the fleſh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

Auri ſacri fames, quid non mortalia cogis pectora? Virg.

For my father and he had as much of my goods in their hands, as I might have ſixe and fiftie pound for by the yeere cleere, and thereunto prayed. It was a Lordſhip and an Honor, and halfe an Honor that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the reſt to remaine to my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts; which grieved me ſore. For it was 200. pounds better then the debts came to. Which cauſed me to ſpeake to ſome of my friends, that they would ſpeake to them to come to ſome reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch money againe of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me ſuch writings and writs, as they had of mine againe, or to whom I would appoint them.

Brother bewraieth the brother.

So it was agréed betwixt my father and me, that I ſhould have it againe, and the day was appointed that the reckoning ſhould be made and ſent to me that ſame day that I was taken; my brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould have put him out of moſt of all his occupying, that he was in: for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied, as all the countrey can and do wel know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar my next neighbour, and he told ſome of Maſter Gages men, or to Maſter Gage himſelfe: and ſo he ſent to his brother, and his brother ſent twelve of his men (he being Sheriffe) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the buſhes not farre from my houſe, till about 9. of the clock, even the houre that was appointed amongſt themſelves; for about the ſame time they thought to have had me within my houſe.

Woodmans houſe again beſet and ſearched.

They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, & kept them with them till their houre was appointed to come in; and then a little girle, one of my children, ſaw them come together, and came running in, and cried; Mother, mother, yonder cometh twenty men. I ſitting in my bed, and making of ſhooe thongs heard the words, and ſuſpected ſtraightway that I was betrayed, I ſtirred out of my bed and whipt on my hoſe, thinking to have gone out of the doores or ever they had béene come. My wife being amazed at the childes words, looked out at the doore, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped to the doore, and barred it faſt, even as I came out of my chamber into the Hall, and ſo barred the other: So the houſe was beſet round ſtraightway, and they bade open the doores, or elſe they would breake them in péeces. Then I had no ſhift, but either I muſt ſhew my ſelfe openly, or make ſome other remedie.

Woodman put to his ſhifts.

The part of a truſty wife to her husband.

So there was a place in my houſe that was never found, which was at the leaſt, I dare ſay, twenty times, and ſometimes almoſt of twenty men ſearched at once, both by night and by day. Into which place I went: And as ſoone as I was in, my wife opened the doore, whereby incontinent they came, and asked for me; and ſhe ſaid I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore ſhe ſhut the doore, if I were not at home. She ſaid, becauſe ſhe had been made affraid divers times with ſuch as came to ſearch us; and therefore ſhe ſhut the doore. For it is reported (ſaith ſhe) that whoſoever can take my husband, ſhall hang him or burne him ſtraight-way; and therefore I doubt they will ſerve me or my children ſo: for I thinke they may do ſo unto us as well as to him, ſhe ſaid. Well, ſaid they, we know he is in the houſe, & we muſt ſearch it, for we be the Sheriffes men; let us have a candle. It is told us, there be many ſecret places in your houſe. So ſhe lighted a candle, and they ſought up and downe in every corner that they could finde, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my houſe into the church-yard, and there talking with my father, and with ſome that he had brought with him.

This [illegible] was his brother.

Now when they could not finde me, one of them went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and ſaid, we cannot finde him. Then he asked them whether they had ſought over a window that was in the Hall (as it was known afterward) for that ſame place I had told him of my ſelfe. For many times when I came home, I would ſend for him to beare me companie; yet as it chanced I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to ſearch anew. One looked up over the window, and ſpied a little loft, with three or foure Cheſts, and the way went in betwixt two of the Cheſts, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it. Here is a place that we have not ſought yet. When ſhe thought they would ſée it by one meanes or other, ſhe ſaid, the way was into it out of a chamber they were in even now. So ſhe ſent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but make the beſt ſhift for my ſelfe that I could. The place was boarded over, and faſt nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I muſt néeds come amongſt them all in the Hall. Then I had no ſhift, but ſet my ſhoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keepe out the raine, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noiſe, and they that were in the other chamber, ſéeking for the way into it, heard the noiſe, and looked out of a window, and ſpied me, and made an out-crie. But yet I got out, and leaped downe having no ſhooes on.

Woodman at length after long ſeeking found out.

So I tooke downe a lane that was full of ſharpe ſinders, and they came running after, with a great crie, with their ſwords drawne, crying; Strike him, ſtrike him. Which words made me looke back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred foot: and that was but one, for all the reſt were a great way behinde. And I turned about haſtily to goe my way, and ſtepped upon a ſharpe ſinder with one foot, and ſaving of it, I ſtepped into a great mirie hole, and fell downe withall, and ere ever I could ariſe and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the wilde, as he is counted in all Suſſex. But if I had had on my ſhooes, they had beene like to have gone away arrandleſſe, if there had béene five hundred moe, if I had caught the plaine ground once, to the which I had not a ſtones caſt: But it was not Gods will; for if it had, I ſhould have eſcaped from them all, if there had beene ten thouſand of them.

Parker in Suſſex a bloudy perſecutor of Woodman.

Woodman taken of his enemies.

John Fauconer a blaſphemous perſecutor.

Then they tooke me and led me home againe to put on my ſhoos, and ſuch geare as I had neede of. Then ſaid John Fauconer; Now your Maſter hath deceived you. You ſaid, you were an Angel, and if you had béene an Angel, why did ye not flée away from us? Then, ſaid I, what be they that ever heard me ſay that I was an Angel? It is not the firſt lye by a thouſand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor borne of women; but if they had ſaid, that they had heard me ſay, that I doe truſt I am a Saint, they had not ſaid amiſſe. What, doe you thinke to be a Saint? Yea that I doe, and am already in Gods ſight, I truſt in God; for he that is not a Saint in Gods ſight already, is a Divell. Therefore he that thinketh ſcorne to be a Saint, let him be a Devill. And with that word they had brought me to mine owne doore; where met with me my father, and willed me to remember my ſelfe.

Every true Chriſtian man is a Saint in Gods ſight.

Woodman betraied either by his own father or by his owne brother.

To whom I anſwered, I praiſe God, I am well remembred whereabout I goe. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enimies, but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had beene good for that man, that he had never béene borne, if he repent not with ſpéede. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me; For the father ſhall be againſt the ſonne, and the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death, as it is this day come to paſſe. Then ſaid one, He doth accuſe his father; a good childe indéed. I accuſe him not, but ſay my minde;

for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, & one more, the which I dare ſay would not hurt me for all the good in this towne.

George Beching brother in law to Woodman.

There was one George Beching that married one of my ſiſters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he ſaid, Brother, I would you ſhould not thinke that I was the cauſe of your taking. To whom I anſwered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was neerer of my blood then he was. Then ſaid one of Lauſe, that I had beene a Goſpeller, and ſtood from them when I was brought to a Seſſions to Lauſe, and he ſaid, I thought you would have beene an honeſt man when you were at Lauſe, and I offered Huſſey the Sheriffe to be bound for you, that you ſhould go home to your wife, and come to him againe. Then I remembred what he was, and ſaid; Be you the Pewterer? And he ſaid, Yea. Then ſaid I; It is happened to you according to the true Proverbe, as ſaith S. Peter, The dogge is turned to his vomit againe, and the ſow that is waſhed, to wallow in the mire, and the end of all ſuch will be worſe then the beginning. Then his mouth was ſtopped, ſo that he had nothing to ſay.

A Pewterer of Lauſe a turnecoate.

All this while I ſtood at my doore without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my ſhooes and my clothes, then they put on an harneſſe about my armes made of a dogges ſlip, which reioyced my heart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to ſee them more in this world. For it was ſo thought of all the countrey, that I ſhould not live ſixe dayes after my taking; for they had ſo reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unleſſe God would grant it, I know what God can doe; but what he will doe, I know not: but I am ſure he will worke all things for the beſt for them that love and feare him. So we dranke and went our way, and came to Firle about three of the clock. And thus much touching the cauſes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us ſee his examinations, which follow in this order.

Woodman reioyceth to be bound for the name of Chriſt. Woodman taketh his leave of his wife and children.

The name of this place ſo far as we could gather by the copy was Firle.

The firſt examination of Richard Woodman, before Doctor Chriſtopherſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Story, Doctor Cooke, and other.

FIrſt, you ſhall underſtand, that I was ſent from the Sheriffes to London, the 12. day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1557. and afterward upon the 14 day of the ſame moneth I was brought before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Doctor Storie, and Doctor Cooke. So the Sheriffes man delivered my Warrant and me to the Biſhop. Then the Biſhop asked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Rich. Woodman brought before the Biſh. of Chicheſter, D. Story, and D. Cooke.

Chich. I am ſorrie for you, and ſo are all the worſhipfull men of your Countrey. For it hath beene reported to me, that you have beene a man of good eſtimation of all the Countrey, amongſt the poore and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon your ſelfe, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not your ſelfe wiſer then all the Realme. Be informed, and you ſhall have their favours all, as much as ever you had.

Woodman. You have charged me with many things, wherein I have never offended: as, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you.

Chich. Yes, I pray you ſay your minde.

Wood. If it pleaſe you, you have charged me as though I made my ſelfe wiſer then all the Realme; God doth know, I ſtand to learne of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you ſay, I have been well eſteemed both of the poore and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any juſt offence, either to rich or poore. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life alſo. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I truſt according to St. Pauls words. But if I had x. M. pound of gold, I had rather forgoe it all, then them, if I might be in choice, and not diſpleaſe God.

Rich Woodman preferreth the Kingdome of Chriſt, before life, or wife, and all worldly reſpects.

Chich. The Sheriffe took paine to come to me of love, he ſaid, which he bare to you, as to himſelfe; and ſaid you were deſirous to ſpeake with me.

Wood. I thought it meet to appeale to mine Ordinarie. For they go about to ſhed my bloud unrighteouſly. For they have laid many unjuſt things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meete to appeale to you, that if you can finde any fault in me meet to be reformed by Gods Word, I ſtand to be reformed; and likewiſe if my bloud ſhall be ſhed unrighteouſly, that it might be required at your hands, becauſe you have taken upon you to be the Phyſician of our Countrey.

Woodman appealed to his Ordinarie.

Story. Is not this a perverſe fellow, to lay to your charge, that his bloud ſhall be required at your hands? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be put to death unjuſtly, that thy bloud ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemne a hundred ſuch heretikes as thou art, I helped to rid a good ſort of you. And I promiſe thee, I will helpe to rid thee too, the beſt that I can.

Doctor Story a great ſpiller of bloud by his owne confeſſion

Wood. Then I would have anſwered him, but the Biſhop deſired us both to give him place.

Chich. Well, neighbour Woodman, I call you neighbour, becauſe you be one of my Dioceſſe; and you are ſent to me, that I ſhould give you ſpiritual counſell: for I am your ſpirituall paſtour. Therefore heare what I ſhall ſay to you.

Woodman. First, I deſire you to heare me a few words. You have ſaid, you will give me ſpirituall counſell. Be you ſure that you have the ſpirit of God?

Chich. No, I am not ſure of that.

Wood. No? be you not ſure of that?

Chich. No, by S. Marie, I dare not be ſo bold to ſay ſo; I doubt of that.

The papiſts in doubt whether they have the ſpirit of God.

Wood. Then you be like the waves of the ſea, as ſaith St. James, that be toſſed about with the winde, and be unſtable in all your waies, and can look for no good thing at the Lords hand: Yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will ſpue you out of his mouth, as ſaith St. John. Then they were in a great furie, eſpecially Doctor Storie, ſaying:

D. Story in a fury.

Storie. What a perverſe fellow is this? He hath the Devill within him, and is mad. He is worſe then the Devill. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all ſuch heretikes to boaſt themſelves.

Chich. Yea ſurely, he is ſent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. I ſeeing their blindneſſe and blaſphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eies guſh out with teares, ſaying; The Jewes ſaid to Chriſt, he had the Devill, and was mad, as you have ſaid here by me. But I know the ſervant is not above his Maſter. And God forbid, that I ſhould learne of him that confeſſeth that he hath not the ſpirit of God.

Chich. Why, do you think that you have the ſpirit of God?

Wood. I beleeve verily that I have the ſpirit of God.

Chic. You boaſt more then ever Paul did, or any of the Apoſtles, the which is great preſumption.

Wood. I boaſt not in my ſelfe, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he ſaid, he beleeved verily that he had the ſpirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in the 1 Corinth. chapt.7.

He is no true Chriſtian that hath not the ſpirit of God.

Chich. It is not ſo, you belie the text.

Wood. If it be not ſo, let me be burned to morrow.

Story. Thou ſhalt not be burned to morrow, but thou ſhalt be burned within theſe ſixe dayes, I promiſe thee.

Chich. If it be ſo, it is wrong tranſlated, as it is in a thouſand places more.

Wood. Then one looked in a Latine Teſtament, and another in a Greeke Teſtament, and they ſaid it was in them both that Paul ſuppoſed that he had the ſpirit of GOD, but he was not ſure.

Whether Paul was ſure to receive the ſpirit of Chriſt.

Chich. Even ſo I hope and ſuppoſe that I have the ſpirit of God, but I am not ſure.

Wood. If that place be wrong tranſlated, and ſo many places of the Bible as you ſay, then I may ſay with Chriſt; it cannot be avoyded, but offences muſt be given: But woe unto them by whom they come. I may ſay woe unto falſe tranſlators. For curſed are they that adde or take away. But take you heede that you belie not the tranſlators. I beleeve they had the feare of God more before their eyes then you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong tranſlated, I can prove by places enow, that Paul had the ſpirit of God, as I my ſelfe, and all Gods elect have.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. No man can beleeve that Ieſus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghoſt, firſt to the Corinthians the ſeventh chapter. I do beleeve that Ieſus Chriſt is my Redeemer, and that I ſhall be ſaved from all my ſinnes by his death and bloudſhedding, as Paul and all the Apoſtles did, and as all faithfull people ought to do, which no man can do without the ſpirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus; ſo is there no ſalvation to them that are not in Chriſt Ieſus. For he that hath not the ſpirit of Chriſt, is none of his, but is a caſt-away, as he ſaith in the ſame text. And againe, We have not received the ſpirit of bondage, to feare any more, but we have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father. The ſame ſpirit certifieth our ſpirits, that we are the ſonnes of God. Here are proofes enow, that Paul was ſure that he had the ſpirit of God. Alſo Saint Iohn ſaith, He that beleeveth not that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an Antichriſt, and denieth both the Father and the Sonne: which is ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beſide all this, He that beleeveth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So it is impoſſible to beleeve in God, unleſſe God dwell in us. Oh good God, what more iniurie can be done unto thee, then to miſtruſt that we have received thy holy ſpirit by thy gift? Thus may all men ſee their blindneſſe, and whoſe ſervants they be, as they do declare themſelves, both by their words and deeds.

Rom. 8.

Rom. 8.
Gal. 4.

1 Tim. 4 8.

The Papiſts bewray their own blindnes.

Story. Oh my Lord, what an heretike is this ſame? Why heare you him? Send him to priſon to his fellowes in the Marſhalſee, and they ſhall be diſpatched within theſe 12. dayes.

Wood. When I heard him ſay ſo, I reioyced greatly in my heart, deſiring God, if it were his will, to keepe him in that minde. For I looked ſurely to have gone to the Biſhop of Londons Colehouſe, or Lollards Tower; yea, I thought my ſelfe happy, if I might have gone to Lollards Tower: but it pleaſed God to put in the hearts of them to ſend me to the Marſhalſee amongſt our brethren and my old priſon-fellowes: So mercifull hath God dealt with me in eaſing of my burden, that I looked for. So when they perceived that I feared not impriſonment, but rather reioyced, as they well perceived; Then ſaid the Biſhop, Me thinkes he is not affraid of the priſon.

Rich. Woodman glad to goe to the Marſhalſee.

Q. MARIE. Anno. 1557.

Wood. No, I praiſe the living God.

Story. This is an heretike indeed. He hath the right termes of all heretikes; the living God, I pray you be there dead Gods, that you ſay the living God?

The living God is a point of hereſie among the Catholikes.

Wood. Be you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeake the words which are written in the Bible?

Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible? There is no ſuch word written in all the Bible.

Story ſcorneth at the holy Bible.

Wood. Then I am much too blame, if it be not ſo written; Behold, for the offences that you have done, you ſhall be carried away captive by Nabuchodonoſor to Babylon, and there ye ſhall be ſeven generations: and when you be there, you ſhall ſee Gods of gold, of ſilver, of wood, and of Stone, borne before you and behinde you upon mens ſhoulders, to caſt out a feare among the Heathen. When you ſhall ſee all theſe abominations, then ſay in your heart: It is the living God that ought to be worſhipped. Here I prove my ſaying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Alſo David ſaith in the Pſalmes; My ſoule hath a deſire and longing to enter into the Courts of the Lord: My heart and my fleſh reioyce in the living God; with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvell that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the truth.

Baruch. 6.

D. Story ſet to ſchoole in the Scriptures.

Chich. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you, but ſuch is the ſpeech of all heretikes.

Story. My Lord, I will tell you how you ſhall know an heretike by his words, becauſe I have beene more uſed to them then you have been; that is, they will ſay (the Lord) and (we praiſe God) and (the living God.) By theſe words you ſhall know an heretike.

If the living God in heaven do make an heretike, what maketh then the dead god on the Altar? Stories rule to know an heretike, that is a true Chriſtian.

Woodman. All theſe words are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the Prophets to uſe them daily, as this; The Lords name be praiſed from the riſing up of the Sunne, unto the going down of the ſame. Alſo, as many as feare the Lord, ſay alwaies, the Lord be praiſed.

Story. My Lord, ſend him to priſon, you ſhall do no good with him. I will go to Church, and leave you heare. This is an old heretike. Waſt thou never before me ere now?

When Doctor Story cannot confute them by learning, he confuteth them by impriſonment.

Wood. Yes forſooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I trowe ſo; and I ſent thee to the Biſhop of London, and he releaſed thee, and thou promiſedſt him to be an honeſt man, and that thou wouldeſt be of the true Catholike Church, which thou haſt not fulfilled.

Wood. I promiſed him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man ſhall be able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my leave, I feare me you ſhall do this man no good.

Chicheſter. I would not have you to uſe ſuch ſpeeches as you do, as the Lord be praiſed, and the living God, with ſuch like words. Can you not ſay as well, Our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

No, but if he ſhould ſay: the ſacrament of the altar worſhipped might be he: then he were a perfect Catholike. The Lord, hereticall: Our Lord, Catholike with the Papiſts.

Wood. I marvell why you ſhould reprove me therefore ſeeing they be the words of God. I doe not refuſe to ſay our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt follow, that I denied the words of God, and muſt needs be an heretike; but I doe not. Wherfore I marvell what you mean to finde fault therein. It ſeemeth to me, that you miſtruſt that I beleeve not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Wood. I beleeve in the living God, if you do not ſo, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it pleaſe you to examine me upon any particular matter, now, or at any other time, I will make you anſwer thereto by Gods help.

Fallacia æquivoci.

He that erreth frō the church, which church erreth not in the right faith, his faith cannot be good in deed.

Chich. Though you beleeve in God, I can prove you beleeve not as you ought to do, as I can ſhew you by your hand writing. You have denied the Catholique Church. Wherefore he that erreth from the Church, it cannot be ſaid that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the Church, from the which ye have erred. I can ſhew you perillous things of your writing, if it ſhould be known, but ye ſhall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promiſe you I would not for three thouſand pound ſome had ſo much againſt me, as I can ſhew againſt you of your owne hand writing, which you cannot denie.

Wood. I will not denie my hand by Gods helpe. For I know well, I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written againſt me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enow that know my hand.

Chich. Do you know it your ſelfe if you ſee it?

Wood. Yea that I do. Then he aroſe and ſet a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come ſee. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chich. How ſay you, is it not your own writing?

Wood. Yes ſurely it is.

Woodman charged with his own writings.

Chich. How ſay you to this, is not this your hand alſo?

Wood. I looked, and it was. And I ſaid, Yes verily is it.

Chich. Well, you know what it meaneth I dare ſay.

Wood. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, the which I had thought had been in my houſe, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you ſhall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talke that was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, when I was before them five times, and alſo before the Biſhop of London divers times: and I am ſure, neither you nor they ſhall finde any words falſe therein written: and I think the Sheriffes men when they ſearched my houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not ſorrie for it, but am rather glad. For herein you may ſee all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in priſon, and how I was toſſed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be ſo or not. I dare ſay they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to diſpleaſure; but in very deed all things work for the beſt to them that fear God.

Rich. Woodman five times before the Commiſſioners.

Chich. Indeed I finde no great fault in this; but here is perillous geare, here is ſedition. This was ſet up upon the Church doore, you know it well enough.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the Prieſt and to other that took upon them to fetch my childe out of my houſe without my leave, and uſed it at their pleaſure, when they knew it was baptized alreadie, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conſcience compelled me to ſhew them my minde in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Rich. Woodmans childe, being baptized by the Midwife, was brought out of the houſe by the Papiſts, and confirmed in the church.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is ſuch geare coupled together I promiſe you, as I never ſaw the like. But I promiſe you, I will make the beſt of it. And I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and bodie. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Caſt not your ſelf away. Remember your wife and children, and the poore that lack your occupying. Meane to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. Saint Paul ſaith, Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another vocation, for Gods ſake walke therein. It is not your office to do as you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worſhipfull men, as any man might do in all the countrey by your example, and if you would follow the laws of the Catholique Church, it would be an occaſion to bring a great many into the true Church, that are out, as you are.

D. Chriſtopherſon B. of Chicheſter beginneth with fair words to perſwade Woodman from his doctrine.

Wood. I would not that you ſhould ſay, that I am out of the Church of GOD, for I am not, but do allow the Church of GOD according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true Church, that be out, by any meanes that I could uſe, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as my ſelf. And where you ſay I have been a Preacher, it is not ſo. I never took any ſuch thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot denie: for it becometh everie man to teach and inſtruct his houſhold in the fear of God, and all other (as far as he can) that deſire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leaving my vocation (as you ſay) I left not my vocation in reading the Scripture. For I truſt I followed my vocation the better therefore. And the greateſt cauſe that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, becauſe the Preachers & Teachers were ſo changeable.

Woodman not out of the Church.

A man may teach, though he be no Prieſt.

Reading the Scripture letteth no man to walk in his vocation, but rather doth further him.

Chich. No? did you not preach at a Fayre?

Wood. No ſurely, but it was ſo reported. I was at a Fayre indeed. Whiles I was in priſon, I had leave of the Councell to go home to pay my debts, and then I went to a Fayre to ſell cattell, and there met with me divers poore men that I had ſet awork, and of love aſked me how I did, and how I could away with impriſonment. And I ſhewed them how GOD had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their truſt in him; and this they called preaching. And ſince that it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, the which I never did: for I was never Miniſter. Wherefore if I had ſo done, I had done contrary to the order of the Apoſtles, as God forbid I ſhould.

Lies and ſlanders.

Chich. I am well apaid, if you be faultleſſe in thoſe things: for I have heard ſay the contrarie.

Wood. I have ſhewed you the truth, and that no man living ſhall be able to prove the contrary.

Chich. You ſaid you do not diſallow the true Catholique Church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Woodman diſalloweth not the Catholique Church.

Chich. Why do you not then go to the Church? You come not there it is informed me.

Wood. I truſt I am in the true Church everie day. But to tell you truth, I come not at the church where the moſt do reſort. For if I ſhould, I ſhould offend, and be offended. For at the laſt time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended my ſelfe. Wherefore for conſcience ſake I would not come there. For I was ſent to priſon for my coming there, and now I am ſent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleaſed any way with me, for they ſeeke my life. Wherefore looke you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an houſe of defence againſt mine enemies. For if you ſuffer them to kill me, my

blood

The Biſhop charged with his office.

blood ſhall be required at your hands. If you can finde any juſt cauſe in me worthy of death by Gods word, you may condemne me your ſelf, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weightie, deliver me not into their hands, and think ſo to be diſcharged.

Chich. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. For I have not full authoritie as yet of mine office: but I will ſend for you and talk with you, if I wiſt I ſhould do you any good.

Wood. I would be glad to talk with you, and to ſhew you my minde in any thing that you ſhall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

The biſhop biddeth Woodman to dinner.

Chich. So then he deſired the Sheriffes men to tarrie dinner with him; that this man (ſaid he) may dine with me alſo: for it is poſſible that he may have no great ſtore of meat whither he ſhall go.

Talk between Rich. Woodman and the Biſhop about Prieſts marriage.

Wood. So we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true Church of God is, nor of the ſacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the ſpace of two houres or mo: but he entred in talke with me, how I underſtood many Scriptures, and for Biſhops and Prieſts marriages, and whether Paul had a wife or not. To whom I anſwered; it is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages: but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poore learning will ſerve. So when he had talked with me of divers Scriptures, he liked my talk well. He aſked me how I ſaid by ſaint Paul, whether he were married or not? To whom I anſwered, I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.

Chich. How prove you that?

Paul if he were not married, yet he had power to marry, as well as the other had.

Wood. I will prove it well enough by Gods help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.

Chich. Why, had the Apoſtles wives?

1 Cor. 9.

Wood. Yes, all, ſaving Paul and Barnabas, as I underſtand it. For theſe are Pauls words in the firſt to the Corinthians, the ninth chapter. Am I not an Apoſtle? am I not free? have I not ſeen Ieſus Chriſt? Are not ye my worke in the Lord? And if I be not Apoſtle to other, yet to you I am an Apoſtle. For you are the ſeale of my Apoſtleſhip in the Lord. Mine anſwer to them that aske me, is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Either have not Barnabas and I power thus to do? So this Text proveth, that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth that the reſt had wives, and that they had power likewiſe ſo to have, but they found no need thereof. But Paul declareth in the ſeventh Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, that he that hath no power over his own fleſh, may marrie: For it is better to marrie then to burn. Wherefore to avoid fornication (ſaith he) let every man have his wife. He ſaith, Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband. By this place of Scripture I underſtand, that Biſhops and Prieſts may have wives, becauſe they are men, rather then burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily, he that can abſtain, having power of his own will, doth beſt; but if he marrieth, he ſinneth not.

1 Cor. 7.

Prieſts ought to have wives rather then to burn, by ſaint Pauls doctrine.

Gen. 2.

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers wayes, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt ought not to have a wife: but I proved by divers Scriptures both in the old Law and in the new, that women were at firſt made for the help of men, the which was ſpoken generally to all men. Wherefore (ſaid I) every man may have a woman, and ſinne not, in honeſt matrimonie, as well Biſhops and Deacons, as other men, which you call Prieſts, if they be true Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, and of that order that Biſhops and Deacons were in Pauls time. For Paul declareth to Timothie, 1. and the 3. That a Biſhop ſhould be the husband of one wife, and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and how they ſhould bring up their children, and likewiſe the Deacons. This (ſaid I) proveth more plainly, that both Biſhops and Deacons had wives in the Apoſtles time, the which he could not denie. But then he alledged, that no Biſhop nor Prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office, but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpoſe for his life and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children according to ſaint Pauls meaning to Timothie, or elſe might they have no wives.

1 Tim. 3.

Biſhops and Deacons were married in the Apoſtles time. Papiſts hold, that biſhops and deacons having wives before, might keep them ſtill: but not having before, might not afterward marrie.

Then ſaid I, I think Pauls meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a Biſhop nor a Deacon, if he had never ſo much learning. But that place maketh not that a Biſhop or a Deacon may not marrie after they be made Biſhops and Deacons. For I am ſure that Paul was in the ſtate of a Biſhop, when he ſaid, He had power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had. Here Paul declareth, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a Biſhop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Paul confeſſeth himſelf after his Apoſtleſhip to have power to marry.

Thus have I ſhewed you my minde in this behalf, both of Paul, and alſo for the marriages of Biſhops and Prieſts, as I underſtand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I have little to do withall: but as you required me to ſay my minde in that matter, ſo I have done.

Chich. Marie I am glad that you have ſaid as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: but you have ſaid very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by Gods word. And if you will be contented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you ſhall do well: therefore gentle goodman Woodman be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) all the worſhipfull men in the countrey, as they have reported to me.

The Biſhops fair words to Rich. Woodman

Wood. Why, my Lord, I take God to record (whom I truſt to ſerve) that I would be as glad to live in reſt and peace, as any man in all the world, if I might. And I ſtand to learne, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to Gods word. And the truth is ſo, I have talked with a dozen Prieſts at the leaſt, ſince I was delivered out of priſon, of certaine matters, and they have not been able to certifie me in any thing that I have aſked them: and therefore have they complained on me to the Sheriffe, and Juſtices, making tales and lies on me, to turn me to diſpleaſure, as much as in them lieth. I promiſe you, there be as many unlearned Prieſts in your Dioceſſe, as in any one Dioceſſe in England I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Rich. Woodman complained of by unlearned Prieſts which could not certifie him in matters of religion.

Chich. I promiſe you, I do much lament it my ſelf: for I hear ſay no leſſe, but it is true that you ſay. I would I could remedie it, but I cannot: but I will do the beſt that I can, when I come into the Countrey, and I will be glad to talke with you ſome other time, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I have been this half yeer and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is readie. I cauſed you not to tarrie for any great cheare that you ſhall have, nor would I you ſhould think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you be welcome with all my heart. Come, ſit down.

A Biſhoplike dinner without any talk of Scriptures.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a Merchant man, one of the Sheriffes men, and I, and no mo, and we had good cheare, God be praiſed therefore. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the dinner while: but when dinner was done, the Biſhop ſaid:

Chicheſt. Now call M. Stories man. For the Commiſſioners have committed you to priſon: but I will ſend for you or ever it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be verie glad of it.

D. Story a man without reaſon.

Wood. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to examine me upon any particular matter, I will ſhew you my minde therein, by Gods grace, without diſſimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with M. Storie, for he is a man without reaſon, me think.

Chich. Well, or ever you go, how ſay you to the ſeven ſacraments? Let me hear what you ſay to them, that I may be the willinger to ſend for you again.

7. Sacraments denied.

Wood. I know not ſeven ſacraments.

Chich. Then what ſhall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Two onely ſacraments.

Wood. I know but two; one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can juſtly prove by Gods word, that there be more then two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chicheſt. If I prove not ſeven by Gods word, then beleeve me not: and ſo he bade me farewell.

Then the Sheriffes two men, and one of Doctor Stories men, carried me to Doctor Cooks houſe, which Doctor Cook commanded them to carry me to the Sheriffes priſon in Southwark, ſaying, he ſhall be called before us again ſhortly and all his fellows, and we ſhall diſpatch them for troubling the countrey any more.

Rich. Woodman carried to the Marſhalſey.

Luke 22. The devils members perſecutors of the Chriſtians.

Job. Pſal. 121. Rom. 14.

And ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſey, where I now am merry (God be praiſed therefore) looking for judgement of my fleſh: for they intend to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God will give them leave: but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cauſe to God onely, and I am ſure there ſhall not one hair of my head periſh without my heavenly Fathers will, although I bide never ſo much trouble. Job periſhed not for all his trouble, although God gave the devill leave to trouble and try him divers and many wayes, as God hath ſuffered his members to trouble, and trie me divers and many wayes, I praiſe God. They ſhall as little prevail againſt my faith (I have no miſtruſt) as the devill prevailed againſt Job, whatſoever they do with my goods, life, or bodie. For he that kept Job in all his trouble, neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or die, it ſhall be to the praiſe and glorie of God. For if we live, we live at the Lords will, and if we die, we die to the Lords will: ſo, whether we live or die, we are the Lords, bleſſed be his name therefore.

Rich. Woodman to the faithfull brethren.

Wherefore, dear brethren and ſiſters, to whom this my writing ſhall come, be of good chear, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can but kill the bodie: but fear him that hath power to kill both bodie and ſoul. And yet once again I bid you be of good chear. For the Sheriffe with divers other Gentlemen and Prieſts, whileſt I was at the Sheriffes houſe, ſaid to me, that all the heretiques in the countrey hung on me, as the people did in times paſt upon ſaint Auguſtine, or ſaint Ambroſe, or ſuch like. Wherefore ſaid they, look well on it, you have a great thing to anſwer for. To the which I anſwered; I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, then he will do for hereſie, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my ſins as far from me, as it is from the Eaſt to the Weſt: ſo that I am ſure they ſhall never come neer to me any more. Yea, and that they call hereſie, we ſerve God withall. And I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on GOD. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they ſhould win a great many likewiſe: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I truſt in God, and am ſure they ſhall never by Gods grace, if it were poſſible for them to kill me ten times. For I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chain by faith, that it is unpoſſible for men to looſe us aſunder, neither for life nor death I praiſe my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their full intent and purpoſe is to kill me, thinking thereby to make other afraid. Which death of my bodie were beſt of all for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may live for the comfort of other, his name be praiſed therefore. I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of GOD, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but ſhall be rather an occaſion of the ſtrengthening of their faith, by chuſing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Chriſt hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Goſpel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the Biſhop ſaith, he will prove ſeven ſacraments, be you out of doubt he ſhall never be able to do it, no more then he hath proved other arguments with me alreadie.

Pſal. 103.

Thoſe that fear God hang not on man.

The inſeparable knot of love between Chriſt and his members.

Chriſtians ought to give their lives for defence of the Goſpel, if they be thereto called.

Thus fare ye well from the Marſhalſey, where I now am, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain, God be praiſed therefore.

The ſecond examination of Richard Woodman, before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, two of his Chaplains; and D. Story at the laſt came to us, the twenty ſeventh day of April.

The 2. examination of Rich. Woodman, before D. Chriſtopherſon, B. of Chicheſter, D. Story, &c.

First, I was ſent for to the Marſhalſey by D. Storie, and was carried to his houſe beſides S. Nicholas Shambles; and when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſaid he would come to him his ſelf ſtraightway: and when we were in the Biſhops Hall, we had not tarried long, but the Biſhop ſent for me: and when I came before him, I did my dutie to him as much as I could.

Chich. Then ſaid the Biſhop, You be welcome; how do you now?

Wood. Well, I praiſe God, thanking your Lordſhip for the gentle talk that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chich. Well, goodman Woodman, I have ſent for you of love and good will, that I bear to you, to talk with you, and I would have you to tell me your minde in few words. For indeed the laſt time that I talked with you, our talke was ſo long, that I fell into a great drithe thereby, and have been the worſe in my body ever ſince. Wherefore I pray you ſhew me your minde briefly in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demand of you, according to your promiſe that you made when you were with me the laſt time. How ſay you, will you?

Wood. Yea forſooth, I will anſwer to any thing that you ſhall demand of me (by Gods help) as well as I can.

Chich. How ſay you by the ſeven Sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You ſaid then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? will you denie all ſaving two?

Proving of ſeven ſacraments.

Wood. I ſay now, as I ſaid then. You ſaid, there be ſeven Sacraments, and I ſaid, I knew but two: but if you could approve ſeven by Gods word, when I came before you again, I muſt needs grant them. And you ſaid, if you could not prove them by Gods word, I ſhould not beleeve them: and now I am come to ſee how well you can prove them. Herewith he was moved and all his Chaplaines.

Chich. By God and my troth, I weene he thinketh I cannot prove them. How ſay you to the Sacrament of matrimonie?

D. Chriſtopherſon B. of Chicheſter reproved for ſwearing.

Wood. Why, my Lord, Saint Paul ſaith to Timothie, A Biſhop ſhould be faultleſſe, and you uſe much ſwearing, which is a great fault in a Biſhop, of all other, that ſhould be an example to the flock. Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, becauſe I reproved him for his ſwearing.

Chich. What, I perceive this man is worſe then he was the laſt day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to ſpeak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?

Prieſt. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a ſtout fellow indeed, as we have ſeen.

Swearing not to be born with.

Wood. Yea, I am ſtout, becauſe I do that I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I ſhould beare your ſinne, the which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where finde you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou ſee thy brother ſin, reprove him: if he repent, thou haſt wonne thy brother. But you repent it not, me thinketh, but rather go about to maintain the ſame. Chriſt ſaith, He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my commandements, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the kingdome of heaven; and you go about to teach men ſo, ſo far as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why my Lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in him.

Chriſtopherſon becauſe he was reproved for ſwearing, giveth him over to D. Storie.

Chich. No, ſo me thinketh. I will never talke with him more. Go call M. Storie; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marſhalſea, and now he is worſe then he was before. I had ſome hope in him the other day, but now I ſee none.

Wood. No, I praiſe God, my faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: but I fear me they be the worſe for him. I know this man of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, looke well to it: will you deliver me to other men to ſhed my blood, and ſo think to waſh your hands of me, as Pilate did by Chriſt? Nay, you cannot be ſo diſcharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleneſſe I have ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your minde in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not denie but I will do ſo, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to other to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chriſtopherſon not yet conſecrated, refuſeth to take the examination of Woodman.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinall may examine you, and condemne you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his Dioceſſe.

Wood. Yea my Lord, is the matter even ſo? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Aſk me what you will: but I will ſhew you nothing of my minde. I promiſe you I will not anſwer in particular matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to other, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your minde in the ſacraments, and if you underſtand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to ſhew you my minde how I underſtand them. For I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſelf.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and ſhew you my minde; otherwiſe I would be loath.

Whether matrimony be a ſacrament.

Chich. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I could lay your own hand-writing againſt you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How ſay you to the ſacrament of matrimonie? is it a ſacrament or no? How think you by it?

Wood. I think it is an holy inſtitution ordained of God in Paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the worlds end.

Chich. Lo, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hither. You can read Latine I am ſure.

Wood. Yea I can read Latine, but I underſtand verie little.

Epheſ. 5.

Chich. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that Paul calleth it a holy Sacrament. For theſe be the words, For this cauſe ſhall a man leave father and mother, and ſhall be joyned to his wife: and two ſhall be made one fleſh: This is a great Sacrament.

S. Pauls words be theſe: This myſterie is great, &c.

Wood. I remember ſuch a ſaying, but Saint Paul calleth it not a ſacrament. But he ſaith, It is a great myſterie.

Chich. Where ſaith he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in that Text it is, but I am ſure theſe be St. Pauls words, and that he calleth it not a ſacrament in all his writings.

Chich. What, the laſt day ye were full of Scriptures; here it is written, and there it is written? What, we can rehearſe the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be ſure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will ſhew you the place, I think, that you mean.

In the Greek Text St. Paul calleth it myſterium.

Wood. I looked, and it was written Sacramentum. I know it is a great myſterie, in the Engliſh Tranſlation.

What is a myſterie, and what difference there is between a myſterie and a ſacrament.

Chich. I permit it be a myſterie. What is a myſterie?

Wood. A myſterie is (I take it) unſeen: for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the Congregation: So the great myſterie that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be married, which is hid in Chriſt, the which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the deed which is in the Congregation, which is the outward marriage we ſee, but the inward marriage of the heart we ſee not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a myſterie. And therefore if it be a ſacrament, it is inviſible to us: it is not ſeen, as other ſacraments be.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible ſacrament, ſeen as the other be: for is not the marriage ſeen? is not the man and woman ſeen?

Wood. My Lord, I pray you what is a ſacrament?

Chich. It is the ſigne of a holy thing.

Wood. Me thinks you have certified me verie well. There need not be a ſigne of a holy thing, where the holy thing is it ſelfe. Then his Chaplaines would have interrupted me, but I deſired my Lord I might ſay out my minde in the matter. So with much ado he bade me ſay what I could.

Argumentum.

A thing ſignified and a thing ſignifying cannot be at one time, in reſpect of it ſelf, in one ſubject.
Matrimonie is any holy thing it ſelf ſignified.
Ergo, Matrimony cannot be a ſacrament ſignifying an holy thing.

There need not to be a ſigne of a thing, where the thing is it ſelf. Matrimonie is an holy thing it ſelf, and is ended outwardly, and need no more ſignes but themſelves: Wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament as other be.

The hoſe in an hoſiers ſtall may be a ſigne, ſignifying moe hoſe to be within; but it is no ſignifying ſigne of it ſelf. Neither again is everie ſigne of another thing to be called a Sacrament.

Chich. Lo, how much you ſpeak againſt your ſelf. And for an example, I come by an Hoſier, and there hangeth a paire of Hoſe, the which be Hoſe, and be a ſigne of Hoſe that be to ſell within.

Prieſt. How ſay you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perillouſly, I tell you with ſophiſtry to blinde mine eyes withall. I marvell you be not all aſhamed of it. I can anſwer that to all your ſhames, if I might be juſtly heard, I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. What, you be angry me thinks.

Wood. I am not angrie, but I am earneſt, I tell you, to ſee your blindneſſe and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is Gods word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a paire of hoſe. And as well can you prove it by that, as by Gods Word.

Chicheſter proveth matrimony to be a ſacrament by a paire of hoſe.

Prieſt. Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. Saint Paul ſaith to the Galathians the firſt Chapter, If an Angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine then may be proved by Gods word, hold him accurſed: and ſo do I, I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in my hand; if I hurle him in the fire and burn him, have I burned Gods word, or not? I will buy a new for xvi. pence.

Letters written in the book, ſpeaking properly, be one thing: the teſtament and word of God is another thing. And yet by uſe of ſpeech, the book of the teſtament is called the Teſtament, as bread, and wine be called the body and blood of the Lord.

Wood. I ſay, you have burned Gods word, and I beleeve, he that will burn a Teſtament willingly, would burn God himſelf, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on, quoth I. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all ſuch joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Chich. Then the Biſhop began to cloak the Prieſts folly, ſaying, Why, if my Counting houſe were full of books, and if my houſe ſhould be on fire by chance, and ſo be burned, were Gods word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your will: but yet if you ſhould burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be ſorrie for it, you burn Gods word as well as he. For he that is not ſorrie for a ſhrewd turn, doth allow it to be good.

Chich. Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. We have an altar, whereof you may not eat. What meaneth Saint Paul thereby?

Hebr. 13.

Wood. There is no man ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones I trow.

Chich. What mockers and ſcorners be you, to ſay no man will be ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones? it is a plain mock.

Wood. Why, my Lord, you ſaid I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor underſtanding. Wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to aſk me ſuch dark queſtions, and yet blame me too; me think it is too much.

Chicheſt. I dare ſay, you know what it meaneth well enough. The moſt fool in my houſe will underſtand my meaning better then you do.

Wood. There ſtood ſome of his men not far off, talking together beſide a window. He called one of them by his name.

Chich, Come hither. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eat of this Table. What do I mean thereby?

The man. Forſooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this table, laying his hand thereupon. With this anſwer he made all them in the houſe to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burſt out with laughter, and ſaid.

The Biſhop of Chicheſter rightly anſwered of his man according to his queſtion.

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almoſt as well as I.

Chich. He meaneth well enough, if you would underſtand him.

Anſwer me again, to make it more plain. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?

The man. Forſooth you would not have me eat this table.

Wood. Theſe words made them all laugh. Wherewith the biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the anſwer proved no better, and ſaid.

Chich. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is ſet upon this table. How ſaiſt thou, doeſt thou not mean ſo?

The man. Yes forſooth my Lord, that was my meaning indeed.

Ait, aio.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can ſay ſo too: and ſo could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had ſaid, Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the Prieſts.

Chich. Yea, I perceive you underſtand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you liſt to cavill with me.

Wood. Why my Lord, do you think I underſtand ſuch dark places of the Scripture, without learning? you ſaid even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I anſwered you, as you judged of me.

Chich. Well, let this matter paſſe, and let us turn to the principall again. How ſay you by the ſacrament of the altar?

Sacrament of the altar.

Wood. You meane the ſacrament of the bodie and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chich. I mean the ſacrament of the altar, and ſo I ſay.

Wood. You mean Chriſt to be the altar, do you not?

Chich. I mean the ſacrament of the altar in the Church. What, is it ſo ſtrange to you?

Wood. It is ſtrange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of ſtone.

The altar how it is to be taken and where it is.

Chich. It is that altar that I mean.

Wood. I underſtand not the altar ſo.

Chich. No, I think ſo indeed: and that is the cauſe that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you underſtand the altar then?

Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will ſhew you how I underſtand the altar, and where it is.

Chich. Yes, you ſhall have leave to ſay your minde, as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, Matth. 18. That whereſoever two or three be gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt among them: and whatſoever they aske the Father upon earth, it ſhall be granted them in heaven. Agreeing to the fifth of Matth. ſaying, When thou comeſt to offer thy

gift

Math. 5.

gift at the altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift. The Prieſts would have interrupted me, but the Biſhop bade them let me alone.

Chicheſt. You ſhall hear a prettie concluſion anon.

Chriſt the true and onely altar.

Wood. I pray you let me make an end, and then finde fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of Scripture, I prove that Chriſt is the true altar, whereon every Chriſtian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. Firſt, whereſoever the people are gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the altar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charitie: if we be not, we muſt leave there our offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and ſo forth, and then come and offer the gift. Some will ſay, how ſhall I agree with my adverſarie, when he is not nigh by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have ſpoken with him? To all ſuch I anſwer; if thou preſume to pray among the faithfull, wiſhing any evill to any man, woman, or childe, thou aſkeſt vengeance upon thy ſelf. For no ſuch aſketh any thing elſe of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adverſarie, that is, make thy life agreeable to Gods word. Say in thy heart without diſſimulation, that thou aſkeſt God and all the world forgiveneſſe from the bottome of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I ſhewed you my minde, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I underſtand it.

The place of Matth. 5. expounded.

Chich. Do you underſtand the offering and the altar ſo? I never heard any man underſtand it ſo, no not Luther the great heretique, that was condemned by a generall Councell, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an heretique, I think he underſtood it not ſo indeed: but I am ſure all Chriſtians ought to underſtand it ſo.

Chich. Oh what vaine glorie is in you, as though you underſtood all things, and other men nothing. Hear me; I will ſhew you the true underſtanding, both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar (ſaid Paul, Heb. 13.) that ye may not eat of. Meaning thereby, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the Prieſt. For in Pauls time all the living that the Prieſt had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembred that they had any thing againſt their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother; and they came again and offered their gift, and the Prieſt had it. This is the true underſtanding of the place that you have rehearſed: wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My Lord, that was the uſe in the old law. Chriſt was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Pauls words, the ſacrifice was offered in Pauls time: yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore, it ſeemeth to me that you be deceived.

The Catholiques will not have the word to judge.

Chich. Who ſhall be judges betwixt us in this matter?

Wood. The 12. of John declareth who ſhall be judge in the laſt day.

Chich. You mean the word ſhall judge the word. How can that be?

Wood. Saint Peter ſaith, The Scripture hath no private interpretation: but one Scripture muſt be underſtood by another.

Chich. You will underſtand it one way, and I will underſtand it another way: and who ſhall be judges betwixt us then?

Woodman referreth himſelf to the true Church.

Wood. The true Church of God is able to diſcuſſe all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you will ſay ſo indeed.

Wood. My Lord, I never meant otherwiſe.

Chich. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the altar.

Wood. What do you offer now upon the Altar?

Doctrine prejudiciall to Chriſts paſſion to ſay, that the ſacrament of the altar doth pacifie the wrath of God.

Chich. We offer up in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar the bodie of Chriſt to pacifie the wrath of GOD the Father; and therewith they put off their cappes all, to that abominable Idoll.

Wood. Saint Paul ſaith to the Hebrews, in the tenth Chapter, We are ſanctified by offering of the bodie of Ieſus Chriſt upon the croſſe once for all: and everie Prieſt is daily miniſtring, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away ſins; and that is the offering that you uſe to offer. As far as I can ſee, you be Prieſts after the order of Aaron, that offered up ſacrifice for their own ſins, and the ſins of the people.

The Catholikes make themſelves Prieſts, not after the order of Aaron, but of Melchiſedech.

Chich. Nay, Aarons ſacrifice was with blood, which ſignifieth the death of Chriſt, the which was ended upon the croſſe by his blood-ſhedding: but we are prieſts after the order of Melchiſedech, the which offereth bread to the King in remembrance, and ſignifieth the giving of Chriſts body in bread and wine at the laſt ſupper, the which he gave to his diſciples, and commanded it to be uſed to the end of the world. This is the ſacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. Me think you have made the matter verie plain to me, that as Chriſt was the end of all ſacrifices, ſo was he the beginning of the ſacraments, willing them to be uſed in the remembrance of him, to the worlds end.

The Catholikes make the ſacrament both a ſigne ſignifying, and the thing it ſelf ſignified.

Chich. What in remembrance of him, and not himſelf, as his word ſaith, Take, eat, this is my bodie? It is not the ſigne onely, but the thing it ſelf. How ſay you? Is it not his bodie, after the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt? How ſay you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarrie with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will anſwer me to one ſacrament, I will anſwer you to another.

Chich. Yes I am verie well content with that.

Whether the words onely make the ſacrament of baptiſme, without the childe there to be baptized.

Wood. If you ſay the words of Baptiſme over the water, and there be no childe there, is there true Baptiſme?

Chich. No, there muſt be the water, the word, and the childe, and then it is Baptiſme.

Wood. Verie well. Then if a childe be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized.

Chich. No: the childe muſt be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, or elſe it is not truly baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacraments: may there?

Chich. No, ſaid the Biſhop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will anſwer to you, if it pleaſe you.

Chich. Well, how ſay you, Take, eat, this is my body: is it not Chriſts body, as ſoon as the words be ſaid?

Wood. My Lord, I will anſwer you by your own words, that you anſwered me, which is true: the water, the word, and the childe, all

theſe

The word, water and childe, make baptiſme: So the word, bread, and the receiver, make the ſacrament of the Lords body.

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theſe together make baptiſme; the bread, wine, and the word make the ſacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Chriſts body, but to the faithfull receiver. For he ſaid, Take, eate, this is my body.

He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And S. Auguſtine ſaith, Crede & manducaſti, Beleeve and thou haſt eaten. And Saint Iohn ſaith, He that beleeveth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him: wherefore it is unpoſſible to dwell in God, and to eate his body, without a true faith.

The faith of the receiver maketh it the body.

Prieſt. Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your ſaying. I pray you what did Iudas eate?

Wood. Iudas did eate the ſacrament of Chriſt, and the devill with all.

Prieſt. He eate the body of Chriſt unworthily, as S. Paul ſaith.

Wood. Nay, St. Paul ſaith no ſuch thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating of his body unworthily, but of the ſacrament unworthily. For he ſaith, Whoſoever eateh of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords body: and not becauſe he eateth the Lords body. If Iudas had eate Chriſt body, it muſt needs follow, that Iudas is ſaved. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of Iohn, Whoſoever eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall life, and I will raiſe him up againe at the laſt day.

If Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, then muſt he be ſaved.

Prieſt. My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his own minde.

Chich. I ſee it is but folly to talke with you: it is but loſt labor. How ſay you? Doe you not beleeve that after the words be ſaid, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the very body of Chriſt really? make me a plaine anſwer, for I will talk no more with you.

The true confeſſion of Rich. Woodman touching the ſacrament.

Wood. I will make you a direct anſwer, how I beleeve of the true Sacrament. I do beleeve, that if I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt truely miniſtred, beleeving that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered death for me, and that I ſhall be ſaved from my ſinnes by his bloud-ſhedding, and ſo receive the ſacrament in that remembrance, then I beleeve I doe receive wholly Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by faith: this is my beliefe.

Chich. Why, then it is no body without faith. Gods word is of no force as you count it.

Wood. My Lord, I have told you my minde without diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do ſo, I will begin a new with you, and prove it more plainly three or foure manner of wayes, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I have ſaid, your ſelfe.

Then they made a great laughing, and ſaid, This is an heretike indeed, it is time he were burned. Which words moved my ſpirit, and I ſaid to them, Iudge not, leſt you be judged. For as you judge me, you ſhall be judged your ſelves. For that you call hereſie, I ſerve God truely with, as you all ſhall well know, when you ſhall be in hel, & have bloud to drink, and ſhall be compelled to ſay for paine, This was the man that we jeſted on, and whoſe talke we thought fooliſhneſſe, and his end to be without honor: but now we may ſee how he is counted among the Saints of GOD, and we are puniſhed. Theſe words ſhal you ſay, being in hell, if you repent not with ſpeed, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my bloud: wherefore looke to it, I give you counſell.

Sap. 5.

Prieſt. What? you be angrie, me thinks. Now I will ſay more to you, then I thought to have done. You were at Barill a twelvemoneth agone, and ſent for the Parſon and talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not goe into the Church: for you ſaid, it was the Idols Temple. Yea I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the Kings Bench to you, and you ſaid many ſtout words to him.

Woodman. That I ſaid, I ſaid: and where you ſaid I was angry, I take GOD to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and ſpeake out of the ſpirit of GOD with cheerfulneſſe.

The zeale of Gods ſpirit in R. Woodman.

Prieſt. The ſpirit of God? hough, hough, hough? think you that you have the ſpirit of God?

Woodman. I beleeve ſurely that I have the ſpirit of GOD, I praiſe God therefore: and you bee deceivers, mockers, and ſcorners before GOD, and be the children of hell, all the ſort of you, as farre as I can ſee. And therewith came in Doctor Storie, pointing at me with his finger, ſpeaking to the Biſhop in Latine, ſaying at the length.

Story. I can ſay nothing to him, but he is an heretike. I have heard you talke this houre and a halfe, and can heare no reaſonableneſſe in him.

Doctor Story cometh in.

Wood. Iudge not, leſt you be judged: for as you judge, you ſhall be judged your ſelfe.

Story. What, be you a preaching? you ſhall preach at a ſtake ſhortly with your fellowes. My Lord, trouble your ſelfe no more with him.

With theſe words, one brought word that the Abbot of Weſtminſter was come to dine with the Biſhop, and many other Gentlemen and women. Then there was ruſhing away with ſpeede to meete him. Then ſaid Doctor Storie to my Keeper:

Story. Carrie him to the Marſhalſee again, and let him keepe cloſe, and let no body come to ſpeak with him.

Doctor Story commandeth R. Woodman againe to the Marſhalſee.

Wood. And ſo they departed. Then one of the Prieſts beganne to flatter with me, and ſaid, For Gods ſake remember your ſelfe. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the ſcriptures well, and have borne them well in memorie. It were great pitie you ſhould do amiſſe.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to ſay my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well? and but even now you ſaid I was an heretike and deſpiſed me. If I be an heretike, I can have no good wit as you have confeſſed. But I thinke your owne conſcience doth accuſe you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.

Prieſt. I call it a good wit, becauſe you are expert in all queſtions.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with Gods word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come ſtrangers. So we departed, and I came againe to the Marſhalſee with my Keeper.

The third examination of Richard Woodman (copied with his owne hand) before Doctor Langdale, Parſon of Buxted in Suſſex, and Chaplaine to my Lord Moutague, and M. Iames Gage, at my Lord Mountagues houſe, beſides S. Marie Overies in Southwark, the 12. day of May, Anno 1557.

The twelfth day of May the Marſhall came to the Marſhalſee, and ſent for me to ſpeak with him. When I came before him, and had done my dutie, he asked my name, and what Countreyman I was, I ſhewed him both. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the Citie. To whom I anſwered, if it ſhall pleaſe your Maſterſhip, I was abroad in the Citie on Munday was ſevennight.

The third examination of R. Woodman, before D. Langdale, and M. Iames Gage, May 12.

Marſhall. What made you abroad?

Wood. The Biſhop of Chicheſter ſent for me to talke with me at home at his houſe beſide St. Nicholas Shambles.

Marſh. Were you abroad no otherwiſe then ſo?

Wood. No forſooth: I was never abroad ſince I was ſent hither, but then. For I have nothing to doe abroad, unleſſe they ſend for me.

Falſe lies and lewd reports.

Marſh. This is a marvellous matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeven yeeres, as I was for you within theſe three dayes. It is reported that you were abroad in the citie at certain Tavernes, and ſpake ſeditious words both in the Tavernes and ſtreets as you went.

Wood. Sir, the truth is, I was in never a houſe or Taverne, whiles I was abroad, but in the Biſhops houſe, as my Keeper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtifie: nor did I ever talke with any man in the ſtreets as I came, but with my Keeper, ſaving with one man indeed, of the Pariſh of Framfield in Suſſex, where M. James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my moſt enemies; who ſtood in a waine as we came by, and was unlading of Cheeſe (me thought) but a little way from the Marſhalſee. Indeed I bade him God ſpeed, and asked him how he did: and he ſaid, well he thanked me: and he asked me, how I did: and I ſaid, well, I praiſe God; and that was all the talke that we had: and theſe words were ſpoken as I came by him. I promiſe you ſir, I ſtood not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my Keeper can tell: and I thinke theſe words were no ſeditious words, but might be ſpoken well enough (I thinke) or elſe it were very ſtrait.

Woodman warned to appeare.

Marſh. Then is it to be thought, that that man reported otherwiſe then it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Well, make you ready: for you muſt go forth ſtraightway, where you ſhall be examined of that and of other things, where you ſhall anſwer for your ſelfe. Go make haſte, for I will tarry till you be ready.

Woodman taketh his leave of his fellowes.

Wood. So I departed from him, and went to my priſon fellowes, and tooke my leave of them, deſiring them to pray for me, for I thought verily to come no more to them. For I ſuppoſed I ſhould have gone before the Councell, becauſe the Marſhall ſaid, he would tarry for me himſelfe: and eſpecially becauſe he ſaid, it was reported that I had ſpoken ſeditious words, it made me thinke it is poſſible that there may be ſome falſe things imagined upon me, to bring me to my end. I remember what Chriſt ſaid, The ſervant is not above his Lord. Seeing the Jewes brought falſe witneſſe againſt Chriſt, I thought they would doe much more, or at the leaſt doe ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them, which made me caſt the worſt. But I was, and am ſure (I praiſe my Lord God) that all the world is not able to accuſe me juſtly of any ſuch thing. Which thing conſidered, made me merry and joyfull: and I was ſurely certified, that they could do no more againſt me, then God would give them leave. And ſo I bade my priſon fellowes farewell, and went into the Porters lodge to the Marſhall, and he delivered me to one of his own men, and to one of my Lord Mountagues men, & bade me go with them: and they carried me to my L. Mountagues place in Southwark, not farre from S. Mary Overies, and brought me into a chamber in my L. Mountagues houſe; and there was one D. Langdale, Chaplaine to my Lord. My Keepers ſaid to the Doctor, This is the man that we went for.

Woodman delivered to one of the Lord Mountagues men.

Lang. Is your name Woodman?

Wood. Yea forſooth, that is my name.

Lang. Then he beganne with a great circumſtance, and ſaid, I am ſorry for you, that you wil not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your owne conceit, diſpleaſing your father & other, judging that al the realme doth evill, ſave a few that doe as you doe: with many ſuch words, which be too long to rehearſe; but I will declare the ſubſtance of them.

Lang. What thinke you of them that died long agone, your Grandfather, with their Fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all other that uſe the ſame that they did, throwout all Chriſtendome, unleſſe it be in Germany and here in England a few yeers, and in Denmarke; and yet they are returned againe. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your father is an honeſt man, and one of my Pariſh, and hath wept to me divers times, becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and ſo doth all the countrey, both rich and poore, if it were not for thoſe evill opinions that you hold, with many ſuch like tales of Robin Hood.

Religion eſteemed by anceſtors and grandfathers, and by place.

Wood. I pray you give me leave to ſpeake a few words to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your minde.

Wood. You have told a great tale and a long, as it were againſt me (as you think) ſaying, I hold this and that; I judge my Father and my Grandfather, and almoſt all the world, without it be a few that be of our ſect. But I judge no man. But the 12. of John declareth, who it is that judgeth, and ſhall judge in the laſt day. The father ſhall not beare the ſonnes offences, nor the ſon the fathers offences: but that ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die, as ſaith the Prophet. And againe, we may not follow a multitude to doe evill, as ſaith the Prophet: For the moſt go the wrong way. And Chriſt ſaith in the 12. of Luke, that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enow to diſcharge me, although I doe not as the moſt doe. But can any man ſay that I do not as I ought to doe: where be my accuſers?

Multitude not to be followed in doing evill.

To do as moſt men do, and to doe as a man ought to do, are two things.

Lang. What, you be full of Scripture me think, and call for your accuſers, as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be affraide to talke with me. For I mean no more hurt to you, then I do to my ſelfe, I take God to my record.

Wood. I cannot tell, It is hard truſting of faire words. When a man cannot truſt his father nor brother, nor other that have beene his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Chriſt towards them that he never ſaw before, ſaying, Be as wiſe as ſerpents, and as innocent as Doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you. And it maketh me to ſuſpect you much, becauſe you blame me for anſwering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I ſhould ſpeake mine owne words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, becauſe I have beene deceived already by them I truſted moſt. Wherefore blame me not though I anſwer circumſpectly. It ſhall not be ſaid by Gods help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies hands, and yet I praiſe God, my life is not deare to my ſelfe, but it is deare with God: Wherefore I will doe the uttermoſt that I can to keep it.

Hard truſting any man in this world.

Woodman blamed for anſwering with Scriptures.

Lang. You be affraide where no feare is, for I was deſired of Maſter Sheriffe and his brother, and of other of your friends, to talke with you, and they told me that you were deſirous to talke with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to doe with me, and as though you were ſent to priſon for nothing: for you call for your accuſers, as though there were no man to accuſe you. But if there were no man to accuſe you, your owne hand writing did accuſe you enough, that you ſet upon the Church doore (if you be remembred) and other letters that you let fall abroad, ſome at one place and ſome at another. Wherefore you need not to call for your accuſers. Your own hand will accuſe you enough.

D. Langdales talke with R. Woodman, upon what occaſion, and by whoſe procurement.

Woodman charged with his owne hand writing.

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I warrant you; it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pound there were ſo much againſt me.

Wood. I will not deny mine owne hand, by Gods helpe. For it cannot be lightly counterfaited. I doe not denie but I wrote a letter to the Prieſt and other of the Pariſh, declaring to them their folly and preſumption, to come into my houſe without my love or leave, and fet out my childe, and uſe it at their pleaſures. Which moved me to write my minde to them: and becauſe I could not tell how to convey it to them, I ſet it on the Church doore. Which letter my Lord of Chicheſter hath: for he ſhewed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will; I will anſwer to it by the helpe of God, to all their ſhames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you ſay I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will anſwer them with Chriſts words, in the 18. of Matthew, Woe unto themſelves, becauſe they gave me the occaſion.

R. Woodmans writing ſet upon the Church doore, upon what occaſion.

And whereas you ſaid, I was deſirous to ſpeake with you, and that Maſter Sheriffe and his brother, and other of my friends willed you to talke with me, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to doe with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am ſent to priſon, then the leaſt childe in this towne knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not Maſter Sheriffe to ſpeake with you: but indeed he deſired me that I would ſpeake with you, and utter my faith to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not beleeve well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talke with you at the firſt. For I remembred not that you were the Parſon of Burted: wherefore I ſaid to him, I would not utter my faith to any but to the Biſhop. I ſaid, he is mine Ordinarie: wherefore I appeale unto him. I am commanded by Saint Peter in the firſt Epiſtle the third chapter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authoritie: wherefore I will talke with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore ſend me to him, if you will, or elſe there ſhall no man know my faith I tell you plainly.

Woodman required of M. Sheriffe and other his friends to talke with D. Langdale. D. Landale Parſon of Burſted, where Woodmans father dwelt.

Woodmans friends deſirous to heare him and Doctor Langdale talke together.

These words then made the Sheriffe angrie, and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remembred that it was you that he would have me to talke with, and then I remembred that I had made a promiſe to my father and goodman Day of Weſtfield, not paſt a fortnight before I was taken, that whenſoever you came into the Countrey, I would ſpeak with you by Gods helpe, becauſe they praiſed you ſo much, that ye were learned, and they would faine heare us talke.

So all these things called to remembrance, I deſired my Keeper, which was the Sheriffes man, to ſhew his Maſter, that I would faine ſpeake with him: for I had remembred things that were not in my minde before, when I ſpake to him. So he went to his Maſter, and ſhewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my minde, and what promiſe I had made: and he ſaid, he would ſend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come; you preached before the Queene, he ſaid. Whereupon the Sheriffe came up himſelfe, and ſpake to the Biſhop that he ſhould come downe, but he was ſicke. So when he came home againe, he ſent me to the Biſhop, and I have talked with him twice alreadie, and I am ſure he can finde no fault in me, if he ſay juſtly: and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to priſon. For I was not guiltie of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth: wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

This Biſhop was D. Chriſtopherſon. Woodman ſent to priſon, not knowing wherefore.

D. Lang. Indeed it hath beene reported, that you have chriſtened children, and that you chriſtened your owne childe: but ſince I heard ſay, you would not have the childe chriſtened, which is a damnable way, if you denie Baptiſme: and they ſaid, your childe was not chriſtened in a fortnight or three weekes after it was borne, and the chiefeſt of the Pariſh were faine to fetch it out of your houſe againſt your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words againſt the Prieſt and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not baptizing of children. And if the childe had died, it had been damned, becauſe it was not chriſtened, and you ſhould have been damned, becauſe you were the let thereof.

R. Woodman falſly ſlandered for denying baptizing of children.

Wood. What abominable lies have you told? Be you not aſhamed to ſpeake ſuch words as you have done? Firſt you ſay, I chriſtened mine owne childe, and by and by you ſaid, I denied baptizing of children, and that my childe was a fortnight or three weekes old ere it was baptized. What abominable lies be theſe? I neither baptized my child my ſelfe, neither held againſt the baptizing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it: for it was baptized as ſoone as it was borne, and I was glad thereof; therefore you be to blame to report ſo of me.

Lang. I pray you, who baptized it? ſome unthrift of your providing.

Wood. Nay ſurely, the Midwife baptized it.

Lan. But it was your minde that it ſhould be ſo.

Wood. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt 20. miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to bed foure dayes after the childe was chriſtened. But it was not like to live: and therefore the Midwife baptized it.

Woodmans childe baptized by the midwife. Woodman falſly belied. D. Langdale too curious an Inquiſitor.

Lang. Would you have had it to Church to have been chriſtened, if it had not been chriſtened?

Wood. That is no matter what I would have done. I am ſure you cannot deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the Midwife doe it, and I hold not againſt the doing of it, neither did I it my ſelfe, as you ſaid I did.

Lang. Wherfore were you diſpleaſed with them that fet it to Church?

Wood. Firſt tell me whether the childe were not truely baptized by the Midwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truely baptized, if ſhe baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Wood. Yes, that I am ſure ſhe did, and you grant that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that I blamed them for, was becauſe they did more to it then need was, by your owne ſaying. Yea, they fet it out of my houſe without my leave: the which was not well done.

Woodman troubled without juſt cauſe.

Lang. They had it to Church to confirme that was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more then needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter paſſe. But I would you ſhould not ſay, that I hold againſt baptizing of children: for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be moſt neceſſarie, if it be truely uſed. But me thought you ſpake words even now that were uncomely to be ſpoken; if a childe die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward ſigne of baptiſme?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. Go ſaith Chriſt, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, and he that beleeveth, and is baptized,

All children be damned by D. Langdale, which die without baptiſme.

ſhall be ſaved: and he that beleeveth not ſhall be damned. Theſe be the words of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

Wood. Then by your ſaying, baptiſme bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in the water ſhall be ſaved: ſhall they? how ſay you?

All children being baptized by D. Langdale ſhall be ſaved.

Lang. Yea, that they ſhall: if they die before they come to diſcretion, they ſhall be ſaved every one of them; and all that be not baptized ſhall be damned every one of them.

Wood. Then my ſpirit was moved with him to reprove him ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt Scriptures freſh in my minde againſt his ſaying. Then ſaid I:

R. Woodman chargeth D. Langdale with ignorance in the Scriptures.

O Lord God how dare you ſpeake ſuch blaſphemie againſt God and his Word, as you doe? how dare you for your life take upon you to preach, and teach the people, and underſtand not what you ſay? For I proteſt before GOD you underſtand not the Scriptures, but as far as naturall reaſon can comprehend. For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeake as you doe.

Lang. Wherein have I ſpoken amiſſe? take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you deſpair: I dare ſay you cannot tell what your ſay. Wherefore reprove you me as you doe?

Wood. Becauſe you blaſpheme God: and as for deſpairing, take heede to your ſelfe. For I cannot ſee but you be out of your wit alreadie: and as for me, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you have ſaid: the which ſhall turne to your ſhame, if you will talke by the Scriptures with me.

So, when he perceived that I ſpake earneſtly and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his fleſh began to tremble and quake. And I ſaid:

Prove your ſayings true, if you can: for I will prove them falſe by Gods helpe. You ſaid, All children, or other that be not baptized with water, ſhall be damned. I dare not ſay ſo for all the good in the world. And you brought in the ſaying of Chriſt for your warrant. In the 16. of Marke it is written, Whoſo beleeveth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: which words be very true: and whoſo beleeveth not, ſhall be damned. Which words be very true alſo. He ſaith, He that beleveth not, ſhall be damned. Yea, Saint John ſaith, He that beleeveth not, is condemned already, becauſe he beleeveth not. But neither of theſe two Scriptures, nor any other Scripture in all the New Teſtament ſaith, That he that is not baptized ſhall be damned, or is damned already. But if he beleeve not, he ſhall be damned, and is damned already, as is aforeſaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptiſt. But I would give him no place to ſpeake, but ſaid:

Let me make an end, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall have as much to doe, by Gods help, with this matter, as ever you had to anſwer thing in your life. You know (I am ſure) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a mans mouth, nor is it the order of reaſoning, as you know that better then I can tel you. Then D. Langdale bade me ſay on.

Faith, not baptiſme ſaveth. Not lack of baptiſme, but lack of faith condemneth.

Woodman. My ſaying was, that they that beleeve not ſhall be damned, and be damned alreadie. But I dare not ſay for all the goods under heaven, that all they that receive no materiall baptiſme by the water ſhall be damned, as you have ſaid: yet I would you ſhould not gather of theſe words, that I denie baptiſme, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had halfe told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any man ſo raſh in judgement, to condemne the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it ſeeme to the ſimple, that the outward waſhing of the water were the cauſe of faith.

Lang. Why, is it not ſo? will you denie it? How ſay you? Will you denie it? I ſay, the childe hath no faith before it is baptized: and therefore the baptizing bringeth the faith. How ſay you to it? Make me a plaine anſwer to this queſtion.

Baptizing of water is not the cauſe of faith. The catholikes do hold the contrary.

Woodman. Now I perceive you goe about nothing elſe, but to take vantage of my words. But by Gods helpe, I will anſwer you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your ſayings untrue. And yet I will not ſpeake mine owne words, but the words of the holy Ghoſt, out of the mouth of the Prophets and Apoſtles: and then aske them whether they will deny it.

A catholike paradox.

You ſaid, that faith cometh by baptiſme, had by the uſe of materiall water. I muſt be ſo bold to aske you where Jacob was baptized before he had faith. Saint Paul ſaith in the ninth Chapter to the Romanes, Ere ever the children were borne, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpoſe of God, which is by election, might ſtand, not by the reaſon of workes, but by the grace of the caller, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger. Iacob have I loved, and Eſau I hated. How thinke you, had this childe faith or ever he were borne, or no? anſwer to this if you can.

The purpoſe of Gods election ſtandeth by grace, and not by reaſon of works.

Lang. What, you ſpeake of the old law. Jacob was not chriſtened, but circumciſed. I ſpeake of baptiſme, and you are gone from baptizing to the time of circumciſion: anſwer me to the baptizing. And me think by your talk, you denie originall ſin, and free will, by the words that you brought in of Saint Paul.

D. Langdales argument. Children dying without baptiſme may be ſaved. Ergo, Children have no originall ſinne.

For if children can be ſaved without baptiſme, then it muſt needs follow, that children have no originall ſinne, the which is put away in the baptizing. But I thinke you know not what originall ſinne is, nor free will neither, me thinke by your talke.

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God I think) I can tell them all better then you can, me think even by your words. Firſt I pray you what Free will hath man to do good of himſelfe? tell me this firſt, and then I will anſwer to all other your queſtions that you have objected againſt me.

Abſurd doctrine.

Lang. I ſay, that all men have as much Free will now, as Adam had before his fall.

Wood. I pray you how prove you that?

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as ſin entred into the world, and by the meanes of one that ſinned all men became ſinners, the which was by Adam: ſo by the obedience of one man, righteouſneſſe came upon all men that had ſinned, and ſet them as free as they were before their fall, the which was by Jeſus Chriſt, Rom. 5.

Anſwer. The righteouſneſſe by Jeſus Chriſt cometh upon all men, not in taking away imperfections of nature, but in not imputing the imperfections of man to damnation.

Woodman. Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given your ſelfe here in originall ſinne, and yet cannot ſee it. For in proving that we have Free will, you have denied quite originall ſinne. For here you have declared that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall, and I am ſure Adam had no originall ſinne before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvell wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the ſting of it, God making him anſwer, and ſaying, My grace is ſufficient for thee.

Originall ſin.

We are made free by the death of Chriſt not from falling, but from damnation due by the law for our falling.

Theſe words with divers other, prove originall ſinne in us; but not that it ſhall hurt Gods elect people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his. But you ſay in one place, it is not without baptiſme; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Chriſt; and in very deede you have ſpoken truer in the matter then you are aware of. For all that beleeve in Chriſt, are baptized in the blood of Chriſt that he ſhed on the croſſe, and in the water that he ſwet for paine, and putting away of our ſinnes at his death. And yet I ſay with David in the 51. Pſal. In ſinne was I borne, and in ſinne hath my mother conceived me: but in no ſuch ſinne that ſhall be imputed, becauſe I am borne of God by faith, as Saint Iohn ſaith, Iohn 3. Therefore I am bleſſed, as ſaith the Prophet, Pſal. 23. Becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſinne, and not becauſe I have no ſinne; but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſinnes. Not of our owne deſerving, but of his free mercie he hath ſaved us. Where is now your Free will become that you ſpake of? If we have free will, then our ſalvation cometh of our owne ſelfe, and not of GOD; the which is a great blaſphemie againſt GOD and his word.

Perfect doctrine.

For S. Iames ſaith, Iames 1. Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the father of light, with whom is no variableneſſe, neither is he changed into darkneſſe. Of his owne will he begat us. For the winde bloweth where it liſteth, and we heare the ſound thereof, as ſaith Saint Iohn, Iohn 3. but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: Even ſo is it with every one that is borne of God. For Saint Paul ſaith, Phil. 2. It is God that worketh in us the will, and alſo the deed, even of good will. Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above and lighteth upon whom it pleaſeth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed; me thinke all the reſt of our owne will is little worth, or nought at all, unleſſe it be to wickedneſſe. So me think here be places enow to prove that a man hath no free will to doe good of himſelfe; with a hundred places moe that I could recite, if time did ſerve. And as for originall ſinne, I think I have declared my minde therein, how it remaineth in man; which you cannot deny, unleſſe you denie the word of God. Now, if you will ſuffer me, I will prove my ſaying of Iacob and Eſau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptiſme, and you refuſed it, becauſe (you ſaid) Iacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you ſhall ſee what I can ſay therein: for me think you think my talk long. This I ſaid, becauſe I ſaw he was ſore offended at my ſayings.

Adams free will nothing. Faith was before baptiſme.

Lang. Say what you can. For it availeth me to ſay nothing to you. For I was deſired to ſend for you, to teach you, and there will no words of mine take place in you: but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

D. Langdale ſeemeth to be put to ſilence.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to anſwer to ſuch things as you lay unto my charge: and I ſpeake not mine owne minde, but the minde of the holy Ghoſt, written by the Prophets and Apoſtles. Wil you give me leave to anſwer briefly in that matter, that you may report to other what I hold? And he ſaid, he was contented. But I thinke it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Wood. Firſt, if you be remembred, you ſaid, that if my childe had died without baptiſme, if I had been the cauſe that it had not been baptized, the childe ſhould have been damned, and I too. How ſay you?

Children dying without baptiſme, are not therefore damned, ſpeaking abſolutely.

Lang. Yea that you ſhould.

Wood. That is moſt untrue. For the Prophet ſaith, The father ſhall not beare the childes offences, nor the childe the fathers offences: but the ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die. What could the childe have done withall, if it had died without baptiſme? the childe could not doe withall. How ſay you unto this? And I am ſure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptiſme, is not diſagreeable unto the word. For circumciſion was a figure of baptiſme. And that I may bring to prove baptiſme by, as well as Saint Peter did: for he brought in Noahs floud, which was a long time before Iacob and Eſau, to prove baptiſme, ſaying, While the Arke was a preparing, wherein few (that is to ſay) eight ſoules were ſaved by water, like as Baptiſme alſo now ſaveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but there is a good conſcience conſenting to God.

Children beare not the offences of their fathers.

1 Pet. 3.

Gen. 6.

Here Peter proveth, that water had not ſaved Noe and the other ſeven, no more then it ſaved all the reſt, if it had not beene for their faith, which faith now ſaveth us; not in putting away of the filthie ſoile of the fleſh, by the waſhing of the water, but by a good conſcience conſenting unto God.

But you ſaid, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to the yeeres of diſcretion, they be all ſaved: the which S. Peter is cleane againſt, unleſſe you grant that children have faith before they be baptized.

Now I aske you what conſent of conſcience the children have, being infants. For you ſay, they beleeve not before they be baptized: Ergo, then they conſent not to be baptized, becauſe they beleeve not. And by this it followeth, that none ſhall be ſaved, although they be baptized. I would faine ſee how you can anſwer this.

Lang. You are the moſt perverſe man that ever I knew. You wot not what you ſay. The children are baptized in their “Godfathers and Godmothers faith, and that is the good conſcience that Saint Peter ſpeaketh of: and the chriſtening is the keeping of the Law, that St. Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, neither is circumciſion, any thing worth, nor uncircumciſion any thing worth, but keeping of the law is all together. Like as the circumciſion was the keeping of the old law, ſo is baptiſme the keeping of the new law.

“ May rather in the faith of their parents. Neither is it the faith of the godfathers and godmothers that ſanctifieth the childe, but their diligence may helpe him in ſeeing him catechiſed.

Wood. Ah, me thought if you would talke with me, you ſhould be faine to bring in the old Law to maintaine your ſayings by (for all that you refuſed it) when I brought it in. But yet it ſerveth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you thinke for. For here you have confeſſed, that neither circumciſion availeth, nor uncircumciſion; the which you your ſelfe have coupled with baptiſme, proving that none of them both prevaileth, but keeping of the Law is all together: the which Law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſignes; the which is nothing ſo: for Abraham beleeved GOD, and that was counted to him for righteouſneſſe, and this was before he was circumciſed. So the children beleeve before they be either circumciſed or baptized, according to my firſt ſaying of Iacob and Eſau, Iacob I loved, but Eſau I hated. These words declare, that Iacob had faith in his mothers wombe. And Iohn Baptiſt was ſanctified in his mothers wombe, and therefore it was counted to them for righteouſneſſe: and I am ſure, if they had died before they had either received Circumciſion or Baptiſme as concerning the outward deed, they ſhould have beene ſaved. For Gods gifts and callings are ſuch, that he cannot repent him of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and change. For you ſay, keeping of the outward Law is all together. But a bad excuſe is as good as none at all. And where you ſaid, the children be baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers faith, they being all unbeleevers, in what faith is that childe baptized then? in none at all, by your owne ſaying. Which words made him ſtampe and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few beleevers, if there be not one of three that beleeveth. You enter into judgement againſt the people. Belike you thinke there be none that beleeve well, vnleſſe they be of your minde. Indeed then Chriſts flock were a very little flock.

Wood. Indeede theſe be Chriſts words in the twelfth of Luke, the which we may ſee to be verie true. Yea, you ſaid, if there were not one amongſt three, that were very few. But there is not one amongſt three hundreth, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeek their neighbours goods and lives as there be.

Lang. Is the flocke of Chriſt ſuch a little flocke as you ſpeake of? You may call it a great flocke. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty queſtion, I promiſe you, it is that you aske me: as though I did make my ſelfe equall with God.

No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch vantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you look. I am ſure, that I ſhould enter into judgement.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeeing you be ſo cunning.

Gods election ſtandeth not by the moſt part, but by the feweſt.

Wood. You ſhall ſee my judgement in it by and by. Firſt the Prophet ſaith, Follow not a multitude to do evill, for they muſt go the wrong way. For the moſt go the wrong way. There is one point to know them.

Then Chriſt ſaith in the ſeventh of Matthew, Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth into deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that finde it. And in the twelfth of Luke, it is written (which words were ſpoken of Chriſt) Come you little flocke, it is my Fathers will to give you a Kingdome. The third point is this, in the third of Marke and ſecond of Matthew, You (ſaith Chriſt) ſhall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruits: So by fruits I know them. For every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits, muſt be hewen downe, and caſt into the fire (into hell I thinke Chriſt meant) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved foure waies, that the people that ſhall be ſaved is but a ſmall company in compariſon of the reſt. But if that be not enough, for the proofe thereof, I have twenty waies more to prove it by, and you were never the neare of your purpoſe.

4. Arguments prouing Chriſts flock to be a ſmall number.

Lang. What a naughtie man are you? you would make the patienteſt man in the world angrie with you. I think your talke is nothing but pride and vain glory, with frumps, and mocks, and deſpiſing and judging of men. It was time ſuch a fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole Countrey. I thinke he is bleſt of God that took you: for you are not meet to be in a common wealth.

D. Langdale raileth againſt Woodman without cauſe.

Wood. With divers other ſuch like words that I cannot recite, they came out ſo thicke, with ſtamping and ſtaring and chafing, as though he had beene out of his wit. I held my peace, untill he had made an end of his tormentors talke, and then I ſpake.

Wherein have I ſaid amiſſe? or have I not anſwered you unto every queſtion that you have demanded of me? What fault can you finde in one word that I have ſaid? I dare ſay you can finde none. I marvell why you take on thus againſt me, having no cauſe ſo to doe.

Lang. No, no, you have not anſwered me to originall ſin, you denie originall ſin.

Wood. With theſe words came in at the doore M. James Gage: and I thinke he ſtood at the doore a good while before he came in, and that D. Langdale ſaw him: for his face was to the doore-ward, and my face was from it.

M. Iam. Gage entreth talke with Woodman.

Gage. Ah Woodman, me think M. Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes ſir, me think we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt ſir, he is the naughtieſt man that ever I talked withall in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. Woodman leave that pride. Doe not truſt too much to your own wit. Hearken to this man, this is a learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned. For elſe he ſhould not be allowed to preach before the Queens Majeſtie: and I dare ſay, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to doe any thing, but that he will doe himſelfe: and I dare ſay, he will not go to the Devill to bring thee thither. How ſay you Maſter Doctor? Thou mighteſt think us mad, if we would hurt our ſelves to hurt thee. No I promiſe thee, my brother, neither I, nor any Gentleman in the Countrey, I think of my conſcience, but would thou ſhouldeſt do as well as their owne bodies and ſoules, as a great many of them have ſaid to thy face whilſt thou waſt at my brothers, the which thou canſt not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can ſay none otherwiſe but I was gently intreated at your brothers, both with meate and drinke and gentle words, both of you and him, and divers other Gentlemen: and I am ſure neither you nor they can ſay, that you found me unreaſonable at any time. For I ſaid, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, as God knoweth: and here M. Doctor (I think) can ſay no otherwiſe; for I dare ſay he can finde no fault in the talke that we have had.

Lang. No marie, I can finde nothing elſe in you. I promiſe you M. Gage, if you had been here, you would have ſaid ſo your ſelfe, He took me up indeed, and ſaid, he marvelled how I durſt preach. For he ſaid, I underſtood not the Scripture, but as farre as naturall reaſon comprehended: as though he underſtood all, and I nothing. With divers other ſuch like words he made a great complaint to him on me, and ſaid to Maſter James Gage, he would make you beleeve that I could finde no fault in him. Yes iwis: he denieth originall ſinne.

D. Langdale complaineth to M. Gage of Woodman cauſeleſſe. Woodman falſely belied.

Gage. Yea? doth he ſo? by St. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can ye live without ſinne?

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will ſoone lie on me behinde my back, when he will not ſtick to lie before my face.

He ſaith, I denied originall ſinne; and it was he himſelfe, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For as he went about to prove, that man hath free will, he ſaid, we were ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall: which words prove plainly, that we have no originall ſinne: And I took him withall, and ſaid, Had Adam originall ſinne before his fall? and then he could not tell what to ſay, but cavilled with words, and ſaid he meant not ſo: and therefore I marvell he is not aſhamed to make ſuch lies to my face. Theſe words made them both aſtonied.

D. Langdale denieth originall ſin, yet accuſeth Woodman of the which he is culpable himſelfe.

Gage. M. Doctor, he ſaid even now you could finde no fault in all his talke. I will bid you aske him a queſtion, and I will warrant you, you ſhall finde fault enough. I pray you aske him, how he beleeveth in the Sacrament of the Altar.

I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Wood. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by Gods help.

Lang. Well, how ſay you to the ſacrament of the altar?

Wood. I ſay, I know no ſuch ſacrament, unleſſe Chriſt be the altar that you mean.

Gage. Lo, I told you, you ſhould ſoon finde fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You ſhould have begun with that firſt, and never have talked with him about other things. What? know you not the ſacrament of the altar?

Woodman knoweth no ſacrament of the altar, unleſſe they take Chriſt to be the altar.

Wood. No ſure, I know no ſuch, unleſſe Chriſt be the altar that you mean; for Chriſt is the altar of all goodneſſe. And if you meane Chriſt to be the altar of the ſacrament you ſpeak of, you ſhall ſoone heare my minde and beleefe therein.

Lang. Well, we mean Chriſt to be the altar. Say your minde, and go briefly to work; for I think it almoſt dinner time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

Woodmans judgement of the ſacrament.

Wood. Yes, you ſhall ſoon hear my minde therein, by Gods help. I do beleeve, that whenſoever I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, being truly miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, I beleeving that Chriſt was born of the Virgin Marie, and that he was crucified on the Croſſe, and ſhed his blood for the remiſſion of my ſins, and ſo take and eat the Sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive wholly Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith. This is my beleefe of the Sacrament, the which no man is able to diſprove.

Gage. By S. Mary, I can finde no fault in this. How ſay you maſter Doctor?

D. Langdale ſeeketh a knot in a ruſh.

Lang. Sir, you ſee not ſo much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted that the faithfull receiver receiveth the bodie of Chriſt, God and man, yet he hath not granted, that it is the body of Chriſt before it be received, as you ſhall ſee by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How ſay you? Is it the body of Chriſt as ſoon as the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, or not? for theſe words will try him more then all the reſt.

Whether the ſacrament be the body of Chriſt before it be received.

Wood. Doth the Word ſay that it is his bodie before it is received? if it do, I will ſay ſo too.

Gage. Why? then we ſhall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the Word.

Wood. Yes forſooth, that I will; God forbid elſe.

Gage. Why? the Word ſaith it is his bodie before it is eaten.

Wood. Thoſe words would I fain hear; but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? that you ſhall ſee by and by (maſter Gage, quoth he) and turned to the 22. of Luke, and there he read, When ſupper was done, Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his diſciples, and ſaid; Take, eat, this is my body: Then they ſpake both at once; Here he ſaith it is his bodie.

Luke 22. Eating goeth before the words of conſecrating.

Wood. Maſter Gage, I do not denie but he called it his body, but not before eating, as I ſaid before. Wherefore I pray you mark the words. Chriſt ſaid, Take, eat: I pray you ſir mark theſe words that he ſaid, Take and eat, and then he ſaid it was his body. So you ſee, eating goeth before. For he ſaid; Eat, this is my body. So according to the verie Word, I do beleeve it is his body. Which words made them both aſtonied.

D. Langdale driven to his ſhifts.

Lang. Why, then by your ſaying, Judas ate not the bodie of Chriſt. How ſay you? Did he not?

Wood. Nay, I aſk you. Did he?

Lang. I aſk you.

Wood. And I aſk you.

Lang. And I aſk you.

Wood. Marie I aſk you. And I bid you anſwer if you dare for your life. For whatſoever you anſwer, unleſſe you ſay as I have ſaid, you will damne your own ſoul. For maſter Gage, I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and bodie; and it lamenteth my heart to ſee how you be deceived with them; they be deceivers all the ſort of them. He cannot anſwer to this, but either he muſt prove Judas to be ſaved, or elſe he muſt prove that it is no bodie before it be received in faith, as you ſhall well perceive, by Gods help, if he dare anſwer the queſtion.

Gage. Yes, I dare ſay he dareth. What? you you need not to threaten him ſo.

Wood. Then let him anſwer if he can.

Then he ſaid he knew what I would ſay to him; therefore he was much in doubt to anſwer the queſtion.

Lang. Maſter Gage, I will tell you in your eare what words he will anſwer me, or ever I ſpeak to him.

Wood. Then he told maſter Gage a tale in his eare, and ſaid:

D. Langdale afraid to anſwer to Rich. Woodman.

Lang. I have told maſter Gage what you will ſay.

Gage. Yea, and I will ſpeak the truth for both parties.

Wood. Well, how ſay you? Did Judas eat the body of Chriſt, or not?

The Catholiques hold that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt.

Lang. Yea, I ſay Judas did eat the body of Chriſt.

Wood. Then it muſt needs follow, that Judas hath everlaſting life. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of John; Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day. If Judas did eat Chriſts bodie, I am ſure you cannot denie but that he did both eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas ſaved by Chriſts own words. Therefore now you are compelled to ſay that it was not Chriſts bodie, or elſe that Judas is ſaved.

Argument. Whoſoever eateth the fleſh of Chriſt, hath everlaſting life, Iohn 6. Judas did eat the fleſh of Chriſt: Ergo, Judas hath everlaſting life.

Gage. Surely theſe be the very words that maſter Doctor told me in mine eare, that you would ſay to him.

Wood. Well, let us ſee how well he can avoid this argument.

Lang. Judas is damned, and yet he ate the bodie of Chriſt; but he ate it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where finde you that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt unworthily?

Lang. They be Saint Pauls words, 1 Cor. chap. 11.

1 Cor. 11.

Saint Pauls words miſalledged by D. Langdale.

Wood. Maſter Gage, I deſire you for Gods ſake marke my words well what I ſay. If Saint Paul ſpeake any ſuch words there, or in any other place, if there be any ſuch words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man eat the bodie of Chriſt unworthily, then ſay that I am the falſeſt man that ever you heard ſpeake with tongue. But indeed, theſe be the words of Saint Paul, Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords bodie; that is, becauſe he preſumeth to eate the Sacrament of the Lords bodie without faith, making no difference betwixt the ſacrament and other bread and drinke. And that is Saint Pauls meaning, and not that any man doth or can eate the bodie of Chriſt

Making no difference of the Lords body expounded.

Chriſt "unworthily. For whoſoever eateth the bodie of Chriſt, hath everlaſting life, as is aforeſaid in the ſixth of John; with theſe words one came for them to dinner in all haſte.

" Chriſt ſpeaketh of eating his fleſh ſimply, without any determination of unworthines: that is, ſimply whoſoever beleeveth in Chriſt, he ſhall be ſaved, neither is any unworthineſſe in beleeving in Chriſt.

Gage. I am ſorrie, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we ſhall have another day well enough.

Lang. Nay, maſter Gage, I will never talk with him more; for he is the unreaſonableſt man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Wood. Then maſter Gage put off his cap, and deſired him that he would not refuſe to talke with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he ſaid, we will ſeek all the means poſſible to make him an honeſt man, and to keep him from burning, if we could. For if my brother and I had not been, he had been burned ere this time. Then there was great curteſie betwixt them.

Lang. Sir, for your ſake, and for my maſter your brothers ſake, and for his fathers ſake, and other of his friends ſakes, that have ſpoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the beſt to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

Note well the working of this mans charity, to do for a man more at requeſt, then for any compaſſion of the party.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what maſter Doctor ſaith. When will you come again?

Wood. Even when you will ſend for me. For I am a priſoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I ſhould deſire to come, it will coſt me money, and I have none to give: but if you ſend for me, it ſhall coſt me none.

Gage. Well, I will ſend for you on Friday or Saturday, at the fartheſt; for to morrow I muſt ride forth of town, and I would fain hear your talk.

Wood. Sir, I would be verie glad you ſhould hear our talk alway, and I truſt in GOD you ſhall hear me ſay nothing, but the Word of God ſhall be my warrant. So maſter Gage took his leave, and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went unto priſon-ward again; and when he came without my Lord Mountagues gates, there we met with one Hood of Burſted, a Smith. Then ſaid maſter Gage:

Gage. Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hood hath brought me in remembrance of as ſoon as I ſaw him; for he heard when the tale was told me.

Gage. Hood, did not you hear when Smith of Framfield told me that he ſaw Woodman abroad in the citie at libertie.

Hood. Yea forſooth that I did.

Gage. Yea ſurely, and I was verie glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwiſe afterward again, that you had leave of the Keeper to go abroad and ſpeak openly in the ſtreets, as you went up and down.

Wood. Indeed ſo the Marſhall told me to day. But indeed I was never abroad ſince I came to priſon, but when I was ſent for; and indeed the ſame time I was abroad with my Keeper, coming from the Biſhop, and as I was coming, even not far from the Marſhalſey, I ſaw goodman Smith ſtand in a Waine unloding of cheeſe, and I aſked him how he did, even as I went by, and never ſtayed for the matter, and thereupon it did riſe. So I departed from them, with my Keeper to the Marſhalſey again, where I now am merry, I praiſe God therefore, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

Lewd tales and falſe lies raiſed upon Woodman.

The fourth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and a certain Doctor, with divers other Prieſts and Gentlemen, the 25. day of May. Anno 1557.

Woodman.

I Was ſet from the Marſhalſey to the ſaid Biſhops and Prieſts, ſitting in St. Georges church in Southwark, by one of the Marſhals men and one of the Sheriffes men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter:

The fourth examination of R. Woodman before the B. of Wincheſter, &c.

Winch. What is your name?

Wood. My name is Richard Woodman forſooth.

Wincheſter. Ah Woodman, you were taken and apprehended for hereſie about three yeers agone, and were ſent to priſon in the Kings Bench, and there remained a long time. Mine old Lord of Chicheſter, being a learned famous man, well known in this Realme of England, and almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome, I think came to priſon to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travelling and perſwading with you many times (becauſe he was your Ordinarie) to pluck you from your hereſies that you held, but he could by no means advertiſe you.

The old biſhop of Chicheſter was Doctor Day.

Whereupon you were delivered to the Commiſſioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they ſent unto you my Lord of London. My Lord of London calling you before him divers times, labour was made unto him of your friends, that you might be releaſed. My Lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honeſt man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in times paſt, yea and you your ſelf promiſing him, that you would go home and recant your hereſies that you held, delivered you; ſending alſo a letter of your recantation to the Commiſſarie, that he ſhould ſee it done. But as ſoone as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever you were, and would never fulfill your promiſe, but have hid your ſelf in the woods, buſhes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever ſince, till it was now of late. Then the Sheriffe of that ſhire (being a worſhipfull man) hearing thereof, ſent certain of his men, and took you in a wood, and ſo carried you to his houſe. I cannot tell his name. What is your Sheriffes name?

Untrue. For Biſhop Bonner delivered him of his own accord at the burning of Philpot, upon other cauſes.

Falſe and untrue.

Wood. Forſooth, his name is ſir Edward Gage.

Sir Edward Gage Sheriffe of Suſſex.

Wincheſter. Well, you were apprehended for hereſie, and being at maſter Gages three weeks or more, ye were gently intreated there; he and other Gentlemen perſwading with you divers times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the Biſhop of Chicheſter that now is. The Sheriffe like a worſhipfull man, ſent you to him, and he hath travelled with you, and other alſo, and can do no good with you, whereupon we have ſent for you.

Wood. Then I ſpake to him. For I thought he would be long, before he would make an end. I thought he was a peer in telling of thoſe lies that he had told there againſt me already. Yea, I kept ſilence from good words; but it was great paine and grief unto me (as David ſaid.)

At length the fire was ſo kindled within my heart, that I could not chuſe but ſpeak with my tongue; for I feared leſt any of the companie ſhould have departed or ever I had anſwered to his lies, and ſo the Goſpel to have been ſlandered by my long ſilence keeping. So I ſpake, I praiſe GOD therefore, and ſaid; my Lord, I pray you let me now anſwer for my ſelf, for it is time.

Winch. I permit you to anſwer to theſe things that I have ſaid.

Wood. I thank God therefore. And I think my ſelf happie (as Paul ſaid, when he was brought before King Agrippa) that I may this day anſwer for my ſelf. My Lord, I promiſe you there is never a word of your ſayings true that you have alledged againſt me.

Woodman charged with falſe matter.

Winch. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never did ſee you before this day; but I am ſure it is not all lies that I have ſaid, as you report.

Wood. Yes my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have ſaid. And further, where you ſaid you never ſaw me before this day, you have both heard me, and ſeen me, I dare ſay, before this day.

Wincheſt. I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you plaid the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the Sheriffes men?

Wood. No ſure, I was taken beſides my houſe, I being in my houſe when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Winch. Were not you at the Sheriffes three weeks?

Wood. Yes that I was, a moneth juſt, and was gently intreated of him, I can ſay no otherwiſe; for I had meat and drink enough, and faire words.

Winch. Ah, I am well apaid; it is not all lies then, as it chanced. For I ſpake but of three weeks, and you confeſſe a moneth your ſelf.

Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you ſaid, I was there three weeks for hereſie, the which is not ſo. For I was not apprehended for hereſie at the firſt, neither did mine old Lord of Chicheſter travell with me to pull me from hereſie, as you ſaid; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the Commiſſioners nor to the Biſhop of London for hereſie, neither was I delivered to him for any ſuch thing, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſaid I did. Wherefore I marvell you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies, being a Biſhop, that ſhould be an enſample to other.

Wincheſter ſwift in judging

Winch. Lo, what an arrogant heretique this ſame is. He will denie God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

R. Woodman cleareth himſelf of recantation.

Wood. My Lord, judge not leſt you be judged your ſelf. For as you have judged me, you ſhall be judged, if you repent not. And if I have ſet my hand to any recantation, let it be ſeen to my ſhame, before this audience: For I will never deny mine own hand, by Gods help.

Winch. It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

The honeſt dealing of B. Boner with Woodman herein.

Wood. Even by my Lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was ſent to priſon for. For it was upon the breach of a Statute, as maſter Sheriffe here can tell. For he was Sheriffe then, as he is now, and can tell how I was toſſed up and down, from Seſſions to Seſſions; and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to priſon again.

This was Doctor Day.

Then my Lord of Chicheſter being mine Ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to perſwade with me that I ſhould have conſented to them, and to finde my ſelf in fault, where I was in none. To the which I would not agree, but I deſired him that he would ſee me releaſed of my wrong; but he ſaid he could not, but willed me or my friends to ſpeak to the Commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporall matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the hands of almoſt thirtie men, both Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all the countrey where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was ſent to priſon for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor do I know wherefore I was ſent to priſon, no more then any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work.

The cauſe and manner how Woodman was delivered by B. Boner.

Wincheſt. No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of Chicheſter, if it were not for hereſie?

Wherefore Woodman appealed to his Ordinary.

Wood. Becauſe there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks, the which I never did, for I was no where Miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinarie, to purge my ſelf thereof, as I have. Wherefore if any man have any thing againſt me, let them ſpeak; for I came not hither to accuſe my ſelf, neither will I.

Wincheſt. Maſter Sheriffe, can you tell upon what breach of Statute he was ſent to priſon firſt?

The Sheriffe. Yea forſooth my Lord that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

Winch. Nay, maſter Sheriffe, I pray you tell the matter, ſeeing you know it.

The Sher. My Lord, it was for ſpeaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

The cauſe why Woodman was firſt apprehended.

Winch. Ah, like enough, that he would not ſtick to reprove a Curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned himſelf to ſpeak to me in the Pulpit on Sunday? He played the malapert fellow with me; and therefore it was no great marvell though he played that part with another.

Rich. Woodman and his fellow-priſoners falſly accuſed and belied of the Biſhop of Wincheſter in the Pulpit.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other cauſe, but to purge our ſelves of thoſe hereſies that you laid to our charge. For theſe were your words; Good people, theſe men that be brought before us, being here, denie Chriſt to be God, and the holy Ghoſt to be God (pointing to us with your left hand) the which might ſeeme to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to cleare our ſelves thereof, we ſpake, and ſaid we held no ſuch thing. And you ſaid you would cut out our tongues. But I am ſure you have no ſuch law.

Winch. Yes that we have, if you blaſpheme, and as it chanced, I found ſuch amongſt you.

Wood. Indeed after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged our ſelves.

Speaking to the Curate in the Pulpit made hereſie.

Winch. But I pray you how can you purge your ſelf for ſpeaking to the Curate, that it is not hereſie?

Woodman cleareth himſelf from breach of the Statute.

Wood. Forſooth theſe be the words of the Statute; Whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queens Majeſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinarie, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three moneths impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter Seſſions, there (being ſorrie for the ſame) to be releaſed upon his good abearing one whole yeere. But I had not ſo offended as it was well proved. For he that I ſpake to was not lawfully authoriſed, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawfull for him to preach by your own law; and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I ſpake to him.

Note the prettie ſhift of this Catholique Prelate.

Winch. I am glad, I perceive this man ſpeaketh againſt Prieſts marriages; he is not contented with prieſts that have wives. He is an honeſter man then I took him for, Maſter Sheriffe, have him away. I am glad he loveth not Prieſts marriages.

Wood. Then I would have anſwered to his ſayings, but he would in no wiſe hear me, but bade the Sheriffe have me away. So the Sheriffe took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeak, but going out of the Chancell doore, I ſaid; I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but ſeeing he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden dutie is, by the help of GOD. So I was ſent to the Marſhalſey again, where I now am merrie, I praiſe GOD therefore, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the Biſhop ſaid when I was gone, that they would take me whileſt I was ſomewhat good. Which words ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpake againſt Prieſts marriages, but I did not, but did onely anſwer to ſuch queſtions as he aſked me, as you ſhall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were theſe:

Woodman falſly taken to ſpeak againſt Prieſts marriages.

How can you purge your ſelf from hereſie, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, ſaid the Biſhop? meaning thereby, I think, to have taken vantage of my words; but it was not Gods will that he ſhould at that time. For I anſwered him by the words of the Statute, which words be as hereafter followeth (that is:) Whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queens Majeſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinarie, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three moneths impriſonment. But I proved that this man was not lawfully authoriſed to preach (by their own law) becauſe he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no Prieſt may ſay Maſſe, nor preach with the Maſſe, but he muſt firſt be ſeparated from his wife. That is, becauſe honeſt marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

A Prieſt keeping his wife, yet would needs hold again with Papiſtry.

Now I give you all to underſtand, that I did not reprove this Prieſt, becauſe he had a wife, but becauſe he taught falſe doctrine, which grieved my ſoul, becauſe he had been a fervent Preacher againſt the Maſſe, and all the Idolatrie thereof ſeven years before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cauſe I reproved him in the Pulpit. And the words that I ſpake to him, are written in divers of my examinations at my firſt impriſonment for that ſame. But in verie deed, I knew not of the Statute when I reproved him. But becauſe I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of it, I bought a Statute book, and when I had peruſed it, I perceived I had not offended by their own law; and therefore ſtill when I was called to anſwer, I anſwered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in priſon a year and almoſt three quarters or ever I was releaſed. I was at mine anſwer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow Biſhops and Prieſts marriages, let them look in my firſt examination before the Biſhop of Chicheſter that now is, during this my impriſonment, and there they ſhall finde what I have ſaid in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day. But we may all ſee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I truſt in God I ſhall run that joyfull race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preſerver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

R. Woodman ſaving himſelf from his enemies by their own law.

¶ The fifth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Doctor Langdale, with a fat headed Prieſt, and other, whoſe names I know not, with certain alſo of the Commiſſioners, at ſaint Marie Overies Church in Southwarke, in the preſence of 300. people at the leaſt, the 15. day of Iune, Anno 1557.

VVincheſter. Woodman, you were before us the laſt day, and would not be known in any wiſe that you were ſent to priſon for hereſie, and called for your accuſers, and ſtood ſtoutly in defending of your ſelfe, and in your departing I had thought you had ſpoken againſt Prieſts marriages, thinking by your words we ſhould have found you an honeſt man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told ſuch a fair tale for your ſelf, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge. For you ſaid it was all lies that I told againſt you; but ſince I have proved the contrarie, as here is your own hand to ſhew. By the which I have proved, that you reproved not the Prieſt for lacking of authoritie, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproved him becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, but I have proved the contrary ſince.

The fifth examination of Rich. Woodman before the Biſh. of Wincheſter, and divers other. Iune 15. Anno 1557.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of authoritie, or becauſe I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was firſt ſent to priſon. For you ſaid I was ſent to priſon for hereſie, and made a long tale againſt me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your ſayings true, but was all lies, as it was indeed. For I never was ſent to priſon for hereſie, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witneſſe; but I told you I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of a Statute, which was for ſpeaking to a Prieſt in the Pulpit, and for that cauſe the Iuſtices of that countrey had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would have had me to have been bound to my good abearing, and becauſe I refuſed it, they ſent me to priſon. And theſe be the words of the Statute, as I told you the laſt day. If any man do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queens Majeſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinarie, that then everie partie that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three moneths impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter Seſſions, and there being ſorrie for the ſame, and alſo bound for his good abearing one whole yeer, to be releaſed, or elſe to remain to priſon again.

The words of the Statute.

And when I was in priſon, I bought a Statute book, which when I had peruſed over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, as the Biſhop of London was certified by the hands almoſt of thirtie men, both Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all that countrey. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the Statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of London, ſeeing me have ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the Sheriffe have me away: You ſaid you were glad I held againſt Prieſts marriages, becauſe I anſwered to the queſtion you aſked me.

No breach of the Statute and why.

The fat Prieſt. My Lord, do you not hear what he ſaith by my Lord of London? He ſaith he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing elſe.

The Prieſt ſcanneth upon the meaning of Woodman.

Wood. What? can you tell what I meane? let everie man ſay as he findeth; he did juſtly to me in that matter. I ſay if he be not good in any thing elſe, as you ſay, he ſhall anſwer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with others mens matters.

See how neerly theſe men ſeek matter againſt him, whereby to trap him.

Wincheſt. Well, how ſay you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. How ſoever I liked it, I offended not the Statute. Wherefore you have nothing to ſay to me for that I am ſure.

Winch. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand writing. I am ſure you will not denie it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handie work indeed, the which by Gods help I will never denie, nor ever did yet, I praiſe God therefore.

Wincheſt. And here is good geare I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it; theſe be the words, before the Commiſſioners. How ſay you? Do you not beleeve as ſoone as the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but onely the verie bodie of Chriſt, both fleſh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Marie? theſe were the words of the Commiſſioners.

Luke 22.

Woodman charged with his anſwers before the Commiſſioners at his laſt examination.

And then thou ſaideſt, thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe then the Scripture ſaith. I cannot finde (ſay you) that it is the bodie of Chriſt before it is received by faith, bringing in the 22. of Luke, ſaying; Chriſt ſaid, Take, eat, this is my bodie. So I cannot prove it is his bodie before it is eaten. Then ſaid the Commiſſioners; Did not Judas eat Chriſts bodie? And if you can prove that Judas is ſaved (ſaid you) I muſt grant that he eat his bodie. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of John; Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day; which words prove, ſaid you, that if Judas eat the bodie of Chriſt, he muſt needs be ſaved. How ſay you now? Did Judas eate the bodie of Chriſt, or not?

Doctor White B. of Wincheſter, bent to have the blood of Woodman.

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his Dioceſſe, to condemne me with. Though I ſhould confound him never ſo much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I anſwered and ſaid:

I will anſwer you to no ſuch thing, for I am none of your Dioceſſe; wherefore I will not anſwer to you.

Winch. Thou art within my Dioceſſe, and thou haſt offended within my Dioceſſe; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Ric. Woodman appealeth from the Biſhop of Wincheſter to his own Ordinary.

Wood. Have to do with me and you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your Dioceſſe, I have not offended in your Dioceſſe; if I have, ſhew me wherein.

Winch. Marie here is thine own hand-writing, the which thou affirmedſt in my Dioceſſe.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own handwriting; but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your Dioceſſe: for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, the which you have nothing to do withall.

Wincheſter. No? hold him a book, and thou ſhalt ſweare whether thou holdeſt it now, or not, and whether thou wroteſt it not in my Dioceſſe, as I think thou diddeſt; Lay thy hand on the book.

Woodman refuſeth to ſwear or anſwer before Wincheſter being not his Ordinary.

Wood. I will not be ſworne for you; for I am not of you Dioceſſe; and therefore you have nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of the ſame, I never wrote word of it in your Dioceſſe.

Lang. No, did you not? my Lord, let me ſee; I will finde where you wrote it.

Wood. Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was ſent for out of the Kings Bench, to come before the Commiſſioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may ſee it was in the Kings Bench, the which is in your Dioceſſe.

Wood. Although I were ſet out of the Kings Bench, that proveth not that I wrote it there, nor did I, I promiſe you truly.

The fat Prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſervice to tell you; finde it out as well as you can. For I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Wincheſt. It is no great matter where it was written; it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall hear more of it. Here the Commiſſioners asked you, whether Judas did eat any more then bare bread, and you anſwered, that he eat more then bare bread.

Woodman in a great burning of conſcience, for fear leſt he had granted too much to the Commiſſioners before, ſaying, that Judas did eat more then bare bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away back to the Kings Bench again, and asked you not what more, for the which cauſe (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conſcience. For you had thought they would have ſent a diſcharge to the Kings Bench, and ſo let me go (ſaid you) and regiſter my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the bodie of Chriſt, and ſo the Goſpel ſhould have been ſlandered by me. For the which cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcantly eat, drink, or ſleep for that ſpace, as all my priſon-fellows can teſtifie. If all you, I ſay, that go to the church of Satan, and there heare the deteſtable doctrine, that they ſpit and ſpue out in their Churches and pulpits, to the great diſhonour of God, if all you, I ſay, that come there, had ſuch a hell burning in your conſcience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conſcience more plainly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? how ſay you?

Wood. I do not denie but it was mine own deed.

Wincheſt. And I pray you, where is there ſuch ſpitting and ſpuing out of falſe doctrine as you ſpeak of?

Wood. In the ſynagogue of Satan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe doctrine.

Winch. And I pray you where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge your ſelf; I came not hither to be a judge.

Winch. Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas (your maſter) eat more then bread; but yet he eat not the bodie of Chriſt, as you have declared by your words. For, you had a hell burning in your conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the Commiſſioners underſtood by your words, that Judas had eaten the bodie of Chriſt, becauſe you ſaid, he eat more then bare bread. Therefore thou hadſt a great ſort of devils in thee; for in hell be many Devils: and therefore the Devill and Judas is thy maſter, by thine owne words.

Wood. Nay, I defie Judas and the Devill, and his ſervants; for they be your maſters, and you ſerve them, for any thing that I can ſee, I tell you truth.

Winch. Nay they be thy maſters. For the Devill is maſter where hel is, and thou ſaidſt thou hadſt a burning hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canſt avoid it, but that the devil was in thee by thine own ſaying?

The Biſhops Argument.

The Devil is maſter in hell.
Woodman felt a burning hell in his conſcience: Ergo, the Devill was Woodmans maſter.

Anſwer.

Hell is taken in Scripture two wayes; either for the place where damned ſpirits and ſouls be tormented for ever out of this life: or elſe for Gods correction and anguiſh of the ſoul in this life, which ſometime is felt ſo ſharp, that it is reſembled to hell it ſelf: As where we read; The Lord bringeth to hell, and bringeth out again, &c. Tob. 13. The pains of hell have found me, &c. Pſal. 114.

Wood. The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God toward me, to call me to repentance, that I ſhould not offend God and his people in leading things ſo dark, as I left that. For the which cauſe my conſcience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the ſting of it, when I have broken the commandements of God by any means, as all Gods people do, I dare ſay, and it is the loving kindneſſe of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conſcience is never troubled, how wickedly ſoever you do. For if it were, it ſhould not be ſo ſtrange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whoſe ſervant you be.

Winch. What a naughtie fellow is this? This is ſuch a perverſe villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him ſwear, to anſwer directly to ſuch things as I will demand of him; and if he will not anſwer, I will condemne him.

Wiſd. 5.

Wood. Call you me a fellow? I am ſuch a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood, and you ſhall have blood to drink, as ſaith Saint John in his Revelation, the ninth chapter, and being in hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain of conſcience; This is the man that we have had in deriſion, and thought his life madneſſe, and his end to be without honour; but now we may ſee how he is counted among the ſaints of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſee in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemne me. This you ſhall finde in the fifth chapter of the book of Wiſdome: and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counſell.

Winch. Wiſdome? What ſpeakeſt thou of wiſdome? thou never hadſt it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard ſpeak.

1. Cor. 1.

Wood. Do you not know, that the fooliſh things of this world muſt confound the wiſe things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands.

Winch. Nay, thou art none of thoſe fools; thou art an obſtinate fool, and an heretique. Lay hand on the book, and anſwer to ſuch things as I will lay againſt thee.

R. Woodman again refuſeth to ſwear or anſwer before the Biſhop, being not his Ordinary.

Wood. I will lay hand on the book for none of you all. You be not my Biſhop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Winch. I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the King nor Queen, I dare ſay; for he will not obey their laws. Let me ſee the Kings commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the King and Queens Majeſtie no worſe then I do, if it pleaſed God: You would not do as you do then.

Winch. Hold him a book, he is a rank heretique. Thou ſhalt anſwer to ſuch things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretique, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to priſon, no more then any man here can tell, and therewith I looked round about on the people, and ſaid to the Biſhop; If you have any juſt cauſe againſt me worthy of death, lay it againſt me, and let me have it; for I refuſe not to die (I praiſe God) for the truths ſake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cauſe, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to ſee them kept, and other poore folk that I would ſet a work by the help of God. I have ſet a work an hundred perſons ere this, all the yeer together, and was unjuſtly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

Winch. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for help? But I would ſee any man ſhew thee a cheerfull countenance, and eſpecially you that be of my Dioceſſe. If any of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a cheerfull countenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it.

A charitable commandement of a Catholique Prelate under pain of excommunication, No man to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Wood. I look for no help of men, for God is on my ſide, I praiſe him therefore; and therefore I need not to care who be againſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the Marſhalſey, where I am now merrie (I praiſe God therefore) as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain. But for lack of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefeſt of it.

The ſixth and laſt examination of Richard Woodman, written and copied with his own hand.

BE it known unto all men by this preſent writing, that I Richard Woodman, ſometime of the Pariſh of Warbleton, in the County of Suſſex, was condemned for Gods everlaſting truth, Anno 1557. July 16. by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the Church of Saint Mary Overies in Southwark, there ſitting with him the ſame time the Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, D. Langdale, M. Roper, with a fat headed Prieſt, I cannot tell his name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedding of my blood, upon this occaſion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the ſacrament with a ſop and the Devill withall; and becauſe I would not be ſworn upon a book, to anſwer directly to ſuch Articles as he would declare to me; and becauſe I would not beleeve that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of conſecration, and that the bodie of Chriſt could not be received of any but of the faithfull: For theſe Articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the help of God.

FIrſt, the Biſhop ſaid when I came before him:

The ſixth examination of Ric. Woodman before the biſhop of Wincheſter, and divers other, in the Church of S. Mary Overies.

Wincheſter. You were before us on Munday laſt paſt; and there you affirmed certain hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I held no hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Winch. No? did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is an hereſie, unleſſe you tell what more then bread.

Wood. Is it hereſie to ſay, Judas received no more then bread? I ſaid he received more then bare bread; for he received the ſacrament that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lords death: and becauſe he preſumed to eat without faith, he eat the devill withall, as the words of Chriſt declare; after he eat the ſop, the Devil entred into him, as you cannot denie.

Winch. Hold him a book. I will have you anſwer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Chriſt, or no.

Ric. Woodman again refuſeth Wincheſter to be his Judge.

Wood. I will anſwer no more, for I am not of your Dioceſſe; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Winch. No, you be in my Dioceſſe, and you be of my Dioceſſe, becauſe you have offended in my Dioceſſe.

Wood. I am not of your Dioceſſe, although I am in your Dioceſſe; and I was brought into your Dioceſſe againſt my will: and I have not offended in your Dioceſſe, if I have, tell me wherein.

Truth taken for hereſie.

Wincheſt. Here is your own hand-writing, the which is hereſie. Theſe be the words: I cannot finde, ſay you, that it is the body of Chriſt to any, before it is received in faith. How ſay you? is not this your own hand-writing?

Wood. Yea, I do not deny but it is mine owne hand-writing; but when, or where was it written, or where were the words ſpoken?

M. Roper commiſſioner, and witneſſe againſt Woodman.

Before the Commiſſioners, and here is one of them; Maſter Roper, the words were ſpoken before you. Were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed that they were, Woodman, I am ſure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you ſpake them.

Woodman. No ſir, indeed I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and I am glad that you have ſeene it. For you may ſee by that whether I lie, or not.

Woodmans hand-writing brought in againſt him.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word by word as ye ſpake them.

Wincheſter. Well, here you affirme, that it is your own deed. How ſay you now? will you be ſorrie for it, and become an honeſt man?

Wood. My Lord, I truſt no man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt man; and as for that, I marvell that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of London diſcharged me of all matters that were laid againſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

Woodman firſt releaſed, and yet called to account againe, againſt all good order.

Winch. You were releaſed, and it might fortune, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an heretike: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon ſuſpicion.

Wood. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my Biſhop to heare me.

Chich. Yes I pray you let us heare it.

Wood. I do beleeve in God the Father Almightie, maker of heaven and of earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible, and in one Lord Ieſus Chriſt my Saviour, very God, and very man. I beleeve in God the holy Ghoſt, the comforter of all Gods elect people, and that he is equall with the Father and the Sonne. I beleeve the true Catholike Church, and all the ſacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendred account of my hope that I have of my ſalvation.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Winch. And how beleeve you in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? And with that word they all put off their caps to that abominable Idoll.

Wood. I pray you be contented, for I will not anſwer to any moe queſtions; for I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Woodman made an Anabaptiſt, becauſe he will not ſweare before him that is not his Ordinarie.

Winch. No? hold him a booke. If he refuſe to ſweare, he is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhall be excommunicated.

Woodman. I will not ſweare for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meete to take an oath; for you laid hereſies to my charge in yonder Pulpit, the which you are not able to prove; wherefore you be not meete to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your Dioceſſe, nor will have any thing to do with you.

Winch. I will have to do with thee, and I ſay thou art a ſtrong heretike.

All truth is hereſie with theſe men.

Wood. Yea, all truth is hereſie with you; but I am content to ſhew you my minde, how I beleeve on the ſacrament of the body and blood of Ieſus Chriſt, without flattering. For that you looke for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold my ſelfe of it. I will not meddle of any other mans beleefe on it.

N. Harpſ. Why? I am ſure all mens faith ought to be alike.

Wood. Yea, I grant you ſo, that all true Chriſtians faith ought to be alike. But I will anſwer for my ſelfe.

N. Harpſ. Well, let us heare what you ſay to it.

Woodmans confeſſion of the ſacrament.

Wood. I do beleeve, that when I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Ieſus Chriſt, if it be truely miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, I coming in faith, as I truſt in GOD I will whenſoever I come to receive it, I beleeving that Chriſt was borne for me, and that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my ſinnes, and that I ſhall be ſaved by his death and bloodſhedding, and to receive the ſacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith, this is my beleefe on the ſacrament.

Myſtically.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying myſtically by faith? The fat Prieſt. What a foole art thou? myſtically by faith, thou canſt not tell what myſtically is.

1 Cor. 1.

Wood. If I be a foole, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch fooles of this world to confound ſuch wiſe things as you are.

The fat Prieſt. I pray thee what is myſtically?

What is myſtically.

Wood. I take myſtically to be the faith that is in us, that the world ſeeth not, but God onely.

Wincheſter. He cannot tell what he ſaith. Anſwer to the ſacrament of the altar, whether it be not the body of Chriſt before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Chriſt to whomſoever receiveth it? Tell me, or elſe I will excommunicate thee.

Woodman againe appealeth to his Ordinarie.

Wood. I have ſaid as much as I will ſay; excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your Dioceſſe. The Biſhop of Chicheſter is mine Ordinarie. Let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

M. Chriſtopherſon Biſh. of Chicheſter his Ordinarie, not yet conſecrated.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

Wood. No indeed, your Kine bring forth nothing but Cowe-calves, as it chanceth now; meaning thereby he had not his Buls from Rome.

Woodman for his fervent ſpeech rebuked.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and ſaid I was out of my wit, becauſe I ſpake fervently to every mans queſtion; all the which I cannot remember, but I ſaid:

So Feſtus ſaid to Paul, when he ſpake the words of ſoberneſſe and truth out of the ſpirit of God, as I do. But as ye have judged me, you be your ſelves. You will go to hell all the ſort of you, if you condemne me, if you repent it not with ſpeede.

Wood. Then my Keeper, and the Sheriffes deputie Fuller, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſaid, I pray you let me alone; I muſt anſwer for my life.

Then there was much ado that I ſhould keepe ſilence, and ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Archdeacon of Canterburie, ſaying; We go not about to condemne thee, but go about to ſave thy ſoule, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To ſave my ſoule? nay, you cannot ſave my ſoule. My ſoule is ſaved already. I praiſe God therefore. There can no man ſave my ſoule, but Ieſus Chriſt; and he it is that hath ſaved my ſoule, before the foundation of the world was laid.

The fat Prieſt. What an hereſie is that my Lord?

This fat Prieſt well ſeen in the Scriptures.

here is an hereſie. He ſaith his ſoule was ſaved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoule ſaved before it was?

Ieſus Chriſt onely Saviour of mans ſoule, and not man.

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the truth. Look in the firſt of the Epheſians, and there you ſhall finde it, where Paul ſaith, Epheſians I. Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which hath bleſſed us with all manner of ſpirituall bleſſings in heavenly things, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us in himſelfe before the foundation of the world was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him, through love, and thereto were we predeſtinated. Theſe be the words of Paul, and I beleeve they be moſt true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Ieſus Chriſt, that ſaveth, and not you, or any man elſe.

The fat Prieſt. What? Faith without workes? St. Iames ſaith, faith without workes is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Good workes not diſallowed.

Phil. 2.

Wood. I would not that any of you ſhould think, that I diſallow good workes. For a good faith cannot be without good workes. Yet not of our ſelves, but it is the gift of God, as ſaith St. Paul to the Philippians, the ſecond Chapter, It is God that worketh in us both the will and alſo the deed, even of good will.

The Archdeacon of Canterburie made Ordinarie by the Cardinall to examine Rich. Woodman.

Winch. Make an end; anſwer to me. Here is your Ordinarie, the Archdeacon of Canterburie; he is made your Ordinarie by my Lord Cardinall, and he hath authoritie to examine you of your faith upon a booke, to anſwer to ſuch Articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuſe it not: for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we deſire you to ſhew your ſelfe a ſubject in this matter.

Then they ſpake all, and ſaid; Loe, my Lord deſireth you gently to anſwer to him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinall may put whom he will in the Biſhops office, untill he is conſecrated.

Wood. I know not ſo much. If you will give me time to learne the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you ſay) I will tell you my minde in any thing that he ſhall demand of me, without any flattering.

Prieſt. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore anſwer to him.

Ri. Woodman challengeth his Iudges to be all turn-coates & changlings.

Wood. I will beleeue none of you all, for you be turne-coates and changelings, and be wavering minded, as ſaith St. Iames; you be neither hote nor cold, as ſaith S. Iohn, therefore God will ſpue you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can beleeve none of you all, I tell you truth.

Winch. What? be we turne-coates and changelings, what meaneſt thou by that?

Wood. I meane, that in King Edwards time you taught the doctrine that was ſet forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrarie; and therefore I call you turne-coates and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the moſt part of them to quake.

Winch. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Winch. I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenant will beare me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare ſay, it was for ſome other matter.

Then they all tooke heart of grace, and ſaid; My Lord, he cometh to examine you, we think: if he will not anſwer to the Articles, you were beſt to excommunicate him.

Wincheſter. He is the naughtieſt varlet heretike that ever I knew. I will reade the ſentence againſt him.

The free ſpeech of Woodman to the Biſhops and Prieſts.

Wood. Then they ſpake all at once, and I anſwered then as faſt as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out ſo thick, I ſpared them not, I praiſe God therefore; for I ſpake freely.

Then they that ſtood by rebuked me, and ſaid; You cannot tell to whom you ſpeak I think.

Wood. No? Think you ſo? they be but men. I am ſure I have ſpoken to as good as they be, and bettter then they will ever be, for any thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeed.

Wincheſter about to reade the ſentence.

Wincheſt. Give eare; for I will reade ſentence againſt you.

Wood. Will you ſo? wherefore will you? you have no juſt cauſe to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemne me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I praiſe God, I am not affraid to die for Gods ſake, if I had a hundred lives.

Wincheſter. For Gods ſake? nay, for the Devils ſake. Thou ſayſt thou art not affraid to die; No more was Iudas that hanged himſelfe, as thou wilt kill thy ſelfe wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Woodman. Nay, I defie the Devill, Iudas, and all their members. And Iudas fleſh was not affraid, but his ſpirit and conſcience was affraid, and therefore deſpaired and hung himſelfe. But I praiſe God, I feele no lothſomeneſſe in my fleſh to die, but a joyfull conſcience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my fleſh is ſubdued to it, I praiſe God; and therefore I am not affraid of death.

Chich. Woodman, for Gods ſake be ruled. You know what you ſaid to me at my houſe. I could ſay more, if I would.

Reade in the firſt examination of Woodman, pag. 2176. in the ſecond edition.

Wood. Say what you can; the moſt fault that you found in me was, becauſe I praiſed the living God, and becauſe I ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord; which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Wincheſt. Well, how ſay you? will you confeſſe that Iudas received the body of Chriſt unworthily? tell me plainly.

No man can receive the body of Chriſt unworthily.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever eat the bodie of Chriſt unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I deſire all this people to be witneſſe.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? then we ſhall agree well enough. St. Paul ſaith ſo.

Wood. I pray you where ſaith he ſo? rehearſe the words.

Prieſt. In the 11. of the firſt to the Corinthians he ſaith; Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords body.

The place of S. Paul. 1 Cor. 11. expounded.

What it meaneth to make no difference of the Lords body.

Wood. Doe theſe words prove that Iudas eate the body of Chriſt unworthily? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contented. Then ſaid I, theſe be the words even that you ſaid: Good people hearken well to them, Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily: He ſaith not, Whoſo eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: But he ſaith; Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily (which is the ſacrament) eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference betweene the ſacrament which repreſenteth the Lords body, and other bread and drinke. Here (good people) you may all ſee they are not able to prove their ſayings true. Wherefore I cannot beleeve them in any thing that they doe.

Winch.

Q. Maris. Anno 1557.

Winch. Thou art a ranke heretike indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will reade ſentence againſt thee.

Woodman. Judge not leſt you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be your ſelfe. Then he read the ſentence. Why, ſaid I, Will you reade the ſentence againſt me, and cannot tell wherefore.

Wincheſter readeth ſentence againſt Woodman, and cannot tell wherefore.

Winch. Thou art an heretike, and therefore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Wood. I am no heretike, I take heaven and earth to witneſſe, I defie all heretikes; and if you condemne me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will; and ſo he read forth the ſentence in Latine, but what he ſaid, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge betweene them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my minde to them, but they cried, Away, away with him. So I was carried to the Marſhalſee againe, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe GOD; and I praiſe GOD moſt heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſo high dignitie, as to beare rebuke for his names ſake; his name be praiſed therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

Rich. Woodman condemned and carried to the Marſhalſee, being not ſuffered to ſpeake.

And thus you have the examinations of this bleſſed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appeare as well the great grace and wiſdome of GOD in that man, as alſo the groſſe ignorance and barbarous crueltie of his adverſaries, eſpecially of Doctor White Biſhop of Wincheſter. Now followeth likewiſe the effect of his letter.

A godly letter of Richard Woodman, written to a Chriſtian woman, Miſtreſſe Roberts of Hawkhurſt.

GRace, mercie, and peace from GOD the Father, and from his Sonne our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation and working of the holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plentiouſly upon you deare ſiſter Roberts, that you may the more joyfully beare the Croſſe of Chriſt that ye are under, unto the end, to your onely comfort and conſolation, and to all our brethren and ſiſters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and ſiſters in thoſe parts, that love our Lord unfainedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merrie and joyfull, we praiſe God therefore, looking daily to be diſſolved from theſe our mortall bodies, according to the good pleaſure of our heavenly Father, praiſing GOD alſo for your conſtancie, and gentle benevolence, that you have ſhewed unto Gods elect people, in this troubleſome time of perſecution; which may be a ſure pledge and token of Gods good will and favour towards you, and to all other that heare thereof. For bleſſed are the mercifull, for they ſhall obtaine mercie. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treaſure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Phil. 2.

Math. 5.

Math. 24.

Wherefore (deare ſiſter) it is not as many affirme in theſe daies (the more is to be lamented) that ſay God asketh but a mans heart; which is the greateſt injurie that can be deviſed againſt God and his Word. For St. James ſaith; Shew me thy faith by thy deeds, and I will ſhew thee my faith by my deeds, ſaying; the Devils have faith, and tremble for feare, and yet ſhall be but Devils ſtill, becauſe their mindes were never to doe good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifeſt to the whole world by our deeds, and in the middeſt of a crooked and perverſe nation, as St. Paul ſaith, let your light ſhine as in a darke place.

God asketh more then the heart onely.

James 2.

Phil. 2.

Oh deare hearts, now is the Goſpel of GOD overwhelmed with many black and troubleſome clouds of perſecution, for the which cauſe very few go about to have their eies made cleere by the true light of the Goſpel, for feare of loſing of their treaſures of this world, which are but vaine, and ſhall periſh.

Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a buſhell; but let us ſet our candle upon a candleſtick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the houſe: that is to ſay, let all the people of the houſhold of GOD ſee our good workes, in ſuffering all things patiently that ſhall be laid upon us for the Goſpels ſake, if it be death it ſelfe. For Chriſt died for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps; and as he hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Goſpel, to the comfort of our brethren.

Matth. 7.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, that their faith is good, and yet they doe all the deeds of Antichriſt the Devill, and be not aſhamed to alledge certaine Scriptures to maintaine their wickedneſſe? Saint Paul ſaith; To beleeve with the heart juſtifieth, and to confeſſe with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Oh good God, here may all men ſee, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unleſſe they have deeds alſo; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the ſea toſſed about of the winde, and can looke for no good thing at the Lords hands. May not a man judge all ſuch to be like thoſe which St. John ſpeaketh of, that be neither hote nor cold; and therefore God will (he ſaith) ſpue them out of his mouth? If we judge evill of ſuch, have not they given us occaſion? had it not beene better for them to have had a milſtone tied about their necks, and to have beene caſt into the Sea, then they ſhould give ſuch offences to Gods elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the Synagogue of Satan, and there to receive the marke of the Beaſt, in that they ſee and heare God blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? and theſe do not onely defile themſelves, but alſo be an occaſion to confirme the Papiſts in their Papiſtrie, and ſo be an occaſion of our weake brothers falling, the which will be all required at their hands; which wil be too heavie a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with ſpeede. For they that know their Maſters will, and do it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, do not we perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? yea even now is the axe put to the rootes of the trees, ſo that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, muſt be hewen downe, and caſt into the fire.

Rom. 10.
Confeſſing with the mouth and beleeving in heart muſt go together.

Apoc. 1.

Matth. 18.

Apoc. 13.

Slanderers of the Goſpel.

Luke 12.

Matth. 3.

Now is the Lord come with his fanne in his hand, to trie the wheate from the chaffe. The wheate will he gather into his barn, and the chaffe he will burn as is aforeſaid. Now is the time come that we muſt go meet the Bridegroome with oyle in our lamps. We are alſo bidden to the feaſt, let us make no excuſes. Yea our Maſter hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupie them well, that at his coming he may receive his owne with vantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to ſee if there be any fruit upon his trees; ſo that if the Lord come and finde none, he will ſerve us as he did the wilde figge-tree, that is, never fruite ſhall grow on him more.

Matth. 25.

Luke 13.

Luke 14.

Mat. 5.

Alſo, if we go to meet the Bridegroom without oyle in our lamps, and ſhould go to buy, the doubt is, we ſhould be ſerved as were the fooliſh virgins; that was, God ſaid to them, Depart, I know you not. Or if we ſhould make excuſes to come to the feaſt, other ſhall be bidden in our rooms. If we occupie not our talents well, they ſhall be taken from us and given to other, and all ſuch unprofitable ſervants ſhall be caſt into priſon in hell, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Mat. 10.

Mat. 5.

Rich. Woodman vexed of his owne friends.

Oh good God, what a ſort of fearfull ſayings are here contained? what Chriſtian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive now that this is the time that our Maſter Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that the father ſhould be againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, and one brother againſt another; that the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death: yea, and that the wicked ſhall ſay all manner of wicked ſayings againſt us for his Names ſake? the which I have well found by experience, I praiſe GOD therefore, that hath given me ſtrength to bear it. For I think there can be no evill deviſed but it hath been imagined againſt me, and that of my familiar friends, as David ſaith: but I praiſe my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their ſayings true, but that they go about to finde fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelves liſt not to take up their croſſe and follow Chriſt; and therefore they ſpeak evil of the thing that they know not, the which ſhall give account for it before him that is readie to judge both the quick and the dead.

John 10.

1 John 4.

But my truſt is, that all the people of GOD will be ruled by the counſell of St. John, ſaying; My ſheep will hear my voice, ſtrangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye ſhould not beleeve ſtrangers, counting them ſtrangers that go about to ſubvert the Goſpel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to Saint Johns counſell in his Epiſtle, ſaying; Beleeve not every ſpirit, but trie the ſpirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will ſpeake good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (deare ſiſter) be of good cheere, and give no credit to ſuch people, whatſoever ye heare them ſay. For I have no miſtruſt by Gods helpe, but that all the world ſhall ſee and know that my bloud ſhall not be dear in mine own ſight, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give my adverſaries leave to ſhed it. I doe earneſtly beleeve, that God which hath begun this good worke in me, will performe it to the end, as he hath given me grace and will alway, to beare this eaſie yoake and light burden; the which I have alwaies found, I praiſe my Lord God.

The manifold troubles which Woodman hath paſſed through.

Woodman comforted in his troubles.

For when I have been in priſon, wearing one while bolts, otherwhile ſhackles, otherwhile lying on the bare ground, ſometime ſitting in the Stockes, ſometime bound with cords, that all my bodie hath been ſwollen, much like to be overcome for the paine that hath beene in my fleſh, ſometime faine to lie without in the woods and fields, wandring to and fro, few I ſay, that durſt keep my company for fear of the Rulers, ſometime brought before the Juſtices, Sheriffes, Lords, Doctors, and Biſhops, ſometime called dogge, ſometime Devill, heretike, whoremonger, traitor, theefe, deceiver, with divers other ſuch like; yea, and even they that did eate of my bread, that ſhould have been moſt my friends by nature, have betrayed me: Yet for all this I praiſe my Lord God that hath ſeparated me from my mothers wombe, all this that hath happened unto me hath been eaſie, light, and moſt delectable and joyfull of any treaſure that ever I poſſeſſed; for I praiſe God they are not able to prove one jote or tittle of their ſayings true. But that way that they call hereſie, I ſerve my Lord God, and at all times before whomſoever I have beene brought, God hath given me mouth and wiſdome, where againſt all my adverſaries have not beene able to reſiſt, I praiſe God therefore.

Luke 21. Matth. 10. Experience of the Lord to keepe promiſe with his people.

Wherefore (dear ſiſter) be of good comfort with all your brethren and ſiſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay; for it ſhall be given you the ſame houre, according to the promiſes, as I have alwaies found, and as you and all other of Gods elect ſhall well finde, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many other have hoped, that this perſecution would have been at an end ere this time; now I perceive, God will have a further tryall to root out all diſſemblers, that no man ſhould rejoyce in himſelfe, but he that rejoyceth, ſhall rejoyce of God.

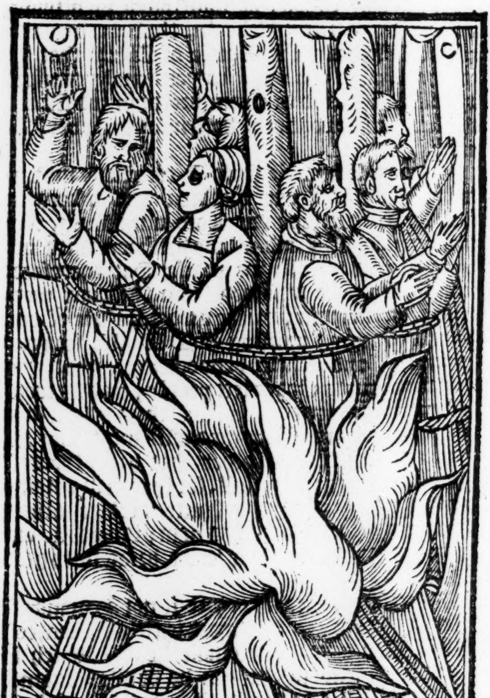
1 Cor. 13.

Rom. 8.

Wherfore if prophecie ſhould faile, and tongues ſhould ceaſe, yet love muſt endure. For feare hath painfulneſſe, but a perfect love caſteth out all feare: which love I have no miſtruſt but GOD hath powred it upon you ſo aboundantly, that nothing in the world ſhall be able to ſeparate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poore, life nor death, ſhall be able to put you from Chriſt; but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into new Jeruſalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now have, and all other faithfull people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glorie to God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen.

After theſe examinations thus had and commenced betweene Richard Woodman and the Biſhops, he was (as is afore told) judged by ſentence of condemnation, and ſo deprived of his life; with whom alſo was burned nine other, to wit, five men, and foure women, which were taken not paſt two or three dayes before their judgement. The names of all which being alſo before expreſſed,

The burning of 10. Martyrs at Lewes.



The martyrdome of ten godly martyrs of Chriſt at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

expreſſed, here againe follow in this order. Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hoſman his ſervant, Thomaſine a Wood his maide, Margerie Moris, James Moris her ſonne, Denis Burgis, Aſhdownes wife, Groves wife.

Theſe perſons here above named, and bleſſed Martyrs, were put to death at Lewes, the 22. of June.

Certaine Juſtices charged for burning of Chriſts people without any lawfull Warrant or Writ.

Of the which number the eight laſt were apprehended (as is ſaid) either the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſaid Woodman and Stevens were together committed to the fire; in which ſpace no Writ could come down from London to the Juſtices, for their burning, Wherefore what is to be ſaid to ſuch Juſtices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the lawes of this Realme, I referre that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found alſo of other Juſtices, who without any lawfull Writ of diſcharge, or order of law, have unlawfully and diſorderly burnt the ſervants of Chriſt (whoſe blood the law both may and alſo ought to revenge:) eſpecially at Saliſburie, and at Canterburie, and Garnſey. But concerning theſe matters, though mans law do winke, or rather ſleepe at them, yet they ſhall be ſure Gods Law will finde ſuch murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

One Ambroſe died in Maidſtone priſon.

Ambroſe died in priſon confeſſor.

After theſe ten above named burnt at Lewes, about the ſame time and moneth, one Ambroſe died in Maydſtone priſon, who elſe ſhould have been burned in the like cauſe and quarrell as the other were.

The condemnation and martyrdome of Richard Luſh.

The condemnation of Rich. Luſh.

IN the Regiſters of Gilbert Biſhop of Bathe and Wels, I finde a Certificate made to King Philip and Queene Marie, of one Richard Luſh, there condemned and given to the Secular power to be burned for the cauſe of hereſie, whoſe affirmations in the ſaid Certificate be expreſſed in tenour and effect, as followeth.

His Articles.

1 First, for denying the veritie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

2 Item, for denying auricular confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt.

3 Item, for affirming onely to be three ſacraments; to wit, of Baptiſme, of the Supper, and of Matrimonie.

4 Item, for refuſing to call the Lords Supper by the name of the ſacrament of the altar.

5 Item, for denying Purgatorie, and that praier and almes profit not the dead bodie.

6 Item, that Images are not to be ſuffered in the Church, and that all that kneele to Images at the Church, be Idolators.

7 Item, that they which were burnt of late for religion, died Gods ſervants and good Martyrs.

8 Item, for condemning the ſingle life of Prieſts, and other votaries.

9 Item, for denying the univerſall and catholike Church, meaning belike the church of Rome.

The martyrdome of Rich. Luſh in the Dioceſſe of Bathe and Wels.

For theſe aſſertions, as there are expreſſed, he was condemned and committed to the Sheriffes, and alſo a Certificate directed by the Biſhop aforeſaid, to the King and Queene. Whereby we have apparantly to underſtand, that the ſaid Richard Luſh, thus condemned by Biſhop Browne, was there burnt and executed, unleſſe peradventure in the meane ſeaſon he died, or was made away in the priſon; whereof I have no certaintie to expreſſe.

A note of John Hullier Miniſter and Martyr, burned at Cambridge.

Referre this ſtory of John Hullier Martyr, to that which is before ſaid of him.

The ſtory of John Hullier with more matter inlarged.

Concerning the ſtorie of John Hullier Martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdome of that good man, becauſe the ſtorie is but rawly and imperfectly touched before; for the more perfecting thereof, I thought thereunto to adde that which ſince hath come to my hand, as followeth.

John Hullier firſt ſcholler at Eaton.

Firſt, John Hullier was brought up at Eaton Colledge, and after, according to the foundation of that houſe, for that he was ripe for the Univerſitie, he was elected ſcholler in the Kings Colledge, where alſo not tarrying full the three yeeres of probation, before he was fellow of the Colledge, he after a little ſeaſon was one of the ten Conducts in the Kings Colledge, which was Anno 1539. Then at length in proceſſe of time, he came to be Curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and ſo went afterward to Linne; where he, having divers conflicts with the Papiſts, was from thence carried to Ely, to Doctor Thurlby, then Biſhop there; who after divers examinations, ſent him to Cambridge Caſtle, where he remained but a while.

John Hullier conduct in the Kings Colledge.

Hullier brought from Linne to the Biſhop of Ely.

Hullier priſoned in the Tolboth.

From thence he was conveighed to the towne priſon, commonly called the Tolboth, lying there almoſt a quarter of a yeere, while at length he was cited to appear at great Saint Maries on Palmeſunday Eve, before divers Doctors, both Divines and Lawyers, amongſt whom was chiefeſt Doctor Sharton, alſo Doctor Yong, Doctor Sedgewike, Doctor Scot, Mitch, and others. Where after examination had, for that he would not recant, he was firſt condemned, the ſentence being read by Doctor Fuller.

Hullier degraded.

Then conſequently he was degraded after their Popiſh manner, with ſcraping crowne and hands. When they had degraded him, he ſaid cheerefully; This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw, and I thanke you all, that ye have delivered and lightned me of all this paltrie.

Braſey Maior of Cambridge.

In the meane time whileſt it was doing, one ſtanding by, asked Hullier what booke he had in his hand. Who anſwered, a Teſtament. Whereat this man in a rage tooke it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the ſecular powers, Braſey being Maior, who carrying him to priſon againe, tooke from him all his bookes, writings, and papers.

Briſley Sergeant, perſecutor.

On Maunday Thurſday coming to the ſtake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himſelfe, one ſpake to him, ſaying; The Lord ſtrengthen thee. Whereat a Sergeant, named Briſley, ſtaied and bade him hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould repent it.

Hulliers ſtedfaſt truſt in God.

Nevertheleſſe Hullier anſwered and ſaid (either thus or very like, the effect was all one) Friend, I truſt that as God hath hitherto begun, ſo alſo he will ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his worke upon me. I am bidden to a Maunday, whither I truſt to go, and there to be ſhortly. God hath laid the foundation, and I by his aide will end it.

Hullier prepared himſelfe to the ſtake.

Then going to a ſtoole (prepared for him to ſit on) to have his hoſen plucked off, he deſired the people to pray for him againe, and alſo to beare witneſſe that he died in the right faith, and that he would ſeale it with his blood, certifying them, that he died in a juſt cauſe, and for the teſtimonie of the veritie and truth, and that there was no other rocke but Jeſus Chriſt to build upon, under whoſe banner he fought, and whoſe ſouldier he was; and yet ſpeaking, he turned himſelfe about toward the Eaſt, and exhorted the people there likewiſe.

Three notorious Papiſts in Trinitie Colledge.

Now it chanced on a banke to ſtand thrée arch Papiſts, George Boyes, Henrie Barley, and Gray, all thrée of Trinitie Colledge. This Boyes was one of the Proctors of the Univerſitie that yéere. To whom Maſter Gray ſpake, ſaying; Heare ye not Maſter Proctor, what blaſphemie this fellow uttereth? ſurely it is evill done to ſuffer him.

Boyes, Proctor of Cambridge.

At whoſe words, this Boyes ſpake with a loud voice; Maſter Maior, what meane ye? if ye ſuffer him thus to talke at libertie, I tell ye the Councell ſhall heare of it, and we take you not to be the Quéens friend. He is a pernicious perſon, and may doe more harme then you wote of. Whereat ſimple Hullier, as meek as a Lambe, taking the matter very patiently, made no anſwer, but made him ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went méekly himſelfe to the ſtake, & with chaines being bound, was beſet with reed and wood, ſtanding in a pitch barrell, and the fire being ſet to, not marking the winde, it blew the flame to his back. Then he féeling it, began earneſtly to call upon God. Neverthelesse his friends perceiving the fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the Sergeants to turne it, and fire it that place where the winde might blow it to his face.

The martyrdome of Iohn Hullier.

Books burned with Hullier.

That done, there was a companie of books which were caſt into the fire, & by chance a Communion book fell betwéene his hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read ſo long till the force of the flame and ſmoake cauſed him that he could ſée no more; and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the booke betwixt his armes next his heart, thanking God for ſending him it: and at that time the day being a very faire day and a hote, yet the winde was ſomewhat up, and it cauſed the fire to be the fiercer, and when all the people thought he had been dead, he ſuddenly uttered theſe words; Lord Ieſus receive my ſpirit, dying very meekly.

The laſt words of Ioh. Hullier at his death.

The place where he was burned, is called Ieſus Gréene, not farre from Ieſus Colledge. Seagar gave him certaine Gunpowder, but little to the purpoſe; for he was dead before it tooke fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a teare was ſhed for him. Which the papiſts ſéeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing: neverthelesse they continued praying, Whereat the papiſts fell in ſuch a rage, that they menaced them with terrible threatnings to ward. His fleſh being conſumed, his bones ſtood upright even as if they had béen alive. Of the people, ſome took what they could get of him, as péeces of bones. One had his heart, the which was diſtributed ſo farre as it would go; one took the ſcalpe and looked for the tongue, but it was conſumed except the very roote.

Papiſts of Cambridge forbid the people to pray for Hullier.

One rounded him in the eare, and deſired him to be conſtant to the end; at which he ſpake nothing, but ſhewed a joyfull countenance, and ſo continued both conſtant and joyfull to the end.

A note of Thomas Rede.

Referre this to Thomas Rede Martyr, before.

THomas Rede who was burned at Lewes, as it appeareth above, before he was in priſon, determined with himſelfe to go to Church. The night following he ſaw a viſion, a companie of tall young men in white, very pleaſant to behold; to whom he would have joyned himſelfe, but it would not be.

Then he looked on himſelfe, and he was full of ſpots, and therewith waked, and tooke hold, and ſtood to the truth; God be thanked therefore, and ſo conſtantly was burned with his fellowes, as is above ſpecified.

Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper burnt at Norwich.

July 13. Simon Miller a Merchant, Martyr.

IN the moneth of July next enſued the martyrdome of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling then in the town of Linne, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, deteſting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then ſet forth, came from Linne to Norwich, where he ſtanding in the preaſe and hearing of the people, coming out the ſame time from their Popiſh ſervice ended in the Church, beganne to aſke them coming out of the Church, where he might go to have the Communion. At which words, divers much marvelling to heare and ſée his boldneſſe, one that was an evill diſpoſſed Papiſt, hearing the ſame, ſaid, that if he would needs go to a Communion, he would go bring him thither where he ſhould be ſped of his purpoſe. Whereupon ſhortly after he was brought to the Chancellor of Norwich (whoſe name was Dunning) who after a few words, and ſmall talke paſſed with this examinate, committed him to ward.

The words of Simon Miller to the people. The cauſe why Simon Miller was taken.

Simon Miller examined before Doctor Dunning.

In the meane while as he was in examination, he had in his ſhooe his confeſſion, written in a certain paper, whereof a péece appearing above his ſhooe, was ſpied and taken out. The Chancellor asking if he would ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame faith therein contained, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Whereupon as is ſaid, he was committed. Thus the ſaid Simon being in the biſhops houſe, under cuſtodie of the Kéeper there called Maſter Felow, how it hapned it is not certaine, whether by gentleneſſe of the Keeper (who was ſomewhat gentle that waies) or by leave given of the Biſhop, or elſe whether he had condeſcended of a purpoſe to their Articles, he was diſmiſſed, and went home to his houſe at Linne. Where he continued a certaine ſpace, while he had diſpoſed and ſet there all things in order.

Sim. Millers confeſſion eſpied in his ſhooe.

Simon Miller diſmiſſed to his houſe at Linne.

That done, he returned againe to the Biſhops houſe to his priſon & kéeper, till the time at length, he conſtantly abiding in his profeſſed purpoſe, and defence of Gods truth, was by the ſaid Biſhop and his Chancellor condemned and committed to the fire about the 13. day of July.

Simon Miller returneth again to his confeſſion, and is condemned.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

Eliz. Cooper, Martyr.

WIth this Simon Miller alſo was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as is aforeſaid) a Pewterers wife, dwelling in S. Andrewes Pariſh in Norwich, where ſhe had before recanted, and being unquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the laſt ſhe came into the ſaid Saint Andrewes Church, the people being at their Popiſh ſervice, and there ſtanding in the ſame, ſaid ſhe revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily ſorrie that ever ſhe did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. Theſe or ſuch like words ſhe ſpake in the Church.

Elizab. Cooper revoketh her recantation in the open Church.

Then cried one Bacon of the ſaid Pariſh, laying his armes abroad, ſaying; Maſter Sheriffe, will you ſuffer this? and repeating the ſame, urged him to go from the Church to her houſe, at whoſe knocking ſhe came downe, and was taken and ſent to priſon.

This Sheriffe (named Maſter Thomas Sutterton) and ſhe had been ſervants together before in one houſe, and for the friendſhip he bare unto

her,

The Sheriffe againſt his will enforced to lay hands upon Elizabeth Cooper.

her, and the more for the Goſpels ſake he was verie loath to do it, but that he was enforced by thoſe other perſons (before ſpecified) much againſt his own conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned, and at the ſtake with Simon Miller to be burnt, when the fire came unto her, ſhe a little ſhrunk thereat, with a voice crying, ha. When the ſaid Simon Miller heard the ſame, he put his hand behinde him toward her, and willed her to be ſtrong and of good chear: For good ſiſter (ſaid he) we ſhall have a joyfull and a ſweet ſupper. Whereat ſhe being, as it ſeemed, thereby ſtrengthened, ſtood as ſtill and as quiet as one moſt glad to finiſh that good work which before moſt happily ſhe had begun. So in fine ſhe ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her ſoul into the hands of Almighty God.

Eliz. Cowper ſtrengthened at the ſtake by Sim. Miller.

The Martyrdome of ten faithfull and bleſſed Martyrs, five men and five women burnt at Colcheſter, five in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon, for the teſtimony and witneſſe of Chriſt Ieſus and his glorious Goſpel.

Auguſt 2. The martyrdome of ten godly Martyrs, five men and five women at Colcheſter.

As it is no new thing in thoſe whom we call Prelates and Prieſts of the Church, to be raiſers up of Perſecution againſt Chriſt and his poore flock: ſo it is much to be marvelled or rather lamented, that noble perſons, and men of honour and worſhip, would be made ſuch Miniſters, to ſerve the affections of theſe tyrants, as commonly, as well in all the ſorrowfull dayes of the late Queen Marie, as namely in this preſent ſtorie is to be marked.

And firſt thou remembreſt (gentle Reader) how mention was made a little before of xxii. which were ſent up priſoners together from Colcheſter to London by the Earle of Oxford, the Lord Darcie, maſter Tyrell of ſaint Oſithes, and other Commiſſioners and Juſtices, &c. The which xxii. (as is aforeſaid) through a gentle ſubmiſſion put unto them, were afterward releaſed and delivered.

W. Munt, Alice his wife, Roſe Allen her daughter.

In the number of theſe foreſaid 22. was one William Munt of Muchbentley in Eſſex, huſbandman, with Alice his wife, and Roſe Allen maid, the daughter of the ſaid Alice Munt; which coming home again to their houſe at Muchbentley aforeſaid, refrained themſelves from the unſavorie ſervice of the Popiſh Church, and frequented the companie of good men and women which gave themſelves diligently to reading, invocating, and calling upon the name of God through Chriſt: whereby they ſo fretted the wicked Prieſt of the town, called Sir Thomas Tie, and other like unto him, that caſting their heads together, they made a peſtilent ſupplication to the Lord Darcie, in the name of the whole Pariſh: the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

Tho. Tie prieſt a wicked Promoter.

The manner of a ſupplication to the Lord Darcy, and by him delivered to Sir Iohn Kingſton Prieſt and Commiſſarie.

A ſupplication of the perſecutors to the Lord Darcy.

PLeaſeth it your honourable Lordſhip to be advertiſed that we confeſſe, whileſt your good Lordſhip lay here in the countrey, the people were ſtayed in good order, to our great comfort: but ſince your Lordſhips departure, they have made digreſſion from good order in ſome places, and namely in the Pariſh of Muchbentley, by reaſon of three ſeditious perſons, William Munt and his wife, and Roſe her daughter, who by their colourable ſubmiſſion (as it doth appeare) were diſmiſt and ſent down from the Biſhop of London, and ſince their coming home they have not onely in their own perſons ſhewed manifeſt ſignes and tokens of diſobedience, in not coming to the Church, nor yet obſerving other good orders, but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly have ſeduced many from coming to the Church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking alſo thoſe that frequent the Church, and calling them Church Owles, and blaſphemouſly calling the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar a blinde god, with divers ſuch like blaſphemies. In conſideration whereof, may it pleaſe your honour (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good Lordſhip beareth to juſtice, and the common peace and quietneſſe of the King and Queens Majeſties loving ſubjects) to award out your warrant for the ſaid William Munt, his wife, and Roſe her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordſhip, we truſt the reſt will fear to offend (their Ring Leaders of ſedition being apprehended) to the quietneſſe of their obedient ſubjects.

Your daily Orators, the Pariſhioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye Prieſt, Iohn Carter, Thomas Candler, Iohn Barker, Richard Mere, Iohn Painter, Will. Harris, Iohn Richard, with other.

Cruell perſecutors.

This being done, the ſaid Sir Thomas Tye bethought with himſelf, where the perſecuted did reſort. For in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, for a twelvemoneth and more, he came not to the Church, but frequented the companie of godly men and women, which abſtained from the ſame, and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conſcience, but the ſequel ſhewed him to be a falſe brother.

Tho. Tie a falſe brother, and a bloody perſecutor.

Now (as I ſaid) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further inquire of other men about the ſame: and being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his purpoſe, immediately about the time the ſupplication above ſpecified was exhibited to the ſaid Lord Darcie, wrote ſecretly a letter to Boner Biſhop of London, wherein he maketh his account how he had beſtowed his time, and complained of divers honeſt men, among which was the ſaid William Munt and his companie: The tenor of which letter hereafter followeth.

A letter ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, from Sir Thomas Tye, Prieſt.

Tyes letter to B. Boner.

RIght honourable Lord, after my bounden dutie done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignifie unto your Lordſhip the ſtate of our parts concerning religion. And firſt ſince the coming down of the twenty two ranke heretiques diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſort of ſchiſmatiques were never ſo bold ſince the King and Queenes Majeſties reigne, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbentley where your Lordſhip is patron of the Church, ſince Willi. Munt, and Alice his wife, with Roſe Allin her daughter came home, they do not onely abſent themſelves from the Church, and ſervice of God, but do daily allure many other away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew ſignes and tokens of obedience.

They aſſemble together upon the Sabbath day in the time of divine ſervice, ſometimes in one houſe, ſometime in another, and there keep their privie Conventicles and Schools of hereſie. The Jurates ſay, the Lords Commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their oath. The Queſt men in your Archdeacons Viſitation alledged that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers ſay, namely Maſter Boſwell, that the Councell ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your officers prove not favourers of heretiques. The rebels are ſtout in the town of Colcheſter.

The Miniſters of the Church are hemd at in the open ſtreets, and called knaves. The bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is blaſphemed and rayled upon in every houſe and Tavern. Prayer and faſting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and countrey, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honourable Lords and Commiſſioners been ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of John Love of Colcheſter Hieth (a perverſe place;) which John Love was twice indicted of hereſie, and thereupon fled with his wife and houſhold, and his goods ſeiſed within the town of Colcheſter, to the King and Queens Majeſties uſe. Nevertheleſſe the ſaid John is come home again, and nothing ſaid or done to him. Whereupon the heretiques are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little diſcomfort of good and Catholique people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unitie, and reſtauration of his Church again: which thing ſhall come the ſooner to paſſe, through the travell and pains of ſuch honourable Lords and reverend Fathers as your Lordſhip is, unto whom I wiſh long life and continuance, with encreaſe of much honour. From Colcheſter the xviii. of December.

Your humble Bedeſman,
Thomas Tye,
Prieſt.

W. Simnel, John Baker, W. Harris, perſecutors.

The taking of W. Munt, his wife, and Roſe Allin their daughter.

When Judaſly this wicked Prieſt had thus wrought his malice againſt the people of God, within a while after the ſtorms began to ariſe againſt thoſe poore perſecuted, William Munt and his companie, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelves from the heat thereof. And continuing ſo a little ſpace, at laſt, the ſeventh day of March, Anno 1557. being the firſt Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one maſter Edmund Tyrrell who came of the houſe of thoſe Tyrrels which murdered King Edward the fifth and his brother) took with him the Bailiffe of the hundred called William Simnel, dwelling in Colcheſter, and the two Conſtables of Muchbentley aforeſaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with divers other a great number; and beſetting the houſe of the ſaid William Munt round about, called to them at length to open the doore: which being done, maſter Tyrrel with certain of his company went into the chamber where the ſaid father Munt and his wife lay, willing them to riſe: for (ſaid he) you muſt go with us to Colcheſter Caſtle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very ſick, deſired that her daughter might firſt fetch her ſome drink; for ſhe was (ſhe ſaid) very ill at eaſe.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter the forenamed Roſe Allin, maid, took a ſtone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as ſhe came back again thorow the houſe, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counſell, and advertiſe them to be better Catholique people.

Roſe. Sir, they have a better inſtructer then I. For the holy Ghoſt doth teach them. I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to erre.

Tyrr. Why, ſaid maſter Tyrrel, art thou ſtill in that minde, thou naughtie huſwife? Marie it is time to look upon ſuch heretiques indeed.

Q. MARIE.

Anno. 1557.

Roſe. Sir, with that which you call hereſie, do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you troth.

Tyr. Then I perceive you will burn, goſſip, with the reſt, for companies ſake.

Talk between Ed. Tyrrel and Roſe Allin.

Roſe. No ſir, not for companies ſake, but for my Chriſts ſake, if ſo I be compelled, and I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrr. So he turning to his companie, ſaid, Sirs, this goſſip will burn: do you not think it? Marie ſir, quoth one, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Tyrrel burneth Roſe Allins hand.

Then that cruell Tyrrell, taking the candle from her, held her wreſt, and the burning candle under her hand, burning croſſe-wiſe over the back thereof, ſo long, till the very ſinews crackt aſunder. Witneſſe hereof William Candler then dwelling in Muchbentley, who was there preſent and ſaw it. Alſo miſtreſſe Bright of Romford, with Anne Starkey her maid, to whom Roſe Allin alſo both declared the ſame, and the ſaid miſtreſſe Bright alſo miniſtred ſalve for the curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at Romford going up towards London with other priſoners.

In which time of his tyrannie, he ſaid often to her, Why whore, wilt thou not crie? Thou young whore, wilt thou not crie? Unto which alwayes ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had no cauſe, ſhe thanked GOD, but rather to rejoyce. He had (ſhe ſaid) more cauſe to weep then ſhe, if he conſidered the matter well. In the end, when the ſinews (as I ſaid) brake, that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her from him violently, and ſaid, A ſtrong whore, thou ſhameleſſe beaſt, thou beaſtly whore, &c. with ſuch like vile words. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his rage for the time, at the laſt ſaid, Sir, have ye done what ye will do? And he ſaid, yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it.

The patience of the faithfull.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you thinke it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head alſo. For he that ſet you awork, ſhall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and ſo ſhe went and carried her mother drink as ſhe was commanded. Furthermore, after the ſearching of the houſe for more companie, at the laſt they found one John Thurſton and Margaret his wife there alſo, whom they carried with the reſt to Colcheſter Caſtle immediately.

The devil payeth the perſecutors their wages.

She revengeth not evil for evil.

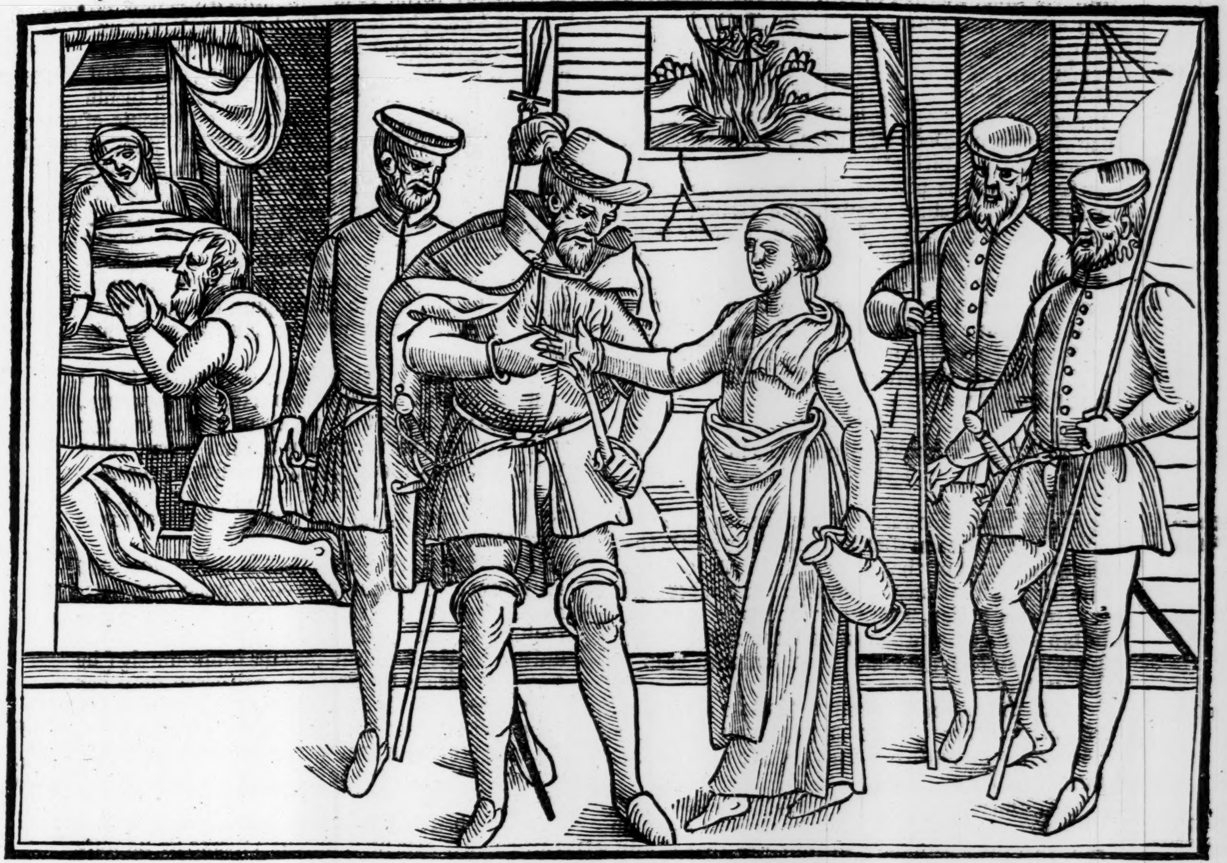
And this ſaid Roſe Allin being priſoner, told a friend of hers this cruell act of the ſaid Tyrrel; and ſhewing him the manner thereof, ſhe ſaid, while my own hand (quoth ſhe) was a burning, I having a pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the face with it, if I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therein. But I thank God (quoth ſhe) with all my heart, I did it not.

Alſo being aſked of another, how ſhe could abide the painfull burning of her hand, ſhe ſaid, at firſt it was ſome griefe to her, but afterward, the longer ſhe burned, the leſſe ſhe felt, or well neare none at all.

And becauſe maſter Tyrrel ſhall not go alone in this kinde of crueltie, you ſhall hear another like example of a blinde harpers hand burnt by Biſhop Boner, as is teſtified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, ſometime Gentleman to the ſaid Biſhop, who declared before credible witneſſe, as followeth: How the ſaid B. Boner, having this blinde Harper before him, ſpake thus unto him, That ſuch blinde abjects which follow a ſort of hereticall preachers, when they come

to

The burning of Roſe Allins hand, by Edmund Tyrrell, as ſhe was going to fetch drink for her Mother, lying ſick in her bed.



Q. MARIE.

Anno 1557.

to the féeling of the fire, will be the firſt that will flie from it.

To whom the blinde man ſaid, that if everie joynt of him were burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord not to flie. Then Boner ſignifying privily to certain of his men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burning coal. Which coal being put into the poore mans hand, they cloſed it faſt again, and ſo was his hand pitiouſly burned. Amongſt the doers whereof was the ſaid M. Valentine Dingley, witneſſe and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the ſtorie of Titus Livius of King Porſenna, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scævola, which came purpoſely to kill him, being onely contented therewith, ſent him home to Rome again. But thus to burne the hands of poore men and women which never meant any harme unto them, and not yet contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole bodies without any juſt cauſe, we finde no example of ſuch barbarous tyrannie, neither in Titus Livius, neither in any other ſtorie amongſt the heathen.

But to return to our Colcheſter martyrs again, as touching William Munt and his wife, and burning of their daughter Roſe Allins hand, ſufficient hath béen declared. With the ſaid William Munt and his familie, was joyned alſo in the ſame priſon at Colcheſter, another faithfull brother, named John Johnſon, alias Aliker, of Thorp, in the Countie of Eſſex Labourer, of the age of foure and thirtie yéers, having no wife alive, but thrée young children, who alſo was with them indicted of hereſie, and ſo all theſe four lay together in Colcheſter Caſtle.

The other ſix priſoners lay in Mote Hall in the ſaid Towne of Colcheſter, whoſe names were:

Firſt, William Bongeor, of the Pariſh of ſaint Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, of the age of ſixty yéers.

2 Thomas Benold of Colcheſter, Tallow Chandler.

3 W. Purcas of Bocking in the Countie of Eſſex, Fuller, a young man, of the age of twentie yéers.

4 Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colcheſter, widow, of the age of fourtie yéers.

5 Helene Ewring, the wife of John Ewring Miller, dwelling in Colcheſter, of the age of 45. yéers, or thereabouts, who was one of the 22: priſoners mentioned before, ſent up in bands from Colcheſter to London, and after being delivered with the reſt, repaired home to Colcheſter again to her huſband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enjoyed her libertie not very long: for ſhortly after her return, met with her one Robert Maynard then Bayliffe of Colcheſter, a ſpeciall enemy to Gods Goſpel, who ſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered again, and ſaid, that it was but a Judas kiſſe. For in the end, quoth ſhe, I know you will betray me, as indéed it came to paſſe: for immediately after that talk ſhe was apprehended by him again, and there lodged with the reſt in the town priſon (as is aforeſaid) called the Mote Hall.

Helene Ewring apprehended the ſecond time.

Rob. Maynard a great enemy to the Goſpel.

6 The ſixth of this companie was Elizabeth Folks, a young maid, and ſervant in Colcheſter, of the age of twenty yéers. These ſix were impriſoned in the town priſon of Colcheſter, called Mote Hall, as the other foure, above ſpecified, were in the Caſtle.

Divers examinations theſe good men had at ſundrie times before divers Juſtices, Prieſts, and Officers, as M. Roper, John Kingſton Commiſſarie, John Boſwel Prieſt and Boners ſcribe, and others mo, whereof the ſaid Boſwel made relation to Biſhop Boner, certifying him of their depoſitions, as is to be read in our firſt book of Acts and Monuments. Laſt of all they were examined again in Mote hall the twentie fourth day of June, by Doctor Chadſey, John Kingſton Commiſſarie, with other Prieſts, and Boſwel the Scribe, in the preſence of the two Bailiffes of Colcheſter, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other Juſtices both of the town and countrey, and other gentlemen a great ſort: at which time and place, and before the ſaid perſons, they had ſentence of condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the reall preſence of the ſacrament in their altar. The effect of their words therein, was this, or ſuch like, as here followeth.

Firſt the Lords faithfull priſoners in Mote Hall.

William Bongeor.

VVilliam Bongeor of the Pariſh of Saint Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was bread, is bread, and ſo remaineth bread, and for the conſecration it is not the holier, but rather the worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their Papiſticall doctrine: and ſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Tho. Benold.

Tho. Benold of Colcheſter, Tallow Chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the ſaid William Bongeor did: and ſo had ſentence alſo read againſt him.

W. Purcas condemned.

W. Purcas of Bocking ſaid, that when he received the ſacrament, he received bread in an holy uſe, that preacheth the remembrance that Chriſt died for him. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their Popiſh matters: and ſo alſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Agnes Silverſide condemned.

Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, ſaid, that ſhe loved no conſecration. For the bread and wine is rather worſe then better thereby, ſhe ſaid. This good old woman anſwered them with ſuch ſound judgement and boldneſſe, to everie thing they aſked her, that it rejoyced the hearts of many, and eſpecially to ſee the patience of ſuch a reverend old age, againſt the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this ſhe alſo ſtood, and had ſentence read againſt her in like manner.

Helene Ewring condemned.

Helene Ewring anſwered the like in effect as the other did, clearly denying all the laws ſet forth by the Pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was ſomewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in underſtanding the Lords matters, his name therefore be praiſed. Againſt her alſo there was ſentence read.

Eliziab. Folks condemned.

A ſubſtantiall lie, A reall lie.

Elizabeth Folks the young maiden, being examined whether ſhe beleeved the preſence of Chriſts body to be in the Sacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no; anſwered that ſhe beleeved that it was a ſubſtantiall lie, and a reall lie. At which words the Prieſts and others chafed very much, and aſked her again, whether after the conſecration there remained not the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. And ſhe anſwered, that before conſecration and after, it is but bread, and that man bleſſeth without Gods word, is curſed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her of confeſſion to the prieſt, of going to Church to hear Maſſe, of the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, &c. Unto all which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would neither uſe nor frequent any of them all, by the grace of God, but utterly deteſt and abhor them from the bottome of her heart, and all ſuch trumperie.

D. Chadſey wept.

Eliz. Folks praiſeth God at her own condemnation.

Eliz. Folks prayeth for her enemies.

Sleeping Maynard.

Then read they the ſentence of condemnation againſt her. In which time Doctor Chadſey wept, that the teares trickled downe his cheeks. So the ſentence being read, ſhe kneeled downe on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer in audible voice praiſing God that ever ſhe was born, to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happie day, that the Lord would count her worthie to ſuffer for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: and Lord, ſaid ſhe (if it be thy will) forgive them that this have done againſt me, for they know not what they do. Then riſing up, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the Bench to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to priſon, as Robert Maynard the Bailiffe, and ſuch like; which Maynard commonly, when he ſat in judgement upon life and death, would ſit ſleeping on the Bench many times, ſo carefull was his minde on his office.

Further ſhe willed halting Goſpellers to beware of blood, for that would crie for vengeance, &c. And in the end ſhe told them all, laying her hand upon the barre, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very barre would be a witneſſe againſt them at the day of judgement, that they had that day ſhed innocent blood.

Eliz. Folks might have eſcaped, and would not.

This Elizabeth Folks, the day before ſhe was condemned, was examined onely upon this article, Whether ſhe beleeved that there was a Catholique Church of Chriſt or no. Unto which ſhe anſwered, Yea. Then was ſhe immediately (by Boſwels means the Scribe) delivered unto her Uncle Holt of the ſame town of Colcheſter to keep, who carried her home unto his houſe: and ſhe being there, might have departed thence many times, if ſhe had would: for there was means offered to convey her away. But ſhe hearing that ſome doubted that ſhe had yeelded to the Pope (although it was moſt untrue) would in no wiſe content her ſelfe, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſh of minde and terror of conſcience, that (no remedie) ſhe would to the Papiſts again, for any perſwaſions that could be. And coming before them at Coſins houſe at the white Hart in Colcheſter, ſhe was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine: and ſo had, as you have heard, in the end a Papiſticall reward, as the reſt of her brethren had.

The Lords faithfull priſoners in Colcheſter Caſtle.

W. Munt condemned.

VVilliam Munt of Muchbentley in Eſſex, of the age of ſixtie one yeers, ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was an abominable idoll, and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of their Popiſh proceedings, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring his curſe upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durſt not do it. This good father was examined of many things: but GOD be thanked, he ſtood to the truth, and in the end therefore had ſentence of condemnation read againſt him.

John Johnſon condemned.

John Johnſon of Thorp in Eſſex, widower, of the age of thirty foure yeers, was examined as the reſt, and made anſwer in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſts counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody ſentence, as they had done the reſt before. This John Johnſon affirmed, that in the receiving of the ſacrament, according to Chriſts inſtitution, he receiveth the bodie of Chriſt ſpiritually, &c.

Alice Munt condemned.

Alice Munt, the wife of the ſaid William Munt, of the age of one and fourty yeers, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in effect as her huſband did, and was therefore

fore alſo condemned by their bloody ſentence in like manner.

Roſe Allin.

Roſe Allin Maid, the daughter of the ſaid Alice Munt, of the age of twenty yeers, being examined of auricular confeſſion, going to the Church to hear Maſſe, of the Popiſh ſeven ſacraments, &c. anſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtank in the face of God, and ſhe durſt not have to do with them for her life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſaid) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichriſt, and ſo ſhould have (if they repented not) the reward of Antichriſt. Being aſked further, what ſhe could ſay of the See of the Biſhop of Rome, whether ſhe would obey his authoritie or no: ſhe anſwered boldly, that ſhe was none of his. As for his See (quoth ſhe) it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to ſwim in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I ſhall not ſwim in that See, while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then read they the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſo ſent her unto priſon again unto the reſt, where ſhe ſung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Roſe Allins anſwers.

Roſe Allin condemned.

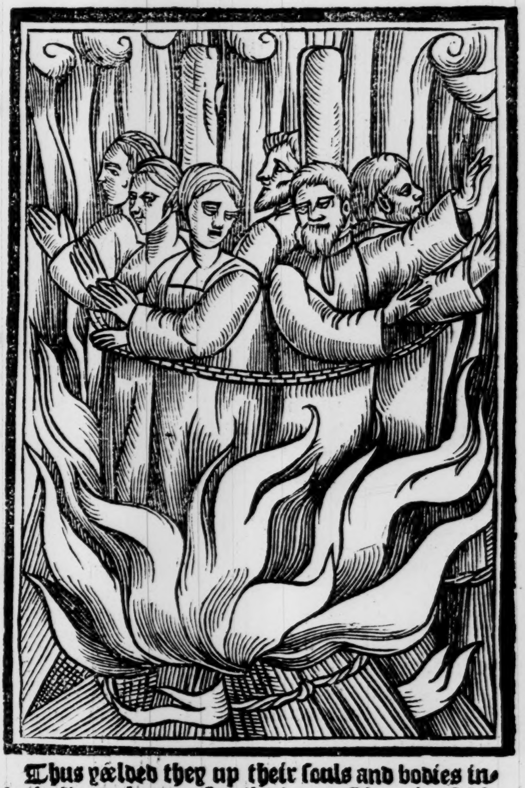
Thus theſe poore condemned lambes, being delivered into the hands of the ſecular power, were committed again every one unto the priſon from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continuall reading and invocating the name of God) ever looking and expecting the happie day of their diſſolution. In which time the cruell Papiſts left not their miſchievous attempts againſt them (although they would ſeem now to have no more to do with them) for bloody Boner, whoſe throat never cried ho, ſhortly after got a writ for the burning of the foreſaid ten good creatures; and to ſhew the more diligence in the cauſe, he ſent his own truſty man down with it, named Edward Coſin, and with him alſo his letter for the furtherance of the matter, the thirty day of July, the next moneth after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received of the ſaid Bayliffs, and they having then no leaſure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the ſecond day of Auguſt next following. And becauſe the faithfull ſouls were in two ſeverall priſons, as the Caſtle was for the Countrey, and Mote Hall for the Town: therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote Hall ſhould be burnt in the forenoon, and thoſe at the Caſtle, by the Sheriffe of the Shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayeſt ſee it more plain how it came to paſſe accordingly.

The ſecond day of Auguſt, 1557. betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the morning, was brought from Mote Hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town wall of Colcheſter on the outward ſide, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, Helene Ewring and Elizabeth Folks aforenamed; which being there, and all things prepared for their Martyrdome, at the laſt theſe ſaid conſtant Martyrs kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch ſort as they would, for the cruell tyrants would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one maſter Clere among the reſt (who ſometime had been a Goſpeller) ſhewed himſelfe verie extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they had made their prayers, they roſe, and made them readie to the fire. And Elizabeth Folks, when ſhe had plucked off her Petticoat, would have given it to her mother (which came and kiſt her at the ſtake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to give it. Therefore taking the ſaid Petticoat in her hand, ſhe threw it away from her, ſaying, Farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope, and ſo taking the ſtake in her hand, ſaid, Welcome love, &c. Now ſhe being at the ſtake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the ſtriking of the ſtaple, he miſt the place, and ſtrake her with a great ſtroke of the hammer on the ſhoulder bone: whereat ſhe ſuddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed ſmilingly, and gave her ſelf to exhorting the people again.

When all ſix were alſo nailed likewiſe at their ſtakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the ſtanders by (which were by eſtimation thouſands) cried generally almoſt; The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord poure his mercies upon them, with ſuch like words, as was wonderfull to hear.

The Martyrdome of three men and three women at Colcheſter, burned in the forenoon, beſides foure other burned at afternoon.



The Martyrdome of W. Bongeor, W. Purcas, Tho. Benold, Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, Helene Ewring, Eliz. Folks at Colcheſter in the forenoon. Anno 1557. Auguſt 2.

Thus yeelded they up their ſouls and bodies into the Lords hands, for the true teſtimonie of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the ſame in the like quarrell (if he ſo vouch us worthie) for his mercies ſake, Amen.

In like manner the ſaid day in the afternoone, was brought forth into the Caſtle yard, to a place appointed for the ſame, William Munt, John Johnſon, Alice Munt, and Roſe Allin aforeſaid: which godly conſtant perſons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the ſtakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earneſtly to flee from Idolatrie, ſuffered their Martyrdome with ſuch triumph and joy, that the people did no leſſe ſhout thereat to ſee it, then at the other that were burnt the ſame day in the morning.

W. Munt, Alice his wife, Roſe Allin their daughter, John Johnſon, burnt the ſame day at afternoon. Aug. 2.

Thus ended all theſe glorious ten ſouls that day, their happie lives unto the Lord, whoſe ages all did grow to the ſumme of foure hundred and

The age of theſe ten made the ſumme of 406. yeers.

ſix yeers, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well ſpend our yeers and dayes likewiſe to his glorie. Amen.

Iohn Thurſton died in Colcheſter Caſtle.

Io. Thurſton a confeſſor of Chriſt.

BEfore you have heard of the taking of Iohn Thurſton at Muchbentley, in the houſe of one William Munt of the ſame town; which ſaid Iohn Thurſton afterward about the moneth of May, in the yeer aforeſaid, died in Colcheſter Caſtle, a conſtant confeſſor of Ieſus Chriſt.

The ſtory and death of George Eagles, otherwiſe termed Trudgeover, a moſt painfull Traveller in Chriſts Goſpel, who for the ſame Goſpel moſt cruelly was martyred by the cruell Papiſts.

George Eagles martyred.

AMong other Martyrs of ſingular vertue and conſtancie, one George Eagles deſerveth not the leaſt admiration, but is ſo much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, moſt manfully ſerved and fought under the banner of Chriſts Church. For oftentimes the will and pleaſure of God is, to beautifie and adorn his kingdome with the weake and ſimple inſtruments of this world; ſuch as in the old Teſtament Amos was, who with many other of obſcure and unknown names, were called from the heards and folds to the honor of Prophets; as likewiſe we read of the Apoſtles that were called from Fiſhermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be neglected for his baſe occupation, whom Chriſt called thence to ſet forth and declare abroad his Goſpel. Rather we ought to glorifie God the more thereby in his holineſſe, which in ſo blinde a time inſpired him with the gift of preaching, and conſtancie of ſuffering: who, after a certain time he had uſed the occupation of a Taylour, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himſelf to the profit of Chriſts Church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright and cleer dayes of King Edward the ſixth, he had not unfruitfully ſhewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, ſo afterward in the tempeſtuous time and fall of the Church (at what time the Confeſſors of Chriſt and his Goſpel were turmoiled, divers of them murdered, part baniſhed, and otherſome conſtrained for fear not to ſhew their heads) he expreſſed and uttered his manly ſtomacke. For he, wandring abroad into divers and far Countreys, where he could finde any of his brethren, did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and ſometime abiding in that certain moneths together, as occaſion ſerved, lodging ſometime in the countrey, and ſometime for fear living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreaſonable going abroad, was called Trudgeover. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, ſpending the moſt part in devout and earneſt prayer.

The painfull travell of Geor. Eagles.

His diet was ſo above meaſure ſpare and ſlender, that for the ſpace of three yeers, he uſed for the moſt part, to drink nothing but very water, whereunto he was compelled through neceſſitie of the time of perſecution: and after when he perceived that his bodie by Gods providence proved well enough with this diet, he thought beſt to inure himſelf therewithall againſt all neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſts Church in this ſort, by going about and preaching the Goſpel a yeer or two, and eſpecially in Colcheſter, and the quarters thereabout; that privie enemie which envieth alwayes the ſalvation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all meanes poſſible for him, ſo that there were divers ſpies ſent out, who had in commandement, whereſoever they found him, to bring him either quicke or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain (the ſaid Eagles with his brethren keeping in cloſe, and hiding themſelves in out and dark places, as in barns, thickets, holes, and privie cloſets) his adverſaries went about another way to compaſſe this their enterpriſe of taking him.

For in the Queens name a grievous Edict was proclaimed throwout foure Shires, Eſſex, Suffolke, Kent, and Northfolke, promiſing the partie that took him, twentie pounds for his pains; doubtleſſe a worthie hire to entice any Iew to trecherie. For being inflamed with greedy deſire of the money, they deviſed and invented all wayes and reaſons they could poſſible to be enriched with the hurt and deſtruction of this ſilly man.

At length it came to paſſe, that this George being ſeen by chance at Colcheſter upon Marie Magdalens day, at which time they kept a Fayre in the Town, ſhould have forthwith been delivered to his adverſaries, if he perceiving the ſame (as God would have it) had not conveighed himſelf away as faſt as he could, a great multitude purſuing after, and ſeeking diligently for him. Who firſt hid himſelf in a grove, and then from thence he ſtole into a corn field thereby, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inſomuch as they were all, ſaving one, paſt hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way.

This one, having more ſubtiltie and wicked craft in his head then the reſt, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climed up into a high tree, there to view and eſpie if he might ſee Eagles any where ſtir or move.

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri ſacra fames? Æneid.

The poore man thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no noiſe abroad, roſe up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the corn, or becauſe his voice was heard, the lurker perceiving his deſired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and ſuddenly laying hands on him, brought him as priſoner to Colcheſter. Notwithſtanding the greedy and Iudas knave, which had ſo much promiſed him, was fain to be contented with a very ſmall reward, and glad to take that too, leſt he ſhould have had nothing at all.

This George, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the Church of God (of which to his power he was a worthie inſtrument) was committed to priſon there, and from thence within foure dayes after conveighed to Chelmesford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not ſleep, neither would eat or drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London to the Biſhop or the Councell, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the Seſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled companies together, contrarie to the Laws and Statutes of the Realme in that caſe provided. For ſo it was ordained a little before, to avoyd ſedition, that if men ſhould flocke ſecretly together, above the number of ſix, they ſhould be attached of treaſon: which ſtrait law was the caſting away of the good Duke of Sommerſet before mentioned.

And albeit it was well knowne, that poore Eagles did never any thing ſeditiouſly againſt the Queene, yet to cloake an honeſt matter withall, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the people, they turned Religion into a civill offence and crime, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, or faith before the Iudges: yet could hee not bring it to paſſe by any means, but that he muſt needs bee indicted (as is ſaid) of treaſon; whoſe inditement did runne much after this faſhion.

George Eagles inditement.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of George Eagles, otherwiſe Trudgeover the world, for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer, that God ſhould turne Queen Maries heart, or elſe take her away.

Hee denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed, he prayed that God would turne her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithſtanding he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for Religion.

R. Potto Inholder at the Cocke in Chelmesford.

This thing done, he was carried to the new Inne, called the ſigne of the Crowne in Chelmſford, by the beaſtly Bailiffes, which ſome of them were they that before did their beſt to take him; and being in the Inne, one Richard Potto the elder, an Inne-holder, dwelling at the ſigne of the Cocke in the ſame towne, did much trouble him, in perſwading him to confeſſe he had offended the Queene in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to aske her forgiveneſſe.

To whom he ſaid, he had not offended her Grace in that behalfe. So in proceſſe of time, hee was laid upon a Sled, with an hurdle on it, and drawne to the place of execution, being faſt bound, having in his hand a Pſalme Booke, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voyce, till hee came there: and being on the ladder this foreſaid Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforeſaid, when he would have uttered other things, till ſuch time as the Sheriffe commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confeſſion, and ſtood very conſtant ſtill; then hee was turned off the ladder. With him were caſt certaine theeves alſo, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much ſet forth and declare the innocency and godlineſſe of this man. For being led betweene two theeves to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the truth, one of theſe turned the counſell he gave, into a ieſting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtaine heaven, ſaith he, foraſmuch as this holy man ſhall go before us, as captaine and leader unto us in the way. We ſhall flee thither ſtraight as ſoone hee hath once made us the entry.

In this, George Eagles and that other did greatly reprove him, who on the other ſide gave good heed to Georges exhortation, earneſtly bewailing his owne wickedneſſe, and calling to Chriſt for mercy. But the more that the firſt was bid to be ſtill, and to leave off his ſcoffing, the more perverſe hee did continue in his fooliſhneſſe, and his wicked behaviour. At length hee came to the Gallowes, where they ſhould bee hanged, but George was carried to another place there by to ſuffer. Betweene the two it was the godliers chance to goe the foremoſt, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themſeves, how they did tranſgreſſe the commandements of GOD, and then had committed his ſoule into Gods hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

An example to be noted of a theefe rejecting and deriding wholſome and godly preaching.

The mockers turne commeth next, which would have ſaid likewiſe ſomwhat, but his tongue did fumble and faulter in his head, that hee was not able to ſpeake a word. Faine would he have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then did the under ſheriffe bid him ſay the Lords prayer, which he could not ſay neither, but ſtutteringly, as a man would ſay, one word to day, and another to morrow. Then one did begin to ſay it, and ſo bade him ſay after.

Such as were there, and ſaw it, were very much aſtonied, eſpecially thoſe that did behold the iuſt puniſhment of God againſt him that had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. George Eagles in the meane time, after he had hanged a ſmall time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the Bayliffs cut the halter aſunder, and he fell to the ground being ſtill alive, although much amazed with the checke he had off the ladder.

W. Swallow tormentor of George Eagles.

Then one William Swallow of Chelmesford a Bailiffe, did draw him to the Sled that he was drawne thither on, and laid his necke thereon, and with a cleaver, ſuch as is occupied in many mens kitchins, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and ſometime hit his necke, and ſometime his chinne, and did fowly mangle him, and ſo opened him. Notwithſtanding this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the very middeſt of his torments, till ſuch time as this tormentor William Swallow did plucke the heart out of his body. The body being divided in foure parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the foreſaid Swallowes doore, and there laid upon the fiſh ſtals before his doore, till they had made ready a horſe to carry his quarters, one to Colcheſter, and the reſt to Harwich, Chelmesford, and S. Rouſes.

Gods iuſt iudgement upon a cruell perſecutor.

His head was ſet up at Chelmesford on the market croſſe on a long pole, and there ſtood, till the winde did blow it downe, and lying certaine daies in the ſtreet tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in the Church-yard in the night. Alſo a wonderfull worke of God was it that he ſhewed on this wicked Bailiffe Swallow, who within ſhort ſpace after this was ſo puniſhed, that all the haire went well neer off his head, his eies were as it were cloſed up, and could ſcantly ſee, the nailes of his fingers and toes went cleane off. He was in ſuch caſe of his body, as though he had been a leper, and now in his laſt age almoſt a very begger, and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath puniſhed with the falling ſicknes, or a diſeaſe like unto that: which may be a warning or glaſſe for all men and women to looke in, that bee enemies to Gods true ſervants.

W. Swallowes wife puniſhed with the falling ſickneſſe.

Gods iudgement upon R. Potto, another perſecutor of George Eagles.

No leſſe token of his marvellous iudgement did God ſhew upon the foreſaid Richard Potto, which did ſo much trouble this George Eagles in the Inne, and at the place of Execution, as is above ſpecified. He lived till the beginning of Queene Elizabeths raigne, all which time hee little ioyed, and being on a time in a great chafe with two or three of his neighbors in his owne houſe, feeling himſelfe not well, hee ſaid to one of his ſervants, Goe with me into the chamber, and when he came there, hee fell downe on a low bed, as heavy as it had been Leade, and lay there foming at the mouth, and could never ſpeak after, neither yet underſtand what was ſaid to him, as by all meanes was tryed by his neighbors with ſigns to him made, but lay as ſenceleſſe as it had bin a very dumb beaſt, ann within thrée or foure dayes dyed. God grant that this token ſent of God, with many moe like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we ſhall live unto the worlds end.

Beſides this, God hath wonderfully ſhewed his work. For at a time when they laid great wait for this George Eagles, ſo that it was thought that it was unpoſſible, but that he ſhould be taken being ſo beſet; his friends did put him into a prentice apparell, viz. watchet hoſe, as their manner is, and an old cloake, and ſet him on a packe of Wooll, as though he had ridden to carry Wooll to the ſpinners, ſo he rode amongſt the midſt of his adverſaries, and eſcaped them all for that time. Another troubler of the ſaid George Eagles, was alſo Juſtice Browne, who enjoyed not his cruelty many yeares after, &c.

Alſo when he was at the Seſſions at Chelmeſford, there was a rumor raiſed, that he had accuſed divers honeſt men that did kéep him in their houſes, and was converſant with him, and all to diſcredit him; which rumor was very falſe, and utterly untrue. Witneſſe one Raynold, with divers other dwelling in Chelmesford.

The martyrdome and examination of Richard Craſhfield of Wymundham, condemned to death for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

Auguſt 5.

ABout this time ſuffered at Norwich, a godly man and a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, called Richard Craſhfield, whoſe examinations before the Chancellor, named Dunning, as hee penned them with his owne hand, ſo have we faithfully recorded the ſame.

The examination of Richard Craſhfeld, before Dunning, Chance lor of Norwich.

How ſay you ſirrah, ſaid the Chancellor, to the ceremonies of the Church?

Then ſaid I, What ceremonies?

Hee ſaid unto me, Doe you not beléeve that all the ceremonies of the Church were good & godly?

My anſwer was, I doe beléeve ſo many as are grounded in the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt.

Sacrament of the altar.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Do you beléeve in the ſacrament of the altar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was,

Then ſaid he, Doe you not beléeve that Chriſt tooke bread, gave thankes, brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body?

Yes verily, ſaid I, and even as Chriſt did ſpeak, ſo did he performe the worke.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Doe you not beléeve this, that after the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſts body, fleſh and bloud? How ſay you, doe you not beléeve this? ſpeak man.

I do beléeve that Chriſts body was broken for me upon the Croſſe, and his bloud ſhed for my redemption, whereof the bread and the wine is a perpetuall memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and ſeale of his promiſe, and a perpetuall memory for the faithfull unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into priſon untill the next day.

Another examination of Richard Craſhfield.

Another examination of Craſhfeld.

THe day following I was brought forth. Then the Chancellor ſaid unto me, Richard, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded than you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the words that we had afore, ſaid, Are not theſe your words? Whereunto I anſwered, Yes.

Worſhipping of Images.

Then ſaid he, How ſay you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the Church, to knéele downe before the Rood, and make your prayer?

I anſwered and ſaid, No; rehearſing the commandement of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſaid, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?

I anſwered, What image?

He ſaid, The brazen ſerpent.

I ſaid, Yes, I have heard it read how that God did command it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken downe.

Then Doctor Bridges ſaid, Wherfore did God command the Seraphins and Cherubins to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell; I would faine learne.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, But how ſay you to this? can you finde in your heart to fall downe before the picture of CHRIST, which is the Roode?

I ſaid, no, I feare the curſe of God: for it is written, that God curſeth the hands that make them, yea and the hands that make the tooles wherwith they are carved.

Then Doctor Bridges raged and ſaid, Liſt now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to ſerve his purpoſe, for he will not allow but where he liſteth.

Confeſſion to the Prieſt.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, How ſay you to confeſſion to the Prieſt? when were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſſe my ſelfe daily unto the eternall God, whom I moſt grievouſly offend.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, Do you not then take confeſſion to the Prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, No, but rather wicked.

Playing on the Organes.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, How ſay you by yonder geare, yonder ſinging, and yonder playing on the Organes? is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceive no godlineſſe in it.

Then he ſaid, Why, is it not written in the Pſalmes, That we ſhould praiſe God with hymns and ſpirituall ſongs?

I ſaid, Yes, ſpirituall ſongs muſt be had: but yonder is of the fleſh, and of the ſpirit of error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Eſay. 56. Luke 19.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, Why, is it not written, My houſe is an houſe of prayer?

I ſaid, Yes. It is written alſo, That you have made my houſe of prayer a den of thieves.

With that, that the Chancellor looked and ſaid, Have we?

I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I commanded to ward.

Another examination of R. Craſhfeld.

¶ The Thurſday next following, was Doctor Brigges ſent to mee to examine mee of my faith. And he ſaid, Countreyman, my Lord Biſhop (for love hee would have you ſaved) hath ſent mee unto you, becauſe to morrow is your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it méet, that you ſhould declare unto me your faith. For to morrow my Lord will not have much adoe with you.

I anſwered and ſaid, Hath my Lord ſent you? It is not you, to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my mind.

Then he ſaid to me, I pray you ſhew me your mind concerning the ſacrament of the altar.

I anſwered, Are you ignorant what I have ſaid?

He ſaid, No, for it was well written, Except you beléeve, ſaith he, as the church hath taught, you are damned both body and ſoule.

I anſwered and ſaid, Judge not, leſt you be judged: condemne not, leſt you be condemned.

And he ſaid, Loe, we ſhall have a Traitor as well as an heretike: for he will diſallow the Kings iudgement.

I ſaid, No, I doe not diſallow the Kings iudgement, but yours I doe diſallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this iudgement?

He anſwered and ſaid, by the Church: for the Church hath power to ſave and condemne: for if you be condemned by the Church, be ye ſure, that you be damned both body and ſoule.

The Popes Church takes Chriſts office out of his hand.

Then I anſwered, if you have this power, I am ſore deceived. For I beleeve that Chriſt ſhall be our iudge. But now I perceive that you will doe much for him, that you wil not put him to the pain.

Then he ſaid, ſtand neerer Country man; why ſtand ye ſo far off?

I ſaid, I am neer enough, and a little too neere.

Then he ſaid, Did not Chriſt ſay, Is not my fleſh meat, and my bloud drinke indeed?

I ſaid, To whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe words?

He ſaid, To his Diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the Text) ſaid, whereat did Chriſts Diſciples murmure inwardly?

He ſaid, No, they did not murmure, but they were the infidels (ſaith he) for the Diſciples were ſatisfied with theſe words.

I ſaid, did not Chriſt ſay thus, as hee taught at Capernaum? whereas his Diſciples murmured, ſaying, This is an hard ſaying. Who can abide the hearing of it? Ieſus perceiving their thoughts, ſaid, doth this offend you?

Note here the ignorance of theſe catholike men in the Scriptures

Then he raged and ſaid, Oh, thou wreſteſt the Text for thine owne purpoſe. For the Diſciples did never murmure, but the unbeleevers, as thou art.

I ſaid, Yes, but I perceive you know not the Text.

Then ſaid he, with much raging, I will lay my head thereon, it is not ſo.

Then ſaid I, I have done with you.

Then ſaid he, What ſhal I tell my Lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand ſhall be the ſooner doue, ſaid I. And ſo we departed.

Another examination of R. Craſhfield.

Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive iudgement, Then the Chancellor ſaid unto me, Are you a new man, or are you not?

I anſwered and ſaid, I truſt I am a new man borne of God.

God give grace you be ſo, ſaid he. So he rehearſed all my examination, and ſaid, How ſay you, are not theſe your words?

I ſaid, Yes, I will not deny them.

Then he ſaid to doctor Pore, ſtanding by, I pray you talke with him. Then he alledging to me many faire flattering words, ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body. How ſay you to this? Doe you not beleeve that it is Chriſts body? ſpeak.

I ſaid, Have you not my mind? Why doe you trouble me?

He ſaid, What did Chriſt give you? was it bread, or was it not?

1 Cor 10.

I ſaid, Chriſt tooke bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they tooke bread, and did eat. And ſaint Paul maketh it more manifeſt, where hee ſaith, So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death untill hee come. Saint Paul ſaith not here as you ſay: for he ſaith, So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread. Hee doth not ſay, Body. So they intending that I ſhould go no further in the text, ſaid, Tuſh, you go about the buſh. Anſwer me to the firſt queſtion. Let us make an end of that.

What ſay you to the bread that Chriſt gave? Let me have your minde in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my mind in it.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, No, wee will have your minde in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my mind in it.

Then ſaid the chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly. For we intend not to have many words with you.

I ſaid, my faith is fully grounded and ſtabliſhed, that Chriſt Ieſus the Eaſter Lambe hath offered his bleſſed body a ſacrifice to God the father, the price of my redemption. For by that onely ſacrifice are all the faithfull ſanctified, and he is our only advocate and mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath hee done alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Unbloudy Sacrifice of the Maſſe.

Then Doctor Bridges ſtart up, and ſaid, Truth, your words are true indeed. You take well the litterall ſenſe: but this you muſt underſtand, that like as you ſaid that Chriſt offered his body upon the Croſſe, which was a bloudy ſacrifice, and a viſible ſacrifice: ſo likewiſe wee daily offer the ſelfe ſame body that was offered upon the Croſſe, but not bloudy and viſible, but inviſible, unto God the Father.

Doe you offer Chriſts body, I ſaid? Why then Chriſts ſacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when all men ſhall be lyers.

Then he ſaid, Thou ſhalt not feare him that hath power to kill the body: but thou ſhalt feare him that hath power to kill both body and ſoule.

I anſwered and ſaid, It is not ſo. But the text is thus, Thou ſhalt not feare them that have power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou ſhalt feare him that hath power to kil both body and ſoule, and caſt them both into hel fire, and not them.

He anſwered and ſaid, Yes: for it is the Church.

I anſwered and ſaid, Why, Chriſt ſaith, I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me (ſaith he) but I give it of my owne power, and ſo I have power to take it againe. Therefore Chriſt the Sonne of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will preſume to offer his body dayly, then your power is above Chriſts power. With that hee chafed and ſaid, What, ſhall wee have doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.

Then the Chancellor ſtood up, and ſaid, Wil ye turne from this wicked error, and be an example of goodneſſe, as you have been an example of evill (for by your wicked reading, you have perſwaded ſimple women to be in this error) and yee ſhall have mercy.

And I ſaid, it is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, When were you at your Pariſh Church? Theſe two yeres and more have you ſtood excommunicate. Wherfore you are condemned. And ſo I was condemned.

The martyrdome of Rich. Craſhfield. Anno 1557. Aug. 5.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the examinations of this godly yong man, ſet forth and written with his owne hand, who, not long after his condemnation, was by the Sheriffes and Officers there, brought to the ſtake, where with much patience and conſtancy he entred his bleſſed martyrdome. At the burning of which Chriſtian Martyr, one Thomas Carman the ſame time was apprehended, by what occaſion, it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning, concerning which Thomas Carman, his ſtory hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be ſeen.

One Fryer, and a certaine godly woman burned at Rocheſter, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles.

ABout the ſame time and moneth, one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, who

Anno 1557. Auguſt 20, One Frier, & the ſiſter of Geor. Eagles burned at Rocheſter.

who was the ſiſter of George Eagles, in the like cauſe of righteouſneſſe, ſuffered the like martyrdome by the unrighteous Papiſts, whoſe tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut ſhort, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The apprehenſion and death of Miſtreſſe Ioyce Lewes, the wife to Thomas Lewes of Mancetter, moſt conſtantly ſuffering for Gods Word at Liechfield.

The ſtory of miſtres Joyce Lewes, Martyr.

MIſtreſſe Joyce Lewes, a Gentlewoman borne, was delicately brought up in the pleaſures of the world, having delight in gay apparell, and ſuch like fooliſhneſſe, with the which follies the moſt part of the Gentlefolkes of England were then, and are yet infected, who was married firſt to one called Appleby, and afterward to Thomas Lewes of Manceter. In the beginning of Queene Maries time ſhee went to the Church and heard maſſe as others did, but when ſhe heard of the burning of that moſt godly and learned Martyr, Laurence Sanders, who ſuffered in Coventry, ſhee began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhe knew feared God, the cauſe of his death: and when ſhe perceived it was becauſe he refuſed to receive the maſſe, ſhee began to be troubled in conſcience, and waxed very unquiet. And becauſe her houſe was even hard by Maſter John Glovers houſe, of whom mention was made before, a man of bleſſed memory, and a ſingular example of his unfained godlineſſe and manifold troubles which he ſuffered for the Goſpell, ſhe did oftentimes reſort to him, and deſired him to tell her the faults that were in the maſſe, and other things that at that time were urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Now hee perceiving both her unquiet minde, and alſo the deſire ſhe had to know the truth, did moſt diligently inſtruct her in the wayes of the Lord, approving unto her out of Gods holy Word, that the maſſe, with all other papiſticall inventions, was odious in Gods ſight; and beſides this, reproved her, for that ſhe delighted in the vanities of this world ſo much. By the which godly counſell given by him, it happened that ſhee began to waxe weary of the world, throughly ſorrowfull for her ſinnes, being inflamed with the love of God, deſirous to ſerve him according to his word, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe things the which did diſpleaſe the Lord her God. And becauſe ſhe had learned the maſſe to be evill and abominable, ſhe began to eat it. And when at a time ſhe was compelled by the furiouſneſſe of her husband to come to the Church, at the ſame time when the holy water was caſt, ſhe turned her backe towards it, and ſhewed her ſelfe to be diſpleaſed with their blaſphemous holy water, injurious to the bloud of Chriſt. Whereupon ſhe was accuſed before the Biſhop for the deſpiſing of their ſacramentals.

Immediately, a Citation was ſent for her to her husbands houſe, to appeare before the Biſhop incontinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation delivered it to her husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with him againe, or elſe he would make him to eat it. The Sumner refuſed to take it againe, for hee thought no man durſt have been ſo bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewes compelled tohe ſaid Sumner to eat the Citation indeed, by ſetting a Dagger to his heart; and when hee bad eaten it, hee cauſed him to drinke to it, and ſo ſent him away. But immedtately after, the ſaid Lewes with his wife were commanded to appeare before the Biſhop, where the ſaid Lewes by and by ſubmitted himſelfe, and deſiring the Biſhop to be good to him, excuſing himſelfe after the beſt faſhion he could. Whereupon the Biſhop was content to receive his ſubmiſſion, with condition that his wife ſhould ſubmit her ſelfe alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly told the Biſhop, that by refuſing of the holy water ſhe had neither offended God, nor any part of his Lawes. At the which words the Biſhop being grievouſly offended, yet becauſe ſhe was a Gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gave her one moneths reſpite, binding her husband in an hundred pound to bring her againe unto him at the months end, and ſo they were both let goe.

When they came to their owne houſe, the ſaid Miſtreſſe Joyce Lewes gave her ſelfe to moſt diligent prayer, and invocating of the name of GOD, reſorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Maſter John Glover, who did moſt diligently inſtruct her with Gods Word, willing her in any caſe not to meddle with that matter in reſpect of vaine glory, or to get her ſelfe a name, ſhewing her the great dangers ſhe was like to caſt her ſelfe in, if ſhe ſhould meddle in Gods matter otherwiſe than Chriſt doth teach.

Miſtres Lewes inſtructed by Maſter John Glover.

When the moneth was now almoſt expired, and the time at hand that ſhee ſhould be brought before the ſaid Biſhop, her husband being advertiſed by the ſaid Maſter John Glover and others, not to carry her to the Biſhop, but to ſeeke ſome wayes to ſave her, or if the worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfeit ſo much money, rather than to caſt his owne wife into the fire: He anſwered, he would not leeſe or forfeit any thing for her ſake: and ſo, like a murtherer of his owne wife, he caried her to the bloudy Biſhop, where ſhe was examined, and found more ſtout, than ſhe was before death was threatened. And to begin withall, ſhee was ſent to ſuch a winking priſon, that a certaine maid, which was appointed to keepe her company, did ſwound in the ſame priſon.

Miſtris Lewes impriſoned.

Being thus kept in priſon, and oftentimes examined, and ever found ſtout, at the length ſhe was brought in judgement, and pronounced an heretike worthy to be burned. When the Biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe could not come to the maſſe, and receive the Sacraments and ſacramentals of the holy Ghoſt: ſhee anſwered, Becauſe I find not theſe things in Gods Word, which you ſo urge and magnifie, as things moſt needfull for mens ſalvation. If theſe things were in the ſame word of God commanded, I would with all my heart, receive, eſteeme, and beleeve them. The Biſhop anſwered, If thou wilt beleeve no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of Religion, thou art in a damnable caſe. At the which words ſhe was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the ſpirit of God, told the Biſhop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, ſhe continued a whole twelve month in priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the Sheriffe that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed: for the which thing, after her death, he was ſore troubled and in danger of his life. All that time ſhe was in priſon, her behaviour was ſuch both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any ſparke of godlineſſe or honeſty, did greatly lament her caſe, that ſhe ſhould be put to death.

Miſtres Lewes a yeere in priſon after her condemnation.

Now when the time did draw neere the which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ De comburendo (as they terme it) being brought downe from London, ſhe deſired certaine of her friends to come to her, with whom when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behave her ſelfe, that her death might be more glorious to the Name of God, comfortable to his people, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable unto the enemies of God. As for death (ſaid ſhe) I doe not greatly paſſe: when I behold the amiable countenance of Chriſt my deare Savior, the ougleſome face of death doth not greatly trouble mee. In the which time alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably out of Gods Word, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her ſuffering, two of the Prieſts of the cloſe of Lichfield, came to the under Sheriffes houſe where ſhee lay, and ſent word to her by the Sheriffe, that they were come to heare her confeſſion: for they would be ſorry ſhe ſhould die without. She ſent them word again, ſhe had made her confeſſion to Chriſt her Savior, at whoſe hands ſhe was ſure to have forgiveneſſe of her ſins. As concerning the cauſe for the which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no cauſe to confeſſe that, but rather to give unto God moſt humble praiſe, that hee did make her worthy to ſuffer death for his Word: And as concerning that abſolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the Pope, ſhe did defie the ſame, even from the bottome of her heart. The which thing when the Prieſts heard, they ſaid to the Sheriffe, Well, to morrow her ſtoutneſſe will bee proved and tryed. For although perhaps ſhee hath now ſome friends that whiſper her in her eares, to morrow we will ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come neere her: and ſo they went their waies with anger, that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

Miſtreſſe Lewes refuſeth to be confeſſed of the Prieſts.

All that night ſhe was wonderfully cheerfull and merry, with a certaine gravity, in ſo much that the majeſty of the ſpirit of God did manifeſtly appeare in her, who did expell the feare of death out of her heart, ſpending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purpoſely come unto her, to comfort her with the Word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan (who never ſleepeth, eſpecially when death is at hand) began to ſtirre himſelfe buſily, ſhooting at her that fiery dart the which he is wont to doe againſt all that are at defiance with him, queſtioning with her, how ſhe could tell that ſhee was choſen to eternall life, and that Chriſt dyed for her. I grant that he dyed, but that he died for thee how canſt thou tell? with this ſuggeſtion when ſhe was troubled, they that were about her did counſell her to follow the example of Paul, Galathians 2. where he ſaith, Which hath loved me, and given himſelfe for me. Alſo, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of Gods Word, was a manifeſt token of Gods love towards her, eſpecially that ſame holy ſpirit of God working in her heart, that love and deſire towards God to pleaſe him, and to be juſtified by him through Chriſt, &c. By theſe and like perſwaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the Scripture, Sathan was put to flight, and ſhee comforted in Chriſt.

Temptations of Miſtreſſe Lewes before her death and martyrdome.

Ioyce Lewes comforted in her tentations

About eight of the clock, Maſter Sheriffe came to her into her chamber, ſaying theſe words, Miſtreſſe Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the Queenes pleaſure, the which is, that you ſhall live no longer but one houre in this world: therefore prepare your ſelfe thereunto, it ſtandeth you in hand. At which words, being ſo groſſely uttered, and ſo ſuddenly by ſuch an officer as he was, ſhe was ſomwhat abaſhed. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance ſtanding by, ſaid theſe words, Miſtres Lewes, you have great cauſe to praiſe God, who will vouchſafe ſo ſpeedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witneſſe of his truth, and to beare record unto Chriſt, that he is the onely Saviour.

After the which words ſpoken thus, ſhee ſaid, Maſter Sheriffe your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thanke my God that he will make me worthy to adventure my life in his quarrell. And thus Maſter Sheriffe departed: and within the ſpace of one houre he came againe, cum gladiis & fuſtibus; and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends deſired him to give him leave to goe with her to the ſtake, and to comfort her, the which the Sheriffe granted at that time, but afterwards hee was ſore troubled for the ſame, when ſhe was dead.

Now when ſhe was brought through the town with a number of bill men, a great multitude of people being preſent, ſhee being led by two of her friends (which were Maſter Michael Reniger, and Maſter Auguſtine Bernher) ſhe was brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and ſhee not acquainted with the freſh ayre (being ſo long in priſon) one of her friends ſent a meſſenger to the Sheriffes houſe for ſome drinke; and after ſhe hed prayed three ſeverall times, in the which prayer ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh the idolatrous maſſe, and to deliver this Realme from Papiſtry (at the end of the which prayers the moſt part of the people cryed Amen, yea, even the Sheriffe that ſtood hard by her, ready to caſt her in the fire for not allowing the maſſe, at this her prayer ſaid with the reſt of the people, Amen) when ſhee had thus prayed, ſhe tooke the cup into her hands, ſaying; I drinke to all them that unfainedly love the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and wiſh for the aboliſhment of papiſtry. When ſhe had drunke, they that were her friends dranke alſo. After that a great number, ſpecially the women of the towne did drinke with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the Church by the cruell Papiſts, for drinking with her.

Ioyce Lewes brought to the place of martyrdome.

Her prayers.

Women put to penance for pledging Ioyce Lewes

When ſhe was tied to the ſtake with the chain, ſhe ſhewed ſuch a cheerfulneſſe, that it paſſed mans reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her face, and being ſo patient, that the moſt part of them that had honeſt hearts did lament, and even with teares bewayle the tyranny of the Papiſts. When the fire was ſet upon her, ſhe neither ſtruggled nor ſtirred, but onely lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very ſpeedily: for the under Sheriffe at the requeſt of her friends had provided ſuch ſtuffe, by the which ſhee was ſuddenly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

The martyrdome of Miſtres Ioyce Lewes.

This amongſt other things may not be forgotten, that the Papiſts had appointed ſome to raile upon her openly, and to revile her, both as ſhe went to the place of execution, and alſo when ſhe came at the ſtake. Amongſt others there was an old Prieſt, which had a paire of writing tables to note both the names of the women that dranke of her cup (as before you heard) and alſo deſcribed her friends by their apparell, for preſently hee could not learne their names, and afterwards enquired for their names: and ſo immediately after proceſſe was ſent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God whoſe providence ſleeps not, did defend them from the hands of theſe cruell tyrants, Unto the which God, with the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, be honor and glory for ever, Amen.

¶ The martyrdome of Ralph Allerton, Iames Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Iſlington,

Septemb. 17. The ſtory of Ralph Allerton.

IN ſearching out the certaine number of the faithfull Martyrs of God that ſuffered within the time and raigne of Queene Mary; I find, that about the ſeventeenth day of Septemb. were burned at Iſlington, nigh unto London, theſe four conſtant Profeſſors of Chriſt, Ralph Allerton, Iames Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo his wife, and Richard Roth. Among the which, it firſt appeareth that this Ralph Allerton was, more then a yeare before his condemnation, apprehended & brought before the Lord Darcie of Chich, and was there accuſed, aſwell for that he would not conſent and come unto the idolatry and ſuperſtition which then was uſed, as alſo that he had by preaching entiſed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, hee confeſſed that hee comming into his Pariſh Church of Bentley, and ſeeing the people ſitting there, either gazing about, or elſe talking together, hee exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of Gods moſt holy Word, and not ſit ſtill idlely. Whereunto they willingly conſented. Then after prayer ended, he read unto them a Chapter of the New Teſtament, and ſo departed.

Ralph Allerton attached.

In the which exerciſe he continued untill Candlemas, and then being informed that he might not ſo doe by the Law (for that he was no Prieſt or Miniſter) he left off, and kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe untill Eaſter then next after. At what time, certaine ſworne men for the inquiry of ſuch matters came unto his houſe, and attached him for reading in the Pariſh of Welley.

But when they underſtood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moved the people) they let him for that time depart. Notwithſtanding for feare of their cruelte, hee was not long after conſtrained to forſake his own houſe, and keep himſelfe in woods, barnes, and other ſolitary places, untill the time of his apprehenſion.

After this examination, the Lord Darcie ſent him up to the Councell; but they (not minding to trouble themſelves with him) ſent him unto Bonner who by threatenings and other ſubtle means, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearefull heart of this man (as yet not throughly ſtayd up on the ayd and help of God) that within ſhort time he won him to his moſt wicked will, and made him openly at Pauls Croſſe to revoke and recant his former profeſſion, and thereupon ſet him at liberty of body. Which yet brought ſuch a bondage and terrour of ſoul and conſcience, & ſo caſt him down, that except the Lord (whoſe mercies are immeaſurable) had ſupported and lift him up again, he had periſhed for ever.

Tho. Tye prieſt, perſecutor and promotor.

But the Lord, who never ſuffereth his elect children utterly to fall, caſting his pittifull eyes upon his loſt ſheep, with his mercifull and fatherly chaſtiſements, did (with Peter) raiſe him up againe, giving unto him not onely hearty and unfained repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant boldneſſe to profeſſe againe (even unto the death) his moſt holy name and glorious Goſpel. Wherefore at the procurement of one Thomas Tie Prieſt, ſometime an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce perſecutor of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the hiſtory of William Munt and his wife) hee was again apprehended, and ſent up againe unto Bonner, before whom he was the eighth day of April, and ſundry other times elſe examined. The report of which examination, written by his owne hand with bloud for lacke of other inke, hereafter followeth.

¶ The examination of Ralph Allerton at his ſecond apprehenſion, appearing before the Biſhop of London at Fulham, the eighth day of April, Anno 1557. written by himſelfe, with his owne bloud,

The examination of Ralph Allerton.

BOner. Ah ſirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither againe on this faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea my Lord ſo I am. For if I were guilty of ſuch things as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſorry.

Boner. By Saint Mary that is not well done. But let me heare, Art thou an honeſt man? for if I can prove no hereſie by thee, then ſhall thine accuſers doe thee no harme at all. Goe to, let me heare thee: for I did not beleeve the tale to bee true.

Ralph. My Lord, who did accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accuſation, that I may anſwer thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not bee afraid, nor aſhamed to anſwer for thy ſelfe. But tell me in faith, haſt thou not diſſembled.

Ralfe, If I cannot have mine accuſers to accuſe mee before you, my conſcience doth conſtraine me to accuſe my ſelfe before you: For I confeſſe that I have grievouſly offended God in my diſſimulation at my laſt being before your Lordſhip, for the which I am right ſorry, as God knoweth.

Boner. Wherein I pray thee, diddeſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Ralfe. Forſooth my Lord, if your Lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand upon a certaine writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, that I did beleeve in all things as the Catholike Church teacheth, &c. In the which I did not diſcloſe my mind, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no difference betweene the true Church and the untrue Church.

Boner. Nay, but I pray thee let me heare more of this geare. For I feare me thou wilt ſmell of an heretike anon. Which is the true Church, as thou ſayeſt? Doeſt thou not call the heretikes Church the true Church, or the Catholike church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two are the true Church, ſayeſt thou? Go to: for in faith I will know of thee ere I leave thee.

Ralfe. As concerning the Church of heretikes, I utterly abhorre the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and hereſies: and the Church Catholike is it that I onely embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure and true.

Boner. By S. Auguſtine, but that is well ſaid of thee. For by God Almighty, if thou haddeſt allowed the Church of heretikes, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Morton. Then ſaid one Morton a Prieſt, My Lord, you know not yet what Church it is that he calleth Catholike. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Boner. Thinke you ſo? Now by our bleſſed Lady, if it be ſo, he might have deceived me. How ſay you ſirrah, which is the Catholike Church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholſome ſound, ſpoken of Eſay, David, Malachy, and

Paul, with many other moe. The which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Boner. Yea, thou saieſt true before God. For this is the ſound that hath gone throughout all Chriſtendome, and he that beleeveth not the ſound of the holy Church, as S. Cyprian ſaith, doth erre. For he ſaith, that whoſoever is out of the Church, is like unto them that were out of Noahs ſhip when the floud came upon all the whole world; ſo that the Ark of Noah is likened unto the Church: and therefore thou haſt well ſaid in thy confeſſion. For the Church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late ſchiſmes, as the heretiques doe affirme. For if the Church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a lyar. For he promiſed that the holy Ghoſt ſhould come to us, leade us unto all truth, yea, and remaine with us unto the end of the world. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needs affirme, that the way which is taught in France, Spaine, Italy, Flanders, Denmarke, Scotland, and all Chriſtendome over, muſt needs be the true Catholike Church.

Ralfe. My Lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendome only, as me thinkes your Lordſhip taketh it, the which kinde of ſpeaking you doe not finde in all the Bible. For ſure I am that the Goſpell hath been both preached and perſecuted in all lands: Firſt, in Jewry by the Scribes and Phariſees, and ſince that time by Nero, Diocleſian, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our daies by your Lordſhip knoweth whom. For truth it is that the Church which you call Catholike, is none otherwiſe Catholike then was figured in Cain, obſerved of Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezabel, Nabuchodonoſor, Antiochus, Herod, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniel and Eſdras make mention of theſe laſt daies by a plaine prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſaying; There ſhall come grievous Wolves to devoure the flocke.

He meaneth belike Boner and his fellows.

Boner. Now, by the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar Maſter Morton, he is the rankeſt heretike that ever came before me. How ſay you? have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was my Lord at the firſt, I.

Boner. Now by all Hallowes thou ſhalt bee brent with fire for thy lying, thou whoreſon varlet and prick-louſe thou. Doeſt thou finde a prophecy in Daniel of us? Nay, you knave it is of you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretenſed holineſſe. Goe to, let me heare what is the ſaying of Eſdras, and take heed ye make not a lie, I adviſe you.

Ralfe. The ſaying of Eſdras is this; The heate of a great mmltitude is kindled over you, and they ſhall take away certaine of you, and feed the Idols with you, and he that conſenteth unto them, ſhall be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorne, and troden under foot: yea, they ſhall be like mad men, for they ſhall ſpare no man; they ſhall ſpoile and waſte ſuch as feare the Lord, &c.

a Eſdras 16;

Boner. And have you taken this thing to make your Market good? Ah ſirrha, wilt thou ſo? by my faith a pretty inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth I thinke there be no more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: Is there any that underſtandeth this Scripture on this faſhion? Before God, I thinke there be none in all England but thou.

Ralfe. Yes, my Lord, there are in England three religions.

Three ſorts of religion in England.

Boner. Sayeſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Ralfe. The firſt is that which you hold, the ſecond is cleane contrary to the ſame; and the third is a Neuter, being indifferent: that is to ſay, obſerving all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being ſet wholly againſt the ſame.

Boner. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needs be one of them.

Ralfe. Yea, my Lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be beleeved under paine of death.

Boner. Ah ſir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheare, yea and mony in your purſe when you went away, and by my faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why, wilt thou take upon thee to reade the Scripture, and canſt underſtand never a word? For thou haſt brought a text of Scripture, the which maketh cleane againſt thee. For Eſdras ſpeaketh of the multitude of you heretikes, declaring your hate againſt the Catholike Church, making the ſimple or idle people beleeve, that all is Idolatry that wee doe, and ſo entiſe them away untill you have overcome them.

Ralfe. Nay, not ſo my Lord. For he maketh it more plaine, and ſaith on this wiſe; They ſhall take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it be knowne who are my choſen (ſaith the Lord) for they ſhall be tried, as the ſilver or gold is in the fire. And wee ſee it ſo come to paſſe, even as hee hath ſaid. For who is not now driven from houſe and home, yea and his goods taken up for other men that never ſweat for them, if he doe not obſerve as you command and ſet forth? Or elſe, if he be taken, then muſt he either deny the truth, as I did, in diſſembling, or elſe he ſhall be ſure, to be tried, as Eſdras ſaith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloudy Church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoide it.

The place of Eſdras explained.

Morton. I promiſe you my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceived well enough; but now me thinke he ſpeaketh plainly.

Boner. Mary ſir, as you ſay indeed, he is plain. For he is a plaine heretike, and ſhall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to Little eaſe at London untill I come.

Ralfe. And ſo was I carried to London unto Little eaſe, and there remained that night, and on the next morrow I appeared before him againe, the Deane of Pauls and the Chancellor of London being preſent. Then were brought forth certaine writings that I had ſet my hand unto.

Boner. Come on your waies ſirrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Allerton charged with his owne hand writing.

Ralfe. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confeſſe the ſame, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have ſet my hand unto. But if I have ſet my hand to any thing that is not lawfull, therefore am I ſorry. Nevertheleſſe, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Boner. Well ſaid, Now ye muſt tell me; Were you never at the Church ſince you went from me, at Maſſe and Mattens? &c.

Ralfe. No; my Lord, not at Maſſe, Mattens, nor any other ſtrange worſhipping of God.

Boner. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neither at thine owne Pariſh Church, nor at any other?

And doeſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtrange worſhipping? Why, I pray thée, wilt thou not beléeve the Scripture to be true?

Ralfe. Yea, my Lord, I beléeve the Scripture to be true, and in thé defence of the ſame I intend to give my life, rather then I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Deane. My Lord, this fellow will be an honeſt man, I heare by him. He will not ſtand in his opinion; for he ſheweth himſelfe gentle and patient in his talke.

Boner. Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted termes ſhall no more deceive me. Ah whoreſon Prick-louſe, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? And how dareſt thou deny theſe words, for to ſay, as I have a writing to ſhew, and thine owne hand at the ſame? Let me ſée wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine owne hand?

Ralfe. Yes, my Lord, it is mine owne hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion therein is agréeable to Gods Word. And whereas you doe lay unto my charge, that I ſhould deny the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; Oh, good Lord, from whence commeth this raſh, haſty, and untrue judgement? Forſooth not from the ſpirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of lyars. Whereupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly? Wherefore, I beſéech you, if I deny the Scriptures Canonicall, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Sir Thomas Tye, lately turned to his vomit, thirſteth for blood.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſwadeth other men to doe as hée himſelfe doth, contrary to the order appointed by the Quéenes Highneſſe and the Clergy of this Realme. For a great ſort of the Pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to heare him; ſo that very few commeth to the Church to heare divine Service: and this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the Councell, but alſo ſince his returne home againe, he hath done much harme. For where both men and women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by Saint Anne, now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the Pariſh, ſaying, that we were of the malignant Church of Antichriſt, and not of the true Church of Chriſt, alledging a great many of Scriptures to ſerve for his purpoſe, ſaying; Good people, take héed, and beware of theſe blood-thirſty dogs, &c. And then I commanded the Conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheleſſe, after this apprehenſion, the Conſtable let him goe about his buſineſſe all the next day, ſo that without putting in of ſureties, he let him goe into Suffolke and other places, for no goodneſſe, I warrant you my Lord: It were almes to teach ſuch Officers their duty, how they ſhould let ſuch rebels goe at their owne liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to kéep them faſt in the Stockes untill they bring them before a Juſtice.

Allerton apprehended, contrary to the lawes of the Realme.

Ralfe. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now againe; thou art not of the Church of Chriſt, and that will I prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the Conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indéed, contrary to the lawes of this Realme, having neither to lay unto my charge, Treaſon, Felony, nor Murther: No, neither had you Precept, Proceſſe, nor Warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſéeke to trouble the Conſtable, becauſe hée kept me not in the Stockes thrée daies and thrée nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are. And my going into Suffolke was not for any evill, but only to buy halfe a buſhell of corne for bread, for my poore wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would ſurely have laid ſomewhat to his charge.

Boner. Goe to, thou art a Merchant indéed. Ah ſirrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Roth, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame minde that thou art of, or no? canſt thou tell?

Ralfe. He is of age to anſwer, let him ſpeake for himſelfe; for I heare ſay that he is in your houſe.

Boner. Loe what a knave here is. Goe Cluny, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a falſe knave; but yet thou art worſe then he. Ah ſirrah, did you not ſet your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if thou ſhould at any time ſay or doe heretically, then it ſhould be lawfull for me to take thée with a relapſe, and to procéed in ſentence againſt thée?

Allerton charged with relapſe.

Ralfe. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be aſked, whether it be ſufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can doe ſo much, then muſt my authority be greater then yours. Neverthelesſe, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a true Chriſtian man have I behaved my ſelfe. And ſo I was committed unto priſon againe, and the 24. day of the ſame moneth, I was brought before the Biſhop, the Lord North, Doctor Story, and others, and after a long talke in Latine amongſt themſelves (unto the which I gave no anſwer, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpake of me) at the laſt the Biſhop ſaid:

Boner. How ſay you ſirrah? tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to goe to Fulham with me, and there to knéele thée downe at Maſſe, ſhewing thy ſelfe outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good will? Goe to, ſpeake.

Ralfe. I will not ſay ſo.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

Allerton brought againe before Boner and certain Lords

The ſecond day of May I was brought before the Biſhop, and thrée Noble men of the Councell, whoſe names I doe not remember.

Boner. Loe, my Lords, this ſame is the fellow that was ſent unto me from the Councell, and did ſubmit himſelfe, ſo that I had halfe a hope of him: but by S. Anne, I was alwaies in doubt of him. Neverthelesſe, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purſe. How saieſt thou? was it not ſo as I tell my Lords here?

Ralfe. Indéed my Lord I had meat and drink enough; but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, howbeit I aſked none, nor would have done.

A Lord. Be good to him my Lord. He will be an honeſt man.

Boner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath once deceived me already. But ye ſhall heare what he will ſay to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you ſirrah? after the words of conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and man, and none other ſubſtance, under the forme of bread.

Ralfe. Where finde you that, my Lord, written?

Boner. Loe ſir. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? How saieſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a diſſembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning another? Goe to, now I have taken you.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Ralfe. Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indéed, and will kéepe me untill you kill me.

Howbeit, my Lord, I marvell why you leave out the beginning of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid; Take ye, and eate ye, this is my body. And if it will pleaſe you to joyne the former words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neither did he ſay one thing, and meane another.

Boner. Why? Then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his body; for he ſaith it himſelfe, and thou confeſſeſt that he will not lie.

Ralfe. No, my Lord; he is true, and all men are lyars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly refuſe to take the words of our Saviour ſo fantaſtically as you teach us to take them: for then ſhould we conſpire with certaine heretikes, called the Neſtorians; for they deny that Chriſt had a true naturall body, and ſo me thinke you doe, my Lord. If you will affirme his body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirme, that it is a fantaſticall body; and therefore looke to it for Gods ſake, and let theſe words goe before; Take ye, and eate ye, without which words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eate, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that ſo receiveth.

Biſhop Boners Parable.

Boner. Ah, I ſee well thou canſt not underſtand theſe words; I will ſhew thee a Parable. If I ſhould ſet a peece of Beefe before thee, and ſay; Eate, it is Beefe: And then take part of it away, and ſend it to my Cooke, and hee ſhall change the faſhion thereof, and make it looke like bread: What wouldeſt thou ſay that it were no Beefe, becauſe it hath not the faſhion of Beefe?

Ralfe. Let me underſtand a little further, my Lord; ſhall the Cooke adde nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he doe or no, ſo long as the ſhape is changed into another likeneſſe?

Eſay 59.

Amos 5.

Ralfe. Ah, will you ſo my Lord? your Sophiſtry will not ſerve; the truth will have the victory neverthelеſſe, as Eſay ſaith; He that reſtraineth himſelfe from evill, muſt be ſpoiled. And Amos hath ſuch like words alſo: For the wiſe muſt be faine to hold their peace; ſo wicked a time it is, ſaith he. Neverthеleſſe, he that can ſpeake the truth, and will not, ſhall give a ſtraite account for the ſame.

A Doctor. By my Lords leave, here me thinkes thou ſpeakeſt like a foole. Wilt thou be a Judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou muſt ſtand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long agoe.

A Prieſt. No, by your leave, we have a Church, and not a congregation. You miſtake that word, Maſter Doctor.

Ralfe. Then ſaid I to my fellow priſoners ſtanding by; My brethren, doe ye not heare how theſe men help one another? Let us do ſo alſo. But we never came all in together after that time, but ſeverally one after another. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19. day of May I was brought before the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Chicheſter, with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudgeover? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralfe. I know him very well, my Lord.

Rocheſt. By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunke as an Ape, for he ſtanke ſo of drinke, that I could not abide him; and ſo ſent him away.

Ralfe. My Lord, I dare ſay you tooke your marke amiſſe. It was either your ſelfe, or ſome of your owne company, for he did neither drinke Wine, Ale, nor Beere, in a quarter of a yeere before that time; and therefore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine examinations you ſhall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my comming into Newgate, the which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deale more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good friends all. Yea, I ſay, farewell for ever in this preſent world. Greete ye one another, and be joyfull in the Lord. Salute the good widowes among you, with all the reſt of the congregation in Barfold, and Dedham, and Colcheſter.

This promiſe of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or elſe if he did write, the ſame not comming to my hands. I am faine in the reſt of his examinations to follow the only report of the Regiſter; who witneſſeth, that the 15. day of May, Anno 1557. in the Biſhops palace at London, he was examined upon certaine interrogatories, the contents whereof be theſe.

Articles miniſtred againſt Ralfe Allerton.

First, that he was of the Pariſh of Muchbentley, and ſo of the Dioceſſe of London.

Secondly, that the 10. day of January then laſt paſt, Maſter John Morant preaching at Pauls, the ſaid Ralfe Allerton did there openly ſubmit himſelfe unto the Church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe as well unto the ſame ſubmiſſion, as alſo to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he ſhould at any time turne againe unto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawfull for the Biſhop immediatly to denounce and adjudge him as an heretike.

Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the Sacrament, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth ſtill materiall bread and materiall wine; and that he beleeveth that the bread is the bread of thankſgiving, and the memoriall of Chriſts death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually in his ſoule, but materiall bread in ſubſtance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo adviſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth Article laſt before ſpecified.

Sixthly, that he had ſpoken againſt the Biſhop of Rome, with the Church and Sea of the ſame, and alſo againſt the 7. Sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the ſame Church, uſed then within this Realme.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Maſter Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late burned within this Realme, and beleeved that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers times affirmed, that the religion uſed within this Realme at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good, nor agreeable to Gods Word, and that hee could not conforme himſelfe thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the booke of Common prayer ſet forth in the reigne of King Edward the ſixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the ſaid Ralfe and his company priſoners, did daily uſe amongſt themſelves in priſon ſome part of the booke.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon, he would not come to Maſſe, Mattins, nor Evenſong, nor beare Taper, Candle, or Palme, nor goe in Proceſſion, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, aſhes, or pace, or any other ceremony of the Church then uſed within this Realme.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſſe his ſins to any Prieſt, nor receive abſolution of him; nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to Saints, and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his owne will and pleaſure; neither that it is lawfull to reſerve the Sacrament, or to worſhip it.

Thirteenthly, that the ſaid Allerton hath, according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come unto his Pariſh Church ever ſince the 10. day of January laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow any ceremonies, ſacraments, or other rites then uſed in the Church.

To all theſe Articles he anſwered affirmatively, denying preciſely none of them; ſaving to this clauſe contained in the twelfth Article, that a man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his owne will and pleaſure, he ſaid that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo oft as he was bound to doe. And unto this anſwer he alſo ſubſcribed in this ſort.

> Except it be proved otherwiſe by the holy Scripture, I doe affirme theſe Articles to be true. By me Ralfe Allerton.

The next examination was the fourth day of July. The acts whereof, becauſe they doe appeare more amply in his other examination, had the 10. day of September, I doe here omit, giving you farther to underſtand, that upon the ſeventh day of the ſame moneth of July, he was brought before Doctor Darbiſhire in the Biſhops Palace, who examined him againe upon the former Articles, and after perſwaded him to recant, threatning him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered, I would I might be condemned even to morrow; for I perceive my Lord (meaning Boner) doth nothing but ſeeke mens blood. Upon which ſaying, Darbiſhire committed him againe to priſon, and the 10. day of September the Biſhop cauſed him (with the other three abovenamed) to be brought unto Fulham, and there in his private Chappell within his houſe, he judicially propounded unto him certaine other new Articles; of the which, the tenors of the firſt, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, are already mentioned in the ſecond, third, and fourth former objections: As for the reſt, the contents thereof here follow.

Thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the Information given againſt thee, and remaining now in the acts of this Court of thine Ordinary, Edmund Biſhop of London, was and is a true Information.

Perſecutors. Information given againſt Ralfe Allerton, by Sir Thomas Tye Prieſt, a wicked Promooter.

This Information was given by Thomas Tye, Curate of Bentley (of whom you have already heard) and certaine other of the ſame Pariſh and affinity: as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffry Beſtwood, John Richard, Richard Meere.

The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards of Bentley aforeſaid, had a childe that was unchriſtened, and being demanded by the ſaid Tye, why his childe was not baptiſed, hee made anſwer it ſhould be when he could finde one of his Religion (meaning a true profeſſour of Chriſts Goſpell.) Whereat the Curate ſaid, Ah, ye have had ſome inſtructer that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea (quoth the ſaid Edwards) that I have, and if your doctrine be better then his, then I will beleeve you; and therewithall fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the Conſtable going with him, they brought before the ſaid Curate the ſaid Ralfe Allerton; of whom in this Information they make this report that he was a ſeditious perſon, who ſince his comming downe from the Biſhop, had ſet upon the Conſtables doore certaine ſeditious Letters, moving and perſwading thereby the people to follow his malicious diſobedience; and that theſe his perſwaſions had taken effect in many: And farther, that the ſaid Ralfe Allerton (the Curate asking him whether he had inſtructed this Laurance Edwards, that it was againſt Gods commandement to enter into the Church) caſting abroad his hands, ſhould ſay; Oh good people, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the godly Prieſt and Prophet Esdras, who ſaith, 4. Eſd. 16. The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few: they have taken away their houſes, and ſpoiled their goods, &c. Which of you all have not ſeene this day? who is he here amongſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe things done upon us this day? The Church which they call us unto, is the Church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting Church, and the Church malignant. With theſe and many moe words (ſaid they, moſt maliciouſly, and falſly alledged out of the Scriptures) he thus perſwaded a great multitude there preſent (as much as in him lay) unto diſobedience. For the which cauſe the Conſtables did then apprehend him.

3 Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not denie, but that the letter ſent unto me by my Lord Darcy, beginning with theſe words (Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, &c.) was thine owne letter, and was ſubſcribed by thine owne hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this Article, and written by Allerton unto the Lord Darcy, was a confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion; the effect and purport whereof, becauſe it appeareth in the beginning of his Hiſtory, I doe here omit.

4 Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the other letter, ſent alſo to me from my ſaid Lord Darcy, beginning thus (Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, &c.) and ending with thoſe words (whenſoever it be) is thine owne very letter, and ſubſcribed with thine owne hand.

This was alſo another letter written by him unto the Lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that where the ſaid Lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever ſince Whitſontide laſt before his firſt apprehenſion, this was to certifie his Lordſhip, that he was not able ſo to doe, otherwiſe then as he had already ſhewed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never reade any thing abroad, ſaving once when hee was in the company of George Eagles and others, Richard Roth tooke a writing out of his boſome, and deſired the ſaid Ralfe to reade it. which requeſt he then accompliſhed; and demanding of him whoſe doing the ſame was, the ſaid Roth told that it was Maſter Cranmers, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and farther he could not ſhew him. Nevertheleſſe, he was ready and willing to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as his Lordſhip ſhould thinke meete, deſiring yet that the ſame might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither puniſhment nor death, praying the Lord, that it might be in his feare, whenſoever it ſhould be.

8 Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny,

but that the letters written with blood, beginning with theſe words (Grace, mercy, and peace, &c.) and ending thus, (Farewell in God) remaining now regiſtred in the acts of this Court, were written voluntarily with thine owne hand.

He wrote this letter in the priſon with blood for lacke of other inke, and did meane to ſend the ſame unto Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, at that time impriſoned, and afterward burned at Colcheſter for the teſtimony of the Goſpell of Chriſt, as before is mentioned. The copy of which letter here enſueth.

A Letter written by Ralfe Allerton, unto Agnes Smith, Widow.

A Letter of Ralfe Allerton.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit, and the aboundant health both of ſoule and body, I wiſh unto you, as to my owne ſoule, as God knoweth, who is the ſearcher of all ſecrets.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer Martyrdome for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, although heretofore I have moſt negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of ſuch an high benefit, to be crowned with the moſt joyfull crowne of Martyrdome: Nevertheleſſe, it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leave me, but hath raiſed me up againe according to his promiſe, which ſaith; Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: For the Lord upholdeth him with his hand, Pſal. 37. Whereby we perceive Gods election to be moſt ſure; for undoubtedly he will preſerve all thoſe that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this worke in me, even ſo doe I beleeve that he will finiſh the ſame, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jeſus Chriſt. So be it.

Dearely beloved ſiſter (I am conſtrained ſo to call you, becauſe of your conſtant faith and love unfained) conſider, that if we be the true ſervants of Chriſt, then may not we in any wiſe make agreement with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord and agreement betweene them, ſaith the Scriptures, and a man cannot ſerve two maſters, ſaith Chriſt. And alſo it is prefigured unto us in the old Law, whereas the people of God were moſt ſtraitly commanded that they ſhould not mingle themſelves with the ungodly heathen, and were alſo forbidden to eate, drinke, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their ſons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their ſons, even ſo oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his owne people, to overthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sanctuary of God; and brought in ſtrange Princes to raigne over them, and wicked Rulers to governe them, ſo that they were ſure of hunger, ſword, peſtilence, and wilde Beaſts to devoure them. Which plagues never ceaſed, untill the good people of G O D were cleane ſeparated from the wicked Idolatrous people.

Oh dearely beloved, this was written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. And is it not in like caſe hapned now in this Realme of England? For now are the people of God had in deriſion, and troden under foote, and the Cities, Townes, and houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy Sanctuary of Gods moſt bleſſed Word is laid deſolate and waſte, ſo that the very Foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our ſoules, the lanterne of our feete, and the light unto our pathes; and where it is not preached, the people periſh. Bat the Prophet ſaith, Eſay 59. He that refraineth himſelfe from evill, muſt be ſpoiled. Why ſhould we then be abaſhed to be ſpoiled, ſeeing that it is told us before, that it muſt ſo happen unto them that refraine from evill? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A.

Item, thou Ralfe Allerton, canſt not deny, but that the letters written with blood, beginning with theſe words in the over part thereof: (The Angel of God, &c.) and ended thus (Be with you, Amen.) and having alſo this Poſtſcript (Doe yee ſuppoſe that our brethren, &c.) remaining now regiſtred in the acts of this Court, are thine owne hand-writing.

· 9 For the better underſtanding of this Article, I have alſo here inſerted the copy of the letter mentioned in the ſame; which letter he wrote (by his owne confeſſion) unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the ſubtle ſnares of that bloody Wolfe Boner.

¶ A letter written by Ralfe Allerton unto Richard Roth, his fellow-Martyr.

A Letter of Ralfe Allerton.

THe Angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us in all our waies, Amen, Amen.

O deare brother, I pray for you; for I heare ſay, that you have been divers times before my Lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for Gods ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrinke not away when you are entiſed to confeſſe an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready alwaies to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you. For whoſoever confeſſeth Chriſt before men, him will Chriſt alſo confeſſe before his Father. But he that is aſhamed to confeſſe him before men, ſhall have his reward with them that doe deny him. And therefore, deare brother, goe forward: ye have a ready way, ſo faire as ever had any of the Prophets or Apoſtles, or the reſt of our brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore covet to goe hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alſo (deare brother) underſtand that I have ſeene your letter, and although I cannot reade it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certaine comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſſe for lacke of paper, untill my Lord be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhall be accompliſhed, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our deare brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allen, ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be with you, Amen.

Ralfe Allerton.

Poſtſcriptum.

Doe ye ſuppoſe that our brethren and ſiſters are not yet diſpatched out of this world? I thinke that either they are dead, or ſhall be within theſe two daies.

And for the other objection yet remaining, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhew the folly of theſe bloudy Tyrants (which of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſions to quarrell with the Saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained; I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet my ſelfe with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings doe give occaſion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt, that the writing of letters in a little peece of Paper on both ſides of it, with this ſentence

Anno 1557.

tence following on the one ſide (looke at the foote of the Stockes for a knife) and with this ſentence following upon the other ſide (looke betweene the poſt and the wall for two bookes and two Epiſtles, leave them here when ye goe) remaining now in the Regiſter and Acts of this Court, is voluntarily written by thee Ralfe Allerton with thine owne hand.

Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny, but that thou art privy to a certaine writing remaining now in the Regiſter and Acts of this Court, the beginning whereof is with theſe words (I would have men wiſe, &c.) and ending thus (from houſe to houſe.)

Item, thou Ralfe Allerton canſt not deny, but that thou art privy, and of conſent and maintenance of a certaine great Woodknife, a long cord, a hooke, a ſtone, and of a trencher written upon with chalke, having this ſentence (All is gone and loſt, becauſe of your folly:) of two boords written upon with chalke, the one having this ſentence (under the ſtone looke) and the other having this ſentence (whereas you bid me take heed, I thanke you, I truſt in God that I ſhall be at peace with him ſhortly) remaining now regiſtred in the Acts of this Court.

Anſwers to the Articles. Ex Regiſt.

For anſwer unto all theſe Articles, he granted that the firſt nine were true, as the Regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I finde noted in the backſide of the information, ſpecified in the ſecond Article (although croſſed out againe) that he denyed ſuch things as were there in the ſame informed againſt him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did ſimply grant unto the contents of the ſecond Article, but rather that he only affirmed, that ſuch an information was given againſt him, and not that the ſame was true.

Thus much I thought to warne the Reader of, leſt that in miſtaking his anſwers, it might ſeeme, that he granted himſelfe to be a ſeditious and a rebellious perſon; of which fact he was moſt cleere and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth Article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withall; he ſaid, that Richard Roth, ſometime his priſon-fellow, did make his noſe bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The Biſhop again aſked him, to whom he would have ſent the ſame. He anſwered, unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, of Colcheſter. Why (quoth the Biſhop) Agnes Smith was an heretike, and is burned for hereſie. Nay, ſaid Allerton, ſhe is in better caſe, then either I my ſelfe, or any of us all. Then being againe demanded (upon the ninth objection) to whom he would have ſent the letter mentioned in the ſame; he anſwered, that hee meant to have ſent it unto Richard Roth, at that preſent ſeparated from him. Whereupon the Biſhop farther inquired, what he meant by theſe words (brethren and ſiſters) ſpecified in the ſaid letter? He anſwered, that he meant thereby, ſuch as were lately condemned at Colcheſter, and were like (at the writing thereof) ſhortly to bee burned. Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh Articles he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth he confeſſed, that he writ upon the ſaid trencher and other boords, the words mentioned in the ſaid Article, and that he did leave the ſame in the priſon-houſe, to the intent that Richard Roth ſhould reade them. Boner alſo bringing out the wooden ſword, mentioned in the ſaid Article, aſked him who made it, and for what purpoſe. Whereunto he anſwered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evill purpoſe. But being idle in the priſon, and finding there an olde boord, he thought the time better ſpent in making thereof, then to ſit ſtill, and doe nothing at all.

The forenoone being now ſpent, the reſt of this tragedy was deferred untill the afternoone. Wherein was miniſtred unto him yet certaine other objections, the tenor whereof was.

Other objections miniſtred to Ralfe Allerton.

First, that he had miſliked the Maſſe, calling upon Saints, and carrying the Croſſe in Proceſſion, with other their ceremonies, calling them Idolatry, and alſo had diſſwaded them therefrom.

2 Item, that he was much deſirous to have the people beleeve as he did; and therefore being in priſon with his fellowes, did ſing Pſalmes and other Songs againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, and other ordinances of the Church, ſo loud that the people abroad might heare them and delight in them.

3 Item, that he had divers times conſpired againſt his Keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and ſo to breake the priſon, and eſcape away.

4 Item, that he had railed againſt the Biſhop, being his Ordinary, calling him a bloody Butcher, Tyrant, and ravening Wolfe, and alſo againſt his Officers, eſpecially Cluny his Sumner, calling him Butchers Curre, with other ſuch names.

5 Item, that he had murmured, grudged, diſdained, and miſliked, that the Biſhop had proceeded againſt certaine of his Dioceſſe, and had condemned them as heretikes; or that he ſhould proceed now againſt him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithſtanding that he and his Chaplaines had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

6 Item, that he ought faithfully to beleeve, that there is one Catholike Church, without the which there is no ſalvation; of the which Church Jeſus Chriſt is the very Prieſt and Sacrifice, whoſe body and blood is really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the divine power tranſubſtantiated into his body and blood.

7 Item, that he had kept himſelfe, and alſo diſtributed to others certaine hereticall and corrupt bookes, condemned and reproved by the lawes of this Realme.

8 Item, that he had, contrary to the orders and ſtatutes of this Realme, kept company with that ſeditious heretike and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudgeover, and had heard him reade in woods and other places, yet not accuſing, but allowing and praiſing him.

Unto which Articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part ſo fooliſh and full of lies, he would in a manner make no anſwer, ſaving he granted that he did miſlike their Maſſe and other ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the Biſhop, that he and his complices did nothing but ſeeke how to kill innocents.

The Biſhop then aſked him, whether he would beleeve in all points touching the Sacrament of the Altar, as is contained in the generall Councell holden and kept under Innocentius the third, and therewithall he did reade the decree of the ſaid Councell touching the Sacrament.

Whereunto Allerton againe made anſwer and ſaid; I beleeve nothing contained in the ſame Councell, neither have I any thing to doe therewith; and it were alſo very neceſſary, that no man elſe ſhould have to doe therewith.

Then (quoth Boner) thou art of the opinion that the heretikes lately burned at Colcheſter were of.

Yea, ſaid he, I am of their opinion, and I beleeve that they be Saints in heaven.

This done, the Biſhop perceiving that hee would not recant, demanded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. To whom he anſwered; Ye ought not to condemne me as an heretike, for I am a good Chriſtian. But now goe to, doe as you have already determined: For I ſee right well, that right and truth be ſuppreſſed, and cannot appeare upon the earth.

These words ended, the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation, and ſo delivered him unto the temporall Officers: Who reſerved him in their cuſtody untill the 17. day of September, at which time, both hee and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet little is ſayd, I will therefore now proceede to declare ſuch cauſe of their cruell deaths, as in the Regiſter is recorded.

Iames Auſtoo and Margery his wife.

Examination of James Auſtoo and Margery his wife.

TOuching the firſt apprehenſion of theſe two perſons, I finde neyther occaſion why, neyther time nor manner how. Howbeit, as the dayes then ſerved, it was no hard or ſtrange matter to fall into the hands of ſuch, as with cruelty perſecuted the true profeſſors of Gods Goſpel, eſpecially having ſo many Promoters, and unneighbourly neighbours to helpe them forwards. By which kinde of people, it is not unlike theſe two godly yoke-fellowes were accuſed and taken; and being once delivered into the pitileſſe handling of Boner, their examinations (ye may bee ſure) were not long deferred. For the 16. day of July 1557. they were brought before him into his place at London. Where firſt he demanded of the ſayd James Auſtoo (amongſt other queſtions) where he had been confeſſed in Lent, and whether he received the ſacrament of the altar at Eaſter, or not?

To whom he anſwered, that indeed he had been confeſſed of the Curate of Alhallowes Barking, nigh to the Tower of London, but that he had not received the ſacrament of the altar; for he defied it from the bottome of his heart.

Why (quoth the Biſhop) doeſt not thou beleeve, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the true body and bloud of Chriſt?

No, ſayd Auſtoo, not in the ſacrament of the altar, but in the Supper of the Lord, to the faithfull receiver is the very body and bloud of Chriſt by faith.

Boner not well pleaſed with this talke, aſked then the wife, how ſhe did like the religion then uſed in this Church of England?

Shee anſwered, that ſhe beleeved, that the ſame was not according to Gods Word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did goe thereunto, did it more for feare of the law, than otherwiſe.

Then he againe aſked her, if ſhe would goe to the Church and heare Maſſe, and pray for the proſperous eſtate of the King, being then abroad in his affaires.

Whereunto ſhe ſayd, that ſhe defied the Maſſe with all her heart, and that ſhe would not come into any Church wherein were Idols.

After this, the Biſhop objected unto them certaine Articles, to the number of eighteene. The tenor whereof (becauſe they touch only ſuch common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and ſundry places before) I doe here for brevities ſake omit and paſſe over; giving you yet this much to underſtand, that in the matters of faith they were as ſound, and anſwered as truly (God be therefore praiſed) as ever any did, eſpecially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventneſſe of ſpirit. Notwithſtanding, according to the meaſure of grace that GOD gave them, they both ſtood moſt firmely unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the 10. day of September they were (with Ralfe Allerton, of whom ye have heard) brought againe before the Biſhop within his Chappell at Fulham, where hee ſpeaking unto them, ſayd firſt on this wiſe; Auſtoo, doeſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to doe?

Yea (quoth Auſtoo) I know where I am: For I am in an Idols temple.

After which words, their Articles being againe read, and their conſtancy in faith perceived, Boner pronounced againſt either of them ſeverally the ſentence of condemnation, and delivering them unto the Sheriffe there preſent, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I referre his cauſe.

Margery Auſtoo terrified in priſon.

It ſo hapned upon a night, that as this Margery Auſtoo was in the Biſhops priſon (which priſon, I ſuppoſe, was his Dogge-kenell; for it was, as is reported, under a paire of ſtaires) by the Biſhops procurement there was ſent a ſtout champion (as appeared) about twelve of the clock at night, who ſuddenly opened the doore, and with a knife drawne, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her throate. Which ſhe by reaſon of the cleereneſſe of the Moone perceiving, and calling unto GOD for helpe, he (but who it was ſhe knew not) giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit ſo cruell a deede, departed his waies without any more hurt doing.

The next night following, they cauſed a great rumbling to be made over her head, which ſeemed to her to have been ſome great thunder, which they did to have feared her out of her wits, but yet, thankes be to God, they miſſed of their purpoſe.

Richard Roth.

Examination of Rich Roth.

IN the godly fellowſhip of the forenamed three Martyrs, was alſo this Richard Roth, as is already ſpecified. Who being apprehended, and brought up unto the Biſhop of London, was by him examined the fourth day of July; at what time the Biſhop did earneſtly travell to induce him to beleeve that there were ſeven ſacraments in Chriſts Church, and that in the ſacrament of the altar (after the words of conſecration duely ſpoken) there remained the very ſubſtance of Chriſts body and bloud, and none other. Whereunto (at that preſent) he made only this anſwer; that if the Scripture did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſwaded, he would ſo beleeve, otherwiſe not. But at another examination (which was the 9. day of September) he declared plainly, that in the ſayd ſacrament of the altar (as it was then uſed) there was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the Maſſe was deteſtable, and contrary to Gods holy Word and will, from the which faith and opinion he would not goe or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the ſame moneth of September, the Biſhop at his houſe at Fulham (by way of an Article) laid and objected againſt him; that he was a comforter and boldner of heretikes: and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto certaine that were burned at Colcheſter; the copy whereof enſueth.

Anno 1557.

A letter written by Richard Roth, unto certaine brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, condemned at Colcheſter, and ready to be burned for the teſtimony of the truth.

A letter of Rich. Roth.

O Deare brethren and ſiſters, how much have you to reioyce in God, that hee hath given you ſuch faith to overcome this bloud-thirſtie Tyrant thus farre: and no doubt he that hath begun that good worke in you, will fulfill it unto the end. O deare hearts in Chriſt, what a crowne of glory ſhall ye receive with Chriſt in the Kingdome of God? Oh that it had beene the good will of God that I had beene ready to have gone with you. For I lye in my Lords little eaſe in the day, and in the night I lie in the Colehouſe, from Ralfe Allerton, or any other: and we looke every day when wee ſhall be condemned. For hee ſayd, that I ſhould bee burned within ten dayes before Eaſter; but I lie ſtill at the pooles brinke, and every man goeth in before me: but wee abide patiently the Lords leaſure, with many bands, in fetters and ſtockes; by the which we have received great ioy in God. And now fare you well dear brethren and ſiſters, in this world, but I truſt to ſee you in the heavens face to face.

Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my dear ſiſter Roſe, how bleſſed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake; with all the reſt of my deare brethren and ſiſters knowne and unknowne. O be ioyfull even unto death. Feare it not, ſaith Chriſt; for I have overcome death, ſaith he. Oh deare hearts, ſeeing that Ieſus Chriſt will be our helpe, Oh tarry you the Lords leaſure. Be ſtrong, let your hearts bee of good comfort, and waite you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the Angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that feare him, and delivereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our lives are in the Lords hands; and they can doe nothing unto us before God ſuffer them. Therefore give all thankes to God.

Oh deare hearts, you ſhall be clothed with long white garments upon the mount Sion, with the multitude of Saints, and with Ieſus Chriſt our Saviour, which will never forſake us. Oh bleſſed Virgins, ye have played the wiſe Virgins part, in that you have taken oyle in your lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroome, when he commeth into the everlaſting ioy with him. But as for the fooliſh, they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelves ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither goe about to take up his Croſſe. Oh deare hearts, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord? for deare is the death of his Saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Richard Roth, written
with mine owne bloud.

This letter he confeſſed indeede (upon the ſaid examination) that he had written with his bloud, and that he meant to have ſent the ſame unto ſuch as were condemned at Colcheſter for the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, and were afterwards burned there, as ye have already heard.

The Biſhop then farther asked him, what he thought his priſon-fellow Ralfe Allerton to be?

The teſtimony of Richard Roth of Ralfe Allerton.

He anſwered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time hereafter hee hapned to bee put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he ſhould die a true Martyr. And moreover, finding himſelfe agrieved with the Biſhops privy and ſecret condemning of Gods people, hee ſayd unto him in this ſort; My Lord, becauſe the people ſhould not ſee and behold your doings, ye cauſe me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being affraid (belike) to doe it by day.

The Biſhop not greatly caring for his talke, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongſt which this high and weighty thing was one, videlicet, how he did like the order and rites of the Church then uſed here in England.

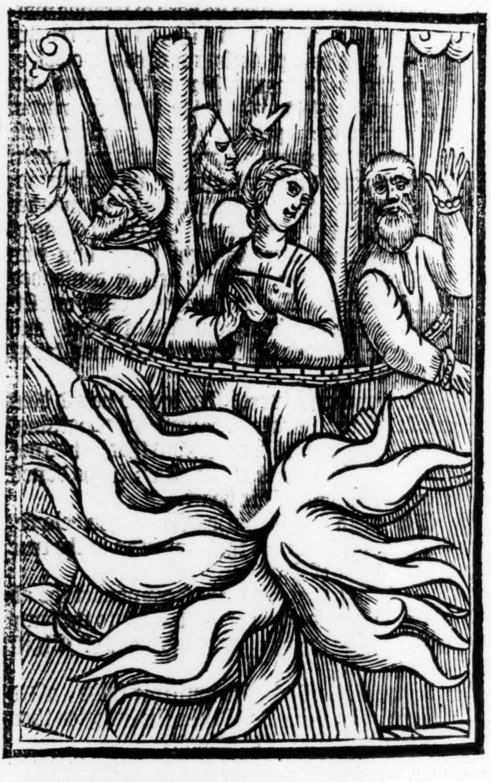
To whom he ſayd, that he ever had, and yet then did abhorre the ſame with all his heart.

Then divers of the Biſhops complices intreated and perſwaded him to recant, and aske mercy of the Biſhop.

The condemnation of Ric. Roth.

No (quoth Roth) I will not aske mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mentioned) condemned, and delivered unto the Sheriffe, and the 17. day of September they all moſt ioyfully ended their lives in one fire at Iſlington, for the teſtimony of Chriſt, as before is declared.

The martyrdome of Ralfe Allerton, Iames Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo. Richard Roth, An. 1557. Sep. 17.



¶ Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurſton, two godly Chriſtian women, burnt at Colcheſter for the ſincere profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.

September. Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, Martyrs.

A Little before (gentle Reader) was mention made of ten that ſuffered martyrdome at Colcheſter, at which time there were two other women alſo one called Margaret Thurſton, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame time and place that the other above-named ten were, for the like cauſe, and anſwered alſo in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurſton, that morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the Caſtle, was for that time deferred. What the cauſe was, the teſtimony of Ioane Cooke ſhall declare unto us. Which Ioan Cook, the wife now of Iohn Spark, being then in the caſtle of Colcheſter for religion,

A note of Margaret Thurſton.

did demand of this widow Thurſton, whoſe huſband died in the priſon, being impriſoned for religion, wherefore the ſaid Margaret, being a condemned woman, ſhould be reſerved when the other ſuffered in the caſtle Baily: She anſwered, that it was not for any feare of death, but being prepared, as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe felt in her ſelfe a great ſhivering and trembling of the fleſh. Whereupon forſaking the company, ſhe went aſide to pray. And whileſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted up with a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that inſtant came in the Goaler and company with him, and whilſt ſhe turned her ſelfe to fetch her Pſalter, they tooke the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was removed out of the Caſtle, and put into the Towne-priſon, where ſhe continued untill Friday ſevennight after her company were burnt. That day, not two houres before her death, ſhe was brought to the Caſtle againe, where ſhe declared thus much to the foreſaid Ioane Cooke.

The martyrdome of Margaret Thurſton, and Agnes Bongeor deferred, for what cauſes.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who ſhould have ſuffered in like manner with the ſixe that went out of Motehall, was alſo kept back at that time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong written within the Writ, as in the Bayliffes letter of Colcheſter, ſent to Boner about the ſame, more plainly doth appeare in the booke of our firſt edition, pag. 1632.

The name of Agnes Bongeor miſtaken.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of Auguſt, that the ſaid ſixe in Motehall were called out to goe to their martyrdome, was Agnes Bongeor alſo called with them, by the name of Agnes Bowyer. Wherefore the Bayliffes underſtanding her (as I ſayd) to be wrong named within the Writ, commanded the ſayd Agnes Bongeor to priſon again, as ye have heard in the letter before named, and ſo from Motehall that day ſent her to the Caſtle, where ſhe remained untill her death.

Agnes Bongeor troubled for not ſuffering with her company.

But when ſhe ſaw her ſelfe ſo ſeparated from her ſayd priſon-fellowes in that ſort, Oh good Lord what pitious mone that good woman made, how bitterly ſhe wept, what ſtrange thoughts came into her minde, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed her ſelfe, and into what plunge of deſpaire and care her poore ſoule was brought, it was pitious and wonderfull to ſee: which all came becauſe ſhe went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Chriſt; for of all things in the world, life was leaſt looked for at her hands. For that morning in which ſhe was kept backe from burning, had ſhe put on a ſmocke that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe. And alſo having a childe, a little young infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the time that ſhe was in priſon, againſt that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend away to another Nurſe, and prepared her ſelfe preſently to give her ſelfe for the teſtimony of the glorious Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt. So little did ſhe looke for life, and ſo greatly did Gods gifts worke in her above nature, that death ſeemed a great deale better welcome than life. But this tooke not effect at that time as ſhe thought it would, and therefore (as I ſaid) was ſhe not a little troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of minde, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abrahams obedience was accepted before God, for that he did ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which ſhe anſwered thus:

I know (quoth ſhe) that Abrahams will before God was allowed for the deede, in that he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not ſtaied him: but I (ſayd ſhe) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh mee not worthy of this dignity; and therefore Abrahams caſe and mine is not alike.

Why (quoth her friend) would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God ſhould ſo have ſuffered it?

Yes (ſaid ſhe) with all my heart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chief and greateſt griefe.

Then ſaid her friend; My deare ſiſter, I pray thee conſider Abraham and thy ſelfe well, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doeſt nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (quoth ſhe) there is a farre greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his owne childe, but ſo am not I; and therefore our caſes are not alike.

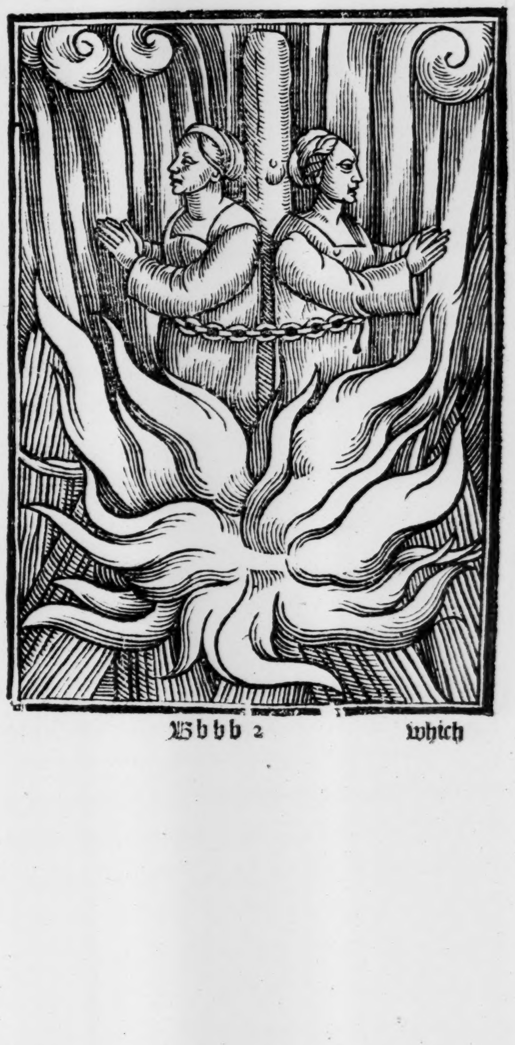
Good ſiſter (quoth her friend) weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham I grant (ſayd hee) would have offered his ſonne: and have not you done the like in your little ſucking babe? But conſider further than this, my good ſiſter (ſaid he) where Abraham was commanded but to offer his ſonne; you are heavy and grieved becauſe you offer not your ſelfe, which goeth ſomewhat more neere you than Abrahams obedience did; and therefore before God aſſuredly, is no leſſe accepted and allowed in his holy preſence; which further the preparing of your ſhroud alſo doth argue full well, &c. After which talke betweene them, ſhe began a little to ſtay her ſelfe, and gave her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found no little comfort.

Agnes Bongeor receiveth comfort.

In the time that theſe foreſaid two good women were priſoners, one in the Caſtle, and the other in Motehall, God by a ſecret meane called the ſayd Margaret Thurſton unto his truth againe; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his ſpirit, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, never more while ſhe lived to doe the like againe, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame, againſt all the adverſaries of the Croſſe of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in a ſhort time a Writ from London for the burning of them,

A writ for the burning of Margaret Thurſton and Agnes Bongeor.

The martyrdome of Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, at Colcheſter. An. 1557. Sep. 17.



Anno 1557.

which according to the effect thereof was executed the 17. day of September, in the yéere aforeſayd.

Now when theſe foreſayd good women were brought to the place in Colcheſter where they ſhould ſuffer the 17. day of September, in the yéere afore ſayd, they fell downe upon both their knées, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake joyfully, and were immediately thereto chained, and after the fire had compaſſed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their ſoules, ſpirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whoſe government and protection, for Chriſts ſake we beſéech him to grant us his holy defence and helpe for ever more, Amen.

Thus (gentle Reader) God chooſeth the weake things of the world, to confound mighty things.

Iohn Kurde, Martyr.

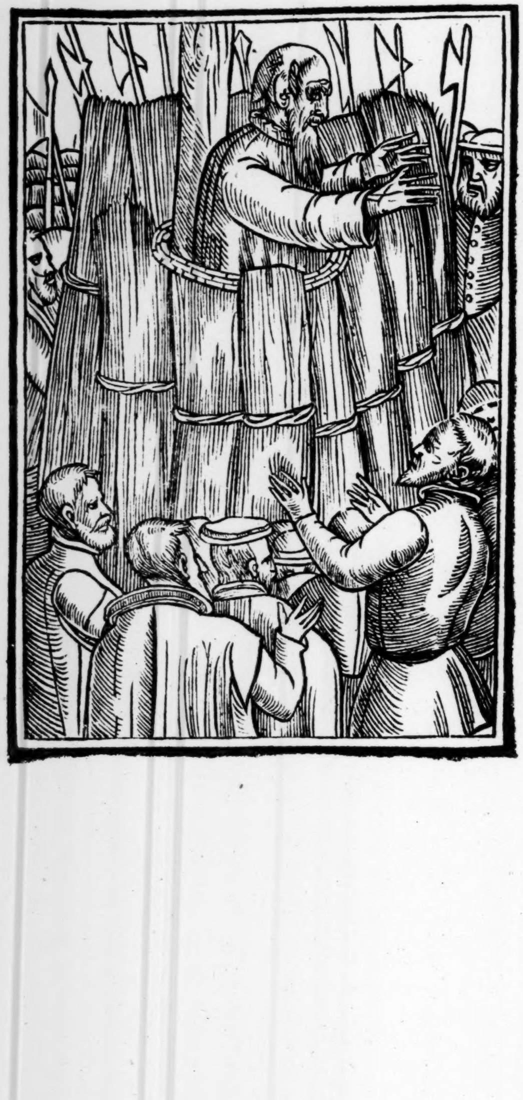
Septemb. 20. John Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, was ſomething touched of a certaine Shoomaker ſuffering at Northampton, being unnamed, whom becauſe wée underſtand by a letter ſent from the ſayd parties, that he ſuffered in this yéere, 1557. and in the moneth of September, therefore wée thought there to place him. His name was John Kurde, a Shoomaker, late of the Pariſh of Syrſam in Northampton ſhire, who was impriſoned in Northampton Caſtle for denying the Popiſh tranſubſtantiation, for the which cauſe William Binſley Bachelor of Law, and Chancellor unto the Biſhop of Peterborough, and now Archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce ſentence of death againſt the ſayd Kurde, in the Church of all Saints in Northampton, in Auguſt, Anno 1557. And in September following, at the commandement of ſir Thomas Treſham, Sheriffe then of the Shire hée was led by his Officers without the Northgate of Northampton, and in the ſtone pits was burned. A Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding by, whoſe name was John Rote, Vicar of Saint Giles in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if hée would recant, he was authoriſed to give him his pardon. His anſwer was, that he had his pardon by Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

Wil. Binſley Chancellor to the biſhop of Peterborogh, and now archdeacon of Northampton, condemned John Kurde.

John Rote a Popiſh prieſt. Popiſh pardon refuſed.

The martyrdome of Iohn Kurde, at Northampton, Anno 1557. Septemb. 20.



¶ A true Certificate of the taking of one Iohn Noyes of Laxefield, in the County of Suffolke, Shoomaker, who was taken the nineteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1557. as hereafter followeth.

Septemb. 12.

IN the moneth of September this preſent yéer, or (as ſome report) in the yéer paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr Jo. Noyes, whoſe ſtory here followeth.

First, Maſter Thomas Lovell being then chief Conſtable of Horton Hundred, in the County aforeſayd, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard then being under-Conſtables of the foreſayd Towne of Laxefield, and Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard of the ſame Town, being then accounted faithfull and catholike Chriſtians, though undoubtedly they proved moſt cruell hinderers of the true profeſſours of Chriſt and his Goſpel, with others, were commanded to bée that preſent day before the Juſtices, whoſe names were Maſter Thurſton, ſir John Tyrrel, and Maſter Kene, and ſir Jo. Silliard being high Sheriffe.

Perſecution by the Conſtables, Sheriffes, and Juſtices of Suffolke.

These ſitting at Horton in the County of Suffolke aforeſayd, and there the ſaid Towneſmen aforeſayd having commandement of the ſayd Juſtices to inquire in their Towne if there were any that would neglect to come to their Service and Maſſe, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the ſayd Juſtices within foureteene dayes then next enſuing; they then comming homeward, being full of hatred againſt the truth, and deſirous to get promotion, without any ſuch commandement of the Juſtices (as far as we can learne) tooke counſell one with another how to attach the ſayd John Noyes without any more delay.

Charge given by the Inquiſitors.

This divelliſh enterpriſe agréed upon, chiefly through the counſell of Maſter Thomas Lovell, Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard aforeſayd, with expedition his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſayd John Noyes on the backſide of the ſayd houſe going outward, and Nicholas Stannard called to the ſayd John, and ſayd, Whither goeſt thou? And he ſayd, to my neighbours. And the ſayd Nicholas Stannard ſayd, your Maſter hath deceived you; you muſt goe with us now. But the ſayd John Noyes anſwered, No, but take you héede your Maſter deceive not you. And ſo they tooke him and carried him to the Juſtices the next day. After his appearance and ſundry cauſes alledged, the Juſtices and the Sheriffe together caſt him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certaine time. And then was carried from thence to Norwich, and ſo came before the Biſhop, where were miniſtred unto him theſe poſitions following:

Counſell taken for attaching John Noyes.

Jo. Noyes houſe beſet about.

Jo. Noyes taken by Nicholas Stannard, Perſecutor.

Jo. Noyes caſt into Eye dungeon.

1 Whether he beleeved that the ceremonies uſed in the Church were good and godly, to ſtirre up mens mindes to devotion.

2 Item, whether he beleeved the Pope to be ſupreme head of the Church here in earth.

3 Item, whether hee beleeved the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar under the formes of bread and wine, after the words of conſecration.

Ex Regiſt. Articles againſt John Noyes.

Whereunto hée anſwered, that hée thought the naturall body of Chriſt to be only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament, &c.

Reall preſence denied.

For

Sentence read againſt John Noyes.

For the which, ſentence at laſt was read by the Biſhop againſt him, in the preſence of theſe there ſitting the ſame time, D. Dunning Chancellor, ſir W. Woodhouſe, ſir Thomas Woodhouſe, M. George Heyden, M. Spenſer, W. Farrar Alderman of Norwich, M. Thurſton, Wineſden with divers other.

More of his examination than this came not to our hands.

In the meane time his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fiſk of Dinnington going to comfort him at ſuch time as hee remained priſoner in the Guildhall of Norwich, after Chriſtian exhortation, asked him if hee did feare death when the Biſhop gave judgement againſt him, conſidering the terrour of the ſame. And the ſaid Noyes anſwered; he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the ſayd Nicholas required him to ſhew the cauſe of his condemnation. Upon which requeſt the ſaid John Noyes writ with his owne hand as followeth:

The cauſe of John Noyes condemnation.

I ſayd (quoth he) that I could not beleeve, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the naturall body of Chriſt, that ſame body that was borne of the Virgin Mary. But I ſayd, that the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt is received of Chriſtian people in the remembrance of Chriſts death, as a ſpirituall food, if it be miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution.

But they ſaid, I could not tell what ſpirituall meant.

The Biſhop ſayd, that the ſacrament was God, and muſt bee worſhipped as God. So ſaid the Chancellor alſo.

Then anſwered I, my Lord, I cannot ſo beleeve.

Then (quoth the Biſhop) why? Then ſay thou doeſt beleeve. Notwithſtanding theſe colluſions could not prevaile.

John Noyes brought to the place of martyrdome.

Now being condemned, he was ſent againe from Norwich to Eye-priſon, and upon the 21. day of September in the yeere aforeſayd, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxefield to be burned, and on the next day morning was brought to the ſtake, where was ready againſt his comming the foreſaid Juſtice Maſter Thurſton, one Maſter Waller then being under Sheriffe, and Maſter Thomas Lovell being high Conſtable, as is before expreſſed, the which commanded men to make ready all things meete for that ſinfull purpoſe. Now the fire in moſt places of the ſtreete was put out, ſaving a ſmoake was eſpied by the ſayd Thomas Lovell proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which houſe the Sherife and Grannow his man went, and brake open the doore, and thereby got fire, and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled downe, and ſayd the 50 Pſalme, with other prayers, and then they making haſte bound him to the ſtake, and being bound, the ſayd John Noyes ſayd; Feare not them that can kill the body, but feare him that can kill both body and ſoule, and caſt it into everlaſting fire.

The fire put out in the towne where John Noyes ſhould be burned.

The words of John Noyes to his ſiſter.

When he ſaw his ſiſter weeping and making mone for him, hee bade her that ſhe ſhould not weepe for him, but weepe for her ſins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman being Haſtler, a valiant champion in the Popes affaires, brought a fagot and ſet againſt him; and the ſayd John Noyes tooke up the fagot and kiſſed it, and ſayd; Bleſſed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

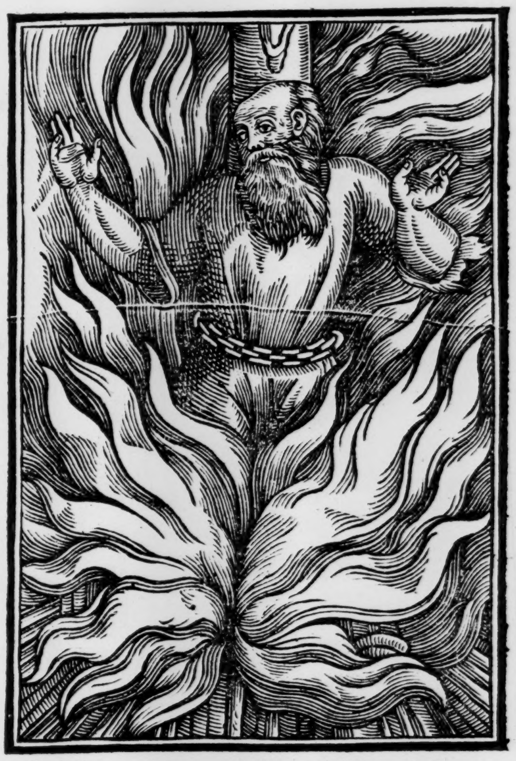
Then hee delivered his Pſalter to the under Sheriffe, deſiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that ſame booke; and the Sheriffe promiſed him that he would, notwithſtanding he never as yet performed his promiſe. Then the ſaid John Noyes ſayd to the people; They ſay they can make God of a peece of bread, beleeve them not.

Anno 1557.

The words of John Noyes to the people.

Then ſayd he; Good people, beare witneſſe that I doe beleeve to be ſaved by the merits and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by mine owne deeds; and ſo the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he ſayd; Lord have mercy upon mee. Chriſt have mercy upon me. Sonne of David have mercy upon me.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Noyes of Laxfield, Anno 1557 or as ſome ſay, An. 1556 September.



And ſo he yeelded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coales and aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his feete that was unburned, whole up to the ankle, with the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

John Jarvis wrongfully troubled for words ſpoken at the burning of Noyes.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtood one John Jarvis by, a mans ſervant of the ſame Towne, a plaine fellow, which ſayd; Good Lord, how the ſinewes of his armes ſhrinke up. And there ſtood behinde him one Grannow and Benet, being the Sheriffes men, and they ſaid to their Maſter, that John Jarvis ſayd, What villaine wretches are theſe? And their Maſter bade lay hand on him, and they tooke him and pinioned him, and carried him before the Juſtice that ſame day, and the Juſtice did examine him of the words aforeſaid, but he denied them, and anſwered that hee ſayd nothing but this; Good Lord, how the ſinewes of his armes ſhrinke up. But for all this the Juſtice did binde his father and his Maſter in 5.l. a peece, that hee ſhould be forth comming at all times. And on the Wedneſday next he was brought again before the Juſtices, M. Thurſton, and M. Kene, they ſitting at Freſingfield in Horton hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the ſaid John Jarvis ſhould be ſet in the ſtockes the next Market day, and whipt about the Market naked. But his Maſter, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendſhip of the Conſtables, and they did not ſet him in the ſtockes till Sunday morning, and in the afternoone they did whip him about the Market with a dogge-whip, having three cords, and ſo they let him goe.

Some doe give out, that John Jarvis was whipped for ſaying that Nicholas Cadman was Noyes Haſtler, that is, ſuch a one as maketh and haſteth the fire.

¶ The copy of a certaine Letter that he ſent to comfort his wife at ſuch time as he lay in priſon.

A letter of John Noyes to his wife.

WIfe, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I did reade in the New Teſtament, I thought it good to write unto you certaine places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter ſaith, 1 Pet.4. Dearely beloved, be not troubled with this heate that is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoyce, inſomuch as ye are partakers of Chriſts ſufferings, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirit of glory, and the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you.

It is better, if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doing than for evill doing, 1 Pet,3.

So 1 Pet.4. See that none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a theefe, or an evill doer, or as a buſie-body in other mens matters; but if any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian man, let him not bee aſhamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalfe; for the time is come that judgement muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt begin at us, what ſhall the end of them be, that beleeve not the Goſpel of God? Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſoules to him in well doing.

S. Paul ſaith, 2 Tim.3. All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

S. John ſaith, 1 Iohn 2. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.

If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away and the luſt thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for ever.

S. Paul ſaith, Coloſ.3. If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt, ſeeke thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Mat.18. Whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones that beleeve in me, it were better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his necke, and that he were caſt into the ſea.

The Prophet David ſaith, Pſal.24. Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

Feare the Lord, ye his Saints: for they that feare him lacke nothing.

When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them and delivereth them out of all their troubles: But misfortune ſhall ſlay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous ſhall periſh.

Heare, O my people. I aſſure thee O Iſrael, if thou wilt hearken unto mee, there ſhall no ſtrange God be in thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if Iſrael would walke in my wayes, I ſhould ſoone put downe their enemies, and turne my hand againſt their adverſaries.

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; The Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor yet the ſervant above his Lord. It is enough for the Diſciple to be as his Maſter is, and that the ſervant be as his Lord is. If they have called the Maſter of the houſe Belzebub, how much more ſhall they call them of his houſhold ſo? feare not them therefore.

St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor.4. ſet your ſelves therfore at large, and beare not a ſtrangers yoke with the unbeleevers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſſe with unrighteouſneſſe? what company hath light with darkneſſe? either what part hath the beleever with the Infidell &c? Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves now (ſaith the Lord) and touch none uncleane thing; ſo will I receive you, and I will be a father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty.

For neither eye hath ſeene, nor the eare hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man, what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor.2.

Ye are bought neither with ſilver nor gold, but with the precious bloud of Chriſt, 1 Pet.1.

There is none other name given to men wherein we muſt be ſaved, Acts 4.

So fare ye well wife and children,
and leave worldly care, and ſee
that ye be diligent to pray.

Take no thought (ſaith Chriſt, Mat.6) ſaying, what ſhall we eate, or what ſhall we drinke, or wherewith ſhall we be clothed? (for after all theſe things ſeeke the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things; but ſeeke ye firſt the Kingdome of heaven, and the righteouſneſſe thereof, and all theſe things ſhall be miniſtred unto you.

The martyrdome and ſuffering of Cicely Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the teſtimony and witneſſe of Chriſts Goſpel.

Sep. 23. Cicely Ormes, Martyr.

M. Corbet of Sprowſon, perſecutor.

The Chancellors name was Dunning.

ABout the 23. day of the ſayd moneth of September, next after the other above mentioned, ſuffered at Norwich Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes Worſteadweaver, dwelling in S. Laurence Pariſh in Norwich: ſhe being of the age of 32. yeeres or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above mentioned, in a place called Lollards pit without Biſhops gate, at the ſayd Norwich, for that ſhe ſayd ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they dranke on. For ſo ſaying, one Maſter Corbet of Sprowſon by Norwich, tooke her and ſent her to the Chancellor. When ſhe came before him, he aſked her what ſhe ſayd unto the ſacrament of Chriſts body. And ſhe ſayd, ſhe did beleeve that it was the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Yea, ſaid the Chancellor, but what is that that the Prieſt holdeth over his head? She anſwered him and ſayd, it is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worſe. At which words the Chancellor ſent her to the Biſhops priſon to the Keeper called Fellow, with many threatning and hote words, as a man being in a great chafe.

The 23. day of July ſhe was called before the Chancellour againe, who ſate in judgement with Maſter Bridges and others. The Chancellour offered her, if ſhe would goe to the Church and keepe her tongue, ſhe would be at liberty, and beleeve as ſhe would. But ſhe told him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therein, doe with her what hee would; for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſayd, God would ſurely plague her. Then the Chancellour told her, he had ſhewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was

loth

loath to condemne her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, unlearned, and fooliſh woman. But ſhe, not weighing his words, told him if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinfull fleſh, as ſhe would (by Gods grace) bée content to give it in ſo good a quarrell. Then roſe he and read the bloudy ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the ſecular power of the Sheriffes of the City, M. Thomas Sutherton, and M. Leonard Sutherton brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where ſhée remained untill her death.

Brigges a popiſh perſecutor. Cicely Ormes firſt recanted.

Cicely Ormes re penteth her recantation.

This Cicely Ormes was a very ſimple woman, but yet zealous in the Lords cauſe, being borne in Eaſt Deram, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Haund Taylor. Shée was taken the fifth day of Julie, and did for a twelve moneth before ſhée was taken, recant, but never after was ſhe quiet in conſcience, untill ſhe was utterly driven from all their Poperie. Betwéene the time ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had gotten a letter made to give to the Chancellor, to let him know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottome of her heart, and would never doe the like againe while ſhe lived. But before ſhe exhibited her bill, ſhe was taken and ſent to priſon as is beforeſaid. She was burnt the 23. day of September, betwéene 7. and 8. of the clock in the morning, the ſaid two Sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of 200. When ſhée came to the ſtake, ſhe knéeled downe, and made her praiers to God: that being done, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, Good people, I beléeve in God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Ghoſt, thrée perſons and one God.

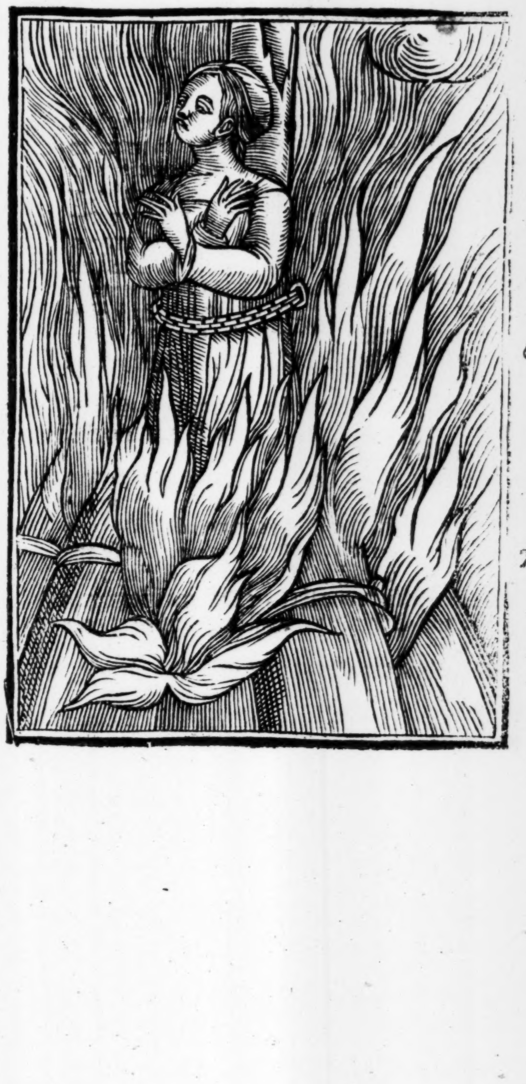
Anno 1557.

Note well this ſaying of Cicely Ormes.

This doe I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottome of my heart the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his Popiſh Prieſts and ſhavelings. I utterly refuſe and never will have to doe with them againe by Gods grace. And good people, I would you ſhould not thinke of mée that I beléeve to bée ſaved in that I offer my ſelfe here unto the death for the Lords cauſe, but I beleeve to bée ſaved by the death of Chriſts paſſion; and this my death is and ſhall be a witneſſe of my faith unto you all here preſent. Good people, as many of you as beléeve as I beléeve, pray for me. Then ſhe came to the ſtake, and laid her hand on it, and ſaid, Welcome the Croſſe of Chriſt. Which being done, ſhe looking on her hand, and ſéeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it upon her ſmocke, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burned at. Then afer ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhee came and kiſſed it, and ſaid, Welcome the ſwéete Croſſe of Chriſt, and ſo gave her ſelfe to bée bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid, My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoyceth in God my Saviour: and in ſo ſaying ſhe ſet her hands together right againſt her breaſt, caſting her eyes and head upward, and ſo ſtood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very ſinewes of her armes did breake aſunder, and then they fell; but ſhée yéelded her life unto the Lord, as quietly as if ſhée had béene in a ſlumber, or as one féeling no paine; So wonderfully did the Lord worke with her; his Name therefore bée praiſed for evermore. Amen.

The laſt words of Cice. Ormes at the ſtake.

The Martyrdome of Cicely Ormes at Norwich, An. 1557. September 23.



The trouble and diſturbance among good men and women at Lichfield.

After the death and martyrdome of Miſtreſſe Joice Lewes, a little above ſpecified, diverſe good men and women in the ſame Towne of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the Biſhop and his Chancellor, for kiſſing the ſaid Joice Lewys, and drinking with her about the time of her death; the name of which perſons were theſe: Joane Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddell, Helene Bouring, Margaret Cootesfote, Nicholas Bird, John Hariſtone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather, &c. Theſe with other were produced to their examination before the Biſhop and his Chancellor for the cauſe abovenamed, and therefore adjudged for heretikes, for that they did pray and drink with the ſaid Miſtreſſe Lewys, but eſpecially Agnes Penifather ſuſtained the moſt trouble, for that ſhe accompanied the ſaid Joice Lewys going to her death. Which Agnes being examined further of the ſaid Biſhop, what words ſhe had ſpoken to two Prieſts of the Church of Lichfield, called John Adie and James Fox, concerning the ſaid Joice Lewys after her burning, ſaid as followeth, That ſhe being aſked by the ſaid two Prieſts being at her fathers houſe in the city of Lichfield, at ſuch time as ſhe came from the burning of the ſayd Joice Lewys, wherefore ſhe the ſaid Agnes did wéepe for ſuch an heretike, meaning Joice Lewys, whoſe ſoule they ſaid was in hell; the ſaid Agnes Penifather to their demand made this anſwer, that ſhée thought the ſaid bleſſed Martyr to bée in better caſe than the ſaid two Prieſts were.

Agnes Penifather accuſed of two Prieſts for words.

With the which words being charged, and willed to ſubmit her ſelfe as the other had done above rehearſed to ſuch penance as they ſhould enjoyne unto her, refuſed ſo to doe, and therefore was commanded to cloſe priſon, the ſheriffes being charged with her under pain of 100. pounds, that none ſhould have any acceſſe unto her. At length, at the perſwaſion of her friends ſhe was compelled to doe as the other had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Lichfield.

The

Anno 1557.

The perſecution and cruelty exerciſed by the Papiſts in the Dioceſſe of Chicheſter.

Perſecution among the godly men at Chicheſter.

AND now from Lichfield to come to Chicheſter, although wee have but little to report thereof, for lacke of certaine relation and records of that Countrey, yet it ſéemeth no little trouble and perſecution there alſo to have raged, as in other Countries. For what place was there almoſt in all the realme, where the Popes Miniſters did not beſtirre them, murthering ſome or other, as in the Acts of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie may ſufficiently appeare? Wherefore as this plague of the Popes tyrannie was generall to all other people and countries of England, ſo likewiſe in the Dioceſſe of Chicheſter, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true teſtimonie of righteouſneſſe within the compaſſe of Queene Maries reigne. In the number of whom were theſe:

John Foreman of Eſtgreneſted.
John Warner of Berne.
Chriſtian Grover of the Archdeconry of Lewys.
Thomas Athoth, Prieſt.
Thomas Avington of Erdinglie.
Dennis Burgis of Buxſted.
Thomas Ravenſdale of Rie.
John Milles of Hellinglegh.
Nicholas Holden of Withiam.
John Hart of Withiam.
Margerie Morice of Hethfield.
Anne Trie of Eſtgreneſted.
John Oſeward of Woodmancote.
Thomas Harland of Woodmancote.
James Morice of Hethfield.
Thomas Dougate of Eſtgreneſted.
John Aſhedon of Katherfield.

Martyrs.

Perſecutors.

The greateſt doers againſt theſe godly and true faithfull Martyrs, and ſetters upon their condemnation, were theſe: Chriſtopherſon the Biſhop after Day, Richard Briſly Doctor of law, and Chancellor of Chicheſter, Robert Tailor Bachelor of law his Deputy, Tho. Paccard Civiliam, Anth. Clarke, Albane Langdale Bachelor of Divinitie, &c.

¶ The examination of Thomas Spurdance one of Queene Maries ſervants, before the Chancerllour of Norwich.

The examination of Tho. Spurdance.

THE Biſhops Chancellor did aſke me if I had béen with the Prieſt, and confeſſed my ſinnes unto him. And I ſaid, No, I had confeſſed my ſinnes to God, and God ſaith, In what houre ſoever a ſinner doth repent and be ſorry for his ſins, and aſke him forgiveneſſe, willing no more ſo to doe, he will no more reckon his ſin unto him. and that is ſufficient for me.

Then ſayd the Chancellor, Thou denieſt the Sacrament of penance.

I ſaid, I deny not penance, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my ſins unto the Prieſt.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, that is a denying of the ſacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (ſaid he) at this time of Eaſter?

And I ſaid, No.

And why have you not ſaith he?

I ſaid, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you uſe it.

Why, doe we not uſe it truely, ſaid he?

I ſaid, No: for the holy ſupper of the Lord ſerveth for the Chriſtian Congregation, and you are none of Chriſts members: and therefore I dare not meddle with you, leſt I bée like unto you.

Why are we none of Chriſts members, ſaid the Chancellor?

I ſaid, Becauſe you teach lawes contrary to Gods law.

What laws are thoſe, ſaid he?

I ſaid, Theſe thrée Articles that you ſweare the people unto here, bee falſe and untrue, and you doe evill to ſweare the people unto them.

Then ſaid hée, good people take no héede unto his words: for he is an heretike, and teacheth you diſobedience: and ſo he would no more ſpeake of that matter.

Then ſaid he, How beléeveſt thou in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? doſt thou not beléeve that after it is conſecrated, it is the very ſame bodie that was borne of the Virgin Mary?

I ſaid, No, not the ſame bodie in ſubſtance: for the ſame bodie hath a ſubſtance in fleſh bloud and bones, and was a bloudie ſacrifice, and this is a dry ſacrifice.

And I ſaid, Is the Maſſe a ſacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor anſwered that ſate by him, It is a ſacrifice both for the quicke and the dead.

Then ſaid I, No, it is no ſacrifice: for S. Paul ſaith, that Chriſt made one ſacrifice once for all: and I doe beléeve in none other ſacrifice, but only in that one ſacrifice that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made once for all.

Then ſaid the Doctor, That ſacrifice that Chriſt made, was a wet ſacrifice, and the Maſſe is a dry ſacrifice.

Spurdance examined upon the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid I, that ſame dry ſacrifice is a ſacrifice of your own making, and it is your ſacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, He is an heretike, he denieth the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid I, Will ye know how I beléeve in the holy ſupper of our Lord?

And he ſaid, Yea.

Then ſaid I, I beléeve that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded mee, to the holy Supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by beléeving in him. But the bread being received is not God, nor the bread that is yonder in the pixe is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will be worſhipped with the works of mens hands. And therefore you doe very evill to cauſe the people to knéele downe and worſhip the bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the Apoſtles ſuch uſe.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, Hée denieth the preſence in the ſacrament. Write this article alſo. Hée is a very heretike.

Then ſaid I, The ſervant is not greater than his Maſter. For your Predeceſſors killed my Maſter Chriſt, the Prophets and Apoſtles, and holy vertuous men, and now you alſo kill the ſervants of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous bloud that hath beene ſhed, even from righteous Abel, untill this day, ſhall bee required at your hands.

Well ſaid the Chancellor, have him away.

Another examination of Spurdance, before the Biſhop in his houſe.

Another examination of Tho. Spurdance before the Biſh.

THe Biſhop ſaid, ſirrah, doſt thou not beléeve in the Catholike faith of holy Church?

And I ſaid, I beléeve Chriſts Catholike Church.

Yea ſaid he, in Chriſts Church, of the which the Pope is the head? doeſt thou not beléeve that the Pope is ſupreame head of the Catholike Church?

Luke 22.

And I ſaid, No. I beléeve not that he ſhould be above the Apoſtles, if he take them to be his Predeceſſors. For when there came a thought among the Apoſtles, who ſhould be the greateſt when their Maſter was gone, Chriſt anſwered them unto their thoughts, The Kings of the earth beare domination above other, but ye ſhall not ſo doe, for he that will be greateſt among you ſhall become ſervant unto you all. How is it then (ſaid I) that he will climbe ſo high above his fellowes? And alſo we were ſworne by my Maſter King Henries time, that we ſhould to the uttermoſt of our power, never conſent to him againe. And therefore as he hath nothing to doe here in England, ſo neither in his owne countrey more, than a Biſhop hath in his Dioceſſe.

The Popes Supremacy.

Yea, ſaid the Biſhop, what of that? Wée were then in error and ſinne, now we are in the right way againe. and therefore thou muſt come home againe with us, and knowledge thy fault, and become a Chriſtian man, and be ſworne unto the Pope as our ſupreame head. Wilt thou be ſworn unto the Pope? How ſaieſt thou?

Then I ſaid, No I warrant you by the grace of God not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture, that the Pope is head of the Church, and may do therein what him liſteth.

No, ſaid he? Yes I trow: for as the Belweather which weareth the Bell, is head of the flocke of ſhéepe, even ſo is the Pope the head of the Church of Chriſt. And as the Bées in the hive have a Maſter Bée, when they are gone out, to bring them home againe to the hive: even ſo the Pope when we be gone aſtray and wandred from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordained our head by ſucceſſion of Peter, to bring us home againe to the true Church; as thou now my good fellow haſt wandred long out of the way like a ſcattered ſhéep, &c. Heare therefore that Belweather, the maſter bell, &c. and come home with us to thy mother the true Church againe.

Unto whom I anſwered, My Lord, all this is but naturall reaſon, and no Scripture: but ſince yée cannot prove the Pope to be authorized by Scripture, ye anſwer not me as I thought yée would.

Ya, ſaid he, I ſée well ye be ſtout, and will not be anſwered: therefore ye ſhall be compelled by law whether ye will or no.

The Phariſees law.

My Lord, ſaid I, ſo did your forefathers intreat Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and ſo likewiſe, you have a law which is tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to beléeve as you doe: but the Lord I truſt will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your fooliſhneſſe knowne to all the world one day.

Then ſaid he, when were ye at Church and went in proceſſion, and did the ceremonies of the Church?

And I ſaid, Never ſince I was born.

No ſaid he? How old are you?

And I ſaid, I think about xl.

Why, ſaid he, How did you uſe your ſelfe at Church twenty yeares agoe?

I ſaid, As you doe now.

And even now, ſaid he, you ſaid you did not the ceremonies ſince you were borne.

No more I did, ſaid I, ſince I was born anew; as Chriſt ſaid unto Nichodemus, Except ye be borne anew, ye cannot enter into the Kingdome of heaven.

Then ſaid a Doctor that ſate by, he is a very Anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion plaine.

No ſir, you ſay falſly, ſaid I: for I am no Anabaptiſt: for they deny children to be baptiſed, and ſo doe not I.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, why doſt thou not go to the Church, and do the ceremonies?

And I ſaid, Becauſe they be contrary to Gods word and lawes, as you your ſelfe have taught: but now you ſay it is good againe: and I thinke if there were a returne to morrow, you would ſay that is falſe againe which you hold now. Therefore, I may well ſay, there is no truth in you.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, thou art a ſtubborne fellow, and an heretike, and a traytor.

No, ſaid I, I am no traytor, for I have done, I thinke, better ſervice to the crowne imperiall of England, than you.

If you had done ſo good ſervice (ſaid he) you would be obedient to the lawes of the realme.

Obedience to Princes, how farre.

So I am, ſaid I. There is no man alive (I thank God) that can accuſe me juſtly that ever I was diſobedient to any civill lawes. But you muſt conſider my Lord, that I have a ſoul and a body, and my ſoule is none of the Quéenes, but my body and my goods are the Quéenes. And I muſt give God my ſoule, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I muſt doe the lawes and commandements of God; and whoſoever commandeth lawes contrary to Gods lawes, I may not doe them for loſing of my ſoule, but muſt rather obey God than man.

And he ſaid, Why doſt thou not theſe lawes then? are they not agréeable to Gods law?

And I ſaid, No, you cannot prove them to bée Gods lawes.

Yes, ſaith he, that I can.

Images.

Then ſaid I, if you can prove by the word of God that you ſhould have any graven Images made to ſet in your Churches for lay mens books, or to worſhip God by them, or that you ſhould have any Ceremonies in your Church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will doe them.

Then, ſaid he, it is a good and decent order to furniſh the Church: as when you ſhall goe to dinner, you have a cloath upon the Table to furniſh the Table before the meate ſhall come upon it; ſo are theſe Ceremonies a comely decent order to be in the Church among Chriſtian people.

Theſe, ſaid I, are inventions and imaginations out of your owne braine, without any word of God to prove them. For, God ſaith, Look what you thinke good in your owne eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe Ceremonies are againſt Gods Lawes. For, Saint Paul ſaith, they be weake and beggerly, and rebuketh the Galathians for doing them.

Well, ſaid he, if you will not doe them, ſéeing they be the Lawes of the Realme, you are an heretike and diſobedient: and therefore come home againe and confeſſe your faults with us, that you have béene in errour, &c. Will you doe ſo?

And I ſaid, No, I have béene in no errour: for the ſpirituall lawes were never trulier ſet forth

than

then in my Maſter King Edwards time, and I truſt unto God I ſhall never forſake them whiles I live.

Then came a Gentleman to me and ſaid, Are ye wiſer than all men? and have ye more knowledge than all men? will ye caſt away your ſoule willingly? My Lord and other men alſo, would faine you would ſave your ſelfe: therefore chooſe ſome man where you will, either ſpirituall or temporall, and take a day, my Lord will give it you.

Then ſaid I, if I ſave my life, I ſhall loſe it; and if I loſe my life for Chriſts ſake, I ſhall finde it in life everlaſting. And if I take a day, when the day commeth, I muſt ſay then even as I doe now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, ſaid the Biſhop.

Tho. Spurdance by whom he was apprehended.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queene Maries ſervants, and was taken by two of his fellowes, the ſaid Queens ſervants, named John Haman, otherwiſe called Barker, and George Loſon, both dwelling in Codnam in the County of Suffolke, who carried him to one M. Goſnall, dwelling in the ſaid Codnam, and by him he was ſent to Bury, where he remained in priſon, and afterwards burned in the moneth of November.

The ſtory and martyrdome of three conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt.

Novemb. 18. The ſtory and martyrdome of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibſon.

NOt long after the martyrdome of the two good women at Colcheſter, above named, were three faithfull witneſſes of the Lords Teſtament, tormented and put to death in Smithfield at London, the eighteenth of November, in the yeare aforeſaid, whoſe names hereafter follow:

Iohn Hallingdale.
William Sparrow.
Richard Gybſon.

Which three were produced before Boner B. of London, the fifth day of November, 1557. and had by him and his officers certaine articles miniſtred unto them: the ſumme whereof hereafter followeth.

Articles miniſtred by Boner unto Iohn Hallingdale.

Articles againſt John Hallingdale.

FIrſt, that the ſaid John Hallingdale is of the Dioceſſe of London, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

Secondly, that the ſaid John before the time of the reigne of K. Edward the ſixth, late King of England, was of the ſame faith and religion that was then obſerved, beleeved, taught, and ſet forth in the realme of England.

Thirdly, that during the Reigne of the ſaid King Edward the ſixth, the ſaid John Hallingdale, upon occaſion of the preaching of certaine Miniſters in that time, did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did and doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to doe (as he ſaith) till his lives end.

Fourthly, that the ſaid John Hallingdale hath thought, beleeved, and ſpoken divers times, that the faith, religion, and Eccleſiaſticall ſervice received, obſerved, and uſed now in this realme of England, is not good and laudable, but againſt Gods commandement and word, eſpecially concerning the Maſſe and the ſeven Sacraments; and that he the ſaid John will not in any wiſe conforme himſelf to the ſame, but ſpeak and thinke againſt it during his naturall life.

Fifthly, that the ſaid John abſenteth himſelfe continually from his own Pariſh Church of S. Leonards, neither hearing Mattins, Maſſe, nor Evenſong, nor yet confeſſing his ſinnes to the Prieſt, or receiving the ſacrament of the Altar at his hands, or uſing other Ceremonies as they are now uſed in this Church and realm of England; and as he remembreth, he never came but once in the Pariſh Church of S. Leonard, and careth not (as he ſaith) if he never come there any more, the ſervice being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, as he ſaith there are, eſpecially the Maſſe, the ſacraments, and the ceremonies and ſervice ſet forth in Latine.

Sixthly, that the ſaid John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought in bed of a man childe, cauſed the ſaid childe to be chriſtened in Engliſh, after the ſame manner and forme in all points, as it was uſed in the time of the Reigne of K. Edward the ſixth aforeſaid, and cauſed it to be called Ioſue, and would not have the ſaid childe chriſtened in latine after the forme and manner as it is now uſed in the Church and realme of England, nor will have it by his will (as he ſaith) to be confirmed by the Biſhop.

His anſwers to the articles

Unto all which articles the ſaid John Hallingdale made anſwer, confeſſing them all, and every part of them to be true, and ſaying, that he would not revoke his ſaid anſwers, but ſtand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

The reall preſence denied.

Furthermore, the ſaid John Hillingdale, being demanded by the ſaid Boner, whether he did firmly beleeve that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, or no; made anſwer, that he neither in the time of the ſaid K. Edward the ſixth, nor at that preſent did beleeve, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Chriſt. For he ſaid, that if he had ſo beleeved, he would (as others had done) have received the ſame, which he did not, becauſe he had and then did beleeve, that the very body of Chriſt is onely in heaven, and no where elſe. And furthermore the ſaid John Hallingdale ſaid, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for heretikes, were no heretikes at all, becauſe they did preach truly the Goſpell: upon whoſe preaching, he grounded his faith and conſcience, as he ſaid, according to the ſaying of S. John, in the 18. chapter of his Revelation, where he ſaith, That the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were ſlaine upon earth, was found in the Babylonicall Church, by the which, he ſaid, is underſtood the Church where the Pope is the head.

John Hallingdale againe brought before the Biſhop.

After which examination, the ſaid John was ſent unto priſon againe. And the next day, being the ſixth day of the ſaid moneth, hee was called before the Biſhop againe, who perſwading him with ſome wreſted ſentences of the Scripture, the ſaid John Hallingdale anſwered, Becauſe I will not (ſaith he) come to your Babylonicall Church, therefore (ſpeaking unto Boner) you go about to condemne me. And being of Boner further demanded, whether he would perſevere and ſtand in his opinions or no: he made anſwer, that he would continue and perſiſt in them unto the death. Then Boner read the bloody ſentence of condemnation. At which time the ſaid John affirmed openly, that (thanking GOD) he never came into the Church ſince the abomination came into it: and ſo he was ſent to priſon againe.

Sentence read againſt John Hallingdale by B. Boner.

Upon the ſame 6. day alſo, in the forenoone, was produced before the Biſhop the forenamed William Sparrow, and had layd unto him certaine articles, which hereafter follow.

Articles miniſtered by Boner unto William Sparrow.

Articles againſt Will. Sparrow.

FIrſt, that thou William Sparrow waſt in times paſt detected and preſented lawfully unto thy Ordinary the Biſhop of London, called Edmund, who alſo is now thine Ordinary of the ſayd Dioceſſe, and thou waſt preſented and detected unto him for hereſie, errors, and unlawfull opinions, which thou diddeſt beleeve, ſet forth, and hold.

2 Secondly, that thou before the ſayd Ordinary didſt openly and judicially confeſſe the ſaid hereſies, errors, and unlawfull opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the ſayd Ordinary.

3 Thirdly, that thou after the premiſſes, didſt make thy ſubmiſſion in writing, and dideſt exhibite and deliver the ſame as thy deede, to thy ſayd Ordinary; openly confeſſing and recogniſing thy hereſies, errours, unlawfull opinions, and thine offences and tranſgreſſions in that behalfe.

4 Fourthly, that thou after the premiſſes, diddeſt promiſe unto thy ſayd Ordinary voluntarily and of thine owne mind, that alwaies after the ſaid ſubmiſſion, thou wouldeſt in all points conforme thy ſelfe unto the common order of the Catholike Church obſerved and kept here in this realme of England, and in no wiſe fall againe to hereſies, errors, or unlawfull opinions.

5 Fifthly, that thou ſince thy ſayd ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly fallen into certaine hereſies and errours, and haſt holden and ſet forth diverſe unlawfull opinions, to the right great hurt of thine owne ſoule, and alſo to the great hinderance and loſſe of diverſe others, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, againſt Confeſſion auricular, with other the ſacraments of the Catholike Church.

6 Sixthly, that thou ſince the ſaid Commiſſion, haſt willingly gone about divers places within the Dioceſſe of London, and ſold diverſe hereticall, erroneous; and blaſphemous ballets about, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ſaid ballets about thee, and committed to priſon.

Vnto all which articles the ſaid William Sparrow anſwered in effect, as hereafter followeth.

His anſwers to the articles.

TO the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles he anſwered affirmatively, as thus: That he was preſented and detected to Boner, unto whom he made his ſubmiſſion, &c. as in the articles.

To the fifth article he anſwered, That if he had ſpoken againſt them he had ſpoken but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the contents of the ſayd article.

To the ſixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did ſell the ſayd ballets then ſhewed and read before him, and that the ſame did containe Gods word.

After which anſwers, the ſaid William Sparrow was ſent unto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoone, being produced before the Biſhop againe, and there charged with his ſaid ſubmiſſion, made the yeere before unto the Biſhop, hee anſwered thus; I am ſorry (ſaid he) that ever I made it, and it was the worſt deed that ever I did: adding farther unto them, Hold up your abomination ſo long as you can. Alſo being laid unto him, and charged by the Biſhop that he went to Church, and there was confeſſed and heard Maſſe: the ſaid William Sparrow made anſwer and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled conſcience he ſayd, God knoweth. And ſpeaking further to the Biſhop, he ſayd, That which you call truth, I doe beleeve (ſaid he) to be hereſie. And alſo the Biſhop charging him againe with the contents of the fifth article above named, he anſwered, that he had ſo done, as is contained in the ſame article, and ſo will doe againe if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of Boner, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame, or no: he made anſwer, that he would not go from his opinions: And adding thereunto, hee ſayd, That which you call hereſie (ſpeaking to the Biſhop) is good and godly, and if every haire of my head were a man (ſayd he) I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded what ground of learning hee had to cleave to his opinions: hee made anſwer and ſaid, That all the Lawes now uſed (meaning the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes) are naught and abominable. And further, thereunto he ſayd, That the Maſſe is naught and abominable. &c. Which words being ſpoken, the Biſhop immediately read the ſentence of condemnation upon him, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſent to priſon againe.

Sentence read againſt Will. Sparrow.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

WIth the other two above named, ſuffered alſo in the ſame fire Richard Gibſon, who firſt was caſt into the Counter in the Poultry (where he had beene priſoner by the ſpace of two yeares for ſuretiſhip in a matter of debt, and then ſtood upon his deliverance) then upon ſuſpicion and evill will was accuſed to Boner, for that in the priſon he was never confeſſed, nor received at the Popiſh Altar: by reaſon whereof hee was called for, and ſuſtained divers and ſundry conflicts and examinations in the cauſe of his faith and religion. But firſt he ſeemed to make a certaine ſubmiſſion which alſo hee exhibited with the other 28. above mentioned: but becauſe it ſeemed ſomething to differ in words from the other, it appeareth not to bee received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certaine. This is certaine, that although his ſubmiſſion was in the Biſhops Regiſter recorded, yet hee was not delivered out from impriſonment till the day of his burning. The Articles firſt objected and miniſtred unto him by the Biſhop, were theſe:

Articles objected and miniſtred to Richard Gibſon by Boner Biſhop of London.

Articles againſt Richard Gibſon.

FIrſt, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon, priſoner in the Counter in the Poultry in the Dioceſſe of London, hath otherwiſe than became a faithfull Chriſtian man and a good ſubject of this Realme of England, behaved himſelfe in words and deeds in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Chriſts Catholike Church, and contrary to the order of this realme, to the pernicious and evill example of the inhabitants of the City of London, and the priſoners of the priſon of the ſaid Counter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and dammage of his owne ſoule, offending eſpecially in the articles following: By reaſon whereof the ſaid Richard Gibſon was and is of the juriſdiction of the ſayd Biſhop of London, and ſubject to the ſayd juriſdiction, to make anſwer to his offences and tranſgreſſions under written, according to the order of the Law.

2 Secondly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath unreverently ſpoken againſt the Pope, and See and Church of Rome, and likewiſe againſt the whole Church of this realme of England, and againſt the ſeven ſacraments of the Catholike and whole Church of Chriſtendome, and againſt the articles of the Chriſtian faith here obſerved in this realme of England, and againſt the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholike Church.

3 Thirdly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and alſo all other heretikes here in this realme of England, according to the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes condemned for heretikes, and alſo liked all their hereticall and erroneous, damnable and wicked opinions, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, and the authority of the Pope and See of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

4 Fourthly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath comforted, ayded, aſſiſted and maintained both by words, and otherwiſe, heretikes and erroneous perſons, or at the leaſt ſuſpected and infamed of hereſies and errors condemned by the Catholike Church, to continue in their hereticall and erroneous opinions aforeſayd, favouring aud counſelling the ſame unto his power.

Q. Maries religion diſproved.

5 Fifthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed and ſaid, that the religion and faith commonly obſerved, kept, and uſed now here in this Realme of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any wiſe agreeable unto Gods word and commandement.

The Booke of Engliſh ſervice.

6 Sixthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed, that the Engliſh Service, and the Bookes, commonly called the Bookes of Communion, or Common Prayer, here ſet forth in this Realme of England in the time of King Edward the ſixth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the ſame onely, and no other, ought to bee obſerved and kept in this Realme of England.

7 Seventhly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed, that if hee may once be out of priſon and at liberty, he will not come to any Pariſh Church, or Eccleſiſticall place, to heare Mattins, Maſſe, Evenſong, or any divine ſervice now uſed in this Realme of England, nor come to Proceſſion upon times and daies accuſtomed, nor beare at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive at any time aſhes, nor beare at any time Palme, nor receive Pax at Maſſe time, nor receive holy water, nor holy bread, nor obſerve the ceremonies or uſages of the Catholike Church, here obſerved or kept commonly in this Realme of England.

Mattins, Maſſe, Evenſong refuſed

8 Eighthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed, that hee is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the preſence of a Prieſt convenient and meet, to confeſſe his ſinnes to the ſayd Prieſt, nor to receive the abſolution of his ſins at his hands, nor to receive of him the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the Altar, after ſuch forme as is now uſed within this Realme of England.

Auricular confeſſion.

9 Ninthly, that the ſaid Gibſon hath affirmed, that prayer unto Saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, availeable, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to faſt or pray, but onely at his owne will and pleaſure, and that it is not lawfull to reſerve or keep the ſayd ſacrament of the altar, nor in any wiſe to adore and worſhip it.

Popiſh faſt and prayer.

The greateſt matter which hee was charged withall, was, for not comming to Confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the ſacraments of the Popiſh making, and for that hee would not ſweare to anſwer unto their interrogatories layd againſt him.

Notwithſtanding, after theſe his firſt examinations he continued in the foreſayd priſon of the Counter a good ſpace, from the moneth of May unto November, at what time he was againe produced againſt the finall examination judiciary. Where is to be noted, that M. Gibſon being a very big and tall man, of a perſonable and heroicall ſtature, was ſent for of Boner by a little and ſhort perſon, a Promoter, like Robin Papiſt, called Robin Caley, if it were not he himſelfe.

Richard Gibſon a tall and big man.

This Robin Caley, having the conducting of the ſayd Gentleman from the Poultry, would needes hale him thorow Cheapſide, the Gentleman deſiring him to turne ſome other way. But the more the Gentleman intreated, the more fierce was the ſilly Jacke upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arme, would needs hale him thorow the high ſtreet, that all the world might ſee what he could doe in his office. M. Gibſon, deſirous to be led without holding, willed and intreated him to let his arme looſe, he would goe quietly of his owne accord with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without noting of the people.

The ſaucy and impotent miſer the Promoter hearing this, who was ſcarce able to reach to his ſhoulders: nay (ſaith he) thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy wayes. Thou ſhalt not chooſe but come; and ſo reaching at his arme, would needes drag him unto the Biſhop. The Gentleman content to goe, yet loth to bee notified in the ſtreets, gently requeſted againe and againe, that refraining his hold, hee would ſuffer him to goe of his owne free and voluntary will; hee ſhould not neede to feare him, for hee would not ſtart from him. To whom the Caitiffe, looking up to his face, Come on thy way (ſaith hee) I will hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Intolerable bragging of a vile promoter.

Maſter Gibſon ſeeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched miſer, and moved therewith not a little, could beare no longer, but ſayd, Wilt thou ſayd he ? and addeth moreover, bitterly looking downe towards him, that if hee did not incontinently plucke away his hand (and ſo ſtayed withall) hee would immediately wring his neck from his body. Whereupon Robin Papiſt the Promoter was faine to plucke away his hold, and ſo proceeded they unto the Biſhop there to be examined againe before him.

After this, another day being aſſigned him to appeare againe, much talke paſſed betweene him and Darbyſhire, then Chancellor. But in fine, being required to ſweare that hee ſhould anſwer unto all they would demand, hee denied to anſwer unto all things the Biſhop ſhould command him as Ordinary: for hee is not (ſaith he) mine Ordinary, and ſo bade him goe tell the Biſhop. Before the which Biſhop hee being then commanded to appeare the Friday next following, was brought unto the Juſtice Hall without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the foreſaid Biſhop and divers other Juſtices. At length, he was aſſigned the Saturday following, to be preſent in the Biſhops Conſiſtory Court, to heare his finall ſentence. At which day and place, the ſayd Examinate appearing as hee was commanded, the Biſhop after other matter of communication, aſked him if he knew any cauſe why

Another appearing of Rich. Gibſon.

Sentence read againſt Rich. Gibſon.

why the ſentence ſhould not be read againſt him. To whom the ſaid Maſter Gibſon anſwered, that the Biſhop had nothing wherefore juſtly to condemne him. The Biſhops reaſon was againe objected to him, that man ſaid hee was an evill man. To whom Gibſon replying againe; Yea, ſaith he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To bee ſhort, after this and ſuch other talke, the Biſhop haſted unto the ſentence. Which beeing read, Gibſon yet againe admoniſhed to remember himſelfe, and to ſave his ſoule, ſaid, That hee would not heare the Biſhops babling; and ſaid moreover, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary, and an enemy to them all in his minde and opinion, although he had afore time kept it ſecret in minde, for feare of the Law. And ſpeaking to the Biſhop, Bleſſed, ſaid he, am I, that am curſed at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: For as the Biſhop ſaith ſo muſt it be. And no hereſie it is to turne the truth of Gods word into lies, and that do you, meaning the Biſhop and his fellowes.

Thus this valiant ſoldier, fighting for the Goſpell, and ſincere doctrine of Chriſts truth and Religion, againſt Falſehood and Errour, was committed, with his Fellowes, to the Secular Power.

The martyrdome of John Hallingdale, W. Sparrow, Rich. Gibſon. Anno 1557. Novemb. 18.

And ſo theſe three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Maſter Gibſon, beeing thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were the xii day after their condemnation (which was the xviii day of the ſaid moneth of November) burnt in Smithfield in London. And being brought thither to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chaines, and wood ſet unto them, and after wood, fire, in the which being compaſſed about, and the fiery flames conſuming their fleſh, at the laſt they yeelded gloriouſly and joyfully their ſouls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and government I commend thee, good Reader. Amen.

It is a little above declared in this ſtory of Richard Gibſon, how Boner miniſtred unto the ſaid Gibſon certaine Articles, to the number of nine. Now let us ſee likewiſe the Articles which the ſaid Gibſon miniſtred againe to Boner, according to the ſame number of nine, for him to anſwer unto, as by the ſame hereunder written may appeare.

¶ Articles proponed by Richard Gibſon, unto Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, by him to be anſwered, by yea or nay, or elſe to ſay hee cannot tell.

Gibſons queſtions or demands put to B. Boner.

1 Whether the Scriptures of God, written by Moſes & other holy Prophets of God, through faith that is in Chriſt Jeſus, be available doctrine, to make all men in all things unto ſalvation learned, without the help of any other doctrine, or no.

2 What is authority, and from whence it commeth, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth.

3 Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth ſufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever he or they bee, their full true and lawfull duty in their office; and whether every man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternall damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wiſe to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the ſame.

4 Whether any man, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God and man onely except, by the holy ordinance of God ever was, is, or ſhall bee Lord over Faith, and by what lawful authority of any man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever hee or they be, may uſe Lordſhip or power over any man for Faiths ſake, or for the ſervice of his Conſcience.

5 By what lawfull authority or power any man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever he or they be, may be ſo bold as to alter or change the holy ordinances of God, or any of them, or any part of them.

6 By what evident tokens Antichriſt in his Miniſters may bee knowne; ſeeing it is written, that Sathan can change himſelfe into the ſimilitude of an Angell of light, and his Miniſters faſhion themſelves as though they were the Miniſters of righteouſnes; and how it may be knowne to him that is deſirous thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when hee is otherwiſe.

7 What the beaſt is, the which maketh warre with the Saints of God, and doth not onely kill them, but alſo will ſuffer none to buy nor ſell, but ſuch as worſhip his image, or receive his marke in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his name, or the number of his name, or doe worſhip his Image, which by the juſt and terrible ſentence of God already decreed, ſhall be periſhed in fire and brimſtone, before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb; and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night, but the ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend up for evermore. Alſo what the gorgeous and glittering Whore is, the which ſitteth upon the Beaſt, with a Cup of gold in her hand full of abominations, with whom the Kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the Inhabitants of the earth, and ſhe her ſelfe alſo is drunken with the bloud of the Saints, which is the wine of her Fornication; whoſe fleſh the hornes of the Beaſt ſhall teare in pieces, and burne her with fire. For God hath put in their hearts to doe his will.

8 Whether a King over all thoſe people which are borne and inhabit within his owne dominions, Regions, and Countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by Office ſoever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Chriſt, by the holy Ordinance of God, is lawfull, ſupreame, and chiefe Governor, or no. And whether a King over all thoſe people within his Dominions, Regions, and Countries, and every part of them, by holy Ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwiſe to doe, nor ſuffer otherwiſe to be done, than in his owne name, power, and authority (the name of God onely except) as lawfull, ſupreme, and chiefe head in all things that belongeth to rule, without exception, to governe and rule. And whether all thoſe people, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever they be, are bound by the holy Ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and ſervice in all things without exception (their duty to God onely excepted) to their King onely, as to the ſupreame and chiefe Governor upon earth immediately under Chriſt. And whether a King without offence againſt God and his people, may give away, and not himſelfe uſe that his authority and power given him of God; or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people (after knowledge thereof had) ſuffer himſelfe by fraud or guile, or by any other unlawfull meane, to be beguiled, defrauded, and ſpoyled thereof. And whether any ſubject, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever he or they be, without offence to God and to his king, to the miniſhing or derogating of the ſupreame prerogative royal of his king, or of any part thereof, may doe ought, or after knowledge thereof had,

Anno 1557.

He meaneth the Canon law.

without offence to God and to his King, may conceive the ſame.

9 Whether the holy written law of God bee given of God unto all men, of what dignitie, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever they bee, as well thereby to governe all their Dominions Regions, and Countries, and their people therein inhabiting, as themſelves: and whether any law or lawes (the holy law of God onely excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or Countrey whereas it or they be uſed, may be lawfully uſed before it or they bee, as the lawfull law or lawes of the ſame Dominion, Region, or Countrie, by publike and common order of the ſame Dominion, Region, or Countrie lawfully allowed: and whether any ſubject without offence againſt God and his King, within the dominion of his King, may lawfully uſe any ſuch law or lawes not ſo allowed.

Emanuel.

Pſal. 39. Aſcribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, aſcribe unto the Lord, worſhip and ſtrength: give unto the Lord the honor of his name, and bow your ſelves to the Majeſtie of the Lord.

Pſal. 84. I will hearken what the Lord God will ſay: for he ſhall ſpeake peace unto his people, that they turn not themſelves unto fooliſhneſſe. This 6. of April 1557.

By me Richard Gibſon.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Rough Miniſter, and Margaret Mearing, burned at London the xxii. of December.

Decemb. 22. John Rough Mar. Mearing Martyrs

IN this furious time of perſecution, were alſo burned theſe two conſtant and faithful Martyrs of Chriſt, John Rough a Miniſter, and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was borne in Scotland, who (as himſelfe confeſſeth in his anſwers to Boners articles) becauſe ſome of his kinſfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of xvii. yeares, in deſpight (and the rather to diſpleaſe his friends) profeſſe himſelfe into the order of the black Friars at Sterling in Scotland; where he remained the ſpace of 16. yeers, untill ſuch time as the Lord Hamulton, Earl of Arren, and Governour of the Realm of Scotland aforeſaid (caſting a favour unto him) did ſue unto the Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, to have him out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular Prieſt he might ſerve him for his Chaplain. At which requeſt the Archbiſhop cauſed the Provinciall of that houſe, having thereto authoritie, to diſpence with him for his habit and order.

A zealous occaſion of a frierly profeſſion.

This ſuit being thus by the Earl obtained, the ſaid Rough remained in his ſervice, one whole yeare: during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to give him ſome knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the ſaid Governor ſent to preach in the freedome of Ayre, where he continued foure yeares, and then after the death of the Cardinall of Scotland, hee was appointed to abide at Saint Andrewes, and there had aſſigned unto him a yearely penſion of twentie pound from King Henrie the eighth, King of England. Howbeit, at laſt weighing with himſelfe his owne danger, and alſo abhorring the Idolatrie and Superſtition of the Countrey, and hearing of the freedome of the Goſpel within this Realme of England, hee determined with himſelfe not to tarrie any longer there: And therfore, ſoone after the battell of Muſcleborough, he came firſt unto Carliel, and from thence unto the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protector of England, and by his aſſignement had appointed unto him out of the Kings Treaſurie twenty pounds of yearely ſtipend, and was ſent (as a Preacher) to ſerve at Carliel, Barwick, and Newcaſtle. From whence (after he had there, according to the lawes of God and alſo of this realme, taken a Countrey woman of his to wife) he was called by the Archbiſhop of Yorke that then was, unto a Benefice nigh in the towne of Hull, where he continued untill the death of that bleſſed and good King Edward the ſixth.

John Rough firſt called to the truth.

John Rough firſt comming to England in K. Edw. time.

But in the beginning of the reigne of Queene Marie (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling his owne weakneſſe) he fled with his wife into Frizeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of caps, hoſe, and ſuch like things, till about the end of the moneth of October laſt before his death. At which time, lacking yarne, and other ſuch neceſſary proviſion for the maintenance of his occupation, hee came over againe into England, here to provide for the ſame, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the ſecret ſocietie, and holy Congregation of Gods children there aſſembled, he joyned himſelfe unto them, and afterwards being elected their Miniſter and Preacher, did continue moſt vertuouſly exerciſed in that godly fellowſhip, teaching and confirming them in the truth and Goſpel of Chriſt. But in the end (ſuch was the providence of God, who diſpoſeth all things to the beſt) the twelfth day of December, he with Cutbert Symſon and others, through the craftie and trayterous ſuggeſtion of a falſe hypocrite and diſſembling brother, called Roger Sergeant a Taylor, were apprehended by the Vicechamberlaine of the Queenes houſe, at the Saracens head in Iſlington; where the Congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble themſelves to their godly and accuſtomable exerciſes of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the ſafegard of all the reſt, they yet at their examinations covered and excuſed, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to bee at that place. The Vicechamberlaine, after hee had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simſon unto the Councell, who charged them to have aſſembled together to celebrate the Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after ſundry examinations, they ſent the ſaid Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they ſent unto the Biſhop of London, with a letter ſigned with their hands: the copie whereof followeth.

John Rough with his wife flieth into Frizland.

John Rough joyneth himſelfe to the congregation at London.

John Rough apprehended, & by whom.

A letter ſent from the Queenes Councell unto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the examination of Iohn Rough, Miniſter.

A letter ſent from the Councell to B. Boner.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here incloſed the examination of a Scottiſh man named John Rough, who by the Queenes Majeſtie commandement is preſently ſent to Newgate, being of the chiefe of them that upon Sunday laſt, under the colour of comming to ſee a play at the Saracens head in Iſlington, had prepared a Communion to bee celebrated and received there among certaine other ſeditious and hereticall perſons. And foraſmuch as by the ſaid Roughs examination, containing the ſtory and progreſſe of his former life, it wel appeareth of what ſort he is; the Queens highneſſe hath willed us to remit him unto your Lordſhip, to ye end that being called before you out of priſon, as oft as your Lordſhip ſhall thinke good, ye may proceede, both to his further examination, and otherwiſe ordering of him according to the lawes, as the caſe ſhall require. And thus we bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From Saint Iames the 15. day of Decemb. 1557.

Your Lordſhips loving friends.

Nicholas Ebot.
F. Shrewsbury.
Edward Haſtings.
Anthony Mountague.
Iohn Bourne.
Henry Iernegam.

Boner, now minding to make quicke diſpatch, did within three dayes after the receit of the letter (the 18. day of December) ſend for this Rough out of Newgate, and in his Palace at London miniſtred unto him 12. articles: Many whereof becauſe they containe only queſtions of the profeſſion and religion of that age, wherein both hee and his Parents were chriſtened (which in ſundry places are already mentioned) I doe here for brevity omit; minding to touch ſuch only, as pertaine to matters of faith now in controverſie, and then chiefly objected againſt the Martyrs and Saints of God, which in effect are theſe.

Articles againſt Iohn Rough. Sacrament of the altar. Confeſſion.

FIrſt, that thou Iohn Rough diddeſt directly ſpeake againſt the 7. Sacraments, uſed commonly and reverently, as things of eſtimation and great worthineſſe in the Catholike Church: and alſo diddeſt reprove and condemne the ſubſtance of the ſaid Sacraments, but eſpecially the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in that ſame is not really and truly the very body and bloud of Chriſt: and that confeſſion to the Prieſt, and abſolution given by him (as the Miniſter of Chriſt) for ſins is not neceſſary or availeable in any wiſe.

Latine ſervice.

2 Item, thou haſt miſliked and reproved the religion and Eccleſiaſticall ſervice, as it is now uſed in this realme, and haſt allowed the religion and ſervice uſed in the later yeares of King Edward the ſixth, and ſo much as in thee hath lyen, haſt by word, writing, and deede, ſet forwards, taught, and preached the ſame openly, and in ſundry places affirmed, that the ſayd Engliſh ſervice and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to Gods word, and unto the truth, condemning utterly the Latine ſervice now uſed in the Queenes reigne, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.

3 Item, thou haſt in ſundry places within this Realme commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Tho. Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canturbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in the ſacrament there remaineth, after the words of conſecration, materiall bread, and materiall wine, without any tranſubſtantiation.

Books of communion.

4 Item, thou haſt in ſundry places of this realme, ſince the Queens reigne, miniſtred and received the Communion as it was uſed in the late dayes of K. Edward the 6. and thou knoweſt, or credibly haſt heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the ſaid Communion, and uſe the ſame in private houſes out of the Church and are of opinion againſt the Sacrament of the altar.

Againſt the ſupremacy of the Pope.

5 Item, that thou in ſundry places of this realme haſt ſpoken againſt the Pope of Rome, and his Apoſtolike See, and haſt plainly contemned and deſpiſed the authority of the ſame, miſliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly ſpeaking againſt it, and by thine example haſt induced other the ſubjects of this realme, to ſpeak and do the like.

6 Item, thou doſt know, and haſt beene converſant with all, or a great part of ſuch Engliſh men as have fled out of this realme for religion, and haſt conſented and agreed with them in their opinions, and haſt ſuccoured, maintained, and holpen them, and haſt beene a conveyer of their ſeditious letters, and bookes into this realme.

7 Item, that thou haſt ſayd, that thou haſt been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty dayes or more, and that thou haſt ſeene little good or none there, but very much evill. Amongſt the which thou ſaweſt one great abomination, that is to ſay, a man (or the Pope) that ſhould goe on the ground, to be carried upon the ſhoulders of foure men, as though he had beene God and no man: Alſo a Cardinall to have his harlot riding openly behinde him: And thirdly, a Popes Bull, that gave expreſſe licence to have and uſe the ſtewes, and to keep open bawdry by the Popes approbation and authority.

Abominable ſights at Rome.

8 Item, that thou, ſithence thy laſt comming into England out of the parts beyond the ſea, haſt perniciouſly allured, and comforted divers of the ſubjects of this realme, both young men, old men and women, to have and uſe the booke of Communion, ſet forth in this realme, in the later dayes of King Edward the ſixth, and haſt alſo thy ſelfe read and ſet forth the ſame, cauſing others to doe the like, and to leave their comming to their Pariſh Churches to heare the Latine ſervice now uſed.

9 Item, that thou on the third ſunday of Advent the 12. day of this December 1557. waſt apprehended at the Saracens head at Iſlington, in the County of Middleſex and Dioceſſe of London, by the Queenes Vicechamberlaine, with one Cutbert a Taylor, Hugh a Hoſier, and divers other there aſſembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the communion book, and to have uſed the accuſtomed faſhion, as was in the later dayes of King Edward the ſixth.

Cutbert Symſon. Hugh Foxe.

The Anſwer of Iohn Rough, to the foreſaid Articles.

His anſwers to the articles.

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed, that he had ſpoken againſt the number of the ſayd ſacraments, being fully perſwaded that there bee but only two ſacraments, to wit, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to bee ſacraments, and therefore hath ſpoken againſt them. And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar (which hee then called the Supper of the Lord) hee confeſſed that he had ſpoken and taught, that in the ſayd ſacrament there is not really and ſubſtantially the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that the ſubſtance of bread and wine doth remaine in the ſayd ſacrament, without any Tranſubſtantiation at all. Farther as touching Confeſſion of ſinnes to the Prieſt, he anſwered, that he thought it neceſſary, if the offence were done unto the Prieſt: but if the offence were done to another, then confeſſion made to the Prieſt is not neceſſary, but reconciliation onely to bee made to the party ſo offended.

2 To the ſecond he anſwered, that he then did and had before miſliked the order of Latine ſervice then uſed; and alſo did allow the ſervice uſed in the later time of King Edwards reigne, for that the holy Scripture doth the ſame, and therefore he granted that hee did teach and ſet forth the ſaid Engliſh ſervice, as in the ſame article is objected.

3 To the third, he granted that he had approved the doctrine of the parties articulat as agreeable

to Gods word, and that they were godly learned men, and ſuch as had perfect underſtanding in the contents of the ſame article.

4 To the fourth he anſwered, that hee did well like the Communion uſed in King Edwards dayes, but hee ſaid, that hee had not miniſtred or received the ſame here in England ſince the Queenes reigne, neyther yet knew any that had the bookes thereof. But on the other ſide, he knew many that had thoſe bookes, and that there alſo hee had received the Communion in ſundry places.

5 The contents of the fifth hee granted to bee true.

6 To the ſixth he confeſſed that he had been familiar with diverſe Engliſh men and women being in Frizeland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Maſter Scory, Thomas Young, Geor: Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred perſons, which fled thither for religion, uſing there the order ſet forth in the reigne of King Edward, and otherwiſe he denieth the contents of this Article.

7 The contents of the ſeventh he granted in every point to be true.

8 To the eighth hee anſwered and confeſſed, that ſithence his laſt comming into England (which was about the x. day of November) he had in ſundry places in the ſuburbs of London prayed and read ſuch prayers and ſervice, as is appointed in the Booke of the Communion, and willed others to doe the like, both men and women, which he did know by ſight, but not by name. Howbeit hee did never cauſe any to withdraw themſelves from the Latine ſervice, but he ſayd it were better to pray in a tongue that they did underſtand, than in an unknowne tongue.

9 To the ninth he confeſſed, at the time and place articulate he was preſent to heare and ſee a play, and there was apprehended by the Queenes Majeſties Vicechamberlaine, with one Cutbert a Taylor, and one Hugh a Hoſier, and divers other both men and women, whoſe names he knew not, and by him was brought before the Councell, who ſent him unto Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the Biſhop. And otherwiſe hee denieth the contents of this article.

Another appearance of Io Rough before the Biſhop.

Iohn Rough condemned and degraded by Boner.

Upon theſe anſwers he was diſmiſſed, and the next day being the xix. of December, he was againe brought before the ſaid Biſhop and others. Who, when they perceived his conſtantneſſe, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the Conſiſtory, there to adjudge, and condemne him as an heretike. Which purpoſe they accompliſhed. For the twentieth day at afternoone, in the preſence of the Biſhop of London, and S. Davids, with Fecknam Abbat of Weſtminſter and others, hee was there produced. Where after much and many faire perſwaſions, Boner read unto him the articles and anſwers, before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the orders of the Church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refuſed to conſent unto the Latine ſervice then uſed in the Church. Whereunto he then anſwered and ſayd, that their orders were nothing at all, and that hee being a Prieſt, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife were lawfull. And touching the ſervice then uſed, he utterly deteſted it, ſaying, that if he ſhould live as long as did Methuſalach, yet hee would never come to the Church to heare the abominable maſſe and other ſervice, being as it was then. Upon which words the Biſhop proceeded to the actuall degradation of the ſayd Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their Church, and after condemning him as an heretike, committed his body to the ſecular power, who taking him into their charge and cuſtody, carried him unto Newgate.

A note of M. Rough.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid M. Rough this is further to be noted, that he being in the North Country in the dayes of King Edward the ſixth, was the meane to ſave Doctor Watſons life (who in Queene Maries time was Biſhop of Lincolne) for a Sermon that he had made there. The ſayd Watſon after that, in the ſaid dayes of Queen Mary, being with Boner at the examination of the ſaid M. Rough, to requite the good turne in ſaving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretike, who did more hurt in the North parts, than an hundred beſides of his opinion. Unto whom M. Rough ſayd againe, Why Sir, is this the reward I have for ſaving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the dayes of King Edward the ſixth? This Maſter Rough ſayd, he had lived thirty yeares, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal; and being before Boner, among other talke, he affirmed that he had beene twice at Rome, and there had ſeene plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the Pope was the very Antichriſt: for there he ſaw him caried on mens ſhoulders, and the falſe named Sacrament borne before him. Yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Boner heard this, riſing up, and making as though he would have torne his garments, Haſt thou, ſayd he, beene at Rome, and ſeene our holy father the Pope, and doeſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort, and with that flying upon him, he plucked off a peece of his beard, and after making ſpeedy haſte to his death, he burnt him halfe an houre before ſixe of the clock in the morning, becauſe the day (belike) ſhould not be far ſpent, before he had done a miſchievous deed.

B. Boner plucked off halfe the beard of Io. Rough.

Another note concerning Iohn Rough

Furthermore, note that this Maſter Rough being at the burning of Auſtoo in Smithfield, and returning homeward againe, met with one M. Farrar, a Merchant of Hallifax, who aſked him, where he had beene. Unto whom he anſwered; I have beene (ſaith hee) where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had beene. Where have you beene, ſayd Maſter Farrar? Forſooth (ſaith he) to learne the way. And ſo he told him he had beene at the burning of Auſtoo, where ſhortly after he was burned himſelfe.

A letter written by Iohn Rough, unto certaine of his godly friends, confirming and ſtrengthning them in the truth, which he had before taught.

A letter of Io. Rough.

THe comfort of the holy Ghoſt make you able to give conſolation to others, in theſe dangerous dayes, when Satan is let looſe, but to the triall only of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his wheat from the chaffe. I have not leaſure and time to write the great temptations I have beene under. I ſpeake to Gods glory; my care was to have the ſenſes of my ſoule open, to perceive the voice of God, ſaying, whoſoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my father and his Angels. And to ſave the life corporall, is to loſe the life eternall. And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall not reign with him. Therefore moſt tender ones, I have by Gods ſpirit given over the fleſh, with the fight of my ſoule, and the ſpirit hath the victory. The fleſh ſhall now ere it be long, leave off to ſin, the ſpirit ſhall reign eternally. I have choſen the death, to confirme the truth by me taught. What can I doe more? Conſider

with

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with your ſelves, that I have done it for the confirmation of Gods truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greateſt part of the aſſault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I have in all my aſſaults felt the preſent ayde of my God, I give him moſt hearty thankes therefore. Looke not backe, nor be ye aſhamed of Chriſts Goſpel, nor of the bonds I have ſuffered for the ſame, thereby ye may be aſſured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have beene ſealed with the ſame marke. It is no time for the loſſe of one man in the battell, for the camp to turne backe. Up with mens hearts; blow downe the dawbed walls of hereſie. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I meane, not to make corporall reſiſtance, but pray, and yee ſhall have Elias defence, and Elizeus company to fight for you. The cauſe is the Lords. Now my brethren I can write no more, time will not ſuffer, and my heart with pangs of death is aſſaulted: but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and ſalute one another with the holy kiſſe. The peace of God reſt with you all. Amen. From Newgate priſon in haſte, the day of my condemnation.

John Rough.

Another letter of Iohn Rough written unto the Congregation two dayes before hee ſuffered.

THe ſpirit of all conſolation be with you, and you, and make you ſtrong to run to the fight that is layd before you, wherewithall God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthie of himſelfe, by coupling to their head Ieſus Chriſt: in whom, whoſo deſireth to live godly, the ſame muſt needes ſuffer perſecution. For it is given unto them, not onely to beleeve, but alſo to ſuffer. And the Servant or Schollar cannot bee greater than his Lord or Maſter: but by the ſame way the head is entered, the members muſt follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the bodie: likewiſe we have no life, but in Chriſt: for by him we live, move, and have our being. My deare ſonne, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortalitie with immortalitie, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corne caſt into the ground, which except it die firſt, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage: for thereby the body ceaſeth from ſinne, and after turneth into the firſt Originall; but after ſhall bee changed, and made brighter than the Sunne or Moone. What ſhall I write of this corporall death, ſeeing it is decreed of God, that all men ſhall once die? Happie are they that die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Chriſt, profeſſing and confeſſing the ſame before many witneſſes. I praiſe my God I have paſſed the ſame journey by many temptations, the divell is verie buſie to perſwade, the world to entice with promiſes and faire words: which I omit to write, leſt ſome might think I did hunt after vaine glorie, which is fartheſt from my heart. Laſtly the danger of ſome falſe brethren, who before the Biſhop of London purpoſed to confeſſe an untruth to my face; yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts: where they thought to ſpeake to my accuſation, he made them ſpeake to my purgation. What a journey (by Gods power) I have made, theſe eight daies before this day, it is above fleſh and bloud to beare: but as Paul ſaith, I may doe all things in him which worketh in me, Ieſus Chriſt. My courſe, brethren, have I runne, have I fought a good fight, the crowne of righteouſneſſe is layd up for me, my day to receive it is not long to. Pray brethren, for the enemy doth yet aſſault. Stand conſtant unto the end, then ſhall you poſſeſſe your ſoules. Walke worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of the Croſſe, by me preached, nor yet of my ſuffering: for with my blood I affirme the ſame. I goe before, I ſuffer firſt the baiting of the Butchers dogs; yet I have not done what I ſhould have done: but my weakneſſe, I doubt not, is ſupplyed in the ſtrength of Ieſus Chriſt; and your wiſdomes and learning will accept that ſmall talent, which I have diſtributed unto you (as I truſt) as a faithfull Steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burſteth for the love of you. Yee are not without your great Paſtor of your ſoule, who ſo loveth you, that if men were not to bee ſought out (as God be praiſed, there is no want of men) he would cauſe ſtones to miniſter unto you. Caſt your care on that rocke, the winde of temptation ſhall not prevaile: faſt and pray, for the daies are evill. Looke up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedneſſe hath deſerved that I ſhall not ſee it.) And alſo that which is behinde of the blood of our brethren, which ſhall alſo be laid under the Altar, ſhall cry for your reliefe. Time will not now ſuffer me to write longer letters. The ſpirit of God guide you in and out, riſing and ſitting, cover you with the ſhadow of his wings, defend you againſt the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the Port of eternall felicity, where all teares ſhall be wiped from your eyes, and you ſhall alwaies abide with the Lambe.

John Rough.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

The ſtory and examination of Mar. Mearing Martyr.

IT is declared, that in the company of Iohn Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the Regiſter maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the ſaid Rough forth to examination: where the Biſhop having no private matters to charge her withall, did the eighteenth day of December object againſt her thoſe common and accuſtomable Articles mentioned before. To which ſhe anſwered as followeth.

Her anſwers to the articles.

FIrſt, that there is here in earth a Catholike Church, and that there is the true faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame Church.

2 Item, that there were only two ſacraments in the Church, namely the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of Baptiſme.

3 Item, that ſhe was baptiſed in the faith, and beliefe of the ſaid Church, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the devill and all his workes, &c.

4 Item, that when ſhe came to the age of fourteene yeeres, ſhee did not know what her true beliefe was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5 Item, that ſhe had not gone from the Catholike faith at any time: but ſhe ſaid that the Maſſe was abominable before the ſight of God, and before the ſight of all true Chriſtian people, and that it is the plaine cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid, ſhee beleeved there was no ſuch ſacrament in the Catholike Church.

Anno 1558.

Alſo ſhe ſaid, that ſhe utterly abhorred the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, with all the religion obſerved in the ſame Antichriſts Church.

6 Item, ſhe anſwered to the ſixth article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7 Item, that ſhée hath refuſed to come to her Pariſh Church, becauſe the true religion of Chriſt was not then uſed in the ſame: and further ſaid, that ſhe had not come unto the church by the ſpace of one yeare, and thrée quarters, then laſt paſt, neither yet did meane any more to come unto the ſame in theſe idolatrous daies.

Margaret Mearing apprehended by Cluney.

8 Item, as touching the manner of her apprehenſion, ſhe ſaid, that Cluney the Biſhops Sumner, did fetch her to the Biſhop.

Sentence againſt Margeret Mearing.

Theſe anſwers being then regiſtred, they were again (with the ſaid articles) propounded againſt her the twentieth day of December, and there being demanded if ſhée would ſtand unto thoſe her anſwers, ſhée ſaid; I will ſtand to them unto the death; for the verie Angels of heaven doe laugh you to ſcorne, to ſée your abomination that you uſe in the Church. After the which words, the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt her; and then delivering her unto the Sheriffes, ſhée was with the forenamed John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the xxii. day of the ſame moneth of December, and there moſt joyfully gave their lives for the profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.

The martyrdome of John Rough, and Margaret Mearing in Smithfield Anno 1557. December.

A note of Margaret Mearing.

When the later end of this hiſtorie of Maſter Rough, and Margaret Mearing was in finiſhing, there came to our hands one neceſſarie thing of the ſaid Margaret Mearing, which wee thought not good to omit. The matter is this. Maſter Rough being chiefe Paſtor to the Congregation in the ſaid time of Quéene Marie, as before you have heard (of which companie this Margaret Mearing was one) did not well like the ſaid Margaret, but greatly ſuſpected her, as many other of them did beſides, becauſe ſhée would oftentimes bring in ſtrangers among them, and in her talke ſéemed (as they thought) ſomewhat too buſie, &c. Now, what they ſaw or underſtood further in her, we know not, but this followed the evill ſuſpicion conceived of her. Maſter Rough, the Friday before he was taken, in the open face of the Congregation, did excommunicate her out of the ſame companie: and ſo ſéemed with the reſt to exclude and cut her off from their fellowſhip and ſocietie. Whereat ſhée being moved, did not well take it, nor in good part, but thought her ſelfe not indifferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her friends in a heat, ſhée threatned to remove them all. But the providence of God was otherwiſe. For the Sunday after, Maſter Rough being taken by the information of one Roger, Sergeant to the Biſhop of London (as hereafter thou ſhalt heare) was laid priſoner in the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, where none of his friends could come to viſit him. Then this ſaid Margaret, hearing thereof, got her a Baſket, and a cleane ſhirt in it, and went to Weſtminſter, where ſhée, faining her ſelfe to bée his ſiſter, got into the Priſon to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Margaret Mearing relieveth M. Rough in priſon.

Then comming abroad againe, ſhee underſtanding that the Congregation ſuſpected the ſaid Sergeant to bee his Promoter, went to his houſe, and aſked whether Judas dwelt not there. Unto whom anſwer was made, there dwelt no ſuch. No, ſaid ſhee? Dwelleth not Judas here that betrayed Chriſt? His name is Sergeant. When ſhee ſaw ſhee could not ſpeake with him, ſhe went her way. So the Friday after, ſhe ſtanding at Marke lane end in London, with another woman, a friend of hers, ſaw Cluney Boners Sumner, comming in the Street towards her houſe. Whom when ſhée ſaw, ſhee ſaid to the other woman ſtanding with her, Whither goeth yonder fine fellow, ſaid ſhe? I thinke ſurely hee goeth to my houſe; and in viewing him ſtill, at the laſt ſhe ſaw him enter in at her doore. So immediately ſhe went home, and aſked him whom he ſought. Whereunto Cluney made anſwer and ſaid, for you; you muſt goe with me. Marie (quoth ſhe) here I am; I will goe with you: and comming to the Biſhop, ſhee was laid in priſon, and the wedneſday after burnt with M. Rough in Smithfield, as ye have heard.

The taking of Marg. Mearing, Martyr.

Anno 1558.

The ſuffering and cruell torments of Cutbert Symſon, Deacon of the Chriſtian Congregation in London, in Q. Maries dayes, moſt patiently abiding the cruell rage of the Papiſts for Chriſts ſake.

Anno 1558. The ſtory and cruell handling of Cutbert Symſon deacon and martyr.

NExt after the martyrdome of Maſter Rough Miniſter of the Congregation above mentioned, ſucceeded in like martyrdome the Deacon alſo of that ſaid godly company or congregation in London, named Cutbert Symſon, being committed to the fire, the yeare of our Lord, 1558. the 28. day of March.

This Cutbert Symſon was a man of a faithfull and zealous heart to Chriſt and his true flock, inſomuch that he never ceaſed labouring, and ſtudying moſt earneſtly, not onely how to preſerve them without corruption of the Popiſh religion, but alſo his care was very vigilant, how to keepe them together without perill or danger of perſecution. The paines, travell, zeale, patience, and fidelitie of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not lightly to be expreſſed; ſo is it wonderfull to behold the providence of the Lord by viſion, concerning the troubles of this faithfull Miniſter and godly Deacon, as in this here following may appeare.

The viſions ſent to Gods Saints concerning their afflictions.

The Friday at night before Maſter Rough Miniſter of the Congregation (of whom mention is made before) was taken, being in his bed he dreamed, that hee ſaw two of the Guard leading Cutbert Symſon deacon of the ſaid Congregation, and that he had the booke about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the Congregation. Whereupon being ſore troubled, hee awaked, and called his wife; ſaying, Kate ſtrike light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When ſhe had ſo done, he gave himſelfe to reade in his booke a while, and there féeling ſléep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and ſo gave himſelfe againe to reſt. Being aſleepe, he dreamed the like dreame againe; and, awaked therewith, he ſaid, Oh Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle againe, and roſe. And as the ſaid Maſter Rough was making him readie to goe to Cutbert to ſee how hee did, in the meane time the ſaid Cutbert came in with the booke, containing the names and accounts of the Congregation. Whom when Maſter Rough had ſeene, he ſaid, Brother Cutbert, ye are welcome: for I have beene ſore troubled with you this night, & ſo told him his dreame. After he had ſo done, he willed him to lay the booke away from him, & to carrie it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert anſwered, hee would not ſo doe: for dreames, he ſaid, were but phantaſies, and not to be credited. Then Maſter Rough ſtraitly charged him in the name of the Lord to doe it. Whereupon the ſaid Cutbert tooke ſuch notes out of the booke, as he had willed him to doe, and immediatly left the booke with Maſter Roughes wife.

The next day following, in the night, the ſaid Maſter Rough had another dreame in his ſleepe concerning his owne trouble. The matter whereof was this. He thought in his dreame that hee was carried himſelfe forcibly to the Biſhop, and that the Biſhop pluckt off his beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaying theſe words; Now I may ſay I have had a peece of an heretike burned in my houſe, and ſo accordingly it came to paſſe.

Now to returne to Cutbert againe; as wee have touched ſomething concerning theſe viſions, ſo now remaineth to ſtory alſo of his paines and ſufferings upon the racke, and otherwiſe, like a good Laurence for the Congregations ſake, as he wrote it with his owne hand.

¶ A true report how I was uſed in the Tower of London, being ſent thither by the Councell, the thirteenth day of December.

A letter of Cutbert Simſon to certaine of his friends.

ON the Thurſday after, I was called into the Warehouſe, before the Conſtable of the Tower and the Recorder of London Maſter Cholmley; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the Engliſh Service. I anſwered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was ſet in a rack of Iron, the ſpace of three hours as I judged.

Then they aſked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I looſed, and carried to my lodging againe. On the Sunday after I was brought into the ſame place againe before the Lieutenant and the Recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had ſaid, I anſwered. Then the Lieutenant did ſweare by God I ſhould tell. Then did they binde my two forefingers together, and put a ſmall arrow betwixt them, and drew it through ſo faſt that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

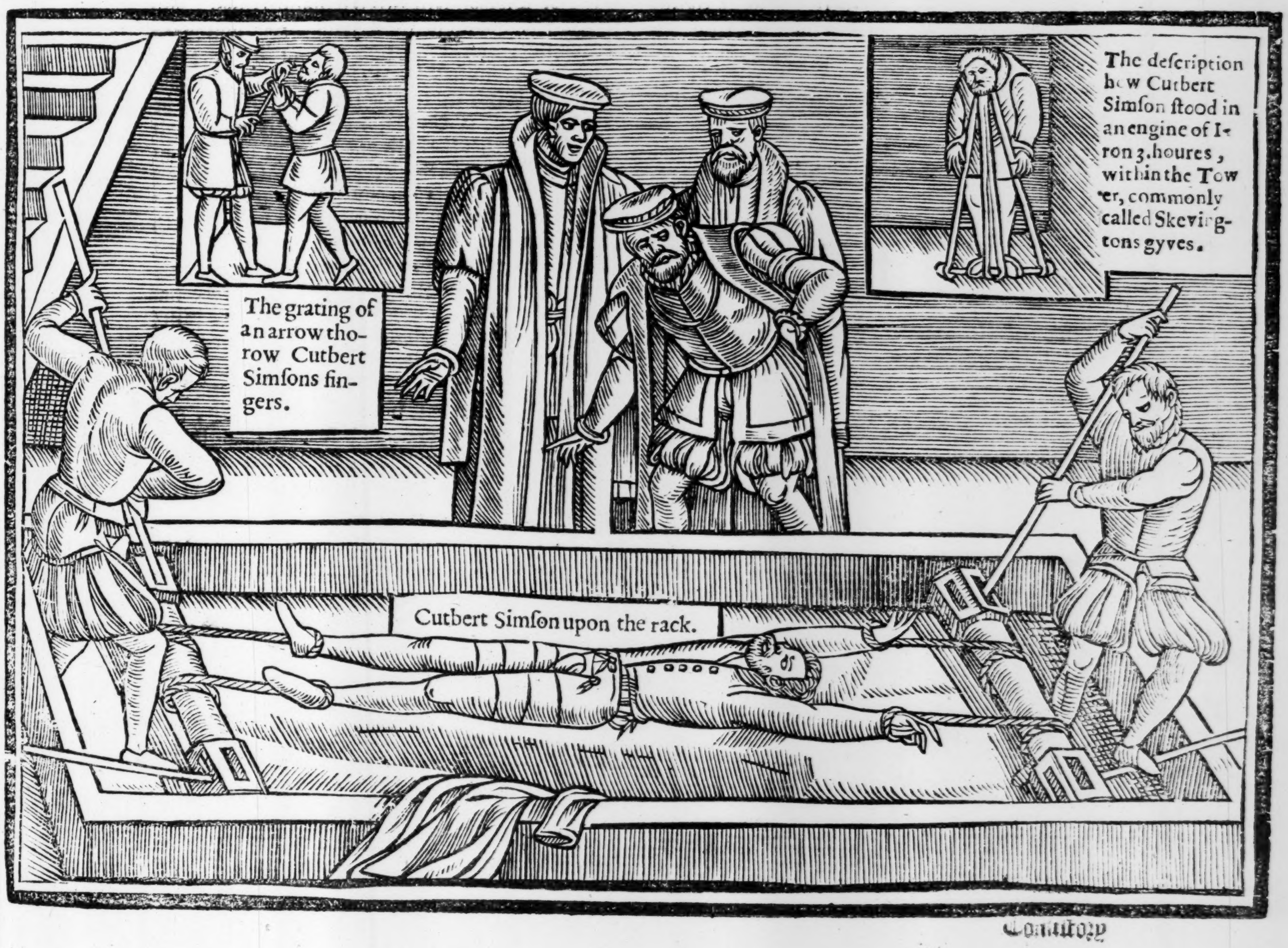
Then they racked me twice. Then was I caried to my lodging again, and ten dayes after the Lieutenant aſked me if I would not confeſſe that which before they had aſked me. I ſaid, I had ſaid as much as I would. Then five weekes after he ſent me unto the high Prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hand I received the Popes curſe, for bearing witneſſe of the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the Word of his grace, with all them that unfainedly call upon the name of Jeſus, deſiring God of his endleſſe mercy, through the merits of his deare Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, to bring us all to his everlaſting Kingdome, Amen. I praiſe God for his great mercy ſhewed upon us. Sing Oſanna unto the Higheſt with me Cutbert Symſon. God forgive me my ſins. I aſke all the world forgiveneſſe, and I doe forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyfull reſurrection.

¶ A note of Cutbert Symſons patience.

A note of Cutbert Simſon.

NOw as touching this Cutbert Symſon, this further is to be noted, that Boner in his

A true deſcription of the racking and cruell handling of CUTBERT SYMSON in the Tower.


The grating of an arrow thorow Cutbert Simſons fingers.
The deſcription how Cutbert Simſon ſtood in an engine of Iron 3. houres, within the Tower, commonly called Skevingtons gyves.
Cutbert Simſon upon the rack.

Conſiſtory ſpeaking of Cutbert Simſon, gave this teſtimony of him there to the people, ſaying, Ye ſee this man, ſaith he, what a perſonable man he is; and after he had thus commended his perſon, added moreover: And furthermore concerning his patience, I ſay unto you, that if hee were not an heretike, he is a man of the greateſt patience that yet ever came before me. For I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Alſo in my houſe he hath felt ſome ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience broken, &c.

The patience of Cutbert Simſon.

It is thought and ſaid of ſome, that that arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tyed together, was not in the Tower, but in the Biſhops houſe.

A viſion of Cutbert Simſon.

The day before the bleſſed Deacon and Martyr of God, Cutbert Simſon, after his painfull racking, ſhould goe to his condemnation before Boner, to be burned, being in the Biſhops Colehouſe there in the ſtockes, he had a certaine viſion or apparition very ſtrange, which he himſelfe with his owne mouth declared to the godly learned man Maſter Auſten, to his owne wife, and Thomas Simſon, and to others beſides, in the priſon of Newgate a little before his death. The relation whereof I ſtand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, conſidering with my ſelfe the great diverſity of mens judgements in the reading of Hiſtories, and variety of affections. Some I ſee will not beleeve it, ſome will deride the ſame, ſome alſo will be offended with ſetting forth things of that ſort incertaine, eſteeming all things to be incertaine and incredible, whatſoever is ſtrange from the common order of nature.

Others will be perchance agrieved, thinking with themſelves; or elſe thus reaſoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forſomuch as the common errour of beleeving raſh miracles, phantaſies, viſions, dreames, and apparitions thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the ſame to be unſetforth.

These and ſuch like will be, I know, the ſayings of many. Whereunto briefly I anſwer, granting firſt, and admitting with the words of Baſill, ὀ πᾶν ὄναρ ἐςὶ προφητεία, That is, not every dreame is ſtraightway a prophecy. Againe, neither am I ignorant that the Papiſts in their Bookes and Legends of Saints have their prodigious viſions, and apparitions of Angels, of our Lady, of Chriſt, and other Saints: which as I will not admit to be beleeved for true; ſo will they aſk me again why ſhould I then more require theſe to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

First, I write not this, binding any man preciſely to beleeve the ſame, ſo as they doe theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of perſons knowne, naming alſo the parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgement thereof notwithſtanding free unto the arbitrement of the Reader. Albeit, it is no good argument, proceeding from the ſingular or particular, to the univerſall, to ſay that viſions be not true in ſome: Ergo, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe, or object again, why ſhould ſuch viſions be given to him, or a few other ſingular perſons, more than to all the reſt, ſeeing the other were in the ſame cauſe and quarrell, and dyed alſo Martyrs as well as he? To this, I ſay, concerning the Lords times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may worke where and when it pleaſeth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the other with ſingular conſolation to reſpect him, who chiefly aboue the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſt exquiſite torments for his ſake? What great marvell herein? But, as I ſaid, of the Lords ſecret times I have not to reaſon. This only which hath out of the mans owne mouth been received, ſo as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for him to judge thereof as God ſhall rule his minde. The matter is this.

What credit is to be given to viſions, and how far.

The day before this Simſon was condemned, he being in the ſtockes, Cluney his Keeper commeth in with the keyes about nine of the clocke at night (after his uſuall manner) to view his priſon, and ſee whether all were preſent, who when he eſpyed the ſaid Cutbert to be there, departed againe, locking the doores after him. Within two houres after, about eleven of the clock toward midnight, the ſaid Cutbert (whether being in a ſlumber, or being awake I cannot ſay) heard one comming in, firſt opening the outward doore, then the ſecond, after the third doore, and ſo looking in to the ſaid Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could ſee, but giving a brightneſſe, and light moſt comfortable and joyfull to his heart, ſaying, Ha, unto him, and departed againe. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he ſaw, he himſelfe declared foure or five times to the ſaid M. Auſten, and to other. At the ſight whereof he received ſuch joyfull comfort, that he alſo expreſſed no little ſolace in telling and declaring the ſame.

Articles ſeverally miniſtred to Cutbert Simſon the nineteenth day of March, with his anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed.

Articles ſeverally miniſtred to Cutbert Simſon.

FIrſt, that thou Cutbert Simſon art at this preſent abiding within the City and Dioceſſe of London, and not out of the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Rome.

Item, that thou within the City and Dioceſſe of London haſt uttered many times, and ſpoken deliberately theſe words and ſentences following, videlicet, that though thy parents, anceſtors, kinsfolkes, and friends, yea, and alſo thy ſelfe, before the time of the late ſchiſme here in this Realme of England, have thought, and thoughteſt, that the faith and religion obſerved in times paſt here in this Realme of England, was a true faith and religion of Chriſt, in all points and articles, though in the Church it was ſet forth in the Latine tongue, and not in Engliſh, yet thou beleeveſt and ſayeſt, that the faith and religion, now uſed commonly in the Realme, not in the Engliſh, but in the Latine tongue, is not the true faith and religion of Chriſt, but contrary and expreſly againſt it.

Ceremonies.

Item, that thou within the ſaid City and Dioceſſe of London haſt willingly, wittingly, and contemptuouſly done, and ſpoken againſt the rites and the ceremonies, commonly uſed here through the whole Realme, and obſerved generally in the Church of England.

7. Sacraments.

Item, that thou haſt thought and beleeved certainly, and ſo within the Dioceſſe of London haſt affirmed and ſpoken deliberately, that there be not in the Catholique Church ſeven ſacraments, nor of that vertue and efficacy as is commonly beleeved in the Church of England them to be.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that thou haſt likewiſe thought and beleeved, yea, and ſo within the City and Dioceſſe of London ſpoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not really, ſubſtantially, and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, that thou haſt been, and to thy power

act

art at this preſent a fauourer of all thoſe, that eyther haue béen here in this Realme, heretofore called heretikes, or elſe conuented, and condemned by the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges for heretikes.

Vſing of Engliſh Seruice.

Item, that thou, contrary to the order of this Realme of England, and contrary to the uſage of the holy Church of this Realme of England, haſt at ſundry times and places within the City and Dioceſſe of London, béen at aſſemblies and conuenticles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to heare the Engliſh Seruice ſaid, which was ſet forth in the later yéeres of King Edward the ſixth, and alſo to heare, and haue the Communion booke read, and the Communion miniſtred, both to the ſayd multitude, and alſo to thy ſelfe; and thou haſt thought, and ſo thinkeſt, and haſt ſpoken that the ſayd Engliſh Seruice and Communion booke, and all things contained in eyther of them was good and laudable, and for ſuch thou diddeſt and doeſt allow, and approue eyther of them at this preſent.

The anſwer of the ſayd Cutbert to the foreſayd Articles.

His anſwer to the articles.

VNto all which Articles, the ſayd Cutbert Symſon anſwered thus, or the like in effect.

To the 1.2.3.4.5. and 6. Article, he confeſſed them to be true in euery part thereof.

To the 7. Article he ſayd, that he was not bound to anſwer unto it, as he beléeueth.

A letter of Cutbert Symſon, written to his wife out of the Colehouſe.

A letter of Cutbert Symſon to his wife.

DEarely beloued in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, I cannot write as I doe wiſh unto you.

I beſéech you with my ſoule, commit your ſelfe under the mighty hand of our God, truſting in his mercy, and he will ſurely helpe us, as ſhall be moſt unto his glory, and our euerlaſting comfort, being ſure of this, that he will ſuffer nothing to come unto us, but that which ſhall be moſt profitable for us.

For it is eyther a correction for our ſinnes, or a tryall of our faith, or to ſet forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore muſt néedes bée well done. For there is nothing that commeth unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heauenly Fathers prouidence. And therefore pray unto our heauenly Father, that he will euer giue us his grace to conſider it. Let us giue him moſt hearty thankes for theſe his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loueth, he correcteth. And I beſéech you now bée of good cheare, and count the Croſſe of Chriſt greater riches, than all the vaine pleaſures of England. I doe not doubt (I praiſe God for it) but that you haue ſupped with Chriſt at his Maunday, I meane, beléeue in him: for that is the effect, and then muſt you drinke of his cup, I meane his croſſe (for that doth the cup ſignifie unto us.) Take the cup with a good ſtomack, in the name of God, and then ſhall you be ſure to haue the good wine, Chriſts bloud, to thy poore thirſty ſoule. And when you haue the wine, you muſt drinke it out of this cup. Learne this when you come to the Lords Supper. Pray continually. In all things giue thankes.

In the name of Ieſus ſhall every knee bow, Cutbert Symſon.

{ Hugh Foxe. / Iohn Deveniſh. }

Hugh Foxe Io. Deueniſh, Martyrs.

WIth Cutbert likewiſe was apprehended and alſo ſuffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deueniſh. Who being brought unto their examinations with the ſayd Cutbert, before Boner Biſhop of London, the ninetéenth day of March, had Articles and Interrogatories to them miniſtered by the ſaid Officer, albeit not all at one time. For firſt to the ſayd Cutbert ſeuerall Articles were propounded, then other Articles in generall were miniſtred to them altogether. The order and manner of which Articles, now ioyntly to them miniſtred here follow, with their anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed to be ſéene.

Articles generally miniſtred to them all three together the ſaid 19 day of March, with their anſwers to the ſame annexed.

Generall A ticles obje to them al three toget

AFter theſe Articles thus miniſtred and layd to Cutbert Symſon, with his anſwers likewiſe unto the ſame, the Biſhop calling them all together, objected to them other poſitions and Articles, the ſame which before are mentioned in the ſtory of Bartlet Gréene, only the eighth Article out of the ſame omitted and excepted: which Articles, becauſe they are expreſſed in the place aboue mentioned, we néede not here make any new report thereof, but onely referre the Reader to the place aſſigned.

The anſwers generall of Cutbert Symſon, Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deveniſh, to the Articles by the Biſhop to them generally propoſed.

Their anſwers generall to the articles.

TO the firſt Article they all anſwered affirmatiuely; but Iohn Deueniſh added, that that Church is grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone, and how in that Church there is the true faith and religion of Chriſt.

To the ſecond Article they all confeſſed and beléeued, that in Chriſts catholike Church there are but two ſacraments, that is to wit, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord; otherwiſe they doe not beléeue the contents of this Article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatiuely.

To the fourth Article they all anſwered affirmatiuely.

To the fifth Article they all anſwered affirmatiuely, that they doe beléeue, and haue, and will ſpeake againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the Altar, and likewiſe againſt the authority of the Sée of Rome, and are nothing ſorry for the ſame, but will doe it ſtill while they liue.

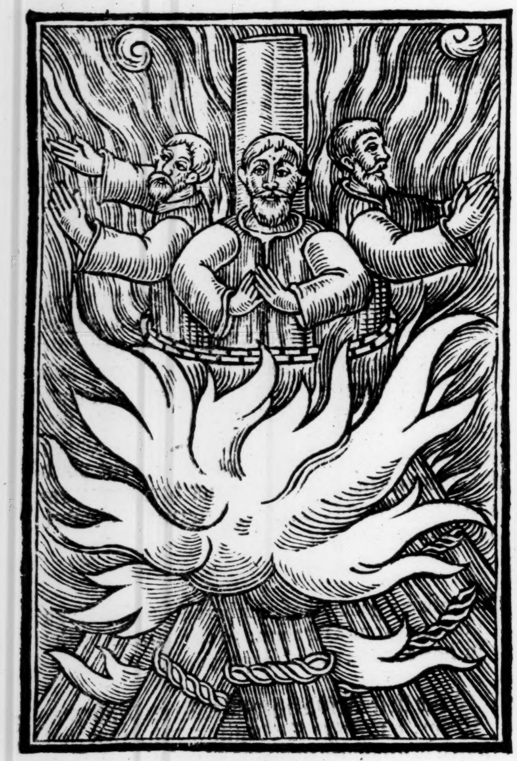
To the ſixth Article they all anſwered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the Sée of Rome to be lawfull and good, eyther yet his religion.

To the ſeuenth Article they all anſwered affirmatiuely, that they haue, and will doe ſtill while they liue; and Iohn Deueniſh adding thereto, ſaid that the ſacrament of the Altar, as it is now uſed, is no ſacrament at all.

To the eighth Article they all confeſſed, and beléeued all things, aboue by them acknowledged and declared, to be true, and that they be of the Dioceſſe of London, and juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe thrée aboue named perſons, and bleſſed witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt, Cutbert, Foxe, and Deueniſh, as they were all together apprehended at Iſlington, as is aboue declared, ſo the ſame all thrée together ſuffered in Smithfield about the 28. day of March: in whoſe perfect conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe cauſe and quarrell they ſuffered) giver of all grace, and governour of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

Three godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield, Anno 1558. March 28.



¶ The ſuffering and martyrdome of William Nichol, put to death by the wicked hands of the Papiſts at Hereford Weſt in Wales.

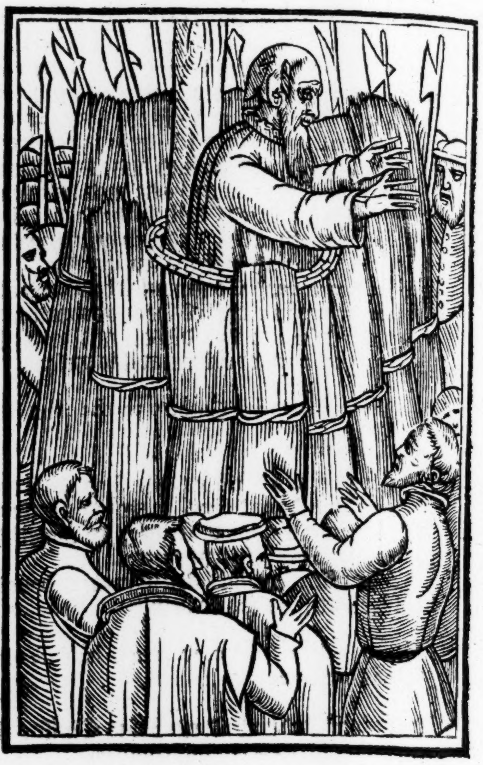
April. 9. Wil Nichol, Martyr.

WE finde in all ages from the beginning, that Sathan hath not ceaſed at all times to moleſt the Church of Chriſt with one affliction or other, to the triall of their faith, but yet never ſo apparantly at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his Saints, to the ſhedding of their blood, and perverting of Religion; for then ſleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the ſame, unleſſe they will fall downe with Achab and Ieſabel to worſhip him, and ſo kill and poyſon their owne ſoules eternally; as in theſe miſerable latter daies of Queene Mary we have felt, heard, and ſeene practiſed upon Gods people. Among whom we finde recorded an honeſt good ſimple poore man, one William Nichol, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for ſpeaking certaine words againſt the cruell kingdome of Antichriſt, and the ninth day of April, Anno 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at Hereford Weſt in Wales, where he ended his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, and gloriouſly gave his ſoule into the hands of the Lord, whoſe goodneſſe be praiſed for ever, Amen.

Wil. Nichol a ſimple ſoule.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good ſoule, that many eſteemed him halfe fooliſh. But what he was we know not, but this we are ſure, he dyed a good man, and in a good cauſe, whatſoever they judge of him. And the more ſimplicity of feebleneſſe of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruell and tyrannicall act therein. The Lord give them repentance therefore, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen, Amen.

The burning of William Nichol at Hereford Weſt in Wales.



The martyrdome of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, put to death by the perſecuting Papiſts at Norwich in the County of Northfolke.

May 19. The ſtory and martyrdome of Wil. Seaman, Tho. Carman, and Thomas Hudſon.

IMmediatly after William Nichol, ſucceeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdome three conſtant godly men at Norwich in Northfolke, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, the nineteenth of May, Anno 1558. Whoſe names be theſe:

William Seaman.
Thomas Carman.
Thomas Hudſon.

Will. Seaman

Sir Iohn Tyrrel Knight.

Rob. Baulding, Iames Clark, perſecutors.

The ſaid William Seaman was an Huſbandman, of the age of twenty ſixe yeares, dwelling in Mendleſham, in the County of Suffolke, who was ſundry times ſought for by the commandement of Sir Iohn Tyrrel Knight, and at laſt he himſelfe in the night ſearched his houſe and other places for him; notwithſtanding hee ſomewhat miſt of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his ſervants Robert Baulding, and Iames Clarke, with others to ſeeke for him. Who, having no Officer, went in the evening to his houſe, where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their Maſter ſir Iohn Tyrrel. This Baulding being Seamans nigh neighbour, and whom the ſaid Seaman greatly truſted as a ſpeciall friend, notwithſtanding to doe his Maſter a pleaſure, now became enemy to his chiefe friend, and was one of the buſieſt in the taking of him. Now as they were going to carry him to their Maſter Sir Iohn Tyrrel in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the element,

A light out of the element.

ment, and parted them, this Baulding being in companie with the reſt when the light fell; and albeit he was then in his beſt age, yet after that time never enjoyed good day, but pined away even unto the death.

Gods puniſhment upon a perſecutor.

Well, for all that ſtrange ſight (as I ſaid) they carried him to their Maſter. Who, when he came, aſked him why he would not goe to Maſſe, and receive the ſacrament, and ſo to worſhip it? Unto which William Seaman anſwered, denying it to be a ſacrament, but ſaid it was an Idoll, and therefore would not receive it. After which words ſpoken, ſir John Tyrel ſhortly ſent him to Norwich to Hopton then Biſhop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the Biſhop read his bloudie ſentence of condemnation againſt him; and afterward delivered him to the ſecular power, who kept him unto the day of martyrdome.

Seaman brought to B. Hopton, and by him condemned.

This ſaid William Seaman left behinde him when hee died, a wife, and three children verie young: and with the ſaid young children his wife was perſecuted out of the ſayd Towne alſo of Mendleſham, becauſe that ſhe would not goe to heare Maſſe, and all her corne and goods ſeiſed and taken away by Maſter Chriſtopher Coles Officers, he being Lord of the ſaid Towne.

Seamans wife and his 3 young children were perſecuted alſo by ſir John Tyrel.

Thomas Carman (who, as is ſaid, pledged Richard Craſhfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended) being priſoner in Norwich, was about one time with the reſt examined and brought before the ſaid Biſhop, who anſwered no leſſe in his Maſters cauſe than the other; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the Biſhops bloudy bleſſing of condemnation, and delivered alſo to the ſecular power, who kept him with the other untill the day of ſlaughter, which haſted on, and was not long after.

Thomas Carman, Martyr.

Carman condemned.

Thomas Hudſon was of Aileſham in Northfolke, by his occupation a Glover, a very honeſt poore man, having a wife, and three children, and labouring alwaies truly and diligently in his vocation, being of thirtie yeeres of age, and bearing ſo good a will to the Goſpell, that hee in the dayes of King Edward the ſixth, two yeeres before Queene Maries reigne, learned to reade Engliſh of Anthonie and Thomas Norgate of the ſame Towne, wherein hee greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion. For when Queene Marie came to reigne, and had changed the Service in the Church, putting in for wheate, draffe and darnell, and for good preaching, blaſphemous crying out againſt truth and godlineſſe; he then avoiding all their ceremonies of ſuperſtition, abſented himſelfe from his houſe, and went into Suffolke a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occaſion was offered. At the laſt hee returned backe againe to Northfolke to his houſe at Aileſham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavie, and troubled with his abſence.

Tho. Hudſon, Martyr.

Hudſon learneth to reade Engliſh.

Hudſon flieth from papiſtry.

Now when hee came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife deviſed to make him a place among his fagots to hide himſelfe in, where he remained all the day (inſtead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the ſpace of halfe a yeere, and his wife like an honeſt woman being carefull for him, uſed her ſelfe faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the meane time came the Vicar of the Towne, named Berry (who was one of the Biſhops Commiſſaries, a verie evill man) and inquired of this ſaid Thomas Hudſons wife for her huſband. Unto whom ſhee anſwered, as not knowing where he was. Then the ſaid Berry rated her, and threatned to burne her, for that ſhee would not bewray her huſband where he was. After that when Hudſon underſtood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and ſang Pſalmes to the wonder of many, the people openly reſorting to him, to heare his exhortations and vehement prayers.

Berry the Commiſſary, a perſecutor.

Hudſon waxeth bold in the truth.

At the laſt he walked abroad for certaine daies openly in the Towne, crying out continually againſt the Maſſe and all their trumperie, and in the end comming home in his houſe he ſate him downe upon his knees, having his booke by him, reading and ſinging Pſalmes continually without ceaſing for three dayes and three nights together, refuſing meate and other talke, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch his next neighbour went to the Conſtables, Robert Marſham and Robert Lawes in the night, to certifie them thereof: for Berry commanded openly to watch for him, and the Conſtables underſtanding the ſame, went cruelly to catch him in the breake of the day, the two and twentieth of the moneth of April, Anno 1558.

John Crouch bewraieth Tho. Hudſon to the Conſtables.

Now when Hudſon ſaw them come in, he ſaid; Now mine houre is come. Welcome friends, welcome. You be they that ſhall leade me to life in Chriſt. I thanke God therefore, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercies ſake. For his deſire was, and ever hee prayed (if it were the Lords will) that he might ſuffer for the Goſpel of Chriſt. Then they tooke him, and lead him to Berry the Commiſſary, which was Vicar of the Towne, and the ſaid Berry aſked him firſt, where he kept his Church for foure yeeres before. To the which the ſaid Hudſon anſwered thus, whereſoever he was, there was the Church.

The taking of Tho. Hudſon.

Talk betweene Berry and Hudſon.

Doeſt thou not beleeve, ſaid Berry, in the ſacrament of the altar? What is it?

Sacrament of the altar.

Hudſon. It is wormes meate; my beleife (ſaith he) is in Chriſt crucified.

Berry. Doeſt thou not beleeve the Maſſe to put away ſins?

The Maſſe.

Hudſon. No, God forbid: it is a patched monſter, and a diſguiſed Puppet, more longer a peecing than ever was Salomons temple. At which words Berry ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed himſelfe as a madman, and ſaid, Well, thou villaine, thou: I will write to the Biſhop my good Lord, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt bee handled according to thy deſerts. Oh ſir, ſaid Hudſon, there is no Lord but GOD, though there be many lords and many gods. With that Berry thruſt him backe with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar ſtanding by, ſaid, I pray you ſir, be good to the poore man. At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliffar bound in a recogniſance of forty pounds for his good abearing, both in word and deede; which his deſire took no effect. Then he aſked the ſaid Hudſon whether hee would recant, or no. Unto the which words Hudſon ſaid, the Lord forbid; I had rather die many deaths than to doe ſo.

• Rich. Cliffar.

Then after long talke, the ſaid Berry, ſeeing it booted not to perſwade with him, tooke his pen and inke, and wrote letters to the Biſhop thereof, and ſent this Hudſon to Norwich bound like a theefe to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and ſinging cheare went thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In priſon he was a moneth, where hee did continually reade, and invocate the name of God.

Theſe three Chriſtians and conſtant Martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, after they were (as yee have heard) condemned the 19. day of May, Anno 1558, were carried out of priſon to the place where

Seaman, Carman, and Hudſon condemned at Norwich.

they

Anno 1558.

they ſhould ſuffer, which was without Biſhops gate at Norwich, called Lollards Pit. And being all there, they made their humble Petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtanding all there with their chains about them, immediately this ſaid Thomas Hudſon commeth forth from them under the chaine, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For ſome thought he would have recanted; other judged rather that he went to aſke further day, and to deſire conference; and ſome thought he came forth to aſke ſome of his parents bleſſing. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome another: but his two companions at the ſtake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Chriſt to bee of good chéere, &c. But this ſwéet Hudſon felt more in his heart and conſcience than they could conceive in him. For alas good ſoule, he was compaſſed (God knoweth) with great dolour and griefe of minde, not for his death, but for lacke of féeling of his Chriſt: and therefore being very carefull, he humbly fell downe upon his knées, and prayed vehemently and earneſtly unto the Lord, who at the laſt (according to his old mercies) ſent him comfort, and then roſe he with great joy, as a man new changed even from death to life, and ſaid:

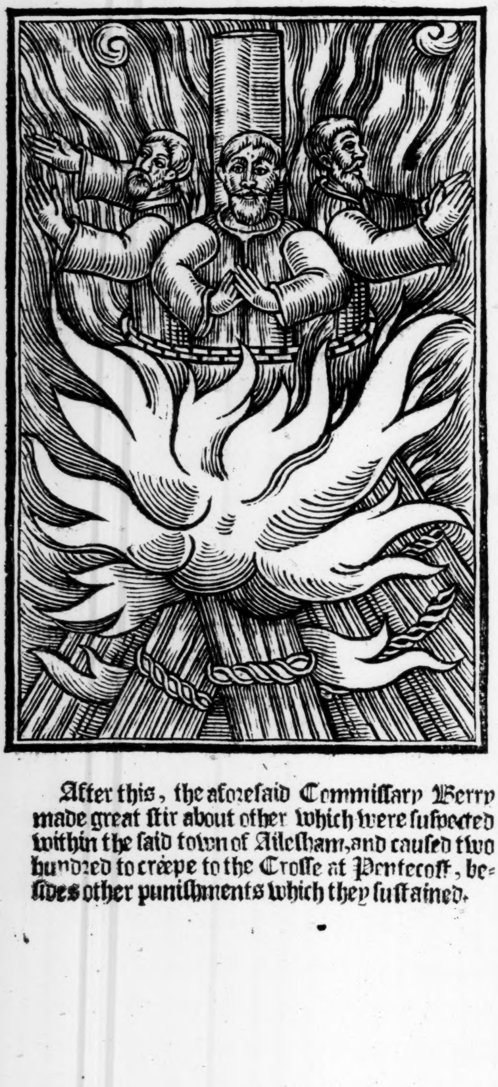
Tho. Hudſon commeth from under the chaine to pray.

Hudſon carefull to have the féeling of Chriſt.

Hudſon ſatisfied of his deſire.

Now I thanke God I am ſtrong, and paſſe not what man can do unto me. So going to the ſtake to his fellowes againe, in the end they all ſuffered moſt joyfully, conſtantly, and manfully, the death together, and were conſumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of Gods children, and the magnifiing of the Lords name, who be praiſed therefore for ever, Amen.

¶ The burning of three godly Martyrs at Norwich, *viz.* Will. Seaman, Tho. Carman, and Tho. Hudſon, Anno 1552. May 6.



After this, the aforeſaid Commiſſary Berry made great ſtir about other which were ſuſpected within the ſaid town of Aileſham, and cauſed two hundred to créepe to the Croſſe at Pentecoſt, beſides other puniſhments which they ſuſtained.

On a time this Berry gave a poore man of his Pariſh of Marſham a blow with the ſwingell of a flaile, for a word ſpeaking, that preſently thereon he died, and the ſaid Berry, as is ſaid, held up his hand at the bar therefore.

Berry ſtriketh a poore man, whereupon he dyed.

Then after that in his pariſh of Aileſham alſo, An. 1557, there was one Alice Oxes came to his houſe, and going into the hall, he méeting her, being before moved, ſmote her with his fiſt, whereby ſhe was faine to bee carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

Berry ſtriketh a poore woman, whereupon ſhe dyed.

To write how many Concubines and whores he had, none would beléeve it, but ſuch as knew him in the country where he dwelt. He was rich, and of great authority, a great ſwearer, altogether given to women, and perſecuting the Goſpell, and compelling men to idolatry.

One John Norgate, a man learned, godly, and zealous, who would not goe to their traſh, but rather die, being ſore hunted by the ſaid Berry, prayed heartily to God, and the Lord ſhortly after in a conſumption delivered him. Notwithſtanding the rage of this wicked man waxed more fiercer and fiercer. He troubled ſundry men, burnt all good bookes that he could get, and divorced many men and women for religion.

John Norgate a Confeſſor.

The rage of Berry.

When hee heard ſay that Quéene Mary was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the Sunday after, beeing the ninetéenth of November, Anno 1558, he made a great feaſt, and had one of his Concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after dinner, untill Even ſong. Then went he to Church, where he had miniſtred Baptiſme, and in going from church homeward after Evenſong, betwéene the Church yard and his houſe, being but a little ſpace (as it were a churchyard bredth aſunder) he fell downe ſuddenly to the ground with a heavy groane, and never ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance.

Berry maketh a feaſt, whereat is one of his Concubines.

Gods puniſhment and terrible end of Berry.

This hapned, his neighbors being by, to the example of all other. The Lord grant wee may obſerve his judgements. And thoſe that had his great riches, ſince his death have ſo conſumed with them, that they be poorer now than they were before they had his goods: ſuch judgement hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all men.

Berries goods conſume as waxe againſt the fire.

At that time one Dunning Chancellor of Lincolne (which in ſome part of Quéene Maries dayes was Chancellor of Norwich, and a very mercileſſe Tyrant as lived) died in Lincolneſhire of as ſudden a warning as the ſayd Berry died.

Gods puniſhment upon Dunning Chancellor of Norwich.

Thus have I ſhewed thée (good Reader) the conſtancie, boldneſſe, and glorious victory of theſe happy Martyrs, as alſo the tyrannicall cruelty of that unfortunate Commiſſary, and his terrible end. The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the judgements of God, and fear to diſpleaſe his holy Majeſty. Amen.

¶ The perſecution of Mother Seaman.

About this time, or ſomewhat before, was one Joane Seaman, mother to the aforeſaid William Seaman, being of the age of thréeſcore and ſixe yeares, perſecuted of the ſayd Sir John Tyrrell alſo, out of the Towne of Mendleſham aforeſaid, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Maſſe and receive againſt her conſcience. Which good old woman being from her houſe, was glad ſometime to lie in buſhes, groves, and fields, and ſometime in her Neighbours houſe, when ſhe could. And her huſband being at home, about the age of eighty yéeres, fell ſicke; and ſhee hearing thereof, with ſpéed returned home to her houſe againe, not regarding her life, but conſidering her duty, and

Joan Seaman alſo perſecuted by ſir John Tyrrel.

The duty of a good wife.

ſhewes

ſhewed her diligence to her huſband moſt faithfully, untill G O D tooke him away by death. Then by Gods providence ſhe fell ſicke alſo, and departed this life within her owne houſe ſhortly after.

Symonds the Commiſſary would not let mother Seaman be buried in the Churchyard.

And when one Maſter Symonds the Commiſſary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a Towne called Thorndon, he commanded ſtreightly that ſhe ſhould bée buried in no Chriſtian buriall (as they call it) where-through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a Motes ſide. Her huſband and ſhe kept a good houſe, and had a good report amongſt their neighbours, willing alwayes to receive ſtrangers, and to comfort the poore and ſicke, and lived together in the holy eſtate of Matrimony very honeſtly above 40. yéeres, and ſhe departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a ſtedfaſt faith and a good remembrance of Gods promiſe in Chriſt Jeſus.

The perſecution of Mother Benet.

Mother Benet, a Confeſſor.

IN the ſayd time of Quéene Mary, there dwelt in the Towne of Wetherſet by Mendleſham aforeſayd, a very honeſt woman called mother Benet, a widow, which was perſecuted out of the ſame Towne, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Maſſe, and other their beggarly ceremonies; but at the laſt ſhe returned home againe ſecretly to her houſe, and there departed this life joyfully. But ſir John Tyrrel and Maſter Symonds the Commiſſary would not let her be buried in the Churchyard. So was ſhe laid in a grave by the high-way ſide.

Sir John Tyrel and M. Symonds would not ſuffer mother Benet to be buried in the Churchyard.

The ſame good old woman mother Benet, in the time of perſecution, met one of the ſayd mother Seamans neighbours, and aſked her how the ſayd mother Seaman did, and ſhe anſwered, that ſhe did very well, God be thanked. Oh, ſaid ſhe, mother Seaman hath ſtept a great ſtep before me; for ſhe was never covetous that I could perceive.

The charitable almes of mother Seaman to be noted.

Her huſband in his mirth would ſay unto her; O woman, if thou were ſparing, thou mighteſt have ſaved mée an hundred Markes more than thou haſt. To the which ſhe would anſwer again gently, and ſay; O man, be content, and let us be thankfull; for God hath given us enough, if we can ſée it. Alas, good huſband, would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I cannot firken up my butter, and kéepe my cheeſe in the chamber, and waite a great price, and let the poore want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But huſband, let us be rich in good works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c. This good woman, of that vice of covetouſneſſe, of all that knew her, was adjudged leaſt to be ſpotted, of any infirmity ſhe had. The Lord roote it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen.

¶ The martyrdome of three conſtant and godly perſons burnt at Colcheſter for the defence and teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

May 26. Two men and one woman, Martyrs.

THou haſt heard (good Reader) of the forenamed thrée that were burnt at Norwich, whoſe bloud quenched not the perſecuting thirſt of the Papiſts. For immediately after, even the ſame moneth, upon the twenty ſixe day, was ſeene the like murther alſo at Colcheſter in Eſſex of two men and a woman, lying there in priſon appointed ready to the ſlaughter; who were brought forth the ſame day unto a place prepared for them to ſuffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the teſtimony of the truth, whoſe names likewiſe hereafter follow.

William Harris,
Richard Day.
Chriſtian George. } Martyrs.

Theſe thrée good ſoules were brought unto the ſtake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their prayers unto the Lord.

The Martyrdome of Wil. Harris, Rich. Day, and Chriſtian George, &c.

At the laſt, being ſetled in their places, and chained unto their poſtes, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like conſtant Chriſtians triumphantly praiſed GOD within the ſame, and offered up their bodies a lively ſacrifice unto his holy Majeſty; in whoſe habitation they have now their everlaſting tabernacles: his name therefore be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

They ſayd Chriſtian Georges huſband had another wife burnt before this Chriſtian, whoſe name was Agnes George, which ſuffered, as you have heard, with the thirteene at Stratford the Bowe. And after the death of the ſaid Chriſtian, he married an honeſt godly woman againe, and ſo they both (I meane the ſayd Richard George and his laſt wife) in the end were taken alſo, and laid in priſon, where they remained till the death of Queene Mary, and at laſt were delivered by our moſt gracious Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, whom the Lord grant long to reigne among us, for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Rich George and his wife priſoners, delivered by Q. Elizabeth.

In the moneth of June came out a certaine Proclamation ſhort but ſharpe, from the King and the Queene, againſt, wholeſome and godly Bookes, which under the falſe title of Hereſie and Sedition, here in the ſayd Proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

By the King and Queene.

A Proclamation by the K. and Queene.

WHereas divers Bookes, filled both with hereſie, ſedition, and treaſon, have of late, and be dayly brought into this Realme out of forraine countries and places beyond the Seas, and ſome alſo covertly printed within this Realme, and caſt abroad in ſundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an incouragement given to diſobey lawfull Princes and Governors: The King and Queenes Majeſties, for redreſſe hereof, do by this their preſent Proclamation declare and publiſh to all their Subjects, that whoſoever ſhall after the proclaming hereof, be found to have any of the ſayd wicked and ſeditious bookes, or finding them, doe not forthwith burne the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe hee reputed and taken for a rebell, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martiall law.

Given at our Manor of Saint Iameſes,
the ſixth day of Iune.

Iohn Cawood Printer.

The order and occaſion of taking certaine godly men and women praying together in the fields about Iſlington, of whom thirteene were condemned by Boner, and after ſuffered in the fire for the truths ſake, as in the ſtory here following may appeare.

June 27. 22. Men taken 13. Martyrs burned.

SEcretly in a backe cloſe in the field by the Towne of Iſlington, were collected and aſſembled together a certaine company of godly and innocent perſons, to the number 40. men and women. Who there ſitting together at prayer, and vertuouſly occupied in the meditation of Gods holy Word, firſt commeth a certaine man

Anno 1558.

to them unknowne; who looking over unto them, ſo ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the ſaid company aſked the man, if hee could tell whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bold there to ſit. Yea, ſaid hee, for that ye ſeeme unto me ſuch perſons as intend no harme, and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an houre after, commeth the Conſtable of Iſlington, named King, warded with ſixe or ſeven other, accompanying him in the ſame buſineſſe, one with a bow, another with a bill, and other with their weapons likewiſe. The which ſixe or ſeven perſons the ſayd Conſtable left a little behinde him in a cloſe place, there to be ready if neede ſhould be, while he with one with him ſhould goe view them before. Who ſo doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what bookes they had; and ſo going a little forward, and returning backe againe, bade them deliver their bookes. They underſtanding that he was Conſtable, refuſed not ſo to doe. With that commeth for the reſidue of his fellowes above touched, who bade them ſtand, and not depart. They anſwered againe, they would be obedient and ready to go whitherſoever they would have them; and ſo were they firſt carried to a Brewhouſe but a little way off, while that ſome of the ſaid ſouldiers ran to the Iuſtice next at hand. But the Iuſtice was not at home; whereupon they were had to ſir Roger Cholmley. In the meane time ſome of the women, being of the ſame number of the foreſayd forty perſons, eſcaped away from them, ſome in the cloſe, ſome before they came to the Brewhouſe. For ſo they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, and with ſome moe, with ſome leſſe, in ſuch ſort as it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were carried to ſir Roger Cholmley, were twenty ſeven, which ſir Roger Cholmley and the Recorder taking their names in a Bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as anſwered to their names, hee ſent to Newgate. In the which number of them that anſwered, and that were ſent to Newgate, were twenty and two.

King Conſtable of Iſlington.

Sir Roger Cholmley, and the Recorder of London, perſecutors.

22 Sent to Newgate.

Theſe two and twenty were in the ſayd priſon of Newgate ſeven weekes before they were examined, to whom word was ſent by Alexander the Keeper, that if they would heare a Maſſe, they ſhould all be delivered. Of theſe foreſayd two and twenty were burned thirteene: In Smithfield ſeven, at Brainford ſixe.

Confeſſors.

In priſon two dyed in Whitſon weeke, the names of whom were Matthew Wythers, T. Taylor.

Seven of them which remained eſcaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whoſe names were theſe:

Perſecuted Chriſtians.

Iohn Willes.
Thomas Hinſhaw.
R. Baily, Woolpacker.
Robert Willes.
Hudleys.
T. Coaſt, Haberdaſher.
Roger Sandy.

The firſt ſeven were brought forth to examination before Boner, and ſo, having their condemnation, were burnt (as is ſaid) in Smithfield. The other ſixe followed not long after, and ſuffered at Brainford, whereof ſpecially here followeth now in order of ſtory to be ſeene.

The examination and condemnation of 7. godly and faithfull Martyrs of Chriſt, burnt in Smithfield.

June 27.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of theſe abovesayd, which were apprehended and taken at Iſlington, ſeven firſt were produced before Boner the 14. of June, to make anſwer to ſuch articles and interrogatories, as by the ſayd Biſhop ſhould bee miniſtred unto them. The names of theſe ſeven were:

7 Martyrs burned in Smithfield.

Henry Pond.
Rainold Eaſtland.
Robert Southam.
Matthew Richarby.
Iohn Floyd.
Iohn Holiday.
Roger Holland.

Martyrs.

To theſe ſeven conſtant and godly Martyrs, produced before Boner, certaine Articles were miniſtred in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

Articles by Biſh. Boner miniſtred to the 7 Martyrs.

First, that ye being within the City and Dioceſſe of London have not, according to the common cuſtome of the Catholike Church of this Realme of England, come to your owne Pariſh Church, nor yet to the Cathedrall Church of this City and Dioceſſe of London, to heare devoutly and chriſtianly the Mattens, the Maſſe, the Evenſong, ſung or ſayd there in the Latine tongue, after the common uſage and manner of the Church of this Realme.

2 Second, that ye have not come to any of the ſayd Churches to pray, to goe in Proceſſion, or to exerciſe your ſelves there in godly and laudable exerciſes.

3 Third, that you have not conformed your ſelves duely to all the laudable cuſtomes, rites, and ceremonies of any the ſayd Churches.

4 Fourth, ye have not been confeſſed at due times and places to your owne Curate, of your ſinnes.

5 Fifth, ye have not received at your ſayd Curates hands (as of the Miniſter of Chriſt) abſolution of your ſins.

6 Sixth, you have not at due times and places of your Curate received reverently and duly the ſacrament of the altar.

7 Seventh, ye have not faithfully and truly beleeved, that in the ſayd ſacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and bloud of Chriſt.

8 Eighth, ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwiſe by your deede expreſſed or declared in any wiſe, that ye without wavering or doubting doe thinke and beleeve, that the faith and religion now obſerved in the Church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

9 Ninth, ye have not made any ſignification that you doe in deede approve, or allow in any wiſe the common Service in Latine, here obſerved and kept in the Church of this Realme of England.

10 Tenth, ye have not beleeved, nor do beleeve at this preſent, that the Service in Latine, commonly uſed and obſerved in the Church of this Realme, is good and lawfull, and not againſt the Word of God.

11 Eleventh, ye have in times paſt liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and ſo doe like, allow, and approve at this preſent, the Service in Engliſh, the Bookes of Common prayer, the Bookes of Communion, the religion ſet forth and uſed in the time of King Edward the ſixth, eſpecially as it was ſet forth and uſed in the later dayes of the ſaid King Edward.

12 Twelfth, ye have in times paſt been very deſirous, and ſo are at this preſent, that the ſayd Engliſh Service, the ſayd Booke of Common prayer, the ſayd Book of Communion, and the ſaid

religion and faith ſo ſet forth and uſed in King Edwards time, might now againe bee reſtored, ſet forth and uſed, and your ſelfe freely at your liberty, without any reſtraint or lets to uſe it, and alſo in all points and things to do therein, as yee did, eſpecially in the later dayes of the ſaid Edward the ſixth.

13 Thirteenth ye have of late beene charitably ſent to from me the Biſhop of London, and alſo by mouth exhorted, that where of late you did leave your Churches, and went in the time of Divine ſervice into the fields and prophane places, to reade Engliſh Pſalmes, and certaine Engliſh bookes, ye would leave off that, and being out of priſon, and at your liberty, come into your owne Pariſh Churches, there to heare Mattens, Maſſe, and Evenſong, after the common order of the Churches of this Realme, and to make due confeſſion of your ſinnes to your owne Curate, and receive at his hands (as of the Miniſter of Chriſt, having therein ſufficient authority) abſolution of your ſinnes, heare Maſſe, receive the ſacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the beliefe of the Catholike Church, and obſerve all other the rites and cuſtomes of the ſaid Catholike Church uſed in this realme of England, aſwell in going in proceſſion after the croſſe, as alſo otherwiſe generally.

14 Fourteenth, ye being ſo required, have refuſed, and do refuſe ſo to doe, ſaying, amongſt other vaine and light words, that forſomuch as ye were impriſoned by the ſpace of ſixe weekes, not knowing wherewith ye were charged, your petition ſhould be and was, that ye might firſt anſwer to your former cauſe, and then ye would be ready to anſwer me the ſayd biſhop to all that by me ſhould be laid to your charge.

Unto the which articles all the forenamed ſeven (onely Reinold Eaſtland excepted) made anſwer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The anſwers of the forenamed perſons to the articles aforeſaid.

Their anſwers to the articles aforeſaid.

TO the firſt Article they anſwered affirmatively, Roger Holland adding, that hee came not to their Latine ſervice theſe two yeares before.

Matthew Ricarby added, that he came not to Church ſince Latine ſervice was renewed, becauſe it is againſt the word of God, and idolatry is committed in creeping to the croſſe.

Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to goe to Church, he would not.

2 To the 2. article they all anſwered affirmatively; Henry Pond adding as in the firſt article. John Floyd added, that the Latine ſervice then uſed, was ſet up by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he ſaid) in King Edwards dayes, which he beleeved to be true. Robert Southam added, that hee refuſed to come to Church, becauſe it is furniſhed with idols, and becauſe the ſacrament of the altar he beleeved to be an idol.

3 To the third article they all anſwered affirmatively. For they ſayd, that the cuſtomes, rites, and ceremonies of the Church then uſed, are not agreeable to Gods word.

4.5 To the foure and five articles, they all anſwered affirmatively, adding, that they beleeved no Prieſt hath power to remit ſin.

6 To the 6. article John Holiday, Henry Pond, and Robert Southam anſwered, that ſince the Queenes Maieſties reigne: but Robert Southam added, not for ten yeares before, he had received the ſacrament of the altar, either at their Curates hands, or any other Prieſt. John Floyd, Matthew Ricarby, and Roger Holland anſwered affirmatively, adding in effect that the ſacrament of the altar is no ſacrament approved by the word of God, &c.

7 To the 7. article they all confeſſed the contents thereof to bee true in every part; Henry Pond adding, that he knoweth not nor beleeveth any ſuch ſacrament, called the ſacrament of the Altar, but confeſſeth the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, and beleeveth that to bee approved. John Floyd added, that thoſe that kneele to and worſhip the ſacrament of the altar, commit idolatry, &c.

8.9.10. To the 8.9.10. articles, they all confeſſed the contents of thoſe articles to be true. But John Holiday, Henry Pond, and John Floyd added, that they doe allow the Latine ſervice for them that underſtand the ſame, ſo far as it agreeeth with Gods word. For ſome part thereof is not agreeable to Gods word (they ſaid:) but to ſuch as doe not underſtand the ſaid ſervice in Latine, they doe not allow it, for it doth not profit them. Robert Southam added and ſaid, that it was a fond queſtion to aske a ſimple man, whether the Latine ſervice be good and lawfull. Matthew Ricarby and Roger Holland denied the ſervice in Latine to be good.

11 To the 11 article, they all confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part; ſaving Henry Pond, and Matthew Ricarby, who anſwered in effect that they could not iudge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the word of God.

12 To the twelfth article, they granted and confeſſed the ſame to bee true, and deſired of GOD that the ſervice were in the Engliſh againe.

13 To the 13 article they all granted and confeſſed the ſame to be true.

14 To the 14 article they all granted and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part.

An oath to end a ſtrife lawfull, but to begin a ſtrife it is unlawfull.

Thus have ye the anſwers of theſe men to the foreſaid articles, ſave that Reinald Eaſtland required to anſwer thereunto, refuſed ſo to doe, alledging that he knoweth that to end a ſtrife an othe is lawfull; but to beginne a ſtrife an othe is not lawfull: and therefore he now refuſeth to take his othe in the beginning of this matter againſt him. Wherupon being charged by the biſhop, he ſaid for his not anſwering to the articles, he was content to ſtand unto the order of the law for his puniſhment, whatſoever it ſhould be.

The condemnation of Reinold Eaſtland.

The 17 day after of the ſayd month of June, the ſayd Eaſtland appeared againe before the biſhop, who ſtanding firme in that he had ſaid before, denied to make any anſwer in that caſe, &c. whereupon the ſaid Eaſtland, with the other ſixe his fellow priſoners, were aſſigned by the biſhop to repaire againe to the ſame place at afternoone, who being there preſent in the foreſaid conſiſtory as they were commanded, and ſtanding all together before the ſayd biſhop, he beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to priſon. They ſaid no, but Maſter Cholmly and the Recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

Then being demanded further by the biſhop, if he had done any thing or act to keepe them in priſon, or to hinder their liberty from priſon; to this they anſwered they could not tell. Then the foreſaid articles being againe recited to them, all they anſwered and knowledged them to be the articles, and that they would ſtand to their anſwers made to the ſame. Whereupon the Biſhop diſſevering them apart one from another, proceeded with them ſeverally, firſt beginning with Reinald Eaſtland, who there declared that hee had beene uncharitably handled and

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The words of Eaſtland to the Biſhop at his condemnation.

talked withall ſince his firſt impriſonment in that behalfe. Then being required to reconcile himſelfe againe to the Catholike faith, and goe from his opinions, he ſayd, that he knew nothing why he ſhould recant; and therefore would not conforme himſelfe in that behalfe, &c. and ſo the ſentence was read againſt him, and he given to the ſecular power, &c.

The words of John Holiday

After him was called in John Holiday, who likewiſe being advertiſed to renounce his hereſies (as they called them) and to returne to the unity of their Church, ſayd, that he was no heretike, nor did hold any hereſie, neither any opinion contrary to the Catholike faith, and ſo would offer himſelfe to bee judged therein. Whereupon hee likewiſe perſiſting in the ſame, the ſentence was pronounced againſt him, condemning him to be burnt.

The condemnation of Jo. Holiday. The condemnation of Hen. Pond.

Next to him was condemned, with the like ſentence, Henry Pond, becauſe he would not ſubmit himſelfe to the Romiſh Church, ſaying to Boner, that he had done or ſpoken nothing whereof he was or would be ſorry, but that he did hold the truth of God, and no hereſie, &c.

The condemnation of Joh. Floyd.

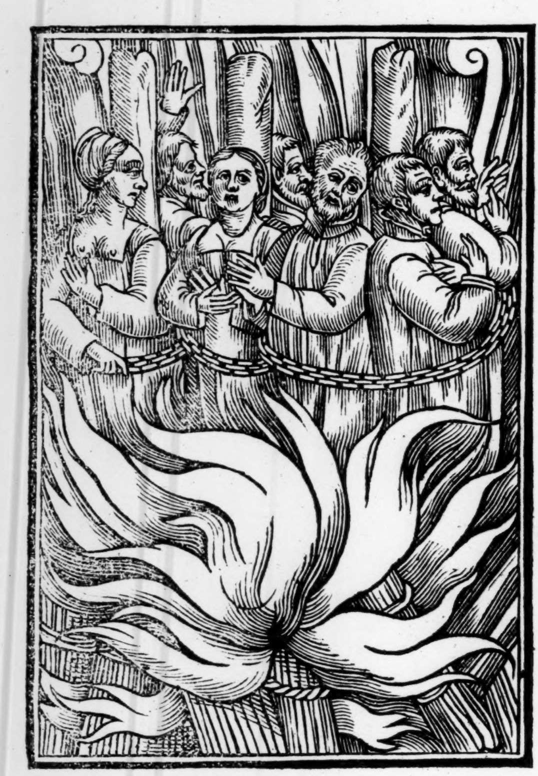
After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewiſe denied to be of the Popes Church, and ſayd his minde of the Latine Service, that the prayers made to Saints is Idolatry, and that the Service in Latine is profitable to none, but only to ſuch as underſtand the Latine. Moreover, being charged by Boner of hereſie, and ſaying, that whatſoever he and ſuch other now a dayes doe, all is hereſie; for this hee was condemned with the ſame butcherly ſentence, and ſo by the ſecular power was ſent away.

The condemnation of Ro. Southam, Mat. Ricarby and Roger Holland.

Then Robert Southam, after him Matthew Ricarby, and laſt of all Roger Holland were ſeverally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with his fellowes (as ye heard) ſtanding to their anſwers, and refuſing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romiſh Church, were altogether condemned, the ſentence being read againſt them, and ſo all ſeven by ſecular Magiſtrates being ſent away to Newgate the ſeventeenth of June, not long after, about the ſeven and twenty day of the ſayd moneth were had to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel. Whoſe particular examinations came not to our hands; ſaving only the examinations of Roger Holland, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the information of certaine, who were preſent at the ſame.

The Martyrdome of Henry Pond, Rainold Eaſtland, Ro. Southam, Mat. Ricarby, Ioh. Floyd, Ioh. Holiday, Ro. Holland, in Smithfield. An. 1558. Iu. 27.



The examinations and condemnation of Roger Holland.

The firſt examination of Roger Holland.

THis Roger Holland, a Merchant-Taylor of London, was firſt prentiſe with one Maſter Kempton at the blacke Boy in Watling ſtréete, where he ſerved his prentiſhip with much trouble unto his Maſter in breaking him from his licentious liberty which hée had before béen trained and brought up in, giving himſelfe to riot, as dauncing, fence, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and beſides all this, being a ſtubborne and an obſtinate Papiſt, far unlike to come to any ſuch end as God called him unto; the which was as followeth:

His Maſter, notwithſtanding this his lewdneſſe, putting him in truſt with his accounts, hée had received for him certaine mony, to the ſumme of thirty pounds, and falling into ill company, loſt the ſaid mony every groate at dice, being paſt all hope which way to anſwer it, and therefore hée purpoſed to conveigh himſelfe away beyond the ſeas, either into France or into Flanders.

Now having determined with himſelfe thus to doe, he called betimes in the morning to a ſervant in the houſe, an ancient and diſcréete maide, whoſe name was Elizabeth, which profeſſed the Goſpel, with a life agréeing unto the ſame, and at all times much rebuking the wilfull and obſtinate Papiſtry, as alſo the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he ſayd; Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle perſwaſions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this ſhame and miſery which I am now fallen into: for this night have I loſt thirty pound of my Maſters mony, which to pay him and to make up mine accounts, I am not able. But this much I pray you deſire my Miſtreſſe, that ſhe would intreate my Maſter to take this bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if I bée ever able, I will ſée him payed, deſiring him that the matter may paſſe with ſilence, and that none of my kinred nor friends may ever underſtand this my lewd part. For if it ſhould come unto my fathers eares, it would bring his gray haires over ſoone unto his grave; and ſo was he departing.

A godly example of a mayde, letting more by the ſoule of a Chriſtian brother, than by her mony.

The mayde conſidering that it might bée his utter undoing; Stay, ſayd ſhe, and having a péece of mony lying by her, given unto her by the death of a kinſman of hers, who (as it was thought, was Doctor Redman) ſhe brought unto him thirty pound, ſaying, Roger, here is thus much mony; I will let thee have it, and I will kéepe this bill. But ſince I doe thus much for thée, to helpe thée, and to ſave thy honeſty, thou ſhalt promiſe mée to refuſe all lewd and wilde company, all ſwearing and ribaldry talke, and if ever I know thée to play one twelve pence at either Dice or Cards, then will I ſhew this thy bill unto my Maſter. And furthermore, thou ſhalt promiſe mée to reſort every day to the Lecture at Alhallows, and the Sermon at Pauls every Sunday, and to caſt away all thy bookes of papiſtry and vaine ballets, and get thee the Teſtament and Booke of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and feare, calling unto God ſtill for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray unto God fervently, deſiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the ſinnes of thy youth; and ever be affraid to breake his lawes or offend his Majeſty. Then ſhall God keepe thee and ſend thee thy hearts deſire.

Rog. Holland brought to the love of the Goſpel.

After this time, within one halfe yeare God had wrought ſuch a change in this man, that he was become an earneſt profeſſor of the truth, and deteſted all papiſtry and evill company; ſo that hee was in admiration to all them that had knowne him and ſeene his former life and wickedneſſe.

Rog. Holland converteth his Parents to the Goſpel.

Then he repaired into Lankeſhire unto his father, and brought divers good bookes with him, and beſtowed them upon his friends, ſo that his father and others began to taſte of the Goſpel, and to deteſt the maſſe, idolatry, and ſuperſtition; and in the end his father gave him a ſtocke of money to beginne the world withall, to the ſumme of fifty pound.

Rog. Holland repaieth the maid her mony againe, and marrieth her.

Then he repaired to London againe, and came to the maide that lent him the money to pay his maſter withall, and ſayd unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendſhip, good will, and the good counſell I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwiſe than to make thee my wife; and ſoone after they were married, which was in the firſt yeare of Queene Mary. And having a childe by her, he cauſed Maiſter Roſe to baptiſe his ſaid child in his owne houſe. Notwithſtanding he was bewrayd unto the enemies, and he being gone into the countrey to convey the childe away, that the papiſts ſhould not have it in their annointing hands, Boner cauſed his goods to be ſeized upon, and moſt cruelly uſed his wife.

Hollands child chriſtned in his houſe.

Rog. Holland brought to Newgate.

After this he remained cloſely in the City, and in the countrey in the congregations of the faithfull, untill the laſt yeare of Queene Mary. Then he with the ſixe other aforeſayd, were taken in or not farre from S. Johns wood, and ſo brought to Newgate upon May day in the morning. An. 1558.

Then being called before the biſhop, Doctor Chadſey, both the Harpsfields, and certaine other, after many other faire and crafty perſwaſions of Doctor Chadſey, to allure him to their Babylonicall church; thus the biſhop began with him.

Holland, I for my part doe wiſh well unto thee, and the more for thy friends ſake. And as doctor Standiſh telleth mee, you and he were both borne in one pariſh, and hee knoweth your father to bee a very honeſt catholike gentleman. And maiſter doctor told me that hee talked with you a yeare agoe: and found you very wilfully addict to your owne conceite. Divers of the City alſo have ſhewed mee of you, that you have beene a great procurer of mens ſervants to bee of your religion, and to come to your congregations, but ſince you be now in the danger of the law, I would wiſh you to play a wiſe mans part: So ſhall you not want any favour I can doe or procure for you, both for your owne ſake, and alſo for your friends, which bee men of worſhip, and credite, and wiſh you well, and by my troth Roger ſo doe I.

Then ſaid Maſter Egleſtone, a gentleman of Lankeſhire, and neere kinſman to Roger, being there preſent; I thanke your good Lordſhip: your honour meaneth good unto my couſin, I beſeech God he have the grace to follow your counſell.

Holland Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beſeech God to open your eyes to ſee the light of his word.

Egleſtone Roger, hold your peace leſt you fare the worſe at my Lords hands.

Holland No, I ſhall fare as it pleaſeth God; for man can doe no more than God doth permit him.

Rog. Holland willed to ſubmit himſelfe to the biſhop.

Then the biſhop and the doctors, with Johnſon the Regiſter, caſting their heads together, in the end ſaith Johnſon; Roger, how ſayſt thou? wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the booke of contempt?

Holland I never meant but to ſubmit myſelfe unto the magiſtrat, as I learne of S. Paul to the Romanes, the 13. chap. and ſo he recited the text.

Chadſey Then I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt.

Holland I meane not yet to be a papiſt; for they and the Anabaptiſts agree in this point, not to ſubmit themſelves to any other prince or magiſtrate, than thoſe that muſt firſt bee ſworne to maintaine them and their doings.

Chadſey Roger, remember what I have ſaid, and alſo what my Lord hath promiſed he will performe with further friendſhip. Take heed Roger, for your ripeneſſe of wit hath brought you into theſe errors.

Holland Maſter Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no ſuch force to prevaile with mee. Then they whiſpered together again, and at the laſt ſaid Boner; Roger, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counſell for any thing that either I or your friends or any other can ſay.

Rog Holland firſt a great papiſt.

Holland I may ſay to you my Lord, as Paul ſaid to Felix and unto the Jewes, as doth appeare in the two and twentieth of the Acts, and in the fifteenth of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians. It is not unknowne unto my Maſter whom I was prentiſe withall, that I was of this your blinde religion that now is taught, and therein did obſtinately and wilfully remaine, untill the later end of King Edward in maner, having that liberty under your auricular confeſſion, that I made no conſcience of ſinne, but truſted in the Prieſts abſolution, hee for money doing ſome penance alſo for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he paſſed after he had my money, whether he faſted bread and water for me or no: ſo that lechery, ſwearing, and all other vices I accompted no offence of danger, ſo long as I could for money have them abſolved. So ſtraitly did I obſerve your rules of religion, that I would have aſhes upon Aſhwedneſday, though I had uſed never ſo much wickedneſſe at night. And albeit I could not of conſcience eate fleſh upon the Friday, yet in ſwearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long I made no conſcience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life: for in Lankeſhire their blindneſſe and whoredome is overmuch more, than may with chaſte eares be heard. Yet theſe my friends, which are not cleare in theſe notable crimes, thinke the Prieſt with his Maſſe can ſave them, though they blaſpheme God, and keep Concubines beſides their wives, as long as they live. Yea I know ſome Prieſts, very devout, my Lord, yet ſuch as have 6. or 7. children by foure or five ſundry women.

The wickedneſſe of Roger Holland before he was called to the Goſpel.

At theſe examinations, divers of Roger Hollands friends and kinsfolkes, being men of worſhip, were preſent, both of Lankeſhire and Cheſhire.

M. Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and univerſality (for theſe Doctor Chadſey alledged as

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notes and tokens of their religion) I am unlearned. I have no ſophiſtry to ſhift my reaſons withall; but the truth I truſt I have, which néedeth no painted colours to ſet her forth. The antiquity of our Church is not from Pope Nicholas, or Pope Joane, but our Church is from the beginning, even from the time that God ſayd unto Adam, that the ſéede of the woman ſhould breake the Serpents héad; and ſo to faithfull Noah; to Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promiſed, that their ſéed ſhould multiply as the Stars in the ſkie; and ſo to Moſes, David, and all the holy Fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Chriſt. All they that beléeved theſe promiſes were of the Church, though the number were oftentimes but few and ſmall, as in Helias dayes, when he thought there was none but he, that had not bowed their knées to Baal, when God had reſerved ſeven thouſand that never had bowed their knées to that Idoll; as I truſt there bée ſeven hundred thouſand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knées to the Idoll your Maſſe, and your God Maozim: the upholding whereof is your bloudy cruelty, whiles you dayly perſecute Helias and the ſervants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) cloſely to ſerve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy Word may be once againe truely preached amongſt us, and that he would mitigate and ſhorten theſe idolatrous and bloudy dayes, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, our Church have béen the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, the Martyrs and Confeſſors of Chriſt, that have at all times and in all ages béen perſecuted for the teſtimony of the Word of God. But for the upholding of your Church and Religion, what antiquity can you ſhew? Yea, the Maſſe, that Idoll and chiefe pillar of your Religion, is not yet foure hundred yéeres old, and ſome of your Maſſes are younger, as that Maſſe of St. Thomas Becket the Traitor, wherein you pray, that you may be ſaved by the bloud of Saint Thomas. And as for your Latine Service, what are we of the Laity the better for it? I thinke he that ſhould heare your Prieſts mumble up their Service, although he did well underſtand Latine, yet ſhould he underſtand few words thereof: the Prieſts doe ſo champe them and chaw them, and poſſe ſo faſt, that neither they underſtand what they ſay, nor they that heare them; and in the mean time the people, when they ſhould pray with the Prieſt, are ſet to their beades to pray our Ladies Pſalter. So crafty is Sathan to deviſe theſe his dreames (which you defend with fagot and fire) to quench the light of the Word of God: which (as David ſaith) ſhould be a lantern to our féete. And againe, wherein ſhall a young man direct his wayes, but by the Word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknowne. Saint Paul had rather in the Church to have five words ſpoken with underſtanding, than ten thouſand in an unknowne tongue; and yet will you have your Latine Service and praying in a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant to be of ſuch antiquity?

The Maſſe how old it is.

Latine Service.

The Gréeke Church, and a good part of Chriſtendome beſides, never received your Service in an unknowne tongue, but in their owne naturall language, which all the people underſtand, neither yet your tranſubſtantiation, your receiving all alone, your Purgatory, your Images, &c.

The Gréeke Church differing from the Latine.

As for the unity which is in your Church, what is it elſe but treaſon, murther, poyſoning one another, idolatry, ſuperſtition, wickedneſſe? What unity was in your Church, when there were thrée Popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman Pope? Here hée was interrupted, and could not be ſuffered to procéede, but, ſaith the Biſhop; Roger, theſe thy words are very blaſphemy, and by the meanes of thy friends thou haſt béen ſuffered to ſpeake, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore Kéeper take him away.

The ſecond examination of Roger Holland.

The day that Henry Pond and the reſt were brought forth to bée againe examined, Doctor Chadſey ſayd; Roger, I truſt you have now better conſidered of the Church than you did before.

The ſecond examination of Roger Holland.

Holland I conſider this much: That out of the Church there is no ſalvation, as divers ancient Doctors ſay.

Boner That is well ſaid. Maſter Egleſton, I truſt your kinſman will bée a good Catholike man. But Roger, you meane, I truſt, the Church of Rome.

Holland I meane that Church which hath Chriſt for her head; which alſo hath his word, and his ſacraments according to his word and inſtitution.

Chadſey Then Chadſey interrupted him, and ſayd, is that a Teſtament you have in your hand?

Holland Yea, Maſter Doctor, it is the New Teſtament. You will finde no fault with the tranſlation (I think.) It is of your owne tranſlation; it is according to the great Bible.

Boner How ſay you? How doe you know it is the Teſtament of Chriſt, but only by the Church? For the Church of Rome hath and doth preſerve it, and out of the ſame hath made Decrées, Ordinances, and true Expoſitions.

No (ſaith Roger) the Church of Rome hath and doth ſuppreſſe the reading of the Teſtament. And what a true expoſition (I pray you) did the Pope make thereof, when he ſet his foote on the Emperors necke, and ſayd; Thou ſhalt walke upon the Lion and the Aſpe: the young Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy foot? Pſal. 91.

Then ſaid the Biſhop; Such unlearned wilde heads as thou and other, would be expoſitors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there be ſome here as well as I) ſhould be taught of you?

Holland Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildneſſe hath béen ſomewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this booke of God. But (my Lord) I ſuppoſe ſome of the old Doctors ſay; If a poore lay man bring his reaſon and argument out of the Word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be never ſo great Doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned Doctors, and given to poore Fiſhermen. Notwithſtanding I am ready to be inſtructed by the Church.

Boner That is very well ſaid, Roger. But you muſt underſtand that the Church of Rome is the Catholike Church. Roger, for thy friends ſake (I promiſe thée) I wiſh thée well, and I meane to doe thée good. Kéeper, ſée hée want nothing. Roger, if thou lacke any mony to pleaſure thée, I will ſée thou ſhalt not want. This hée ſpake unto him alone, his fellowes being apart, with many other faire promiſes, and ſo he was ſent to priſon againe.

The laſt examination of Roger Holland.

The laſt examination of Roger Holland was, when hée with his fellow-priſoners were brought

The laſt examination of Rog. Holland.

brought into the Conſiſtory; and there excommunicated all ſaving Roger, and ready to have their ſentence of judgement given, with many threatning words to fear them withall: the L. Strange, Sir Tho. Iarret, M. Egleſton Eſquire, and divers other of worſhip, both of Cheſhire, and Lankaſhire, that were Roger Hollands kinſmen and friends, being there preſent, which had beene earneſt ſuters to the Biſhop in his favour, hoping of his ſafety of life. Now the Biſhop hoping, yet to win him with his faire and flattering words, began after this manner.

The rhetoricall perſwaſions of Biſhop Boner.

Boner Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my houſe, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latine tongue, it doth appeare unto mee thou art of a good memory, and of a very ſenſible talke, but ſomething overhaſty, which is a naturall diſeaſe to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I my ſelfe ſhall now and then be haſty, but mine anger is ſoone paſt. So Roger, ſurely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with theſe lewd fellowes caſt your ſelfe headlong from the Church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good Catholikes (as it is reported unto me.) And as I meane thee good, ſo Roger play the wiſe mans part, and come home with the loſt ſonne, and ſay; I have runne into the Church of Schiſmatikes and Heretikes, from the Catholike Church of Rome; and you ſhall, I warrant you, not onely finde favour at Gods hands, but the Church that hath authority, ſhall abſolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheare withall, that is, in ſo doing, as meat doth refreſh and cheriſh the minde, ſo ſhalt thou finde as much quietneſſe of conſcience in comming home to the Church, as did the hungry ſonne that had bin fed afore with the hogges, as you have done with theſe heretikes that ſever themſelves from the Church. I give them a homely name, but they be worſe (putting his hand to his cap for reverence ſake) than hogges: For they know the Church, and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay thus much to a Turke, he would (I think) beleeve me. But Roger, if I did not beare thee and thy friends good will, I would not have ſayd ſo much as I have done, but I would have let mine Ordinary alone with you.

At theſe words his friends that were there, gave the Biſhop thankes for his good will and paines that he had taken in his and their behalfe.

Boner Well Roger, how ſay you now? Doe you not beleeve, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt really and corporally under the formes of bread and wine? I meane the ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the croſſe, that roſe againe the third day.

The Papiſts how they take one peece of Scripture, and leave out another.

Holland Your Lordſhip ſaith, the ſame body which was borne of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the croſſe, which roſe againe the third day: but you leave out which aſcended into heaven; and the Scripture ſaith, he ſhall there remaine untill hee come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the formes of bread and wine, by Hoc eſt corpus meum, &c.

Boner Roger, I perceive my paines and good will, will not prevaile, and if I ſhould argue with thee, thou art ſo wilfull (as all thy fellowes bee, ſtanding in thine owne ſingularity and fooliſh conceit) that thou wouldeſt ſtill talke to no purpoſe this 7. yeare, if thou mighteſt be ſuffered. Anſwer whether thou wilt confeſſe the reall and corporall preſence of Chriſts body in the ſacrament, or wilt not.

Holland My Lord, although God by his ſufferance hath here placed you, to ſet forth his truth and glory in us his faithfull ſervants; notwithſtanding your meaning is farre from the zeale of Chriſt: and for all your words, you have the ſame zeale that Annas and Caiphas had, truſting to their authority, traditions and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

Bon. If I ſhould ſuffer him, he would fall from reaſoning to raving, as a franticke heretike.

L. Strange Roger (ſaith the Lord Strange) I perceive my Lord would have you tell him whether you will ſubmit your ſelfe to him or no.

Boner Yea, ſaith Boner, and confeſſe this preſence that I have ſpoken of.

With this, Roger turning him to the Lord Strange and the reſt of his kinſmen and friends, very cheerefully kneeled downe upon his knees, and ſaid; God by the mouth of his ſervant Saint Paul hath ſaid, Let every ſoule ſubmit himſelfe unto the higher powers, and he that reſiſteth receiveth his owne damnation: and as you are a Magiſtrate appointed by the will of God, ſo doe I ſubmit my ſelfe unto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for Magiſtrates.

Boner That is well ſaid, I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the preſence of Chriſts body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar?

The preſence of the ſacrament.

Holland I ſay, and beſeech you all to marke and beare witneſſe with me (for ſo you ſhall doe before the judgement ſeat of God) what I ſpeak; for here is the concluſion: And ye my deare friends (turning him to his kinſmen) I pray you ſhew my father what I doe ſay, that he may underſtand I am a Chriſtian man. I ſay and beleeve, and am therein fully perſwaded by the Scriptures, that the ſacrament of the ſupper of our Lord, miniſtred in the holy Communion according to Chriſts inſtitution, I being penitent and ſorry for my ſinnes, and minding to amend and leade a new life, and ſo comming worthily unto Gods boord in perfect love and charity, doe there receive by faith the body and blood of Chriſt. And though Chriſt in his humane nature ſit at the right hand of his father, yet (by faith I ſay) his death, his paſſion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the maſſe, tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhipping of the ſacrament, they are meere impiety and horrible idolatry.

Sentence read againſt Rog. Holland.

Boner I thought ſo much, ſayd Boner (ſuffring him to ſpeake no more) how he would prove a very blaſphemous heretike as ever I heard. How unreverently doth he ſpeak of the bleſſed Maſſe? and ſo read his bloudy ſentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he ſhould depart, he ſaid, My Lord, I beſeech you ſuffer me to ſpeak two words. The Biſhop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithſtanding, being requeſted by one of his friends, he ſaid, Speak, what haſt thou to ſay?

Rog. Holland propheſieth of ſhortning the time of B. Boners cruelty.

Holland Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his ſufferance: and now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his ſervants, which hath beene poured forth with teares for his afflicted Saints, which daily you perſecute, as now you doe us. But this I dare bee bold in God to ſpeake (which by his ſpirit I am moved to ſay) that God will ſhorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his church. And this ſhall you in ſhort time well perceive, my deare brethren, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place ſhall there not bee any by him put to the tryall of fire and faggot: And after this day there was none that ſuffered in Smithfield for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, God be thanked.

After theſe words ſpoken, ſayd Boner, Roger, thou art I perceive as mad in theſe thy hereſies as ever was Joane Butcher. In anger and fume thou wouldeſt become a rayling Prophet. Though thou and all the ſort of you would ſee mee hanged, yet I ſhall live to burne, yea, I will burne all the ſort of you that come in my hands, that will not worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, for all thy pratling, and ſo he went his way.

Then Roger Holland beganne to exhort his friends to repentance, and to thinke well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Goſpell, and with that the Biſhop came backe charging the Keeper that no man ſhould ſpeake to them without his licence, and if they did, they ſhould bee committed to priſon. In the meane ſeaſon H. Pond and Roger ſpake ſtill unto the people, exhorting them to ſtand in the truth: adding moreover, that God would ſhorten theſe cruell and evill dayes for his elects ſake.

The cruell dayes ſhortned for the elects ſake.

The martyrdome of Roger Holland with ſixe other in Smithfield.

The day they ſuffered, a proclamation was made, that none ſhould be ſo bold to ſpeake or talke any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them upon paine of impriſonment without eyther baile or mainpriſe; with diverſe other cruell threatning words, contained in the ſame proclamation. Notwithſtanding the people cried out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill prayed for the people, and the reſtoring of his word. At length Roger embracing the ſtake, and the reeds, ſayd theſe words:

Lord I moſt humbly thanke thy Majeſty, that thou haſt called me from the ſtate of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowſhip of thy Saints, that I may ſing and ſay, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſtes. And Lord into thy hands I commit my ſpirit. Lord bleſſe theſe thy people, and ſave them from idolatry. And ſo he ended his life, looking up into heaven, praying, and prayſing God, with the reſt of his fellow Saints. For whoſe joyfull conſtancy the Lord be praiſed.

The Martyrdome of ſixe, which ſuffered at Brainford for the true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

July 14. 6 Martyrs burnt at Brainford.

NOt long after the death of the forenamed ſeven godly Martyrs that ſuffered in Smithfield, were ſixe other faithfull witneſſes of the Lords true Teſtament, martyred at Brainford ſeven miles from London, the 14. day of July 1558. which ſaid ſixe were of that company that were apprehended in a Cloſe hard by Iſlington (as is above ſpecified) and ſent to priſon. Whoſe names and articles proponed to them, with their anſwers unto the ſame, hereafter follow.

Robert Milles,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dynes,
Stephen Wight, } Martyrs.
John Slade,
William Pikes, or
Pikes, a Tanner.

Theſe ſixe forenamed martyrs (gentle Reader) had their articles miniſtred to them by Thomas Darbiſhire, Boners Chancellor, at ſundry times; as Robert Willes the 20. day of June, Stephen Wight the 21. day of the ſayd moneth. Stephen Cotton, and John Slade the 22. day, and Robert Dynes, and William Pikes the 23. day. At which ſaid times, though they were ſeverally examined, yet had they all one manner of articles miniſtred to them, yea and the ſelfe ſame articles that were miniſtred to John Holyday, Henry Pond, and their company aforeſaid. Which ſaid articles I leave the Reader to looke for above in their ſtory, and thinke it not neceſſary any more to rehearſe them, but only to proceede with their anſwers to the ſame, which briefly and in ſumme hereafter followeth.

The anſwers of the forenamed perſons to the Articles aforeſaid.

The anſwers of the 6 former Martyrs to the articles.

TO the firſt article they all granted the ſame; and added thereto for going to Church, that R. Milles and Stephen Wight came not there for three quarters of a yeare before, and John Slade and William Pikes not ſince the Queenes Reigne, Stephen Cotton not for a twelvemoneth before, and Robert Dynes not for two yeares before.

The ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth articles they all anſwered in effect, as the forenamed Jo. Holyday, Henry Pond, and their company did, ſaving they added, that as their rites, cuſtomes, and ceremonies are againſt the word of God, ſo will they obſerve and keepe no part of the ſame. Stephen Wight added further, that hee received not their ſacrament of the altar for two yeares before, nor John Slade and William Pikes ſince Queene Maries reigne, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelvemoneth before, nor Robert Dynes for three years before.

To the 7. article, they all granted the ſame in every part like unto the aforenamed Henry Pond and his company; ſaving that Robert Dines added, that it was no part of his beliefe.

To the 8. article they all granted the ſame in every part, as the forenamed William Holyday and his company: but Robert Milles added thereto, that he will not come to Church, nor allow their religion, ſo long as the Croſſe is crept to, and worſhipped, and images are in the Church. John Slade affirmed in effect as Robert Milles did, adding further, that there be not ſeven ſacraments, but two ſacraments, which is Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton would no further allow the Popiſh religion, than it agreeth with Gods word: and Robert Dines affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton alſo.

To the 9. and 10. articles, Robert Milles, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton anſwered, that they doe not allow the Popiſh ſervice then ſet forth, becauſe it is againſt the truth, and in a ſtrange language which the common people underſtand not. Rob. Dines and William Pikes, will neither allow nor diſallow the Latin ſervice, becauſe they underſtand it not. And Ste. Wight would make no direct anſwer to the articles at all, and to the 11, 12, 13, and 14. articles we finde no anſwers recorded of the ſaid Stephen Wight, but of the reſt of his fellow priſoners we find anſwers to thoſe articles which hereafter follow.

To the 11. article, Robert Milles, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton anſwered, that concerning the bookes, faith, and religion ſpecified in this article, they do allow them ſo far forth, as they agree with Gods word, &c. Robert Dines would make no anſwer thereto, becauſe he thought himſelfe unmeete to judge thereof: and William Pikes doth not remember that he hath miſliked the ſervice, and the faith, and religion ſet forth in K. Edward the ſixth his time.

To the 12. they grant, that if they might receive the ſacrament as they did in K. Edward the ſixth his daies, they would with all their heart ſo doe.

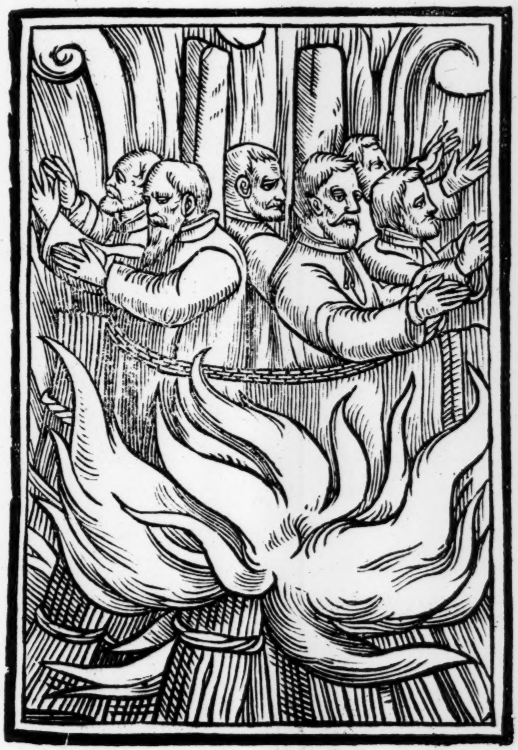
To the 13. and 14. Articles, they confeſſe and grant the contents of them to be true in every part.

When at the daies before ſpecified, theſe good men were produced before Boners Chancellor, Thomas Darbiſhire, and had the foreſaid articles miniſtred unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made anſwer unto the ſame; in the end the Chancellor commanded them to appeare before him againe the eleventh day of July after in the ſaid place at Pauls. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turne from their opinions to the mother holy Church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the ſentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all anſwered, that they would not goe from the truth, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they lived. Then he charged them to appeare before him againe the next day in the afternoone, betweene one and two of the clock, to heare the definitive ſentence read againſt them, according to the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes then in force. At which time, he ſitting in judgement, talking with theſe godly and vertuous men, at laſt came into the ſaid place Sir Edward Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornewalls Knights, two of Queene Maries Officers of her houſe, and being there, they ſate them downe over againſt the Chancellor, in whoſe preſence the ſaid Chancellor condemned thoſe good poore Lambes, and delivered them over to the ſecular power, who received and carried them to priſon immediatly, and there kept them in ſafety, till the day of their death.

The ſix martyrs brought againe before Darbiſhire.

Sir Edward Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornwalls at the condemnation of theſe Martyrs.

The martyrdome of ſixe men burned at Brainford, Anno 1558. Iuly 14.



In the meane time this naughty Chancellor ſlept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the Lord Chancellors Office, from whence the next day after was ſent a writ to burne them at Brainford aforeſaid, which accordingly was accompliſhed in the ſame place, the ſaid fourteenth day of July: Whereunto they being brought, made their humble prayers unto the Lord Jeſus, undreſſed themſelves, went joyfully to the ſtake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yeelded their ſoules, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and to whoſe protection I commend thee gentle Reader, Amen.

Among theſe ſixe was one William Pikes (as ye have heard) who ſometime dwelt in Ipſwich in Suffolke, by his occupation a Tanner, a very honeſt godly man, and of a vertuous diſpoſition, a good keeper of Hoſpitality, and beneficiall to the perſecuted in Queene Maries daies. This ſaid William Pikes, in the third yeare of Queene Maries raigne, a little after Midſummer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and tooke with him a Bible of Rogers tranſlation, where he, ſitting with his face towards the South, reading on the ſaid Bible, ſuddenly fell downe upon his booke, betweene eleven and twelve a clock of the day, foure drops of freſh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then hee ſeeing the ſame, was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no meanes learn (as I ſaid) from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife, and ſaid, In the vertue of God wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have foure ſacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the triall. Wife, let us pray (ſaid he) for I feare the day draweth nigh. Afterward he daily looked to be apprehended of the Papiſts, and it came to paſſe accordingly, as yee have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to ſtir up our dull ſenſes in conſidering the Lords workes, and reverently to honour the ſame. His name therefore be praiſed for evermore. Amen.

Moreover, concerning the ſaid William Pikes, as he was in Newgate ſore ſick, and at the point of death, ſo that no man looked he ſhould live ſixe houres, he declared to them that ſtood by, that he had been twice in perſecution before, and that now he deſired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorifie his name at the ſtake, and ſo as he prayed it came to paſſe at Brainford.

Ye heard before, that of thoſe two and twenty taken at Iſlington, thirteene were burned, and ſix eſcaped, albeit very hardly, and ſome of them not without ſcourging by the hands of the Biſhop. In the which number was Thomas Hinſhaw and John Willes, according to the expreſſe picture hereafter purported.

Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem alluſio.

Si fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuiquam eſt,
Bonero cœli maxima porta patet.

In effigiem Boneri carmen.

QVæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid (alvus,
Pondera quid ventris, craſſitieſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides anne ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint ſi neſcis pondera, dicam:
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſcitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus,
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris,
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The

Anno 1558.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MVſe not ſo much that natures worke
Is thus deformed now:
With belly blowne, and head ſo ſwolne,
For I ſhall tell you how:
This *Canniball* in three yeares ſpace
Two hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he lov'd ſo blood,
He ſpared none he knew.

It ſhould appeare that blood feeds fat,
If men lie well and ſoft:
For *Boners* belly waxt with blood,
Though he ſeem'd to faſt oft.
O bloody beaſt, bewaile the death
Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlaine:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
Their lives reſtore againe.
G.G.

In Bonerum.

CArnificis nomen debetur jure Bonero,
Qui ſine Chriſticolas crimine mactat oves.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Sique iſto pejus nomine nomen, amat.
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. Crudelia facta
Narras? rem gratam non facis ipſe magis.
Det Deus ut ſapias meliora Bonere, vel iſtis
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

The ſcourging of Tho. Hinſhaw.

IN the godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at Iſlington, there congregated together, for their exerciſe of prayer and reading, was this Thomas Hinſhaw above named, a yong man of the age of 19. or 20. yeares, prentiſe in Pauls Churchyard with one M. Pugſon, Who with the reſt was carried to the Conſtables of Iſlington, and there every one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chiefe Iuſtice Maſter Cholmley, dwelling in the old Baily in London, and by him then the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw was ſent to Newgate: and there remaining priſoner without conference with any, about eight weekes, at the laſt was ſent for to Boner Biſhop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was ſent to Newgate again, where he remained a three weekes following. Which time being overpaſſed, he was ſent for againe before the ſaid Biſhop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talke to little purpoſe. The next day after alſo, which was Sunday, they perſwaded with him very much in like maner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoone the Biſhop going unto Fulham, tooke him with him, where immediatly after his comming, he was ſet in the ſtockes, remaining there all the firſt night with bread and water.

The ſtory of Th. Hinſhaw.

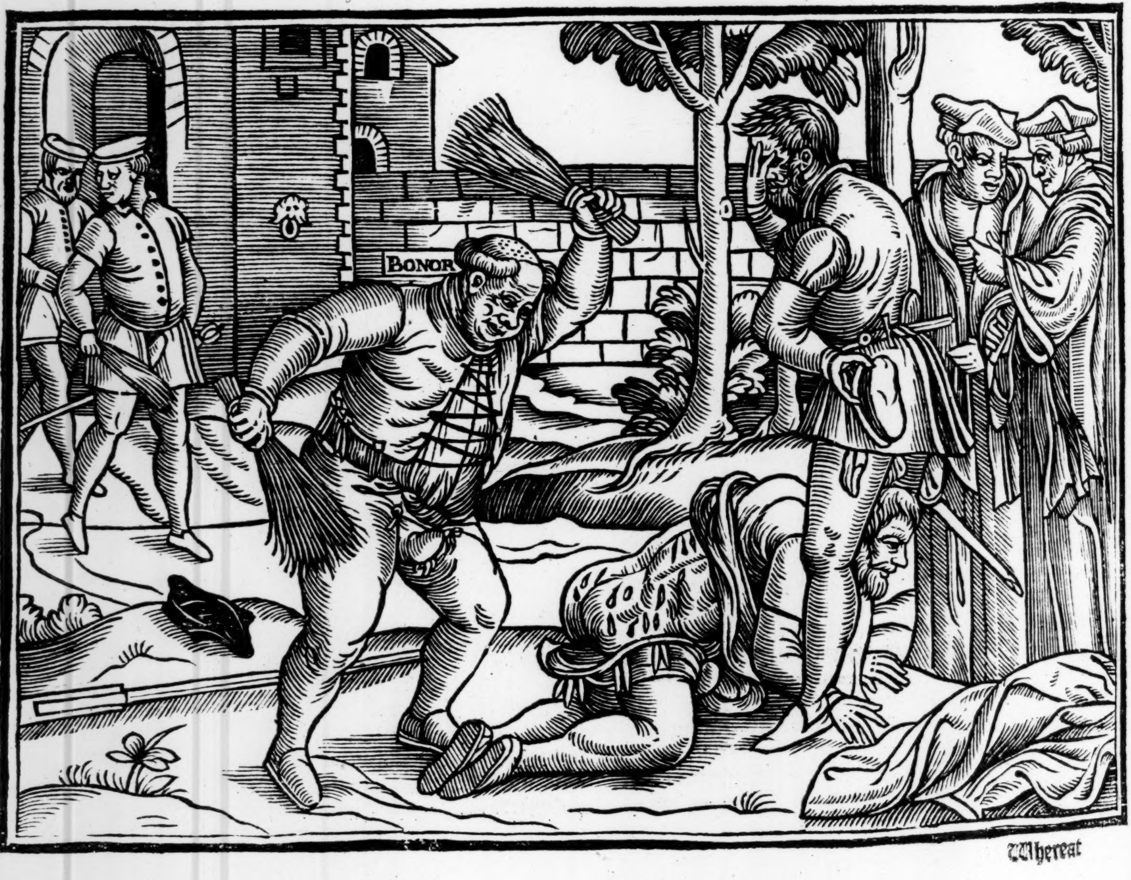
W. Cholmley Iuſtice.

Boner, Harpsfield, and Cole.

Hinſhaw carried to Fulham, and there ſet in the ſtocks with bread and water.

The next morning the Biſhop came and examined him himſelfe, and perceiving no yeelding to his minde, he ſent M. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talke, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid Th. Hinſhaw peeviſh boy, and aſked him whether he thought he went about to damne his ſoule, or no, &c. Unto which the ſaid Tho. anſwered, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintaine their darke and deviliſh kingdom, & not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the B. thereof.

The right Picture and true counterfeit of Boner, and his cruelty, in ſcourging of Gods Saints, in his Orchard at Fulham.



Whereat

Hinſhaw beaten with rods. The boy was beholding to B. Boners graund paunch.

Whereat the Biſhop fumed and fretted, that ſcant for anger being able to ſpeake, he ſaid, Doeſt thou anſwer my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured: ſo hee ſent for a couple of rods, and cauſed him to kneele againſt a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where the ſaid Thomas, without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelfe to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſayd Boner, ſo long as the fat panched Biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearineſſe he was faine to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhamefull act. Hee had two willow rods, but hee waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw notwithſtanding did ſuſtaine divers conflicts, and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his Chappell at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered articles againſt him, which the yong man denied, and would not affirme, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, doe what they could.

The articles were theſe.

Articles obiected.

CONcerning Palmes, Aſhes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confeſſion, receiving the ſacrament at Eaſter, hearing divine ſervice then ſet forth, &c.

Whether hee had received all theſe, or whether he would receive them or no.

Item, what he thought of the ſervice ſet forth in King Edwards time, in his later dayes, and in eſpeciall, what he thought of the verity of Chriſts body in the ſacrament.

In all which his anſwers, the ſaid T. Hinſhaw kept an upright conſcience, and entangled himſelfe with none of their ceremonies: ſo mercifull was the Lord unto him.

Th. Hinſhaw delivered to M. Pugſon his Maſter.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or ſuch a thing, the foreſayd Examinate fell ſicke of a burning ague, whereby hee was delivered upon entreaty unto his Maſter Martin Pugſon in Pauls Church yard aforeſayd: for the Biſhop thought verily he was more like to dye than to live. The which his ſickneſſe endured a twelve moneth or more, ſo that in the meane time Queene Mary died. Then he ſhortly after recovered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witneſſe and reporter of the ſame; the Lord therefore be prayſed, Amen.

The ſcourging of Iohn Willes by Biſhop Boner.

The ſtory of Iohn Willes a capper.

BEſides the above named, was ſcourged alſo by the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, one Io. Willes a Capper, a right faithfull and true honeſt man in all his dealings and conditions. Who was brother to the foreſaid R. Willes burned before at Brainford, as is above ſignified. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number with them at Iſlington, as is mentioned alſo before: and being brought before Boner, and there examined, was commanded to the Colehouſe, with the foreſayd Tho. Hinſhaw, where they remained one night in the ſtocks. From thence he was ſent to Fulham, where he, with the ſayd Hinſhaw, remained 8. or 10. dayes in the ſtockes; during which time he ſuſtained divers conflicts with the ſayd Boner, who had him oft times in Examination, urging him, and with a ſticke which hee had in his hand, ofttimes rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the eares, ſaying he looked downe like a thiefe. Moreover, after hee had aſſayed all manner of wayes to cauſe him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his Orchard, there within a little arbor, with his owne hands beat him firſt with a willow rod, and that being worne well nigh to the ſtumps, hee called for a birchin rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him, was this; Boner aſked him when he had crept to the croſſe. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the yeares of diſcretion, neither would, though hee ſhould bee torne with wilde horſes. Then Boner bade him make a croſſe in his forehead, which hee refuſed to doe. Whereupon hee had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there calling for rods, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinſhaw, as is above declared.

Anno 1558.

Hinſhaw and Willes beaten of Boner.

Iohn Willes denieth to ſubſcribe to B. Boners articles.

This done, he had him immediately to the Pariſh Church of Fulham with the ſaid Tho. Hinſhaw, and Rob. Willes, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtred certaine articles, aſking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To the which the ſaid Iohn Willes made his anſwer according to his conſcience, denying them all, except one article which was concerning K. Edwards ſervice in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, Boner ſent to him in priſon a certaine old Prieſt lately come from Rome, to coniure out the evill ſpirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, beganne with certaine words pronounced over him, to coniure as he had been wont before to doe. Willes marvelling what the Prieſt was about to doe, ſayd, Hee truſted no evill ſpirit to be within him, and laughed him to ſcorne, &c.

An old coniuring Prieſt.

The unſavoury reaſons or talke of B. Boner going about to perſwade Iohn Willes.

Boners iudgment, that we ſhould truſt more to men, than to the ſcriptures of God.

As this Iohn Willes was divers times and oft called before Boner, ſo much communication and talke paſſed betweene them; which to recite all, it were too long. And if it were not unpleaſant for the Reader that luſteth to laugh, to ſee the blinde and unſavoury reaſons of that Biſhop, which he uſed to perſwade the ignorant withall. As in the proceſſe of his other talke with this Willes, Boner going about to perſwade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to beleeve other mens teaching, which had more skill in the ſame; firſt aſked if he did beleeve the Scripture? Yea, ſaid he, that I do. Then the Biſhop, why (quoth he) Saint Paul ſaith, If the man ſleep, the woman is at liberty to goe to another man. If thou were aſleepe having a wife, wouldeſt thou be content thy wife to take another man? And yet this is the Scripture.

This ſimilitude holdeth, [illegible]

Item, if thou wilt beleeve Luther, Zuinglius, and ſuch, then thou canſt not goe right. But if thou wilt beleeve me, &c. thou canſt not erre. And if thou ſhouldeſt erre, yet thou art in no perill, thy bloud ſhould be required at our hands. As if thou ſhouldeſt goe to a farre Countrey, and meet with a fatherly man as I am (for theſe were his terms) and aske the way to the head city, and he ſhould ſay this way, and thou wilt not beleeve him, but follow Luther, and other heretikes of late dayes, and goe a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askeſt for? ſo if thou wilt not beleeve me, but follow the leading of other heretikes, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to deſtruction, and burne both body and ſoule.

Raſh and preſumptuous iudgement of Boner.

As truely as thou ſeeſt the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, ſo truly their ſoules do burne in hell, becauſe they erre from the true Church.

B. Boners wiſh in puniſhing Gods ſaints.

Oft times ſpeaking to the ſaid Iohn Willes, he would ſay, They call me bloudy Boner. A vengeance on you all. I would faine bee rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would ſowe your mouthes, and put you in ſackes and drowne you.

Now

The ſame in Engliſh.

MVſe not ſo much that natures worke
 Is thus deformed now:
With belly blowne, and head ſo ſwolne,
 For I ſhall tell you how:
This *Canniball* in three yeares ſpace
 Two hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he lov'd ſo blood,
 He ſpared none he knew.

It ſhould appeare that blood feeds fat,
 If men lie well and ſoft:
For *Boners* belly waxt with blood,
 Though he ſeem'd to faſt oft.
O bloody beaſt, bewaile the death
 Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlaine:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
 Their lives reſtore againe.

G.G.

In Bonerum.

CArnificis nomen debetur jure Bonero,
 Qui ſine Chriſticolas crimine mactat oves.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Sique iſto pejus nomine nomen, amat.
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. Crudelia facta
 Narras? rem gratam non facis ipſe magis.
Det Deus ut ſapias meliora Bonere, vel iſtis
 Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

The ſcourging of Tho. Hinſhaw.

The ſtory of Th. Hinſhaw.

Wil. Cholmley Iuſtice.

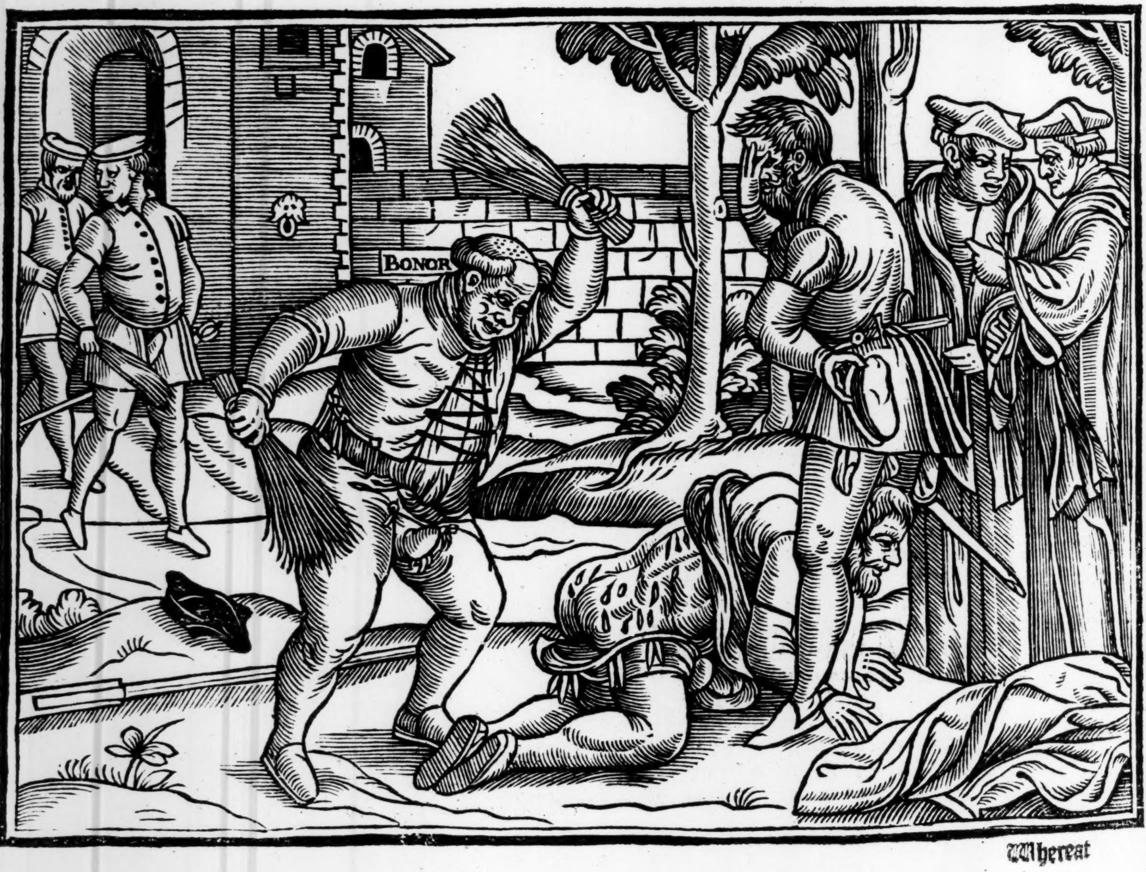
Boner, Harpſfield, and Cole

IN the godly number aboue mentioned, which were apprehended at Iſlington, there congregated together, for their exerciſe of prayer and reading, was this Thomas Hinſhaw aboue named, a yong man of the age of 19. or 20. yeares, prentiſe in Pauls Churchyard with one M. Pugſon, Who with the reſt was carried to the Conſtables of Iſlington, and there euery one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chiefe Iuſtice Maſter Cholmley, dwelling in the old Baily in London, and by him then the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw was ſent to Newgate: and there remaining priſoner without conference with any, about eight weekes, at the laſt was ſent for to Boner Biſhop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was ſent to Newgate again, where he remained a three weekes following. Which time being ouerpaſſed, he was ſent for againe before the ſaid Biſhop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talke to little purpoſe. The next day after alſo, which was Sunday, they perſwaded with him very much in like maner, and perceiuing they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoone the Biſhop going unto Fulham, tooke him with him, where immediatly after his comming, he was ſet in the ſtockes, remaining there all the firſt night with bread and water.

Hinſhaw carried to Fulham, and there ſet in the ſtocks with bread and water.

The next morning the Biſhop came and examined him himſelfe, and perceiuing no yeelding to his minde, he ſent M. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talke, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid Th. Hinſhaw peeuiſh boy, and aſked him whether he thought he went about to damne his ſoule, or no, &c. Unto which the ſaid Tho. anſwered, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintaine their darke and deuilliſh kingdom, & not for any loue to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the B. thereof.

The right Picture and true counterfeit of Boner, and his cruelty, in ſcourging of Gods Saints, in his Orchard at Fulham.



Anno 1558.

Hinſhaw beaten with rods. The boy was beholding to B. Boners graund paunch.

Whereat the Biſhop fumed and fretted, that ſcant for anger being able to ſpeake, he ſaid, Doeſt thou anſwer my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured: ſo hee ſent for a couple of rods, and cauſed him to kneele againſt a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where the ſaid Thomas, without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelfe to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſayd Boner, ſo long as the fat panched Biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearineſſe he was faine to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhamefull act. Hee had two willow rods, but hee waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw notwithſtanding did ſuſtaine divers conflicts, and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his Chappell at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered articles againſt him, which the yong man denied, and would not affirme, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, doe what they could.

The articles were theſe.

Articles obiected.

CONcerning Palmes, Aſhes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confeſſion, receiving the ſacrament at Eaſter, hearing divine ſervice then ſet forth, &c.

Whether hee had received all theſe, or whether he would receive them or no.

Item, what he thought of the ſervice ſet forth in King Edwards time, in his later dayes, and in eſpeciall, what he thought of the verity of Chriſts body in the ſacrament.

In all which his anſwers, the ſaid T. Hinſhaw kept an upright conſcience, and entangled himſelfe with none of their ceremonies: ſo mercifull was the Lord unto him.

Th. Hinſhaw delivered to M. Pugſon his Maſter.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or ſuch a thing, the foreſayd Examinate fell ſicke of a burning ague, whereby hee was delivered upon entreaty unto his Maſter Martin Pugſon in Pauls Church yard aforeſayd: for the Biſhop thought verily he was more like to dye than to live. The which his ſickneſſe endured a twelve moneth or more, ſo that in the meane time Queene Mary died. Then he ſhortly after recovered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witneſſe and reporter of the ſame, the Lord therefore be prayſed, Amen.

The ſcourging of Iohn Willes by Biſhop Boner.

The ſtory of John Willes a capper.

BEſides the above named, was ſcourged alſo by the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, one Io. Willes a Capper, a right faithfull and true honeſt man in all his dealings and conditions. Who was brother to the foreſaid R. Willes burned before at Brainford, as is above ſignified. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number with them at Iſlington, as is mentioned alſo before: and being brought before Boner, and there examined, was commanded to the Colehouſe, with the foreſayd Tho. Hinſhaw, where they remained one night in the ſtocks. From thence he was ſent to Fulham, where he, with the ſayd Hinſhaw, remained 8. or 10. dayes in the ſtockes; during which time he ſuſtained divers conflicts with the ſayd Boner, who had him oft times in Examination, urging him, and with a ſticke which hee had in his hand, oft-times rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the eares, ſaying he looked downe like a thiefe. Moreover, after hee had aſſayed all manner of wayes to cauſe him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his Orchard, there within a little arbor, with his owne hands beat him firſt with a willow rod, and that being worne well nigh to the ſtumps, hee called for a birchin rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him, was this; Boner asked him when he had crept to the croſſe. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the yeares of diſcretion, neither would, though hee ſhould bee torne with wilde horſes. Then Boner bade him make a croſſe in his forehead, which hee refuſed to doe. Whereupon hee had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there calling for rods, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinſhaw, as is above declared.

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John Willes denieth to ſubſcribe to B. Boners articles.

This done, he had him immediately to the Pariſh Church of Fulham with the ſaid Tho. Hinſhaw, and Rob. Willes, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtred certaine articles, asking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To the which the ſaid John Willes made his anſwer according to his conſcience, denying them all, except one article which was concerning K. Edwards ſervice in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, Boner ſent to him in priſon a certaine old Prieſt lately come from Rome, to conjure out the evill ſpirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, beganne with certaine words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to doe. Willes marvelling what the Prieſt was about to doe, ſayd, Hee truſted no evill ſpirit to be within him, and laughed him to ſcorne, &c.

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B. Boners wiſh in puniſhing Gods ſaints.

Now

Anno 1558.

The occaſion and maner of delivering John Willes.

Now ſomewhat to ſay concerning the deliverance of the ſaid John Willes. The ſame day that hée was delivered, Boner came unto the ſtockes where he lay, and aſked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well, ſayd Willes, if it would pleaſe God I might have a little ſtraw to lye or ſit upon.

Willes wife intreateth for her husband.

Then ſayd Boner, Thou wilt ſhew no token of a Chriſtian man. And upon this his wife came in unknowing unto him, being very great with childe, and looking every houre for her lying down, entreating the Biſhop for her huſband, and ſaying, that ſhée would not goe out of the houſe, but there would lay her belly in the Biſhops houſe, unleſſe ſhe had her huſband with her. How ſayeſt thou (quoth Boner) thou heretike? If thy wife miſcarry, or thy childe, or children, if ſhe be with one or two, ſhould periſh, the bloud of them would be required at thy hands. Then to this agréement he came, that hée ſhould hire a bed in the towne of Fulham, and her huſband ſhould goe home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinſman there preſent (one Robert Rouſſe) ſhould bring the ſaid Willes unto his houſe at Pauls the next day.

Rob. Rouſſe kinſman to John Willes.

The condition put to John Willes to ſay, In nomine Patris, &c.

Wherunto the ſaid Willes ſaid, he would not agrée, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife being importunate for her huſband, and ſéeing that ſhe would goe no further, but there remaine, unleſſe ſhe had her huſband with her, the Biſhop fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his houſe thereby, bade the ſaid Willes make a croſſe, and ſay, In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

John Willes ſent home with his wife.

Then the ſaid Willes beganne to ſay, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen. No, no, ſaith Boner, ſay it me in Latine, In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus ſancti, Amen. Willes underſtanding the matter of that Latine to be but good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his wife, his foreſaid kinſman being charged to bring him the next day unto Pauls: elſe, ſaid Boner, if thou doeſt not bring him, thou art an heretike as well as he. Notwithſtanding, the charge being no greater, his kinſman did not bring him, but hée of his owne voluntary accord came to the ſaid Biſhop within a few dayes after, where the Biſhop put unto him a certaine writing in Latine to ſubſcribe unto, containing as it ſéemed to him no great matter, that he néeded greatly to ſtick at, albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainely tell: ſo ſubſcribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the 22. taken at Iſlington.

The hiſtory and cruell handling of Richard Yeoman, Doctor Taylors Curate at Hadley, conſtantly ſuffering for the Goſpels ſake.

July 10. The ſtory and martyrdome of Rich. Yeoman Miniſter.

After the ſtory of theſe 22. taken at Iſlington, procéeding now (the Lord willing) wée will proſecute likewiſe the taking and cruell handling of Richard Yeoman Miniſt. Which Yeoman had béene before Doctor Taylors Curate, a godly devout old man of 70. yéeres, which had many yeares dwelt in Hadley, well ſéene in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him D. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as ſoone as M. Newall had gotten the Benefice, he drave away good Yeoman as is before ſayd, and ſet in a Popiſh Curate to maintaine and continue their Romiſh religion which now they thought fully ſtabliſhed. Then wandred hée long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to ſtand faithfully to Gods word, earneſtly to give themſelves unto prayer, with patience to beare the croſſe now laid upon them for their tryall, with boldneſſe to confeſſe the truth before the adverſaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crowne and reward of eternall felicity. But when he perceived his adverſaries to lie in wait for him, hée went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pinnes, and points, and ſuch like things, he travelled from village to village, ſelling ſuch things, and by that poore ſhift gate himſelfe ſomewhat to the ſuſtaining of himſelfe, his poore wife and children.

Rich. Yeoman flieth into Kent.

Rich. Yeoman ſet in the ſtocks by M. Moile of Kent. Rich. Yeoman returneth againe to Hadley.

At the laſt a Juſtice of Kent, called Maſter Moyle, tooke poore Yeoman and ſet him in the ſtockes a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him goe againe. So came he ſecretly againe to Hadley, and tarried with his poore wife, who kept him ſecretly in a chamber of the towne houſe, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a yeare. All the which time, the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and ſpent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wooll which his wife did ſpin. His wife alſo did goe and beg bread and meat for her ſelfe and her children, and by ſuch poore meanes ſuſtained they themſelves. Thus the Saints of God ſuſtained hunger and miſery, while the Prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were coſtly pampered at Jeſabels table.

Parſon Newall a wicked perſecutor. Yeoman taken by Parſon Newall.

At the laſt, Parſon Newall (I know not by what meanes) perceived that Richard Yeoman was ſo kept by his poore wife, and, taking with him the Bailiffes deputies and ſervants, came in the night time and brake up five doores upon Yeoman, whom hée found in a bed with his poore wife and children. Whom when he had ſo found, he irefully cried, ſaying, I thought I ſhould finde an harlot and an whore together. And he would have plucked the clothes off from them. But Yeoman held faſt the clothes, and ſayd unto his wife, Wife, ariſe, and put on thy clothes. And unto the Parſon he ſaid, Nay Parſon, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according unto Gods ordinance, and bleſſed be God for lawfull matrimony. I thanke God for this great grace, and I defie the Pope and all his Popery. Then led they Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and ſet him in the ſtocks untill it was day.

The words of J. Dale to parſon Newall and his Curate.

There was then alſo in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had ſitten there 3. or 4. dayes, becauſe when the ſaid Parſon Newall with his Curate executed the Romiſh ſervice in the Church, he ſpake openly unto him, and ſayd, O miſerable and blinde guides, will ye ever bée blinde leaders of the blinde? will ye never amend? will ye never ſée the truth of Gods word? will neither Gods threats nor promiſes enter into your hearts? will the blood of Martyrs nothing mollifie your ſtony ſtomacks? O indurate hard hearted, perverſe, and crooked generation. O damnable ſort, whom nothing can do good unto.

John Dale ſet in the cage by parſon Newall.

Theſe and like words he ſpake in ferventneſſe of ſpirit againſt the ſuperſtitious religion of Rome. Wherefore parſon Newall cauſed him forthwith to be attached, and ſet in the ſtockes in the cage. So was he there kept till ſir Hen. Doile, a Juſtice, came to Hadley.

Sir Henry Doile intreated for Gods ſaints, but could not be heard.

Now when poore Yeoman was taken, the Parſon called earneſtly upon ſir Henry Doile to ſend them both to priſon. Sir Henry Doile earneſtly laboured and entreated the Parſon, to conſider the age of the men, and their poore eſtate; they were perſons of no reputation nor preachers: wherefore he would deſire him to let them bée puniſhed a day or two, and ſo to let them goe, at the leaſt John Dale who was no Prieſt: and therefore ſéeing hée had ſo long ſitten in the cage, hée thought it puniſhment enough for this time, When the Parſon heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them peſtilent heretikes, unfit to live in the Common wealth of Chriſtians. Wherefore I beſeech you ſir, quoth he, according to your office, defend holy Church, and help to ſuppreſſe theſe ſects of hereſies, &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelves, to the evill example of other, againſt the Queens gracious proceedings. Sir Henry Doile ſeeing he could doe no good in the matter, and fearing alſo his perill if hee ſhould too much meddle in this matter, made out the writ, and cauſed the Conſtables to carry them forth to Bury Gaole. For now were all the Iuſtices, were they never ſo mighty, affraid of every ſhaven crowne, and ſtood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did ſtand in feare of Annas and Caiphas, and of the Phariſaicall Broode, which cried, Crucifie him, crucifie him. If thou let him goe, thou art not Cæſars friend.

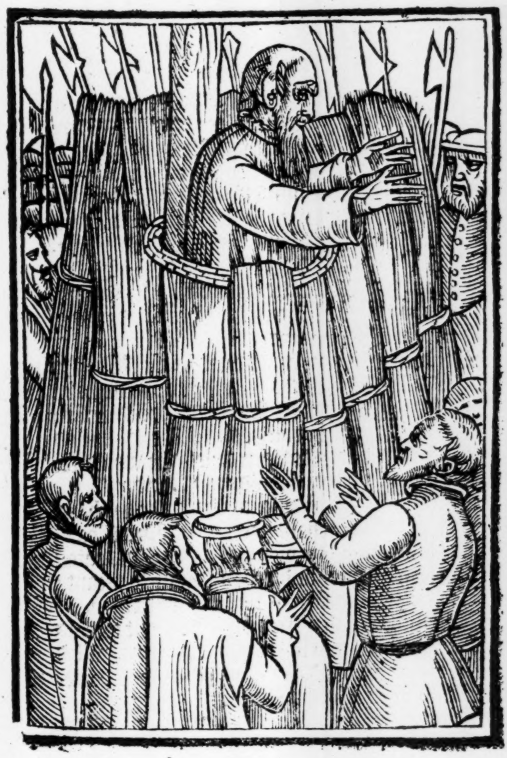
The kingdom of Locuſts.

Wherefore whatſoever their conſciences were, yet (if they would eſcape danger) they muſt needs bee the Popiſh Biſhops ſlaves and vaſſals. So they tooke Richard Yeoman and Iohn Dale, pinioned, and bound them like theeves, ſet them on horſe backe, and bound their legges under the horſes bellies, and ſo carried them to the Gaole at Bury, where they were tyed in irons; and for that they continually rebuked Popery, they were thrown into the loweſt dungeon, where Io. Dale through ſickneſſe of the priſon, and evill keeping, dyed in priſon, whoſe body, when hee was dead, was throwne out and buried in the fields. Hee was a man of 46. yeares of age, a Weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithfull and honeſt in all his converſation, ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the true doctrin of Chriſt ſet forth in King Edwards time; for the which he ioyfully ſuffered priſon and chaines, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Chriſt to eternall glory, and the bleſſed Paradiſe of everlaſting felicity.

Yeoman and Iohn Dale ſent to Bury gaole.

Commendation of Io. Dale

The burning of Richard Yeoman Miniſter at Norwich 1558. Iuly 10.



Anno 1558.

After that Iohn Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich priſon, where after ſtrait and evill keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then hee boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelfe to bee of the faith and confeſſion that was ſet forth by the late King of bleſſed memory, holy King Edward the ſixth, and from that hee would in no wiſe vary. Being required to ſubmit himſelfe to the holy father the Pope: I defie him (quoth he) and all his deteſtable abominations: I will in no wiſe have to doe with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chiefe articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the Maſſe ſacrifice. Wherefore when he continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poore and miſerable life, and entred into the bleſſed boſome of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietneſſe that God hath prepared for his elect Saints.

Yeoman removed to Norwich.

The chiefe matters objected to Rich. Yeoman.

The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

THere was alſo in Hadley a young man, named Iohn Alcock, which came to Hadley ſeeking worke, for hee was a Shereman by his occupation. This young man after the martyrdome of Doctor Taylor, and taking of Richard Yeoman, uſed firſt in the Church of Hadley to reade the Service in Engliſh, as partly is above touched. At length, after the comming of Parſon Newall, he being in Hadley Church upon a ſunday when the Parſon came by with proceſſion, would not once move his cap, nor ſhew any ſigne of reverence, but ſtood behinde the Font. Parſon Newall perceiving this, when he was almoſt out of the Church doore, ran back againe, and caught him, and called for the Conſtable.

The ſtory of Iohn Alcock.

Parſon Newall in a rage againſt Iohn Alcock for not going on proceſſion.

Then came Rob. Rolfe, with whom this yong man wrought, and aſked M. Parſon what hath he done, that ye are in ſuch a rage with him?

He is an heretike and a traitor (quoth the Parſon) and deſpiſeth the Queens proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queenes name, have him to the ſtockes, and ſee hee be forth comming.

Well, quoth Rolfe, he ſhall be forth comming, proceed you in your buſineſſe, and be quiet. Have him to the ſtocks, quoth the Parſon.

I am Conſtable, quoth Rolfe, and may baile him, and will baile him; hee ſhall not come in the ſtockes, but he ſhall be forth comming. So went the good Parſon forth with his holy proceſſion, and ſo to Maſſe.

Rob. Rolfe an honeſt Conſtable of Hadley.

At afternoone Rolfe ſaid to this young man, I am ſorry for thee, for truely the Parſon will ſeeke thy deſtruction, if thou take not good heed what thou anſwereſt him.

The young man anſwered, Sir, I am ſorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for my ſelfe, I am not ſorry, but I doe commit my ſelfe into Gods hands, and I truſt he will give me mouth and wiſedome to anſwer according to right.

Well, quoth Rolfe, yet beware of him. For he is malitious and a bloud-ſucker, and beareth an old hatred againſt mee, and hee will handle you the more cruelly, becauſe of diſpleaſure againſt me.

I feare not, quoth the young man. Hee ſhall doe no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy ſhall I be if God will call me to die for his truths ſake.

After this talke, they then went to the Parſon, who at the firſt asked him, Fellow, what ſaiſt thou to the ſacrament of the Altar?

Alcocke brought to Parſon Newall.

I ſay, quoth he, as ye uſe the matter, ye make a ſhamefull idol of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous Prieſts all the ſort of you.

I told you (quoth the Parſon) he was a ſtout heretike.

Parſon Newall carrieth up J. Alcock to London.

So after long talke, the Parſon committed him to Ward, and the next day rode he up to London, and carried the young man with him, and ſo came the young man no more againe to Hadley, but after long impriſonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelfe to aſke forgiveneſſe of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, hee was caſt into the lower dungeon, wherewith evill kéeping and ſickneſſe of the houſe, hée dyed in priſon. Thus died hée a Martyr for Chriſts verity, which hée heartily loved and conſtantly confeſſed, and received the garland of a well foughten battell at the hand of the Lord. His body was caſt out, and buried in a dunghill, For the Papiſts would in all things bée like themſelves: Therefore would they not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodies to have honeſt and convenient ſepulture.

Jo. Alcock died in Newgate.

Jo. Alcock buried of the papiſts in a dunghill.

Thomas Benbridge Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruell Papiſts, for the defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt Ieſus.

July 29. The ſtory of Th. Benbridg Martyr.

THomas Benbridge a Gentleman, ſingle and unmarried, in the Dioceſſe of Wincheſter, although hée might have lived a pleaſant and a Gentlemans life in the wealthy poſſeſſions of this world; yet to follow Chriſt, had rather enter into the ſtrait gate of perſecution, to the heavenly poſſeſſion of life in the Lords Kingdome, than here to injoy pleaſures preſent with unquietneſſe of conſcience. Wherefore, manfully ſtanding againſt the Papiſts for the defence of the ſincere doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel, hée ſpared not himſelfe to confirme the doctrine of the Goſpel. For the which cauſe hée being apprehended for an adverſary of the Romiſh religion, was forthwith had to examination before Doctor White Biſhop of Wincheſter, where he ſuſtained ſundry conflicts for the truth againſt the ſaid B. and his Collegues. The articles of the Biſhop miniſtred to him, with his anſwers to the ſame annexed, bée here following.

Th. Benbridg examined before the B. of Wincheſter.

Articles miniſtred to M. Benbridge, with his anſwers following the ſame.

Articles oppoſed againſt Th. Benbridg

FIrſt, we articulate againſt you, that the church of God miniſtreth rightly, according to the rite Apoſtolicall.

Anſwer.

To this he anſwered, That Baptiſme is not adminiſtred at this preſent, ſo as it was in the Apoſtles time, for that it is not miniſtred in the Engliſh tongue.

The reall preſence.

2 Item, we articulate, that the Church of God doth beléeve, and hold, that in the ſacrament of thankeſgiving, after the words of conſecration pronounced of the Prieſt, the true and naturall body of Chriſt is preſent really.

Anſwer.

Hée anſwered, that hée beléeveth not that in the ſacrament is contained the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying; this is the marke that ye ſhoot at.

Confirmation

3 Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and beléeveth, that confirmation is a ſacrament in the Church, and that by impoſition of hands of a Biſhop, commeth grace.

Anſwer.

He anſwered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a ſacrament or not, and whether the Biſhop giveth grace or not; hée knoweth not the order and faſhion of miniſtration.

4 Item, wée articulate, that penance is a ſacrament in the Church, and that by auricular confeſſion and abſolution, pronounced by the prieſt, ſins be forgiven.

Anſwer. Penance no ſacrament.

He anſwered negatively, denying ſinnes to be forgiven by abſolution pronounced of a Prieſt, and that it is not neceſſary for a man to recite all his ſins to a Prieſt.

5 Item, we articulate againſt thee, that the Church doth beléeve and hold the ſame authority to be now in the Church which Chriſt gave to his Apoſtles.

Anſwer.

Hée anſwered negatively, for that the Church hath not the ſame power and ſtrength to work.

6 Item, we articulate, that the Church beléeveth and holdeth, that the order of Miniſters, now being in the Church of Chriſt, is inſtituted of Chriſt himſelfe.

Anſwer.

He anſwered, hée beléeved not the Biſhops to bée the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, for that they bée not called as they were, nor have that grace.

Head of the Church.

7 Item, wée articulate, that the Church beléeveth and holdeth, the Pope to bée ſupreme head in the Church, and the Vicar of Chriſt in earth.

Anſwer.

He anſwered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the Divell that is ſupreme head of the Church which you ſpeake of.

8 Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and beléeve that it is neceſſary to be baptized.

Anſwer.

He denyed not the ſame.

Purgatory.

9 Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and beléeve, that there is Purgatory, and that the ſoules of the dead be relieved with the almes and prayers of the living.

Anſwer.

He anſwered and ſaith, as touching Purgatory, he will not beléeve as their Church doth beléeve.

10 Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and beléeveth, that Matrimony is a ſacrament of the Church.

Anſwer. Matrimony no ſacrament.

He anſwered, that hée will not ſay that Matrimony is a ſacrament, but to be a ſacred order and ſigne of an holy thing, &c.

Martin Luther.

Moreover hapning into the mention of Martin Luther, he ſaid, that the ſaid Martin Luther died a good Chriſtian man, whoſe doctrine and life he did approve and allow.

Th. Benbridg condemned.

Th. Benbridg brought to the ſtake.

Thus have ye the Articles miniſtred by the B. and alſo the Anſwers of the ſaid M. Benbridge unto the ſame, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdome by the ſheriffe, called ſir Richard Peckſall. Where he ſtanding at the ſtake, beganne to untie his points, and to prepare himſelfe; then he gave his gown to the Keeper, being belike his fee. His Jerkin was layd on with gold lace faire and brave, which he gave to Sir Rich. Peckſall the high ſheriffe. His cap of Velvet he tooke off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his minde to the Lord, he made his prayers.

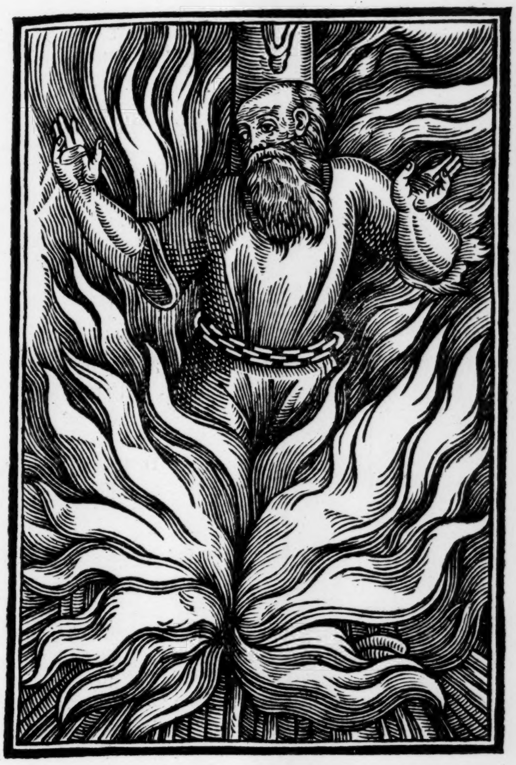
D. Seaton forbideth to pray for him.

That done, being now faſtened to the ſtake, D. Seaton willed him to recant, and hee ſhould have his pardon: but when he ſaw it prevailed not to ſpeak, the ſaid dreaming and doltiſh Doctor willed the people not to pray for him unleſſe he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

M. Benbridge ſtanding at the ſtake with his hands together in ſuch maner as the Prieſt holdeth his hands in his memento, the ſaid D. Seaton came to him againe, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he ſayd, Away Babylonian, away.

Then ſaid one that ſtood by, Sir, cut out his tongue, and another being a temporall man, railed on him worſe than D. Seaton did a great deale, who (as is thought) was ſet on by ſome other.

The martyrdome of Thomas Benbridge, Anno 1558. Iuly 19.



Then when they ſaw he would not yeeld, they bade the tormentors to ſet to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. Firſt, the fire tooke away a peece of his beard; whereat hee nothing ſhranke at all. Then it came on the other ſide and tooke his legs, and the nether ſtockings of his hoſe being leather, made the fire to pierce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and ſuddenly therewith he thruſt the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by, that wiſhed his life, they ſtept to the fire, and holpe to talke it from him alſo; who for their labour were ſent to priſon. The Sheriffe alſo of his owne authority took him from the ſtake, and ſent him to priſon againe, for the which he was ſent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certaine time. But before he was taken from the ſtake, the ſaid Seaton wrote Articles to have him to ſubſcribe unto them as touching the Pope, the Sacrament, and ſuch other traſh. But the ſaid M. Benbridge made much adoe ere hee would ſubſcribe them, inſomuch that Doctor Seaton willed them to ſet to fire againe. Then with much paine and great griefe of heart hee ſubſcribed to them upon a mans backe. That being done, he had his gowne given him againe, and ſo was led to priſon. Being in priſon he wrote a letter to Doctor Seaton, and recanted thoſe words he ſpake at the ſtake, unto which he had ſubſcribed: for he was grieved that ever he did ſubſcribe unto them. Whereupon expreſſing his conſcience, he was the ſame day ſeven night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broile him than burne him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

Maſter Benbridge recanted at the ſtake.

Sir Richard Peckſal.

M. Benbridge repenteth his recantation.

The unjuſt execution and martyrdome of foure burned at S. Edmunds Bury.

The ſtory of 4. Martyrs in Suffolke.

IN this yeare aforeſaid, which was the laſt of Q. Maries reigne, D. Hopton being Biſhop of Norwich, and D. Spenſer bearing the roome of his Chancellor, about S. Iames tide, at S. Edmunds Bury, were wrongfully put to death foure Chriſtian Martyrs, to wit:

Anno 1558.

Iohn Cooke, a Sawyer.
Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a Sheerman.
Alexander Lane, a Wheeleright.
Iames Aſhley, Bachelor.

Martyrs.

The examination of theſe forenamed perſons, being ſeverally called before the Biſhop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon theſe articles following.

Sir Edward Walgrave, perſecutor.

Firſt, Sir Edward Walgrave called Iohn Cooke to him and ſaid, How fortuneth it, that you goe not to Church?

Examination of Iohn Cook.

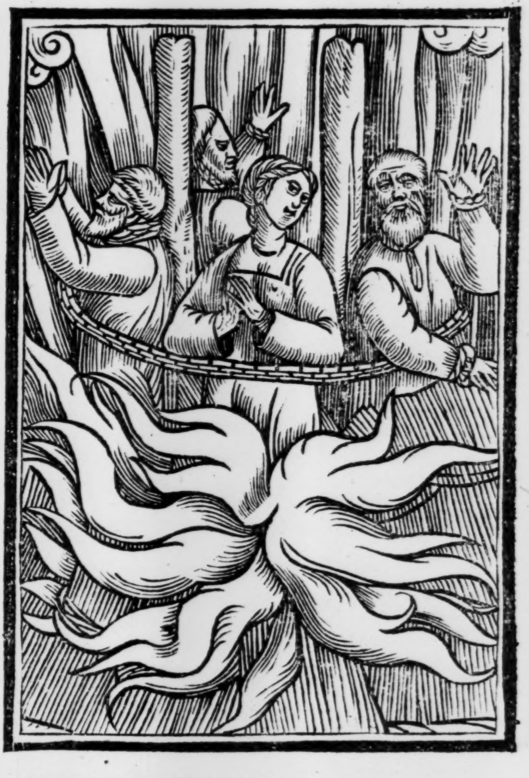
Iohn Cooke ſaid, I have been there.

Sir Edward ſaid, What is the cauſe that you goe not thither now in theſe daies?

Iohn Cooke ſaid, Becauſe the ſacrament of the altar is an abominable idoll, and (ſaith he) the vengeance of God will come upon all them that doe maintaine it.

Sir Edward ſaid, O thou ranke traytor, if I had as good commiſſion to cut out thy tongue, as I have to ſit here this day, thou ſhouldeſt be ſure to have it cut out. Then commanded he the Conſtable to have him away, ſaying, he was both a traitor and a rebell.

Foure burned at S. Edmunds Bury.



Then he called Robert Miles, and ſaid, how fortuneth it, that you go not to the Church?

Examination of Robert Miles.

Robert Miles anſwered, Becauſe I will follow no falſe gods.

Then ſaid the B. who told thee that it is a god?

Then ſaid Miles, Even you, and ſuch as you are.

Then the Biſhop commanded him aſide, and to appeare before him the next day.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not goe to the Church?

Examination of Alexander Lane.

He ſaid, That his conſcience would not ſerve him ſo to doe.

Anno 1558.

Then Sir Edward ſayd, How doeſt thou beléeve?

Then ſaid Lane, even as it is written in Gods booke.

Then Sir Edward commanded him to ſay his beliefe.

Then the ſaid Lane being ſomewhat abaſhed, ſayd his beliefe, to theſe words, which he miſſed unawares, Borne of the virgin Mary.

Then Sir Edward ſayd, What? was he not borne of the Virgin Mary?

Yes ſaid Lane, I would have ſayd ſo.

Nay, ſaid ſir Edward, you are one of Cookes ſchollers, and ſo commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

Examination of Ja. Aſhley.

After the like manner they paſſed alſo with James Aſhley, whom they warned the next day likewiſe to appeare before them againe. So in fine they appearing againe, had their condemnation. And thus theſe foure bleſſed Martyrs and ſervants of Chriſt, innocently ſuffered together at S. Edmundſbury, as is aforeſaid, about the beginning of Auguſt, not long before the ſickneſſe of Quéene Mary.

The Martyrdome of two godly perſons ſuffering at Ipſwich for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and his everlaſting Teſtament, named Alexander Gouch, and Alice Driver.

Novemb. 4. M. Noone a perſecutor.

Maſter Noone, a Juſtice in Suffolke, dwelling in Martleſham, hunting after good men to apprehend them (as hée was a bloody tyrant in the dayes of tryall) at the length had underſtanding of one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Drivers wife of Groſborough, to be at Groſborough together, a little from his houſe, and immediately tooke his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent ſearch for them, where the poore man and woman were compelled to ſtep into an hay golph to hide themſelves from their cruelty. At the laſt they came to ſearch the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforkes, at the laſt found them: ſo they tooke them and led them to Melton Gaole, where they remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury, againſt the Aſſiſe at Saint James tide, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly ſtand to confeſſe Chriſt crucified, defying the Pope with all his Papiſticall traſh. And among other things Drivers wife likened Quéene Mary in her perſecution, to Jezabel; and ſo in that ſenſe calling her Jezabel, for that ſir Clement Higham, being chiefe Judge there, adjudged her eares immediately to bée cut off, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhée joyfully yéelded her ſelfe to the puniſhment, and thought her ſelfe happy that ſhée was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Name of Chriſt.

Gouch and Alice Driver taken at Groſborough and carried to Melton gaole Queen Mary called Jezabel Alice Drivers eares cut off, for likening Queen Mary to Jezabel.

Alex. Gouch.

After the Aſſiſe at Bury, they were carried to Melton Gaole againe, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of 36. yeares, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a Weaver of ſhredding Coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolke, and borne at Uxford in the ſame County. Drivers wife was a woman about the age of 30. yeares, and dwelt at Groſborough where they were taken, in Suffolke. Her huſband did uſe huſbandry. Theſe two were caried from Melton Goale to Ipſwich, where they remained and were examined. The which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

Gouch and Alice Driver carried to Ipſwich.

The examination of Drivers wife, before Doctor Spenſer the Chancellor of Norwich.

D. Spenſer after the death of D. Dunning who dyed ſuddenly in Lincolnſhire, was Chancellor under B. Hopton.

First, ſhee comming into the place where ſhee ſhould bee examined, with a ſmiling countenance, Doctor Spenſer ſayd, Why woman, doſt thou laugh us to ſcorne?

Drivers wife. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to ſee what fooles ye be.

Doct. Spenſer. Then the Chancellor asked her wherefore ſhe was brought before him, and why ſhe was laid in priſon.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you: for ye know it better than I.

Spenſ. No by my troth woman I know not why.

Dri. Then have ye done me much wrong (quoth ſhe) thus to impriſon me, and know no cauſe why: for I know no evill that I have done, I thanke God, and I hope there is no man that can accuſe me of any notorious fact that I have done juſtly.

Sacrament of the altar.

Spenſ. Woman, woman, what ſayſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Doſt thou not beleeve that it is very fleſh and bloud, after the words be ſpoken of conſecration?

Drivers wife at thoſe words held her peace, and made no anſwer. Then a great chuffe-headed Prieſt that ſtood by, ſpake, and asked her why ſhe made not the Chancellor anſwer. With that, the ſaid Drivers wife looked upon him auſterely, and ſaid, Why Prieſt, I come not to talke with thee, but I come to talke with thy Maſter: but if thou wilt I ſhall talke with thee, command thy Maſter to hold his peace. And with that the prieſt put his noſe in his cap, and ſpake never a word more. Then the Chancellor bade her make anſwer to that he demanded of her.

A fat prieſt put to ſilence.

Dri. Sir (ſayd ſhe) pardon me though I make no anſwer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any ſuch ſacrament in all the Scripture.

Spenſ. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thanke God) read Gods book.

Spenſ. Why, what maner of book is that you call Gods book?

Dri. It is the old and new Teſtament. What call you it?

Spenſ. That is Gods book indeed, I cannot deny.

No ſacrament of the altar to be found in Gods book.

Dri. That ſame booke have I read thorowout, but yet never could finde any ſuch ſacrament there: and for that cauſe I cannot make you anſwer to that thing I know not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I will grant you a ſacrament, called the Lords Supper: and therefore ſeeing I have granted you a Sacrament, I pray you ſhew me what a ſacrament is.

D. Gaſcoine perſecutor. What a ſacrament is.

Spenſ. It is a ſigne. And one D. Gaſcoine being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the ſigne of an holy thing.

D. Gaſcoines Oration little to purpoſe.

Dri. You have ſaid the truth ſir, ſaid ſhe. It is a ſigne indéed, I muſt needs grant it: and therfore ſeeing it is a ſigne, it cannot be the thing ſignified alſo. Thus farre we doe agree: for I have granted your owne ſaying. Then ſtood up the ſaid Gaſcoine, and made an Oration with many faire words, but little to purpoſe, both offenſive and odious to the mindes of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if ſhe did not beleeve the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to performe that he ſpake. Shee anſwered, Yes, and ſayd, I doe beleeve that God is almighty, and able to performe that hee ſpake and promiſed.

Talk betwéen Alice Driver and D. Gaſcoine.

Gaſc. Very well. Then he ſaid to his Diſciples, Take, eate, this is my body: Ergo, it was his body. For he was able to performe that he ſpake, and God uſeth not to lie.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any ſuch promiſe to his diſciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gaſc. Thoſe be the words. Can you deny it?

Dri. No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it, but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

Gaſc. No, it was his body.

Dri. Then was it his body that they did eate over night?

Gaſc. Yea, it was his body.

Dri. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gaſc. It was Chriſts body.

Dri. How could that be, when his Diſciples had eaten him over night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eate over night, and another was crucified the next day. Such a Doctor, ſuch doctrine. Be you not aſhamed to teach the people, that Chriſt had two bodies? In the 22. of Luke, He tooke bread and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying; Take, &c. and doe this in remembrance of me. Saint Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 11. Doe this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come: and therefore I marvell you bluſh not before all this people, to lie ſo manifeſtly as ye doe. With that Gaſcoine held his peace, and made her no anſwer: for, as it ſeemed, he was aſhamed of his doings. Then the Chancellor lift up his head off from his cuſhion, and commanded the Gaoler to take her away.

If Chriſt had but one body, and that body was eaten up over night, what body then was crucified the next day?
Luke 22.
1 Cor. 11.

Gaſcoines mouth ſtopped

Dri. Now (ſaid ſhe) ye be not able to reſiſt the truth, yee command me to priſon againe. Well, the Lord in the end ſhall judge our cauſe, and to him I leave it. I wiſſe, I wiſſe, this geare will goe for no paiment then: So went ſhe with the Gaoler away.

The Chancellor when he could not anſwer her with reaſon, ſendeth her to priſon.

The ſecond examination of Alice Driver.

THe next day ſhe came before them again, and the Chancellor then aſked her, what ſhe ſaid to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Another examination of Alice Driver before Doctor Spenſer and Gaſcoine. Spenſer up with his Sacrament of the altar againe.

Dri. I will ſay nothing to it: for you will neither beleeve me nor your ſelves. For yeſterday I aſked you what a ſacrament was, and you ſaid, it was a ſigne, and I agreed thereto, and ſaid, it was the truth, confirming it by the Scriptures, ſo that I went not from your own words; and now yee come and aſke me againe of ſuch a ſacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.

Spenſ. Thou lyeſt naughty woman, we did not ſay that it was a ſigne.

Dri. Why Maſters, be ye not the men that you were yeſterday? Will ye eate your owne words? Are ye not aſhamed to lie before all this multitude here preſent, who heard you ſpeake the ſame?

Then ſtood up D. Gaſcoine, and ſaid, ſhe was deceived: for there were three Churches, the malignant Church, the Church militant, and the Church triumphant. So he would faine have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Gaſcoine againe taketh the matter in hand.
3. Churches.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of ſo many Churches in the Scripture?

Gaſc. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where finde you this word (Church) written in the Scripture?

Gaſc. It is written in the new Teſtament.

Dri. I pray you ſir ſhew the place where it is written.

Gaſc. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired him to looke in his Teſtament. Then he fumbled and ſought about him for one: but at that time he had none, and that hee knew well enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At the laſt ſhe ſaid, Have ye none here ſir?

Gaſc. No.

Dri. I thought ſo much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withall. Surely, you be a good Doctor. You ſay you ſit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgement, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Gaſcoine was out of countenance, and aſked her if ſhe had one.

Gaſcoine little acquainted with the new Teſtament.

Dri. No, ſaid ſhe.

Gaſc. Then ſaid hee, I am as good a Doctor as you.

Dri. Well ſir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt, if you could) and ſince would ye not ſuffer me to have any book at all; ſo burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thanke God) that I have exerciſed the ſame; elſe could I not have anſwered you (to Gods glory be it ſpoken) as I have. Thus ſhe put them all to ſilence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to ſpeake.

The Papiſts put to ſilence by a ſimple woman.

Dri. Have you no more to ſay? God be honoured. You be not able to reſiſt the ſpirit of God in me poore woman. I was an honeſt poore mans daughter, never brought up in the Univerſity as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time (I thank God:) yet notwithſtanding in the defence of Gods truth, and in the cauſe of my Maſter Chriſt, by his grace I will ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the ſame, and if I had a thouſand lives, they ſhould goe for paiment thereof. So the Chancellor roſe up, and read the ſentence in Latine of condemnation, and committed her to the ſecular power, and ſo went ſhe to priſon againe as joyfull as the bird of day, praiſing and glorifying the name of God.

Alice Driver brought up at her fathers plough.

Spenſer readeth ſentence againſt Alice Driver.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

AT which time Alexander Gouch alſo was examined, who was taken with her, as before is ſaid, whoſe examination hereafter followeth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the Sacrament and other Ceremonies of the Popiſh Church. And for that his beleefe was, that Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the ſacrament was the remembrance of his death and paſſion, and for refuſing the Maſſe, and the Pope to be ſupreame head of Chriſts Church, for theſe cauſes was he condemned, and dyed with Alice Driver at Ipſwich, the 4. of November, which was the Munday after All Saints 1558. Doctor Miles Spenſer being Chancellor, they both ending their lives with earneſt zeale, nothing fearing to ſpeak their conſcience when they were commanded to the contrary.

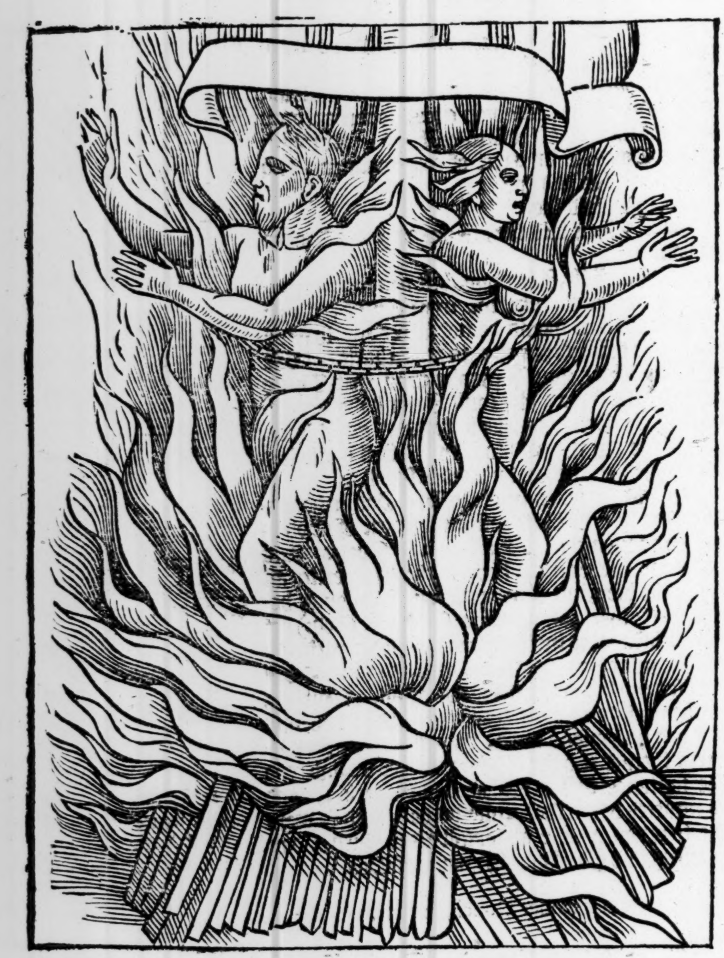
The articles whereupon Gouch was condemned. The martyrdome of Gouch and Alice Driver at Ipſwich. Anno 1558. Novemb 4.

Theſe two godly perſons being come to the place where the ſtake was ſet, by ſeven of the clocke in the morning, notwithſtanding they came the ſelf-ſame morning from Melton gaole, which is ſixe miles from Ipſwich, being in their prayers, and ſinging of Pſalmes both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, then being Sherife, was very much offended with them, and willed the Bailiffes of Ipſwich to bid them make an end of their prayers, they kneeling upon a broom fagot, one of the Bailiffes, whoſe name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, ſaying, On, on, have done, have done; make an end, naile them to the ſtake; yet they continued in prayer.

Gouch and Alice Driver brought to the ſtake.

Anno 1558.

The Martyrdome of Alexander Gouch, and Drivers wife.



Then ſir Henry ſent one of his men, whoſe name was Richard Cove, that they ſhould make an end.

Then Gouch ſtood up and ſaid unto the Sheriffe, I pray you M. Sheriffe, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then ſaid the Bailiffe, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the ſaid Gouch and Alice Driver ſaid, Why Maſter ſheriffe, and Maſter bailiffe, will you not ſuffer us to pray?

The Martyrs not ſuffered to pray.

Away, ſaid Sir Henry, to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered, Take heed Maſter Sherife. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tyed to the ſtake, and the iron chaine being put about Alice Drivers neck, O (ſaid ſhe) here is a goodly neckerchiefe, bleſſed be God for it.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound ſtanding at the ſtake. The Sheriffe cryed, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the ſtake. The Sheriffe ſeeing that, let them all alone, ſo that there was not one taken.

Bate a railing perſecutor.
Example of Gods judgement upon perſecutors.

There was one Bate a Barbor, a buſie doer about them, who having then a freeze gown upon him, ſold it immediately, ſaying, It ſtunk of heretikes, with other foule words moe. After this, within three or foure weekes, Gods hand was upon him, and ſo hee dyed very miſerably in Ipſwich.

The Martyrdome of three which were burned at Bury, for the true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyrdome of 3. good men at Bury.

ALthough our hiſtory haſteth apace (the Lord be praiſed) to the happy death of Queen Mary, yet ſhe dyed not ſo ſoone, but ſome there were burned before, and moe ſhould have been burned ſoone after them, if Gods proviſion had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which ſuffered in the ſame moneth when Queen Mary dyed, were three that were burned at Bury, whoſe names were theſe:

Philip Humfrey.
Iohn David.
Henry David, his brother.

Sir Clement Higham perſecutor.

Concerning the burning of theſe three, here is to be noted, that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the Queene dyed, did ſue out a writ for the burning of theſe three aforeſaid godly and bleſſed Martyrs, notwithſtanding that the Queene was then knowne to be paſt remedy of her ſickneſſe.

The trouble and Martyrdome of a godly poore woman which ſuffered at Exeter.

The ſtory of a poore woman burned at Exeter in Qu. Maries time.

ALthough in ſuch an innumerable company of godly Martyrs, which in ſundry quarters of this Realme were put to torments of fire in Queene Maries time, it bee hard ſo exactly to recite every particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape us either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot paſſe over a certaine poore woman, and a ſilly creature, burned under the ſaid Queens reigne, in the City of Exeter (whoſe name I have not yet learned:) who dwelling ſometime about Cornwall, having a huſband and children there, much addicted to the ſuperſtitious ſect of Popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to goe to the Church, to their Idols and Ceremonies, to ſhrift, to follow the croſſe in proceſſion, to give thankes to God for reſtoring Antichriſt again in this Realme, &c. Which when her ſpirit could not abide to doe, ſhe made her prayer unto God, calling for helpe and mercy, and ſo at length lying in her bed, about midnight, ſhee thought there came to her a certaine motion and feeling of ſingular comfort. Whereupon in ſhort ſpace, ſhe began to grow in contempt of her huſband and children, and ſo taking nothing from them, but even as ſhe went, departed from them, ſeeking her living by labour and ſpinning as well as ſhe could, here and there for a time. In which time notwithſtanding ſhe never ceaſed to utter her minde as well as ſhe durſt; howbeit ſhe at that time was brought home to her huſband againe. Where at laſt ſhee was accuſed by her neighbors, and ſo brought up to Exeter, to be preſented to the Biſhop and his Clergy. The name of the Biſhop which had her in examination, was D. Troublevile. His Chancellor (as I gather) was Blackſtone. The chiefeſt matter whereupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was for the ſacrament (which they cal of the altar) and for ſpeaking againſt idols, as by the declaration of thoſe which were preſent, I underſtand, which report the talk betweene her and the Biſhop on this wiſe.

Her departing from her huſband and returning againe.

The poore woman ſent up to Exeter.
D. Troublevile B. of Exeter, and Blackſtone, perſecutors.

Talke betweene the woman and the Biſhop.

Biſhop. Thou fooliſh woman, quoth the biſhop, I heare ſay, that thou haſt ſpoken certain words againſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, the body of Chriſt. Fie for ſhame. Thou art an unlearned perſon and a woman; Wilt thou meddle with ſuch high matters, which all the

Doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talke of ſo high myſteries? Keep thy worke, and meddle with that thou haſt to doe. It is no womans matter, at cards and towe to be ſpoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman. My Lord, ſaid ſhe, I truſt your Lordſhip will heare me ſpeake.

Biſh. Yea marry, quoth he, therefore I ſent for thée.

Woman. I am a poore woman, and do live by my hands, getting a peny truly, and of that I get, I give part to the poore.

Biſh. That is well done. Art thou not a mans wife?

And here the Biſhop entered into talk of her husband.

The wife renouncing her husband for Chriſts ſake.

To whom ſhe anſwered againe, declaring that ſhe had a husband and children, and had them not. So long as ſhe was liberty, ſhe refuſed not neither husband nor children: But now ſtanding here as I doe, ſaid ſhe, in the cauſe of Chriſt and his truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt, or my husband, I am contented to ſtick only to Chriſt my heavenly Spouſe, and renounce the other.

And here ſhe making mention of the words of Chriſt, He that leaveth not Father or Mother, ſiſter or brother, husband, &c. The Biſhop inferred, that Chriſt ſpake that of the holy Martyrs, which dyed becauſe they would not do ſacrifice to the falſe gods.

Woman. Sikerly ſir, and I will rather die than I will doe any worſhip to that foule Idoll, which with your Maſſe you make a god.

Biſh. Yea, you callet, will you ſay that the ſacrament of the Altar is a foule Idoll?

The ſacrament of the altar made an Idoll.

Woman. Yea truly, quoth ſhe, there was never ſuch an Idoll as your ſacrament is made of your Prieſts, and commanded to be worſhipped of all men, with many fond phantaſies, where Chriſt did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his moſt bleſſed paſſion for our redemption.

Biſhop. Sée this pratling woman. Doeſt thou not heare, that Chriſt did ſay over the bread, This is my body, and over the cup, This is my blood?

Woman. Yes forſooth he ſaid ſo, but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but ſacramentally.

Biſh. Lo, ſhe hath heard pratling among theſe new Preachers, or heard ſome péeviſh book. Alas poore woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. No, my Lord, that I have learned was of godly Preachers, and of godly bookes which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reaſon why I will not worſhip the ſacrament.

Biſhop. Marry ſay on, I am ſure it will bée goodly géere.

Woman. Truly ſuch géere as I will loſe this poore life of mine for.

Biſhop. Then you will be a Martyr good wife.

Woman. Indéed, if the denying to worſhip that bready God be my martyrdome, I will ſuffer it with all my heart.

Biſh. Say thy minde.

Woman. You muſt beare with me a poore woman, quoth ſhe.

Biſh. So I will, quoth he.

Reaſons ſhewing why the ſacrament of the Lords body is not to be worſhipped

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your Créed, which doth ſay, that Chriſt perpetually doth ſit at the right hand of his Father, both body and ſoule, untill he come againe, or whether he be there in heaven our Advocate, and doe make prayer for us unto God his Father. If it be ſo, he is not here in the earth in a péece of bread. If he be not here, and if he doe not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, ſhall we ſéeke him here? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? if with once offering he made all perfect, why doe you with a falſe offering make all unperfect? If he be to be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth, why do you worſhip a péece of bread? if he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among us, why doe you ſay, you make his body and fleſh, and ſay it is profitable for body and ſoule? Alas, I am a poore woman; but rather then I would doe as you doe, I would live no longer. I have ſaid ſir.

Anno 1558.

Biſh. I promiſe you, you are a jolly Proteſtant. I pray you in what ſchooles have you béen brought up?

Woman. I have upon the Sundaies viſited the Sermons, and there have I learned ſuch things as are ſo fixed in my breaſt, that death ſhall not ſeparate them.

Biſh. O fooliſh woman, who will waſte his breath upon thée or ſuch as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wenteſt away from thy husband? if thou wert an honeſt woman, thou wouldeſt not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my Maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one City, I fled into another?

Biſh. Who perſecuted thée?

The wife perſecuted by her husband and children.

Woman. My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave Idolatry, and to worſhip God in heaven, he would not heare me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredome, nor for theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foule Idoll the Maſſe. And whereſoever I was, as oft as I could upon Sundaies and Holidaies, I made excuſes not to goe to the Popiſh Church.

Biſh. Belike then you are a good huſwife, to flie from your husband and alſo from the Church.

Wom. My huswifery is but ſmall; but God give me grace to goe to the true Church.

Biſhop. The true Church, what doeſt thou meane?

Wom. Not your Popiſh Church full of Idols and abominations, but where two or thrée are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church will I goe as long as I live.

Biſh. Belike then you have a Church of your owne. Well, let this mad woman be put downe to priſon, untill we ſend for her husband.

Woman. No, I have but one husband, which is here already in this City and in priſon with me (from whom I will never depart) and ſo their communication for that day brake off. Blackſtone and others perswaded the Biſhop that ſhe was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit (which is no new thing, for the wiſdome of God to appeare fooliſhneſſe to carnall men of this world) and therefore they conſulted together, that ſhée ſhould have liberty, and go at large. So the Kéeper of the Biſhops priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinning and carding, and did all other work as a ſervant in the ſaid Kéepers houſe, and went about the City, when and whither ſhée would, and divers had delight to talke with her. And ever ſhe continued talking of the ſacrament of the altar, which of all things they could leaſt abide. Then was her husband ſent for, but ſhe refuſed to go home with him, with the blemiſh of the cauſe and religion, in defence whereof ſhe there ſtood before the Biſhop and the Prieſts.

Then

Talk betweene the woman and the Prieſts about the ſacrament.

Then divers of the Prieſts had her in handling, perſwading her to leave her wicked opinion about the Sacrament of the altar, the naturall body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt. But ſhee made them anſwer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay, that a peece of bread ſhould be turned by a man into the naturall body of Chriſt, which bread doth vinow, and Mice oftentimes doe eate it, and it doth mould, and is burned: And, ſaid ſhe, Gods owne body will not be ſo handled, nor kept in priſon, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it bee your God, it ſhall not be mine; for my Saviour ſitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that ſacramentall or ſignificative bread inſtituted for a remembrance, the very body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, it is very fooliſhneſſe and deviliſh deceit.

Now truly, ſaid they, the devill hath deceived thee.

No, ſaid ſhee, I truſt the living GOD hath opened mine eyes, and cauſed me to underſtand the right uſe of the bleſſed Sacrament, which the true Church doth uſe, but the falſe Church doth abuſe.

Then ſtept forth an old Frier, and aſked her what ſhe ſaid of the holy Pope.

Talke betweene the woman and a Frier.

I (ſaid ſhee) ſay that he is Antichriſt and the devill.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, ſaid ſhe, you have more need to weepe than to laugh, and to be ſorry that ever you were borne, to be the Chaplaines of that Whore of Babylon, I defie him and all his falſhood; and get you away from me; you doe but trouble my conſcience. You would have mee follow your doings; I will firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh woman, ſaid they, we come to thee for thy profit and ſoules health.

O Lord God, ſaid ſhe, what profit riſeth by you that teach nothing but lies for truth? how ſave you ſoules, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and deſtroy ſoules?

How proveſt thou that (ſaid they?)

Doe you not damne ſoules, ſaid ſhe, when you teach the people to worſhip Idols, Stockes, and Stones, the worke of mens hands? and to worſhip a falſe God of your owne making, of a peece of bread, and teach that the Pope is Gods Vicar, and hath power to forgive ſinnes? and that there is a Purgatory, when Gods Sonne hath by his paſſion purged all? and ſay, you make God, and ſacrifice him, when Chriſts body was a ſacrifice once for all? Doe you not teach the people to number their ſinnes in your eares, and ſay they be damned, if they confeſſe not all: when Gods Word ſaith, Who can number his ſinnes? Doe you not promiſe them Trentals and Diriges, and Maſſes for ſoules, and ſell your prayers for mony, and make them buy Pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſh inventions of your owne imaginations? Do you not altogether againſt God? Doe ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto Saints, and ſay they can pray for us? Doe you not make holy water, and holy bread to fray Devils? Doe you not a thouſand more abominations? And yet you ſay, you come for my profit, and to ſave my ſoule. No, no, one hath ſaved me. Farewell you with your ſalvation. Much other talke there was betweene her and them, which here were too tedious to be expreſſed.

Falſe doctrine of the Papiſts reproved.

In the meane time during this her moneths liberty granted to her by the Biſhop, which we ſpake of before, it happened that ſhe entering into Saint Peters Church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman how he made new noſes to certaine fine Images which were disfigured in King Edwards time; What a mad man art thou (ſaid ſhe) to make them new noſes, which within a few daies ſhall all loſe their heads? The Dutchman accuſed her, and laid it hard to her charge. And ſhe ſaid unto him; Thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy Images. He called her Whore. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thy Images are Whores, and thou art a Whorehunter; for doth not God ſay; You goe a whoring after ſtrange gods, figures of your owne making? and thou art one of them. Then was ſhe ſent for, and clapped faſt, and from that time ſhe had no more liberty.

During the time of her impriſonment, divers reſorted to her to viſit her, ſome ſent of the Biſhop, ſome of their owne voluntary will; amongſt whom was one Daniel a great doer and preacher ſometimes of the Goſpel, in the daies of King Edward, in thoſe parts of Cornwall and Devonſhire: whom after that ſhe perceived by his owne confeſſion to have revolted from that which hee preached before, through the grievous impriſonments, as he ſaid, and feare of perſecution which he had partly ſuſtained by the cruel Juſtices in thoſe parts, earneſtly ſhe exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more conſtant in his profeſſion.

The revolting of one Daniel a miniſter, from the Goſpel to Popery in Q. Maries time.

Moreover, there reſorted to her a certaine worthy Gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauley, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who comming to the priſon, and talking with her, ſhe ſaid her Creed to the Gentlewoman, and when ſhe came to the article, He aſcended, there ſhe ſtaid, and bade the Gentlewoman to ſeeke his bleſſed body in heaven, not in earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and that ſacrament to be nothing elſe but a remembrance of his bleſſed paſſion, and yet (ſaid ſhe) as they now uſe it, it is but an Idoll, and far wide from any remembrance of Chriſts body; which, ſaid ſhe, will not long continue, and ſo take it good Miſtreſſe. So that as ſoon as ſhe came home to her huſband, ſhe declared to him, that in her life ſhe never heard a woman (of ſuch ſimplicity to ſee to) talke ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly; inſomuch, that if God were not with her, ſhe could not ſpeake ſuch things, to the which I am not able to anſwer her, ſaid ſhe, who can reade, and ſhe cannot.

William and John Kede, two godly brethren.

Alſo there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the fleſh, but alſo in the truth, and men in that Country of great credit, whoſe father Robert Kede all his life ſuffered nothing but trouble for the Goſpell. Theſe two good and faithfull brethren were preſent with her, both in the hall, and alſo at the priſon, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of ſo godly talke, ſo faithfull, or ſo conſtant; and as godly exhortations ſhe gave them.

The conſtancy of this woman many waies tryed.

Thus this good Matron, the very ſervant and handmaide of Chriſt, was by many waies tryed, both by hard impriſonment, threatnings, taunts, and ſcornes, called an Anabaptiſt, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runnagate. She was proved by liberty to goe whither ſhe would; ſhe was tried by flattery, with many faire promiſes; ſhee was tryed with her huſband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevaile, her heart was fixed, ſhe had caſt her anker, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare enſample of conſtancy to all profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel.

In the Bill of my information, it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhe was of ſuch ſimplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but ſhe would tell you the

Chapter: yea, ſhe would recite to you the names of all the bookes of the Bible. For which cauſe one Gregory Baſſet, a ranke Papiſt, ſaid ſhe was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a dogge rangeth far off from his Maſter when he walketh in the fields, or as a ſtolne ſheep out of his Maſters hands, ſhe wiſt not whereat, as all heretikes doe; with many other ſuch taunts, which ſhe utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praiſed, working ſo mightily in ſuch a weake veſſell; ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature, have alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe; when as we ſee this poore woman, how manfully ſhe went through with ſuch conſtancy and patience.

Gregory Baſſet a railing Papiſt.

The conſtant patience of this woman and martyr to be noted.

At the laſt, when they perceived her to be paſt remedy, and had conſumed all their threatnings, that neither by priſonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to ſing any other ſong, nor win her to their vanities and ſuperſtitious doings, then they cryed out, An Anabaptiſt, an Anabaptiſt. Then at a day they brought her from the Biſhops priſon to the Guildhall, and after that delivered her to the temporall power, according to their cuſtome, where ſhe was by the Gentlemen of the Country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her fond opinions: and goe home to thy huſband, ſaid they thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to anſwer to ſuch high matters. I am not, ſaid ſhe, yet with my death I am content to be a witneſſe of Chriſts death: and I pray you make no longer delay with me; my heart is fired, I will never otherwiſe ſay, nor turne to their ſuperſtitious doings.

The woman brought from the Biſhops priſon to the Guildhall.

Exhortations to have her recant.

The conſtant ſtanding of this woman.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, the devill did leade her.

No, my Lord, ſaid ſhe, it is the ſpirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me. Then was there a great ſhout and laughing among the Prieſts and other.

Blaſphemy of the Biſhop.

How God revaled his truth unto her.

During the time that this good poore woman was thus under theſe Prieſts hands, amongſt many other baitings and ſore conflicts which ſhe ſuſtained by them, Here is moreover not to bee forgotten, how that Maſter Blaxton aforeſaid, being Treaſurer of the Church, had a Concubine, which ſundry times reſorted to him, with other of his Goſſips; ſo that alwaies when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, there to make his Minion with the reſt of the company ſome mirth, he examining her with ſuch mocking and girning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Chriſtian heart to have ſeen it. Then when he had long uſed his fooliſhneſſe in this ſort, and had ſported himſelfe enough in deriding this Chriſtian Martyr; in the end he ſent her to priſon againe, and there kept her very miſerably, ſaving that ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his foreſaid gueſt came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly aforeſaid. But in fine, theſe vile wretches (after many combates and ſcoffing perſwaſions) when they had played the part of the Cat with the Mouſe, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the ſecular power.

Judgement given againſt this good woman.

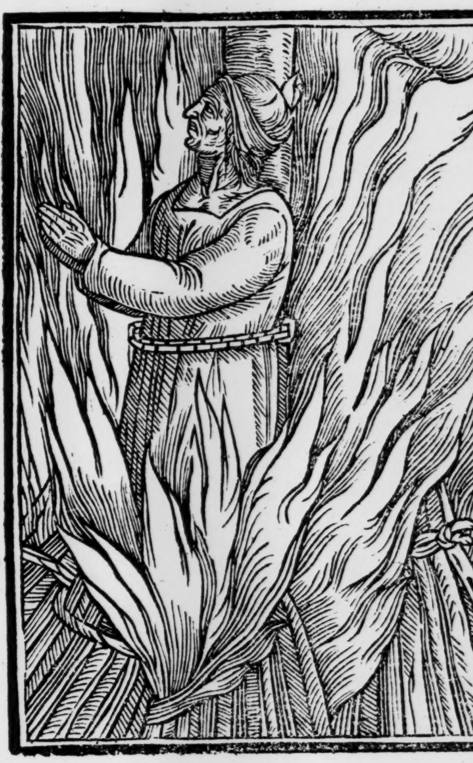
She thanketh God for her judgement given.

Then the Indictment being given and read, which was, that ſhe ſhould goe to the place whence ſhe came, and from thence to be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till ſhe ſhould be conſumed; ſhe lifted up her voice and thanked God, ſaying; I thanke thee my Lord my God, this day have I found that which I have long ſought. But ſuch out-cries as there were againe, and ſuch mockings were never ſeen upon a poore ſilly woman: All which ſhe moſt patiently tooke. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgement, that her life ſhould be ſpared, if ſhe would turne and recant. Nay, that will I not (ſaid ſhe:) GOD forbid that I ſhould loſe the life eternall for this carnall and ſhort life. I will never turne from my heavenly huſband; to my earthly huſband; from the fellowſhip of Angels, to mortall children: And if my huſband and children be faithfull, then am I theirs; God is my father, God is my mother; God is my ſiſter, my brother; my kinſman, God is my friend moſt faithfull.

The woman delivered to the Sheriffe, and led to the place of execution.

Then was ſhe delivered to the Sherife, and innumerable people beholding her, ſhe was led by the Officers to the place of execution, without the wals of Exeter, called Sothenhey, where againe theſe ſuperſtitious Prieſts aſſaulted her; and ſhe prayed them to have no more talke with her, but cryed ſtill; God be mercifull to me a ſinner, God be mercifull to me a ſinner. And ſo whiles they were tying her to the ſtake, thus ſtill ſhe cryed, and would give no anſwer to them, but with much patience tooke her cruell death, and was with the flames and fire conſumed: and ſo ended this mortall life, as conſtant a woman in the faith of Chriſt, as ever was upon the earth. Shee was as ſimple a woman to ſee to as any man might behold; of a very little and ſhort ſtature, ſomewhat thicke, about 54. yeares of age. Shee had a cheerefull countenance, ſo lively, as though ſhe had been prepared for that day of her marriage to meet the Lambe; moſt patient of her words and anſwers; ſober in apparrell, meate and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poore; and in her trouble, money ſhe ſaid, ſhee would take none; for ſhe ſaid, I am going to a City, where money beareth no maſtry; whiles I am here God hath promiſed to feed me. Thus was her mortall life ended. For whoſe conſtancy God be everlaſtingly praiſed, Amen.

The patient martyrdome of a poore woman at Exeter, being one Preſts wife.



Touching the name of this woman as I have now learned) ſhe was the wife of one called Preſt, dwelling in the Dioceſſe of Exeter, not farre from Launceſton.

The perſecution and martyrdome of three godly men burnt at Briſtow, about the later yeares of Queene Maries reigne.

The ſtory of 3 Martyrs which ſuffered at Briſtow.

IN writing of the bleſſed Saints which ſuffered in the bloody daies of Quéene Mary, I had almoſt overpaſſed the names and ſtory of thrée godly Martyrs, which with their blood gave teſtimony likewiſe to the Goſpel of Chriſt, being condemned and burnt in the Towne of Briſtow. The names of whom were theſe:

Richard Sharpe.
Thomas Benion. } Martyrs.
Thomas Hale.

Rich. Sharp, Martyr. M. Dalby Chancellor of Briſtow, perſecutor.

First, Richard Sharp Weaver, of Briſtow, was brought the ninth day of March, Anno 1556. before Maſter Dalby, Chancellor of the Towne or City of Briſtow, and after examination concerning the ſacrament of the altar, was perſwaded by the ſaid Dalby and others to recant, and the twenty nine of the ſame moneth was enjoyned to make his recantation before the Pariſhioners in his Pariſh Church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conſcience ſuch a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to worke in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body. Who ſhortly after upon a Sunday came into his Pariſh Church, called Temple, and after high Maſſe, came to the Quire doore, and ſaid with a loud voice; Neighbours, beare me record that yonder Idoll (and pointed to the altar) is the greateſt and moſt abominable that ever was; and I am ſorry that ever I denyed my Lord God. Then the Conſtables were commanded to apprehend him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to goe out of the Church. After, by night he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and ſhortly after, he was brought before the ſaid Chancellor, denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Chriſt, and ſaid, it was an Idoll, and therefore was condemned to be burned by the ſaid Dalby. He was burnt the ſeventh of May, 1557. and dyed godly, patiently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the articles of our faith.

Rich. Sharp condemned.

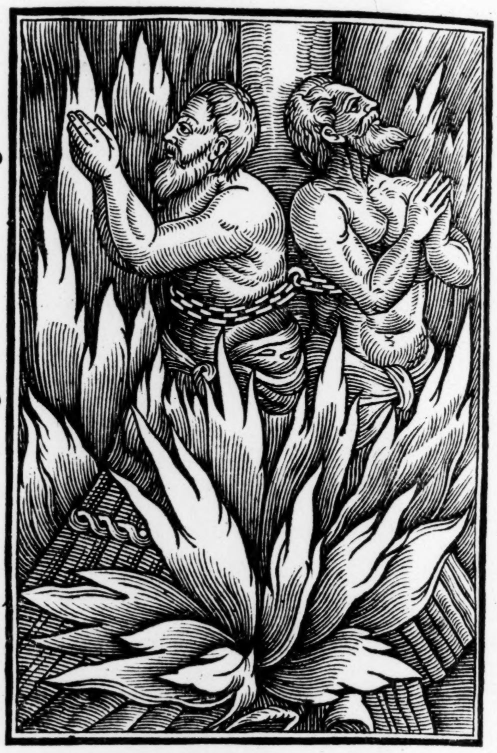
Thomas Hale, Martyr.

Thom. Hale Martyr.

THe Thurſday in the night before Eaſter, Anno, 1557. came one Maſter David Herris Alderman, and John Stone, to the houſe of one Thomas Hale, a Shoomaker of Briſtow, and cauſed him to riſe out of his bed, and brought him forth of his doore. To whom the ſaid Thomas Hale ſaid, You have ſought my blood theſe two yéeres, and now much good doe it you with it. Who being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the twenty foure of April, the yéere aforeſaid, was brought before Maſter Dalby the Chancellor, committed by him to priſon, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for ſaying the Sacrament of the Altar to be an Idoll. He was burned the ſeventh of May with the foreſaid Richard Sharpe, and godly, patiently, and conſtantly imbraced the fire with his armes.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to backe.

Two godly Martyrs burned at Briſtow. An. 1557.

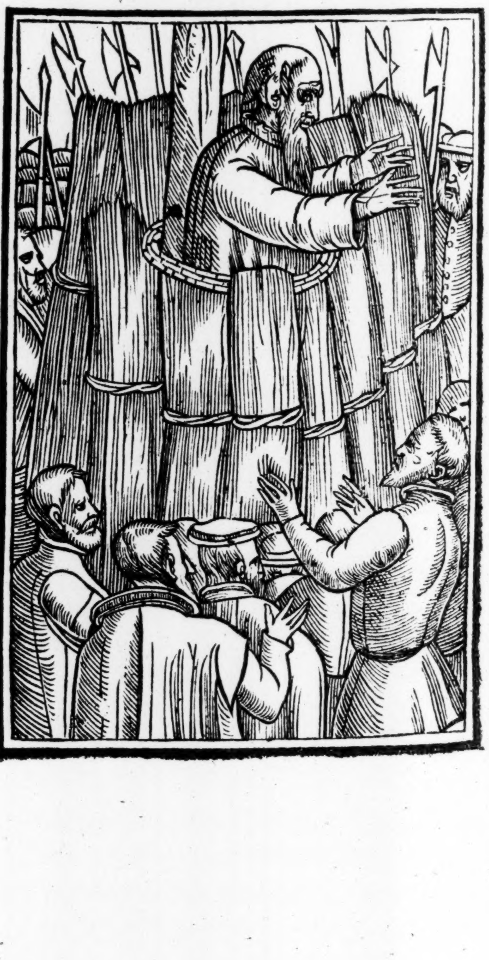


Thomas Benion.

Thomas Benion, Martyr.

THomas Benion a Weaver, at the commandement of the Commiſſioners, was brought by a Conſtable, the thirteenth day of Auguſt, Anno, 1557. before Maſter Dalby Chancellor of Briſtow, who committed him to priſon for ſaying there was nothing but bread in the ſacrament, as they uſed it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the ſaid Auguſt he was condemned to bee

Thomas Benion burnt at Briſtow. Aug. 27. 1557.



burnt by the ſaid Dalby, for denying 5. of their ſacraments, and affirming two, that is, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of Baptiſme. He was burnt the 27. of the ſaid moneth and yéere, and dyed godly, conſtantly, and patiently, with confeſſing the Articles of our Chriſtian faith.

¶ The martyrdome of five conſtant Chriſtians, which ſuffered the laſt of all other in the time of Queene Mary.

Novemb. 10.

The laſt that ſuffered in Quéen Maries time, were five at Canterbury burned about ſixe daies before the death of Quéene Mary, whoſe names follow here under written.

Martyrs.

Iohn Corneford, of Wortham.
Chriſtopher Browne, of Maidſtone.
Iohn Herſt, of Aſhford.
Alice Snoth.
Katherine Knight, otherwiſe called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

The five laſt Martyrs that were burned in Queene Maries time.

These five, to cloſe up the finall rage of Quéen Maries perſecution, for the teſtimony of that Word, for which ſo many had dyed before, gave up their lives méekly and patiently, ſuffering the violent malice of the Papiſts. Which Papiſts, although they then might have either well ſpared them, or elſe deferred their death, knowing of the ſickneſſe of Quéens Mary; yet ſuch was the implacable deſpite of that generation, that ſome there be that ſay, the Archdeacon of Canterbury the ſame time being at London, and underſtanding the danger of the Quéene, incontinently made all poſt-haſte home to diſpatch theſe, whom before he had then in his cruell cuſtody.

Their articles why they were condemned.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was for beléeving the body not to be in the ſacrament of the altar, unleſſe it be received; ſaying moreover, that we receive another thing alſo beſide Chriſts body, which we ſée, and is a temporall thing, according to S. Paul; The things that be ſeen, be temporall, &c.

Item, for confeſſing that an evill man doth not receive Chriſts body, Becauſe no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.

Item, that it is Idolatry to créepe to the Croſſe, and Saint John forbidding it, ſaith; Beware of Images.

Item, for confeſſing that we ſhould not pray to our Lady, and other Saints, becauſe they be not omnipotent.

An example of Gods work to be noted.

For theſe and other ſuch Articles of Chriſtian doctrine, were theſe five committed to the fire. Againſt whom when the ſentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the Papiſts, one of them, John Corneford by name, ſtirred with a vehement ſpirit of the zeale of GOD, procéeding in a more true excommunication againſt the Papiſts, in the name of them all, pronounced ſentence againſt them, in theſe words as follow:

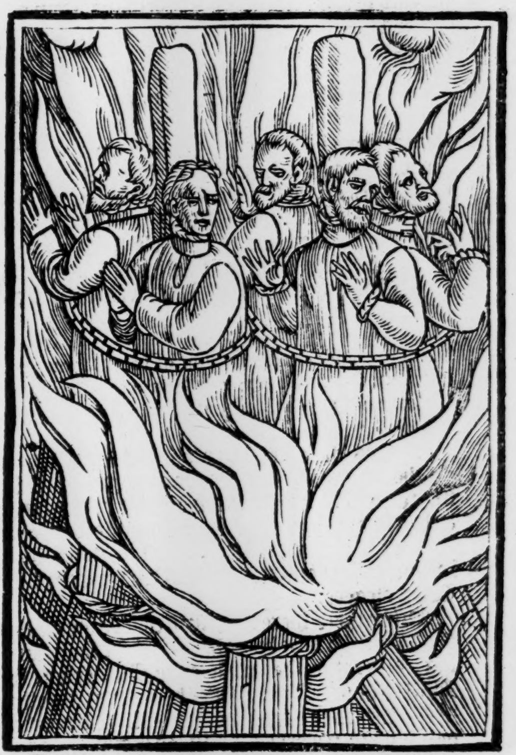
Sentence of condemnation pronounced by J. Corneford againſt the Papiſts.

In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Sonne of the moſt mighty GOD, and by the power of his holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church, we doe here give into the hands of Sathan to be deſtroyed, the bodies of all thoſe Blaſphemers and Heretikes, that doe maintaine any error againſt his moſt holy Word, or doe condemne his moſt holy truth for hereſie, to the maintenance of any falſe Church or faigned Religion, ſo that by this thy juſt judgement, O moſt mighty GOD, againſt thy adverſaries, thy true religion may be knowne to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our Nation. Good Lord ſo be it, Amen.

The cruell dealing of M. Harpsfeld, the Archdeacon of Cant.

This ſentence of excommunication being the ſame time openly pronounced and regiſtred, procéeding ſo, as it ſéemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeale to Gods truth and religion, took ſuch effect againſt the enemy, that within ſixe dayes after Quéene Mary dyed, and the tyranny of all Engliſh Papiſts with her. Albeit, notwithſtanding the ſickneſſe and death of that Quéen, whereof they were not ignorant; yet the Archdeacon, with other of Canterbury, thought to diſpatch the martyrdome of theſe men before.

The martyrdome of three men, and two women at Canterbury, An. 1558. Novemb. 10.



In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon ſéemeth to excéed the cruelty of Boner; who notwithſtanding he had certaine the ſame time under his cuſtody, yet he was not ſo importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Lining and his wife, and divers other, who being the ſame time under the cuſtody and danger of Boner, were delivered by the death of Quéene Mary, and remaine yet ſome of them alive.

These godly Martyrs in their prayers which they made before their martyrdome, deſired God that their blood might be the laſt that ſhould bée ſhed, and ſo it was.

This Katherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, now dwelling in Maidſtone, which Robert was in trouble all Quéen Maries time. To whom his mother, comming to viſit him, aſked him how hée tooke this place of Scripture which ſhe had ſéene, not by reading of the Scripture (for ſhe had yet in manner no taſte of Religion) but had found it by chance in a Booke of prayers, I will poure out my ſpirit upon all fleſh, and your ſonnes and your daughters ſhall propheſie: your olde men ſhall dreame dreames, and your young men ſhall ſee viſions. And alſo upon the ſervants, and upon the maides in thoſe dayes will I poure my ſpirit, &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, ſhe began

Ioel 2.

Anno 1558.

gan to take hold on the Goſpel, growing more and more in zeale and love thereof, and ſo continued unto her martyrdome.

A note of Alice Snoth.

Among ſuch young women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certaine maid, and ſuppoſed to be this Alice Snoth here in this ſtory mentioned, or elſe to be Agnes Snoth above ſtoried, (for they were both burned) that when ſhe was brought to be executed, ſhe being at the ſtake, called for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Iuſtice, hearing her, ſent for them, but they durſt not come. Notwithſtanding the Iuſtices willed the meſſenger to goe againe, and to ſhew them that they ſhould incurre no danger therefore.

Hereby biſhop Boner may ſee that the Martyrs died in the ſame faith, wherein they were baptiſed by their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their ſending for. When the maid ſaw them, ſhe aſked them what they had promiſed for her, and ſo ſhe immediatly rehearſed her faith, and the commandements of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promiſed in her behalfe, and they ſaid, No.

Then, ſaid ſhe, I die a Chriſtian woman, beare witneſſe of mee, and ſo cruelly in fire was ſhe conſumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpell, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and alſo to the ſtopping of the ſlanderous mouthes of ſuch, as falſly doe quarrell againſt theſe faithfull Martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were firſt baptiſed.

The ſtory and condemnation of Iohn Hunt, and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but by the death of Q. Mary eſcaped the fire.

The ſtory of Iohn Hunt, and Richard White.

Beſides theſe Martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the realm impriſoned, whereof ſome were but newly taken and not yet examined, ſome begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned, certaine were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the Writ eſcaped.

Other there were alſo, both condemned, and the Writ alſo was brought downe for their burning, and yet by the death of the Chancellor, the Biſhop, and of Queen Mary happening together about one time, they moſt happily and marvelouſly were preſerved, and lived many yeares after. In the number of whom was one Iohn Hunt and Richard White, impriſoned at Saliſbury. Touching which hiſtory ſomething here is to be ſhewed.

Firſt, theſe two good men and faithfull ſervants of the Lord above named, to wit, Iohn Hunt, and Richard White, had remained long time in priſon at Saliſbury, and other places thereabout, the ſpace of two yeeres and more. During which time, oft times they were called to examination, and manifold waies were impugned by the Biſhops and the Prieſts. All whoſe examinations, as I thought not much needfull here to proſecute or to ſearch out, for the length of the volume; ſo neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſſe, namely of the examination of Richard White before the B. of Saliſbury, the B. of Glocester, with the Chancellor and other Prieſts, not unworthy perchance to be rehearſed.

The examination of Richard White, before the Biſhop of Saliſbury in his chamber in Saliſbury, the 26. day of April, Anno 1557.

Examination of Richard White.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury at that time was Doctor Capon. The Biſhop of Gloceſter was Doctor Brookes. Theſe with Doctor Geffrey the Chancellor of Saliſbury, and a great number of Prieſts ſitting in judgement, Richard White was brought before them. With whom firſt the Biſhop of Gloceſter, which had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Biſhop Brookes. Is this the priſoner?

The Chancellor. Yea, my Lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherfore cameſt thou hither?

White. My Lord, I truſt to know the cauſe: for the Law ſaith; In the mouth of two or three witneſſes things muſt ſtand.

Doctor Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy faith when thou cameſt hither?

White. No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards tower, and that no man ſhould ſpeake with me. And now I doe require mine accuſer.

Then the Regiſter ſaid; The Maior of Marlborow did apprehend you for words that you ſpake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveighed hither to priſon.

The Maior of Marlborough perſecutor.

White. You had the examination of me in Marlborow. Say what I have ſaid. And I will anſwer you.

Geffrey. Thou ſhalt confeſſe thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore ſay thy minde freely, and be not aſhamed ſo to doe.

White. I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God to ſalvation unto all that beleeve: and S. Peter ſaith; If any man do ask thee a reaſon of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct anſwer, and that with meekneſſe. Who ſhall have the examination of me?

Chanc. My Lord of Gloceſter ſhall have the examination of thee.

White. My Lord, will you take the paines to wet your coate in my blood? be not guilty thereof; I warne you before hand.

Brooks. I will doe nothing contrary to our law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you doe requeſt at my hands?

Brookes. I will appoſe thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the Sacrament of the altar: How doeſt thou beleeve of the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar? Beleeveſt thou not the reall, carnall, and corporall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, even the very ſame Chriſt that was borne of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the Croſſe, and that ſuffered for our ſins? (and at theſe words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.)

The ſacrament of the altar.

White. My Lord, what is a ſacrament?

Brookes. It is the thing it ſelfe the which it repreſenteth.

White. My Lord, that cannot be; for he that repreſenteth a prince, cannot be the prince himſelfe.

Bro. How many ſacraments findeſt thou in the Scriptures called by the name of Sacraments?

White. I finde two ſacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of ſacraments. But I thinke S. Auguſtine gave them the firſt name of ſacraments.

Brookes. Then thou findeſt not that word ſacrament in the Scriptures.

The name of ſacraments not found in the Scriptures.

White. No, my Lord.

Brookes. Did not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? and are not his words true?

White. I am ſure the words are true; but you play by me as the devill did by Chriſt: for he ſaid, If thou be, Mat. 4. For, it is, &c. Pſal. 91. But the words that followed after he cleane left out, which are theſe: Thou ſhalt walke upon the Lion and Aſpe, &c. Theſe words the devill left out, becauſe they were ſpoken againſt himſelf; and even ſo doe you recite the Scriptures.

How the Papiſts play with Scriptures, as the Devill did when he tempted Chriſt.

Brookes. Declare thy faith upon the ſacrament.

Whites opinion of the ſacrament.

White. Chriſt and his ſacraments are like, becauſe of the natures; for in Chriſt are two natures, a divine and a humane nature; ſo likewiſe in the ſacrament of Chriſts body and bloud there be two natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, externall and internall. The externall part is the element of bread and wine, according to the ſaying of Saint Auguſtine. The internall part is the inviſible grace, which by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an externall receiving of the ſame ſacrament, and an internall. The externall is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the eare. The internall is by the Holy Ghoſt in the heart, which worketh in me faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly unto my ſalvation. If this be truth, beleeve it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Double receiving of the ſacrament, externall, and internall.

Doctor Hoskins. This is Oecolampadius doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brookes Doeſt thou not beleeve, that after the words of conſecration there is the naturall preſence of Chriſts body?

White My Lord, I will anſwer you, if you will anſwer me to one queſtion. Is not this article of our beliefe true; Hee ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty: If he be come from thence to judgement, ſay ſo.

A popiſh Paradoxe; Chriſts body both in heaven and in earth at one time.

Brook. No. But if thou wilt beleeve the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Chriſt was both in heaven and in earth at one time.

White As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brookes St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor 15. Laſt of all he was ſeene of me, &c. Here St. Paul ſaith hee ſaw Chriſt, and S. Paul was not in heaven.

How S. Paul ſaw Chriſt
Supra Pſal. 54.

White St. Pauls chiefe purpoſe was by this place to prove the reſurrection. But how doe you prove that Chriſt, when hee appeared to S. Paul, was not ſtill in heaven; like as he was ſeene of Stephen, ſitting at the right hand of God? Saint Auguſtine ſaith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and ſayd; Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth, 1 Cor. 15. For there he doth but only ſay he ſaw Chriſt, but concerning the place he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Chriſt was both in heaven and earth at one time.

B. Brooks leaveth the Scripture, and proveth the ſacrament by other matter.

Brook. I told you before he would not beleeve. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholikes. If you the Oecolampadians have the truth; then the Lutherans and we the Catholikes be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholikes be out of the way. But if we the Catholikes have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed; for the Lutherans doe call you Heretikes.

White My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brookes Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remove him from his errour? Away with him to the Lollards Tower, and diſpatch him as ſoone as ye can.

This was the effect of my firſt examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Anno 1558.

The trembling and ſhaking of Blackſtone at the examination of Richard White.

Amongſt many other examinations of the foreſayd Richard White, at divers and ſundry times ſuſtained, it happened one time, that Doctor Blackſtone Chancellor of Exceter ſate upon him, with divers other; who alledging certaine Doctors, as Chryſoſtome, Cyprian, Tertullian, againſt the ſayd Richard, and being reproved by him for his falſe patching of the Doctors, fell in ſuch a quaking and ſhaking (his conſcience belike remorſing him) that hee was faine, ſtouping downe, to lay both his hands upon his knees to ſtay his body from trembling.

Condemnation of John Hunt and R. White.

Then the ſayd John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Doctor Geffrey the Biſhops Chancellor, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high Sheriffe at that preſent was one, named ſir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the Seſſions, was there charged with theſe two condemned perſons, with other malefactors there condemned likewiſe the ſame time, to ſee the execution of death miniſtred unto them.

The chriſtian zeale of M. Clifford.

In the meane time Maſter Clifford of Boſco in Wiltſhire, ſonne-in-law to the ſaid ſir Anthony Hungerford the Sheriffe, commeth to his father, exhorting him and counſelling him earneſtly in no caſe to meddle with the death of theſe two innocent perſons; and if the Chancellor and Prieſts would needs be inſtant upon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the Writ to be ſent downe De comburendo, for his diſcharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and underſtanding Juſtice Browne to be in the Towne the ſame time, went to him to aſke his advice and counſell in the matter: who told him that without the Writ ſent downe from the ſuperiour powers, hee could not bee diſcharged, and if the Writ were ſent, then he muſt by the law doe his charge.

Example of chriſtian piety in a Sheriffe to be noted.

The Sheriffe underſtanding by Juſtice Browne how farre he might goe by the law, and having at that time no Writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horſe, departed.

The Chancellor all this while marvelling what the Sheriffe meant, and yet diſdaining to goe unto him, but looking rather the other ſhould have come firſt to him, at laſt hearing that hee was ridden away, taketh his horſe and rideth after him: who, at length overtaking the ſaid Sheriffe, declared unto him how hee had committed certaine condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe duety had beene to have ſeene execution done upon the ſame; which for that hee had not done, the matter he ſayd was great, and therefore willed him to looke well unto it how hee would anſwer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

A note to be obſerved concerning the papiſts dealings

The Papiſts charged with manifeſt diſſimulation.

Wherein note (gentle Reader) by the way, the cloſe and covert hypocriſie of the Papiſts in their dealings. Who in the forme and ſtile of their owne ſentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the ſecular power, In viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, ut iuris rigor mitigetur, atque ut parcatur vitæ. That is, that the rigour of the Law may be mitigated, and that their life may bee ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their owne doings and dealings, when this Chancellor (as ye ſee) is not onely contented to give ſentence againſt them, but alſo hunteth here after the Officer, not ſuffering him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their owne words and profeſſion? But let us returne to our matter againe.

The Sheriffe hearing the Chancellors words, and ſeeing him ſo urging upon him, told him againe that hee was no Babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any Writ to warrant and diſcharge him in burning theſe men, then he knew what he had to doe. Why, ſaith the Chancellor, did not I give you a Writ, with my hand and eight moe of the cloſe ſet unto the ſame? Well, quoth the Sheriffe, that is no ſufficient diſcharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if ye have a ſufficient Writ and Warrant from the ſuperiour powers, I know then what I have to doe in my office: otherwiſe, if you have no other Writ but that, I tell you, I will neyther burne them for you nor any of you all, &c.

Burning without a ſufficient Writ.

Where note againe (good Reader) how by this it may hee thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poore Saints and Martyrs of GOD, ſuch as had been burned at Salibury before, were burned belike without any authoriſed or ſufficient Writ from the ſuperiors, but only upon the information of the Chancellor and of the Cloſe, through the uncircumſpect negligence of the Sheriffes, which ſhould have looked more ſubſtantially upon the matter. But this I leave and referre unto the Magiſtrates. Let us returne to the ſtory againe.

Rich. White now Vicar of Malbrough in Wiltſhire.

Doctor Gefferey the Chancellor thus ſent away from the Sheriffe, went home, and there fell ſicke upon the ſame (for anger belike) as they ſignified unto me, which were the parties themſelves, both godly and grave perſons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

M. Michel underſheriffe burneth the Writ.

The under Sheriffe to this ſir Anthony Hungerford above named, was one Maſter Michell, likewiſe a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came downe the Writ to burn the above named Rich. White, and John Hunt, but the under Sheriffe receiving the ſayd Writ, ſaid; I will not bee guilty (quoth hee) of theſe mens bloud, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within foure dayes after the Chancellor dyed. Concerning whoſe death this commeth by the way to be noted, that theſe two foreſayd, John Hunt and Richard White, being the ſame time in a low and dark Dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accuſtomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they ſhould begin their prayer, ſuddenly fell both to ſuch a ſtrange weeping and tenderneſſe of heart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace burſting out in teares. After that night was paſt, and the morning come, the firſt word they heard, was that the Chancellor their great enemy was dead. The time of whoſe death they found to bee the ſame houre, when as they fell in ſuch a ſudden weeping. The Lord in all his workes bee prayſed, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked Chancellor.

Gods workings to be noted concerning the death of D. Geffrey Chancellor of Saliſbury.

This Rich. White and the ſayd John Hunt, after the death of the Chancellor, the Biſhop alſo being dead a little before, continued ſtill in priſon till the happy comming in of Queene Elizabeth: and ſo were ſet at liberty.

¶ The martyrdome of a young lad of eight yeeres old, ſcourged to death in Biſhop Boners houſe in London.

The ſtory of John Fetty, and martyrdome of his childe.

IF bloudy torments and cruell death of a poore innocent, ſuffering for no cauſe of his owne, but in the truth of Chriſt and his religion, doe make a Martyr, no leſſe deſerveth the childe of one John Fetty to be reputed in the Catalogue of holy Martyrs, who in the houſe of Biſhop Boner unmercifully was ſcourged to death, as by the ſequele of this ſtory here following may appeare.

Amongſt thoſe that were perſecuted and miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a ſimple and godly poore man, dwelling in the Pariſh of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a Taylor, of the age of 24. yeeres or thereabout, who was accuſed and complained of unto one Brokenbury a Prieſt and Parſon of the ſame Pariſh, by his owne wife, for that hee would not come unto the Church, and be partaker of their Idolatrie and ſuperſtition; and therefore, through the ſaid Prieſts procurement, hee was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow Conſtables there, and one Martin the Headborow. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehenſion, his wife (by the juſt judgement of God) was ſtricken mad, and diſtract of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the juſtice of God againſt ſuch unfaithfull and moſt unnaturall treacherie. And although this example perhaps for lacke of knowledge and inſtruction in ſuch caſes little moved the conſciences of thoſe ſimple poore men to ſurceaſe their perſecution; yet naturall pitie towards that ungratefull woman wrought ſo in their hearts, that for the preſervation and ſuſtentation of her and her two children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her husband alone, and would not carrie him to priſon, but yet ſuffered him to remaine quietly in his owne houſe. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkinde fact of his wife, did yet ſo cheriſh and provide for her, that within the ſpace of three weekes (through Gods mercifull providence) ſhee was well amended, and had recovered againe ſome ſtay of her wits and ſenſes.

Gods dreadful hand upon a wife, ſeeking the deſtruction of her husband

The wife perſecuting her husband. John Fetty againe apprehended.

But ſuch was the power of Sathan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithſtanding his gentle dealing with her, yet ſhee ſo ſoone as ſhe had recovered ſome health, did againe accuſe her husband; whereupon he was the ſecond time apprehended, and carried unto ſir John Mordant Knight, one of the Queenes Commiſſioners, and he upon examination ſent him by Cluny the Biſhops Sumner, unto the Lollards Tower: where he was (even at the firſt) put into the painefull Stockes, and had a diſh of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that hee ſhould looke for little other ſuſtenance. Which is credible enough, if we conſider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this hiſtorie, as amongſt other, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruell impriſonment. Touching whom, when a godly woman came to D. Storie, to have leave that ſhe might burie him, he aſked her if hee had any ſtrawe or bloud in his mouth; but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgement of the godly wiſe.

The ſtraite handling of Jo. Fetty by ſir John Mordant.

Rich. Smith dead in priſon through cruell handling.

The cruell handling and ſcourging of John Fetties childe.

After the foreſaid Fetty had thus laine in the priſon by the ſpace of 15. daies, hanging in the ſtocks, ſometime by the one leg, and the one arme, ſometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it hapned that one of his children (a boy of the age of 8. or 9. yeeres) came unto the Biſhops houſe to ſee if he could get leave to ſpeake with his father. At his comming thither, one of the biſhops Chaplaines met with him, and aſked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The childe anſwered, that he came to ſee his father. The Chaplain aſked againe who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards Tower, ſhewed him that his father was there in priſon. Why (quoth the Prieſt) thy father is an heretike. The childe being of a bold and quicke ſpirit, and alſo godly brought up, and inſtructed by his father in the knowledge of God, anſwered and ſaid; My father is no heretike, but you are an heretike: For you have Balaams marke.

With that the Prieſt tooke the childe by the hand

and

The miſerable tyranny of the Papiſts in ſcourging a childe.

and carried him into the Biſhops houſe (whether to the Biſhop or not, I know not, but like enough hee did) and there amongſt them they did moſt ſhamefully and without all pity ſo whip and ſcourge, being naked, this tender childe, that hee was all in a gore bloud, and then in a jolly bragge of their catholike tyranny, they cauſed Cluny, having his coate upon his arme to carry the childe in his ſhirt unto his father being in priſon, the bloud running downe by his heeles.

The childe all bloudy brought to his father in priſon.

Cluny carrieth the boy againe to the B. houſe.

At his comming unto his father the childe fell downe upon his knees, and aſked him bleſſing. The poore man then beholding his childe, and ſeeing him ſo cruelly arayed, cryed out for ſorrow, and ſayd; Alas Will, who hath done this to thee? The Boy anſwered, that as he was ſeeking how to come to ſee his father, a Prieſt with Balaams marke tooke him into the Biſhops houſe, and there was hee ſo handled. Cluny therewith violently plucked the childe away out of his fathers hands, and carried him backe againe into the Biſhops houſe, where they kept him three dayes after.

The words betweene Boner and John Fetty.

And at the three dayes end, Boner (minding to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the poore man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him; and therefore cauſed him early in a morning to bee brought out of Lollards Tower into his bed-chamber, where hee found the Biſhop baſting of himſelfe againſt a great fire; and at his firſt entring into the chamber, Fetty ſaid, God be here and peace. God be here and peace (quoth Boner) that is neither God ſpeede, nor good morrow. If ye kicke againſt this peace (ſaid Fetty) then this is not the place that I ſeeke for.

Bon. beades.

A Chaplaine of the Biſhops ſtanding by turned the poore man about, and thinking to deface him, ſaid in mocking wiſe; What have we here? A player? whileſt this Fetty was ſtanding in the Biſhops chamber, he eſpied hanging about the Biſhops bed a great paire of blacke Beades: whereupon he ſayd; My Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off; for the halter (pointing to the Beades) is here already. At which words the Biſhop was in a marvellous rage.

Boners Crucifixe.

Then immediately after he eſpied alſo ſtanding in the ſaid Biſhops chamber in the window, a little Crucifixe (before which belike Boner uſed to kneele in the time of his hypocriticall prayers.) Then he aſked the Biſhop what it was; and hee anſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth Fetty?

Yea, that he was, ſaid the Biſhop.

B. Boner compared to Caiphas.

And even ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you. For you are unto Gods people, as Caiphas was unto Chriſt.

The Biſhop being in a great fury, ſaid; Thou art a vile heretike, and I will burne thee, or elſe I will ſpend all that I have unto my gowne.

Nay, my Lord, ſaid Fetty, ye were better to give it to ſome poore body, that he may pray for you. But yet Boner bethinking in himſelfe of the danger that the childe was in by their whipping, and what perill might enſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him; which thing was accompliſhed.

B. Boner, for feare of the law in murdering a childe, delivered the father out of priſon.

The martyrdome of a child ſcourged to death in Boners houſe.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch like talke, the Biſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willing him to goe home, and carry his childe with him; which he ſo did, and that with a heavy heart to ſee his poore boy in ſuch extreme paine and griefe. But within foureteene dayes after the childe died, whether through his cruell ſcourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I referre the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecrets, and alſo to the diſcreete judgement of the wiſe Reader. But howſoever it was, the Lord yet uſed their cruell and deteſtable fact, as a meanes of his providence for the delivery of this good poore man and faithfull Chriſtian, his name be ever prayſed therefore, Amen.

The cruell handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, Engliſhman and Merchant in Spaine.

The ſtory of Nic. Burton Martyr in Spaine.

FOraſmuch as in our former booke of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the martyrdome of Nicholas Burton, I thought here alſo not to omit the ſame ſtory, being ſuch as is not unworthy to be knowne, as well for the profitable example of his ſingular conſtancy, as alſo for the noting of the extreame dealing and cruell revenging of thoſe catholike Inquiſitors of Spaine, who under the pretenſed viſor of Religion, doe nothing but ſeeke their owne private gaine and commodity, with crafty rifling and ſpoyling of other mens goods, as by the noting of this ſtory may appeare.

Nic Burton, Londoner.

The fifth day of the moneth of November, about the yeere of our Lord God, 1560, this Nicholas Burton, Citizen ſometime of London and Merchant, dwelling in the Pariſh of little Saint Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffique in the trade of Merchandiſe, and being in the City of Cadix, in the parts of Andolazia in Spaine, there came into his lodging a Judas (or as they terme them) a Familiar of the fathers of the Inquiſition. Who asking for the ſaid Nicholas Burton, fained that he had a letter to deliver to his owne hands; by which means he ſpake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the ſaid Promoter or Familiar, at the motion of the Divell his maſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, invented another lie, and ſayd, that he would take lading for London in ſuch ſhips as the ſayd Nicholas Burton had fraited to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where hee laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time untill the Alguiſiel or Sergeant of the ſaid Inquiſition might come and apprehend the body of the ſaid Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently.

Who then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoken, or done any thing there in that Country againſt the eccleſiaſticall or temporall lawes of the ſame Realme, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did ſo arreſt him, and bade them to declare the cauſe, and hee would anſwer them. Notwithſtanding they anſwered nothing, but commanded him with cruell threatning words to hold his peace, and not to ſpeake one word to them.

Nic. Burton laid in priſon, they having no cauſe to charge him with.

And ſo they carried him to the cruell and filthy common priſon of the Towne of Cadix, where he remained in irons foureteene dayes amongſt theeves.

All which time hee ſo inſtructed the poore priſoners in the Word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalfe, and alſo in the Spaniſh tongue to utter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace hee had well reclaimed ſundry of thoſe ſuperſtitious and ignorant Spaniards to imbrace the Word of God, and to reject their Popiſh traditions.

Nic. Burton carried to Sivill.

Which being knowne unto the Officers of the Inquiſition, they conveighed him laden with irons from thence to a City called Sivill, into a more cruell & ſtraiter priſon called Triana, where the ſaid fathers of the Inquiſition proceeded againſt him ſecretly according to their accuſtomable cruell tyranny, that never after hée could bée ſuffered to write or to ſpeake to any of his nation; ſo that to this day it is unknowne who was his accuſer.

Nic. Burton brought to judgment after a diſguiſed manner.

Afterward, the 20. day of December, in the foreſayd yéere, they brought the ſayd Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſing the true Chriſtian religion, into the City of Sivill, to a place where the ſaid Inquiſitors ſate in judgement, which they called the Awto, with a Canvas coate, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge Divell, tormenting a ſoule in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tanke of the ſame worke.

Nic. Burton with another Engliſhman of Southhampton condemned.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven ſticke faſtened upon it, that hée ſhould not utter his conſcience and faith to the people, and ſo hée was ſet with another Engliſh man of Southhampton, and divers other condemned men for Religion, as well French men, as Spaniards, upon a Scaffold over againſt the ſayd Inquiſition, where their ſentences and judgements were read and pronounced againſt them.

And immediately after the ſayd ſentences given, they were all carried from thence to the place of execution without the City, where they moſt cruelly burned him, for whoſe conſtant faith, God be praiſed.

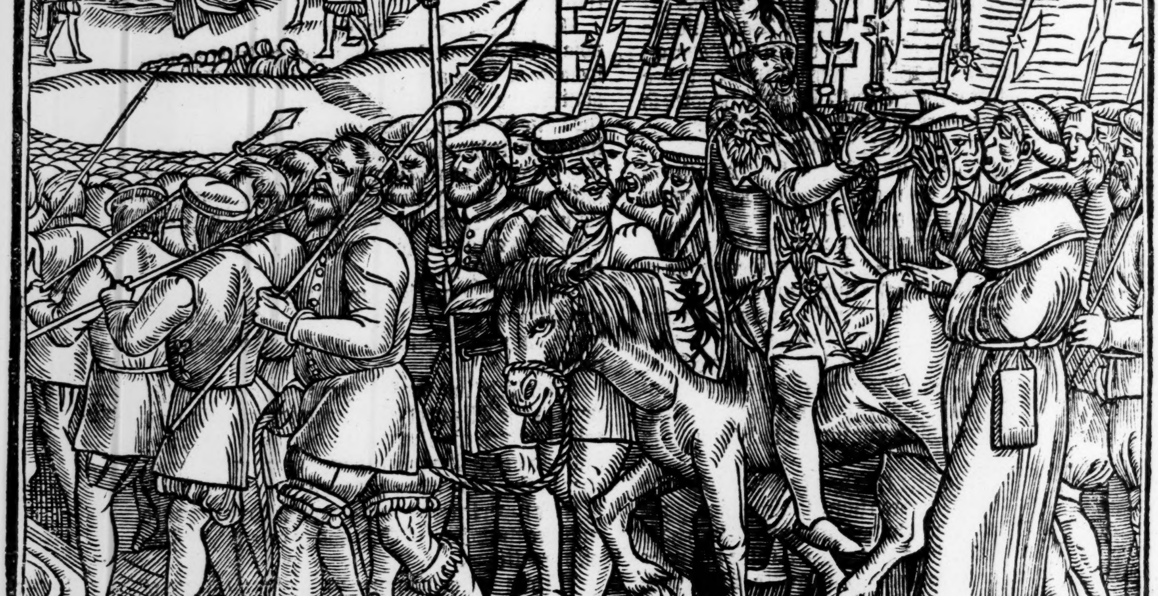
This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire made ſo chearefull a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladneſſe, that the tormentors and enemies which ſtood by, ſayd that the divell had his ſoule before he came to the fire; and therefore they ſayd his ſenſes of féeling were paſt him.

It happened that after the arreſt of this Nicholas Burton aforeſaid, immediately all the goods and merchandiſe which he brought with him into Spaine by the way of trafficke, were (according to their common uſage) ſeiſed, and taken into the Sequeſter; among the which they alſo rolled up much that appertained to another Engliſh Merchant, wherewith he was credited as Factor. Whereof ſo ſoone as newes was brought to the Merchant as well of the impriſonment of his Factor, as of the arreſt made upon his goods, hée ſent his Atturney into Spaine with authority from him, to make claime to his goods, and to demand them; whoſe name was John Fronton, Citizen of Briſtow.

The trouble of Jo. Fronton, Citizen of Briſtow in Spaine.

When his Atturney was landed at Sivill, and had ſhewed all his letters and writings to the holy houſe, requiring them that ſuch goods might be delivered into his poſſeſſion, anſwer was made him that he muſt ſue by Bill, and retaine an Advocate (but all was doubtleſſe to delay him) and they forſooth of courteſie aſſigned him one to frame his Supplication for him, and other ſuch Bils of petition, as he had to exhibite into their holy Court, demanding for each Bill 8. Rials, albeit they ſtood him in no more ſtead, than if hée had put up none at all. And for the ſpace of thrée or foure moneths this fellow miſſed not twice a day, attending every morning and after noone at the Inquiſitors palace, ſuing unto them upon his knées for his diſpatch, but eſpecially to the Biſhop of Tarracon, who was at

The manner of the Popiſh Spaniards in carrying *Nicholas Burton* a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, after moſt ſpitefull ſort to the burning.



that very time chiefe in the Inquiſition at Sivill, that hée of his abſolute authority would command reſtitution to be made thereof; but the booty was ſo good and ſo great, that it was very hard to come by it againe.

Note the ravening extortion of theſe Inquiſitors.

At the length, after hée had ſpent whole foure moneths in ſutes and requeſts, and alſo to no purpoſe, hée received this anſwer from them, that he muſt ſhew better evidence, and bring more ſufficient Certificates out of England for proofe of his matter, than thoſe which hée had already preſented to the Court. Whereupon the party forthwith poſted to London, and with all ſpéede returned to Sivill againe with more ample and large letters teſtimonials, and certificates, according to their requeſts, and exhibited them to the Court.

The vile proceedings of the Inquiſitors of Spaine.

Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitors ſtill ſhifted him off, excuſing themſelves by lacke of leaſure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty affaires, and with ſuch anſwers delayed him other foure moneths after.

At the laſt, when the party had welnigh ſpent all his mony; and therefore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholly to the Biſhop. Of whom, when hée repaired unto him, hée had this anſwer; that for himſelfe, he knew what he had to doe; howbeit hée was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other Commiſſioners as well as unto him: and thus by poſting and paſſing it from one to another, the party could obtaine no end of his ſute. Yet, for his importunity ſake, they were reſolved to diſpatch him, it was on this ſort: One of the Inquiſitors called Gaſco, a man very well experienced in theſe practices, willed the party to reſort unto him after dinner.

John Fronton impriſoned by the Spaniſh Inquiſitors for asking his own goods.

The fellow being glad to heare theſe newes, and ſuppoſing that his goods ſhould be reſtored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talke with the other that was in priſon, to conferre with him about their accounts, the rather through a little miſunderſtanding, hearing the Inquiſitors caſt out a word, that it ſhould be néedfull for him to talke with the priſoner, and being thereupon more than halfe perſwaded, that at the length they meant good faith, did ſo, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his comming, the Jayler was forthwith charged with him, to ſhut him up cloſe in ſuch a certaine priſon, where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the firſt that hee had been called for about ſome other matter, and ſeeing himſelfe contrary to his expectation caſt into a darke dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him farre otherwiſe than he ſuppoſed it would have done.

But within two or thrée dayes after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demand his goods; and becauſe it was a device that well ſerved their turne, without any more circumſtance they bade him ſay his Ave Maria. The party began and ſayd it after this manner: Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus, Amen.

John Fronton judged for an heretike, for not adding to Ave Maria, more than the Scripture hath.

The ſame was written word by word as hee ſpake it; and without any more talke of claiming his goods, becauſe it was bootleſſe, they command him to priſon againe, and enter an action againſt him as an heretike, foraſmuch as he did not ſay his Ave Maria after the Romiſh faſhion, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly, for hee ſhould have added moreover; Sancta Maria mater Dei ora pro nobis peccatoribus; by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (ſayd they) that he did not allow the mediation of Saints.

Anno 1558.

A quarrell picked againſt the Engliſh Merchant to ſpoile him of his goods.

Thus they picked a quarrell to detaine him in priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwards brought him forth into their ſtage diſguiſed after their manner; where ſentence was given that he ſhould loſe all the goods which he ſued for, though they were not his owne, and beſides this ſuffer a yéers impriſonment.

The martyrdome of another Engliſhman in Spaine.

Another Engliſh man burnt in Spaine, reade afore.

AT what time this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt ſuffered, which was the yéere of our Lord, 1560. December 22. there ſuffered alſo another Engliſhman, with other thirtéene, one of them being a Nunne, another a Frier, both conſtant in the Lord. Of which thirtéene reade before.

Iohn Baker, and William Burgate, Martyrs.

John Baker, Wil. Burgate, Martyrs in Spaine.

IOhn Baker and William Burgate, both Engliſhmen in Cales, in the Country of Spaine, were apprehended, and in the City of Sivill burned the ſecond day of November.

Marke Burges, and William Hoker, Martyrs,

Marke Burges burnt in Liſhborne.

MArke Burges an Engliſhman, Maſter of an Engliſh ſhip called the Minion, was burned in Liſhborne a City in Portingale, Anno 1560.

Wil. Hoker ſtoned to death in Sivill.

William Hoker a young man, about the age of ſixtéene yéeres, being an Engliſhman, was ſtoned to death of certaine young men there in the City of Sivill, for the confeſſion of his faith. Anno 1560.

But of theſe and ſuch other acts and matters paſt in Spaine, becauſe they fell not within the compaſſe of Quéene Maries reigne, but ſince her time, another place ſhall ſerve hereafter (the Lord willing) to intreate more at large of the ſame, when wée come to the yéeres and raigne of the Queene that now is, where wee have more conveniently to inferre not only of theſe matters of the Martyrs (whereof ſomewhat alſo hath been touched before) but alſo of the whole Inquiſition of Spaine and Plackarde of Flaunders, with the tragicall tumults and troubles happening within the laſt memory of theſe our later dayes, according as it ſhall pleaſe the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and ſpace to the accompliſhment thereof.

A Chapter or Treatiſe concerning ſuch as were ſcourged and whipped by the Papiſts in the true cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel.

A chapter concerning ſuch as were ſcourged for religion.

AND thus through the mercifull aſſiſtance and favourable aide of Chriſt our Saviour, thou haſt as in a generall Regiſter (good Reader) the ſtory collected, if not of all, yet of the moſt part, or at leaſt, not many I truſt omitted of ſuch good Saints and Martyrs as have loſt their lives, and given their bloud, or died in priſon for the teſtimony of Chriſts true doctrine and ſacraments, from the time of the cruell Statute firſt given out by King Henry the fourth Ex officio, unto this preſent time, and eſpecially under the reigne of Quéene Mary.

Of this Statute reade before.

Now after this bloudy ſlaughter of Gods good Saints and ſervants thus ended and diſcourſed, let us proceede (by the good pleaſure of the Lord) ſomewhat likewiſe to intreate of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of Religion have béen, although not put to death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the adverſaries of Gods Word, firſt beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefaxe, who about the time of Anne Aſkew, were pitifully rent and tormented with ſcourges and ſtrips for their faithfull ſtanding to Chriſt, and of his truth, as by the ſtory and examination both of the ſaid Richard Wilmot, and of Thomas Fairefaxe now following may appeare.

The ſcourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefaxe.

The ſcourging of Rich. Wilmot and Tho. Fairefaxe. Doctor Cromes Sermon.

AFter the firſt recantation of Doctor Crome for his Sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at Saint Thomas Acres, being the Mercers Chappell, his Sermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame day, written in the tenth Chapter to the Hebrewes; wherein hée proved very learnedly by the ſame place of Scripture and others, that Chriſt was the only and ſufficient Sacrifice unto God the Father for the ſinnes of the whole world, and that there was no more ſacrifice to bée offered for ſinne by the Prieſts, foraſmuch as Chriſt had offered his body on the Croſſe, and ſhed his bloud for the ſins of the people, and that once for all. For the which Sermon he was apprehended of Boner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and other of the Councell, where he promiſed to recant his doctrine at Pauls Croſſe, the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Boner with all his Doctors ſitting before him: but he ſo preached and handled his matter, that hée rather verified his former ſaying, than denied any part of that which hée before had preached. For the which the Proteſtants praiſed God, and heartily rejoyced.

D. Cromes recantation.

But Biſhop Boner with his Champions were not therewith pleaſed; but yet notwithſtanding they had him home with them, and ſo handled him among the Wolviſh generation, that they made him come to the Croſſe againe the next Sunday.

D. Crome cauſed to recant the ſecond time.

And becauſe the Magiſtrates ſhould now hear him, and be witneſſes of this recantation which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſts ſacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that the ſacrifice of the Maſſe was good, godly, and a holy ſacrifice, propitiatory and availeable both for the quicke and the dead: Becauſe (I ſay) that they would have the Nobles to heare this blaſphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chiefe of the Councell to be there preſent.

Rich. Wilmot prentiſe in Bow-lane.

Now to come to our matter; at this time, the ſame wéeke, betwéene his firſt Sermon and the laſt, and while Doctor Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot being Prentiſe in Bow-lane, being of the age of 18. yéeres, and ſitting at his worke in his Maſters ſhop, the Tueſday, in the moneth of July, one Lewes a Welchman, being one of the Guard, came into the ſhop, having things to doe for himſelfe.

Lewes one of the Guard, a Welchman, a popiſh perſecutor.

One aſked him what newes at the Court, and he anſwered, that the old heretike D. Crome had recanted now indéed before the Councell, and that he ſhould on Sunday next be at Pauls Croſſe againe, and there declare it.

Wilmot defendeth Doctor Cromes Sermon.

Then Wilmot ſitting at his Maſters worke, and hearing him ſpeake theſe words, and rejoycing in the ſame, began to ſpeake unto him, ſaying, that hée was ſorry to heare theſe newes. For (ſayd he) if Crome ſhould ſay otherwiſe than he hath ſayd, then is it contrary to the truth of Gods Word, and contrary to his owne conſcience, which ſhall before God accuſe him.

Lewes anſwered and ſayd, that hée had preached and taught hereſie; and therefore it was méet that he ſhould in ſuch a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he heare him preach any doctrine contrary to Gods Word written, but that he proved his doctrine, and that ſufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then aſked him how he knew that.

Wilmot anſwered, by the Scriptures of God, wherin he ſhall find Gods will and pleaſure, what he willeth all men to doe, and what not to doe; and alſo by them he ſhould prove and try all doctrines, and the falſe doctrine from the true.

Lewes ſayd, it was never merry ſince the Bible was in Engliſh: and that he was both an heretike and a traitor that cauſed it to be tranſlated into Engliſh (meaning Cromwel) and therefore was rewarded according to his deſerts.

The L. Cromwel wrongfully accuſed. The doings of the Lord Cromwel defended.

Wilmot anſwered againe, what his deſerts and offences were to his Prince a great many doe not know, neither doth it force whether they doe or no; once, he was ſure that he loſt his life for offending his Prince, and the law did put it in execution; Adding moreover concerning that man, that he thought it pleaſed God to raiſe him up from a lowe eſtate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that hée ſhould doe that which all the Biſhops in the Realme yet never did, in reſtoring againe Gods holy Word, which being hid long before from the people in a ſtrange tongue, and now comming abroad amongſt us, will bring our Biſhops and Prieſts, ſayd he, in leſſe eſtimation among the people,

Lewes aſked why ſo.

Wilmot ſayd, becauſe their doctrine and living was not according to his Word.

The common reaſon of the Papiſts, why the Scriptures ſhould not be in Engliſh.

Then ſayd Lewes; I never heard but that all men ſhould learn of the Biſhops and Prieſts, becauſe they are learned men, and have béen brought up in learning all the dayes of their lives. Wherefore they muſt néeds know the truth, and our fathers did beléeve their doctrine and learning, and I thinke they did well; for the world was farre better then, than it is now.

Wilmot anſwered, I will not ſay ſo: For wée muſt not beléeve them becauſe they are Biſhops, neither becauſe they are learned, neither becauſe our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in Gods Booke how that Biſhops and learned men have taught the people falſe doctrine, and likewiſe the Prieſts from time to time; and indéed those people our forefathers beléeved as they taught, and as they did thinke, ſo did the people thinke. But for all this, Chriſt calleth them falſe Prophets, Théeves, and Murtherers, blinde leaders of the blinde, willing the people to take héede of them, leſt they ſhould both fall into the ditch.

Gods truth goeth not alwayes by title and fame of great learning.

Moreover we reade, that the Biſhops, Prieſts, and learned men have béen commonly reſiſters of the truth from time to time, and have alwayes perſecuted the Prophets in the old Law, as their ſucceſſors did perſecute our Saviour Chriſt and his Diſciples in the new Law. We muſt take héede therefore that wée credit them no further than GOD will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwiſe than hée commandeth us. For Almighty GOD hath given to all people, as well to Kings and Princes, as Biſhops, Prieſts, learned and unlearned men, a commandement and law, unto the which hée willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any Biſhop or Prieſt preach or teach, or Prince or Magiſtrate command any thing

Learned men how far they are to be credited.

Anno 1558.

contrary to his commandement, we muſt take heede how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marie ſir, quoth Lewes, you are an holy Doctor indeed. By Gods bloud if you were my man, I would ſet you about your buſines a little better, and not ſuffer you to looke upon bookes, and ſo would your Maſter if hee were wiſe. And with that in came his Maſter, and a young man with him, which was ſervant with M. Daubney in Watling ſtreet.

His Maſter aſked what the matter was.

Wilmot complained of to his Maſt.r.

Lewes ſayd, that he had a knaviſh boy here to his ſervant, and how that if hee were his, hee would rather hang him, than keepe him in his houſe.

Then his Maſter, being ſomewhat moved, aſked his fellowes what the matter was.

They ſaid, they beganne to talke about Doctor Crome.

Then his Maſter aſked him what he had ſaid, ſwearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He ſaid, that he truſted he had ſaid nothing, whereby either hee or Maſter Lewes may juſtly be offended. I pray (quoth Wilmot) aſk him what I ſaid.

Marie ſir (ſaid Lewes) this he ſayd, that Doctor Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if hee recant on Sunday next, hee would bee ſorry to heare it, and that if hee doe, he is made to doe it againſt his conſcience. And more he ſaith, that we muſt not follow our Biſhops doctrine and preaching: For, ſaith hee, they be hinderers of Gods word, and perſecutors of that; and how Cromewell did more good (that traytor) in ſetting forth the Bible, than all our Biſhops have done theſe hundreth yeares: thus reporting the matter worſe than hee had ſaid.

Then ſaid Wilmot, that in many things hee made his tale worſe than it was. His Maſter hearing of this, was in a great furie, and rated him, ſaying, that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearing that hee would take away all his bookes and burne them.

M. Daubnies ſervant, called Tho. Fairefaxe taketh Wilmots part.

The young man (Maſter Daubnies ſervant) ſtanding by, hearing this, began to ſpeak on his part unto Lewes; and his talke confirmed all the ſayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairefaxe. Lewes hearing this mans talk as well as the others, went his way in a rage unto the Court.

Wilmot and Th. Fairefaxe ſent for to the Lord Mayor.

On the morrow they heard newes, ſo that the ſaid Wilmot and Thomas Fairefaxe were ſent for, to come to the Lord Mayor. The Meſſenger was Maſter Smart, Swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to the Mayors houſe, and were commanded to ſit downe at dinner in the Hall, and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them ſeverally, the one not hearing the other.

Rich Wilmot & Tho Fairefaxe examined before the Lord Mayor, and M. Cholmley.

The effect of their talke with them was this; Sir Roger Cholmley ſaid unto the foreſaid Wilmot, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a commandement from the Councell, to ſend for him and his companion, and to examine them of certaine things which were laid unto their charge.

Then ſaid Maſter Cholmley to him, Sirra, what Countriman art thou? He anſwered, that he was borne in Cambridgeſhire, and in ſuch a towne. Then he aſked him, how long he had been in the City. He told him.

Then he aſked what learning he had. He ſaid, little learning and ſmall knowledge. Then (deridingly) he aſked how long he had knowne Doctor Crome. He ſaid, but a while, about two yeares. He ſaid that he was a lying boy, and ſaid that hee the ſaid Wilmot was his ſon.

The other ſaid unto him, that was unlike, for that hee never ſaw his mother, nor ſhee him. Cholmley ſaid hee lyed. Wilmot ſaid hee could prove it to be true. Then he aſked him how hee liked his Sermon that he made at Saint Thomas Acres Chappell in Lent. Hee ſaid that indeed he heard him not. He ſaid yes, and the other nay. Then ſaid he, what ſay you to his Sermon made at the Croſſe the laſt day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceived a great number of people.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilm. For that they looked that he ſhould have recanted his doctrin that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholm. Yea ſir, but how ſay you now to him? for he hath recanted before the Councell: and hath promiſed on Sunday next to bee at the Croſſe againe, how think ye in that?

Wilmot. If hee ſo did, I am the more ſorrie to heare it; and ſaid, he thought he did it for feare and ſafeguard of his life.

Cholm. But what ſay you? was his firſt Sermon hereſie or not?

S. Pauls doctrine made hereſie with the Papiſts.

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no hereſie. For if it were, Saint Pauls Epiſtle to the Hebrews was hereſie, and Paul an heretike that preached ſuch doctrine, but God forbid that any Chriſtian man ſhould ſo thinke of the holy Apoſtle; neither do I ſo think.

Cholm. Why, how knoweſt thou that Saint Paul wrote thoſe things that are in Engliſh now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote Engliſh or Latine?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did ſeeke to advance his word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the Greeke and Hebrew into Latine and Engliſh, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the ſenſe of the Scripture of God, and laſt will and teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Lord Mayor, being in a great furie, aſked him what he had to doe to reade ſuch bookes, and ſaid, that it was pitie that his Maſter did ſuffer him ſo to doe, and that he was not ſet better to workes: and in fine ſaid unto him, that hee had ſpoken evill of my Lord of Wincheſter and Boner, thoſe reverend and learned Fathers and Counſellors of this Realme, for the which his fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as was due to the ſame. And M. Cholmley ſaid, yea my Lord, there are ſuch a ſort of heretikes and traitorly knaves taken now in Eſſex by my Lord Rich, that it is too wonderfull to heare. They ſhall bee ſent to the Biſhop ſhortly, and ſhall bee hanged and burned all.

Wilm. I am ſorrie to heare that of my Lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptiſme.

Cholmley aſked him when he ſpake with him. He ſaid, not theſe xii. yeares.

Cholmley. If he knew that he were ſuch a one, he would doe the like by him, and in ſo doing hee ſhould doe God great ſervice.

Wilmot. I have read the ſame ſaying in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, The time ſhall come (ſaith hee) that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall thinke that hee ſhall doe God high ſervice.

Well ſir ſaid Cholmley, becauſe yee are ſo full of your Scripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lacke a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall goe to a place where you ſhall bee moſt quiet, and I would wiſh you to ſtudy how you will anſwer to the Councell of thoſe things which they have to charge you with, for elſe it is like to coſt you your beſt joint. I know my Lord of Wincheſter will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in, to have him to the Counter in the Poultry, and the other to the other Counter, not one of them to ſee another; and thus remained they eight daies. In the which time their Maſters made great labour unto the Lord Mayor, and to ſir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

Wilmot and Fairefax committed to priſon.

At length they procured the Wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in their ſuite to the Mayor. The Mayor went with them to the Councell: but at that time they could finde no grace at Wincheſters hand, and ſir Anthonie Brownes, but that they had deſerved death, and that they ſhould have the law.

Sute made by the company of Drapers for Rich. Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax.

At length through intreatance, he granted them thus much favor, that they ſhould not die as they had deſerved, but ſhould bée tied to a carts taile, and be whipped thrée market daies thorow the City. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the Mayor and the Wardens of the companie knéeled before them to have this open puniſhment releaſed, foraſmuch as they were ſervants of ſo worſhipfull a Companie, and that they might bee puniſhed in their owne Hall before the Wardens and certaine of the companie. At length it was granted with condition, as ſome ſaid, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

Then were they ſent before the Maſters the next day to the Hall, both their Maſters being alſo preſent, and there were laid to their charges the hainous offences by them committed, how they were both heretikes and traytors, and have deſerved death for the ſame, and this was declared with a long proceſſe by the Maſter of the companie, whoſe name was Maſter Brooke, declaring what great labour and ſuite the Maior and the Wardens had made for them, to ſave them from death, which they (as he ſaid) had deſerved, and from open ſhame. which they ſhould have had, being judged by the Councell to have béene whipped thrée daies through the Citie at a Carts taile, and from theſe two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great ſute and alſo charge. For (ſaith hée) the companie hath promiſed unto the Councell for this their mercy and favour ſhewed towards them, being of ſuch a worſhipfull companie, a hundred pounds, notwithſtanding wée muſt ſée them puniſhed in our Hall within our ſelves for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other words he commanded them to addreſſe themſelves to receive their puniſhment.

M. Brooke Maſter of the Company of Drapers.

Then were they put aſunder, and ſtripped from the waſte upward one after another, and had into the Hall, and in the middeſt of the Hall, where they uſe to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to the which there was a rope tied faſt, and one of their féet thereto faſt tyed.

Rich. Wilmot, and Th. Fairfax ſcourged in Drapers hall.

Then came two men downe, diſguiſed in Mummers apparell, with viſors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods untill the blood did follow in their bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, hée could not lye in his bed ſixe nights after, for Brooke played the tyrant with them. So it was, that with the beating and the flight, and feare, they were never in health ſince, as the ſayd Wilmot with his owne mouth hath credibly aſcertained us, and we can no leſſe but teſtifie the ſame.

Brookes a cruell tyrant.

Thus have we briefly rehearſed this little tragedie, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at all times to thoſe which profeſſe Chriſt, and take his part, of what eſtate or degrée ſoever they bée, according to the Apoſtles ſaying, It is given unto you not onely to beleeve, but alſo to ſuffer with him. To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after theſe two above ſpecified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Gréene; who, in the time of Quéene Marie, was cauſed likewiſe to be ſcourged and beaten by Doctor Storie. What the cauſe was, here followeth in ſtorie and examination to bée ſéene, which hée penned with his owne hand, as the thing it ſelfe will declare to the Reader. The copie and words of the ſame, as hée wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayeſt note (gentle Reader) the ſimplicity of the one, I pray thee, marke the cruelty of the other part.

The ſcourging of Thomas Greene.

IN the reigne of Quéene Marie, I Thomas Gréene being brought before Doctor Storie by my Maſter, whoſe name is John Wayland a Printer, for a Booke called Antichriſt, the which had beene diſtributed to certaine honeſt men; He asked me where I had the booke, and ſaid I was a traytor. I told him I had the booke of a French man. Then he asked me more queſtions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he ſaid, It was no hereſie, but treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawne, and quartered, and ſo he called for Cluny, the Keeper of the Lollards Tower, and bade him ſet mee faſt in the ſtockes.

The ſcourging of Tho. Gréene. The Maſter promoteth the ſervant.

I was not in the Lollards Tower two houres; but Cluny came and tooke mee out, and carried me to the Colehouſe, and there I found a French man lying in the ſtockes, and hee tooke him out, and put on my right legge a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and ſo hee ſet mee croſſe fettered in the ſtockes, and tooke the French man away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and ſaid, let us ſhift your hand and your legge, becauſe you ſhall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and ſaid, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

Tho. Gréene put in the ſtocks.

And I ſaid, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my legge in the ſtockes, and ſo went his way, and there I remained ſixe daies, and could come to no anſwer.

Then Doctor Storie ſent for mee, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the booke. I ſaid I had told him, of a French man. Hee asked mee where I came acquainted with the French man, where hee dwelt, and where hee delivered me the booke. I ſaid, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I comming to my friends which were put in for Gods word and truths ſake, and the French man comming to his friends alſo, there we did talke together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eate and drinke together there with our friends in the feare of God.

Tho. Gréene examined before D. Story.

Then Storie ſcoffed at me and ſaid, then there was brother in Chriſt, and brother in Chriſt, and reviled mee, and called me an heretike, and asked mee if I had the booke of him in Newgate. I ſaid no, and I told him, as I went on my buſineſſe in the ſtreet I met him, and hee asked mee how I did, and I him alſo; ſo falling in com-

D. Story ſcoffeth at Chriſts ſervants.

munication, he ſhewed me that booke, and I deſired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story ſaid, it was a great booke, and aſked me whether I bought it or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then ſayd he, I was a thieſe, and had ſtolne my Maſters money. And I ſaid, a little money ſerved, for I gave him but foure pence, but I promiſed him, that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more. And he ſayd, that was boldly done, for ſuch a booke as ſpake both treaſon and hereſie.

Then Story required me to bring him two ſureties, and watch for him that I had the booke of, and I ſhould have no harme. I made him anſwer, I would bring no ſureties, nor could I tell where to finde them. Then ſaid he, this is but a lie, and ſo called for Cluney, and bad him lay me faſt in the Colehouſe, ſaying, he would make me tell another tale at my next comming: and ſo I lay in the ſtockes day and night, but only when I eate my meat, and there remained ten daies before I was called for againe.

Another examination of T. Greene before Doctor Story.

Then Doctor Story ſent for me againe, and aſked if I would yet tell him the truth. I ſaid, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought which I tooke to be priſoners.

Miſtris Story ſheweth her charitable heart.

Then Miſtreſſe Story fell in a rage, and ſware a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of theſe heretike knaves in an houſe, and I my ſelfe (ſaith ſhee) would ſet it on fire. So I was committed to priſon againe, where I remained foureteene dayes, and came to no anſwer.

Greene again examined before Doctor Story.

Then Story ſent for me againe, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had ſaid and done. They ſaid, the booke was a wonderous evill booke, and had both treaſon and hereſie in it. Then they aſked me what I ſaid by the booke. And I ſaid, I know no evill by it.

At which words Story chafed, and ſaid hee would hang me up by the hands with a rope, and ſaid alſo hee would cut out my tongue, and mine eares alſo from mine head. After this they alleaged two or three things unto me out of the booke. And I anſwered, I had not read the booke throwout, and therefore I could give no judgement of the booke.

Then my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine and the other two Gentlemen tooke me aſide, and intreated mee very gently, ſaying; tell us where you had the booke, and of whom, and we will ſave you harmeleſſe. I made them anſwer, I had told all that I could to Doctor Story, and beganne to tell it them againe: but they ſaid, they knew that already; ſo they left that talke, and went againe to Story with me.

Greene examined of his beliefe.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and ſaid I was an heretike. Whereupon the Chaplaine aſked me how I did beleeve. Then I began to rehearſe the Articles of my beliefe, but hee bade me let that alone. Then he aſked mee how I beleeved in Chriſt. I made him anſwer, that I beleeved in Chriſt which died and roſe againe the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

D. Stories blaſphemous ſcoffing in matters of our faith.

Whereupon Story aſked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I made him anſwer, I thought it was his glory. Then ſaid he, ſo they ſay all. And he aſked me when he would be weary of ſitting there. Then inferred my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine, asking mee what I ſaid by the Maſſe. I ſaid, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I underſtood it not, becauſe I never learned any Latine, and ſince the time that I had any knowledge, I had beene brought up in nothing but in reading of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as have taught the ſame; with many moe queſtions, which I cannot rehearſe.

The Maſſe

Moreover, hee asked me if there were not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud and bone in the Maſſe, after the Prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him anſwer; as for the Maſſe I cannot underſtand it, but in the new teſtament I reade, that as the Apoſtles ſtood looking after the Lord when he aſcended up into heaven, an Angell ſayd to them, Even as you ſee him aſcend up, ſo ſhall he come againe. And I told them another ſentence, where Chriſt ſaith, The poore ſhall you have alwayes with you, but me yee ſhall not have alwayes.

Then Maſter Chaplaine put to me many queſtions more, to the which I could make him no anſwer. Among all other, he brought Chryſoſtome and Saint Hierome for his purpoſe. To whom I anſwered, that I neither minded nor was able to anſwer their Doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the new Teſtament I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to ſcorne, and called me foole, and ſaid, they would reaſon no more with me.

Greene ſent againe to the Colehouſe.

Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeake with me. So was I ſent to the Colehouſe; where I had not beene a weeke, but there came in xiiii. priſoners: but I was kept ſtill alone without company, in a priſon called the Salthouſe, having upon my legge a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten dayes, having nothing to lye on, but bare ſtones or a boord.

The ſtrait handling of Greene in priſon.

On a time whiles I lay there in priſon, the Biſhop of London comming downe a paire of ſtairs on the backſide untruſt, in his hoſe and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

Talke betweene Tho. Greene and B. Boner.

I made him anſwer, that I was put in for a booke called Antichriſt, by D. Story. And he ſaid, you are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſaid it was a very wicked booke, and bade me confeſſe the truth to Story. I ſaid, I had told the truth to him already, and deſired him to bee good unto me, and helpe me out of priſon, for they had kept me there long. And he ſayd, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun it, and he muſt end it.

Two priſoners brought to B. Boners Salthouſe.

Then I was removed out of the Salthouſe to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards Tower, and put in the ſtocks; and there I found two priſoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him: and ſo I was kept in the ſtockes more than a moneth both day and night, and no man to come to mee, or to ſpeak with me, but only my keeper which brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lyon the French man ſung a Pſalm in the French tongue, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard down into the ſtreet, and the Keeper comming up in a great rage, ſware that he would put us all in the ſtockes, and ſo tooke the Frenchman and commanded him to kneele downe upon his knees, and put both his hands in the ſtocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

Cruelty ſhewed upon priſoners for ſinging Pſalmes.

Tho. Greene brought before Doctor Story and the commiſſioners.

After this, I being in the Lollards Tower 7. dayes, at my laſt being with Story, hee ſware a great oath, that he would racke mee, and make mee tell the truth. Then Story ſending for mee, commanded mee to bee brought to Walbroke, where

Anno 1558.

where he and the Commiſſioners dined; and by the way my Kéeper told me that I ſhould goe to the Tower and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and ſo there I ſtood before them, and ſome ſayd I was worthy to bée hanged for having ſuch hereticall bookes. After I had ſtayd a little while before them, Story called for the Kéeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards Tower againe, and ſaid; I have other matters of the Quéenes to doe with the Commiſſioners, but I will finde another time for him. Whileſt I lay yet in the Lollards Tower, the woman which brought the bookes over, being taken, and her bookes, was put in the Clink in Southwarke by Huſſy, one of the Arches; and I Thomas Gréene teſtifie before God, now, that I neither deſcried the man nor the woman, the which I had the books of.

This woman was one Youngs wife.

Tho. Gréene examined before M. Huſſy.

Then I lying in the Lollards Tower, being ſent for before Maſter Huſſy, he required of mée, wherefore I was put into the Lollards Tower, and by whom. To whom I made anſwer, that I was put there by Doctor Story for a booke called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and ſayd he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bade me tell him of whom I had the booke, and ſayd, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Doctor Story before.

Then he was very angry and ſayd, I love thée well, and therefore I ſent for thée, and looked for a further truth: but I would tell him no other; whereupon hée ſent mée againe to the Lollards Tower. At my going away he called mée backe againe, and ſaid that Dixon gave me the bookes being an old man, dwelling in Birchin lane: and I ſaid he knew the matter better than I. So hée ſent me away to the Lollards Tower, where I remained ſeven dayes and more.

Then Maſter Huſſy ſent for me againe, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told D. Story before.

Dixon in birchinlane.

Then he began to tell me Dixon of whom I had the bookes, the which had made the matter manifeſt afore; and he told mée of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could my ſelfe, inſomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a ſacke full of the bookes in his houſe, and knew where the woman lay, better than I my ſelfe. Then I ſaw the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it profited not me to ſtand in the matter. He aſked me where I had done the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Doctor Story had. He ſaid I lied, for I had thrée at one time, and hée required me to tell him of one.

John Beane Prentice with M. Tottle.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being prentice with Maſter Tottle. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaved before God, that he ſhould have no harme. And I knéeling downe upon my knées, deſired him to take my bloud, and not to hurt the young man. Then he ſaid, becauſe you have béen ſo ſtubborne, the matter being made manifeſt by other and not by you, being ſo long in priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my judgment. I ſaid, yea, take my bloud, and hurt not the young man.

Tho. Gréene adjudged to be whipped.

Tho. Gréene brought to the Gray Friars.

Then he made me anſwer, I ſhould be whipped like a thiefe and a vagabond; and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my Kéeper to the Lollards Tower, where I remained two or thrée dayes, and ſo was brought by the Kéeper Cluny, by the commandement of the Commiſſioners, to Chriſts Hoſpitall, ſometime the Gray Friers, and accordingly had there for the time the correction of théeves and vagabonds, and ſo was delivered to Trinian the Porter, and put into a ſtinking dungeon.

And after a few dayes, I finding friendſhip, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day time, and ſo remained priſoner a moneth and more.

Tho Gréene againe appeareth before D. Story, and two Gentlemen.

Whither at length Doctor Story came and two Gentlemen with him, and called for me, and ſo I was brought into a counting houſe before them. Then he ſaid to the Gentlemen, here commeth this heretike, of whom I had the book called Antichriſt, and began to tell them how many times I had béene before him, and ſaid, I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth till that it was found out by other. Then ſaid he, it were a good déed to cut out thy tongue, and thy eares off thy head, to make thée an example to all other heretike knaves. And the Gentlemen ſaid, nay, that were pitty. Then hée aſked if that I would not become an honeſt man: and I ſaid, yes for I have offended God many wayes. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith. I told him that I had made him anſwer of my faith before my Lord Windſors Chaplaine, as much as I could.

The ſcourging of Tho. Gréene before Doctor Story.

So in the end he commanded me to be ſtripped, he ſtanding by me, and called for two of the Beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two Beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a ſtone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Prieſtman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundell of rods, which ſéemed ſomething to pacifie the minde of his cruelty; and ſo they ſcourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of mée, Story aſked mée if I would goe unto my Maſter againe, and I ſaid nay. And he ſaid, I perceive now he will be worſe than ever he was before: but let me alone (quoth he) I will finde him out if he be in England. And ſo with many other things which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fées, and go my wayes.

Doctor Story commanded that he ſhould have an hundred ſtripes, but the Gentlemen ſo intreated, that he had not ſo many, Story ſaying, if I might have my will, I would ſurely cut out his tongue.

Of the ſcourging of Maſter Bartlet Gréene, alſo of John Willes, and of Thomas Hinſhaw, yée heard before. In like manner was ordered Stephen Cotten, burned before at Brainford, who teſtifieth himſelfe to be twice beaten by Boner, in a letter of his written to his brother, as by the ſame here following for the more evidence may appeare.

The copy of Stephen Cottens letter, written to his brother, declaring how he was beaten of Biſhop Boner.

Ste. Cottens letter to his brother.

BRother, in the Name of the Lord Jeſus I commend me unto you, and I doe heartily thank you for your godly exhortation and counſell in your laſt letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers perſons in number, ſo wée are of contrary ſects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your laſt being with us in Newgate; be you moſt aſſured good brother in the Lord Jeſus, wee are all of one minde, one faith, one aſſured hope in the Lord Jeſus, whom I truſt we all together with one ſpirit, one brotherly love, doe dayly call upon for mercy and forgivenes of our ſins, with earneſt repentance of our former lives, and by whoſe preous bloud ſhedding we truſt to be ſaved only, and by no other meanes. Wherefore good brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeeing theſe impudent people, whoſe mindes are altogether bent to wickedneſſe, envy, uncharitableneſſe, evill ſpeaking, do goe about to ſlander us with untruth, beleeve them not, neither let their wicked ſayings once enter into your minde. And I truſt one day to ſee you againe, although now I am in Gods priſon, which is a joyfull ſchoole to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a ſimple ſcholler moſt joyfull of all.

Good brother, once againe I doe in the Name of our Lord Jeſus, exhort you to pray for mee, that I may fight ſtrongly in the Lords battell, to bee a good ſouldier to my Captaine Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and deſire my ſiſter alſo to doe the ſame; and doe not ye mourne or lament for me, but bee yee glad and joyfull of this my trouble: For I truſt to be looſed out of this dungeon ſhortly, and to goe to everlaſting joy, which never ſhall have end. I heard how yee were with the Commiſſioners. I pray you ſue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I ſhall deſire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may beare witneſſe with me that I ſhall die, I truſt in God, a true Chriſtian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore beleeve not theſe evill diſpoſed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

Ste. Cotton twice beaten by B. Boner.

I pray you provide me a long ſhirt againſt the day of our deliverance: for the ſhirt you gave me laſt, I have given to one of my companions, who had more neede than I; and as for the mony and meat you ſent us, the Biſhops ſervants delivered none to us, neither hee whom you had ſo great truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to: for qualis Magiſter, talis Seruus. I have beene twice beaten, and threatned to be beaten againe by the Biſhop himſelfe. I ſuppoſe we ſhall goe into the Country to Fulham, to the Biſhops houſe, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can. For when wee ſhall goe, it ſhall bee ſuddenly done. Thus fare ye well. From the Colehouſe this preſent Friday.

Your brother Stephen Cotton.

The ſcourging of Iames Harris.

Iames Harris ſcourged.

IN this ſociety of the ſcourged profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one James Harris of Billerica in Eſſex, a ſtripling of the age of 17. yeares: who being apprehended and ſent up to Boner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by ſir John Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrel Juſtices of Peace (as appeareth by their owne letters before mentioned) was by Boner divers times ſtraightly examined. In the which examinations hee was charged not to have come to his Pariſh Church by the ſpace of one yeare or more. Whereunto hee granted, confeſſing therewithall, that once for feare he had been at the Church, and there had received the Popiſh ſacrament of the altar, for the which hee was heartily ſorry, deteſting the ſame with all his heart.

Iames Harris repenteth his comming to the Popiſh church.

After this and ſuch like anſwers, Boner (the better to trie him) perſwaded him to goe to ſhrift. The lad, ſomewhat to fulfill his requeſt, conſented to goe, and did. But when he came to the Prieſt, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing. Why (quoth the prieſt) ſayeſt thou nothing? what ſhall I ſay, ſayd Harris? Thou muſt confeſſe thy ſins, ſaid the Prieſt. My ſins, ſaith he, be ſo many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the Prieſt told Boner what he had ſayd, and hee of his accuſtomed devotion, tooke the poore lad into his Garden, and there, with a rod gathered out of a Chery tree, did moſt cruelly whip him.

The cauſe of Iames Harris ſcourging

The ſcourging of Robert Williams a Smith.

The ſcourging of Rob. Williams.

OVer and beſides theſe above mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who, being apprehended in the ſame company, was ſo tormented after the like manner with rods in his arbour, who there ſubſcribing and yeelding himſelfe by promiſe to obey the lawes, after being let goe, refuſed ſo to doe: whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himſelfe cloſe, and went not abroad but by ſtealth: and now in the meane time of this perſecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

¶ And foraſmuch as I have begun to write of Boners ſcourging, by the occaſion thereof commeth to minde to inferre by the way, his beating of other boyes and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey rowing toward Fulham. The ſtory although it touch no matter of Religion, yet becauſe it toucheth ſomething the nature and diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the Reader, wearied percaſe with other dolefull ſtories, I thought not to omit.

Boner cauſeth certaine boyes to be beaten.

Boner cauſeth certaine boyes to be beaten.

BOner paſſing from London to Fulham by Barge, having John Willes and Tho. Hinſhaw above mentioned with him, both priſoners for Religion, by the way as he went by water, was ſaying Evenſong with Harpsfield his Chaplaine in the Barge, and being about the middle of their devout oriſons, they eſpied a ſort of young boyes ſwimming & waſhing themſelves in the Thames over againſt Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom hee went and gave very gentle language, and faire ſpeech, untill he had ſet his men aland. That done, his men ranne after the boyes to get them, as the Biſhop commanded them before, beating ſome with nettles, drawing ſome through buſhes of nettles naked, and ſome they made leape into the Thames to ſave themſelves, that it was marvell they were not drowned.

Boners pityfull heart.

Now as the children for feare did cry, and as this ſkirmiſhing was betweene them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the boyes made ſuch a noiſe. Whom when the Biſhop eſpied, hee asked him whether hee would maintaine them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made anſwer ſtoutly, yea. Then the Biſhop commanded him to be taken alſo: but he ran away with ſpeed, and there avoided the Biſhops bleſſing. Now when the Biſhop ſaw him to flee away, and another man ſitting upon a raile in the way where he ranne, he willed him likewiſe to ſtop the boy: and becauſe he would not, he commanded his man to fet that man to him alſo; but he hearing that, ran away as faſt as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, eſcaped the Biſhop in like maner.

Then the Biſhop, ſeeing the ſucceſſe of his battell to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry boyes to runne and hold him that laſt ran away. And for that they ſaid they could not (as indeed it was true) therefore he cauſed his men by and by to take and beat them. The boies hearing that, lept into the water to ſave themſelves; notwithſtanding they were caught, and in the water by the Biſhops men holden and beaten.

Now

Anno 1558.

Boners devout Oriſons.

Now, after the end of this great ſkirmiſh, the Biſhops men returned to their Maſter againe into the Barge, and he and Harpsfield his Chaplaine went to their Evenſong afreſh where they left, and ſo forſooth the reſt of their Service, as cleane without malice, as an egge without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will) and grace to become a new man, Amen.

The whipping of a beggar at Saliſbury.

A poore begger whipt at Saliſbury, for not receiving with the Papiſts at Eaſter.

Vnto theſe above ſpecified, is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a certaine poore ſtarved ſilly beggar, who, becauſe hée would not receive the ſacrament at Eaſter in the Towne of Colingborow, was brought to Saliſbury with bils and glieves to the Chancellor D. Geffrey, who caſt him into the dungeon, and after cauſed him miſerably to be whipped of two Catchpoles. The ſight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to ſée ſuch tyranny to be ſhewed upon ſuch a ſimple and ſilly wretch: for they which ſaw him have reported, that they never ſaw a more ſimple creature, But what pity can move the hearts of mercileſſe Papiſts?

Beſides theſe above named, divers other alſo ſuffered the like ſcourgings and whippings in their bodies for their faithful ſtanding in the truth. Of whom it may be ſayd, as it is written of the Apoſtles in the Acts. Which departed from the Councell, reioycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Ieſus.

Acts 5.

Another treatiſe of ſuch as being purſued in Queen Maries time, were in great danger, and yet through the good providence of God, mercifully were preſerved.

A treatiſe of Gods mercy and providence in preſerving good men and women, in the time of this perſecution.

ALthough the ſecret purpoſe of Almighty God, which diſpoſeth all things, ſuffered a great number of his faithfull ſervants both men and women, and that of all ages and degrées, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this perſecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with rackes, with fetters, and famine, with burning of hands, with plucking of beards, with burning alſo both hand, beard, and body, &c.

Yet notwithſtanding ſome there were againe, and that a great number, who miraculouſly by the mercifull providence of GOD, againſt all mans expectation, in ſafety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this perſecution, eyther by voyding the Realme, or ſhifting of place, or the Lord ſo blinding the eyes of the perſecutors, or diſpoſing the opportunity of time, or working ſome ſuch means or other for his ſervants, as not onely ought to ſtirre them up to perpetuall thankes, but alſo may move all men both to behold and magnifie the wonderous workes of the Almighty.

About what time it began to bée knowne that Q. Mary was ſick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the Realme, ſome at Bury, ſome at Saliſbury, as John Hunt, and Rich. White, of whom we have ſtoried before, and ſome at London, amongſt whom was William Living with his wife, and John Lithall, of whom ſomething remaineth now compendiouſly to bée touched.

The trouble and deliverance of William Living, with his wife, and of Iohn Lithall, Miniſters.

The deliverance of Will. Living, his wife, and of John Lithall.

ABout the time of the later end of Q. Mary, ſhée then being ſicke, came one Coxe a Promoter, to the houſe of William Living, about ſixe of the clocke, accompanied with one John Launce of the Grayhound. They being not ready, they demanded for buttons, ſaying, they ſhould be as well payd for them, as ever was any; and hée would come about thrée houres after againe for them.

Deane Conſtable, George Hancocke beadle, perſecutors.

In the meane while hée had gotten the Conſtable called M. Deane, and George Hancocke the Beadle of that Ward, and ſearching his bookes, found a booke of Aſtronomy, called the worke of Ioannes de ſacro Boſco de ſphæra, with figures, ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrate: which booke becauſe it was guilt, ſéemed to him the chiefeſt booke there, and that hée carried open in the ſtréet, ſaying, I have found him at length. It is no marvell the Quéene be ſicke, ſéeing there bée ſuch conjurers in privy corners; but now I truſt he ſhall conjure no more, and ſo brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane thorow Fleete ſtreet into Pauls Church yard, with the Conſtable, the Beadle, and two other following them, till they were entred into Darbiſhires houſe, who was Biſhop Boners Chancellor: And after the Conſtable and they had talked with Darbiſhire, hee came forth and walked in his yard, ſaying theſe words.

Talk betweene Darbiſhire & W. Living, Prieſt.

Darbiſhire What is your name?

Living William Living.

Darb. What are you? a Prieſt?

Living Yea.

Dar. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Living That ſhe is.

Darb. Where were you made Prieſt?

Living At Obourne.

Darb. In what Biſhops dayes?

Living By the Biſhop of Lincolne, that was King Henries ghoſtly father in Cardinall Wolſies time.

Darb. You are a ſchiſmatike and a traitor.

Living I would be ſorry that were true. I am certaine I never was traytor, but alwayes have taught obedience, according to the tenour of Gods word; and when tumults and ſchiſmes have beene ſtirred, I have preached Gods word, and ſwaged them, as in the time of King Edward.

Darb. What? you are a Schiſmatike. You be not in the unity of the Catholike Church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth: you pray in Engliſh.

Living We are certaine we be in the true church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forſomuch as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learne againſt I talke with you againe, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Living If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Chriſt is the head, then am I a member thereof: for I know no other church but that.

Darb. Well Cluny, take him with thee to the Colehouſe.

Then called he Cluny againe, and ſpake ſecretly to him, what I know not.

Cluny plaieth the thiefe.

Then ſaid Cluny, wilt thou not come? and ſo pluckt me away violently, and brought me to his owne houſe in Pater noſter Rowe, where he robbed me of my purſe, my girdle, and my Pſalter, and a New Teſtament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Colehouſe to put me in the ſtockes, ſaying, put in both your legges and your hands alſo, and except you fine with me, I will put a collor about your necke. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty ſhillings, quoth he: I am never able to pay it, ſayd I.

Note the ſotious dealing of theſe papiſts.

Then, ſaid hee, you have friends that be able.

I denied it; and ſo he put both my legs into the ſtockes till ſupper time, which was ſixe of the clocke, and then a couſin of my wives brought me meat, who ſeeing me to ſit there, ſaid, I will give you forty pence, and let him goe at liberty: and he tooke her money, and preſently let me forth in her ſight, to eat my ſupper. And at ſeven of the clocke, he put me into the ſtocks againe, and ſo I remained till two of the clocke the next day, and ſo he let me forth till night. This woman abovementioned, was Griffins firſt wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and yet alive in Cheapſide.

W. Living laid in the Lollards Tower.

The Thurſday following at afternoone was I called to the Lollards tower, and there put in the ſtocks, having the favor to put my leg in that hole that M. John Philpots leg was in, and ſo lay all that night, no body comming to mee, either with meat or drinke.

At 11. of the clocke on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clocke he brought me to Darbiſhires houſe, who drew forth a ſcroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I ſaid, I know none of them but Foſter. And ſo I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly women, which ſaid, Maſter Darbiſhire, it is enough, and ſo became ſureties for mee, and paid to Cluny 15. ſhillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

W. Living delivered.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whoſe anſwers to Darbiſhire the Chancellor, here likewiſe followeth.

The examination of Iulian Living, wife to William Living.

Talke betweene Darbiſhire and Livings wife.

DArbiſhire. Ah ſirrah; I ſee by your going you be one of the ſiſters.

Iulian. I weare not my gowne for Siſterhood, neither for Nunnery, but to keepe me warme.

Darb. Nunne? No, I dare ſay you be none: Is that man your husband?

Iulian. Yea.

Darb. He is a Prieſt.

Iulian. No, he ſaith no maſſe.

Darb. What then? he is a Prieſt. How dareſt thou marry him?

Then he ſhewed me a roll of certaine names of Citizens.

To whom I anſwered, I knew none of them.

Then ſaid he, you ſhall be made to know them.

Then ſaid I, Do no other but juſtice and right, for the day will come, that you ſhall anſwer for it.

Darb. Why woman, thinkeſt thou not that I have a ſoule.

Iulian. Yes, I know you have a ſoule: but whether it bee to ſalvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Livings wife commanded to the Lollards Tower.

Darb. Ho Cluny, have her to the Lollards Tower. And ſo he tooke me, and carried me to his houſe, where was one Dale a Promoter, which ſaid to mee: Alas good woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you, ſaid I.

Dale a promotor.

You be not aſhamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you came hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Chriſts Teſtament.

Chriſts Teſtament, quoth he? it is the Devils Teſtament.

Oh Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man ſhould ſpeak any ſuch word.

Well well, quoth he, you ſhall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth hee. By Gods bloud, there muſt be ſome other meanes found for you.

What, quoth I, will you finde any worſe than you have found?

Marke the hope of the Papiſts.

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope ſhall be the ſlope. For though the Queen taile, ſhe that you hope for ſhall never come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals grace, and many more betweene her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then ſaid Cluny, Come with me: and ſo went I to the Lollards Tower. On the next day Darbiſhire ſent for mee againe, and enquired againe of thoſe Citizens that he enquired of before.

I anſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I ſaid, in no place.

Then the Conſtable of S. Brides, being there, made ſute for me.

And Darbiſhire demanded of him if hee would be bound for me.

The Conſtable of Saint Brides ſurety for Iulian Living.

He anſwered, Yea. And ſo he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Chriſtmas.

Then Darbiſhire ſaid, You be Conſtable, and ſhould give her good counſell.

So doe I, quoth he. For I bid her goe to maſſe, and to ſay as you ſay. For by the maſſe, if you ſay the Crow is white, I wil ſay ſo too.

Living & his wife delivered by the death of Q. Mary.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou ſeeſt here delivered through the requeſt of women, his ſureties: yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly ſickneſſe of Queene Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of thoſe Papiſts, which otherwiſe would never have let them goe.

The trouble and deliverance of Iohn Lithall.

John Lithall brought to examination by Ioh Avales.

AT the taking of William Living, it hapned that certaine of his bookes were in the cuſtody of one John Lithall, which knowne, the Conſtable of the Ward of Southwarke, with other of the Queenes ſervants, were ſent to his houſe, who breaking open his doores and cheſts, tooke away not only the bookes of the ſaid William Living, but alſo all his own bookes, writings, and bils of debts, which he never had againe. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and knowne to be at home, John Avales and certaine of the Queenes ſervants beſet his houſe all the night, with ſuch carefull watch, that as he in the morning iſſued out of his doores, thinking to eſcape their hands, John Avales ſuddenly bruſting out upon him, cried ſtop the traytor, ſtop the traytor. Whereat Lithall being amazed, looked backe.

Lithall brought before D. Darbiſhire chancellor.

And ſo John Avales came running to him, with other that were with him, ſaying, Ah ſirrah, you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed, wee have had ſomewhat to doe to get you. To whom hee anſwered, that hee was a truer man to the Queenes Majeſty than hee. For you (ſaid he) are commanded by God to keepe holy the Sabbath day, and you ſeeke to ſhed your neighbours bloud on the Sabbath day. Remember that you muſt anſwer therefore to G O D. But hee ſaid, Come on you villaine, you muſt goe before the Councell. So was Lithall brought into Pauls Churchyard to the Biſhops Chancellor, by John Avales, ſaying, that hee had there caught the Captaine of theſe fellowes, and ſo cauſed him to bee called to examination before

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Talke betweene Lethall and the Chancellor.

D. Darbiſhire, who entred talke with him in this wiſe.

Chan. What countreyman are you?

Lith. I am an Engliſh man, borne in Staffordſhire.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our countrey of England.

Chan. In what Univerſity?

Lith. In no Univerſity, but in a free ſchoole.

Chan. We had certaine bookes from your houſe, and writings, wherein is both treaſon and hereſie.

Lith. Sir, There is neither treaſon nor hereſie in them.

Chan. Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have ought to lay to my charge, I will anſwer it: but I will have no other mans bloud upon my head.

Chan. Why come you not to the Church? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your owne pariſh Church?

Lith. I am of the Church of Chriſt, the fountain of all goodneſſe.

Chan. Have you no Miniſters of your Church but Chriſt?

Lith. We have others.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole world, diſperſed, preaching and profeſſing the Goſpell and faith onely in our Savior Jeſus, as he commanded them.

Chan. You boaſt much every one of you of your faith and beliefe: let me heare therefore the effect how you beleeve.

Juſtification by faith onely.

Lith. I beleeve to be juſtified freely by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the ſaying of S. Paul to the Epheſians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

Chan. Faith cannot ſave without works.

Lith. That is contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Chan. John Avales, you and the keeper have this fellow to priſon.

Cluny & Iohn Avales. Then John Avales and Cluny the Keeper had me into Pauls, and would have had me have ſeene the Apoſtles maſſe.

Lith. I know none the Apoſtles had, and therefore I will ſee none.

Cluny & Iohn Avales. Come kneele downe before the Roode, and ſay a Pater noſter, and an Ave in the worſhip of the five wounds.

Lithall denies to kneele before the Rood.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods owne mouth to kneele to any idoll or image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one arme, and the other by the other, but God gave me at that preſent time more ſtrength than both theſe, his name be prayſed for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneele before the Roode, neither to ſee the maſſe, there gathered a great company about us, and all againſt me. Some ſpit on me, and ſaid, Fie on thee heretike, and other ſaid it was pitty I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards tower, and hanged me in a great paire of ſtockes, in which I lay three daies and three nights, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſtirre nor move.

Then I offered the Keeper certaine mony and gold that I had about me, to releaſe mee out of the ſtockes: and he ſaid, I would not be ruled by him, either to ſee maſſe, or to kneele before the Roode, and therefore I ſhould lye there ſtill. But I ſaid I would never doe the thing that ſhould be againſt my conſcience: and though you have lamed my body, yet my conſcience is whole, I praiſe God for it. So ſhortly after hee let me out of the ſtockes, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought) than for any other affection, and within foure or five daies my wife got leave of Maſter Chancellor to come to mee, to bring mee ſuch things as were needfull for me, and there I lay five weekes and odde daies. In the which time divers of my neighbors and friends made ſute to the Chancellor for my deliverance: the Biſhop, as they ſaid, at that time being at Fulham ſicke. So my neighbors being there, about twenty of them, the Chancellor ſent for me out of the Lollards Tower to his owne houſe, and ſaid as followeth.

Lithals neighbours make ſute for him.

Chan. Lithall, here be of thy neighbours which have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me that thou haſt beene a very honeſt and quiet neighbour among them, and I thinke it be Gods will that I ſhould deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if hee come, and thou goe home againe, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleneſſe, and my neighbors for their good report.

Chan. Lithall, if thy neighbors will be bound for thy forth comming whenſoever thou ſhalt be called for, and alſo if thou wilt be an obedient Subject, I ſhall bee content to deliver thee.

Neighb. If it pleaſe your worſhip we will bee bound for him in body and goods.

Chan. I will require no ſuch bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pound a peece, that he ſhall come to anſwer when hee ſhall be called.

Lith. Where finde you, Maſter Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the Church of God did binde any man for the profeſſion of his faith? which profeſſion you have heard of me, that all our juſtification, righteouſnes, and ſalvation commeth only and freely by the merits of our Savior Jeſus Chriſt, and all the inventions and works of men, be they never ſo glorious, be altogether vain, as the wiſe man ſaith.

Chan. Loe, where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you; for in that I beleeve as you doe: but yet Saint James ſaith, That a man is juſtified by works.

S. James pounded.

Lith. Saint James ſpake to them that boaſted themſelves of faith, and ſhewed no workes of faith: But O M. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the promiſes and propheſies of the holy Scripture, even from the firſt promiſe that God made to Adam, and ſo even to the later end of the Revelation of S. John, do teſtifie that in the name of Jeſus, and onely by his merits, all that beleeve ſhal be ſaved from all their ſins and offences. Eſay ſaith, Chap. 65, I am found of them that ſought mee not, and am manifeſt to them that asked not after me: but againſt Iſrael he ſaith, All day long have I ſtretched out my hand to a people that beleeve not. And when the Jaylor asked Saint Paul, what he ſhould doe to be ſaved, the Apoſtle ſaid, Act. 16. Beleeve on the Lord Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, and all thy houſhold.

Againe, Saint John ſaith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the booke nor the ſeales thereof, but onely the Lambe Jeſus our onely Saviour. And Saint Paul ſaith, Hebrewes 9. With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified.

Chan. With vaine glory you rehearſe much Scripture, as all the ſort of you doe: but you have no more underſtanding than a many of ſheepe. But to the purpoſe. Will you that your neighbors ſhall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lithall refuſeth to put in bond.

Lith. By my minde they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bind mee, but let me ſerve God with my conſcience freely. For it is written, Apoc.13. They that lead itno captivity, ſhal go into captivity, and they that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.

Alſo it is written in the Goſpell of our Savior Jeſus Chriſt, That whoſo doth offend one of theſe little ones which beleeve in mee, it were better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his necke, aud that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea, Matth.18. Of the which I am aſſured by his holy ſpirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, unto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Chan. You are a mad man. I would not bind you, but that I muſt needs have ſomwhat to ſhew for your deliverance. Then he called two of my neighbors, Thomas Daniel, and Saunders Maybe, which offered themſelves to be bound, and called mee before them, and ſaid, I have a letter of his owne hand writing, with his name and ſeale at it, with a booke alſo againſt the Regiment of women, for the which I could make him to bee hanged, drawne and quartered, but on my faith I will him no more hurt than I meane to my owne ſoule.

Lith. I deſire you that be my neighbors and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I my ſelfe: it goeth againſt my conſcience that yee ſhould ſo doe.

Chan. Why? I will not binde you to doe any thing againſt your conſcience.

His neighbors enter into bloud for him.

Neighb. Then they made the bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeale to it alſo, and I ſaid that I would not, neither could I obſerve the bond, and therefore I would not ſet to my hand.

Chan. It is pity that thou haſt ſo much favour ſhewed thee: yet for theſe honeſt mens ſakes I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſembling words of Maſter Darbiſhire, pretending for favor of his ſureties, to ſet him at liberty, it was no ſuch thing, nor any zeale of charity that moved him ſo to doe, but only feare of the time, underſtanding the dangerous and unrecoverable ſickneſſe of Queen Mary, which then began ſomwhat to aſſwage the cruell proceeding of theſe perſecutors, whereby they durſt not do that they would: for elſe Lithall was not like to have eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Edward Grew.

Edward Grew and Appline his wife.

MOreover, there was one Edward Grew prieſt, and Appline his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a towne called Broke; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keepe a good conſcience.

At the laſt he was taken and laid in Colcheſter caſtle, where he remained till Q. Elizabeth came to her Regall Seat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccour him.

William Browne.

M. Browne of Suffolke.

WIlliam Browne, Parſon of little Stanham, in the County of Suffolke, made a Sermon in the ſaid Towne, incontinently after the buriall of our good King Edward, and in his Sermon he ſaid, There goeth a report that our good King is buried with a maſſe by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, hee having a Miter upon his head. But if it were ſo, ſaith hee, they are all traytors that ſo doe, becauſe it is both againſt the truth, and the Lawes of this Realme, and it is great idolatry and blaſphemy, and againſt the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the King, or yet unto the Realme, that ſo do.

Rob. Blomefield, Perſecutor.

Edw. Golding under-Sheriffe. Cornewalis high ſheriffe.

For this his preaching one Robert Blomefield, an adverſary to the truth, being then Conſtable of the ſaid towne, and Bayliffe unto Sir John Jerningham Knight (the chiefe Lord of the town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Goulding, which was then underſheriffe, Sir Thomas Cornewalis being then high ſheriffe.

So the ſaid Golding and Blomefield ſent for certain men of the ſaid towne, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a ſmall anſwer. Then the Sheriffe made a bill, and ſo feared the men, that two or three of them ſet to their hands, and one of them never joyed after, but it was a griefe to him till he died.

M. Browne perſecuted and taken.

Then did they take men with them unto the Parſons houſe, and in the night they tooke him, and with watchmen kept him untill it was day. Then ſhould hee have been carried the next day to the Councell; but the ſaid Robert Blomefield was taken ſo ſicke, that he was like to die: ſo that he could not carry him for his life.

M. Browne delivered.

Then the ſaid ſheriffe ſent him to Ipſwich again and there he was for a time. Then he was ſent to Bury priſon, and from thence to the Councell, and then into the Fleet: and ſo he lay in priſon from the beginning of harveſt till it was nigh Chriſtmas, and he ſaid God gave him ſuch anſwers to make when he was examined, that hee was delivered with quietneſſe of conſcience. And having his liberty, hee came againe unto the foreſaid towne; and becauſe hee would not goe to maſſe, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were conſtrained to fly here and there for his life and conſcience. In the laſt yeare of Queen Maries raigne God did take him out of this life in peace.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon a Perſecutor.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield abovenamed, immediately after he had apprehended the ſaid Brown, fell very ſick: And although at that time he was a wealthy man and of a great ſubſtance (beſide his land which was better than twenty pound a yeare) after this time, God ſo plagued his houſhold, that his eldeſt ſon died, and his wife had a pining ſicknes till ſhe departed this life alſo.

Then married he another, a rich widow: but all would not help, and nothing would proſper: For he had a ſore pining ſickneſſe, being full of botches and ſores, whereby he waſted away both body and goods, till he died.

So when he died, hee was above nineſcore pounds in dept, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatened a good man, one Simon Harliſton, to put him forth to the officers, becauſe he did weare no ſurplis when he ſaid ſervice.

Wherefore it is pity ſuch baits of Popery are left to the enemies to take Chriſtians in. God take them away, or elſe us from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blindneſſe and ſtrife amongſt men.

Furthermore, out of the ſaid towne were conſtrained to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, becauſe they would not goe to maſſe and receive their ſacrament of the altar.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatiſe of the ſcourging of Tho. Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Doctor Story, for a certaine booke called

Antichriſt, which he receiued of a woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who comming from Emden to England, brought with her diuers bookes, and ſparſed them abroad in London; for the which ſhee, being at length eſpyed and layd faſt, was brought to examination 13. times before the Catholike Inquiſitors of hereticall prauity. Of the which her examinations, nine haue come to our hands.

Wherein how fiercely ſhee was aſſaulted, how ſhamefully ſhe was reuiled, how miſerably handled, and what anſwers ſhe made unto the aduerſaries in her owne defence, and finally after all this, how ſhe eſcaped and paſſed through the pikes, (being yet, as I heare ſay, aliue) I thought to giue the Reader here to ſee and underſtand.

The firſt examination of Elizabeth Young, before M. Huſſie.

The 1. examination of Eli. Young.

WHo examined her of many things: Firſt, where ſhe was borne, and who was her father and mother.

Eliz. Young. Sir, all this is but vaine talk, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to anſwer unto ſuch things as I came for. Ye haue not (I thinke) put me in priſon to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you goe to the matter that I came hither for.

M. Huſſie. Wherefore wenteſt thou out of the Realme?

Eliz. To kéep my conſcience cleane.

Huſ. When waſt thou at maſſe?

Eliz. Not this thrée yeares.

Huſ. Then waſt thou not there thrée yeares before that?

Eliz. No ſir, nor yet thrée yeares before that: for if I were I had euill luck.

Huſ. How old art thou?

Eliz. Forty and upwards.

Huſ. Twenty of thoſe yeares thou wenteſt to maſſe.

Eli. Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thither firſt, for I underſtand it not.

Huſ. Why wilt thou not goe to the maſſe?

Eliz. Young refuſeth to go to maſſe.

Eliz. Sir, my conſcience will not ſuffer me: for I had rather all the world ſhould accuſe mee, than mine owne conſcience.

Huſ. What if a louſe or a flea ſticke upon thy skinne, and bite thy fleſh? thou muſt make a conſcience in taking her off; is there not a conſcience in it?

Eliz. That is but an eaſie argument to diſplace the Scriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my ſaluation dependeth upon: for it is but an eaſie conſcience that a man can make,

Huſ. But why wilt thou not ſweare upon the Euangeliſt before a Iudge?

Eliz. Becauſe I know not what a book oath is.

Huſ. Then he began to teach her the book oath.

Eliz. Young denieth to ſwear, & why.

Eliz. Sir I doe not underſtand it, and therefore I will not learne it.

Huſ. Then ſaid he, thou wilt not underſtand it: and with that roſe up and went his way.

The ſecond examination before Doctor Martin.

The 2. examination of Eli. Young. She troubled for bringing ouer books.

WHo ſaid to her, Woman, thou art come from beyond the ſea, and haſt brought with thée books of hereſie and treaſon, and thou muſt confeſſe to us who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them ouer (for once I know thee to be but a meſſenger) and in ſo doing the Quéenes highnes will be good to thée (for ſhe hath forgiuen greater things than this) and thou ſhalt finde as much fauor as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborne, and wilt not confeſſe, thou wilt bee wondrous euill handled: for we know the truth already, but this we doe, onely to ſée whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Eliz. Sir, ye haue my confeſſion, and more than that I cannot ſay.

D. Martin threatneth her with the rack.

Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doeſt thou think that we will be fully anſwered by this examination that thou haſt made? Thou rebell whore and traitorly heretike, thou doeſt refuſe to ſweare upon the Euangeliſt before a Iudge, I heare ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked inchmeale, thou traytorly whore and heretike, but thou ſhalt ſwear before a Iudge before thou goe: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſſe how many bookes thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Eliz. Sir, I underſtand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for theoſe books that I had, you Commiſſioners haue them all.

Martin. Thou traitorly whore, we know that thou haſt ſold a number of bookes, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou haſt béen here, and where thou layeſt, and euery place that thou haſt béen in. Doeſt thou think that thou haſt fooles in hand?

Eliz. No ſir, ye be too wiſe for me: for I cannot tell how many places I haue been in my ſelfe: but if it were in Turky, I ſhould haue meat, and drinke, and lodging for my money.

Eliz. Young charged for ſpeaking againſt the Queene.

Martin. Thou rebell whore, thou haſt ſpoken euill words by the Queene, and thou dwelleſt amongſt a ſort of traitors and rebels that cannot giue the Queene a good word.

Eliz. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can proue any ſuch things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by Gods word, and Gods book hath taught me what is my duty to God, and unto my Queen, and therefore (as I ſaid) I am aſſured that no man liuing upon the earth, can proue any ſuch things by me.

Mart. Thou rebell and traitorly whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and handled, that thou ſhalt be an example to all ſuch traitorly whores and heretikes; and thou ſhalt be made to ſweare by the holy Euangeliſts, and confeſſe to whom thou haſt ſold all and euery of theſe hereticall bookes that thou haſt ſold: for wee know what number thou haſt ſold, and to whom; but thou ſhalt be made to confeſſe it in ſpite of thy bloud.

Eliz. Here is my carkaſſe; doe with it what you will, and more than that you cannot haue. M. Martin, ye can haue no more but my bloud.

Then fared he, as though he had béen ſtarke mad, and ſaid, Martin? Why calleſt thou mee Martin?

Eliz. Sir, I know well enough, for I haue been before you ere now. Ye deliuered me once at Weſtminſter.

Mart. Where didſt thou dwell then?

Eliz. I dwelled in the Minories.

Eliz. Young and her husband deliuered by D. Martin.

Mart. I deliuered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldeſt haue done otherwiſe than thou doeſt now. For if thou hadſt been before any Biſhop in England, and ſaid the words that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt fried a fagot: and though thou didſt not burne then, thou art like to burne or hang now.

Eliz. Sir, I promiſed you then, that I would neuer be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

Mart. I ſhall feed thee well enough. Thou ſhalt

be

beſed with that (I warrant thee) which ſhall be ſmally to thine eaſe.

Eliz. Doe what God ſhall ſuffer you to doe: for more ye ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the Keepers houſe, and ſaid to the wife. Whom haſt thou ſuffered to come to this vile traitorly whore and heretike to ſpeake with her? Then ſaid the Keepers wife, as God receive my ſoule, here came neither man, woman, nor childe, to aske for her.

Eliz. Young commanded to cloſe priſon, to have one day bread, and another day water.

Martin. If any man, woman, or childe, come to aske for her, I charge thee in paine of death, that they be laid faſt, and give her one day bread, and another day water.

Eliz. If ye take away my meat, I truſt that God will take away my hunger: and ſo he departed and ſaid, that was too good for her: and then was ſhe ſhut up under two lockes in the Chink, where ſhe was before.

The third examination before Doctor Martin againe.

The 3. examination of Eliz. Young.

D. Martin ſeeketh to know how many Gentlewomen were fled over the ſea.

Then was ſhe brought before him in his chamber, within my Lord Chancellors houſe. Who asked her, ſaying, Elizabeth, wilt thou confeſſe theſe things that thou haſt been examined upon? For thou knoweſt that I have been thy friend, and in ſo doing, I will be thy friend againe; giving her many faire words, and then demanding of her how many Gentlemen were beyond the ſeas.

Eliz. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other ſide.

Mart. No, I meane but in Frankford and Emden, where thou haſt been.

Eliz. Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I looke not for.

Mart. When ſhall I have a true word come out of thy mouth?

Eliz. I have told you the truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it.

Eliz. Young again threatened with the racke.

Mart. Wilt thou yet confeſſe? and if thou wilt, that that I have promiſed, I will doe: and if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt goe even hence to the racke, and therefore confeſſe.

Eliz. I can ſay no more than I have ſaid.

Mart. Well, forſomuch as ſhe will confeſſe no more, have her away to the rack, and then ſhe will be marred. Then anſwered a prieſt that ſat there, and ſaid, Woman, take an oath, and confeſſe. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?

She againe refuſeth to ſweare to accuſe other.

Eliz. I can confeſſe no more than I have. Doe with my carkaſſe what ye will.

Mart. Did ye ever heare the like of this heretike? What a ſtout heretike is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether ſhe will confeſſe. There is no remedy, but ſhe muſt needs to the racke, and therefore away with her, and ſo commanded her out of the doore, and called her keeper unto him, and ſaid to him: There is no remedy but this heretike muſt bee racked; and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe heard not.

Then he called her in againe, and ſaid, Wilt thou not confeſſe, and keep thee from the racke? I adviſe thee ſo to doe: for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the paine yet, but thou ſhalt doe.

Eliz. Sir, I can confeſſe no more. Do with my carkaſſe what ye will.

Eliz. Young commanded againe to the Clinke.

Mart. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſaid. Let her know the paine of the racke. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſſe, but that ſhee ſhould have gon to the racke, till ſhe ſaw the keeper turne toward the Clinke again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminiſh their tyranous power, unto the time of further examination: for ſhe was brought before the Biſhop, the Dean, and the Chancellor, and other Commiſſioners, firſt and laſt, 13. times.

Anno 1558.

The fourth examination was before the Biſhop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, D. Cooke, the Recorder of London, D. Roper of Kent, and D. Martin, as concerning her faith, &c.

The 4. examination of E Young. D. Martin preſenteth her to the Commiſſioners.

Firſt ſhe being preſented by D. Martin, before the Biſhop of London, Doctor Martin began to declare againſt her, ſaying, The Lord Chancellor hath ſent you here a woman, which hath brought books over from Emden, where all theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treaſon and hereſie; neither yet will ſhe confeſſe who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them over. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of London, he to doe with her as he ſhall thinke good. For ſhe will confeſſe nothing, but that ſhe bought theſe ſaid books in Amſterdam, and ſo brought them over to ſell for gaine.

D. Cook. Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall line, and make her to confeſſe.

The booke called Antichriſt.

Mart. The booke is called Antichriſt, and ſo may it be well called, for it ſpeaketh againſt Ieſus Chriſt and the Queene. Beſides that ſhee hath a certaine ſparke of the Anabaptiſts, for ſhe refuſeth to ſweare upon the foure Evangeliſts before a Iudge: For I my ſelfe and M. Huſſie have had her before us foure times, but wee cannot bring her to ſweare. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that ſhe ſhould abſtain and faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: For ſhe hath lien in the Clinke a good while, where ſhee had too much her liberty.

Eliz. Young a great while in the Clinke.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, why wilt thou not ſwear before a Iudge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptiſts.

Eliz. My Lord, I will not ſweare that this hand is mine.

No, ſaid the Biſhop? and why?

Eliz. My Lord, Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it commeth of evill. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me.

Eliz. Young refuſeth to ſweare, and why.

Eliz. Young thought to be no woman.

Then ſaid Cholmley, twenty pound, it is a man in a womans clothes, twenty pound it is a man.

Boner. Thinke you ſo my Lord.

Chol. Yea, my Lord, &c.

Eliz. My Lord, I am a woman.

Biſh. Sweare her upon a booke, ſeeing it is but a queſtion asked.

Then ſaid Cholmley, I will lay twenty pound it is a man.

Then D. Cooke brought her a booke, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Eliz. No, my Lord, I will not ſweare: for I know not what an oath is. But I ſay that I am a woman, and have children.

Biſh. That know not we: wherefore ſweare.

Cholm. Thou ill favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the booke; I will lay on mine: and ſo hee laid his hand upon the booke.

Eliz. So will not I mine.

Then the Biſhop ſpake a word in Latine out of S. Paul, as concerning ſwearing.

Eliz. My Lord, if you ſpeake to me of S. Paul then ſpeak Engliſh, for I underſtand you not.

Biſh. I dare ſweare that thou doſt not.

Eliz. My Lord, Saint Paul ſaith, that five words ſpoken in a language that may be underſtood, are better than many in a forrain or ſtrange tongue which is unknown.

Doctor Cooke. Sweare before us whether thou be a man or a woman.

Eliz. If ye will not beleeve mee, then ſend for women into a ſecret place, and I will be tried.

Cholm. Thou art an ill favored whore.

Sacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, How beleeveſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar?

Eliz. My Lord, if it will pleaſe you that I ſhall declare mine owne faith, I will.

The Biſhop. Tell me how thou beleeveſt in the ſacrament of the altar?

Eliz. Will it pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my faith? And if it be not good, then teach mee a better, and I will beleeve it.

D.Cook. That is well ſaid, declare thy faith.

The confeſſion & faith of Eliz. Young.

Eliz. I beleeve in God the father almighty, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God. I beleeve all the articles of my Creed. I beleeve all things written in the holy Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the holy Ghoſt into the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt, I beleeve that Ieſus Chriſt, the only ſonne of God, that immaculate Lambe, came into the world to ſave ſinners, and that in him, by him, and through him I am made cleane from my ſinnes, and without him I could not. I beleeve that in the holy ſacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, which he did inſtitute and ordaine, and left among his Diſciples that night before hee was betrayed, when I doe receive this Sacrament in faith and ſpirit, I doe receive Chriſt.

The Sacrament to be received in ſpirit and faith.

Biſh. Nomore, I warrant you, but the Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, received but in ſpirit and faith, with thoſe heretikes.

Cholmly cannot abide ſpirit and faith.

Chol. Ah whore, ſpirit and faith, whore?

Eliz. This Sacrament never man could or did make, but only he, that did what no man could doe.

Mart. Then thou muſt allow that graſſe is a ſacrament: for who could make graſſe but he only?

Inſtitution of the ſacrament by Chriſt only once for all.

Eliz. Sir, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient ſacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his ſacrament ſufficient once for all: for there was never man that could ſay, Take, eat, this is my body, that is broken for you, but only Ieſus Chriſt, who had his body broken for the ſinnes of the world; which Sacrament he hath left here amongſt us for a teſtimoniall of his death, even to the worlds end.

Mart. Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?

Eliz. Yea, Biſhop Scory and other that I have heard.

Biſh. Why, is Scory biſhop now?

Eliz. If that doe offend you, call him D. Scory, if ye will.

Roper. I knew when he was but a poore doctor.

Mart. What doe ye call Scorie?

Eliz. Our ſuperintendent.

Biſh. Loe their Superintendent.

Mart. And what are ye called?

Eliz. Chriſts Congregation.

Biſh. Loe, Chriſts Congregation, I warrant you.

D.Cooke. What living hath Scorie?

Eliz. Sir, as far as I doe know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent him out of England.

Eliz. Sir, I know no ſuch thing.

Cholm. Harke whore, harke; harke how I doe beleeve,

Eliz. My Lord, I have told you my beliefe.

Chol. Harke, thou ill favored whore, how I doe beleeve. When the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration, I doe beleeve that there remaineth the very body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the croſſe, was dead and buried, and deſcended into hell, and roſe againe on the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. The ſame body when the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words, commeth downe, and when the Prieſt lifteth up his body on this wiſe (hee lifting up his hands, ſaid) there it is.

Confeſſion of Cholmleys faith.

Eliz. I have told you alſo how I do beleeve.

Mart. Away with her.

Cholm. Ah evill favoured whore, nothing but ſpirit and faith whore?

Mart. Away with her, wee have more to talke withall.

Then was ſhe carried into the Colehouſe, and ſearched for bookes, & then put into the ſtockhouſe, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

Eliz. Young carried into the ſtockhouſe.

The fifth examination before the Biſhop of Londons Chancellor.

The 5. examination of Eliz. Young.

Then was ſhe brought out of the ſtockehouſe, & brought before the Biſhops Chancellor, who required of her what age ſhe was of.

Eliz. Sir, forty yeares and upwards.

The Chan. Why, thou art a woman of a faire yeares; what ſhouldeſt thou meddle with the Scriptures? it is neceſſary for thee to beleeve, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy diſtaffe, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy beliefe? I would heare it: for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into priſon.

Eliz. Sir, if it will pleaſe you to heare, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Chriſtian woman, then teach me better, and I will learne it.

Eliz. Young offered againe to declare her beliefe.

Chan, Well ſaid. But who ſhall judge betweene thee and me?

Eliz. The Scripture.

Chan. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Eliz. Yea ſir.

Chan. Well go thy way out at the doore a little while, for I am buſie, and I will call for thee anon againe.

Then he called me againe and ſaid, Now woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will beare it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him, as ſhe had done before the Biſhop.

Really, corporally, ſubſtantially.

Chan. Woman, ſpirit and faith I do allow, but doeſt not thou beleeve that thou doeſt receive the body of Chriſt, really, corporally, & ſubſtantially?

Eliz. Theſe words, really and corporally, I underſtand not; as for ſubſtantially, I take it, ye meane I ſhould beleeve that I ſhould receive his humane body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that beleeve not I.

Chan. Thou muſt beleeve this, or elſe thou art damned.

Eliz. Sir, can ye give me beliefe or faith?

Chan. No, God muſt give it thee.

Eliz. God hath given me no ſuch faith or beliefe.

The Chancellor then declared a text of S. Paul in Latine, and then in Engliſh, ſaying, I could make thee beleeve, but that thou haſt a cankered heart, and wilt not beleeve. Who then can make thee to beleeve?

Eliz. You ſaid even now, that faith or beliefe commeth of God, and ſo beleeve I, and then may not I beleeve an untruth to be a truth.

Faith commeth of God: Ergo, no untruth ought to be beleeved.

Chan.

Chriſt is fleſh of our fleſh, but not in our fleſh. Iohn 6.

Chan. Doeſt thou not beleeve that Chriſts fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh?

Eliz. No ſir, I beleeve not that; for my fleſh ſhall putrifie and rot.

Chan. Chriſt ſaid, my fleſh is fleſh in fleſh.

Eliz. Who ſo receiveth him fleſhly, ſhall have a fleſhly reſurrection.

Chan. Chriſt ſaith in the 6. of Iohn, My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed.

Eliz. Chriſt preached to the Capernaites, ſaying; Except ye eate the fleſh of the ſon of man, and drinke his blood, ye ſhall not have life in you: and the Capernaites murmured at it. And his Diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelves, This is an hard ſaying, and who can abide it? Chriſt underſtood their meaning, and ſaid; Are ye alſo offended? Will ye alſo goe away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the ſon of man aſcend up to heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing. I pray you ſir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

This man dare not expound the ſcripture, yet he dare judge upon hereſie.

Chan. O God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We muſt leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have ſtudied Scriptures a long time, and have the Ghoſt given unto them.

Eliz. Why ſir, have you not the holy Ghoſt given and revealed unto you?

The Papiſts dare not aſſure themſelves to have the holy Ghoſt.

Chan. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo beleeve; but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of the ſpirit. Will you ſay that ye have no profit in Chriſts fleſh?

The Capernaites faith.

Eliz. Sir, we have our profit in Chriſts fleſh, but not as the Capernaites did underſtand it: For they underſtood that they muſt eat his fleſh as they did eat Oxe fleſh and other, and drinke his blood, as we drinke wine or beere out of a bowle. But ſo we muſt not receive it. But our profit that we have by Chriſt, is to beleeve that his body was broken upon the Croſſe, and his blood ſhed for our ſinnes; that is the very meaning of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eate his fleſh, and drinke his blood, when he ſaid; My fleſh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed.

The place of Iohn, cap. 6. expounded how Chriſts fleſh is meate.

Chan. How doth thy body live, if Chriſts fleſh is not fleſh in thy fleſh?

Eliz. Sir, I was a body before I had a ſoule; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolve my life, my fleſh will offer it ſelfe unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Chriſt my ſoule will offer it ſelfe to the place from whence it came.

Chriſts fleſh is fleſh in our fleſh, ſay the Papiſts.

Cha. Yea, but if thou do not beleeve that Chriſts fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaved.

Eliz. Sir, I do not beleeve that.

Chan, Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, My fleſh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed? Canſt thou deny that?

Chriſts fleſh is meat for our ſoule ſay the Chriſtians.

Eliz. I deny not that; for Chriſts fleſh and blood is meat and drink for my ſoul, the food of my ſoul. For whoſoever beleeveth that Ieſus Chriſt the Son of God hath dyed and ſhed his blood for his ſins, his ſoule feedeth thereon for ever.

Chan. When thou receiveſt the Sacrament of the Altar, doeſt thou not beleeve that thou doeſt receive Chriſts body?

In the ſacrament miniſtred and received according to Chriſts inſtitution, we receive Chriſt.

Eliz. Sir, when I doe receive the Sacrament which Chriſt did inſtitute and ordaine the night before he was betrayed, and left among his Diſciples, as often (I ſay) as I receive it, I beleeve that ſpiritually, and by faith I receive Chriſt. And of this Sacrament, I know Chriſt himſelfe to be the author, and none but he. And this ſame Sacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my conſcience, and an augmenting to my faith.

Chan. Why, did not Chriſt take bread, and gave thankes, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; Take, eate, this is my body that is given for you? Did he give them his body, or no?

Eliz. He alſo tooke the cup, and gave thankes to his Father, and gave it unto his Diſciples, ſaying; Drinke ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood, which ſhall be ſhed for many. Now I pray you ſir, let mee aſk you one queſtion: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or elſe the wine that was in the cup?

One queſtion ſolved by another.

Then was he very angry, and ſaid; Doeſt thou think that thou haſt an hedge-Prieſt in hand?

Eliz. No ſir, I take you not to be an hedge-Prieſt. I take you for a Doctor.

Chan. So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Eliz. No ſir: But I let you know what I know; and by argument one ſhall know more.

The Sacrament a witneſſe both of Chriſts death and of his comming againe.

Chriſt ſaid; As oft as ye doe this, doe it in the remembrance of me; but a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but abſent. Alſo S. Paul ſaith; So oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death till he come: Then we may not looke for him here, untill his comming again at the later day. Again, is not this article of our beleefe true, He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quicke and the dead? But if he ſhall not come before he come to Iudgement, then how is he here preſent in your Sacrament of the Altar? Wherefore I beleeve that the humane body of Chriſt occupieth no more but one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

Chriſts body occupieth but one place at once.

The ſixth examination before the ſaid Chancellor.

The ſixth examination of Eliz. Young.

WHo ſaid unto her; Woman, the laſt time that thou waſt before me, our talk was concerning the Sacrament.

Eliz. Sir, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures.

The fleſhly reaſon of the Papiſts.

Chan. Yes, thou wilt not beleeve that Chriſts fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh.

Eliz. No ſir, God hath given me no ſuch beliefe; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures.

Chan. Wilt thou beleeve nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many Sacraments doeſt thou finde in the Scripture?

Eliz. The Church of Chriſt doth ſet down twain.

Chan. I will as well finde ſeven by the Scripture, as thou ſhalt finde twain.

Name of ſacraments given by the Church. Two Sacraments.

Eliz. Sir, I talke not to you thereof, but I ſay that the Church of Chriſt ſetteth out twaine, and I have been taught no more.

Chan. What are thoſe twaine?

Eliz. The Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Chan. What ſaiſt thou by the Sacrament of Wedlocke?

Wedlocke.

Eliz. I have not heard it called a Sacrament, but the holy eſtate of Matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them.

Chan. How ſaiſt thou by Prieſts? Is it good that they ſhould marry? is it to be kept of them?

Prieſts marriage.

Eliz. I come not hither to reaſon any ſuch matters, for I am no Divine, and alſo it is no part of my faith.

Chan. Can ye not tell? ye ſhall tell ere ever you goe.

Eliz. Sir, then muſt ye keepe me a good while:

for I have not ſtudied the Scriptures for it.

Chan. No? why, ye will not be aſhamed to flée unto the higheſt myſtery, even to the Sacrament at the firſt daſh, and ye are not afraid to argue with the beſt Doctor in the land.

Eliz. Gods myſteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Praying for the dead.

Chan. What ſay you by prayer for the dead? is it not méet that if a mans friend be dead, his friend commend his ſoule unto God?

Eliz. There is no Chriſtian man that will commend his friend nor his foe unto the devill. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Oblation for the dead.

Chan. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to bée good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not méet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Purgatory.

Eliz. Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I have heard of heaven and hell.

Chan. Why, ye have nothing but the ſkimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could finde out in the bottome of the Scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could finde it in the New Teſtament, that a Prieſt ſhall take the Sacrament, and goe to the Altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

Eliz. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Teſtament, as far as ever I could heare.

The holy communion blaſphemed.

Chan. Whom doeſt thou heare reade either the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of Schiſmatikes, bawdy Biſhops, and hedge-Prieſts (which have brought into the Church a ſtinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) which have deceived the King and all the Nobility, and all the whole Realme.

Eliz. Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all.

So many martyrs have been ſlain, and yet the papiſts brag as though none will come forth to anſwer them.

Chan. Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their anſwer?

Eliz. Anſwer ſir? why, they have anſwered both with the Scriptures, and alſo with their blood, and then where were you that ye came not forth to anſwer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twaine, and that was not for Gods Word, it was for their diſobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed?

Eliz. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Chan. No? did ye never heare that the Biſhop of Rocheſter loſt his head for the ſupremacy of the Biſhops of Rome?

Eliz. Then he died not for Gods Word.

Nothing to be received to ſalvation but only that which is found or founded in Scripture.

Chan. Well, thou wilt beléeve nothing but that which is written in Gods Word. Where canſt thou finde the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday. Or where canſt thou finde the articles of the Créede in the Scripture by the name of the Articles? Or where canſt thou finde in the Scripture, that Chriſt went downe into hell?

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye finde to diſprove any of theſe things?

Chan. What Prieſt haſt thou lien withall, that thou haſt ſo much Scripture? Thou art ſome Prieſts woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thée to reaſon, and teach the beſt Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was never yet Prieſts wife, nor yet Prieſts woman.

Chan. Have I touched your conſcience?

Eliz. No ſir, ye have not touched my conſcience, but beware ye hurt not your owne.

Chan. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or Teſtament, and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a Doctor that hath gone to ſchoole thirty yéeres; and before God, I thinke if I had talked thus much with a Iew, as I have done with thée, hée would have turned ere this time. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſaid by Ieruſalem, ſaying; O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a Hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldeſt not. And ſo would we gather you together in one faith, and ye will not: and therefore your owne blood be upon your owne heads; for I can doe no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankeſt heretikes that ever I heard; for thou beléeveſt nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned.

But we reade not that Chriſt did draw them into priſons, and condemned them to bée burnt that would not come.

Eliz. Young déemed an heretike, becauſe ſhe beléeveth all things written and agréeable to the Scripture, and nothing elſe.

Eliz. I doe beléeve all things written in the Scripture, and all things agréeable with the Scripture, given by the holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I beléeve the truth, and will not beléeve an untruh?

Eliz. Young had to the ſtock-houſe, and then to the Lollards Tower.

Then the Chancellor called the Kéeper, ſaying; Clumy, take her away, thou knoweſt what thou haſt to doe with her. And ſo ſhe departed, and was brought againe to the ſtock-houſe, and there ſhe lay certaine daies, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward ſhe was removed into the Lollards Tower, and there ſhe remained with both her féete in the ſtockes and irons till the next time of examination.

The ſeventh examination before the Chancellor and the Biſhops Scribe.

The ſeventh examination of El. Young.

When ſhee was brought before the ſaid Chancellor and the Scribe, the Chancellor ſaid unto her; Woman, thou haſt béen twice before me, but thou and I could not agrée, and here be certaine articles that my Lord the Biſhop of London would that thou ſhouldeſt make anſwer unto, which are theſe: Firſt, how many Sacraments thou doeſt allow?

Two Sacraments.

Eliz. Sir, as many as Chriſts Church doth allow, and that is twaine.

Then ſaid the Scribe. Thou waſt taught ſeven before King Edwards daies.

Chan. Which two Sacraments be thoſe that thou doeſt allow?

Eliz. The ſacrament of the body and blood of Ieſus Chriſt, and the ſacrament of Baptiſme.

Chan. Doeſt thou not beléeve that the Pope of Rome is the ſupreme head of the Church, immediatly under God in earth?

Head of the Church.

Eliz. No ſir, no man can be the head of Chriſts Church; for Chriſt himſelfe is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that Church, whereſoever they be ſcattered abroad.

Chan. Doeſt thou not beléeve that the Biſhop of Rome can forgive thée all thy ſins hereticall, deteſtable, and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine infancy unto this day?

Biſhop of Rome.

Eliz. Sir, the Biſhop of Rome is a ſinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my ſins, but he only that is without ſin, and that is Ieſus Chriſt, which dyed for my ſins.

Chan. Doeſt thou not know that the Pope ſent over his Iubilies, that all that ever would faſt and pray, and goe to the Church, ſhould have their ſins forgiven them?

The Scribe. Sir, I thinke that ſhe was not in the Realme then.

From the Biſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities.

Chan. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thée from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities?

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Eliz. No ſir, not a whit.

Chan. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the Maſſe was wicked, and the Sacrament of the Altar moſt abominable?

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Eliz. No ſir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the Church, and heare Maſſe?

Eliz. I will not goe to the Church, either to Maſſe or Mattens, till I may heare it in a tongue that I can underſtand: for I will be fed no longer in a ſtrange language. And alwaies the Scribe did write every of theſe Articles, as they were demanded, and anſwered unto.

Then the Scribe aſked her from whence ſhee came.

The Chancellor ſaid, this is ſhee that brought over all theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon.

Then ſaid the Scribe to her; Woman, where hadſt thou all theſe bookes?

Eliz. I bought them in Amſterdam, and brought them over to ſell, thinking to gaine thereby.

Then ſaid the Scribe, What is the name of the booke?

Eliz. I cannot tell.

The Scribe. Why wouldſt thou buy bookes and know not their names?

Then ſaid Cluny the Keeper; Sir, my Lord Biſhop did ſend for her by name that ſhee ſhould come to Maſſe, but ſhe would not.

Chan. Yea, did my Lord ſend for her by name, and would ſhe not go to maſſe?

Eliz. Young refuſeth to go to Maſſe.

Eliz. No ſir, I will never goe to Maſſe, till I doe underſtand it, by the leave of God.

Chan. Underſtand it? Why, who the Devill can make thee to underſtand Latine, thou being ſo old?

Then the Scribe commanded her to ſet to her hand to all the ſaid things.

Elizabeth ſaid; Sir, then let me heare it read firſt.

Then ſaid the Scribe; Maſter Chancellor, ſhall ſhe heare it read?

Eliz. Young ſetteth her hand to her examination.

Chan. Yea, let the heretike heare it read.

Then ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſhe ſet to her hand.

The eighth examination before the Biſhop.

The eighth examination of Elizabeth Young.

When ſhe was brought before the Biſhop, he aſked the Keeper; Is this the woman that hath the three children? And the Keeper ſaid; Yea, my Lord.

Biſhop. Woman, here is a ſupplication put unto my hands for thee. In like caſe there was another ſupplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madeſt as though that I ſhould keep thy children.

Eliz. My Lord, I did not know of this ſupplication, nor yet of the other.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Maſter Deane, is this the woman you have ſued ſo earneſtly for?

The Deane. Yea, my Lord.

The Deane made ſute for Eliz. Young.

The Deane. Woman, what remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, when and after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration?

Eliz. A peece of bread. But the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, which he did inſtitute and leave amongſt his Diſciples the night before hee was betrayed, miniſtred according to his word, that Sacrament I doe beleeve.

The Deane, How doeſt thou beleeve concerning the body of Chriſt? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?

Eliz. Sir, in heaven, he ſitteth on the right hand of God.

The Deane. From whence came his humane body?

Eliz. He tooke it of the Virgin Mary.

The Deane. That is fleſh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what ſhape hath his ſpirituall body? hath it face, hands and feete?

Eliz. I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he ſaid; This is my body which is given for you: and this is my blood which ſhall be ſhed for you. Whereby he plainly meaneth that body and no other, which hee tooke of the Virgin Mary, having the perfect ſhape and proportion of a humane body.

Story.

Story. Then ſaid Story; Ye have a wiſe body: for ye muſt goe to the ſtake.

The Deane. Art thou content to beleeve in the faith of Chriſts Church? But to aſk of thee what Chriſts Church is, or where it is, I let it paſſe.

Eliz. Sir, to that Church I have joyned my faith, and from it I purpoſe never to turne by Gods help.

The Deane. Wouldeſt thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Elizabeth. Sir, if it pleaſe God to give mee leave.

The beliefe of the Papiſts followeth the multitude. True beliefe dependeth not upon men, but upon the rule of Gods Word.

The Deane. Art thou content to confeſſe thy ſelfe to be an ignorant and a fooliſh woman, and to beleeve as our holy Father the Pope of Rome doth, and as the Lord Cardinals Grace doth, and as my Lord the Biſhop of London thine Ordinary doth, and as the Kings Grace, and the Queens Grace, and all the Nobility of England doe; yea, and the Emperors Grace, and all the noble Princes of Chriſtendome?

Eliz. Sir, I was never wiſe, but in few words I ſhall make you a briefe anſwer how I doe beleeve. I doe beleeve all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man.

Then ſaid Story; And who ſhall be judge?

Eliz. Sir, the Scripture.

Story. And who ſhall reade it?

Eliz. He unto whom God hath given the underſtanding.

Biſhop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou were gone, and Maſter Deane here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Deane. Woman, I have ſued for thee indeed, and I promiſe thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee.

Eliz. I have been before my Lord Biſhop, and before Maſter Chancellor three times, and have declared my faith.

Deane. And yet I know that Maſter Chancellor will ſay, that thou art a ranke heretike.

Story. Away with her.

Eliz. Young committed to the Deane.

Biſhop. Maſter Deane, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her Keeper bring her home to your owne chamber ſoone at foure a clocke at afternoone, and if that ye finde her reaſonable, then let her goe, for I would that ſhee were gone.

Then ſaid the Deane, with a good will my Lord; and ſo ſhe was ſent unto the place from whence ſhe came, untill it was foure of the clocke at afternoone.

¶ The ninth Examination before the Deane, before whom it pleaſed God to deliver her.

The ninth examination of Eliz. Young.

When it was foure of the clocke at afternoon, as the houre was appointed, and the Dean was ſet, he aſked her; Art thou a foole now as thou waſt to day?

Eliz. Sir, I have learned but ſmall wiſedome ſince.

Dean. Doeſt thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Eliz. Yes Sir, that I doe.

Deane. Thinkeſt thou that I can doe thée good?

Elizab. Yea Sir, and if it pleaſe God that ye will.

Talke betwéen the Deane and Eliz. Young about receiving the Sacrament.

Deane. Then I will do thee good indéed. What doeſt thou receive when thou receiveſt the Sacrament which Chriſt left among his Diſciples the night before he was betraied?

Eliz. Sir, that that his Diſciples did receive.

Deane. What did they receive?

Eliz. Sir, that that Chriſt gave them they received.

Deane. What anſwer is this? Was Chriſt there preſent?

Eliz. Sir, he was there preſent; for he inſtituted his owne Sacrament.

Deane. He tooke bread, and he brake it, and he gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; Take eat, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you. When thou receiveſt it, doeſt thou beléeve that thou receiveſt his body?

Eliz. Sir, when I receive, I beléeve that through faith I doe receive Chriſt.

Deane. Doeſt thou beléeve that Chriſt is there?

Eliz. Sir, I beléeve that he is there to me, and by faith I doe receive him.

Chriſt not abſent from his Sacraments.

Deane. He alſo tooke the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; Drink ye all hereof, This is the cup of the New Teſtament in my bloud, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins. When thou doſt receive it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordained among his Diſciples, the night before he was betraied, doeſt thou beléeve that Chriſt is there?

Eliz. Sir, by faith I beléeve that he is there, and by faith I doe beléeve that I doe receive him.

Deane. Now thou haſt anſwered me, Remember that thou ſayeſt, that when thou doeſt receive according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, thou doeſt receive Chriſt.

Eliz. Sir, I beléeve Chriſt not to be abſent from his owne Sacrament.

Dean, How long wilt thou continue in that beliefe?

Eliz. Sir, as long as I doe live, by the help of God; for it is, and hath béen my beliefe.

Deane. Wilt thou ſay this before my Lord?

Eliz. Yea, ſir.

Deane. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou Calfe, why wouldeſt thou not ſay ſo to day?

Eliz. Sir, ye asked me no ſuch queſtion.

Dean. Then ye would ſtand in diſputation how many bodies Chriſt had.

Eliz. Sir, indéed that queſtion yée did aske mee.

Deane. Who ſhall be the ſureties that thou wilt appeare before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Eliz. Sir, I have no ſureties, nor know I where to have any.

Two women ſureties for Eliz, Young.

Then ſpake the Deane unto two women that ſtood there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying: Women, will ye be her ſureties, that ſhe ſhall appeare before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?

The women. Yea ſir, and it pleaſe you.

Deane. Take héed that I finde you no more a brabler in the Scripture.

Eliz. Sir, I am no brabler in the Scripture, nor yet any man can burthen me therewith.

Deane. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what ye are.

Then ſaid he to the two women, What if a man ſhould touch your conſcience, doe ye not ſmell a little of hereſie alſo?

The women. No, ſir.

Deane. Yes, a little of the Frying-pan, or elſe wherefore have ye twaine ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one woman anſwered, becauſe that her children were like to periſh, and therfore God put me in mind to ſue for her.

Then ſaid the other woman; And I gate her childe a Nurſe, and I am threatened to ſtand to the kéeping of her childe; and therefore it ſtandeth me in hand to ſue to have her out.

Eliz. Young upon ſureties delivered.

Dean. Woman, give thankes unto theſe honeſt women, who have ſo earneſtly ſued for thee, and I promiſe thee ſo have I. Theſe great heretikes will receive nothing but in ſpirit and faith, and ſo he roſe and departed.

Eliz. Sir, God be praiſed, and I thanke you for your goodneſſe and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away; and upon the Friday next, becauſe ſhe was acraſed, her two ſureties went thither, and were diſcharged.

Elizabeth Lawſon.

Eliz. Lawſon Confeſſor.

IN the towne of Bedfield, and in the County of Suffolk, was dwelling a antient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawſon, about the age of ſixty yeares. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an heretike by the Conſtables of the ſame town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the yeare of our Lord 1556. becauſe ſhe would not goe to Church to heare maſſe, and receive the Sacrament, and beléeve in it.

Rob. Kitrich, Tho. Elas, Perſecutors.

Sir John Stilliard, Sheriffe.

Firſt, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that ſhe was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury Gaole, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be burnt. In the meane time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his houſe, hee being high Sheriffe that yeare, where ſhe was hardly kept, and wrapped in Irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, ſhe was ſent to priſon againe with ſhamefull revilings.

Eliz. Lawſon in priſon two yeares & thrée quarters.

Eliz, Lawſon ſorry that ſhee was not burned.

Thus ſhe continued in priſon the ſpace of two yeares and thrée quarters. In the meane time there was burnt her ſon and many more, whereby ſhe would often ſay; Good Lord, what is the cauſe thhat I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord, thy bleſſed will be done, and not mine.

Eliz Lawſon bailed upon ſureties in Queen Elizabeths time.

Not long after this (moſt happily) followed the death of Quéene Mary, after whom ſuccéeded our Quéene that now is. At which time this Elizabeth Lawſon remained yet ſtill in Bury priſon, till at laſt ſhee was bailed upon ſureties, or elſe ſhe could not be delivered. For ſhe being a condemned perſon, neither the temporality, nor yet ſpirituall authority would diſcharge her without ſureties.

Now ſhe being abroad, and her ſureties made afraid by wicked men, ſaid, they would caſt her againe in priſon, except ſhe would ſée them diſcharged.

Eliz. Lawſon preſerved from perſecution, ended her life in peace.

Then ſhe got a Supplication to goe unto the Quéenes Majeſty, and came to a friend of hers to have his counſell therein; who willed her to ſtay a while, becauſe ſhe was old, the daies ſhort, and the expences great, and Winter foule (for it was a little before Chriſtmaſſe) and to tarry untill ſummer. In the meane time God brake the bond, and ſhortned her journey; for he tooke her home to himſelfe out of this life in peace.

Eliz. Lawſon troubled with the falling ſickneſſe after her perſecution never felt it more.

This good old woman, long before ſhe went to priſon, had the falling ſickneſſe, and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlſton, after ſhe was apprehended, that ſhe never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Chriſt.

She had a very unkind man to her husband, who, while ſhe was in priſon, ſold away her raiment, and would not help her; and after ſhe was out of priſon, ſhe returned home unto him, yet would he ſhew her no kindneſſe, nor help her neither; and yet the houſe and land that he dwelt in he had by her: wherefore as long as ſhe lived, ſhe was found of the congregation.

The ſaid Elizabeth Lawſon alſo had a ſiſter, wife to one Robert Hollon in Mickfield in the ſame county of Suffolke, which likewiſe was perſecuted and driven out from houſe to houſe, and a young man her ſon with her, becauſe they would not goe to the Church to heare maſſe, and receive the ſacrament of the altar.

Thomas Chriſtenmaſſe and William Wats.

Thom Chriſtenmas, Wil. Wats.

In this perillous rage of Queene Maries reigne were two men perſecuted, one called Thomas Chriſtenmaſſe, the other William Wats of Tunbridge in Kent. As theſe travelled from place to place, not reſting two nights together in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rocheſter in Kent, where as they entring into the Towne, even at the Townes end met with a little Damoſell of eight yeares of age, but whither ſhe went, they knew not. It was then night, and they weary, and faine therefore would have lien in the ſame time, but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloudy Catholiques. At laſt they deviſed to aske the Damoſell whether there were any heretikes in the Towne, or no? and ſhe ſaid, Yea. They asked her where. She anſwered them; At ſuch an Inne, telling them the name, and where the Inne was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themſelves better, and God ſo moving their hearts, they went to the childe againe, and asked her how ſhe knew that the Innekeeper (of whom ſhe ſpake before) was an heretike. Marry, quoth ſhe, well enough, and his wife alſo. How knoweſt thou, pretty maiden, ſaid they? I pray thee tell us. How know I, ſaid ſhe? Marry because they goe to the Church; and thoſe that will not hold up their hands there, they will preſent them, and hee himſelfe goeth from houſe to houſe, to compel them to come to Church. When theſe two men heard this, they gave God praiſe, and avoided that houſe, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing up as it ſhould ſeeme) to be Gods marvellous providence towards them.

Gods providence upon Thom. Chriſtenmas and Wil Wats.

Another eſcape of William Wats.

Wil. Wats another time delivered by the Lords providence. Wil Wats apprehended & brought before the Biſhop.

This foreſaid William Wats, dwelling in Queene Maries daies at Seale in Kent, the laſt yeare of her raigne ſave one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the Conſtables before the Biſhop & Iuſtices at Tynbridge, where the Biſhop and Iuſtices would have perſwaded him all they could, to turne from the truth: howbeit in vaine, for they could not remove him, although they ſpent all the forenoone thereabouts, with many flattering words; ſo mercifull was the Lord unto him.

Now when dinner time was come, as they ſhould riſe, they committed the priſoner to the Conſtables againe, and ſo roſe up to goe to dinner. The Conſtables tooke Wats, and led him to a victualling houſe, where after they had well filled themſelves, they fell aſleep, ſuppoſing their priſoner to be ſure enough under their hands. Wats wife being then in the houſe with her husband, and very carefull for his well doing, ſeeing the Conſtables thus faſt aſleep, deſired her husband to depart and goe thence, forſomuch as the Lord had made ſuch a way for him. Unto which her words he would not conſent, although ſhee perſwaded him all that ſhe could.

At the laſt (they replying one againſt another) a ſtranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that ſhee was ſo earneſt with her husband. The wife told him. Then ſaid the ſtranger unto Wats theſe words; Father, goe thy waies in Gods name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Whereupon the ſaid Wats went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her houſe at Seale, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as ſhe was going in at her doore, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came the ſaid Wats in alſo, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haſte to get him away; for they thought there would be ſearch for him immediately.

Another notable example of the Lords providence.

Then Wats ſaid, he would eat meate firſt, and alſo pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So ſoone as he was out of the doores, and had hid himſelfe in an holly buſh, immediately came the ſaid Conſtables with thirty perſons into the ſaid houſe to ſearch for him, where they pierced the Featherbeds, broke up his cheſts, and made ſuch havocke, that it was wonderfull; and ever among as they were ſearching, the Conſtables cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats: but (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they ſaw it booted not to ſearch for him, in the end they tooke his wife, and ſet her in a paire of ſtockes, where ſhe remained two daies, and ſhe was very bold in the truth, and at the laſt delivered through the providence of God; whoſe name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

Wil. Wats delivered out of his enemies hands.

Wil. Wats ſought for againe.

Wil. Wats wife ſet in the ſtockes.

Iohn Glover of Manceter, Gentleman.

What a fatherly and manifeſt providence of the Lord likewiſe did appeare in the preſerving of Maſter Iohn Glover in the Dioceſſe of Coventry and Lichfield, in the Town of Manceter; firſt, at the taking of Robert his brother. At which time although the Commiſſion came down for him, yet ſo G O D ordered the matter, that his brother being ſicke was apprehended, and yet he being whole eſcaped, whereof mention is made before.

Gods providence in delivering Maſter Iohn Glover, reade before.

And againe, another time how miraculouſly the mercifull providence of the Lord wrought his eſcape out of his enemies hands, they being at his chamber doore, and drawing the latch to ſearch for him; and how his wife the ſame time was taken and ſent to Lichfield, reade before.

Another narrow eſcape of M. I. Glover, reade before.

One Dabney.

There was at London a certaine honeſt godly perſon, a Painter, named Dabney, whom Iohn Avales in the time of Queene Mary had brought before Boner to bee examined for his faith. It happened the ſame time, as the ſaid Dabney was there, that the Biſhop was occupied with the examination of other, ſo that hee was bid to ſtand by, and to wait the Biſhops leaſure. Upon the ſame, or not long after, ſuddenly commeth word to the Biſhop to prepare him in all ſpeed, the generall Proceſſion tarried for him. The Biſhop hearing that, ſetting all buſineſſe apart, buſtleth himſelfe with all ſpeed poſſible,

ſible to the Church, there to furniſh Proceſſion. By reaſon whereof Dabney, which newly came to the houſe, was there left alone, while every man elſe was buſied in preparing and ſetting themſelves forward, according as the caſe required.

Gods ſecret working in the deliverance of Dabney.

To be ſhort, as the time called on, Boner with his houſhold maketh haſte, ſo faſt as they can, out of the doores to the Proceſſion. Dabney being left alone, commeth downe to the outward Court next the gate, there walking with himſelfe all heavy, looking for nothing leſſe than to eſcape that danger. The Porter, who was only left at home, ſéeing the man to walke alone, ſuppoſing he had béen ſome Citizen there left behinde, and waiting for opening of the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would goe out. Yea, ſaid he, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my heart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you ſo doe.

And thus the ſaid Dabney taking the occaſion offered of God, being let out by the Porter, eſcaped out of the Wolves mouth. The Proceſſion being done, when the biſhop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found. Wherupon ſearch was made, but eſpecially John Avales laid much privy waite for him; who after long ſearching, when he could not get him, at length received fiftéene crownes of his wife to let him alone when he ſhould ſée him, and ſo that good man eſcaped.

Alexander Wimſhurſt.

Alexander Wimſhurſt, a Miniſter, delivered by Gods providence from his enemies.

A Like example of God almighties goodneſſe toward his afflicted ſervants in that dangerous time of perſecution, may alſo appear evidently in one Alexander Wimſhurſt a Prieſt, ſometime of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and then the Popes owne Knight, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a man better inſtructed in the true feare of God. It happened that one had promoted him to Boner for Religion, upon what occaſion I doe not underſtand. According to the old manner in ſuch caſes provided, hee ſent forth Robin Caly, otherwiſe called Robin Papiſt, one of his whelps to bring in the game, and to cauſe this ſilly poore man to appeare before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, beſtirreth him in his buſineſſe, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by Cheapſide, not ſuffering him to talke with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were of his old friends of Oxford that offered to ſpeake unto him.

Wimſhurſt taken by Robert Caly.

When they came into Pauls, it happened this Alexander to eſpy Doctor Chadſey there walking up and downe. To whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to doe pleaſure, and for that hee had béen of his old acauaintance in Oxford, hee was very deſirous to ſpeak to him ere he went through. Chadſey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, ſaid that hee durſt not meddle in the matter. Yes (ſaith little Robin) you may talke with him if it pleaſe you Maſter Doctor. To be ſhort, Alexander openeth his caſe, and in the end deſireth for old acquaintance ſake, that hee would find means he might be rather brought before Doctor Martin to be examined, than any other. Nay, ſaith he (alledging the words of Chriſt unto Peter in the laſt chapter of S. John.) You remember brother what is written in the Goſpel; When thou waſt young, thou didſt gird thy ſelfe, and wenteſt whither thou wouldeſt: but being aged, other men ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldeſt not. Thus abuſing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithſtanding he might eaſily have accompliſhed ſo ſmall a requeſt, if it had liked him.

Wimſhurſt brought to D. Story, and D. Cooke, Commiſſioners.

Thence was he carried to Story and Cooke Commiſſioners, there to learne what ſhould become of him. Before them he did uſe himſelfe boldly and ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did urge him with captious queſtions very cruelly. When they had baited the poore man their fill, they asked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (ſaid he) but my lawfull wife. She is thy whore, ſaid they. She is not my whore (ſaid he againe) but my wife, I tell you. So when they perceived that hee would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them ſo much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner they commanded him to priſon. And now marke well the providence of God in his preſervation.

Wimſhurſt commanded to priſon.

He was brought into Clanies houſe at Pater-noſter-rowe, thence to bee carried to Lollards Tower out of hand, but that Cluny (as it happened) his wife and his maid were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſineſſe, that as then they had not leiſure to locke up their priſoner. In the Hall where Alexander ſate was a ſtrange woman, whoſe husband was then preſently in trouble for religion, which perceived by ſome one occaſion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alacke good man, ſaith ſhee, if you will you may eſcape the cruell hands of your enemies, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould looke unto you. God hath opened the way unto you of deliverance, and therefore loſe not the opportunity thereof, if you bee wiſe. With thoſe and ſuch like words being then perſwaded, he gate out of the doores, and went away without any haſte making at all; ſo that if any had followed, he might have béen eaſily recovered againe. But undoubtedly, it was Gods will that hee ſhould ſo eſcape the fury of his adverſaries, and be preſerved from all dangers of death and impriſonment.

Good counſell ſent of God.

A way made by Gods providence to Alexander Wimſhurſt to eſcape.

Boſomes wife.

Boſomes wife.

AS the workes of the Lord are not to be kept ſecret, whatſoever the perſons be in whom it pleaſeth him to worke; ſo commeth to remembrance the ſtory of one Boſomes wife, not unworthy to be conſidered. This good woman, being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to Church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon, ſhe granted unto them, and came. Being in the church, and ſitting with her mother in the Pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the Papiſts, ſhee behaved her ſelfe; to wit, when they knéeled, ſhee ſtood, when they turned forward, ſhe turned backward, &c.

The behaviour of Boſomes wife in the Church.

This being notorious in the Church, at length the Conſtable and Churchwarden named Sanders, attached her in the Quéenes name, charging her with her mother, the next day to appeare at Kingſtone. Who at their commandement ſo did.

Boſomes wife ſummoned to appeare at Kingſtone.

The next day, according as they were aſſigned, they came to Kingſton to appeare before the foreſaid Officers, who at the ſame time (as it chanced) were going over the Ferry, and méeting them by the way, ſaluted them by their names, but at that time had no further power to ſpeake unto them. Afterward, as they were in the boat going over, they knockt their hands, ſtampt and ſtared, lamenting that they had let them ſo paſſe their hands. This the Feriman declared unto them, and what they ſaid in the boate. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London,

Boſomes wife through Gods help eſcapeth.

eſcaped their cruelty, through the ſecret working (no doubt) of the Lord; who in all his works and evermore be praiſed, Amen.

Lady Knevet in Northfolke.

The Lady Anne Knevet

AMong the number of the godly that were kept under the providence of the Lord in thoſe perillous dayes, I may not forget an antient good Lady of much worſhip, called Lady Anne Knevet, who till her death dwelt in Northfolke, in a Towne named Wimondham, ſixe miles from Norwich. Which ſaid good Lady in Queen Maries daies being judged by the common people to be more than an hundred yeares of age, and by her owne eſtimation well toward a hundred, kept her ſelfe from their Popiſh Church, or having any Papiſticall traſh miniſtred in her houſe, but only the Service that was uſed in the later dayes of King Edward the ſixt, which daily ſhee had ſaid before her, either by one M. Tollin, who was then by Gods providence preſerved in her houſe, or elſe by one of her Gentlewomen or houſhold ſervants, that could ſerve the place in the ſaid M. Tollins abſence.

Lady Knevet threatened by the Biſhop.

Now this worſhipfull Lady continuing in this manner of true ſerving of God, ſhe and her family were many times threatened by meſſengers, that the Biſhop would viſit her therefore. Unto which meſſengers ſhe would alwayes anſwer, that if his Lordſhip ſent word before what day he would come, he would thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whoſe providence ruleth the raging ſeas, never ſuffered them all that toiling time to moleſt her: Although oftentimes when ſhe had Service before her, there were very great enemies to the truth, and of much authority, that came in, and kneeled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therefore.

The great age of the Lady Knevet.

This good Lady (gentle Reader) kept good hoſpitality, as any in that countrey of her living. She alſo ſuccoured many perſecuted that came to her houſe in the ſaid Queene Maries dayes. Were they never ſo ſimple, they were eſteemed of her as the friends of the Goſpell, and departed not from her without money and meate. Borne ſhee was long before King Edward the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Ieſus peace, about the beginning of the ſecond yeare of our moſt Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeths raigne, as one falling into a moſt ſweet ſleep.

Lady Elizabeth Vane a great reliever of Gods people.

Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the Lady Elizabeth Vane, who likewiſe, being a great harbourer and ſupporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confeſſors of Chriſt, was in great hazzards and dangers of the enemies, and yet notwithſtanding, through the mercifull providence of the Lord, remained ſtill untouched. Of this Lady Vane thou ſhalt read before.

Iohn Davis, of the age of twelve yeares, and under.

Iohn Davis a childe under the age of 12. yeres, caſt to be burned for the 6. articles, and yet by Gods providence preſerved.

AN. Dom. 1546. and the laſt yere of King Henry the eighth, Iohn Davis, a childe of twelve yeares and under, who dwelling in the houſe of M. Iohnſon Apothecary, in the Towne of Worceſter, his Uncle, uſing ſometimes to read of the Teſtament and other good Engliſh bookes, was complained of by Alice Iohnſon his Miſtreſſe; which Alice being an obſtinate perſon, conſulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Nicholas Brooke Organmaker, with certaine of the Canons, and M. Iohnſon Chancellor to D. Heath their Biſhop. The means whereby he was entrapped was wrought by the foreſaid Alice Brooke, who procured Oliver her ſon, ſchoolfellow with the ſaid Iohn Davis, to faigne friendſhip with him, and under pretence to be inſtructed, to ſee his Engliſh bookes, and eſpecially to get ſomething of his writing againſt the ſix articles. Which being had, was ſoone brought to the Canons of the Church, and the Chancellor. Whereupon, Thomas Parton, whether being ſent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced againſt his will, to bind the poore boyes armes behind him; and ſo he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the 14. of Auguſt, till the laſt of September, Then was he commanded to the free mans priſon, where one Richard Howborough, comming to perſwade him from burning, willed him to prove firſt with a candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it a good ſpace, yet (as the party himſelfe to me aſſureth) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the candle beleeve him a great while, till he had looked, and ſaw no ſcorching of the candle at all appeared.

Then was the childe removed from thence to an inner priſon called Peepehole, where the low Bayliffe, called Robert Pould, laid upon him a paire of bolts, ſo that hee could not lift up his ſmall legs, but leaning on a ſtaffe, ſlipt them forward upon the ground, the coldneſſe of which irons he feeleth yet in his ankles and ſhall ſo long as he liveth: with theſe bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one locke of ſtraw nor cloth to cover him, ſave only two ſheep skins, neither durſt father or mother, or any of his friends come at him. Beſides this, and many great threats of the Papiſts, there was a mad man put to him in the priſon, with a knife about him, wherewith hee oft times in his frantike rage proffered to thruſt him in.

After this came to him one Iolyfe, and N. Pewer, two Canons, which had his writings againſt the ſixe Articles, and his Ballet called, Come downe for all your ſhaven crowne; to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after ſate Maſter Iohnſon the Chancellor in the Guildhall upon the poore lad. Where firſt were brought in his accuſers and ſworne, then were ſworne alſo twenty foure men which went on his Queſt, and found him guilty, but hee never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was ſent to the common Gaole among theeves and murtherers, there to tarry the comming of the Iudges, and ſo to be had ſtraight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the deſolate and miſerable when all other help is paſt, ſo provided for this ſilly condemned lad, that the purpoſe of all his hard-hearted enemies was diſappointed. For before the Iudges came, God tooke away Henry the eighth out of this life. By reaſon whereof the force of the law was then ſtated, howbeit he was nevertheleſſe arraigned, being holden up in a mans armes at the Barre, before the judges, who were Portman and Marven. Which, when they perceived that they could not burne him, would have him preſently whipped. But M. I. Bourne Eſquire, declared to the Iudges how he had whipping enough. After that hee had lien a weeke more in priſon, he had him home to his houſe, his wife anointed his legs her ſelfe with ointment, which then were ſtiffe and nummed with irons, till at length when Maſter Bourne and his wife ſaw they could not win him to the beliefe of their ſacrament, they put him away, leſt he ſhould infect their ſon Anthony, as they thought, with hereſie.

Thus Iohn Davis of the age aforeſaid, in what danger he was for the Goſpell ye ſee, and how the Lord preſerved him, ye underſtand. He endured in priſon from the 14.day of Auguſt, till within 7. daies of Eaſter, who is yet alive, and a profitable Miniſter this day in the church of England: Bleſſed be the Lord, qui facit mirabilia ſolus.

Miſtreſſe Roberts.

The miraculous deliverance of Miſtres Roberts. This Gentlewoman was a great ſuccourer of the perſecuted that came to her houſe, & ſpecially, of good Woodman, whom ye heard of before, and to whom hee wrote a letter. Sir John Gilford a troubler of Miſtreſſe Roberts.

FUrthermore, to both theſe may be alſo aſſociate another Gentlewoman, to make the third, named Miſtreſſe Roberts, yet living and dwelling (as I underſtand) in the towne of Hawkhurſt in Suſſex. She being earneſtly addicted to the truth of Chriſts Goſpell, and no leſſe conſtant in that which ſhe had learned therein, ſo kept her ſelfe during all the brunt of Queene Maries time, that ſhe never came to their Popiſh Service, nor would pollute her conſcience with hearing their idolatrous maſſe. There dwelt the ſame time not farre off a Juſtice, called Sir John Gilford. who being as fervent on the contrary ſide to ſet forward the proceedings of Queene Mary, thought to prove maſteries with this Gentlewoman, in forcing her into the Church. And firſt ſending his wife, he attempted her by faire words and gentle perſwaſions to conforme her ſelfe to the Princes lawes, and to come, as other Chriſtian people did, to the Church. Notwithſtanding, ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in the ſincerity of the truth, would by no perſwaſions be won to do therein againſt her conſcience; and ſo kept at home a certaine ſpace, till againe the ſecond time, Maſter Gilford thinking not to give her over ſo, ſent his officers and ſervants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her houſe to the Church, and ſo did. Where by the way ſhe for griefe of conſcience ſwouned, and ſo of neceſſity was brought home againe, and falling into an Ague, was for that time diſpenſed withall.

Sir John Gilford ſtopped of his purpoſe, by Gods working.

The third time yet the unquiet ſpirit of M. Gilford being not content, after the time that ſhe recovered health againe, he would needs come in his owne perſon to compell her, wild ſhee, nild ſhee, to the Church. But (as the Proverbe goeth) Who can let that God would have done? For when M. Gilford had purpoſed as pleaſed him, the Lord ſo diſpoſed for his ſervant, that as the ſaid M. Gilford was comming up the ſtaires toward her chamber, ſuddenly his old diſeaſe the goute ſo tooke him, and terribly tormented him, that he could goe no further: And ſo hee, that purpoſed to carrie her to the Church againſt her will, was faine himſelfe to be carried home to his houſe to his paine; proteſting and ſwearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that Gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Miſtreſſe Anne Lacy.

Miſtres Anne Lacie.

IN the number of good Gentlewomen being in trouble and danger for Gods Word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Miſtreſſe Anne Lacie widow in Nottinghamſhire, who was in great danger in Queene Maries time, inſomuch that the Proceſſe was forth againſt her, and ſhe ready to have been apprehended, being ſo neerely purſued, that ſhe was driven to hide her Bible and other bookes in a dunghill. M. Lacie her brother was then Juſtice of Peace: but to whom (as I have heard) ſhe was but ſmally beholden. Nevertherleſſe, where kindred faileth, yet Gods grace never faileth ſuch as ſtick to him; for in this mean time, as the proceſſe came out againſt her, Queen Mary died, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

Croſmans wife.

Croſmans wife, Barber of Tibnam, Conſtable, perſecutor. Example of Gods gracious providence.

ONe Croſmans wife of Tibnam Longrow in Northfolke, in Queene Maries time, for not going to Church was ſought for at her houſe by one Barber of the ſaid Towne, then Conſtable of the hundred, who when he came to her houſe, ſhe being at home with a child ſucking in her arms, ſtept into a corner on the one ſide of the chimney, and they ſeeking the chambers the childe never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and ſo by this meanes the Lord preſerved her.

The Congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.

The ſtory of a congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.

THere was ſome likewiſe which avoided the violent rage of the adverſaries by meanes onely of their number, and mutuall concord in godlineſſe, wherein they did ſo hold together, that without much adoe none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain towne of Suffolke called Stoke. After the three ſharp yeares of Queene Maries perſecution being paſt, yet notwithſtanding the inhabitants of the towne aforeſaid, eſpecially the women, came not to their Church to receive, after the Popiſh manner, the ſacrament. Who, if they had been but few, they could by no meanes have eſcaped impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the Papiſts thought it not beſt to lay hands upon them. Onely they appointed them 16. daies reſpite after Eaſter, wherein as many as would, ſhould receive the Sacrament; thoſe that would not, ſhould ſtand to the perill that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chiefeſt doers were theſe:

Eve, an old woman of 60. yeares.
Alice Coker her daughter.
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cutting.
Alice Spencer.
Henry Canker.
Ioane Fouke.
Agnes Spaulding.
Iohn Steyre, and his brother.
Iohn Foxe.

Confeſſors

Theſe, after the order was taken for their not comming to the Church, tooke adviſement among themſelves what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by promiſe one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet ſome of them afterward, being perſwaded with faire promiſes that the Communion ſhould be miniſtred unto them according to King Edwards booke, gate them unto the Pariſh Prieſt (whoſe name was Cotes) and asked him after which ſort he would miniſter the Sacrament. Hee anſwered to ſuch as he favoured, that he would give it after the right ſort; the reſt ſhould have it after the papiſticall manner.

Cotes Pariſh Prieſt at Stoke.

John Steyre & John Foxe revolted.

To bee ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but onely John Steyre and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to doe as ſhee thought beſt. The other went about with threats to compell his wife, ſaying, that otherwiſe hee would divorce himſelfe from her. As for the reſt, they did withdraw themſelves from Church, reſorting to their wonted company. Onely Foxes wife tarried ſtill at home, all in her dumpes and heavineſſe. whoſe huſband practiſed with the Curate in the meane time, that the next day after he ſhould give her the ſacrament, which

was

The chriſtian conſtancy of Eliz. Foxe.

was the 17. day after Eaſter. But the very ſame day, unknowing unto her husband, ſhe gate her ſelfe ſecretly to her company, and with teares declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithſtanding to be of a good cheere, and ſaid that they would make their earneſt prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her husband, and indeed when they had ſo done, the matter tooke very good ſucceſſe.

The effect of Chriſtian prater. John Foxe recovered againe to the truth by prater.

For the next day after goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his owne headineſſe and raſhneſſe, praying them that they would forgive him, promiſing ever after to be more ſtrong in faith, to the great rejoycing both of them and his wife.

The women of Stoke ſummoned by the Biſhop.

About halfe a yeare after this, the Biſhop of Norwich ſendeth forth certaine of his Officers or apparators thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the Church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they ſhould appeare before the Commiſſary out of hand, to render account of their abſence.

How the women of Stoke eſcaped.

But the women having ſecret knowledge of this before, kept themſelves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the ſummons or warning. Therfore when they were not at the Church at the day appointed, the Commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them, according to the Biſhop of Romes law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therfore when they perceived that an Officer of the Towne was ſet to take ſome of them, they conveighing themſelves privily out of the Towne, eſcaped all danger.

The Congregation in London.

The preſervation of the congregation at London.

NO leſſe marvellous was the preſervation of the Congregation in London, which from the firſt beginning of Queene Mary, to the later end thereof, continued notwithſtanding whatſoever the malice, device, ſearching & inquiſition of men, or ſtrictneſſe of lawes could worke to the contrary. Such was the mercifull hand of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed goodneſſe, ever working with his people. Of this great bountifull goodnes of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the Congregation which now I ſpeake of. How oft, and in what great danger did hee deliver them?

The congregation at M. Cardens houſe.

Firſt, at the Blacke-Fryers, when they ſhould have reſorted to ſir Thomas Cardens houſe, privy watch was laid for them, but yet through the Lords vigilant providence the miſchiefe was prevented, and they delivered.

The congregation again delivered.

Again, how narrowly did they eſcape about Algate, where ſpies were laid for them, and had not Thom. Simſon the Deacon eſpied them, and bid them diſperſe themſelves away, they had been taken. For within two houres the Conſtable comming to the houſe after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had bin there. To whom ſhe, to excuſe the matter, made anſwer againe, ſaying, that halfe a dozen good fellows had bin there at breakfaſt, as they went a Maying.

The congregation againe delivered.

Another time alſo about the great Conduit, they paſſing there through a very ſtrait Alley, into a Clothworkers loft, were eſpied, and the Sheriffes ſent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately ſhifted away out of the Alley, John Avales ſtanding alone in the Mercers Chappell ſtaring at them.

The congregation in a ſhip at Billinſgate.

Another like eſcape they made in a Ship at Billinſgate, belonging to a certaine good man of Ley, where in the open ſight of the people they were congregated together, and yet through Gods mighty power eſcaped.

The congregation in a ſhip betwixt Ratcliffe & Redriffe.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Redriffe, in a ſhip called Jeſus Ship, twice or thrice they aſſembled, having there cloſely, after their accuſtomed manner, both Sermon, Prayer, and Communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not uneſpyed, yet untaken.

The congregation in a Coupers houſe in Pudding lane.

Moreover, in a Coupers houſe in Pudding Lane, ſo neere they were to perils and dangers, that John Avales comming into the houſe where they were, talked with the goodman of the houſe, and after he had asked a queſtion or two, departed, God ſo working that either hee had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

The congregation in a houſe in Thames ſtreet.

But they never eſcaped more hardly, than once in Thames ſtreet in the night time, where the houſe being beſet with enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were delivered by the meanes of a Mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame company, and ſeeing no other way to avoyd, pluckt off his ſlops and ſwam to the next boate, and ſo rowed the company over, uſing his ſhooes in ſtead of Oares, and ſo the jeopardy was diſpatched.

I have heard of one, who being ſent to them to take their names, and to eſpy their doings, yet being in amongſt them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

Another notable example of Gods mercifull providence.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the extreme and preſent danger which that godly company was in at the taking of M. Rough their Miniſter, and Cutbert Simſon their Deacon, had not the Lords providence given knowledge before to M. Rough in his ſleep, that Cutbert Simſon ſhould leave behinde him at home the booke of all their names, which he was wont to carry about him? whereof mention is made before.

The miniſters of this congregation.

In this Church or Congregation were ſometime forty, ſometimes an hundred, ſometimes two hundred, ſometimes moe, and ſometimes leſſe. About the later time of Queene Mary it greatly increaſed. From the firſt beginning, which was about the firſt entry at Queene Maries reigne, they had divers Miniſters; firſt Maſter Scamier, then Tho. Fuole, after him M. Rough, then M. Auguſtine Bernher, and laſt M. Bentham. Concerning the deliverance of which Maſter Bentham (being now B. of Coventry and Lichfield) Gods mighty providence moſt notably is to be conſidered. For how is it poſſible, by mans eſtimation, for the ſaid M. Bentham to have eſcaped, had not the preſent power of the Lord, paſſing all mans expectation, been preſt and ready to help his ſervant in ſuch a ſtraite. The ſtory and caſe is this.

A ſtory of M. Bentham.

At what time the ſeven laſt burned in Smithfield, mentioned in this booke before, were condemned and brought to the ſtake to ſuffer, came downe in the name of the King and Queene a Proclamation, being twice pronounced openly to the people, firſt at Newgate, then at the ſtake where they ſhould ſuffer, ſtraightly charging and commanding, that no man ſhould either pray for them, or ſpeake to them, or once ſay God help them.

The Queens proclamation, no man to pray for the martyrs, nor to ſpeake unto them.

It was appointed before of the godly there ſtanding together, which was a great multitude, that ſo ſoone as the priſoners ſhould bee brought, they ſhould goe to them to embrace and to comfort them, and ſo they did. For as the ſaid Martyrs were comming towards the place in the peoples ſight, being brought with Bils and Gleeves (as the cuſtome is) the godly multitude and congregation with a generall ſway made toward the priſoners, in ſuch manner, that the Bilmen and the other Officers, being all thruſt back, could nothing doe, nor any thing come nigh. So

Anno 1558.

The congregation embracing the Martyrs contrary to the Proclamation.

the godly people meeting and embracing, and kiſſing them, brought them in their armes (which might as eaſily have conveighed them cleane away) unto the place where they ſhould ſuffer.

M Bentham Miniſter of the congregation.

M. Bentham ſpeaketh and prayeth for the Martyrs without danger.

This done, and the people giving place to the Officers, the Proclamation with a loud voice was read to the people, containing (as is before ſaid) in the King and Queenes name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or once ſpeake a word unto them, &c. Maſter Bentham the Miniſter then of the congregation, not ſparing for that, but as zeale and Chriſtian charity moved him, and ſeeing the fire ſet to them, turning his eies to the people, cried and ſaid; We know they are the people of God; and therefore we cannot chuſe but wiſh to them, and ſay; GOD ſtrengthen them: and ſo boldly he ſaid; Almighty God for Chriſts ſake ſtrengthen them. With that all the people with a whole conſent and one voice followed and ſaid; Amen, Amen. The noiſe whereof was ſo great, and the criers thereof ſo many, that the Officers could not tell what to ſay, or whom to accuſe. Aud thus much concerning the Congregation of the faithfull aſſembling together at London in the time of Queene Mary.

Another delivery of M. Bentham out of great perill.

M. Bentham forced againſt his will to ſit in the Crowners office.

The ſaid Maſter Bentham another time, as he paſſed through Saint Katherines, intending to walke and take the ayre abroad, was inforced by two or three men, approaching upon him, needs to goe with them to a place, whither they would leade him. Maſter Bentham aſtonied at the ſuddenneſſe of the matter, and marvelling what the thing ſhould be, required what their purpoſe was, or whither they would have him. They anſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the Crowners queſt was called and charged to ſit upon him, of the which queſt he muſt of neceſſity be one, &c. Hee againe loth to meddle in the matter, excuſed himſelfe, alledging that in ſuch kinde of matters he had no skill, and leſſe experience; if it would pleaſe them to let him goe, they ſhould meet with other more meet for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not be ſatiſfied, he alledged further, that he was a ſcholler of Oxford, and thereby was priviledged from being of any inqueſt. The Crowner demanded the ſight of his priviledge. He ſaid, if hee would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then ſaid the Crowner, the Queene muſt be ſerved without all delay, and ſo conſtrained him notwithſtanding to bee with them in hearing the matter.

M. Bentham refuſeth to ſweare upon a popiſh primer.

Meanes wrought whereby M. Bentham eſcaped.

Being brought to the houſe where the crowner and the reſt of the queſt were ſitting, as the manner is, a booke was offered to him to ſweare upon. Maſter Bentham opening the booke, and ſeeing it was a papiſticall primer, refuſed to ſweare thereupon, and declared moreover what ſuperſtition in the booke was contained. What, ſaid the Crowner? I thinke we ſhall have here an heretike among us. And upon that, after much reaſoning amongſt them, hee was committed to the cuſtody of an Officer till further examination: by occaſion whereof, to all mens reaſon, hard it had been and inevitable for Maſter Bentham to have eſcaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of hereſie, ſuddenly commeth the Crowner of the admiralty, diſannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other Crowner and his company in that place had nothing to doe. And ſo the firſt Crowner was diſcharged and diſplaced; by reaſon whereof Maſter Bentham eſcaped their hands, having no more ſaid unto him.

Engliſhmen preſerved at the taking of Calice.

Engliſhmen at Calice preſerved.

John Thorpe and his wife.

THe worthy workes of the Lords mercy toward his people be manifold, and cannot bee comprehended, ſo that who is hee living in the earth almoſt who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at ſome time or other upon him? Amongſt many other, what a peece of Gods tender providence was ſhewed of late upon our Engliſh brethren and countrimen, what time Calice was taken by the tyrant Guiſe, a cruell enemy both to Gods truth and our Engliſh nation? And yet by the gracious proviſion of the Lord, few or none at all, of ſo many that favored Chriſt and his Goſpell, in that terrible time miſcarried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one John Thorp and his wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth: who being ſick the ſame time, and caſt out into the wilde fields, harbourleſſe, deſolate, and deſpairing of all hope of life, having their yong infant moreover taken from them in the ſaid fields, and carried away of the ſouldiers; yet the Lord ſo wrought, that the poore woman, being almoſt paſt recovery of life, was ſet and carried the ſpace well nigh of a mile, by ſtrangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both ſhe was recovered for that night, and alſo the next day comming toward England, they chanced into the ſame Inne at the next Towne, where they found their young childe ſitting by the fire ſide.

Edward Benet.

A ſtory of Ed. Benet now dwelling in S. Brides Pariſh.

ONe Edward Benet about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Queene Mary, then dwelling at Queenehithe with one Gyrnocke a Baker, was deſired of one Tingle priſoner then in Newgate, to bring him a New Teſtament. He procuring one of Maſter Coverdales tranſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchiefe, ſaying to George the Keeper which asked him what he had, that it was a peece of poudred beefe. Let me ſee it, ſaid hee. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir Roger Cholmeley, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaying that booke was not lawfull, and ſo committed him to the Counter in Woodſtreet, where he continued 25. weekes.

Edw. Benet 25. weekes in the counter, for bringing a new Teſtament to Tingle.

Which after died in priſon, and was buried on a dunghill.

D. Stories words to Ed. Benet.

Doctor Story comming to the priſon to examine other priſoners, this Benet looking out at the grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out; for hee had lien long in priſon. To whom D. Story then anſwering; What, ſaid he, waſt thou not before me in Chriſts Church? Yes forſooth, ſaid Benet. Ah, ſaid Story, thou doeſt not beleeve in the ſacrament of the altar? Mary I will help thee out; Come, ſaid he to the Keeper, turne him out, I will help him: and ſo tooke Benet with him, and brought him to Cluny in Pater-noſter-rowe, and bad him bring him to the Colehouſe, and there he was in the ſtocks a weeke.

Edw. Benet brought to Boner, and examined.

Then the Biſhop ſent for him to talk with him, and firſt asked him if he were ſhriven? No, ſaid Benet. He asked him if he would be ſhriven? No, ſaid he. Then he asked him if the Prieſt could take away his ſins. No, ſaid Benet, I do not ſo beleeve. Then hee and Harpsfield laughed at him, & mocked him, asking him if he did not beleeve, that whatſoever the Prieſt here bound in earth, ſhould bee bound in heaven; and whatſoever he looſed in earth, ſhould be looſed in heaven? No, quoth Benet: But I beleeve that the Miniſter of GOD preaching Gods Word truly, & miniſtring the Sacraments according to the ſame, whatſoever he bindeth in earth, ſhould be bound in heaven, and whatſoever he loſeth, &c. Then the Biſhop, putting him aſide, ſaid he ſhould goe to Fulham and be whipped.

How Edw. Benet eſcaped out of the biſhops houſe.

Then came to him M. Buſwell a Prieſt, lying in the Cole-houſe in the ſtocks, & brought Cranmers recantation, ſaying, that he had recanted. My faith, ſaith the other, lyeth in no mans booke, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday, Benet with five other was called for to come to maſſe in the Chappell. The maſſe being done, and they comming out, five of them went to priſon, and were after burned. Benet being behinde, and comming toward the gate, the Porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no priſoners there. No, ſaid they. Benet ſtanding in open ſight before him, with other ſerving-men which were there by reaſon that Boner made many Prieſts that day (having one of his ſleeves and halfe the forepart of his coat burned off in priſon, being more like a priſoner than any of the other) when the gates were opened, went out amongſt them, and ſo eſcaped.

Another eſcape of Ed. Benet.

Eight of the 24. taken at Iſlington, eſcaped, and how: good warning ſent of God.

Againe, in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary, the ſame Benet being taken againe with the 24. beyond Iſlington, and brought to ſir Roger Cholmleyes, the people comming very thicke did cut off ſome of them, to the number of 8, which were behinde, among whom was Benet. Then he knocked at the gate to come in, the Porter ſaid, that he was none of the company. Hee ſaid, Yes, and knocked againe. Then there ſtood one by of the congregation, named Iohnſon, dwelling now at Hamerſmith, which ſaid; Edward, thou haſt done well, doe not tempt God, goe thy way. And ſo he taking the warning as ſent of God, with a quiet conſcience eſchued burning.

Iefferey Hurſt brother in law to George Marſh the Martyr.

The ſtory of Ieffrey Hurſt dwelling in the towne of Shakerly in the Pariſh of Leaght.

Ieffrey Hurſt brother to G. Marſh the Martyr.

Ieffrey Hurſt leaveth wife, children and houſe for perſecution.

Preachers uſing to Ieffrey Hurſts houſe, and to preach.

IN the town of Shakerley in Lancaſhire dwelled one Ieffrey Hurſt the ſon of an honeſt yeoman, who had beſides him eleven children, the ſaid Ieffrey being the twelfth and eldeſt of the reſt: and for that their father was willing to bring them up, ſo that they ſhould be able another day to help themſelves, he did binde this Ieffrey prentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nailes, which occupation he learned, and ſerved out the time of 7. yeares. The which yeares being expired, he gave himſelfe at times to learne of his other brethren which went to ſchoole: and as hee was very willing to the ſame, ſo God ſent him knowledge; wherein he did perſevere and go forwards in ſuch ſort that he could write and reade indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more knowledge, and ſo having the Bible and divers other books in his houſe, did come by prety knowledge in the Scripture. After this hee tooke unto him a wife being the ſiſter of M. George Marſh, of whoſe martyrdome mention is made before, and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when Queene Mary was entred, the firſt yeare of her reigne he kept himſelfe away from their doings, and came not at the Church: Whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called heretike, and Lollard, and ſo for feare of further danger he was compelled to leave his wife and childe, and all, and fled into Yorkeſhire, and there being not knowne did leade his life, returning ſometimes by night to his houſe to comfort his wife, and bringing with him ſome Preacher or other, who uſed to preach unto them ſo long as the time would ſerve, and ſo departed by night againe. The names of the Preachers were, M. Reneſes, M. Beſt, M. Brodbanke, M. Ruſſell, and every time they came thither they were about 20. or 24. ſometimes, but 16. at leaſt, who had there alſo ſomtimes a Communion. And thus in much feare did he with other lead his life, till the laſt yeare of the reigne of Queene Mary. Then it chanced that the ſaid Ieffrey Hurſt, after the death of his father, came home and kept himſelf cloſe for ſeven or eight weeks.

M. Thomas Lelond juſtice of Peace at Morleſſe, in Lancaſhire, a cruell perſecutor.

Ieffry Hurſt conveighed under a drifat.

Miſtreſſe Shakerley Hurſts landlady.

There dwelt not farre off, at Morleſſe, a certaine Iuſtice of Peace, and of quorum, named Maſter Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his fathers houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the houſe for books, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo did. Ieffrey and his company having knowledge of his comming, tooke the bookes which were in the houſe, as the Bible, the Communion booke, and the new Teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or fat, conveighing alſo the ſaid Ieffrey under the ſame, with a great deale of ſtrawe underneath him: for as it chanced they had the more time, becauſe that when the Iuſtice came almoſt to the dore, he ſtayd and would not enter the houſe till hee had ſent for Hurſts mothers landlady, Miſtres Shakerley; and then with her conſent intended to goe forwards. In the meane time, Ieffrey by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, and a little booke containing the third part of the Bible, with the booke of Eccleſiaſticus, to try what they would ſay unto them.

M. Lelond entreth to ſearch Hurſts houſe.

Ralfe Parkinſon a popiſh perſecuting prieſt.

The papiſts follow falſe propheſies of the Goſpel to come again after 4. moneths and more.

This done, Miſtreſſe Shakerly came. Unto whom eftſoones the Iuſtice declared the cauſe of his comming, and how he was ſorry to attempt any ſuch thing againſt any of her tenants for her ſake, but notwithſtanding he muſt needs execute his office. And againe you muſt (ſaid hee) note this, that a ſcabbed ſheepe is able to infect a great number; and eſpecially having, as he hath, ſo many brethren and ſiſters, he is able to marre them all, if he be not looked unto in time. And thus concluding, M. Lelond entred into the houſe, and being come in, ſet himſelfe in a chaire in the middle of the houſe; and ſending ſir Ralfe Parkinſon his Prieſt, and one of his men, and one of Miſtreſſe Shakerleyes men about the houſe, to ſearch and rifle the cheſts for bookes (which ſo did) in the meane time he talked with Hurſts mother, being of the age almoſt of 60. yeares: And chiding with her that ſhe would ſuffer her ſonne ſo to order and behave himſelfe like an heretike, ſaid; Thou old foole, I know my ſelfe that this new learning ſhall come againe; but for how long; even for three moneths or foure moneths, and no longer. But I will lay thee old foole in Lancaſter dungeon for this geare, and well worthy.

The new teſtament of Tindals tranſlation made hereſie.

Search made for Hurſt and his ſiſter Alice.

Now as concerning the ſearchers, they found nothing but Latine bookes, as Grammar, and ſuch like. Theſe be not they that we looke for (ſaid they) we muſt ſee further, and ſo looked into Hurſts chamber, where they found the foreſaid bookes. Then ſir Ralfe taking up the teſtament, lookt on it, and ſmiled. His Maſter ſeeing that, ſaid, Now ſir Ralfe, what have we here? Forſooth, ſaith he, a Teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, plaine hereſy, and none worſe than it. Then is al their goods, ſaith he, loſt to the Queene, and their bodies to priſon, and was wonderfully haſty; notwithſtanding through Miſtreſſe Shakerly, for a ſpace, hee was content to ſee farther.

Then the Prieſt looked on the other book. What ſay ye to that ſir Ralfe? is that as evill as the other? No, ſaid he, but it is not good that they ſhould have ſuch Engliſh bookes to looke on; for this and ſuch others may doe much harme. Then he asked her mother where her eldeſt ſon was, and her daughter Alice? She anſwered ſhe could not tell; they were not with her of long time before. And he ſwore by Gods body, he would make her

Anno 1558.

The old mother threatned to goe to Lancaſter caſtle.

Hurſts mother and brother bound in a 100. pound for their forth comming.

tell where they were, or hee would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon; and yet hee would have them notwithſtanding too. To be ſhort, for feare hee had his brother J. Hurſt and his mother bound in an hundred pound to bring the parties before him within fourteene daies, and ſo departed hee, and the Prieſt put both the bookes in his boſome, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurſt went after them, deſiring that he might have the booke which the Prieſt found no fault with; but hee ſaid, they ſhould anſwer to them both, and whichſoever was the better, was not good.

Maſter Lelonds maker.

Talk betweene Jeffrey Hurſt and the Juſtice.

Jeffery Hurſt denieth to come to maſſe.

As this paſt on, when the time was come that Jeffrey Hurſt and his ſiſter ſhould be examined, the Juſtice ſent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a maſſe to begin withall, asking Jeffrey Hurſt if he would firſt goe and ſee his Maker, and then hee would talke further with him. To whom when Jeffrey anſwered and ſaid; Sir, my maker is in heaven, and I am aſſured, in going to your maſſe I ſhall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excuſed.

Examination after maſſe.

J. Hurſt and Alice his ſiſter let goe under ſureties.

John Hurſt by the death of Q. Mary releaſed.

Well, well, ſaid hee, I perceive I ſhall find you an heretike, by God; but I wil goe to maſſe, and I will not loſe it for all your pratling. Then into his Chappell he went, and when maſſe was done he ſent for them, and cauſed his Prieſts to read a ſcrole unto them as concerning the ſeven ſacraments, and ever as he ſpake of the body and bloud of Chriſt, hee put off his cap, and ſaid; Loe ye may ſee, you will deny theſe things, and care not for your Prince; but you ſhall feele it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you, with other talke more betweene them, I know not what; but in the end they were licenſed to depart under ſureties to appeare againe before him within three weekes, and then to goe to Lancaſter. Howbeit, in the meane while it ſo pleaſed God, that within foure daies of the day appointed, it was noiſed that the Queene was dead, and within fourteene daies after the ſaid Jeffry Hurſt fet home his two books, and nothing was ſaid unto him.

J Hurſt in Q. Elizabeths time put in authority to ſee the proceeding of Religion.

It followed after this that Gods Word begun to take place, and the Queenes Viſitors came downe into that countrey, who did chuſe foure men in the Pariſh, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffrey Hurſt, Henry Browne, George Eccerſly, which foure were Proteſtants, to ſee the Queens proceedings to take place; which according to their power did the ſame, notwithſtanding it did little prevaile: and therefore the ſaid Jeffrey being ſore grieved with the office, fell ſicke, in which ſickneſſe it pleaſed God to call him, making a very godly end, God have the praiſe for it.

Tho. Lelond the popiſh Juſtice would not come to the Church in Q. Elizabeths time, and yet continued Juſtice ſtill.

A catholike father of the popiſh church.

Note a catholike knacke of a popiſh Juſtice.

Now to returne to the foreſaid Thomas Lelond againe, hee continuing in his office ſtill, did very few times come to the Church, but ſaid hee was aged, and might not labour, and there kept with him Sir Ralfe Parkinſon his Prieſt, which could (as it was ſaid) miniſter the Communion unto the people, and ſing maſſe to his Maſter: yes, and (as the ſame reported) did a pretier feate than all that; for he begat two children by a ſervant in a houſe, his Maſter knowing it, and ſaying nothing, for that hee would not loſe his good Maſſe-Prieſt.

Furthermore, this was noted in the ſame Juſtice Lelonds behaviour at Service time, that hee had a little dog which he would play with all Service time, and the ſame dog had a coller full of bels, ſo that the noiſe of them did moleſt and trouble others, as well as himſelfe, from hearing the Service. Alſo in the ſame Juſtice it was noted and obſerved, that as he ſate in his Chappel at Service time, his manner was on a Willow barke to knit knots, for that he could not be ſuffered to have his Beads, and to put the ſame upon a ſtring alſo. Witneſſe hereof Edward Hurſt, with others.

The trouble & eſcape of Henry Browne out of his enemies hands.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Browne one of the foure choſen men above mentioned, this is alſo to be added, that the ſaid Henry Browne dwelling in the Towne of Pinnington in the ſame Pariſh, Anno 1564. had a little boy, who as hee was playing in the Towne, one Glaves wife gave unto the boy a paire of Beades made of wood, for him to play withall. The little boy, being glad thereof to have ſuch a trim thing, went home and ſhewed his father of them. His father ſeeing the Beades, tooke them and burned them, and when he had ſo done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that paire of Beades,

Glaves wife maintainer of popery, and a perſecutor.

That did I, ſaid Glaves wife.

Well, ſaid he, I have burned them.

Haſt thou ſo, ſaid ſhe? and thruſt him from her. They ſhall be the deareſt Beads that ever thou saweſt, and incontinent went and complained unto the ſaid Juſtice, how Browne had burned her Beades.

Juſtice Lelond writeth to the Conſtables, to apprehend Henry Browne.

Henry Browne troubled for burning of beads in Q. Elizabeths time.

This matter the Juſtice tooke ſore to ſnuffe, and was very angry, and did direct his letter unto the Conſtables of the ſame Towne, by his owne hand ſubſcribed; the title of which ſuperſcription on the backſide was this; To the conſtables of Pinington give this.

This done, the Conſtables according to this their charge did bring him afore the Juſtice at the time appointed; and when the Juſtice came to talke with him, he was in ſuch a heate, that hee called him theefe, and ſaid that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her Beades, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purſe; wherefore (ſaid he) I will lay thee in Lancaſter for this geere.

Like maſter, like men.

Whileſt they were thus talking, there came all his ſervants about them from their worke, ſaying; Is this Maſter Doctor Browne that will burne Beades? I pray you Sir, let us have him here and preach. I will give a quarters wages, ſaith one; and I will give money ſaith another, and he ſhall be Maſter Doctor; with much deriſion and ſcoffing at this poore man.

He hearing this, ſpake againe boldly, and ſaid; Did you ſend for me to make a laughing ſtocke of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the Church, and ſee ſuch Papiſtry aboliſhed your ſelfe, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainely, that you doe not come to Church as you ought to do, and therfore with more things that I have to charge you withall, I ſay you do not well. When all this miſdemeanour of the Juſtice laid to his charge would not prevaile, and alſo witneſſe came in of the Papiſts, which did know the Beades, and teſtified that they were plaine, and coſt but a halfpenny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one Maſter Erberſton a Papiſt with him; which Erberſton turned backe, and ſaid, Is it you Henry Browne, that keepeth this ſtirre? you are one of them that pulled downe Croſſes in the Church, and pulled downe the Rood ſollar, and all the Saints; you were beſt now to goe paint a blacke Devill, and ſet him up and worſhip him, for that will ſerve well for your Religion. And thus under ſuretiſhip he did depart till July following, and then he ſayd hee ſhould goe to Lancaſter priſon, and ſo came hee away.

A lamentable thing when ſuch Juſtices beare rule over chriſtian congregations!

Henry Browne under ſureties diſmiſſed for a time.

The time drew on that he ſhould appeare, but God ſtaied the matter, and in July, as the foreſaid

Thomas

The puniſhment of Gods ſtroke upon an obſtinate perſecutor.

Thomas Lenold ſate in his chaire talking with his friends, he fell downe ſuddenly dead, not much moving any joint: And thus was his end; from ſuch God us defend.

William Wood of Kent.

Examination of W. Wood.

THe examination of William Wood Baker, dwelling in the Pariſh of Strowd, in the County of Kent, before Doctor Kenall Chancellor of the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter, Doctor Chadſey, the Maior of Rocheſter, and M. Robinſon the Scribe, the 19. day of October, and in the ſecond yeare of Q. Mary, in S. Nicholas Church in Rocheſter.

W. Wood charged for not comming to Church.

M. Robinſon. Will. Wood, you are preſented, becauſe you will not come to the Church, nor receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you? have you received, or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you doe now miniſter it.

Kenall. Thou heretike, what is the cauſe that thou haſt not received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? and at this word all they put off their caps and made low obeiſance.

Three cauſes why W. Wood durſt not receive the ſacrament of the altar.

Wood. There be three cauſes that make my conſcience afraid that I dare not receive it. The firſt, Chriſt did deliver it to his twelve Apoſtles, and ſaid, Take, eat: and drinke ye all of this, &c. and ye eat and drinke up all alone. The ſecond cauſe is; you hold it to be worſhipped, contrary to Gods Commandements, Thou ſhalt not bow downe nor worſhip. The third cauſe is; you miniſter it in a ſtrange tongue, contrary to S. Pauls doctrine, I had rather have five words with underſtanding, than ten thouſand with tongues: by reaſon whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou heretike, wilt thou have any plainer words than theſe, *Hoc eſt corpus meum?* Take, eat, this is my body? wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I doe faithfully beleeve them. S. Paul ſaith, God calleth thoſe things that are not, as though they were. and Chriſt ſaith, I am a vine: I am a dore. S. Paul ſaith, The rocke is Chriſt: All which are figurative ſpeeches, wherin one thing is ſpoken, & another thing is underſtood.

Robinſon. You make a very long talke of this matter, Learne Wood, learne.

Kenall. Nay, theſe heretikes will not learne, Looke how this heretike glorieth in himſelf. Thou foole, art thou wiſer than the Queen and her Councell, and all the learned men of this realme?

Wood. And pleaſe you, M. Chancellor, I think you would be loath to have ſuch glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you raile upon me. But the ſervant in not greater than his Maſter. And where you doe mocke me, and ſay that I am wiſer than the Queene and her Councell, S. Paul ſaith, The wiſedome of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhneſſe before God, and he that will be wiſe in this world, ſhall be accounted but a foole.

Kenall. Doeſt not thou beleeve that after theſe words ſpoken by a Prieſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meum,* This is my body, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, as he was borne of the Virgin Mary, really and ſubſtantially, in quantity and quality, as hee did hang upon the croſſe.

Wood. I pray you M. Chancellor, give mee leave for my learning, to aske you one queſtion, and I will anſwer you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warrant you.

Anno 1558.

Ezek. 5.

W. Woods queſtion propounded to the Doctors.

Wood. God ſpake to the Prophet Ezechiel, ſaying, Thou ſon of man, take a raſor, and ſhave off the haire of thy head and of thy beard, and take one part and caſt into the aire, take the ſecond part and put it into thy coate lap; and take the third part and caſt it into the fire: and this is Ieruſalem. I pray you M. Chancellor, was this haire that the Prophet did caſt into the fire, or was it Jeruſalem?

Kenall. No: it did ſignifie Jeruſalem.

The naturall quantity of Chriſt not in the ſacrament

Wood. Even ſo this word of Chriſt, This is my body, is not ſo to be underſtood, that Chriſts carnall, naturall, and reall body is in the ſame, in quantity and quality as it was borne of the Virgin Mary, and as hee was crucified upon the Croſſe, is preſent or incloſed in the Sacrament: but it doth ſignifie Chriſts body, as Saint Paul ſaith, So oft as yee doe eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death till he come. What ſhould the Apoſtle meane by this word, till he come, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the ſame quantity and quality as hee was borne of the Virgin Mary, and as hee did hang on the Croſſe, as you ſay? but Saint Paul ſaith, You ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come. This doth argue that he is not here as you would have us to beleeve.

D. Chadſey. I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the forme of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall ſaid, Yes, he is here preſent in quantity and quality.

Chadſey. He is here preſent under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

The papiſts could not agree in their own doctrine.

Yes, ſaid Kenall.

No, ſaid Chadſey.

I will prove him here in quantity and quality, ſaid Kenall.

I will prove the contrary, ſaid Chadſey.

And theſe two Doctors were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirme, the other to deny, contending and raging ſo ſore one at the other, that they fomed at the mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in anothers face, ſo that in great fury and rage the two Doctors roſe up from the judgement ſeat, and D. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood. Behold good people, they would have us to beleeve, that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, preſent in the Sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themſelves, nor agree within themſelves how he is there.

W. Wood delivered as was Saint Paul by the contention of the Phariſees & Sadduces.

At theſe words the people made a great ſhout, and the Maior ſtood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep ſilence. And the God that did deliver Saint Paul out of the hands of the high Prieſts, by the contention that was betweene the Phariſees and Sadduces, did even ſo deliver me at that time out of the mouthes of the bloudy Papiſts, by the means of the contention of theſe two Doctors. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, which hath promiſed to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to beare, and in the midſt of temptation he can make his way for his (how, and when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of Gods helping hand have been declared upon his elect Saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderfull and miraculous wayes, ſome by one meanes, ſome by another. What a notable worke of Gods mighty hand was ſeene in Simon Grineus, mentioned in the Commentary of Melancthon upon Daniel? Who having a ſudden warning by a certaine old man, who was not ſeene after, nor knowne then of any what hee

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was, avoided the perill of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon, writing and witneſſing the ſame, may appeare in the words of his own ſtory here following.

The hiſtory of Simon Grinæus, collected out of Melancthons commentaries upon the tenth chapter of Daniel.

The ſtory of Simon Grinæus Ex Commentariis Phil. Mel in cap. 10. Danielis.

John Faber B. of Vienna perſecutor.

Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

WHen I was (ſaith hee) at the aſſembly holden at Spyre, in the yeare of our Lord, 1539. by chance Simon Grineus came thither unto mee from the Univerſity of Heidelberge, where he heard Faber, the Biſhop of Vienna, in a Sermon, defend and maintaine certaine deteſtable errors. When the Sermon was done, hee followed Faber going out of the Church, and ſaluted him reverently, declaring unto him that hee was moved of a good zeale and intent, ſomewhat to ſay unto him. Faber was contented to talke with him.

Then Grineus ſaid unto him, that he was very ſorry that a man of ſuch learning and authority ſhould openly maintaine ſuch errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might bee refuted by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the Scripture. Ireneus writeth (ſaid he) that Polycarpus was wont to ſtop his eares whenſoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what minde then (thinke you) would Polycarpus have heard you argue and reaſon what it is that the mouſe eateth, when he gnaweth the conſecrated hoſt? Who would not bewaile ſuch ignorance and blindneſſe of the Church? With this Faber brake off his talke, as he was about to ſay more, and asked his name. This man diſſembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grineus.

Faber gently admoniſhed of Grineus for his Sermon.

This Faber (as many well knew) was alwaies timorous and fearefull in the company of learned men. Wherefore hee fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeale of Grineus, ſpecially in ſuch a matter as this was, fained as though he had bin ſent for by the King, and that he had no leiſure now to reaſon upon this matter. Hee pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintance and longer talke with Grineus, intreating him, that both for his own private cauſe, and alſo for the common wealth, he would come againe the next day unto him, and ſo ſhewed him his lodging, and appointed him an houre when he ſhould come. Grineus, thinking that he had ſpoken unfainedly, promiſed ſo to doe.

Godly warning ſent by an old man to Grineus.

When he was departed from Faber, hee came ſtraightway unto us, and was ſcarſely ſet at the table (for it was ſupper time) reciting a part of his talke with Faber unto me and others there preſent, when as I ſitting with my company, was ſuddenly called out of the Parlour by a certaine antient fatherly man, who ſhewing a ſingular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, ſpake unto me, and ſaid, that the Sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being ſent by the Kings commandement, to carry Grineus to priſon, whom Faber had accuſed to the King; commanding that Grineus ſhould ſtraightwayes depart out of the towne, and exhorted me, that we ſhould in no caſe delay the time: and ſo bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I underſtand. I returning againe unto my company, bade them riſe, and told them what the old man had ſaid unto me.

Grineus accuſed and purſued.

By and by, we taking Grineus in the midſt of us, carried him through the ſtreet to the River of Rhene, whereas after we had ſtayed upon the hither banke a while, untill Grineus with his companion were carried over in a ſmall boat, returning againe to our lodging, wee underſtood that the Sergeants had been there, when wee were but a little way gone out of the houſe. Now in what great danger Grineus ſhould have been, if hee had been carried to priſon, by this cruelty of Faber every man eaſily may conjecture: Wherefore we judged, that that moſt cruell intent and purpoſe of him, was diſappointed by Gods mercifull providence. And as I cannot ſay, what old man it was that gave me that warning, even ſo likewiſe the Sergeants made ſuch quicke ſpeed, that except Grineus had been covered and defended by Angels through the marvellous providence of God, hee could never have eſcaped.

Grineus warned to fly, eſcapeth.

Gods mercifull providence in defeating the cruell purpoſe of perſecutors.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet alive, which know both the ſame, and alſo were preſent at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thankes unto God, which hath given us his Angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfill and doe the office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of Gods mighty and mercifull cuſtody, the Church of Chriſt in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appeare as well among the Germanes, as alſo in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor in any time more plentifull, than in this perſecuting time of Q. Mary, in this our Realme of England, as partly hath been already hiſtoried, and part yet remaineth (the Lord willing) moreover hereunto to be added.

The Lady Katherine, Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

STephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurmiſing the Lady Katherine Baroneſſe of Willoughby and Ereſby, and Ducheſſe Dowager of Suffolke, to bee one of his antient enemies, becauſe hee knew he had deſerved no better of her, deviſed, in the holy time of the firſt Lent in Queene Maries reigne, a holy practiſe of revenge, firſt by touching her in the perſon of her husband Maſter Richard Berty Eſquire, for whom he ſent an attachement (having the great ſeale at his devotion) to the Sheriffe of Lincolnſhire, with a ſpeciall letter commanding moſt ſtraightly the ſame Sheriffe, to attach the ſaid Richard immediately, and without baile to bring him up to London to his great Lordſhip. M. Berty her husband being cleere in conſcience, and free from offence toward the Q. could not conjecture any cauſe of this ſtrange proceſſe, unleſſe it were ſome quarrell for Religion, which he thought could not be, ſo ſore as the proces pretended.

The old hatred of Step. Gardiner B. of Wincheſter againſt the Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

M. Ric. Berty husband to the Ducheſſe, attached by the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Sheriffe, notwithſtanding the commandement, adventured onely to take the bond of M. Berty with two ſureties, in a thouſand pound for his appearance to be made before the Biſhop on good Fryday following, at which day Maſter Berty appeared, the Biſhop then lying at his houſe by Saint Mary Overies. Of whoſe preſence when the Biſhop underſtood by a Gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage hee came out of his gallery into his dining chamber, where he found a preaſe of ſuters, ſaying hee would not that day heare any, but came forth onely to know of M. Berty, how he being a ſubject, durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former proceſſes of the Queene.

M. Berty appeareth before B. Gardiner.

M. Berty

Talke betweene Biſhop Gardiner and M. Berty.

M. Berty anſwered, that albeit my Lords words might ſeeme to the reſt ſomewhat ſharp towards him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremity to be attached, having uſed no obſtinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of thoſe words, that my Lord meant not otherwiſe but to have uſed ſome ordinary proceſſe; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

Yea mary, quoth the Biſhop, I have ſent you two Subpenas, to appeare immediatly, and I am ſure you received them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe man but to M. Solicitor, and I ſhall make you an example to all Lincolnſhire for your obſtinacy.

M. Berty denying the receit of any, humbly prayed his Lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleaſure and the puniſhment till he had good triall thereof, and then, if it pleaſe him, to double the paine for the fault, if any were.

The devotion of B. Gardiner to good Friday.

Well, quoth the Biſhop, I have appointed my ſelfe this day (according to the holineſſe of the ſame) for devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enioyne you in a thouſand pound not to depart without leave, and to be here againe to morrow at 7. of the clocke. Maſter Berty well obſerved the houre, and no iotte failed: at which time the Biſhop had with him M. Sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain queſtions of the ſaid Maſter Berty, becauſe Maſter Sergeant was towards the Lord Wriotheſley, late Earle of Southhampton, and Chancellor of England, with whom the ſaid Maſter Berty was brought up. Maſter Sergeant made very friendly report of M. Berty, of his owne knowledge for the time of their converſation together. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed M. Berty to be brought in, and firſt making a falſe traine (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarrell of religion, he aſſaulted him in this manner.

M. Berty attachhed for debt of 4000. pounds due to the Queen.

Winch. The Queenes pleaſure is, quoth the Biſhop, that you ſhall make preſent paiment of 4000. pound due to her father by Duke Charles, late huſband to the Ducheſſe your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was.

Bert. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, quoth Maſter Berty, that debt is eſtalled, and is according to that eſtallement truly anſwered.

Kette captain of the rebels in K. Edw. time.

Winch. Tuſh (quoth the Biſhop) the Queen will not be bound to eſtallements in the time of Kettes government: for ſo I eſteeme the late government.

Bert. The eſtallement (quoth M. Berty) was appointed by K. Henry the eighth: beſides, the ſame was by ſpeciall commiſſioners confirmed in K. Edwards time; and the Lord Treaſurer being an executor alſo to the Duke Charles ſolely and wholly, tooke upon him, before the ſaid Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Winch. If it be true that you ſay (quoth the B.) I will ſhew you favour. But of another thing Maſter Berty I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I heare evill of your Religion; yet I hardly can thinke evill of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godly and Catholike, as any within this land; your ſelfe brought up with a Maſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as Author of his error. Beſides, partly I know you my ſelfe, and underſtand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I pray you, if I may aſke the queſtion of my Lady your wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet up the Maſſe, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when ſhe cauſed in her progreſſe, a dog in a Rochet to be caried, and called by my name? or doth ſhe think her lambes now ſafe enough, which ſaid to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my Chamber window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambes, now the Wolfe was ſhut up? Another time my Lord her huſband, having invited me and diverſe Ladies to dinner, deſired every Lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: My Lady your wife taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himſelfe, ſaid, that foraſmuch as ſhe could not ſit downe with my Lord whom ſhee loved beſt, ſhee had choſen him whom ſhee loved worſt.

A dog clothed in a Rochet under the name of B. Gardiner.

It is merry with lambes, when wolves be tyed up.

Of the device of the Dog, quoth Maſter Berty, ſhee was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you without offence to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will purge the other. As touching ſetting up of Maſſe, which ſhe learned not only by ſtrong perſwaſions of divers excellent learned men, but by univerſall conſent and order whole ſixe yeares paſt, inwardly to abhorre, if ſhee ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew her ſelfe a falſe Chriſtian, and to her Prince a maſquing ſubiect. You know, my Lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more worth than a thouſand transformed temporizers. To force a confeſſion of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where ſalvation is pretended.

Purgation of the Lady Ducheſſe for not comming to Maſſe.

Yea mary (quoth the Biſhop) that deliberation would doe well if ſhe were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient religion: Wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my Lord (ſaid Maſter Berty) not long ſince, ſhee anſwered a friend of hers uſing your Lordſhips ſpeech, That Religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſwaſion, and not by commandement.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

I pray you (quoth the Biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſwade her?

Yea verily (ſaid M. Berty) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The Biſhop thereunto replying, ſaid, It will be a marvellous griefe to the Prince of Spaine, and to all the Nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall finde but two Noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the Queen, and my Lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Maſter Berty anſwered, That he truſted they ſhould finde no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the Biſhop perſwaded M. Berty to travell earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his bond from further appearance.

M. Berty releaſed from his bond of appearing.

The Ducheſſe and her huſband, daily more and more, by their friends underſtanding that the Biſhop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, deviſed waies how by the Queenes licence they might paſſe the Seas. Maſter Berty had a ready meane: for there reſted great ſummes of money due to the olde Duke of Suffolke (one of whoſe executors the Ducheſſe was) beyond the Seas, the Emperor himſelfe being one of thoſe debtors. Maſter Berty communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licence to paſſe the Seas, and the cauſe to the Biſhop, adding, that he tooke this time moſt meete to deale with the Emperor, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage betweene the Queen and his ſon.

Waies practiſed how to convey the Ducheſſe over the ſeas with the Queene her licence.

M. Berty deviſeth cauſe to paſſe over into Flanders.

I like your device well (quoth the Biſhop) but I thinke it better that you tarry the Princes comming, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father.

Nay (quoth M. Berty) under your Lordſhips correction and pardon of ſo liberall ſpeech, I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſſe convenient: for when the marriage is conſummate, the Emperor hath his deſire; but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with us.

By Saint Mary (quoth the Biſhop, ſmiling) you gueſſe ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your ſute to the Queene, and it ſhall not lacke my helping hand.

M. Berty licenſed by the Q. to paſſe the ſeas.

Maſter Berty found ſo good ſucceſſe, that he in few daies obtained the Queenes licence, not only to paſſe the Seas, but to paſſe and repaſſe them ſo often as to him ſeemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſineſſe and cauſes beyond the Seas. So he paſſed the Seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the firſt yeere of her raigne, leaving the Ducheſſe behinde, who, by agreement and conſent betwixt her and her huſband, followed, taking Barge at Lion Key, very early in the morning, on the firſt day of January next enſuing, not without ſome perill.

Preparation made how to convey the Ducheſſe over the ſeas.

M. Cranwel a truſty friend to M. Berty.

There was none of thoſe that went with her, made privy to her going till the inſtant, but an old Gentleman, called Maſter Robert Cranwell, whom M. Berty had ſpecially provided for that purpoſe. She tooke with her her daughter, an infant of one yeare, and the meaneſt of her ſervants, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number foure men, one a Greeke borne, which was a rider of horſes, another a Joyner, the third a Brewer, the fourth a foole, one of the Kitchin, one Gentlewoman, and a Laundreſſe.

The Duches with her company departed the realme.

The manner of the Duches flying out of her houſe.

As ſhe departed her houſe called the Barbican, betwixt foure and five of the clocke in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinſon a Herauld, Keeper of her houſe, hearing noiſe about the houſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hand as ſhee was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a male with neceſſaries for her young daughter, and a milke pot with milke in the ſame gate-houſe, commanding all her ſervants to ſpeede them away before to Lion Key: and taking with her only the two women and her child: ſo ſoone as ſhee was forth of her owne houſe, perceiving the Herauld to follow, ſhee ſtept in at Charter houſe hard by. The Herauld comming out of the Ducheſſe houſe, and ſeeing no body ſtirring, nor aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhee was departed, returned in; and while he ſtayed ranſacking parcels left in the male, the Ducheſſe iſſued into the Streete, and proceeded in her journey, hee knowing the place only by name where ſhee ſhould take her boate, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewiſe her Servants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the way to the ſaid Key.

The Duches with her company taketh Bharge.

So ſhee apparelled like a meane Merchants wife, and the reſt like meane ſervants, walking in the Streetes unknowne, ſhee tooke the way that led to Fineſbury field, and the others walked the City Streetes as they lay open before them, till by chance more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they paſſed directly to Lion Key, and there took Barge in a morning ſo miſty, that the Steareman was loath to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoone as the day permitted, the Councell was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her houſe, to enquire of the manner thereof, and tooke an inventory of her goods, beſides further order deviſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſtay her.

Purſuit after the Ducheſſe.

The Duches ſtayed in M. Goſlings houſe by Leigh, under the name of his daughter.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling, a Merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwels, whither the ſaid Cranwell brought the Ducheſſe, naming her Miſtreſſe White, the daughter of Maſter Goſling, for ſuch a daughter he had which never was in that Countrey. There ſhee repoſed her, and made new garments for her Daughter, having loſt her owne in the male at Barbican.

The hard adventure of the Duches upon the ſeas.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that night to lie at an Inne in Leigh (where ſhe was againe almoſt bewrayed) yet notwithſtanding by Gods good working ſhe eſcaping that hazzard; at length, as the tide and winde did ſerve, they went aboord, and being carried twice into the Seas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrary winde were driven to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recoile, certaine perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company that was aland for freſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a meane Merchants wife to be a ſhipboord, he ceaſed any further to ſearch.

The Duches landed in Brabant.

M. Berty with the Ducheſſe his wife arrived at Santon, a Free-towne of Weſell in Cleveland.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoone as the Ducheſſe had landed in Brabant, ſhe and her women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hooks; and ſo ſhe and her huſband tooke their jourdey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a towne therein called Santon, tooke a houſe there, untill they might further deviſe of ſome ſure place, where to ſettle themſelves.

A protection procured for the Ducheſſe, of the Magiſtrate of Weſell.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Weſell, under the ſaid Duke of Cleves dominion, and one of the Haunce townes, priviledged with the company of the Steeleyard in London, whither divers Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their Miniſter one Frances Peruſell, then called Frances de Rivers, who had received ſome courteſie in England at the Ducheſſe hands. Maſter Berty, being yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obtaine a protection from the magiſtrates for his abode and his wives at Weſell; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the ſtate of the Ducheſſe was not diſcovered, but onely to the chiefe Magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

In the meane while, at the Towne of Santon was a muttering that the Ducheſſe and her huſband were greater perſonages than they gave themſelves forth, and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to Religion, the Biſhop of Arras alſo being Deane of the great Minſter, order was taken, that the Ducheſſe and her huſband ſhould be examined of their condition and Religion upon the ſudden. Which practiſe diſcovered by a Gentleman of that Countrey to M. Bertie, he without delay taking no more than the Ducheſſe, her daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the ayre, about three of the clocke in the afternoone in February, on foot, without hiring of horſe or wagon for feare of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privily that night to get to Weſell, leaving his other family ſtill at Santon.

After the Ducheſſe and he were one Engliſh mile from the towne, there fell a mighty raine of continuance, whereby a long froſt and yce before congealed, was thawed, which doubled

The hard entertainment of M. Berty, and the Ducheſſe, at their entring into Weſell.

more the wearineſſe of thoſe new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they ſent their two ſervants (which only went with them) to villages as they paſt, to hire ſome carre for their eaſe, but none could be hired. In the meane time Maſter Berty was forced to carry the childe, and the Ducheſſe his cloke and rapier. At laſt, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clocke in the dark night, they came to Weſell, and repairing to their Innes for lodging, and ſome repoſe after ſuch a painfull journey, found hard entertainment: for going from Inne to Inne offering large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the Inne-holders, ſuſpecting Maſter Berty to be a Launce-knight, and the Ducheſſe to be his woman. The childe for cold and ſuſtenance cryed pittifully, the mother wept as faſt, the heavens rained as faſt as the cloudes could poure.

Gods providence in time of diſtreſſe.

M. Berty, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the Ducheſſe to the Porch of the great Church in the towne, and ſo to buy coales, victuals, and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods help he might provide her better lodging. Maſter Berty at that time underſtood not much dutch, and by reaſon of evill weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeake Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latine, till at laſt, going towards the Church Porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latine, to whom he approached, and offered them two ſtivers to bring him to ſome Wallons houſe.

The meeting of M. Peruſel and the Ducheſſe at Weſell.

By theſe boyes, and Gods good conduct, hée chanced at the firſt upon the houſe where Maſter Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magiſtrates of that Towne. At the firſt knocke, the Goodman of the houſe himſelfe came to the doore, and opening it, asked Maſter Berty what he was. Maſter Berty ſaid, An Engliſhman, that ſought for one Maſter Peruſelles houſe. The Wallon willed Maſter Berty to ſtay a while, who went backe, and told Maſter Peruſell, that the ſame Engliſh Gentleman, of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent by likelihood his ſervant to ſpeake with him. Whereupon Maſter Peruſell came to the doore, and beholding Maſter Berty, the Ducheſſe, and their childe, their faces, apparels, and bodies ſo farre from their old forme, deformed with dirt, weather, and heavineſſe, could not ſpeake to them, nor they to him for feares. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entered the houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; M. Berty changing his apparell with the good man, the Ducheſſe with the good wife, and their childe with the childe of the houſe.

The Citizens of Weſell admoniſhed by their Preacher of their hardneſſe toward ſtrangers.

Within few daies after, by Maſter Peruſelles meanes, they hired a very faire houſe in the towne, and did not let to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good ſort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time thorow the whole Towne what diſcourteſie the Inneholders had ſhewed unto them at their entry: inſomuch as on the Sunday following, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharpe termes rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not only Princes ſometime are received in the image of private perſons, but Angels in the ſhape of men, and that GOD of his juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another Land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger.

A friendly part of Sir Jo. Maſon towards the Ducheſſe.

A train laid for the Ducheſſe by the Lord Paget, and the Duke of Brunſwicke.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from Sir John Maſon, then Quéene Maries Ambaſſadour in Netherland, that my Lord Paget had fained an errand to the Bathes that waies: and whereas the Duke of Brunſwicke was ſhortly with tenne Enſignes to paſſe by Weſell for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtricke againſt the French King, the ſaid Ducheſſe and her husband ſhould be with the ſame charge and company intercepted.

M. Berty and the Ducheſſe remove to Wineheim under the Palſegrave.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of theſe enemies, Maſter Berty with his wife and childe departed to a place called Wineheim in high Dutchland under the Palſgraves Dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to faile them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to faile of hope.

The helping hand of the Lord againe in their neceſſity.

Joan. Alaſco a meanes to the King of Pole, for the Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

The Duches invited into Poleland by the K. letters.

M. Barloe a meſſenger from the Ducheſſe to the K. of Pole.

The Palatine of Wilva a great friend to the Ducheſſe.

At what time, in the middeſt of their deſpaire, there came ſuddenly letters to them from the Palatine of Wilva, and the King of Pole, being inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a Baron, named Ioannes Alaſco, that was ſometime in England, offering them large courteſie. This purviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy ſpirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many their country men and acquaintance, to a place ſo far diſtant, a Country not haunted with the Engliſh, and perhaps upon their arrivall not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey ſhould be worſe than the beginning; they deviſed thereupon with one Maſter Barloe, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome paines therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him prone, they ſent with him letters of great thankes to the King and Palatine, and alſo with a few principall Jewels (which only they had left of many) to ſollicite for them, that the King would vouchſafe under his ſeale, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourably by letters offered.

The Duches taketh her journey toward Poleland.

The troubles happening to the Ducheſſe in her journey to Poleland.

That ſute, by the forwardneſſe of the Palatine, was as ſoone granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance the ſaid Ducheſſe and her husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557. from the Caſtle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towards Frankford. In the which their journey, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of their Lantgraves Captaine, who, under a quarrell pretenſed for a Spaniell of Maſter Berties, ſet upon them in the high way with his horſemen, thruſting their Bore-ſpeares thorow the wagon where the children and women were, Maſter Berty having but foure horſemen with him. In the which brabble it hapned the Captaines horſe to be ſlain under him.

Whereupon a rumor was ſparſed immediately thorow townes and villages about, that the Lantgraves Captaine ſhould be ſlaine by certaine Wallons, which incenſed the ire of the Countrymen there more fiercely againſt Maſter Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to ſave himſelfe by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and to recover ſome towne there by for his reſcue, he ſo doing was in worſe caſe than before: for the townesmen and the Captaines brother, ſuppoſing no leſſe but that the Captaine had béene ſlaine, preſſed ſo eagerly upon him, that he had béen there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpying a ladder leaning to a window, by the ſame got up into the houſe, and ſo gone up into a Garret in the top of the houſe, where he with his dagge and raper defended himſelfe for a ſpace: but at length the Burghmaſter comming thither with another Magiſtrate which could ſpeake Latine, he was counſelled to ſubmit himſelfe to the order of the Law. M. Berty knowing himſelfe cleere, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelfe to the judgement of the Law, upon condition that the Magiſtrate would receive him under ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, M. Berty putteth himſelfe and his weapon into the Magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tryed.

Then Maſter Berty writing his letters to the Lantgrave, and to the Earle of Erbagh, the next day early in the morning the Earle of Erbagh, dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the Ducheſſe was brought with her wagon, Maſter Berty alſo being in the ſame towne under cuſtody.

The Earle, who had ſome intelligence of the Ducheſſe before, after he was come and had ſhewed ſuch courteſie as he thought to her eſtate was ſeemly, the towneſmen perceiving the Earle to behave himſelf ſo humbly unto her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further underſtanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and eſpecially the authors of the ſtir ſhrunk away, and made all the friends they could to M. Berty & his wife, not to report their doings after the worſt ſort.

M. Berty with the Ducheſſe honourably entertained of the K. of Pole.

And thus M. Berty and his wife, eſcaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poleland, where in concluſion they were quietly entertained of the King, and placed honourably in the Earledome of the ſaid King of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where M. Berty with the Ducheſſe, having the Kings abſolute power of government over the ſaid Earledome, continued both in great quietneſſe and honor, till the death of Q. Mary.

Thomas Horton Miniſter.

A ſtory of Thomas Horton, Miniſter.

AS ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the Ducheſſe of Suffolke in the time of her exile for religion ſake, whom notwithſtanding the Lords preſent protection ſtill delivered in all diſtreſſes, as well from her enemies in England, as in Dutchland from the Launce-knights there: ſo have we no leſſe to behold and magnifie the Lords mercifull goodneſſe in preſerving of Thomas Horton from the like perils of the ſame Countrey.

Which Thomas Horton, what a profitable inſtrument he was to the Church of Chriſt in Q. Maries time, all our Engliſhmen almoſt, beyond the ſeas then, did both know and feele.

This good Thomas Horton, as he uſed oftentimes to travell betweene Germany and England, for the behoofe and ſuſtenance of the poore Engliſh exiles there: ſo he journying upon a time betweene Maſtrick and Cullen, chanced to be taken there by certain Rovers, and ſo being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent help of the Lord was greater to aide and deliver him out of the ſame.

Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner.

The ſtory of Tho: Sprat and W. Porrege.

VNto theſe afore rehearſed examples of Gods bleſſed providence towards his ſervants, may alſo be added the happy deliverance of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now Miniſter. Whoſe ſtory briefly to courſe over is this.

This Thomas Sprat had beene ſervant ſometimes to one Maſter Brent a Juſtice, and a heavy perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his Maſter for religion ſake, he went to Calice, from whence he uſed often with the ſaid William Porrege, for their neceſſary affaires, to have recourſe into England.

M. Brent Juſtice in Kent, a perſecutor.

It ſo happened about the fourth yeare of Queen Maries raigne, that they landing upon a time at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, ſuddenly upon the way within three miles of Dover, met with the foreſaid Maſter Brent, the two Blachendens, and other Gentlemen moe, with their ſervants, to the number of ten or twelve horſes. Of the which two Blachendens, being both haters and enemies of Gods word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of William Porrege, the other had not ſeen him, but only had heard of his name before.

The two Blachendens in Kent, perſecutors.

Thus they being in the way where this Juſtice with his mates ſhould meet them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat firſt eſpying Maſter Brent, was ſore diſmayed, ſaying to his companion, Yonder is Maſter Brent. William Porrege, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth the other, ſeeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And ſo thinking to paſſe by them, they kept themſelves aloofe, as it were a ſcore off from them, Thomas Sprat alſo ſhadowing his face with his Cloke.

Tho: Sprat almoſt taken in the way by the Juſtice.

Notwithſtanding one of Maſter Brents ſervants adviſing him better than his Maſter did, Yonder ſaid he to his Maſter, is Thomas Sprat, At which words they all rained their Horſes, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, ſaid William Porrege. Now here is no remedy but we are taken: and ſo perſwaded him to goe to them being called, for that there was no eſcaping from ſo many horſemen in thoſe plaines and downes, where was no wood neere them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but only one, which was a birdbolt ſhot off.

Tho: Sprat called of the Juſtice, but would not come.

All this notwithſtanding, Sprat ſtaid, and would not goe. Then they called againe, ſitting ſtill on horſebacke. Ah ſirrah (quoth the Juſtice) why come ye not hither? And ſtill his companion moved him to goe, ſeeing there was no other ſhift to flee away. Nay (ſaid Sprat) I will not goe to them, and therewithall tooke his legges, running to the hedge that was next him. They ſeeing that, ſet ſpurres to their horſe, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was unpoſſible for him to eſcape their hands, as it was indeed, they being on horſe backe, and he on foote, had not the Lord miraculouſly delivered his ſilly ſervant from the gaping mouth of the Lion ready to devoure him. For as God would, ſo it fell out that he had got over the hedge, ſkrawling through the buſhes, when as they were even at his heeles, ſtriking at him with their ſwords, one of the Blachendens crying cruelly, cut off one of his legs.

God alwaies ſtronger than the devill.

Thus Sprat had ſcarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of Maſter Brents ſervants, which had beene fellow ſometimes in houſe with him, followed him in his Bootes; and certaine rode up at one ſide of the hedge, and certaine at the other, to meete him at the upper end.

Tho: Sprat getteth over the hedge from his perſecutors.

Now while they were following the chaſe after Thomas Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (who was one of the Blachendens, not he which knew him, but the other) who began to queſtion with him, not aſking what was his name (as God would) for then he had been knowne and taken: but from whence hee came, and how he came into Sprats company, and whither he went? Unto whom he anſwered and ſaid, From Calice, and that Sprat came over with him in the paſſage boat, and they two were going to Sandwich, and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart.

W. Porrege eſcapeth.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the horſmen which rode after Sprat, returning backe, and meeting with the ſaid W. Porrege, demanded the very ſame queſtions as the other had done, to whom he made alſo the like anſwer as afore, and ſo departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other horſmen. And thus W. Porrege eſcaped.

The Lord diſpoſing the way of his ſervants.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, hee being purſued on the one ſide by horſemen, and on the other ſide by his owne fellow, who followed after him in his boots, crying, you were as good to tarry, for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithſtanding he kept ſtill on his courſe, till at length he came to a ſteepe downe hill at the hedge end, downe the which hill he ranne from them, for they could not ride downe the hill, but muſt fetch a great compaſſe about, and ſo this Thom. Sprat ranne almoſt a mile, and (as God would) got a Wood.

Tho. Sprat delivered by Gods helpe from his adverſaries.

By that time he came to the Wood, they were even at his heeles: but the night drew on, and it began to raigne, and ſo the malice of theſe perſecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his ſervants, whoſe name be prayſed for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforeſaid, which ſo cruelly ſought the deſtruction of other, was cruelly murdered by his owne ſervants.

Iohn Cornet.

The troubles of I. Cornet, and how he was delivered.

HEre might alſo be recited the hard adventures and ſufferings of Iohn Cornet, and at length his deliverance, by Gods good working, out of the ſame.

Who, being a prentice with a minſtrell at Colcheſter, was ſent by his Maſter, about the ſecond yeare of Q. Maries raigne, to a wedding in a towne thereby called Roughhedge, where he being requeſted by a company there of good men, the Conſtables alſo of the Pariſh being preſent thereat, to ſing ſome ſongs of the Scripture, chanced to ſing a ſong called Newes out of London, which tended againſt the maſſe, and againſt the Queens miſproceedings.

Packſley, Parſon of Roughhedge, perſecutor. The mother againſt her owne ſon.

Whereupon the next day hee was accuſed by the Parſon of Roughhedge, called Packſley, and ſo committed, firſt to the Conſtable, where both his Maſter gave him over, and his Mother forſooke and curſed him. From thence hee was ſent to the next Iuſtice, named Maſter Cannall, and then to the Earle of Oxford, where he was firſt put in yrons and chaines, and after that ſo manacled, that the bloud ſpurt out of his fingers ends, becauſe hee would not confeſſe the names of them which allured him to ſing.

And marvell it was that the cruell Papiſts were ſo contented, that they ſent him not alſo to Biſhop Boner, to ſuffer the extremity of the fire. But Gods gracious providence diſpoſed otherwiſe for his ſervant. For after he was manacled, the Earle commanded him to be brought againe to the towne of Roughhedge, and there to be whipped till the bloud followed, and to be baniſhed the town for ever: and ſo he was, during all the time of Queene Mary.

Cornet whipped out of the towne, and ſo baniſhed.

¶ Thomas Bryce.

Tho. Bryce preſerved.

IF our ſtory would proceede ſo wide and ſo large, as did the exceeding mercy of Gods providence in helping his ſervants out of wretchedneſſe and thraldome of thoſe bloudy daies, our treatiſe (I thinke) would extend to an endleſſe proceſſe.

For what good man or woman, was there almoſt in all this time of Queene Mary, who either in carrying a good conſcience out of the land, or tarrying within the realme, could well eſcape the Papiſts hands, but by ſome notable experience of the Lords mighty power and helping hand working for him? What ſhould I here ſpeake of the miraculous deliverance of Thomas Bryce? who being in the houſe of Iohn Seale, in the Pariſh of Horting, and the Bailiffe with other neighbours comming in, ſent by Sir Iohn Baker to ſearch and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his ſtature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to ſee or know him ſtanding before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blinde their eyes, that they aſking for him, and looking upon him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly tooke up his bagge of bookes, and ſo departed out of the houſe without any hand layde upon him.

God blindeth the eyes of them which ſought for Tho. Bryce, that they could not ſee him.

Another ſtory of Th. Bryce & his brother.

Alſo another time, about the ſecond yeare of Queene Mary, the ſaid Thomas Bryce, with Iohn Bryce his elder brother, comming then from Weſell, meeting together at their fathers houſe; as they journeyed towards London, to give warning there to one Springfield, which elſe was like to bee taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon Gads hill, fell in company with a Promoter, which dogged them and followed them againe to Graveſend, into the towne, and laid the houſe for them where they were, all the wayes as they ſhould goe to the waters ſide, ſo that it had not been poſſible for them to have avoyded the preſent danger of thoſe perſecutors, had not the Lords provident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his ſervants, through the Hoſtler of the Inne, covertly to convey them by a ſecret paſſage; whereby they tooke Barge a mile out of the Towne, and ſo in the end both the lives of them, and alſo of Springfield were preſerved, through the Lords gracious protection.

Thomas and Ioh. Bryce delivered by Gods good means and protection.

¶ Gertrude Crokhay.

The trouble and deliverance of Gertrude Crockhay.

GErtrude Crokhay dwelling at Saint Katherines by the Tower of London, and being then in her huſbands houſe, it happened in the yeare 1556. that the Popes childiſh Saint Nicholas went about the Pariſh. Which ſhee underſtanding, ſhut her doore againſt him, not ſuffering him to enter into her houſe.

Then Doctor Mallet hearing thereof, and being then Maſter of the ſaid Saint Katherines, the next day came to her with twenty at his taile, thinking belike to fray her, and aſked why ſhe would not the night before let in Saint Nicholas, and receive his bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus: Sir, I know no Saint Nicholas (ſaid ſhe) that came hither. Yes quoth Mallet, here was one that repreſented S. Nicholas.

This D. Mallet, is now Dean of Lincolne.

Indeed Sir (ſaid ſhee) here was one that was my neighbours childe, but not Saint Nicholas: for Saint Nicholas is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purſe cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by Saint Nicholas Clerkes, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could bee gotten at her hands, went his way as hee came, and ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Another trouble of the ſaid Gertrude in Dutchland.

Then in the yeare 1557. a little before Whitſontide, it hapned that the ſaid Gertrude anſwered for a childe that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which childe was chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe after the order of the Service booke in King Edwards time; and that being ſhortly knowne to her enemies, ſhe was ſought for. Which, underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the ſea into Gilderland, to ſee certaine lands that ſhould come to her children in the right of her firſt husband, who was a ſtranger borne: and being there about a quarter of a yeare, at the length comming homeward by Antwerpe, ſhe chanced to meet with one John Johnſon a Dutchman, alias John de Villa of Antwerpe ſhipper, who ſeeing her there, went of malice to the Margrave, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to priſon. The cauſe why this naughty man did thus, was, for that he claimed of Maſter Crokhay her husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a ſhip that Maſter Crokhay bought of him, and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhee being in priſon, lay there a fortnight. In the which time ſhee ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheniſh wine fats, and after ſecretly put in ſacks and caſt into the river. Now ſhe, good woman, thinking to bee ſo ſerved, tooke thereby ſuch feare, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſſe, of the which at length ſhe died.

Cruelty in Flanders uſed ſecretly againſt the Chriſtians.

Then at the laſt was ſhe called before the Margrave, and charged with Anabaptiſtrie: which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the errour, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any feare. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with the profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome of her friends delivered her out of priſon, but tooke away her booke, and ſo ſhe came over into England againe.

Gertrude returneth into England.

William Mauldon.

A ſtory of W. Mauldon.

W. Mauldon accuſed and ſcourged for true religion.

I Lightly paſſe over here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon, how in the dangerous time of the ſixe Articles, before the burning of Anne Aſkew, he was ſcourged, being young, of his father, for profeſſing and confeſſing of true religion; and afterward being examined in auricular confeſſion by the Prieſt, his bookes were ſearched for, and ſo at length he was preſented up by the ſame Prieſt, in a letter written to the Biſhop. Which letter, had it not been burned by another Prieſt, to whoſe hands it came (as the Lord would have it) it had undoubtedly coſt him his life.

This one thing in the ſame William Mauldon is to be noted, that being young, in thoſe dayes of King Henry, when the Maſſe moſt flouriſhed, the altars with the ſacrament thereof being in their moſt high veneration, that to mans reaſon it might ſeeme unpoſſible that the glory and opinion of that Sacrament and Sacramentals, ſo highly worſhipped, and ſo deeply rooted in the hearts of ſo many, could by any meanes poſſible ſo ſoone decay and vaniſh to nought: yet notwithſtanding he being then ſo young, under the age of ſeventeene yeares, by the ſpirit (no doubt) of propheſie, declared then unto his parents, that they ſhould ſee it ſhortly even come to paſſe, that both the ſacrament of the altar and the altars themſelves, with all ſuch plantations which the heavenly Father did not plant, ſhould be plucked up by the roots; and even ſo within the ſpace of very few yeares the event thereof followed accordingly: the Lord therefore be prayſed for his moſt gracious reformation.

The propheſie of W. Mauldon in King Henries time, for the fall of the maſſe, and ſacrament of the altar.

Robert Horneby.

Rob. Hornby through Gods working preſerved.

I Let paſſe likewiſe the dangerous eſcape of Robert Horneby, ſervant ſometime and groome of the Chamber to Lady Elizabeth, ſhee being then in trouble in Queene Maries daies; who being willed to come to maſſe, refuſed ſo to doe, and therefore comming afterward from Woodſtocke to Hampton Court, was called before the Councell, and by them committed to the Marſhalſea, and not unlike to have ſuſtained further danger, had not the Lords goodneſſe better provided for him, who at length by Doctor Martin was delivered.

Miſtreſſe Sands.

M. Sands now Lady Bartlet preſerved from perſecution.

THe like alſo may be teſtified and recorded of Miſtreſſe Sands, now wife to Sir Morice Bartlet, then Gentlewoman waiter to the ſaid Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower. Which Miſtreſſe Sands denied in like manner to come to maſſe, and therefore, beſide the heavy diſpleaſure of her father, was not onely diſplaced from her roome, and put out of the houſe, but alſo was in great jeopardy of further tryall. But the Lord, who diſpoſeth for every one as he ſeeth beſt, wrought her way out of her enemies hands by flying over the ſeas, where ſhe continued amongſt other baniſhed exiles in the City of Geneva and of Baſill, till the death of Q. Mary.

The ſtory of Thomas Roſe yet living, a Preacher, of the age of lxxvi. yeares, in the towne of Luton, and County of Bedford.

The ſtory of Tho. Roſe yet living.

THis Thomas Roſe a Devonſhire man, was borne in Exmouth, and being made prieſt in that countrey, was brought out of it by one M. Fabian, to Polſted in Suffolke, where the ſaid M. Fabian was Parſon, and in ſhort time after by his meanes was placed in the towne of Hadley, where he, firſt comming to ſome knowledge of the Goſpell, began firſt there to intreat upon the Creed, and thereupon to take occaſion to inveigh againſt Purgatory, praying to Saints and Images, about the time that Maſter Latimer began firſt to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur, forty ſeven yeares agoe, or thereabout; inſomuch that many embracing the truth of Chriſts Goſpell, againſt the ſayd Purgatory and other points, and the number of them dayly increaſing, the adverſaries began to ſtirre againſt him, inſomuch that M. Bate (who afterward became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach againſt the ſaid Thomas Roſe, and ſo did. This notwithſtanding he continued ſtill very vehement againſt Images, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his labours, that many began to deviſe how to deface and deſtroy them, and eſpecially foure men, whoſe names were, Ro. King, Ro. Debnam, Nich Marſh, and Ro. Gard, which uſually reſorted to his ſermons, and upon his preaching were ſo inflamed with zeale, that ſhortly after they adventured to deſtroy the Roode of Dover court, which coſt three of them their lives, as appeareth before. The three perſons which

ſuffered

Three offered to have their lives ſaved, to accuſe Thom. Roſe, but would not.

ſuffered, and were hanged in chaines, were offered their lives, to have accuſed the ſaid Thom. Roſe, as of counſell with them, which refuſed ſo to do, and therefore ſuffered. The ſaid Thomas Roſe had the coat of the ſaid Roode brought unto him afterward, who burned it. The Roode was ſaid to have done many great miracles and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the fire could not help himſelfe, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was.

Thom. Roſe arreſted by a Sergeant at Armes.

At this time there were two ſore enemies in Hadley. Walter Clerke, and John Clerke, two brethren: theſe complained to the Councell, that an hundred men were not able to fetch the ſaid Thomas Roſe out of Hadley, who then was, upon examination of his doctrine, committed to the Commiſſaries keeping. And indeede ſuch was the zeale of a number towards the truth then in that Towne, that they were much offended that their Miniſter was ſo taken from them, and had therefore by force fet him from the Commiſſary, if certaine wiſe men had not otherwiſe perſwaded, which at length alſo with more quiet did ſet him in his office againe: which thing ſo angred the two brethren, Walter Clerke, and John Clerke, that they complained to the Councell, as is aforeſaid, whereupon a Sergeant at Armes, named Cartwright, was ſent from the Councell, who arreſted the ſaid Thomas Roſe, and brought him before the Councell. Then his adverſaries being called, they laid to his charge, that hee was privy of the burning of the Roode of Dover court, and upon this he was committed to priſon in the Biſhop of Lincolnes houſe in Holborne, Biſhop Langley the Kings Confeſſor, and there remained hee in priſon, from Shrovetide till Midſomer, very ſore ſtocked till after Eaſter.

The cruell handling of Tho. Roſe by the Papiſts.

Tho. Roſe ſet at liberty by D. Cranmers meanes.

The ſtocks were very high and great, ſo that day and night he did lie with his backe on the ground, upon a little ſtraw, with his heeles ſo high, that by meanes the bloud was fallen from his feet, his feet were almoſt without ſenſe for a long time, and he herewith waxed very ſicke, inſomuch that his keeper pitying his eſtate, and hearing him cry ſometime through the extremity of paine, went to the Biſhop, and told him that hee would not keep him to die under his hand, and upon this hee had ſome more eaſe and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to ſee him, but ſhe might not be ſuffered to ſpeake with the ſaid Thomas Roſe her ſon (ſuch was their cruelty) but the Biſhop flattered her, and gave her a paire of pardon beads and bade her goe home and pray, for ſhe might not ſee him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the mother and ſonne, not a little. At this time alſo certaine men of Hadley, very deſirous to ſee him, travelled to ſpeake with him, but might not be ſuffered, till at length they gave the Keeper 4 s. and yet then might not ſpeake to him, or ſee him otherwiſe than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midſomer in priſon there. Then was he removed to Lambeth, in the firſt yeare of Doctor Cranmers conſecration, who uſed him much more courteouſly than ever the Biſhop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and ſet him at liberty: but yet ſo, that he was bound not to come within 20. miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the Goſpel halfe a yeare, till Hadley men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley againe, and indeed, by means of Sir John Rainford Knight, obtained at the Archbiſhops houſe to have him thither: Howbeit, by meanes one was placed in the Cure at Hadley, hee could not enjoy his office againe there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three yeares, till at length the adverſaries procured an inhibition from the Biſhop of Norwich, to put him to ſilence. But a great number travelled to have him continue in preaching, and ſubſcribed a Supplication to the Archbiſhop, with ſevenſcore hands, who under their ſeales alſo teſtified of his honeſt demeanor, ſo that the adverſaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolke, ſo that he was conſtrained to flee to London, and to uſe the ayd of the Lord Audley, then Lord Chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certaine examination of the matter, did ſet him free, and did ſend him by a token to the Lord Cromwell, then Lord privy Seale, for a licence from the King to preach: which thing obtained by the Lord Cromwell his meanes (who hereupon alſo had admitted the ſaid Thomas Roſe his Chaplaine) forthwith he was ſent into Lincolneſhire and to Yorke. In the meane time ſuch complaint was made to the Duke of Northfolke, for that he had preached againſt auricular confeſſion, tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch other points contained in the ſix Articles (which then to have done, by law was death) that the Duke in his owne perſon not onely ſought him at Norwich, but alſo beſet all the havens for him, from Yarmouth to London, and being Lievtenant commanded, that whoſoever could take the ſaid Thomas Roſe, ſhould hang him on the next tree. Howbeit, the ſaid Thomas Roſe at his comming home, having warning hereof by certaine godly perſons, was conveighed away, and paſſed over into Flanders, and ſo to Germany unto Zuricke, where a time he remained with Maſter Bullinger, and afterward went to Baſill, and there hoſted with Maſter Grineus, till letters came that Maſter Doctor Barnes ſhould bee Biſhop of Norwich, and things ſhould be reformed and hee reſtored. But when he came into England again, it was nothing ſo, and therefore forthwith fled againe beyond the ſeas, being ſo beſet, as if the mighty providence of God had not ſent him in a readineſſe to receive him the ſelfe ſame man, boat and boy that before carried him over, it had not been poſſible for him to have eſcaped. But ſuch was the goodneſſe of God towards him, that he ſafely was conveighed, and lived at Barow the ſpace of three yeares, till at length purpoſing to come over into England, about buſineſſe that hee had, he, his wife, and their childe, being but a yeare and three quarters old, upon the ſea, the ſhip being in great danger, wherein they ſayled (for the maſt being hewn down in that perill, they were carried whitherſoever the waves toſſed them,) they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken priſoners, and carried into Deepe in France, having all their ſtuffe taken from them, and forty pound in mony. There they remained priſoners from Michaelmas till Hallontide, in great heavineſſe, not knowing what would become of them, but depending onely upon Gods providence. It pleaſed God at the ſame time, that one M. Young of the towne of Rye (who had heard him preach before) came thither for the redeeming of certaine Engliſhmen there taken priſoners. This M. Young moved to ſee them in this caſe, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ranſome, and ſo he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye, and from thence by ſtealth came they to London. At length the honourable Earle of Suſſex, hearing of the ſaid Tho. Roſe, ſent for him, his wife, and his childe, and had them to his houſe at Attleborough, where they continued, till at length it was blazed abroad, that the Earle was a maintainer of ſuch a man to

Thom. Roſe Chaplaine to the Lord Cromwell.

The mighty providence of God in preſerving Tho. Roſe from his enemies.

Thom. Roſe againe delivered.

reade in his houſe, as had preached againſt the Catholike faith (as they terme it.) The Earle being at the Parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warne him to make ſhift for himſelfe, and to avoid. So that from thence he paſſed to London, making ſtraight ſhifts for a yeare there and ſomewhat more, till the death of King Henry. After the Kings death, he and others which in the Kings generall pardon were excepted (and therefore dead men, if they had beene taken whilſt King Henry lived) by certaine of the Councell were ſet at liberty, and at length, after King Edward was crowned, were licenſed to preach againe by the King; who gave unto the ſaid Thomas Roſe, the Benefice of Weſtham by London. But at the death of that vertuous and noble Prince, he was deprived of all, and ſo ſhould alſo have beene of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London ſecretly, as their teacher in the Congregation, amongſt whom for the poore priſoners at their aſſemblies x li. a night oftentimes was gathered. And thus he continued amongſt them, and with the Lady Iane almoſt a yeare in the raigne of Queene Mary. But although he oftentimes eſcaped ſecretly whileſt he read to the godly in ſundry places of London, yet at length through a Iudas that betrayed them, he with 35. that were with him, were taken in Bow Church-yard at a Sheremans houſe on New yeares day at night being Tueſday. The reſidue being committed to priſons, the ſaid Thomas Roſe was had to the biſhop of Wincheſter Stephen Gardiner, but the Biſhop would not ſpeake with him that night, but committed him to the Clinke till Tueſday after.

Thom. Roſe apprehended.

The firſt examination of Thomas Roſe, before Winch. at S. Mary Overies.

The firſt examination of Tho. Roſe.

ON Thurſday being brought before the B. of Wincheſter, at S. Mary Overies, the ſaid Thomas Roſe ſpake as followeth.

Roſe. It maketh mee to marvell (my Lord, quoth he) that I ſhould be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath bin eſtabliſhed, and by the lawes of this Realme allowed, and by your owne writing ſo notably, in your booke De vera obedientia, confirmed.

Biſh. Ah ſirra, haſt thou gotten that?

Roſe. Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and doe confeſſe my ſelfe much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of the ſupremacy, againſt the Biſhop of Romes uſurped authority, no man hath ſaid further. And as I remember, you confeſſe in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the ſcales to fall from your eies.

Biſh. Thou lieſt like a varlet, there is no ſuch thing in my booke, but I ſhall handle thee and ſuch as thou art well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or elſe I will make thee a foot longer.

Roſe. My Lord, you ſhall doe as much as pleaſeth God, and no more, yet the law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At theſe words one of his ſervants ſtepped forth, and ſaid, My Lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich in Sir Iohn Robſters houſe, and in his prayer he deſired God to turne Queen Maries heart, or elſe to take her out of the world; and this was in King Edwards time.

Roſe. My Lord I made no ſuch praier, but next after the King I prayed for her after this ſort, ſaying, Yee ſhall pray for my Lady Maries grace, that God will vouchſafe to endue her with his ſpirit, that ſhe graciouſly may perceive the myſteries contained within his holy lawes, and ſo render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true aud loyall obedience to her ſoveraigne Lord and King, to the good enſample of the inferiour ſubjects. And this, my Lord, is already anſwered in mine owne hand writing to the Councell. Unto this he ſaid little, but turning his face to certain that were by him; This is he (quoth the Biſhop) that my Lord of Norwich told me had begotten his maid with childe.

Thom. Roſe belied of Winch.

Roſe. This is no hereſie, my Lord, although it bee a lie. Indeed certaine wicked perſons raiſed this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgation of my ſelfe herein I had no leſſe than ſixe of the Councels hands, that there might be due and diligent examination for this matter in the countrey by men of worſhip appointed for that purpoſe, who can all teſtifie (I thanke God) that I am moſt cleere from ſuch wickedneſſe, and indeed they have cleered me from it, and therefore I doubt not, but all good men will eſpy the miſchievous device of mine adverſaries, which (when other wayes fayled) by ſuch ſiniſter means went about to draw me into diſcredit and hatred: but God which is the helper of the innocent, and ſearcher of mens hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were had, to their ſhame. One of the chiefe reporters of this, that I ſhould ſo abuſe my ſelfe, was one M. Clarke, ſervant and in ſome eſtimation with the old Lord Treaſurer of England, reputed and taken for a Conjurer, who afterward for his good demerites hanged himſelfe in the Tower. Then the Biſhop commanded that I ſhould be carried to the tower, and kept ſafely, where I did lie till it was the weeke before Whitſontide. After which time I was twice called, when as the Biſhop came to the Tower about other priſoners. Notwithſtanding, the Biſhop had no great talke with mee, but ſpake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir Richard Southwell, Knight, ſtill accuſed me for my prayer, and ſaid I did put a difference betwixt Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in King Edwards faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the Biſhop ſaid little. But in the weeke before Pentecoſt, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the Biſhop and his Clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

Thom. Roſe cleere from Wincheſters ſlander.

Thom. Roſe committed to the Tower.

The ſecond examination of Thom. Roſe before the Biſhop of Norwich, Hopkins by name, in his own Palace, in the preſence of ſir W. Woodhouſe knight, M. Steward the Chancellor, D. Barret, with dives others, the Wedneſday in Whitſon weeke, Anno Dom. 1553.

The 2. examination of Th. Roſe before the Biſh. of Norwich.

AFter I was preſented by my Keeper, the Biſhop immediately aſked mee what I was. I told him I had been a Miniſter.

Biſh. What is this to the purpoſe, were yee a Frier or a Prieſt?

Roſe. Frier was I never, but a Prieſt have I bin, and beneficed by the Kings Majeſty.

Biſh. Where were ye made Prieſt?

Roſe. In Exeter, in the County where I was borne. Then the Biſhop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of mee not greatly regarded.

Biſh. Well, you are ſent to me to be examined; what ſay you, will you ſubmit your ſelfe to the order of the Church of England?

Roſe. My Lord, I truſt I am not out of the order of Chriſts Church in England, neither do I know my ſelfe an offendor there againſt.

Biſh. What? yes, ye have here preached moſt damnable and devilliſh doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord. The doctrine by me here preached was both true, ſincere, and holy. But indeed the doctrine that is now ſet forth, is moſt wicked & damnable, yea, and that both againſt Gods lawes and mans. But as for the doctrine by mee preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, ſet out alſo by the authority of two moſt mighty kings, with the conſent of all the Nobility and Clergy of the ſame: ſo that I preached nothing but their lawfull proceedings, having their lawfull authority under their broad Seales for confirmation of the ſame, for which my doing ye cannot juſtly charge me. For why, ſithence the law ceaſed, I have kept ſilence, ſo that the Councell which ſent me unto you have not charged mee therewith. Wherefore ye doe me open wrong to burden mee with that wherein I am free.

Chan. What ſir? ye are very captious; anſwereſt thou my Lord after ſuch a ſort?

Roſe. Sir (ſaid I) I anſwer for my ſelfe, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chan. Thou art an evill man. Waſt thou not abjured before now?

Roſe. No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wiſe able to prove that which ye have ſpoken: ſo that your words appeare to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deſerved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an inſtrument to utter other mens malice conceived of old.

Chan. What ſayeſt thou to the reall preſence in the Sacrament?

Roſe. I wiſt right well yee were made an inſtrument to ſeek innocent bloud: well ye may have it, if God permit, it is preſent and at hand, for I am not come hither to lie, but to die (if God ſee it good) in defence of that which I have ſaid. Wherefore ye may begin when ye ſhall thinke good, for I have ſaid nothing but the truth, and that which in thoſe daies was of all men allowed for truth, and againſt the which ye at that time durſt not once whiſper, although ye now brag never ſo much.

Biſh. Well father Roſe, ſaid hee, whatſoever hath been done in times paſt, ſhall not now bee called in queſtion, ſo that yee now ſubmit your ſelfe. For, not only you, but all the whole Realme hath been out of the right way, both high and low, ſpirituall and temporall, but all notwithſtanding have ſubmitted themſelves and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore if yee will be accounted for an Engliſhman, ye muſt likewiſe ſubmit your ſelfe.

How Thom. Roſe ſubmitted himſelfe.

Roſe. My Lord, I am an Engliſhman borne, and doe muſt humbly require of the Chriſtian Congregation of England, to bee counted as a particular member of the ſame, and with all due reverence ſubmit my ſelfe as in the forme and manner following: That whatſoever law or laws ſhall be ſet forth in the ſame for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſts true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Apoſtles, with the faithfull Fathers of Chriſts primitive church, I doe not only hold it and beleeve it, but alſo moſt reverently obey it. At which my aſſertion, the B. ſeemed to be greatly rejoyced, and ſaid, Well, then we ſhall ſoone be at a point. But ſaid he, you ſhall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, ſo that ye ſhall now depart and pawſe your ſelfe, untill we call for you againe, and ſo ended our firſt meeting.

The third examination of Tho. Roſe.

The 3. examination of Tho. Roſe.

On the Friday following, I was called again into Chriſts church within their ladies chappell (as they termed it, where was gathered a great part of the whole City of Norwich, and after I was by my keeper preſented, the B. began with a great proteſtation, and after many words demanded of mee whether according to my former promiſe I would ſubmit my ſelfe or no? I anſwered as before I had done, that according to my former proteſtation, I would moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the Chancellor, to utter his gentleneſſe, I thinke ye do but faine.

Roſe. The fault then (ſaid I) ſhall be in your ſelfe, and not in me. For if ye burthen me with nothing but Scriptures, and the Fathers of Chriſts Primitive Church, then as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay againe, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chan. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of England, your mother here for a triall of obedience provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you to receive this little gift at her hand.

Roſe. Forſooth ſaid I, if ſhe offer it me, as received of God my father, I ſhall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true & ghoſtly mother.

Auricular confeſſion.

Chan. What ſay you to eare confeſſion? Is it not a law Eccleſiaſticall and neceſſary for the Church of England?

Roſe. Some waies it might be permitted, and ſome wayes not, and that becauſe it had not his originall of God and his bleſſed word; and yet I deny not, but that a man being troubled in his conſcience, and reſorting to a diſcreet, ſober and Chriſtian learned man for the quieting of his minde, might well be permitted: but to bind a man under paine of damnation, once every yeare to number his ſins into the eares of a filthy lecherous prieſt, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word.

Biſh. A ſirrah, yee will admit nothing but Scripture, I ſee well.

Nothing but Scripture to be admitted for the regiment of the ſoule.

Roſe. No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the regiment of the ſoule: for why, faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, and where the word of God is not, there ought no beliefe to be given. For whatſoever is not of faith is ſin: and here they left off ſpeaking any more of that matter.

But then M. Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, ſaying, Yea, but you have preached that the reall, naturall and ſubſtantiall preſence of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar: what ſay ye to that?

Roſe. Verily, I ſay, that you are a bloudy man, and ſeeke to quench your thirſt with the bloud of an innocent, and therefore to ſatisfie you in that behalfe, I ſay verily unto you, that even ſo I have here preached: and although contrary to law, you charge me with the ſame, yet will I in no wiſe deny it, though juſtly I might do it, but ſtand thereunto, even to ſeale it with my bloud, deſiring all that be here preſent, to teſtifie the ſame, and beleeve it as the only truth.

Biſh. I charge you all beleeve it not.

Roſe. Yea, but my Lord (ſaid I) if ye will needs have credence given you, you muſt bring Gods word to maintaine your ſayings.

Biſh. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? and can there be any plainer words ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true my Lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even ſo be theſe, whereas it is ſaid, I am a doore, a vine, & Chriſt called a ſtone, a Lyon, and yet is he naturally none of theſe: for they be all figurative ſpeeches, as both the Scriptures and fathers do ſufficiently prove.

At which my ſaying, the biſhop would have had me ſtay, ſaying, I ſhould have another day, wherein I might take better adviſement.

Tranſubſtantiation and reall preſence againſt the Scriptures & the antient fathers of the Primitive Church.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord, ſaid I, for I am at a full point with my ſelfe in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your tranſubſtantiation, with the reall preſence, to be againſt the Scriptures and the antient fathers of the Primitive Church. For Juſtinus, which is one of the antienteſt writers that ever wrote upon the ſacraments, writeth in his ſecond Apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the Sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purpoſely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therfore be called Euchariſtia, and alſo have the names of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and that it is not lawfull for any man to eat and drinke of them, but ſuch as profeſſe the Religion of Chriſt, and live alſo according to their profeſſion: and yet (ſaith he) the ſame bread and drinke is changed into our fleſh and bloud, nouriſheth our bodies. By which ſaying it is evident, that Juſtine meant, that the bread and wine remaine ſtill, or elſe they could not have been turned into our fleſh and bloud, and nouriſh our bodies. At which my ſaying they were not a little troubled, but inforced themſelves, to have denied the Doctor, and would ſuffer mee to ſpeake no more, but ſtraightway was I carried away unto my lodging: and ſo ended the ſecond day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitſon weeke, and then was I appointed to appeare againe on the Munday following. Howbeit, upon what occaſion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wedneſday, which was Corpus Chriſti Even.

His talke with the Earle of Suſſex, Sir William Woodhouſe, and the Biſhops Chaplaines.

IN the meane time the Biſhop ſent two of his Chaplaines to mee, with whom I had communication about the reall preſence: and after long reaſoning to and fro concerning this point, at length I drave them to this iſſue, whether they did confeſſe that Chriſt in the ſelfe ſame body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he ſuffered and roſe againe, doe in the ſelfe ſame body, naturally, ſubſtantiall, and really ſit at the right hand of God the Father, without returne from thence, untill the day of the generall judgement or not? Whereunto they anſwered, Yes truely, ſaid they, wee confeſſe it, hold it, and beleeve it. Then I againe demanded of them, whether they did affirme, after the words pronounced by the Miniſter, there to remaine fleſh, bloud, bones, haire, nailes, as is wont moſt groſſely to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation anſwered, That they did not onely abhorre the teaching of ſuch groſſe doctrine, but alſo would deteſt themſelves, if they ſhould ſo thinke,

The Papiſts affirme the reall body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, but they know not how.

At which two principall points, wherein they fully condemned my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoyced, but marvellouſly encouraged, Whereupon I demanded again of them, what manner of body they then affirmed to be in the Sacrament? Forſooth (ſaid they) not a viſible, palpable, or circumſcriptable body, for that is allwaies at the Fathers right hand: but in the Sacrament it is inviſible, and can neither be felt, ſeen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of Gods word they know not how.

And for this they brought in Saint Auguſtine, although of them not truly underſtood, yet would they admit none other ſenſe than their owne, but would take upon them to confirme it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin: ſo that I perceiving their obſtinacy in that behalfe, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Doctor Barret, whom I alſo found of the ſame judgement in that behalfe. For (ſaid he) if ye would diſſent from the fathers of the Primitive Church in this behalfe, of which Saint Auguſtine is one, yet ſhall ye be counted to die out of the favor of God. Well, all this their obſtinacy and blaſphemous errors imprinted and deepely weighed in my minde, I gave them all over, and the more quietly to bring them to confeſſe that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtation, a preſence, although not as they ſuppoſed.

After all this, came there unto me the honourable Earle of Suſſex, and that gentle Knight, Sir William Woodhouſe, with great perſwaſions: unto whom I ſaid, after long talke, that I would doe all that I might, ſaving my conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute, and no more I have, as knoweth God by whom all men muſt be judged.

His laſt appearance before the Biſhop.

The laſt appeacance of Thom. Roſe before the Biſhop.

NOw to come to my laſt appearance, after I was before the Biſhop preſented, hee forthwith demanded of me, whether I were reſolved, as hee had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, that even as allwaies I had ſaid before, even ſo I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable Earle of Suſſex was there. Wherewith ſome, which would be counted great Goſpellers, were (contrary to all Chriſtianity) ſore offended. Then I ſaid, that whatſoever Lawes were ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſts true Religion, and that according to the doctrine of Chriſts holy Apoſtles, and the faithfull Fathers of the Primitive Church. I did not onely obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and beleeve them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I ſaid, that if any thing could juſtly be proved by Gods holy Word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruely, either for lacke of learning, ſlide of tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge when it ſhall juſtly be tried and examined by the ſame. I ſhall not refuſe (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the ſame. Provided allwaies, the Word of God herein to be judge.

All this ſpake I (as God knoweth) to keepe them from ſuſpecting that which I went about, and that they ſhould have none occaſion to judge mee of obſtinacy. Then ſaid I moreover, All you muſt of force confeſſe, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, beſides the authority of Gods eternall verity, the authority of two moſt noble and mighty Princes, with the advice and counſell of all the Nobility and Clergy of the ſame, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open diſputations in both the Univerſities, enacted alſo by Parliament with the conſent of the whole body and commons of the ſame, and that without any reſiſtance or gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a Religion moſt pure and perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely preached by the principall Biſhops and Doctors, and that before the Kings Majeſties perſons; and I, as one being called to that office, did the like with all the reſt, and in the zeale of God, and with a pure conſcience did ſet forth the ſame as the onely and abſolute truth of God, and the juſt and moſt true proceedings of my Soveraigne Lord and King:

and I had then my head at that preſent even wher it now ſtandeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the only and abſolate truth, and a thing unto me moſt deſireable and well willing, without any deſire to heare the contrary, till now through this my captivity I am compelled to heare the contrary part ſpeake, who are even here preſent, and which my Lord ſent unto me.

Of whom, after long diſputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, whitch I never before had heard; and therfore muſt confeſſe mine owne ignorance in the ſame. For (quoth I) after I had inforced theſe men here preſent (meaning the Biſhops two Chaplaines) to confeſſe Ieſus Chriſts naturall body with his full complete members in due order and proportion of a perfect mans body to be preſent at the right hand of God the Father, and that without returne from thence, untill the laſt Iudgement, and alſo that after the words pronounced by the Prieſt, there remaineth no ſuch groſſe preſence of fleſh, bloud, bones, haire, and nailes, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be preſent, they ſaid; A body inviſible by the omnipotency of Gods Word, which neither can be felt nor ſeene, nor that hath any diſtinction of members, but ſuch a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; neceſſity compeld me to confeſſe mine ignorance in that behalfe, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they ſhould ſo do. For by this their confeſſion, and my ſilence, afterward I perceived their horrible blaſphemies.

And me thought in this I had well diſcharged at that time my conſcience, in cauſing them in open audience to confeſſe the ſame, and ſo I granted a preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed.

For only I ſaid, that Chriſt after the words pronounced, is preſent in the lawfull uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper; which thing I never denied, nor any godly man that ever I heard of. For (ſaid I) Euſebius Emiſſenus, a man of ſingular fame and learning, about 300. yeares after Chriſts aſcenſion, ſaith, That the converſion of the viſible creatures of bread and wine into the body and bloud of Chriſt, is like unto our converſion in Baptiſme. where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly by the mighty working of the holy Ghoſt, which faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the heart ⁊ mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, Acts 2. By which he ſo pierced their conſciences, that they openly with moſt earneſt repentance confeſſed their ſins, ſaying; Men and brethren, what ſhall we doe? Repent, and be baptiſed every one of you (ſaid Peter) in the name of Ieſus Chriſt; ſo that at this Sermon there were turned unto Chriſt three thouſand perſons; in whom Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner (ſaid I) is Chriſt preſent in the lawfull uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſaid, according to the truth, that Chriſt dwelt in every one of theſe perſons rehearſed, yet meant I nothing leſſe than that hee in them ſhould have a groſſe, carnall, or fleſhly dwelling.

How Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or ſpiritually to be in the Sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtation, that is, to the ſpirituall nouriſhment of all ſuch as worthily come unto that holy Supper, receiving it according to his holy inſtitution.

And thus I ended; which the Papiſts moſt maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly named a recantation; which I never meant, nor thought (as God knoweth.)

Now after I had thus concluded my ſpeech, the Biſhop taking me by the hand, ſaid; Father Roſe, you may be a worthy inſtrument in Gods Church, and we will ſee to you at our comming home (for he was about to take his journey in viſitation of his Dioceſſe) and they feared much at this very time, leſt Queene Mary ſhould have miſcarried in childe-travell, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with childe, ſo that they were not ſo fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of ſome ſtirre, if I ſhould have ſuffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, ſo that by any colourable meanes for their owne diſcharge it might be; ſo the night following I was onely committed to mine owne lodging.

On the morrow, when the Biſhop was ready to ride forth in viſitation, hee called me before him, and perceiving that Sir W. Woodhouſe did beare me great favor, ſaid, hee was ſorry for mee and my expences; and therefore wiſhed that I were ſome where, where I might ſpend no more money, till his returne. Why, my Lord (quoth Sir William Woodhouſe) hee ſhall have meat and drinke, and lodging with me, till you returne againe, ſeeing you now breake up houſe; and hereupon I went home with Sir William that good Knight, who moſt gently entertained mee, and I had great liberty. Upon this the Papiſticall Prieſts of the Colledge of Chriſts Church in Norwich, for that they ſaw me at liberty in Sir Williams abſence (who alſo was then from home a fortnight) blazed it abroad, that Sir William was bounden for me in *body* and lands. At his comming home therefore I aſked Sir William if he were ſo bounden for me; and he denied it. Then ſaid I; Sir, but for reverence I beare to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you ere this. But I truſt now Sir, ſeeing you be not bound for me, I may goe viſit my friends. Goe where you will, ſaid Sir William, for (quoth he) I told the Biſhop I would not be his Iaylor, but promiſed onely meate, drinke, and lodging for you. Shortly after, upon the device of ſome friends, I was cloſely conveighed to a friends houſe, where almoſt a moneth I was ſecretly kept, till rumours were over. For at the Biſhops returne ſearching was for me, inſomuch as all houſes, where it was knowne I had been acquainted, were ſearched, and the Ships at Yarmouth.

Pop. Prieſts love to blaze abroad lies.

At the length the Biſhop ſent to a Conjurer, to know of him which way I was gone, and he anſwered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was paſſed over a ſmall water, and was hid by a bleſſed woman and godly woman (which lived in a poore cottage) the ſpace of three weeks, till all the great heate was over.

Then was I conveighed to London, and from thence paſſed over the ſeas, where I lived till the death of Queene Mary, and till that it pleaſed God for the comfort of his Church, and reſtoring of all poore exiles and priſoners for his names ſake, to bleſſe this Realme with the government of our noble Queene, whom God to the glory of his owne name, and the defence of his Church, according to his good will and pleaſure, long preſerve and continue over us.

Anno 1558.

A briefe diſcourſe concerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend Father in God, Doctor Sands, firſt Biſhop of Worceſter, next of London, and now Archbiſhop of Yorke.

KIng Edward died, the world being unworthy of him, the Duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having Commiſſion to proclaime Lady Jane Quéene, and by power to ſuppreſſe Lady Mary, who tooke upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed Quéene in Northfolke. The Duke ſent for Doctor Sands, being Vicechancellor for Doctor Parker, for Doctor Bill, and Maſter Leaver to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpéeches hee ſaid; Maſters, pray for us, that we ſpéed well: if not, you ſhall be made Biſhops, & we Deacons. And even ſo it came to paſſe, Doctor Parker, and D. Sands were made Biſhops, and he and Sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made Deacons, ere it was long after on the tower hill. D. Sands being Vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an auditory, and to ſpeak of ſuch a matter; yet he refuſed not the thing, but went into his chamber, and ſo to bed. He roſe at thrée of the clocke in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and after that hee he had prayed a good ſpace, hee ſhut his eies, and holding his Bible before him, earneſtly prayed to God, that it might fall open, where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to intreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the firſt chahter of Joſuah, where he found ſo convenient a péece of Scripture for that time, that the like hee could not have choſen in all the Bible. His Text was thus: Reſponderuntque Ioſuæ atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepiſti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miſeris ibimus: ſicut obedivimus in cunctis Moſi, ita obediemus & tibi, tantum ſit dominus Deus tuus tecum ſicut fuit cum Moſe: qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis ſermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur; tu tantum confortare & viriliter age. Who ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as named themſelves the State, and withall, the Auditory, the time and other circumſtances he ſhall eaſily ſée that this Text moſt fitly ſerved for the purpoſe. And as God gave the Text, ſo gave hee ſuch order and utterance, as pulled many teares out of the eie of the biggeſt of them.

In the time of his Sermon one of the Guard lift up to him into the Puluit a maſſe booke and a Graile, which Sir George Haward with certain of the Guard had taken that night in Maſter Hurleſtones houſe, where Lady Mary had béen a little before, and there had maſſe. The Duke, with the reſt of the Nobility, required Doctor Sands to put his Sermon in writing, and appointed Maſter Leaver to goe to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one day and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Maſter Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As hee was delivering of it, one of the Beadles, named M. Adams, came wéeping to him, and prayed him to ſhift for himſelfe, for the Duke was retyred, and Quéene Mary proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gave the Sermon written to Maſter Layfield. Maſter Leaver departed home, and hee went to dinner to one Maſter Mores a Bedle, his great friend. At the dinner, Miſtreſſe Mores ſéeing him merry and pleaſant (for hee had ever a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke unto him, ſaying; Maſter Vicechancellor, I drinke unto you, for this is the laſt time that I ſhall ſée you. And ſo it was; for ſhee was dead before Doctor Sands returned out of Germany. The Duke that night retired to Cambridge, and ſent for Doctor Sands to goe with him to the Market place to proclaime Quéene Mary. The Duke caſt up his cap with others, and ſo laughed, that the teares ran downe his chéekes for griefe. He told Doctor Sands that Quéene Mary was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had ſent unto her to know her pleaſure, and looked for a generall pardon. Doctor Sands anſwered; My life is not deare unto me, neither have I done or ſaid any thing that urgeth my conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the State, I have inſtructions warranted by the ſubſcription of ſixtéene Counſellors, neither can ſpéech be treaſon, neither yet have I ſpoken further than the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Realme doe warrant me, come of mee what God will. But be you aſſured, you ſhall never eſcape death; for if ſhe would ſave you, thoſe that now ſhall rule, will kill you.

That night the Guard apprehended the Duke, and certaine Groomes of the Stable were as buſie with Doctor Sands, as if they would take a priſoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Doctor Sands his houſe, ſharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Doctor Sands, by the advice of Sir Jhhn Cates, walked in the fields. In the meane time the Univerſity, contrary to all order, had met together in conſultation, and ordered that Doctor Mouſe and Doctor Hatcher ſhould repaire to Doctor Sands lodging, and fet away the Statute booke of the Univerſity, the keyes, and ſuch other things that were in his kéeping, and ſo they did: for Doctor Mouſe being an earneſt Proteſtant the day before, and one whom Doctor Sands had done much for, was now become a Papiſt, and his great enemy. Certaine of the Univerſity had appointed a congregation at afternoone. As the bell rang to it, Doctor Sands commeth out of the fields, and ſending for the Bedles, asketh what the matter meaneth, and required them to wait upon him to the Schooles, according to their duty. So they did. And ſo ſoon as Doctor Sands, the Bedles going before him, came into the regent houſe and tooke his chaire: One M. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned Papiſts, went into a by-ſchoole, and conſpired together to pull him out of his chaire, and to uſe violence unto him. Doct. Sands began his Oration, expoſtulating with the Univerſity, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had ſaid nothing in his Sermon, but that he was ready to juſtifie, and that their caſe was all one with his: For they had not onely concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

And thus while he remembred unto them how beneficiall hee had béen to the Univerſity, and their unthankfulneſſe to him againe, in commeth Maſter Mitch with his conſpirators about twenty in number. One laieth hand upon the chaire, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him Traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they uſed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as Gods enemies, if Doctor Bill & Doctor Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for Gods ſake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to beare that great offered wrong. He was perſwaded by them, and after that tumult was ceaſed, he ended his Oration, and having ſome money of the Univerſities in his hand, hee there delivered the ſame every farthing. He gave up the bookes, reckonings, and keyes pertaining to the Univerſity, and withall yeelded up his office, praying God to give the Univerſity a better Officer, and to give them better and more thankfull hearts, and ſo repaired home to his own Colledge.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one M. Gerningham, and one M. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him that it was the Queenes pleaſure that two of the Guard ſhould attend upon him, and that he muſt be carried priſoner to the Tower of London, with the Duke. M. Mildmay ſaid, hee marvelled that a learned man would ſpeake ſo unadviſedly againſt ſo good a Prince, and wilfully runne into ſuch danger. Doctor Sands anſwered; I ſhall not be aſhamed of bonds, but if I could doe as M. Mildmay can, I needed not to feare bonds. For he came downe in paiment againſt Queene Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in paiment for Queene Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this ſort.

Upon this, his ſtable was robbed of foure notable good Geldings, the beſt of them Maſter Huddleſtone tooke for his owne ſaddle, and rode on him to London in his ſight. An Inventory was taken of all his goods by Maſter More Bedle for the Univerſity. He was ſet upon a lame horſe that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that hee might lend him a negge. The Yeomen of the Guard were contented. As he departed forth at the townes end, ſome Papiſts reſorted thither to geere at him; ſome of his friends to mourne for him. Hee came in the ranke to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Biſhops gate, one like a milke-wife hurled a ſtone at him, and hit him on the breaſt, with ſuch a blow, that he was like to fall off his horſe. To whom he mildly ſaid; Woman, GOD forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evill intreating ſo mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-ſtreete, one woman ſtanding in her doore, cried; Fie on thee thou Knave, thou Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretike. Whereat he ſmiled. Looke, the deſperate Heretike (ſaith ſhe) laugheth at this geere. A woman on the other ſide of the ſtreet anſwered, ſaying; Fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this Gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, neither yet the cauſe why he is thus intreated. Then ſhe ſaid; Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee ſtrength to ſtand in Gods cauſe even to the end. And thus he paſſed through fire and water into the Tower; the firſt priſoner that entred in that day, which was Saint James day. The Yeomen of the Guard tooke from him his borrowed nagge, and what elſe ſoever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a Bible, and ſome ſhirts, and ſuch like things. The Bible was ſent in to him, but the ſhirts and ſuch like ſerved the Yeomen of the Guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weekes in a bad priſon, he was lift up into Nuns bower a better priſon, where was put to him M. John Bradford.

At the day of Queene Maries Coronation their priſon doore was ſet open, ever ſhut before. One Maſter Mitchell his old acquaintance, which had been priſoner before in the ſame place, came in to him, and ſaid; Maſter Sands, there is ſuch a ſtirre in the Tower, that neither gates, doores, nor priſoners are looked to this day. Take my cloake, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may goe out of the gates without queſtioning, ſave your ſelfe, and let me doe as I may. A rare friendſhip; but he refuſed the offer, ſaying; I know no juſt cauſe why I ſhould be in priſon. And thus to doe were to make my ſelfe guilty. I will expect Gods good will, yet muſt I think my ſelfe moſt bounden unto you: and ſo Maſter Mitchell departed.

While Doctor Sands and Maſter Bradford were thus in cloſe priſon together 29. weekes, one John Bowler was their Keeper, a very perverſe Papiſt, yet by often perſwading of him, for hee would give eare, and by gentle uſing of him, at the length he began to miſlike Popery, and to favour the Goſpell, and was ſo perſwaded in true Religion, that on a Sunday when they had maſſe in the Chappell, he bringeth up a Service booke, a manchet, and a glaſſe of wine, and there Doctor Sands miniſtred the Communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their ſonne begotten in bonds. When Wyat was in armes, and the old Duke of Northfolke ſent forth with a power of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his complices, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, and Maſter Bradford were caſt into one priſon, and D. Sands with 9. other Preachers were ſent unto the Marſhalſea.

The Keeper of the Marſhalſea appointed to every Preacher, a man to lead him in the ſtreete; he cauſed them to goe far before, and he and Doctor Sands came behinde, whom hee would not leade, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Doctor Sands was knowne, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to ſtrengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples mindes were altered, Popery began to be unſavoury. After they paſſed the Bridge, the Keeper Thomas Way ſaid to Doctor Sands; I perceive the vaine people would ſet you forward to the fire. Ye are as vaine as they, if you being a young man will ſtand in your owne conceits, and preferre your owne knowledge before the judgement of ſo many worthy Prelates, antient, learned, and grave men as be in this Realme. If you ſo doe, you ſhall finde me as ſtraight a Keeper, as one that utterly miſliketh your Religion. Doctor Sands anſwered; I know my yeares young, and my learning ſmall, it is enough to know Chriſt crucified, and he hath learned nothing that ſeeth not the great blaſphemy that is in Popery. I will yeeld unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous Keepers. God may make you one. If not, I truſt he will give mee ſtrength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Way; Doe ye then minde to ſtand to your Religion? Yea, ſaith Doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Truly, ſaith the Keeper, I love you the better, I did but tempt you, What favor I can ſhew you ye ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall think my ſelfe happy, if I may die at the ſtake with you. The ſaid Keeper ſhewed Doct. Sands ever after all friendſhip; he truſted him to goe into the fields alone, and there met with Maſter Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found the like favour of his Keeper. He laid him in the beſt chamber in the houſe, he would not ſuffer the Knight Marſhals man to lay fetters on him, as others had. And at his requeſt he put M. Sanders in to him, to be his bed-fellow, and ſundry times ſuffered his wife, who was Maſter Sands daughter of Eſſex, a Gentlewoman beautifull both in body and ſoule, to reſort to him. There was great reſort to Doctor Sands and Maſter Sanders;

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Sanders; they had much mony offered them, but they would receive none. They had the Communion there three or foure times, and a great ſort of Communicants. Doctor Sands gave ſuch exhortation to the people (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many teares, and made the people abhorre the maſſe, and defie all Popery.

When Wyat with his army came into Southwarke, he ſent two Gentlemen into the Marſhalſea to Doctor Sands, ſaying, that Maſter Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates ſhould be ſet open for all the priſoners. He anſwered, tell M. Wyat, if this his riſing be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order, I will be diſcharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So anſwered M. Sanders, and the reſt of the Preachers, being there priſoners.

After that D. Sands had been 9. weekes priſoner in the Marſhalſea by the mediation of ſir Thomas Holcroft, then Knight Marſhall, he was ſet at liberty. Sir Thomas ſued earneſtly to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Doctor Gardiner, for his deliverance after many repulſes; but hee could not prevaile, except D. Sands would be one of their ſect, and then he could want nothing. Hee wrung out of him at laſt, that if the Queene could like of his deliverance, he would not be againſt it; for that was Sir Thomas his laſt requeſt. In the meane time he had procured two Ladies of the privy chamber to move the Queene in it; who was contented if the Biſhop of Wincheſter could like of it. The next time that the Biſhop went into the privy chamber to ſpeake with the Queene, M. Holcroft followed, and had his Warrant for D. Sands remiſſion ready, and prayed the two Ladies, when as the Biſhop ſhould take his leave, to put the Queen in minde of Doctor Sands. So they did, and the Queene ſaid; Wincheſter, what thinke you by D. Sands, is he not ſufficiently puniſhed? As it pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaith Wincheſter. That he ſpake, remembring his former promiſe to Maſter Holcroft, that hee would not be againſt D. Sands, if the Queene ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the Queene; Then truely, we would that he were ſet at liberty. Immediately Maſter Holcroft offered the Queene the Warrant. Who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called Wincheſter to put to his hand, and ſo he did. The Warrant was given to the Knight Marſhall againe, ſir Thomas Holcroft. As the Biſhop went forth of the privy chamber doore, he called M. Holcroft to him: Commanding him not to ſet Doctor Sands at liberty, untill he had taken ſureties of two Gentlemen of his countrey with him, every one bound in 500. pounds, that D. Sands ſhould not depart out of the realme without licence. Maſter Holcroft immediately after met with two Gentlemen of the North, friends and couſins to D. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the ſame day, Maſter Holcroft ſent for Doctor Sands to his lodging at Weſtminſter, requiring the Keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Maſter Holcroft alone walking in his Garden. Maſter Holcroft imparted his long ſute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to D. Sands: much rejoycing that it was his good hap to doe him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two ſureties, for not departing out of the Realme. Doctor Sands anſwered; I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to minde me ſo well, and I thinke my ſelfe moſt bound unto you. God ſhall requite, and I ſhall never be found unthankfull. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will alſo deal plainly with you. I came a free man into priſon. I will not goe forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, ſo will I not hurt them. And if I be ſet at liberty, I will not tarry ſix daies in this Realme, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, ſend me to the Marſhalſea againe, and there ye ſhall be ſure of me.

This anſwer much miſliked M. Holcroft: He told Doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would ſhortly come, the ſtate was but a cloud, and would ſoone ſhake away. And that his couſin Sir Edward Bray would gladly receive him and his wife into houſe, where hee ſhould never need to come at Church, and how the Lady Bray was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Popery. Adding, that hee would not ſo deale with him to loſe all his labour. When Doctor Sands could not be removed from his former ſaying, Maſter Holcroft ſaid; Seeing you cannot bee altered, I will change my purpoſe, and yeeld unto. Come of it what will, I will ſet you at liberty: And ſeeing you minde to goe over ſea, get you gone ſo quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for ſo you may undoe me. He friendly kiſſed Doctor Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the Keeper to take no fees of him, ſaying; Let me anſwer Wincheſter as I may. Doctor Sands returning with the Keeper to the Marſhalſea, tarried all night. There on the morrow, hee gave a dinner to all the priſoners, bade his bed-fellow, and ſworne ſtake-fellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God, Maſter Sanders farewell, with many teares and kiſſings, the one falling on the others necke, and ſo departed, cleerly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the bench, and there talked with M. Bradford and M. Farrar Biſhop of ſaint Davids, then priſoners. Then he comforted them, and they praiſed God for his happy deliverance. Hee went by Wincheſters houſe, and there took boate, and came to a friends houſe in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he ſhifted to another friends houſe, and there he learned that ſearch was made for him.

Doctor Watſon and Maſter Chriſtopherſon, comming to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, told him that he had ſet at liberty the greateſt Heretike in England, and one that had of all other moſt corrupted the Univerſity of Cambridge, Doctor Sands. Whereupon the Biſhop of Wincheſter, being Chancellor of England, ſent for all the Conſtables of London, commanding them to watch for Doctor Sands, who was then within the City, and to apprehend him, and whoſoever of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, hee ſhould have five pounds for his labour. Doctor Sands ſuſpecting the matter, conveighed himſelfe by night to one M. Barties houſe a ſtranger, who was in the Marſhalſea priſoner with him a while, he was a good Proteſtant, and dwelt in Marke Lane. There he was ſix daies, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurleſtone a ſkinner, dwelling in Cornhill; hee cauſed his man Quinting to provide two Geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Eſſex to Maſter Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurleſtones houſe, he had a paire of hoſe newly made that were too long for him. For while he was in the Tower, a Taylor was admitted him to make him a paire of hoſe. One came unto him, whoſe name was Benjamin, a good Proteſtant, dwelling in Bir-

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chin lane : he might not ſpeake to him, or come unto him to take meaſure of him, but onely looke upon his legge, he made the hoſe, and they were two inches too long. Theſe hoſe he prayed the goodwife of the houſe to ſend to ſome Taylor to cut them two inches ſhorter. The wife required the boy of the houſe to carry them to the next Taylor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God ſo provided) to goe to the next Taylor, which was Benjamin that made them, which alſo was a Conſtable, and acquainted with the Lord Chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hoſe. He ſaid, I am not thy Maſters Taylor. Saith the boy, becauſe you are our next neighbour, and my Maſters Taylor dwelleth far off, I came to you; for it is far nights, and he muſt occupy them timely in the morning. Benjamin tooke the hoſe, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-worke, and ſaid ; Theſe are not thy Maſters hoſe, but D.Sands, them I made in the Tower. The boy yeelded and ſaid, it was ſo. Saith he, Goe to thy Miſtreſſe, pray her to ſit up till 12. of the clocke, then I will bring the hoſe and ſpeake with D.Sands to his good.

At midnight the goodwife of the houſe, and Benjamin the Taylor commeth into D.Sands chamber : The wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their comming. He anſwered nothing can bee amiſſe ; what God will, that ſhall be done. Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hoſe, and by what good chance they now come to his hands. God uſed the meanes, that hee might admoniſh him of his perill, and adviſe him how to eſcape it, telling him that all the Conſtables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and ſome were ſo greedily ſet, that they prayed him, if he tooke him, to let them have the carriage of him to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and he ſhould have the five pound. Saith Benjamin, it is knowne that your man hath provided two Geldings, and that you minde to ride out at Algate to morrow, and there then you are ſure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by Gods grace ye ſhall eſcape their hands. Let your man walke all the day to morrow in the ſtreete where your horſes ſtand, booted and ready to ride. The goodmans ſervant of the houſe ſhall take the horſes, and carry them to Bednol greene. The goodman ſhall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke ; it is both Terme and Parliament time, here we will breake our faſt, and when the ſtreet is full, we will goe forth. Looke wildly, and if you meete your brother in the ſtreet, ſhun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Doctor Sands did, clothed like a Gentleman in all reſpects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in priſon out of the light, Benjamin carried him through Birchin lane, and from one Lane to another, till he came to Mooregate. There they went forth untill they came to Bednol green, where the horſes were ready, and M. Hurleſtone, to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with teares they kiſſed each other; he put his hand in his purſe, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet ſince D.Sands hath remembred him thankfully. Hee rode that night to his father in law M.Sands, where his wife was : he had not been there two houres, but it was told M.Sands, that there were two of the Guard which would that night apprehend Doctor Sands, and ſo they were appointed.

That night D.Sands was guided to an honeſt Farmer neere the ſea, where he tarried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all company. After that he ſhifted to one James Mower a Shipmaſter, who dwelt at Milton ſhore, where he expected winde for the Engliſh Fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him 40. or 50. Mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation ; they liked him ſo well, that they promiſed to die for it ere that he ſhould be apprehended.

The 6, of May, being Sunday, the winde ſerved. He tooke his leave of his Hoſt and Hoſteſſe, and went towards the ſhip. In taking his leave of his Hoſteſſe who was barren, and had bin married 8. yeares, he gave her a fine handkerchiefe and an old Royall of gold in it, thanking her much, and ſaid ; Be of good comfort, ere that an whole yeare be paſt, God ſhall give you a childe, a boy. And it came to paſſe, for that day twelve moneth lacking one day, God gave her a faire ſon.

At the ſhore Doct.Sands met with M. Iſaac of Kent, who had his eldeſt ſon there, who, upon the liking he had to D.Sands, ſent his ſon with him, who afterward died in his fathers houſe in Frankford. D.Sands and D.Coxe were both in one ſhip, being one Cockrels ſhip. They were within the kenning, when two of the Guard came thither to apprehend D.Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner to Maſter Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being Secretarie to the Engliſh houſe, and kinſman to Doctor Sands, came to him, and rouned him in his eare, and ſaid; King Philip hath ſent to make ſearch for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they roſe from their dinner in a marvellous great ſhower, and went out at the gate toward yͤ land of Cleve. They found a Wagon, and haſted away, & came ſafe to Auſburge in Cleveland, where D. Sands tarried 14. daies, and then journeyed towards Strauſborough, where after he had lived one yere, his wife came unto him. He fell ſore ſick of a fluxe, which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths doore. He had a childe which fell ſick of the Plague, and died. His wife at length fell ſicke of a Conſumption, and died in his armes ; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Maſter Sampſon went away to Emanuel, a man ſkilfull in Hebrew. Maſter Grindall went into the countrey to learne the Dutch tongue. Doctor Sands ſtill remained in Strauſborough, whoſe ſuſtentation then was chiefly from one Maſter Iſaac, who loved him moſt dearely, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that ſpace above an hundred markes, which ſumme the ſaid Doctor Sands paid him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlineſſe ſhewed himſelfe to bee a thankefull man. When his wife was dead, hee went to Zurike, and there was in Peter Martyrs houſe for the ſpace of 5. weeks. Being there, as they ſate at dinner, word ſuddenly came that Queene Mary was dead, & D.Sands was ſent for by his friends at Strauſborough. That newes made Maſter Martyr, and Maſter Jarret then there, very joyfull ; but Doctor Sands could not rejoyce, it ſmote into his heart that he ſhould be called to miſery.

Maſter Bullinger and the Miniſters feaſted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strauſborough where he preached ; and ſo Maſter Grindall and he came towards England, and came to London the ſame day that Queene Elizabeth was crowned.

Anno 1558.

A Complaint againſt ſuch as favoured the Goſpel in Ipſwich, exhibited to Queene *Maries* Councell, ſitting in Commiſſion at Beckles in Suffolke, the 18. of May, An. 1556. by Philip Williams, *alias* Footeman, Iohn Steward, and Mathew Butler, ſworne for the purpoſe.

The names of ſuch as fled out of the Towne, and lurked in ſecret places.

S. Mary Tower.
Robert Partrich.
Roſe Nottingham, daughter of William Nottingham the elder.

S Laurence.
Anne Fenne, ſervant to Robert Nottingham.
Andrew Yngforby, his wife and daughter.
Thomas Tomſon Shoomaker, ſuppoſed to have received but twice theſe 17 yeeres.
Martin Algate Lockſmith his wife.

S. Margarets.
William Pickeſſe, Tanner.
John Whoodles, Covertlet Weaver, and his wife.
William Harſet, Bricklaier.
Thomas Fowler, Shoomaker.
W. Wright his wife at the Windmill.
Laurence Waterwarde late Curate, borne in a towne called Chorley, in Lancaſhire.

S. Nicholas.
Widow Swaine.
Matthew Bride and his wife.
Stephen Greenwich and his wife.
Wil. Coleman, ſervant to the ſaid Stephen.
Rob. Coleman and his wife.
Roger Laurence, alias Sparow.
John Carelton, Sadler.
William Colman.
James Hearſt his wife.

S Peters.
Richard Hober apprentice with Nicholas Nottingham.
Richard Hedley a ſeller of hereticall bookes.

S. Stephens.
James Bocking Shoomaker his wife.
John Rain, late ſervant to James Aſhley.
William Palmer. / Rich. Richman. / John Deerſley. — ſervants to Stephen Greene, Shoomaker.
Richard Richman Shoomaker his wife, daughter to mother Fenkell, Midwife.

S. Clements
Miſtreſſe Tooley, who departed to Darſham in Suffolke.
Agnes Wardall the elder, widow.
Robert Wardall her ſon.

S Matthewes.
John Shoomaker and his wife.

The names of ſuch as have not received the ſacrament.

S. Clements.
Robert Bray.
John Nottingham.
Agnes Wardall, wife of Robert Wardall.
Nicholas Nottingham.
Richard Mitchell.
William Jordane his wife.
Richard Butterall.
Robert Browne.

S. Peters.
John Reade.
Thomas Spurdance.
Joh. ſervant to Rtephen Grinleſſe.

S. Stephens.
Robert Scolding.
John Greenewich and his wife.

S. Margarets
Thomas Sturgeon, Mariner.
John Finne his wife.

S. Nicholas.
Robert Branſtone, brother and ſervant to William Branſtone.

S. Mary key

S. Mary Tower.
Martin Johnſon, who lieth bedrid.
Agnes his keeper. / Bent Alceede. — ſervants to Rob. Nottingham.

S. Laurence.

S. Mary at Elmes.
Robert Sylke his ſon.
John Ramſey and his wife now in priſon.

Names of ſuch as obſerve not Ceremonies.

Robert Cambridge refuſed the Paxe.
Robert Brage his wife refuſed to ſuffer any childe to be dipped in the Font.
Joane Barber widow. / Thomaſine her daughter. — refuſed to behold the elevation of the ſacrament. S. Clements
Miſtreſſe Ponder, mother to Joane Barber. — in the ſame fault.
Tie a Mariner his wife.

Richard Haward refuſed the Paxe at Maſſe in S. Laurence. S Mary at Elmes.

Maſter Lyons at Maſſe at Saint Mary Stoke refuſed the Paxe.
Mother Fenkel. / Joane Warde, alias Bentleys wife. — refuſed to have children dipped in Fonts. S. Peters.

Mother Beriffe, Midwife, refuſeth to have children dipped in Fonts. S. Stephens.

George Buſh his wife rejected the hoſt after receit of it. S Nicholas.

Names of Prieſts wives, that have acceſſe to their husbands.

Ralfe Carleton his wife, Curate of St. Matthewes, and St. Mary at Elmes.
Elizabeth Cantrel, wife to Ralfe Cantrel.
Jane Barker, wife to Robert Barker Prieſt, late of Bury.
Latimer his wife, Curate of St. Laurence, and S. Stephens.
William Glearke his wife, late Curate of Barkham, and S. Mary at Almes.

Names of maintainers againſt this Complaint.

Robert Sterop, Cuſtomer to Queene Mary.
Gilbert Sterop, deputy to Edward Grimſton Eſquire, for his Butlerage.
Maſter Butler the elder, Searcher.
Miſtreſſe Tooley, ſwelling by too much riches into wealth.
Margaret Bray, who alſo preſumeth upon the office of a Midwife, not called.

Joane Barber widow. / Miſtreſſe Birde — practiſing much wholſome counſell. S. Clements

Baſtian Man his wife, and he himſelfe more rich than wiſe. S. Mary key

The requeſts to puniſh and convent certaine, whoſe enſample might reverſe other from their opinions: as,

To convent Richard Bird Jayler, who by evill counſell doth animate his priſoners of his ſect. Alſo for that he with his wife did checke us openly with unſeemly words, tending almoſt to a tumult.

To convent Thomas Sadler, for certain words ſpoken to John Bate the Crier of the towne, the ſixth of May.

That it may pleaſe the Biſhop to wiſh his Commiſſary and Officiall to be upright and diligent in their office, and to appoint a Curat of more ability to feed his cure with Gods Word.

That none may be ſuffered to be Midwives, but ſuch as are Catholike, becauſe of evill counſell at ſuch times as the neceſſity of womens travell ſhall require a number of women aſſembled.

That Ralfe Carleton Curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of mony he hath croſſed his booke of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported.

The

The Miraculous preſervation of Lady ELIZABETH, now Queene of *England*, from extreame calamity and danger of life, in the time of Queene MARY, her Siſter.

The bleſſed protection of Almighty God in preſerving La. Elizabeth in her manifold dangers and troubles.

BUt when all hath been ſaid and told, whatſoever can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods preſent hand in defending and delivering any one perſon out of thraldome, never was there, ſince the memory of our fathers, any example to be ſhewed, wherein the Lords mightie power hath more admirably and bleſſedly ſhewed it ſelf, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole Realme, than in the miraculous cuſtody and out-ſcape of this our Soveraigne Ladie, now Queene, then Lady Elizabeth, in the ſtraite time of Queene Mary her ſiſter.

The troubles of Lady Elizabeth in Queen Maries time.

In which ſtory we firſt have to conſider in what extreme miſery, ſickneſſe, feare, and perill her Highneſſe was; into what care, what trouble of minde, and what danger of death ſhe was brought: Firſt, with great routes and bands of armed men (and happy was hee that might have the carrying of her) being fetched up as the greateſt Traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and againe toſſed from thence, and from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, from poſt to pillar, at length alſo priſoner in her owne houſe, and guarded with a ſort of cut-throates, which ever gaped for the ſpoile, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondly, we have to conſider againe, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangely or rather miraculouſly ſhe was delivered from danger, what favour and grace ſhe found with the Almightie; who when all helpe of man and hope of recoverie was paſt, ſtretched out his mightie protection, and preſerved her Highneſſe, and placed her in this Princely ſeate of reſt and quietneſſe, wherein now ſhe ſitteth, and long may ſhe ſit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beſeech him.

In which ſtorie, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full all the particulars and circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as juſt occaſion of the Hiſtorie requireth; beſide the importunate length of the ſtorie diſcourſed, peradventure it might move offence to ſome being yet alive, and truth might get mee hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to uſe ſuch brevitie and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the ſtory, the profit of the Reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the Queene hath been mercifull in pardoning their lives.

The hiſtory of the Lady Elizabeth.

Therefore now to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragicall matter, firſt here is to be noted, that Queene Mary when ſhe was firſt Queen, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper; but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe never dined nor ſupped with her, but kept her aloofe from her, &c. After this it happened immediately upon the riſing of ſir Thomas Wyat (as before was mentioned) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of ſir Thomas Wyats riſing. Whereupon Queene Mary, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſayd Lady Elizabeth her ſiſter, at that time lying in her houſe at Aſhbridge, the next day after the riſing of Wyat, ſent to her 3. of her Counſellers, to wit, ſir Richard Southwell, ſir Edward Haſtings, then Maſter of the Horſe, and ſir Thomas Cornewalles, with their retinue and troupe of Horſemen, to the number of 250. Who, at their ſudden and unprovided comming, found her at the ſame time ſore ſicke in her bed, and very feeble and weake of body. Whither when they came, aſcending up to her Graces chamber, they willed one of her Ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Grace, that there were certain come from the Court, which had a meſſage from the Queene.

Sir Richard Sothwell, ſir Edward Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornwalles ſent to fetch up Lady Elizabeth, with whom alſo afterward was ſent the Lord William Howard, &c.

Her Grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming; howbeit being then very ſicke, and the night far ſpent (which was at ten of the clocke) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they anſwered, and by the ſaid meſſenger ſent word againe, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would ſo doe, in what caſe ſoever ſhee were. Whereat the Lady being agaſt, went to ſhew her Grace their words; but they, haſtily following her, came ruſhing as ſoone as ſhe into her Graces chamber unbidden.

The unmannerlineſſe of the Knights.

At whoſe ſo ſudden comming into her bed-chamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, ſaid unto them; Is the haſte ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to come to morrow in the morning?

They made anſwer, that they were right ſorrie to ſee her in that caſe. And I (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they anſwered, that they came from the Queen to doe their meſſage and duetie, which was to this effect, that the Queenes pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the 7. day of that preſent moneth. Whereunto ſhe ſaid; Certes, no creature more glad than I to come to her Majeſty, being right ſorry that I am not in caſe at this time to waite on her, as you your ſelves doe ſee, and can well teſtifie.

Indeed we ſee it true (quoth they) that you do ſad; for which we are very ſorry. Albeit, we let you to underſtand, that our Commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraineth us, that we muſt needes bring you with us, either quick or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, that their Commiſſion was very ſore; but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtraite. Yes verily, ſaid they. Whereupon they calling for two Phiſitians, Doctor Owen, and Doctor Wendy, demanded of them whether ſhe might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whoſe anſwer and judgement was, that there was no impediment in their judgement to the contrary, but that ſhe might travell without danger of life.

A ſtrait Commiſſion from the Queene to bring the Lady Elizabeth, either quicke or dead.

In concluſion, they willed her to prepare againſt the next morning at nine of the clocke to goe with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queenes Litter for hee. After much talke, the meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and dayes, ſo departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheared, as appertained to their worſhips.

On the next morrow at the time preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhe was, very faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe, that ſhe was readie to ſwounde three or foure times betweene them. What ſhould I ſpeake here, that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heavie houſe there was to behold the unreverend and dolefull dealing of theſe men, but eſpecially the carnall feare and captivitie of their innocent Lady and Miſtreſſe.

La. Elizabeth taketh her journey toward the Q.

Now to proceed in her journie from Aſhbridge, all ſicke in the Litter, ſhee came to Redborne, where ſhe was gaurded all night. From thence to St. Albanes to ſir Ralfe Rowlets houſe, where ſhee tarried that night, both feeble in bodie, and comfortleſſe in minde. From that place they paſſed to Maſter Dods houſe at Mymmes, where alſo they remained that night; and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate, where ſhe being very ſicke, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many Purſevants and meſſengers from the Court; but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

La. Elizabeth brought up to London.

From that place ſhee was conveighed to the Court, where by the way came to meete her many Gentlemen to accompany her Highneſſe, which were very ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. But eſpecially a great multitude of people there were ſtanding by the way, who, then flocking about her Litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her eſtate. Now when ſhe came to the Court, her Grace was there ſtraight-waies ſhut up, and kept as cloſe priſoner a fortnight, which was till Palme-Sunday, ſeeing neyther King nor Queene, nor Lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then Lord Chamberlaine, ſir John Gage, and the Vicechamberlaine, which were attendant unto the doores. About which time ſir William Sentlowe was called before the Councell. To whoſe charge was laid, that he knew of Wyats rebellion. Which hee ſtoutly denied, proteſting that hee was a true man both to GOD and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels, bnt being ſtraitly examined, he was in concluſion committed to the Tower.

Sir Wil. Sentlowe committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palme-Sunday, the Biſhop of Wincheſter with 19. other of the Councell (who ſhalbe here nameleſſe) came unto her Grace from the Queenes Majeſtie, and burdened her with Wyats conſpiracie; which ſhe utterly denied, affirming that ſhe was altogether guiltleſſe therein. They being not contented with this, charged her Grace with buſineſſe made by ſir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Weſt countrie: which alſo ſhe utterly denying, cleared her innocencie therein.

La. Elizabeth charged with ſir Thomas Wyats conſpiracy.

La. Elizabeth charged with the buſineſſe of ſir Peter Carew.

La. Elizabeth threatned to go to the Tower:

In concluſion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the Queenes will and pleaſure that ſhee ſhould goe unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

La. Elizabeth purgeth her ſelfe to the Lords.

Whereat ſhee being agaſt, ſayd, that ſhe truſted the Queenes Majeſty would be a more gracious Lady unto her, and that her Highneſſe would not otherwiſe conceive of her, but that ſhee was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the Lords, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therefore to be a further meane to the Queene her ſiſter, that ſhe being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her Majeſtie, might not be committed to ſo notorious and dolefull a place, proteſting that ſhe would requeſt no favour at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be proved to have conſented unto any ſuch kinde of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore in fine deſired their Lordſhips to thinke of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be dealt withall for her truth.

Whereunto the Lords anſwered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the Queenes Majeſtie was fully determined that ſhee ſhould goe unto the Tower. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an houre or little more, came foure of the foreſaid Lords of the Councell, which were the Lord Treaſurer, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Steward, the Earle of Suſſex, with the Guard; who warding the next chamber to her, ſecluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, ſaving that for one Gentleman Uſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her chamber, were appointed in their roomes, three other men of the Queenes, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none ſhould have acceſſe to her Grace.

L. Elizabeths ſervants removed from her.

The Queens men and waiting women attendant upon Lady Elizabeth.

At which time there was an hundred of Northren ſouldiers in white coates, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fira being made in the midſt of the Hall, and two certaine Lords watching there alſo with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two Lords of the Councell (the one was the Earle of Suſſex, the other ſhall be nameleſſe) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith ſhee muſt goe unto the Tower, the Barge being prepared for her, and the tide now readie, which tarrieth for no bodie. In heavie moode her Grace requeſted the Lords that ſhee might tarry another tide, truſting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neyther time nor tide was to be delayed.

The hard dealing of a certain Lord with the Lady Elizabeth.

And when her Grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queenes Maieſtie, he anſwered, that he durſt not permit that: adding, that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace in ſo doing.

The Earle of Suſſex gentle to the Lady Elizabeth.

But the other Lord, more curteous and favourable (who was the Earle of Suſſex) kneeling downe, told her Grace that ſhee ſhould have libertie to write, and as he was a true man, hee would deliver it to the Queenes Highneſſe, and bring an anſwer of the ſame, whatſoever came thereof. Whereupon ſhee wrote, albeit ſhee could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeake with the Queene, to her great diſcomfort, being no offender againſt the Queenes Maieſty.

La. Elizabeth writeth to the Queen, but it would not ſerve.

And thus the time and tide paſſed away for that ſeaſon, they privily appointing all things ready that ſhee ſhould goe the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for feare ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtaied till the next day, being Palme-Sunday, when about nine of the clocke theſe two returned againe, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. Shee anſwered, if there be no remedie, I muſt be contented, willing the Lords to goe on before. Being come forth into the garden, ſhee did caſt her eyes towards the window, thinking to have ſeene the Queene, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſayd, ſhe marvelled much what the Nobilitie of the Realme meant, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into captivitie, the Lord knew whither, for ſhee did not. In the meane time commandement was given in all London, that every one ſhould keepe the Church, and carrie their Palmes, while in the meane ſeaſon ſhee might be conveighed without all recourſe of people into the Tower.

After all this, ſhee tooke her Barge with the two foreſaid Lords, three of the Queenes Gentlewomen, and three of her owne, her Gentleman

Lady Elizabeth ſent to the tower.

Uſher, and two of her Groomes, lying and hovering upon the water a certaine ſpace, for that they could not ſhoote the Bridge, the Bargemen being very unwilling to ſhoote the ſame, ſo ſoone as they did, becauſe of the danger thereof: for the ſterne of the boate ſtrooke upon the ground, the fall was ſo bigge, and the water was ſo ſhallow, that the boate being under the Bridge, there ſtaied againe a while. At landing ſhe firſt ſtaied and denied to land at thoſe ſtaires where all traytors and offenders cuſtomably uſed to land, neither well could ſhe, unleſſe ſhe ſhould goe over her ſhooe. The Lords were gone out of the boate before, and asked why ſhee came not. One of the Lords went backe againe to her, and brought word ſhe would not come.

The words of Lady Elizabeth entring the Tower.

Then ſayd one of the Lords, which ſhall bee nameleſſe, that ſhe ſhould not chuſe; and becauſe it did then raine, he offered to her his cloake, which ſhee, putting it backe with her hand with a good daſh, refuſed. So ſhee comming out, having one foote upon the ſtaire, ſayd; Here landeth as true a ſubject, being priſoner, as ever landed at theſe ſtaires: And before thee, O God, I ſpeake it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the ſame Lord anſwered again, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their ſervants and Warders ſtanding in their order. What needed all this, ſaid ſhe? It is the uſe (ſaid ſome) ſo to be when any priſoner came thither. And if it be (quoth ſhe) for my cauſe, I beſeech you that they may be diſmiſſed. Whereat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice deſired God to preſerve her Grace, who the next day were releaſed of their cold coates.

After this, paſſing a little further, ſhe ſate down upon a cold ſtone, and there reſted her ſelfe. To whom the Lieutenant then being ſaid; Madame, you were beſt to come out of the raine, for you ſit unwholſomely. She then replying, anſwered againe; It is better ſitting here, than in a worſe place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her Gentleman Uſher wept; ſhe demanding of him what he meant ſo uncomfortably to uſe her, ſeeing ſhe tooke him to be her comfort, and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her truth to be ſuch that no man ſhould have cauſe to weepe for her. But forth ſhe went into priſon.

The chriſtian prayer of Lady Elizabeth.

The doores were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little diſcomfort and diſmay her Grace. At what time ſhee called to her Gentlewoman for her Booke, deſiring God not to ſuffer her to build her foundation upon the ſands, but upon the Rocke, whereby all blaſts of bluſtering weather ſhould have no power againſt her. The doores being thus locked, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up, the Lords had great conference how to keepe ward and watch, everie man declaring his owne opinion in that behalfe, agreeing ſtraitely and circumſpectly to keep her.

The Lord of Suſſex ſpeaketh for Lady Elizabeth.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of Suſſex, ſwearing, ſayd: My Lords, let us take heede, and doe no more than our Commiſſion will beare us out in, whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let us conſider that ſhe was the King our Maieſties daughter; and therefore let us uſe ſuch dealing, that wee may anſwer it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen: for juſt dealing (quoth hee) is alwayes anſwerable; whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well ſayd of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two dayes commandement was that ſhe ſhould have Maſſe within her houſe. One Maſter Yong was then her Chaplaine; and becauſe there was none of her men ſo well learned to helpe the Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, the Maſſe ſtaied for that day.

The next day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to ſchoole before, and were learned, had two Abcies provided, and delivered them, ſo that upon the Abcies they ſhould helpe the Prieſt. One of the ſaid Yeomen, holding the Abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kirie eleyſon, ſet the Prieſt, making as though he could anſwer no farther.

It would make a pitifull and a ſtrange ſtory, here by the way to touch and receite what examination and rackings of poore men there were to find out that knife that ſhould cut her throate; what gaping among my Lords of the Clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſh their goodly white Rochets in her innocent bloud; but eſpecially the Biſhop of Wincheſter Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chadcellor, ruler of the roſt, who then within 5. daies after came unto her, with divers other of the Counſell, and examined her of the talke that was at Aſhridge, betwixt her and ſir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington Caſtle, requiring her to declare what ſhe meant thereby.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter enemy to Lady Elizabeth.
La. Elizabeth examined by the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

At the firſt ſhe being ſo ſuddenly asked, did not well remember any ſuch houſe; but within a while, well adviſing her ſelfe, ſhe ſaid; Indeed (quoth ſhe) I doe now remember that I have ſuch a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I doe not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth ſir James Acroft. The Biſhop of Wincheſter demanded of her what ſhe ſaid to that man. She anſwered, that ſhe had little to ſay to him, or to the reſt that were then priſoners in the Tower. But my Lords (quoth ſhe) you doe examine every meane priſoner of me, wherein me thinkes you doe me great injury. If they have done evill, and offended the Queens Majeſty, let them anſwer to it accordingly. I beſeech you, my Lords, joyne not me in this ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington Caſtle, I doe remember that Maſter Hobby and mine Officers, and you ſir James Acroft had ſuch talke, but what is that to the purpoſe, my Lords, but that I may goe to mine own houſes at all times?

The friendly ſpeech of the Earle of Arundel to the La. Elizabeth

The Lord of Arundel kneeling downe, ſaid, Your Grace ſaith true, and certainly we are very ſorry that we have ſo troubled you about ſo vaine matters. She then ſaid; My Lords, you do ſift me very narrowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and ſo God forgive you all.

Sir James Acroft examined touching the Lady Elizabeth.

At their departure ſir James Acroft kneeled downe, declaring that he was ſorry to ſee the day in which he ſhould be brought as a witneſſe againſt her Grace. But I aſſure your Grace (ſaid he) I have been marvellouſly toſſed and examined touching your Highneſſe, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtrange to me. For I take God to record before all your Honours, I doe not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charg, and will thereupon take my death, if I ſhould be driven to ſo ſtrict a triall.

Theſe were not the officers of the but Tower, ſuch as went in white and greene.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her owne Officers, who had made proviſion for her diet, brought the ſame to the outer gate of the Tower, the common raſcall ſouldiers receiving it; which was no ſmall griefe unto the Gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to ſpeake with the Lord Chamberlaine, being then Conſtable of the Tower. Who, comming before his preſence, declared unto his Lordſhip, that they were much affraid to bring her Graces diet, and to deliver it unto ſuch common and deſperate perſons as they were which did receive it, beſeeching his Honour to conſider her Grace, and to give ſuch order, that her viands might at all times bee brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yea, ſirs, ſayd hee? who appointed you this office? They anſwered, her Graces Councell. Councell, quoth hee? There is none of them which hath to doe eyther in that caſe, or any thing elſe within this place; and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerved with the Lieutenants men, as other the priſoners ares. Whereat the Gentlemen ſayd, that they truſted for more favour at his hands, conſidering her perſonage; ſaying, that they miſtruſted not, but that the Queene and her Councell would be better to her Grace than ſo, and therewith ſhewed themſelves to be offended at the ungratefull words of the Lord Chamberlaine towards their Ladie and Miſtreſſe.

Lady Elizabeths ſervants reſtrained for bringing her diet to the Tower.

Diſpleaſure between the Lord Chamberlaine and Lady Elizabeths men.

At this he ſware by God, ſtriking himſelfe upon the breaſt, that if they did eyther frowne or ſhrug at him, hee would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neyther Sunne nor Moone. Thus taking their leave, they deſired God to bring him into a better minde toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occaſion whereof, her Graces officers made great ſute unto the Queenes Councel, that ſome might bee appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common ſouldiers of the Tower. Which being reaſonably conſidered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerke of her Kitchin, and her two Purveiers to bring in her proviſion once a day. All which was done, the Warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The Lord Chamberlaine himſelfe being alwaies with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gave heede that they ſhould have no talke with any of her Graces waiting ſervants, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſayd ſute of her officers were ſent by the commandement of the Councell, to waite upon her Grace, two Yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantrie and Ewrie, one of her Buttrie, another of her Cellar, two of her Kitchin, and one of her Larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Lady Elizabeths waiting men in the Tower.

Here the Conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the comming in of ſuch a companie againſt his will, would have had his men ſtill to have ſerved with her Graces men. Which her ſervants at no hand would ſuffer, deſiring his Lordſhip to bee contented, for that order was taken, that no ſtranger ſhould come within their offices. At which anſwer being ſore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatning words; Well (ſayd hee) I will handle you well enough. Then went hee into the Kitchin, and there would needes have his meate roſted with her Graces meate, and ſayd that his Cooke ſhould come thither and dreſſe it. To that her Graces Cooke anſwered; My Lord, I will never ſuffer any ſtranger to come about her diet, but her owne ſworne men, ſo long as I live. He ſayd they ſhould. But the Cooke ſayd, his Lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poore ſervants very ſtoutly; though afterward he were otherwiſe adviſed, and they more curteouſly uſed at his hands. And good cauſe why. For hee had good cheare, and fared of the beſt, and her Grace payed well for it. Wherefore hee uſed himſelfe afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

Variance between the Lord Chamberlaine and Lady Elizabeths ſervants

After this ſort, having lien a whole moneth there in cloſe priſon, and being very evill at eaſe therewithall, ſhee ſent for the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord Shandoyes to come and ſpeak with her. Who comming, ſhe requeſted them that ſhee might have libertie to walke in ſome place, for that ſhee felt her ſelfe not well. To the which they anſwered, that they were right ſorrie that they could not ſatiſfie her Graces requeſt, for that they had commandement to the contrarie, which they durſt not in any wiſe breake. Furthermore, ſhee deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that ſhee might walke but into the Queenes lodging. No, nor yet that (they anſwered) could by any meanes be obtained without a further ſute to the Queene and her Councell. Well, ſayd ſhee, my Lords, if the matter bee ſo hard that they muſt bee ſued unto for ſo ſmall a thing, and that friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, ſhee remaining in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but only God.

La. Elizabeth denied the liberty of the Tower.

The next day after the Lord Shandoyes came againe unto her Grace, declaring unto her that hee had ſued unto the Councell for further libertie. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower. But in concluſion, they did all agree that her Grace might walke into thoſe lodgings, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen did accompanie her, the windows being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to looke out at any of them: wherewith ſhe contented her ſelfe, and gave him thankes for his good will in that behalfe,

Afterwards there was libertie granted to her Grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being ſhut up, which notwithſtanding was as much diſcomfort unto her, as the walke in the garden was pleaſant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the priſoners on that ſide ſtraitely were commanded not to ſpeake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till her Grace were gone out againe, having in conſideration thereof their Keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her Grace with this ſmall libertie contented herſelfe in God, to whom be praiſe therefore.

Liberty granted to Lady Elizabeth to walk in a little garden.

During this time, there uſed a little boy, a mans childe in the Tower, to reſort to their chambers, and many times to bring her Grace flowers, which likewiſe hee did to the other priſoners that were there. Whereupon naughtie and ſuſpicious heads, thinking to make and wring out ſome matter thereof, called on a time the childe unto them, promiſing him Figges and Apples, and aſked of him when hee had been with the Earle of Devonſhire, not ignorant of the childes wonted frequenting unto him. The boy anſwered, that hee would goe by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Ladie Elizabeths Grace. Hee anſwered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the Lord of Devonſhire ſent by him to her Grace. The childe ſayd, I will goe know what hee will give to carry to her. Such was the diſcretion of the childe, being yet but 4. yeeres of age. This ſame is a crafty boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlaine. How ſay you my Lord Shandoyes? I pray you my Lord (quoth the boy) give mee the Figges you promiſed me. No Mary (quoth he) thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth or the Lord Courtney. The boy anſwered, I will bring my Lady my Miſtreſſe more flowers. Whereupon the childes father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

Suſpicious heads.

A young child examined for bringing flowers to the La. Elizabeth

The next day, as her Grace was walking in the garden, the childe peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried unto her, ſaying; Miſtreſſe, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat ſhee ſmiled, but ſaid nothing, underſtanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the Chamberlaine rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of the houſe. Alas, poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knave, quoth the Lord Chamberlaine; let me ſee him here no more.

The Conſtable of the Tower diſcharged of his office. Sir Henry Benifield with his company, placed about the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

The fifth day of May, the Conſtable of the Tower was diſcharged of his office, and one ſir Henry Benifield placed in his roome, a man unknowne to her Grace, and therefore the more feared; which ſo ſudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred ſouldiers in blew coates, wherewith ſhe was marvellouſly diſcomforted, and demaunded of ſuch as were about her, whether the Lady Janes Scaffold were taken away or no, fearing by reaſon of their comming, leſt ſhee ſhould have plaied her part. To whom anſwer was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, and that her Grace needed not to doubt of any ſuch tyrannie; for God would not ſuffer any ſuch treaſon againſt her perſon. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether ſatisfied, ſhee aſked what ſir Henrie Benifield was, and whether hee was of that conſcience, or no, that if her murdering were ſecretly committed to his charge, he would ſee the execution thereof.

La. Elizabeth in doubt, of ſir Hen. Beniſſled

Shee was anſwered, that they were ignorant what manner of man hee was. Howbeit they perſwaded her that God would not ruffer ſuch wickedneſſe to proceede. Well, quoth ſhee, God grant it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt molifie all ſuch tyrannous hearts, and diſappoint all ſuch cruell purpoſes; and I beſeech thee to heare mee thy creature, which am thy ſervant and at thy commandement, truſting by thy grace ever ſo to remaine.

About which time it was ſpread abroad, that her Grace ſhould bee carried from thence by this new iolly Captaine and his ſouldiers; but whither, it could not bee learned. Which was unto her a great griefe, eſpecially for that ſuch a companie was appointed to her guard, requeſting rather to continue there ſtill, than to bee led thence with ſuch a ſort of Raſcals. At laſt, plain anſwer was made by the Lord Shandoyes, that there was no remedy, but from thence ſhee muſt needs depart to the Manour of Woodſtocke, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cauſe; for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He anſwered, with ſuch matter as the Queene and Councell were determined in that behalfe, whereof he had no knowledge; and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on Trinitie Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, ſhee was removed from the Tower, the Lord Treaſurer being then there for the lading of her Carts, and diſcharging the place of the ſame, Where ſir Henrie Benifield (being appointed her Iayler) did receive her with a company of rake-hels to guard her, beſide the Lord of Darbies band, waiting in the countrie about for the Mooneſhine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of Tame ioyned in Commiſſion with the ſayd ſir Henrie, for the ſafe guiding of her to priſon; and they together conveighed her Grace to Woodſtocke, as hereafter followeth.

La Elizabeth removed from the Tower to Woodſtocke.

The firſt day they conducted her to Richmond, where ſhee continued all night, being reſtrained of her owne men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and ſir Henrie Benifields ſouldiers appointed in their roomes to give attendance on her perſon. Whereat ſhee being marvellouſly diſmaied, thinking verily ſome ſecret miſchiefe to bee a working towards her, called her Gentleman Uſher, and deſired him with the reſt of his companie to pray for her. For this night (quoth ſhee) I thinke to die. Wherewith hee being ſtricken to the heart, ſaying; God forbid that any ſuch wickedneſſe ſhould be pretended againſt your Grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at laſt he braſt out into teares, and went from her downe into the Court, where were walking the Lord of Tame, and ſir Henrie Benifield.

La. Elizabeth ſecluded from her ſervants.

La. Elizabeth in diſpaire of her life.

Then he comming to the Lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendſhip) deſired to ſpeake with him a word or two. Unto whom he familiarly ſayd, hee would with all his heart. Which when ſir Henrie, ſtanding by, heard, hee aſked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Uſher anſwered; No great matter ſir (ſayd hee) but to ſpeake with my Lord a word or two.

Lady Elizabeths Uſher talketh with the Lord of Tame.

Then when the Lord of Tame came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe: My Lord (quoth he) you have been alwayes my good Lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remaine. The cauſe why I come to you at this time, is to deſire hour Honour unfainedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my Miſtreſſe this night, or no, that I and my poore fellowes may take ſuch part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: For certainly we will rather die, than ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcarry. Mary (ſayd the Lord of Tame) GOD forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould bee wrought; and rather than it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are readie to die at her foote alſo: and ſo (praiſed bee God) they paſſed that dolefull night, with no little heavineſſe of heart.

The gentle heart of the Lord of Tame to the Lady Elizabeth.

Afterwards paſſing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windſor, her Grace eſpied certaine of her poore ſervants ſtanding on the other ſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhee beheld, turning to one of her men ſtanding by, ſhe ſayd; Yonder I ſee certaine of my men: goe to them and ſay theſe words from me, Tanquam ovis, i. Like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

So ſhee paſſing forward to Windſor, was lodged there that night in the Deane of Windſors houſe, a place more meete indeed for a Prieſt than a Princeſſe.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next night to Maſter Dormers houſe, where much people ſtanding by the way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome another, ſo that ſir Henrie was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poore people very ſore, for ſhewing their loving hearts in ſuch a manner, calling them Rebels and Traitors, with ſuch like vile words.

La. Elizabeth honourably received and beloved of the people.

Beſides, as ſhee paſſed through the villages, the Towneſmen rang the Bels, as being ioyfull of her comming, thinking verily that it had been otherwiſe than it was indeede, as the ſequele proved after to the ſayd poore men. For immediately the ſayd ſir Henry hearing the ſame, ſent his ſouldiers thither, who apprehended ſome of the Ringers, ſetteth them in the Stockes, and otherwiſe uncurteouſly miſuſing otherſome for their good wils.

On the morrow her Grace paſſing from Maſter Dormers (where was, for the time of her abode there, a ſtraite watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames houſe, where ſhee lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of

The gentle entertainment of Lady Elizabeth at the Lord of Tames houſe.

M. Benifield grudging at the great enterteinment of the Lady Elizabeth.

Knights and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, ſaying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to anſwer their doings in that behalfe, letting them to underſtand, that ſhe was the Queenes Majeſties priſoner, and no otherwiſe; adviſing them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the Lord of Tame anſwered in this wiſe; that he was well adviſed of his doings, being joyned in commiſſion as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and ſhould in his houſe be merry.

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her journey from Richmond toward Woodſtocke, the Lord of Tame with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dropping vie crownes, the Lady Elizabeth paſſing by, ſtaied and ſaid ſhee would ſee the game played out, which Sir Henry Benifield would ſcarſe permit. The game running long about, and they playing, drop vie crowns, Come on, ſaith he; I will tarry, ſaith ſhe, and will ſee this game out.

The rude and ungentlemanly behaviour of ſir Henry Benifield.

After this, Sir Henry went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a chaire, two cuſhions, and a foot-carpet very faire and prince-like, wherein preſumptuouſly he ſate, and called one Barwike his man to pull off his boots. Which as ſoone as it was knowne among the Ladies and Gentles, every one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorne, obſerving his undiſcreet manners in that behalfe, as they might very well.

When ſupper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies ſhould withdraw themſelves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there ſuch a company, conſidering ſo great a charge committed to him.

Sir Henry (quoth my Lord) content your ſelfe, all ſhall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my ſouldiers (quoth Sir Henry) ſhall watch all night. The Lord of Tame anſwered, it ſhall not need. Well, ſaid he, need or need not, they ſhall ſo doe, miſtruſting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cauſe.

Lady Elizabeth commeth to Woodſtock.

The next day her Grace tooke her journey from thence to Woodſtocke, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the Tower of London, the ſouldiers guarding and warding both within and without the wals, every day to the number of 60. and in the night without the wals 40. during the time of her impriſonment there.

The ſtrait watch kept at Woodſtocke.

At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her walke, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But alwaies when ſhe did recreate her ſelfe therein, the doores were faſt locked up, in as ſtrict manner as they were in the Tower, being at the leaſt five or ſixe lockes betweene her lodging and her walkes; Sir Henry himſelfe keeping the keyes, and truſting no man therewith. Whereupon ſhe called him her Jaylor; and hee, kneeling downe, deſired her Grace not to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From ſuch Officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliver me.

A merry ſtory concerning the ſtrait keeping of the Lady Elizabeth.

And now by the way, as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the Reader, if it be lawfull in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame; occaſion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what hapned in the ſame place and time by a certaine merry conceited man, being then about her Grace: who noting the ſtraite and ſtrange keeping of his Lady and Miſtreſſe by the ſaid Sir Henry Benifield, with ſo many lockes and doores, with ſuch watch and ward about her, as was ſtrange and wonderfull, ſpied a Goat in the ward where her Grace was; and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed minde, or to notifie her ſtrait handling by Sir Henry, or elſe both, he tooke it upon his necke, and followed her Grace therewith as ſhe was going into her lodging.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe aſked him what he would doe with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the ſaid party anſwered; No, by Saint Mary (if it like your Grace) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the Queens friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is. So leaving her Grace, hee went with the goat on his necke, and carried it to Sir Henry Benifield, who when he ſaw him comming with it, aſkt him, halfe angerly, what he had there.

The ſtraitnes of ſir Henry Benifield merrily noted.

Unto whom the party anſwered, ſaying; Sir (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Ladies Grace was walking, and what talke they have had I cannot tell. For I underſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeeme to me to be ſome ſtranger, and I thinke verily a Welchman, for he hath a white frize coat on his backe. And forſomuch as I being the Queens ſubject, and perceiving the ſtraite charge committed to you of her keeping, that no ſtranger ſhould have acceſſe to her without ſufficient licenſe, I have here found a ſtranger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking; and therefore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the ſaid ſtranger to you, to examine, as you ſee cauſe; and ſo hee ſet him downe. At which his words Sir Henry ſeemed much diſpleaſed, and ſaid; Well, well, you will never leave this geare I ſee: and ſo they departed.

La. Elizabeth with much adoe, ſuffered to write to the Queene.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digreſſed, after her Grace had been there a time, ſhe made ſute to the Councell that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queene. Which at laſt was permitted: So Sir Henry Benifield brought her penne, inke, and paper; and ſtanding by her while ſhe wrote (which he ſtraitly obſerved) alwaies ſhe being weary, hee would carry away her letters, and bring them againe when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhing thereof, he would have been meſſenger to the Queene of the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her Grace denied, ſaying, one of her owne men ſhould carry them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor any of his therein.

The cruell dealing of ſir He. Benifield to the Lady Elizabeth reproved.

Then he anſwered againe, ſaying; None of them durſt be ſo bold (he trowed) to carry her letters being in that caſe. Yes (quoth ſhe) I am aſſured I have none ſo diſhoneſt that would deny my requeſt in that behalfe, but will be as willing to ſerve me now as before. Well (ſaid hee) my commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her Grace replying againe, ſaid; You charge me very often with your commiſſion. I pray God you may juſtly anſwer the cruell dealing you uſe towards me.

Then hee kneeling downe, deſired her Grace to thinke and conſider how hee was a ſervant, and put in truſt there by the Queene to ſerve her Majeſty; proteſting that if the caſe were hers, he would as willingly ſerve her Grace, as now he did the Queenes Highneſſe. For the which his anſwer her Grace thanked him, deſiring God that ſhe might never have need of ſuch ſervants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor anſwerable, but more than all the friends he had would ſtand by.

To whom ſir Henry replied and ſaid, that there was no remedie but his doings muſt bee anſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſting to make good account thereof. The cauſe which moved her grace ſo to ſay, was for that he would not permit her letters to be carried foure or five daies after the writing thereof. But in fine hee was content to ſend for her Gentleman from the town of Woodſtocke, demanding of him whether hee durſt enterpriſe the carriage of her Graces letters to the Queene, or no: and he anſwered, Yea ſir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon ſir Henrie, halfe againſt his ſtomacke, tooke them unto him.

The letters of the Lady Elizabeth ſent to the Queene.

Then about the eighth of June came downe Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendie, ſent by the Queene to her Grace, for that ſhe was ſickely; who miniſtring to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or ſixe daies. Then ſhe being well amended, they returned againe to the Court, making their good report to the Queene and the Councell of her Graces behaviour and humbleneſſe toward the Queenes highneſſe. Which her Majeſtie hearing, tooke very thankfully: but the Biſhops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queene, they marvelled that ſhee ſubmitted not her ſelfe to her Majeſties mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended her highnes.

D. Owen & D. Wendy Q. Maries Phiſitians ſent to the Lady Elizabeth.

The Popiſh Prelates repined againſt the Lady Elizabeth.

About this time, her Grace was requeſted by a ſecret friend, to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes Majeſtie, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commoditie. Unto whom ſhee anſwered, that ſhee would never ſubmit her ſelfe to them whom ſhee never offended. For (quoth ſhee) if I have offended and am guiltie, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth ſhee) I ſhould have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my ſelfe (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wiſhing that I were as cleere out of the perill of my enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted up within walles and doores as I am. God give them a better minde when it pleaſeth him.

Lady Eliz. requeſted to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queen.

About this time there was a great conſulting among the Biſhops and Gentlemen, touching a marriage for her grace, which ſome of the Spaniards wiſhed to be with ſome ſtranger, that ſhee might go out of the realme with her portion; ſome ſaying one thing, and ſome another.

Counſel of the Papiſts to marry the Lady Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

A Lord (who ſhall be here nameleſſe, being there, at laſt ſaid, that the King ſhould never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unleſſe her head were ſtricken from the ſhoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards anſwered, ſaying, God forbid that their King and Maſter ſhould have that minde to conſent to ſuch a miſchiefe.

Wicked counſel given of the Lord Paget againſt the Lady Elizabeth.

This was the courteous anſwer of the Spaniards to the Engliſhmen, ſpeaking after that ſort againſt their owne countrey. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good perſwaſions to the King, that the like honor hee ſhould never obtaine, as he ſhould in delivering the Ladie Elizabeths grace out of priſon; whereby at length ſhe was happily releaſed from the ſame. Here is a plaine and evident example of the good clemencie and nature of the King and his Counſellers toward her Grace (praiſed bee God therefore) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon ſhee was ſent for ſhortly after to come to Hampton Court.

Spaniards more favourable to the Lady Elizabeth, than ſome Engliſhmen.

But before her removing away from Woodſtock, wee will a little ſtay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time ſhee there remained: firſt through fire, which began to kindle betweene the boards and ſeeling under the chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſparke of fire gotten into a crany, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Neverthelesſe a worſhipfull knight of Oxfordſhire, which was there joyned the ſame time with ſir Henrie Benifield in keeping that Lady (who then tooke up the boards and quenched the fire) verily ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

Lady Eliz. in danger of fire.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Peny a Keeper of Woodſtock, a notorious ruffian and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſaid Lady Elizabeth: who both ſaw the man being of ten in her ſight, and alſo knew thereof.

Lady Eliz. in danger of killing.

Another time, one of the privie chamber, a great man about the Queene, and chiefe darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Maſter James Baſſet, came to Blandenbridge a mile from Woodſtocke, with twentie or thirtie privie coates, and ſent for ſir Henrie Benifield to come and ſpeake with him. But, as God would, which diſpoſed all things after the purpoſe of his owne will, ſo it happened, that a little before the ſayd Henry Benifield was ſent for by Poſt to the Councell, leaving ſtraight word behinde him with his brother, that no man, whatſoever he were, though comming with a Bill of the Queenes hand, or any other warrant, ſhould have acceſſe to her before his returne againe. By reaſon whereof it ſo fell out, that Maſter Benifields Brother, comming to him at the Bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approach in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murther the innocent Lady.

Another conſpiracy of murder againſt Lady Elizabeth.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner wee declared before, how that the Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a Writ came downe, ſubſcribed with certaine hands of the Councell for her execution. Which if it were certaine, as it is reported, Wincheſter (no doubt) was deviſer of that miſchievous drift: and doubtleſſe the ſame Achitophel had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſſe, had not the fatherly providence of Almightie God (who is alwayes ſtronger than the divell) ſtirred up Maſter Bridges, Lieutenant the ſame time of the Tower, to come in haſte to the Queen, to give certificate thereof, and to know further her conſent touching her ſiſters death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was diſappointed, and Wincheſters devilliſh platforme, which hee ſaid he had caſt, through the Lords great goodnes came to no effect.

Lady Eliz. preſerved by the Lords providence from execution in the Tower. Wincheſters platform overthrowne: Whereof read before.

Where moreover is to bee noted, that during the impriſonment of this Lady and Princeſſe, one M. Edmund Tremaine was on the Racke, and Maſter Smithwike, and divers other in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuſe the guiltleſſe Lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit all that notwithſtanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as ſhe the ſame time lying at Woodſtocke had certaine intelligence by the meanes of one John Gayer; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to Miſtreſſe Cleve from her father, was let in, and ſo gave them ſecretly to underſtand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodſtock, wrote theſe verſes with her Diamond in a glaſſe window.

Much ſuſpected by me:
Nothing proved can be.
Quoth Elizabeth priſoner.

Verſes written by Lady Elizabeth in the glaſſe window.

And thus much touching the troubles of Ladie Elizabeth at Woodſtock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the ſame time, the Lord of Tame had laboured to the Queen, and became ſurety for her, to have her from Wood-

Lady Elizabeth not ſuffered to come to the Lord of Tames houſe.

ſtocke to his houſe, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things readie in expectation of her comming. But through the procurement eyther of Maſter Benified, or by the doing of Wincheſter her mortall enemy, letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her iourney was ſtopped.

Thus this worthy Ladie, oppreſſed with continuall ſorrow, could not bee permitted to have recourſe to any friends ſhe had, but ſtill in the hands of her enemies was left deſolate, and utterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a dolefull heart, fraught full of terrour and thraldome. Whereupon no marveil if ſhe hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodſtocke, a certaine milkemaide ſinging pleaſantly, wiſhed her ſelfe to be a milkemaide as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better, and life more merrier than was hers, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Lady Eliz. wiſheth her ſelfe to be a milkmaide.

Now after theſe things thus declared, to procéede further there where we left before, ſir Henrie Benifield and his ſouldiers, with the Lord of Tame, and ſir Ralph Chamberline, gaurding and waiting upon her, the firſt night from Woodſtocke ſhe came to Ricot. In which iourney ſuch a mightie winde did blow, that her ſervants were faine to hold downe her cloathes about her: In ſo much that her hoode was twice or thrice blowne from her head, Whereupon ſhe deſiring to returne to a certaine Gentlemans houſe there néere, could not bée ſuffered by ſir Henry Benifield ſo to do, but was conſtrained under an hedge to trimme her head as well as ſhe could.

Lady Eliz. removed from Woodſtock to Hampton Court.

After this, the next night they iourneyed to M. Dormers, and ſo to Colbroke, where ſhée lay all that night at the George, and by the way comming to Colbroke, certaine of her Graces Gentlemen and Yeomen met her, to the number of thréeſcore, much to all their comforts, which had not ſéene her grace of long ſeaſon before: notwithſtanding they were commanded in the Quéenes name immediately to depart the town, to both their, and her Graces no little heavines, who could not bee ſuffered once to ſpeake with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, ſaving her Gentleman Uſher, thrée Gentlewomen, two groomes, and one of her Wardrobe, the ſouldiers watching and warding about the houſe, and wée cloſe ſhut up within her priſon.

The next day following, her Grace entred Hampton Court on the backſide, into the Princes lodging, the doores being ſhut to her, and ſhée guarded with ſouldiers, as before, lay there a fortnight at the leaſt, ere any had recourſe unto her, At length came the Lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably uſed her Grace. Whereat ſhée tooke much comfort, and requeſted him to be a meane that ſhée might ſpeake with ſome of the Councell. To whom (not long after) came the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord of Arundel, the Lord of Shrewſburie, and Secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themſelves to her Grace. She againe likewiſe ſaluting them, ſayd, My Lords, I am glad to ſée you: for me thinke, I have béen kept a great while from you deſolately alone. Wherfore I would deſire you to be a mean to the King and Quéenes Maieſties, that I may be delivered from priſon, wherein I have béen kept a long ſpace, as to you my Lords it is not unknowne.

Lord William Haward gentle and favorable to Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Eliz. requeſted by Wincheſter to ſubmit her ſelf to the Quéens mercy.

When ſhe had ſpoken, Stephen Gardiner the Biſhop of Wincheſter knéeled down, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit her ſelfe to the Quéens Grace, and in ſo doing he had no doubt, but that her Maieſtie would be good to her. She made anſwer, that rather than ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lie in priſon all the dayes of her life, adding that ſhe craved no mercy at her Maieſties hand, but rather deſired the law, if ever ſhe did offend her Maieſtie in thought, word, or déed: And beſides this in yéelding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeak againſt my ſelfe, and confeſſe my ſelfe to be an offendor, which I never was towards her Maieſtie, by occaſion whereof the King and the Quéen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evill opinion: And therefore I ſay, my Lords, it were better for me to lie in priſon for the truth, than to bée abroade and ſuſpected of my Prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her meſſage to the Quéene.

Anno 1558.

Lady Eliz. ſtandeth to be tried by the law.

On the next day the Biſhop of Wincheſter came againe unto her Grace, and knéeling down declared that the Quéene marvelled that ſhée would ſo ſtoutly uſe her ſelfe, not confeſſing that ſhée had offended: ſo that it ſhould ſéeme that the Quéens Maieſtie had wrongfully impriſoned her Grace.

Talke againe betwéen Wincheſter and Lady Elizabeth. Lady Elizabeth denieth to confeſſe any fault done to the Quéene.

Nay, quoth the Lady Elizabeth, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well quoth Gardiner, her Maieſtie willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell another tale ere that you be ſet at liberty.

Her Grace anſwered, that ſhe had as liefe bee in priſon with honeſty and truth, as to be abroade, ſuſpected of her Maieſtie, and this that I have ſaid, I will (ſaid ſhe) ſtand unto, for I will never belye my ſelfe.

Wincheſter againe knéeled downe, and ſaid, Then your Grace hath the vantage of me and other the Lords for your wrong and long impriſonment.

What vantage I have (quoth ſhée) you know, taking God to record, I ſeeke no vantage at your hands for your ſo dealing with me, but God forgive you and mee alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiring her Grace that all might bee forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhee being faſt locked up againe.

Lady Eliz. ſent for to the Quéene.

A ſevennight after the Queene ſent for her Grace at ten of the clocke in the night to ſpeake with her: for ſhe had not ſeene her in two yeares before. Yet for all that ſhee was amazed at the ſudden ſending for, thinking it had beene worſe than afterwards it proved, and deſired her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether ever ſhee ſhould ſee them againe or no.

At which time ſir Henry Benifield with Miſtris Clarencius comming in, her Grace was brought into the garden unto a ſtaires foote that went into the Queenes lodging, her Graces gentlewoman waiting upon her, her gentleman Uſher and her groomes going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to ſtay all ſaving one woman, Miſtris Clarencius conducted her to the Queenes bedchamber where her Maieſtie was.

Lady Eliz brought to the Quéenes bedchamber.

At the ſight of whom her Grace knéeled down, and deſired God to preſerve her Maieſty, not miſtruſting but that ſhee ſhould try her ſelfe as true a ſubiect towards her Maieſtie, as ever did any, and deſired her Maieſty even ſo to iudge of her; and ſaid, that ſhée ſhould not finde her to the contrary, whatſoever report otherwiſe had gone of her.

Talk betwéen the Quéene & Lady Elizabeth.

To whom the Quéen anſwered, You will not confeſſe your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If ti doth not (quoth the Lady Elizabeth) I requeſt neither favor nor pardon at your Maieſties hands. Well (ſaid the Queene) you ſtiffely ſtill

perſevers

perſevere in your truth. Be like you will not confeſſe but that you have been wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your Maieſtie) to you.

Why then (ſayd the Queene) belike you will to other.

Smal comfort at the queenes hand toward her ſiſter.

No, if it pleaſe your Maieſtie (quoth ſhe) I have borne the burden and muſt beare it. I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie to have a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true ſubiect, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable words of the Queene, in Engliſh: but what ſhe ſayd in Spaniſh, God knoweth. It is thought that King Philip was there behind a cloth, and not ſeene, and that he ſhewed himſelfe a very friend in that matter. &c.

King Philip thought to be a friend to Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Eliz. by Gods providence ſet at liberty.

Sir H. Benifield diſcharged.

Thus her Grace departing, went to her lodging againe, and that day ſevennight was releaſed of ſir Henrie Benifield her gaoler (as ſhe termed him) and his ſouldiers, and ſo her grace being ſet at libertie from impriſonment, went into the Country, and had appointed to goe with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of Q. Maries Counſellors, and one of her Gentlemen Uſhers, Maſter Gage: and thus ſtraitely was ſhe looked to all Queene Maries time. And this is the diſcourſe of her highneſſe impriſonment.

Miſtris Ashley ſent to the fleet. 3 gentlewomen of Lady Elizabeth ſent to the Tower: Note the wonderfull working of the Lords providence in ſaving of Lady Eliz.

¶ Then there came to Lamheyre, M. Jerningham, and M. Noris Gentleman Uſher, Queene Maries men, who tooke away from her Grace Miſtreſſe Aſhley to the Fleete, and three other of her Gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her Grace, ſaying, that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praiſed, ſhortly after was fetched away Gardiner through the mercifull providence of the Lords goodneſſe, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſe (as is partly touched in this ſtorie before) the life of this excellent Princeſſe, the wealth of all England, was preſerved. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſayd wicked Gardiner of Wincheſter had long laboured his wits, and to this onely moſt principall marke bent all his deviſes, to take this our happie and deare ſovereigne out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified, may ſufficiently appeare.

Lady Eliz. delivered by the death of Stephen Gardiner.

But ſuch was the gracious and favorable providence of the Lord, to the preſervation not onely of her royall Majeſtie, but alſo of the miſerable and woefull ſtate of this whole Iland, and poore ſubiects of the ſame, wherby the proud platformes and peeviſh practices of this wicked Achitophel prevailed not: but contrariwiſe, both he, and all the ſnares and trappes of his pernicious counſell laid againſt another, were turned to a net to catch himſelfe, according to the Proverb, Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.

How the Lord here began to work for Lady Elizabeth.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death alſo and drooping away of other her enemies, whereby by little and little her jeopardy decreaſed, feare diminiſhed, hope of comfort beganne to appeare as out of a darke cloud: and albeit as yet her Grace had no full aſſurance of perfect ſafetie, yet more gentle entertainement daily did grow unto her, till at length in the moneth of November, and ſeventeenth day of the ſame, three yeares after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of Queen Marie, as hereafter God granting ſhall be more declared.

A note of a ſtory declaring the malignant hearts of the papiſts toward Lady Elizabeth.

Although this hiſtorie following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not unaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcover and ſhew forth the malicious hearts of the Papiſts toward this vertuous Queene our Sovereigne Lady in the time of Queene Marie her ſiſter, which is reported, as a truth credibly told, by ſundrie honeſt perſons, of whome ſome are yet alive, and doe teſtifie the ſame. The matter whereof is this.

Rob. Farrer of London a ſore enemy to Lady Elizabeth.

¶ Soone after the ſtir of Wiat and the troubles that happened to this Queene for that cauſe, it fortuned one Robert Farrer a Haberdaſher of London, dwelling neare unto Newgate market, in a certaine morning to bee at the Roſe Taverne (from whence he was ſeldome abſent) and falling to his common drinke, as hee was ever accuſtomed, and having in his companie three other companions like to himſelfe, it chanced the ſame time one Laurence Shiriffe Grocer, dwelling alſo not farre from thence, to come into the ſayd Taverne, and finding there the ſayd Farrer (to whom of long time hee had borne good will) ſate downe in the ſeate to drinke with him, and Farrer having in his full cups, and not having conſideration who were preſent, began to talke at large, and namely againſt the Lady Elizabeth, and ſaid, that Jill hath bin one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of Wiat, and before all be done, ſhe and all the heretikes her partakers, ſhall well underſtand of it. Some of them hope that ſhe ſhall have the crowne, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hop headleſſe, or be fried with fagots before ſhe come to it.

Laurence Shiriffe ſworne friend and ſervant to Lady Eliz. his Miſtreſſe.

Robert Farrer ralleth againſt Lady Elizabeth.

The part of a good truſty ſervant.

The foreſayd Laurence Shiriffe Grocer being then ſervant unto the Lady Elizabeth, and ſworne unto her Grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer in ſpeaking ſo unreverently of his Miſtreſſe, but ſayd unto him; Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now heare, I defie thee; and I tell thee I am her Graces ſworne ſervant, and ſhee is a Princeſſe, and the daughter of a Noble King, and it evill becommeth thee to call her a Jill, and for thy ſo ſaying, I ſay thou art a knave, and I will complaine upon thee. Doe thy worſt ſayd Farrer: for that I ſaid, I will ſay againe, and ſo Shiriffe came from his company.

Robert Farrer complained of to the Commiſſioners but no redreſſe was had.

Shortly after the ſaid Shiriffe, taking an honeſt neighbor with him, went before the Commiſſioners to complaine; the which Commiſſioners ſate then at Boner the Biſhop of Londons houſe beſide Pauls, and there were preſent, Boner then being the chiefe Commiſſioner, the Lord Mordant, ſir John Baker, D. Darbiſhire Chancellor to the Biſhop, Doctor Storie, Doctor Harpsfield, and other.

The aforeſayd Shiriffe comming before them, declared the manner of the ſaid Rob. Farrers talk againſt the Lady Elizabeth. Boner anſwered, Peradventure you take him worſe than hee meant.

Yea my Lord, ſaid Doctor Storie, if you knew the man as I doe, you would ſay there is not a better Catholike, nor an honeſter man in the City of London.

Well, ſayd Shiriffe, my Lord ſhee is my gracious Lady and Miſtreſſe, and it is not to bee ſuffered that ſuch a Varlet as hee is ſhould call ſo honourable a Princeſſe by the name of a Jill: And I ſaw yeſterday in the Court that my Lord Cardinall Poole, meeting her in the Chamber of Preſence, kneeled downe on his knees and kiſſed her hand; and I ſaw alſo that King Philip meeting her, made her ſuch obeyſance, that his knee touched the ground; and then me thinketh it were too much to ſuffer ſuch a Varlet as this is, to call her Jill, & to wiſh them to hop headleſſe that ſhall wiſh her Grace to enioy the poſſeſſion of the crowne when God ſhall ſend it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance. Yea: ſtay there quoth Bonner. When God ſendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (ſaid he) the man that ſpake the words that you have reported, meant nothing againſt the Lady Elizabeth your miſtreſſe, and no more do we: but he like an honeſt and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to feare: and therefore (ſaid Boner) good man goe your waies home and report well of us toward your miſtreſſe, and we will ſend for Farrer and rebuke him for his raſh and undiſcreete words, and we truſt he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriffe came away, and Farrer had a flap with a Foxe taile.

How B. Bonner and D. Story bare with him that railed againſt Lady Elizabeth.

Now that ye may bee fully informed of the aforeſaid Farrer, whom Doctor Storie prayſed for ſo good a man, ye ſhall underſtand that the ſame Farrer having two daughters being handſome maidens, the elder of them for a ſumme of money hee himſelfe delivered to ſir Roger Cholmley to bee at his commandement, the other hee ſold to a Knight called ſir Willam Goddolphin to bee at his commandement; whom hee made his lackie, and ſo carried her with him, being apparelled in mans apparell, to Bolein, and the ſaid Farrer followed the campe. He alſo was a great and an horrible blaſphemer of God, and a common accuſer of honeſt and quiet men, alſo a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of theſe catholikes to your judgement, to thinke of them as you pleaſe.

Note the ungodly life of theſe catholiks

But of this matter enough, and too much. Now let us returne where we left before, which was at the death of Queene Marie. After whoſe deceaſe ſucceded her foreſayd ſiſter Ladie Elizabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after ſo long reſtrainment, ſo great dangers eſcaped, ſuch bluſterous ſtormes overblowne, ſo many injuries digeſted and wrongs ſuſtained, by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no ſmall comfort and commodity, hath beene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietneſſe, from dread to dignitie, from miſerie to majeſtie, from mourning to ruling: briefly, of a priſoner made a princeſſe, and placed in her throne Royall, proclaimed now Queene, with as many glad hearts of her ſubjects, as ever was any King or Queene in this realme before her, or ever ſhall bee (I dare ſay) hereafter.

Lady Eliz. proclaimed Queene the ſame day that Q. Mary died

The Lord make England thankful to him for his great beneſits

Touching whoſe flouriſhing ſtate, her Princely reigne and peaceable governement, with divers and ſundrie other things incident to the ſame, and eſpecially touching the great ſtirres and alterations which have happened in other forreigne Nations, and alſo partly among our ſelves here at home, forasmuch as the tractation hereof requireth another volume by it ſelfe, I ſhall therefore defer the Reader to the next booke or ſection inſuing; wherein (if the Lord ſo pleaſe to ſuſtaine mee with leave and life) I may have to diſcourſe of all and ſingular ſuch matters done and atchieved in theſe our latter dayes and memory, more at large.

Now then after theſe ſo great afflictions falling upon this Realme, from the firſt beginning of Queene Maries reigne, wherein ſo many men, women, and children were burned, manie impriſoned, and in priſons ſtarved, divers exiled, ſome ſpoyled of goods and poſſeſſions, a great number driven from houſe and home, ſo many weeping eyes, ſo many ſobbing hearts, ſo many children made fatherleſſe, ſo many fathers bereft of their wives and children, ſo many vexed in conſcience, and divers againſt conſcience conſtrained to recant; and in concluſion, never a good man almoſt in all the Realme but ſuffered ſomething during all the time of this bloudie perſecution; after all this (I ſay) now we are come at length (the Lord be praiſed) to the 17. day of November: which day as it brought to the perſecuted members of Chriſt reſt from their carefull mourning, ſo it eaſeth me ſomewhat likewiſe of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of Q. Marie. Who being long ſicke before, upon the ſaid 17. day of November, in the yeare above ſaid, about three or foure a clocke in the morning, yeelding her life to nature, and her kingdome to Queen Elizabeth her ſiſter.

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Novemb. 17. Q. Mary endeth. Q. Elizabeth beginneth her reigne.

As touching the manner of whoſe death, ſome ſay that ſhee died of a Tympany, ſome (by her much ſighing before her death, ſuppoſed ſhee died of thought and ſorrow. Whereupon her Councell ſeeing her ſighing, and deſirous to know the cauſe, to the end they might miniſter the more ready conſolation unto her, feared, as they ſayd, that ſhe tooke that thought for the Kings Majeſty her huſband, which was gone from her. To whom ſhe anſwering againe, Indeed (ſaid ſhe) that may be one cauſe, but that is not the greateſt wound that pierceth my oppreſſed minde: but what that was ſhe would not expreſſe to them.

The manner of Q. Maries death.

Albeit, afterward ſhe opened the matter more plainly to M. Riſe and Miſtreſſe Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of M. Riſe himſelfe) who then being moſt familiar with her, and moſt bold about her, told her that they feared ſhee tooke thought for King Philips departing from her. Not that only (ſaid ſhee) but when I am dead and opened, you ſhall finde Calice lying in my heart, &c. And here an end of Q. Marie, and of her perſecution.

Q. Maryes thought for the loſſe of Calice.

Of which Queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in ſtorie for a perpetuall memoriall or Epitaph for all Kings and Queenes that ſhall ſucceede her, to be noted, That before her never was read in ſtorie of any King or Queene of England ſince the time of King Lucius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and priſoning, ſo much Chriſtian blood, ſo many Engliſhmens lives were ſpilled within this Realm, as under the ſaid Q. Mary for the ſpace of foure yeares was to be ſeene, and I beſeech the Lord never may be ſeene hereafter.

More Engliſh bloud ſpilled in Q. Maries time, than ever was in any Kings reigne, before her.

A briefe declaration, ſhewing the unproſperous ſucceſſe of Q. Mary in perſecuting Gods people, and how mightily God wrought againſt her in all her affaires.

NOw, forasmuch as Queen Marie, during all the time of her reigne, was ſuch a vehement adverſarie and perſecutor againſt the ſincere profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus and his Goſpel: for the which there be many which do highly magnifie and approve her doings therein, reputing her religion to bee ſound and catholike, and her proceedings to be moſt acceptable and bleſſed of almighty God: to the intent therefore, that all men may underſtand, how the bleſſing of the Lord God did not only not proceede with her proceedings, but contrariwiſe rather, how his manifeſt diſpleaſure ever wrought againſt her, in plaguing both her and her realme, and in ſubverting all her counſels and attempts, whatſoever ſhe tooke in hand, wee will beſtow a little time therein, to perpend and ſurvey the whole courſe of her doings and chievances, and conſider what ſucceſſe ſhe had in the ſame. Which being well conſidered, we ſhall never find any reigne of any Prince in this land, or any other,

The reigne of Q. Mary how unproſperous it was both to her, and to her realme in all reſpects.

Anno 1558.

ther, which had ever to ſhew in it (for the proporon of time) ſo many arguments of Gods great wrath and diſpleaſure, as was to bee ſeene in the reigne of this Queene Marie, whether we behold the ſhortneſſe of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purpoſes, who ſeemed never to purpoſe any thing that came luckily to paſſe, neither did any thing frame to her purpoſe, whatſoever ſhe tooke in hand touching her owne private affaries.

Q. Mary never had good ſucceſſe in any thing ſhe went about.

Of good Kings we read in the Scripture, in ſhewing mercy and pitie, in ſeeking Gods will in his word, and ſubverting the monuments of Idolatrie, how God bleſſed their waies, encreaſed their honors, and mightily proſpered all their proceedings; as we ſee in K. David, Solomon, Ioſias, Ioſaphat, Ezechias, with ſuch other. Manaſſes made the ſtreets of Ieruſalem to ſwim with the bloud of his ſubiects, but what came of it the text doth teſtifie.

A good king alwaies maketh a flouriſhing Realme.

Of Queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among us, this we muſt needes ſay, which we ſee, thct ſhee in ſparing the bloud, not onely of Gods ſervants, but alſo of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of Q. Mary her ſiſter, with ſuch abundance of peace and proſperity, that it is hard to ſay, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in Q. Maries time, or of Gods favor and mercie in theſe ſo bleſſed and peaceable daies of Q. Elizabeth.

Compariſon betweene the reigne of Q. Mary and Q Elizabeth.

Gamaliel ſpeaking his minde in the Councell of the Phariſees concerning Chriſts religion, gave this reaſon, That if it were of God, it ſhould continue, whoſoever ſayd nay; If it were not, it could not ſtand. So may it be ſaid of Q. Mary and her Romiſh religion, That if it were ſo perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the Goſpellers were ſo deteſtable and hereticall as they make it; how commeth it then, that this ſo Catholike a Queene, ſuch a neceſſary pillar of his ſpouſe the Church, continued no longer, till ſhe had utterly rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to ſpare theſe poore heretikes, rooted out Queene Mary ſo ſoone from her throne, after ſhee had reigned but onely five yeares and five moneths?

Gamaliels reaſon. Acts 5.

Now furthermore, how God bleſſed her waies and endeavors in the meane time, while ſhe thus perſecuted the true ſervants of God, remaineth to be diſcuſſed. Where firſt this is to bee noted, that when ſhee firſt began to ſtand for the title of the Crowne, and yet had wrought no reſiſtance againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, but had promiſed her faith to the Suffolke men, to maintaine the religion left by King Edward her brothr, ſo long God went with her, advanced her, and by the meanes of the Goſpellers brought her to the poſſeſſion of the Realme. But after that ſhe breaking her promiſe with God and man, beganne to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her ſupremacie unto the Pope, by and by Gods bleſſing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward during the whole time of her Regiment.

Q. Mary proſpered ſo long as ſhe went not againſt the Lord.

Q. Maries promiſe to the Goſpellers broken.

For firſt incontinently the faireſt and greateſt ſhip ſhe had, called great Harry, was burned; ſuch a veſſell as in all theſe parts of Europe was not to be matched.

The ſhip called the great Harry burned.

Then would ſhe needs bring in King Philip, and by her ſtrange marriage with him, make the whole Realme of England ſubiect unto a ſtranger. And all that notwithſtanding, that ſhee either did or was able to doe, ſhee could not bring to paſſe to ſet the crowne of England upon his head. With King Philip alſo came in the Pope and his Popiſh Maſſe; with whom alſo her purpoſe was to reſtore againe the Monks and Nunnes unto their places, neyther lacked there all kinde of attempts to the uttermoſt of her ability: and yet therein alſo GOD ſtopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her land? the like whereof hath not lightly in England beene ſeene, inſomuch that in ſundrie places her poore ſubiects were faine to feed of acornes for want of corne.

Q. Maries marriage with a ſtranger.

Q. Mary diſappointed of her purpoſe in crowning K. Philip.

Q. Mary ſtopped of her will in reſtoring Abbeylands.

Furthermore, where other Kings are wont to be renowned by ſome worthie victorie and prowes by them atchieved, let us now ſee what valiant victorie was gotten in this Queene Maries daies. King Edward the ſixth her bleſſed brother, how many rebellions did he ſuppreſſe in Devonſhire, in Northfolke, in Oxfordſhire, and elſe where? what a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the ſingular working (no doubt) of Gods bleſſed hand, rathar than by any expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleventh King from the conqueſt) by Princely puiſſance purchaſed Calice unto England, which hath been kept Engliſh ever ſince, till at length came Queen Mary, the eleventh likewiſe from the ſaid King Edward, which loſt Calice from England again: ſo that the winnings of this Queen were very ſmall, what the loſſes were let other men iudge,

The victory of K. Edward 6. in Scotland.

The ill luck of Q. Mary in loſing of Calice.

The 11. K: from the Conqueſt got Calice and the 11 againe after him loſt it.

Hitherto the affaires of Queen Marie have had no great good ſucceſſe, as you have heard. But never worſe ſucceſſe had any woman, than had ſhee in her childe-birth. For ſeeing one of theſe two muſt needes bee granted, that eyther ſhee was with childe or not with childe: if ſhe were with childe and did travell, why was it not ſeene? if ſhe were not, how was all the Realme deluded? And in the meane while, where were all the prayers, the ſolemne proceſſions, the devout Maſſes of the Catholike Clergy? why did they not prevaile with God, if their religion were ſo godly as they pretend? If their Maſſes *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Chriſt from heaven, and to reach downe to Purgatory: how chanced then they could not reach to the Queenes chamber, to help her in her travell, if ſhe had been with childe indeed? if not, how then came it to paſſe, that all the Catholike Church of England did ſo erre, and was ſo deeply deceived? Q. Mary after theſe manifold plagues and corrections, which might ſufficiently admoniſh her of Gods diſfavour provoked againſt her, would not yet ceaſe her perſecution, but ſtill continued more and more to revenge her Catholike Zeale upon the Lords faithfull people, ſetting fire to their poore bodies by doſens and halfe doſens together. Whereupon Gods wrathfull indignation, increaſing more and more againſt her, ceaſed not to touch her more neere with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that hee had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things ſhee deſired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things ſhould have been her chiefe ſtay of honor, and ſtaffe of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her owne huſband, by whoſe marriage ſhe had promiſed before to her ſelfe whole heapes of ſuch ioy and felicity: but now the omnipotent governor of all things ſo turned the wheele of her owne ſpinning againſt her, that her high buildings of ſuch ioyes and felicities came all to a Caſtle come down, her hopes being confounded, her purpoſes diſappointed, and ſhee now brought to deſolaton; who ſeemed neither to have the favor of God, nor the hearts of her ſubiects, nor yet the love of her huſband; who neither had fruit by him while ſhe

The ill lucke of Q. Mary in her childe birth.

Q. Mary left deſolate of K. Philip her huſband.

The ill lack of Q. Mary with her huſband.

had him, neyther could now enjoy him whom ſhe had married, neither yet was in liberty to marry any other whom ſhée might enjoy. Marke here (Chriſtian Reader) the wofull adverſitie of this Quéene, and learne withall what the Lord can do when mans wilfulneſſe will néeds reſiſt him, and will not be ruled.

The final end and death of Q. Mary.

At laſt, when all theſe faire admonitions would take no place with the Quéene, nor remove her to revoke her bloudy lawes, nor to ſtay the tyrannie of her Prieſts, nor yet to ſpare her owne ſubjects, but that the poore ſervants of God were drawne daily by heapes moſt pitifully as ſhéep to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heavenly Majeſtie of almightie God, when no other remedie would ſerve, by death to cut her off, which in her life ſo little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which ſhée abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſts Church and people, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhée had reigned here the ſpace of five yeares and five moneths. The ſhortneſſe of which years and reigne, ſcarce we finde in any other ſtory of King or Quéene ſince the Conqueſt or before (being come to their owne government) ſave only in King Richard the third.

Q. Mary reigned 5. years & 5. moneths.
The ſhortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

An admonition to all Chriſtian rulers.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing up of this ſtorie, I thought to inſinuate, touching the unluckie and ruefull reigne of Quéene Marie: not for any detraction to her place and ſtate royall, whereunto ſhée was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forſomuch as ſhée would néeds ſet her ſelfe ſo confidently to worke and ſtrive againſt the Lord and his procéedings, all readers and rulers may not onely ſée how the Lord did worke againſt her therefore, but alſo by her may be advertiſed and learne what a perillous thing it is for men and women in authoritie, upon blinde zeale and opinion, to ſtirre up perſecution in Chriſts Church, to the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, leſt it prove in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to perſecute heretikes, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as did the Jewes in perſecuting Chriſt and his true members to death, to their own confuſion and deſtruction.

The ſevere puniſhment of God upon the perſecutors of his people and enemies to his Word, with ſuch alſo as have beene blaſphemers, contemners, and mockers of his Religion.

A treatiſe of Gods ſevere puniſhment againſt cruel perſecutors, and enemies to his word.

Leaving now Quéene Marie, being dead and gone, I come to them which under her were the chiefe miniſters and doers in this perſecution, the Biſhops (I meane) and Prieſts of the Clergy to whom Quéene Marie gave all the execution of her power, as did Quéene Alexandra to the Phariſées after the time of the Machabées. Of whom Joſephus thus writeth, Ipſa ſolum nomen regium ferebat, cæterum omnem regni poteſtatem Phariſæi poſſidebant: that is, She only retained to her ſelfe the name and title of the Kingdome, but all her power ſhe gave to the Phariſées to poſſeſſe, &c. Touching which Prelates and Prieſts here is to be noted in like ſort the wonderfull and miraculous providence of almightie God, which as hée abridged the reigne of their Quéene, ſo he ſuffered them not to eſcape unviſited: firſt beginning with Stephen Gardiner the Arch-perſecutor of Chriſts Church, whom he tooke away about the middeſt of the Quéenes reigne. Of whoſe poiſoned life, and ſtincking end, forſomuch as ſufficient hath béen touched before, I ſhall not néed here to make any new rehearſall thereof.

Ioſephus de antiq. lib. 13.

The death of Ste. Gardiner, read before

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Gods puniſhment upon D. Morgan B. of S. Davids.

After him dropped other away alſo, ſome before the death of Quéene Marie, and ſome after; as Morgan Biſhop of Saint Davids, who ſitting upon the condemnation of the bleſſed Martyr Biſhop Farrer, and unjuſtly uſurping his roome, not long after was ſtricken by Gods hand after ſuch a ſtrange ſort, that his meat would not goe downe, but riſe and picke up againe, ſometime at his mouth, ſometime blown out at his noſe moſt horrible to behold, and ſo hée continued till his death. Where note moreover that when Maſter Leyſon, being then ſheriffe at Biſhop Farrers burning, had ſet away the cattell of the ſaid Biſhop from his ſervants houſe called Matthew Harbottell, into his own cuſtodie, the cattell comming into the ſheriffes ground, divers of them would never eate meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and ſo dyed.

A note of wrong-gotten goods.

Juſtice Morgan ſtricken with madnes.

This foreſaid Biſhop Morgan above mentioned, bringeth me alſo in remembrance of Juſtice Morgan, who ſate upon the death of the Lady Jane, and not long after the ſame fell mad, and was bereft of his wits, and ſo died, having ever in his mouth, Lady Jane, Lady Jane, &c.

D. Dunning a cruel chancellor ſtricken with ſudden death.

Before the death of Q. Mary died D. Dunning the bloudy and wretched Chancellor of Norwich, who, after he had moſt rigorouſly condemned and murdered ſo many ſimple and faithful Saints of the Lord, continued not long himſelfe, but in the middeſt of his rage in Q. Maries dayes died in Lincolnſhire, being ſuddenly taken (as ſome ſay) ſitting in his chaire.

The ſudden death of Berry a commiſſary in Northfolke.

The like ſudden death fell alſo upon Berrie Commiſſary in Northfolke, who (as is before ſhewed in the ſtory of Tho. Hudſon) four daies after Q. Maries death, when he had made a great feaſt, and had one of his Concubines there, comming home from the Church after Evenſong, where he had miniſtred Baptiſme the ſame time, betwéene the Church-yard and his houſe ſuddenly fell downe to the ground with a heavy groane, and never ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance.

Gods ſtroke upon Doctor Thornton B. or Suffragan of Dover.

What a ſtroke of Gods hand was brought upon the cruell perſecutor of the holy and harmleſſe Saints of the Lord, Biſhop Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, who after hée had exerciſed his cruell tyranny upon ſo many godly men at Canterbury, at length comming upon a ſaturday from the Chapter houſe at Canterbury to Borne, and there upon ſunday following looking upon his men playing at the bowles, fell ſuddenly in a Palſey, and ſo had to bed, was willed to remember God: Yea, ſo I do (ſaid he) and my Lord Cardinall too, &c.

Another ſuffragan of Dover brake his necke after he had received the Cardinals bleſſing.

After him ſucceeded another Biſhop or Suffragan ordained by the foreſaid Cardinall. It is reported that he had béene Suffragan before to Boner, who, not long after being made Biſhop or Suffragan of Dover, brake his necke falling downe a paire of ſtaires in the Cardinals Chamber at Gréenwich, as he had received the Cardinals bleſſing.

Among other plentifull and ſundrie examples of the Lords judgement and ſeverity practiſed upon the cruell perſecutors of his people, that is not the leaſt that followeth, concerning the ſtorie of one William Fenning, the effect and circumſtance of which matter is this.

John Cooper of the age of 44. years, dwelling at Watſam in the County of Suffolke, being by Science a Carpenter, a man of very honeſt report and a good houſe-keeper, a harbourer of ſtrangers that travelled for conſcience, and one that favoured religion, and thoſe that were religious, was of honeſt converſation and good life, hating all Popiſh and Papiſticall traſh.

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This man being at home in his houſe, there came unto him one William Fenning, a ſerving man, dwelling in the ſayd Towne of Watſam, and underſtanding that the ſaid Cooper had a couple of faire Bullocks, did deſire to buy them of him; which Cooper told him that hee was loath to ſell them, for that he had brought them up for his owne uſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to buy other, and that he would not doe.

When Fenning ſaw he could not get them (for he had often aſſayed the matter) hee ſaid, hee would ſit as much in his light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of high Treaſon. The words he was charged with were theſe, How he ſhould pray, if God would not take away Queene Marie, that then the Divell would take her away. Of theſe words did this Fenning charge him before ſir Henrie Doiell Knight (unto whom hee was carried by M. Timperley of Hincleſam in Suffolke, and one Grimwood of Lowſhaw Conſtable) which words Cooper flatly denied; and ſaid he never ſpake them: but that could not helpe.

Notwithſtanding, hee was arraigned therefore at Berry before ſir Clement Higham, at a Lent Aſſiſe, and there this Fenning brought two naughty men that witneſſed the ſpeaking of the foreſaid words, whoſe names were Richard White of Watſam, and Grimwood of Hitcham, in the ſaid Countie of Suffolk. Whoſe teſtimonies were received as truth, although this good man John Cooper had ſaid what hee could to declare himſelfe innocent therein, but to no purpoſe, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by ſir Clement Highams words, who ſaid hee ſhould not eſcape, for an example to all heretikes, as indeed he throughly performed. For immediately hee was judged to bee hanged, drawne, and quartered, which was executed upon him very ſhortly after, to the great griefe of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behinde him alive his wife and nine children, with goods and cattell, to the value of three hundred markes, the which ſubſtance was all taken away by the ſayd ſir Henrie Doiell ſheriffe, but his wife and poore children left to the wide world in their clothes, and ſuffered not to enjoy one peny of that they had ſore laboured for, unleſſe they made friends to buy it with mony of the ſaid ſheriffe, ſo cruell and greedie was he and his officers upon ſuch things as were there left.

The judgment of God upon Grimwood.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his goods ſpoyled, his wife and children left deſolate and comfortleſſe, and all things huſht, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord who ſurely doth revenge the guiltleſſe bloud, would not ſtill ſo ſuffer it, but began at the length to puniſh it himſelfe. For in the harveſt after, the ſayd Grimwood of Hitcham one of the witneſſes before ſpecified, as hee was in his labour ſtaking up a goffe of corne, having his health, and fearing no perill, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately moſt miſerably hee died; ſuch was the terrible judgement of God, to ſhew his diſpleaſure againſt his bloudy act, and to warne the reſt by theſe his judgements to repentance. The Lord grant us to honor the ſame, for his mercies ſake. Amen.

This foreſayd Fenning, who was the procurer of this tyrannie againſt him, is yet alive, and is now a Miniſter; which if he be, I pray God he may ſo repent that fact, that he may declare himſelfe hereafter ſuch a one as may well anſwer to his vocation accordingly.

But ſince wee have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth ſtill in his wickedneſſe, and therefore preſented before the worſhipfull Maſter Humerſton Eſquire and Juſtice of Peace and Coram, for that hee had talke with ſome of his friends (as hee thought) how many honeſt women (to their great infamie) were in the Pariſh of Wenſthaſton, wherein hee is now Vicar reſident: wherefore he was commanded the next ſunday enſuing, to aſke all the Pariſh forgivenes upon his knees openly in ſervice time, which he did in Wenſthaſton Church before ſayd, and moreover the aboveſaid Fenning is reported to bee more like a ſhifter than a Miniſter.

A terrible example of Gods ſevere puniſhment upon one Nightingal, Parſon of Crondal in Kent.

To theſe examples alſo may be added the terrible judgement of God upon the Parſon at Crondal in Kent, who upon Shroveſunday, having received the Popes pardon from Cardinall Poole, came to his Pariſh, and exhorted the people to receive the ſame, as he had done himſelfe; ſaying that he ſtood now ſo cleere in conſcience as when he was firſt borne, and cared not now if he ſhould die the ſame houre, in the cleereneſſe of his conſcience; whereupon being ſuddenly ſtricken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the one ſide, immediately ſhrunke downe in the Pulpit, and ſo was found dead, ſpeaking not one word more. Reade before.

D. Geffery Chancellor of Salisbury.

Not long before the death of Queene Marie died Doctor Capon Biſhop of Saliſburie. About the which time alſo followed the unprepared death of Doctor Geffrey, Chancellor of Saliſburie, who in the midſt of his buildings, ſuddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yeelded his life, which had ſo little pity of other mens lives before. Concerning whoſe cruelty partly mention is made before.

As touching moreover this foreſaid Chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a ſaturday, the next day before the ſame hee had appointed to call before him 90. perſons and not ſo few, to examine them by Inquiſition, had not the goodnes of the Lord, and his tender providence thus prevented him with death, providing for his poore ſervants in time.

And now (to come from prieſts to lay men) we have to find in them alſo no leſſe terrible demonſtrations of Gods heavy judgement upon ſuch as have bin vexers and perſecutors of his people.

M. Woodroffe a cruel ſheriffe plagued.

Before in the ſtorie of M. Bradford mention was made of Maſter Woodroffe, who being the ſherieffe, uſed much to rejoyce at the death of the poore ſaints of Chriſt, and ſo hard he was in his office, that when Maſter Rogers was in the cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Maſter Woodroffe bade the car-mans head ſhould bee broken for ſtaying his cart. But what happened? Hee was not come out of his office the ſpace of a weeke, but he was ſtricken by the ſudden hand of God, the one halfe of his bodie in ſuch ſort, that he lay benummed and bedred, not able to move himſelfe but as he was lifted of other, and ſo continued in that infirmity the ſpace of ſeven or eight yeares, till his dying day.

Reade before. The betrayer of George Eagles plagued.

Likewiſe touching Ralph Lardin the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of ſome, that the ſayd Ralph afterward was attached himſelfe, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the barre, had theſe words before the Judges there, and a great multitude of people, This is moſt juſtly fallen upon me, ſaith he, for that I have betrayed the innocent bloud of a good and juſt man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of Queene Maries reign through my procurement, who ſold his bloud for a little money. Not much unlike ſtroke of theſe ſeverally was ſhewed upon W. Swallow of Chelmeſford, and his wife, alſo upon Richard Potto, and Juſtice Browne, cruell perſecutors of the ſaid George Eagles, concerning whoſe ſtorie reade before.

Among other perſecutors alſo came to our hands the cruelty of one M. Swingfield an Aldermans Deputie about Thames ſtreete, who hearing one Angels wife, a midwife that kept her ſelfe from their Popiſh Church, to be at the labor of one Miſtreſſe Walter at Crooked lane end, tooke three other with him, and beſet the houſe about, and tooke her and carried her to Boners officers, bigge with childe, eight and twentie weekes gone, who layd her in Lollards Tower; where, the ſame day ſhee came in, through feare and a fall at her taking, ſhe was delivered of a man childe, and could have no women with her in that needfull time. Lying there five weekes, ſhee was delivered under ſureties by friendſhip, and D. Story heareing thereof charged her with felony, and ſo ſent her to Newgate. The cauſe was, for that ſhe had a woman at her houſe in her labour that dyed, and the childe alſo, and ſo hee charged her with their death.

Gods puniſhment upon M. Swingfield & other which bewrayed one Angels wife.

But when ſir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weekes after, if it were ſo long, died the ſayd Maſter Swingfield, and the other three that came to take her.

A ſtory of Burton, bailiffe of Crowland, how he was plagued for ſetting up Maſſe.

Becauſe ſome there bee, and not a few, which have ſuch a great devotion in ſetting up the Popiſh Maſſe, I ſhall deſire them to marke well this ſtory following. There was a certaine Bailiffe of Crowland in Lincolnſhire named Burton, who pretending an earneſt friendſhip to the Goſpel in K. Edwards dates, in outward ſhew at leaſt (although inwardly hee was a Papiſt or Atheiſt, and well knowne to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life) ſet forth the Kings proceedings luſtily, till the time that King Edward was dead and Queene Marie placed quietly in her eſtate.

Then perceiving by the firſt proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the Bailiffe turned his religion likewiſe; and ſo hee moved the Pariſh to ſhew themſelves the Queenes friends, and to ſet up the Maſſe ſpeedily. Nevertheleſſe, the moſt ſubſtantiall of the Pariſh marvelling much at the Bailiffes inconſtant lightneſſe, conſidering alſo his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his requeſt, knowing moreover that their duty and friendſhip to the Queene ſtood not in ſetting up the Maſſe, ſpared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the Bailiffe called on them ſtill in the Queenes name.

At laſt, when he ſaw his words were not regarded, and purpoſing to winne his ſpurres by playing the man in the Maſſes behalfe and the Queenes, hee got him to the Church upon a Sunday morning, and when the Curate was beginning the Engliſh ſervice, according to the ſtatute ſet forth by King Edward the ſixth, the Bailiffe commeth in a great rage to the Curate, and ſaith, Syrra, will you not ſay Maſſe? buckle your ſelfe to maſſe you knave, or by Gods bloud I ſhall ſheathe my dagger in your ſhoulder. The poore Curate for feare ſettled himſelfe to Maſſe.

Burton earneſt in ſetting up the maſſe.

Not long after this, the Bailiffe rode from home upon certaine buſineſſe, accompanied with one of his neighbors, and as they came riding together upon the Fennebank homeward again, a Crow ſitting in a Willow tree tooke her flight over his head, ſinging after her wonted note, knave, knave, and withall let fall upon his face, ſo that her excrements ran from the top of his noſe downe to his beard.

The poiſoned ſent and ſavor whereof ſo noyed his ſtomak, that he never ceaſed vomiting untill he came home, wherewith his heart was ſo ſore and his bodie ſo diſtempered, that for extreme ſickneſſe he got him to bed, and ſo lying, hee was not able for the ſtinch in his ſtomack and painfull vomiting, to receive any reliefe of meat or drink, but cried out ſtill, ſorrowfully complaining of that ſtinke, and with no ſmall oathes curſed the Crow that poiſoned him. To make ſhort, hee continued but a few dayes, but with extreme paine of vomiting and crying, he deſperately dyed, without any token of repentance of his former life.

The ſtinking death of a popiſh maſſemonger.

Reported and teſtified for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honeſt and credible perſons.

Of the martyrdome of James Abbes, reade before.

Of James Abbes Martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whoſe martyrdome, what befell upon a wicked railer againſt him, now ye ſhall further underſtand. Whereby all ſuch railing perſecutors may learne to feare Gods hand, and to take heede how or what they ſpeake againſt his ſervants. As this James Abbes was ledde by the Sheriffe toward his execution, divers poore people ſtood in the way, and asked their almes. Hee then having no money to give them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſomething amongſt them, did pull off all his apparell ſaving his ſhirt, and gave the ſame unto them, to ſome one thing, to ſome another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to bee ſtrong in the Lord, and as faithfull followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt unto the truth of the Goſpel, which he (through Gods help) would then in their ſight ſeale and confirme with his bloud. Whiles hee was thus charitably occupied, and zealouſly inſtructing the people, a ſervant of the Sheriffes going by and hearing him, cried out aloude unto them, and blaſphemouſly ſayd, Beleeve him not good people. Hee is an heretike and a mad man, out of his wit: beleeve him not, for it is hereſie that hee ſayth. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, ſo did this wicked wretch ſtill blow forth his blaſphemous exclamations, untill they came unto the ſtake where hee ſhould ſuffer. Unto the which this conſtant Martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his ſtorie more fully is already declared.

A ſtory to be noted of al railing perſecutors.

The Sheriffes ſervant vilely railing againſt James Abbes.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (ſuch was the fearefull ſtroke of Gods juſtice upon this blaſphemous railer) that hee was there preſently, in the ſight of all the people, ſtricken with a frenzie, wherewith he had before moſt railingly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madneſſe caſting off his ſhooes, with all the reſt of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and ſaid, Thus did James Abbes the true ſervant of GOD, who is ſaved, but I am damned. And thus ranne hee round about the Towne of Burie, ſtill crying out, that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved, but he was damned.

A fearefull example of Gods righteous judgement againſt the Sheriffes ſervant railing againſt James Abbes.

The Sheriffe then being amazed, cauſed him to be taken and tied in a darke houſe, and by force compelled him againe to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to ſome quietnes. But he (all that notwithſtanding) as ſoone as they were gone, continued his former raging, and caſting off his clothes, cried as he did before, James Abbes is the ſervant of God and is ſaved, but I am damned.

Example how popery bringeth to deſperation.

At length he was tied in a cart, and brought home unto his Maſters houſe, and within halfe a yeare or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the Prieſt of the Pariſh was ſent for: who comming unto him, brought with him the Crucifixe, and their houſeling hoſt of the altar. Which geare when the poore wretch ſaw, hee cried out of the Prieſt, and defied all that baggage, ſaying, that the Prieſt, with ſuch other as he was, was the cauſe of his damnation, and that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved. And ſo ſhortly after he died.

Clarke hanged himſelfe.

Clarke, an open enemy to the Goſpel and all godly preachers, in K. Edwards dayes hanged himſelfe in the Tower of London,

The ſudden death of Troling Smith.

The great and notable Papiſt, called Troling Smith, of late fell downe ſuddenly in the ſtreete, and died.

Dale the Promoter eaten with lice.

Dale the Promoter was eaten into his body with Lice, and ſo died, as it is well knowne of many, and confeſſed alſo by his fellow John Anales, before credible witneſſe.

Coxe the Promoter ſuddenly died.

Coxe and earneſt Proteſtant in K. Edwards dayes, and in Q. Maries time a Papiſt and a Promoter, going well and in health to bed (as it ſeemed) was dead before the morning. Teſtified by divers of the neighbors.

Alexander the cruel keeper of Newgate, died a rotten death.

Alexander the Keeper of Newgate, a cruell enemy to thoſe that lay there for religion, dyed very miſerably, being ſo ſwollen, that hee was more like a monſter than a man, and ſo rotten within, that no man could abide the ſmell of him. This cruell wretch, to haſten the poore lambs to the ſlaughter, would goe to Boner, Story, Cholmley, and other, crying out, Rid my priſon, rid my priſon, I am too much peſtered with theſe heretikes.

The ſudden death of James, Alexanders ſon.

The ſonne of the ſayd Alexander called James, having left unto him by his father great ſubſtance, within three yeares waſted all to nought: and when ſome marvelled how hee ſpent thoſe goods ſo faſt: O ſaid he, evill gotten, evill ſpent; and ſhortly after as hee went in Newgate market, hee fell downe ſuddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter Alexanders ſonne in law rotted away.

John Peter, ſonne in law to this Alexander, an horrible blaſpemer of God, and no leſſe cruell to the ſaid priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably dyed. Who commonly when he would affirme any thing, were it true or falſe, uſed to ſay, If it bee not true, I pray God I rot ere I dye. Witneſſe the Printer hereof, with divers other.

Juſtice Lelond perſecutor, plagued. Rob. Baulding perſecutor.

With theſe I might inferre the ſudden death of Juſtice Lelond perſecutor of Jeffrey Hurſt, mentioned before.

Alſo the death of Rob. Baulding ſtricken with lightening at the taking of William Seaman, whereupon he pined away and dyed: the ſtory of the which W. Seaman ſee before.

Beard the Promoter. Rob. Blomfield perſecutor. The judgement of God upon John Rockwood, Lady Honor, and George Bradway perſecutors in Calice.

Likewiſe the wretched end of Beard the Promoter.

Moreover, the conſuming away of Robert Blomfield, perſecutor of William Browne, ſpecified before.

Further, to returne a little backward to King Henries time, here might be induced alſo the example of John Rockwood, who in his horrible end cried all too late, with the ſame words which hee had uſed before in perſecuting Gods poore people of Calice.

Alſo the judgment of God upon Lady Honor a perſecutor, and of George Bradway a falſe accuſer, both bereft of their with.

The juſt puniſhment of God upon ſir Ralfe Ellerker perſecutor.

And what a notable ſpectacle of Gods revenging judgement have we to conſider in ſir Ralph Ellerker, who as he was deſirous to ſee the heart taken out of Adam Damlyp, whom they moſt wrongfully put to death: ſo ſhortly after the ſaid ſir Ralphe Ellerker being ſlaine of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy members, would not ſo leave him, before they might ſee his heart cut out of his body.

The ſudden death of D. Forford.

Doctor Forford, Chancellor to B. Stokeſley, a crull perſecutor, died ſuddenly.

Pavier a perſecutor hanged himſelfe.

Pavier or Pavy, towne Clarke of London, and a bitter enemy to the Goſpel, hanged himſelfe.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitifull end of Judge Hales after he had drowned himſelfe, taking occaſion thereby, called the following and profeſſion of the Goſpel a doctrine of deſperation. But as Judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had conſented to Papiſtry: ſo whoſo well conſidereth the end of Doctor Pendleton (which at his deathfull ſore repented that ever he had yeelded to the doctrine of the Papiſts, as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable end of the moſt part of the Papiſts beſides, and eſpecially of Stephen Gardiner himſelfe (who after ſo long profeſſing the doctrine of Papiſtry, when there came a Biſhop to him in his death bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his Maſter: he anſwering againe, ſaid, that he had denyed with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and ſo both ſtinkingly and unrepentantly died) will ſay, as Stephen Gardiner alſo himſelfe gave an evident example of the ſame to all men, to underſtand that Popery rather is a doctrine of deſperation, procuring the vengeance of almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

The ſtinking end of Ste. Gardiner proveth popery and not the goſpel to be the doctrine of deſperation.

Gods juſt ſtroke upon John Fiſher B. of Rocheſter, and ſir Tho. More.

John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, in King Henries time, after they had brought John Frith. Baifield and Baynham, and divers other to their death, what great reward wan they thereby with almighty God? Did not the ſword of Gods vengeance light upon their owne necks ſhortly after, and they themſelves made a publike ſpectacle at the tower hill of bloudy death, which before had no compaſſion of the lives of others? Thus ye ſee the ſaying of the Lord to be true, Hee that ſmiteth with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword, 2 Mach. 3.

So was Heliodorus in the old time of the Jewes plagued by Gods hand in the Temple of Jeruſalem.

Of Valerianus reade before.

So did Antiochus, Herod, Julian, Valerianus the Emperor, Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exerciſed their cruelty upon Gods people, feele the like ſtriking hand of God themſelves alſo, in revenging the bloud of his ſervants.

And thus much concerning thoſe perſecutors, as well of the Clergy ſort, as of the Laitie, which were ſtriken, and died before the death of Queene Mary. With whom alſo are to bee numbred in the race of perſecuting Biſhops, which died before Queene Mary, theſe Biſhops following:

Biſhops that died before Q. Mary.

Biſhops.
Coates Biſhop of Weſtcheſter.
Parfew Biſhop of Hereford.
Glin Biſhop of Bangor.
Brookes Biſhop of Gloceſter.
King Biſhop of Tame.
Peto Elect of Saliſbury.
Day Biſhop of Chicheſter.
Holyman Biſhop of Briſtow.

Now after the Queene immediately followed, or rather waited upon her, the death of Cardinall Poole, who the next day departed: Of what diſeaſe, although it be uncertaine to many, yet to ſome it is ſuſpected that he tooke ſome Italian phyſicke, which did him no good. Then followed in order.

Anno 1558.

Biſhops that dyed after Q. Mary.

“ Note that B. Tonſtall in Q. Maries time was no great bloudy perſecutor. For maſter Ruſſel a preacher was before him and D. Himner his Chancellor would have had him examined more particularly. The B. ſtayed him, ſaying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbors, I pray you bring not this mans bloud upon my head.

Biſhops:
- John Chriſtopherſon Biſhop of Chicheſter.
- Hopton Biſhop of Norwich.
- Morgan B. of Saint Davids.
- John White B. of Wincheſter.
- Ralfe Bain B. of Lichfield & Coventry
- Owes Oglethorpe B. of Carlile.
- “ Cutbert Tonſtall B. of Durham.
- Thomas Rainolds Elect of Hereford, after his deprivation dyed in priſon.

Beſides theſe Biſhops above named, firſt died at the ſame time.

- D. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, afterward Deane of Windſore, chiefe diſputer againſt Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.
- M. Slethurſt, Maſter of Trinity Colledge in Oxford, who died in the Tower.
- Seth Holland Deane of Worceſter, and warden of All-ſoule Colledge in Oxford.
- William Copinger, Monke of Weſtminſter, who bare the great Seale before Stephen Gardiner, after the death of the ſaid Gardiner, made himſelfe Monk in the houſe of Weſtminſter, and ſhortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower.
- D. Steward Deane of Wincheſter.

A note of D. Weſton.

¶ To behold the working of Gods judgements, it is wondrous. In the firſt yeare of Q. Mary, when the Clergy was aſſembled in the Convocation houſe, and alſo afterward, when the diſputation was in Oxford againſt Doctor Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, he that had ſeene then Doctor Weſton the Prolocutor in his ruffe, how highly he took upon him in the ſchooles, and how ſtoutly he ſtood in the Popes quarrell againſt ſimple and naked truth, full little would have thought, and leſſe did he thinke himſelfe (I dare ſay) that his glory and lofty lookes ſhould have beene brought downe ſo ſoone, eſpecially by them of his owne religion, whoſe part hee ſo doubtily defended. But ſuch is the reward and end commonly of them, who preſumptuouſly oppoſe themſelves to ſtrive againſt the Lord, as by the example of this Doctorly Prolocutor right well may appeare. For not long after the diſputation above mentioned againſt Biſhop Cranmer and his fellowes, God ſo wrought againſt the ſaid Doctor Weſton, that hee fell in great diſpleaſure with Cardinall Poole and other biſhops, becauſe he was unwilling to give up his Deanry and houſe of Weſtminſter unto the Monkes and religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the church of Rome. Who notwithſtanding at laſt, through importunate ſute, gave up Weſtminſter, and was Deane of Windſore; where not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the ſame was by the Cardinall put from all his ſpirituall livings.

D. Weſton out of favour with Papiſts.

D. Weſton taken in adultry

D. Weſton appealed to Rome.

Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purpoſed to have fled out of the Realme, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London and there remained untill Q. Elizabeth was proclaimed Queene, at which time hee being delivered, fell ſicke and died. The common talke was, that if he had not ſo ſuddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpoſe of the chiefe of the Clergie, meaning the Cardinall, which was to have taken up K. Henries body at Windſore, and to have burned it. And thus much of D. Weſton.

The death of D. Weſton.

The reſidue that remained of the perſecuting Clergy, and eſcaped the ſtroke of death, were deprived, and committed to priſons: the Catalogue of whoſe names here followeth.

Catholike biſhops after Q. Maries death deprived and impriſoned.

In the Tower.
- Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of York, and Lord Chancellor.
- Thomas Thurby Biſhop of Ely.
- Thomas Watſon Biſhop of Lincolne.
- Gilbert Bourne Biſhop of Bath and Welles.
- Richard Pates B. of Worceſter.
- Troublefield B. of Exeter.
- Jo. Fecknam Abbot of Weſtminſter.
- John Borall Dean of Windſore and Peterborough.

Of David Poole Biſhop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in ſome other priſon.

Note that ſome of theſe biſhops afterward through the goodneſſe of Q. Elizabeth were diſperſed, and ſuffered to be kept in their friends houſes.

Ran away
- Goldwell B. of Saint Aſſe.
- Maurice Elect of Bangor.
- Edmund Boner B. of London, in the Marſhalſea.
- Thomas Wood Biſhop Elect, in the Marſhalſea.
- Cutbert Scot, Biſhop of Cheſter, was in the Fleet, from whence hee eſcaped to Lovane, and there dyed.

In the Fleet
- Henry Cole Deane of Pauls.
- Jo. Harpsfield archdeacon of London, and Deane of Norwich.
- Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canturbury.
- Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of Huntington.
- William Chadſey Archdeacon of Middleſex.

A note of D. Chadſey. 34. Articles of D. Chadſey. D. Chadſey ſubſcribed to the reformed religion in K. Edwards time.

¶ Concerning which D. Chadſey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of King Edwards reigne he recanted, and ſubſcribed to thirty foure Articles, wherein he then fully conſented and agreed with his owne hand writing to the whole forme of doctrine approved and allowed then in the Church, as well concerning juſtification by faith onely, as alſo the doctrine of the two Sacraments then received, denying aſwell the Popes Supremacy, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, elevation and adoration of the ſacrament, the ſacrifice, and veneration of the Maſſe, as alſo all other like excrements of Popiſh ſuperſtition, according to the Kings booke then ſet forth.

Wherefore the more marvell it is, that hee, being counted ſuch a famous and learned Clerke, would ſhew himſelfe ſo fickle and unſtable in his aſſertions, ſo double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintaine for truth, not what he thought beſt, but what he might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the L. Protector and of his brother ſtood upright, what was then the conformity of this D. Chadſey, his owne articles in Latine, written and ſubſcribed with his owne hand, doe declare, which I have to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the Kings uncles, the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his religion turned withall, and eftſoones he tooke upon him to diſpute againſt Peter Martyr, in upholding Tranſubſtantiation at Oxford, which a little before with his owne hand writing he had overthrowne.

D. Chedſey mutable and inconſtant in his religion.

After this enſued the time of Queene Mary, wherein Doctor Chadſey, to ſhew his double diligence, was to eager in his commiſſion to ſit in judgment, and to bring poore men to their death, that

The eagernes of D. Chadſey in puniſhing the poore martyrs.

that in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary when the L. Chancellor, ſir Thomas Cornwalles, L. Clinton, and divers other of the Councell had ſent for him by a ſpeciall letter to repaire unto London out of Eſſex, he, writing againe to the Biſhop of London, ſought meanes not to come at the Councels bidding, but to continue ſtill in his perſecuting progreſſe. The copie of whoſe letter I have alſo in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

w Mauldon prentice with M. Hugh Aparry at Greenwich.

Mention was made not long before, of one William Mauldon, who in King Henries time ſuffered ſtripes and ſcourgings for confeſſing the verity of Gods true Religion. It happened in the firſt yeare of Queene Elizabeth, that the ſayd William Mauldon was bound ſervant with one named Maſter Hugh Aparrie then a Wheate-taker for the Queene, dwelling at Greenewich. Who being newly come unto him, and having never a booke there to looke upon, being deſirous to occupy himſelfe vertuouſly, looked about the houſe, and found a Primer in Engliſh, whereon hee read in a winters evening. Whiles he was reading, there ſate one John Apowell that had beene a ſerving man, about thirty yeares of age, borne toward Wales, whom the ſaid Maſter Hugh gave meat and drinke unto, till ſuch time as hee could get a ſervice. And as the foreſaid W. Mauldon read on the book, the ſaid Jo. Apowell mocked him after every word, with contrary gaudes and flouting words unreverently, inſomuch that hee could no longer abide him for griefe of heart, but turned unto him, and ſaid; John, take heed what thou doeſt; Thou doeſt not mocke me, but thou mockeſt GOD. For in mocking of his word, thou mockeſt him; and this is the word of God, though I be ſimple that reade it: and therefore beware what thou doeſt.

Then Mauldon fell to reading againe, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking, and when Mauldon had read certaine Engliſh prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, &c.

And as Mauldon was reciting theſe words, the other with a ſtart ſuddenly ſaid, Lord have mercy upon me.

With that Mauldon anſwered and ſaid, What ayleſt thou John?

He ſaid, I was affraid.

Whereof was thou affraid, ſaid Mauldon?

Nothing now, ſaid the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and hee went to bed, Mauldon asked him wereof he was affraid?

He ſaid when you read, Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, me thought the haire of my head ſtood upright, with a great feare which came upon me.

Then ſaid Mauldon, John thou mayeſt ſee, the evill ſpirit could not abide that Chriſt ſhould have mercy upon us. Well John, ſaid Mauldon, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mocke and jeſt at his word, he will puniſh us.

Alſo you uſe ribaldrie words and ſwearing very much: therefore for Gods ſake John amend thy life. So I will (ſaid he) by the grace of God; I pray God I may. Amen ſaid the other, with other words, and ſo went to bed.

A terrible example of Gods judgement to be noted of all ſuch as be contemners and mockers of God, and his word.

On the morrow, about 8. of the clocke in the morning, the foreſaid John came running downe out of his chamber in his ſhirt into the hall, and wreſtled with his miſtreſſe as if hee would have throwne her downe, Whereat ſhe ſhriched out, and her ſervants holpe her, and tooke him by ſtrength, and carried him up unto his bed, and bound him downe to his bed: for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right minde.

After that, as he lay, almoſt day and night his tongue never ceaſed, but he cried out of the divell of hell, and his words were ever ſtill, O the divell of hell; now the divell of hell; I would ſee the divell of hell: Thou ſhalt ſee the divell of hell; there he was, there he goeth, with other words, but moſt of the divell of hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about ſixe dayes, that his Maſter and all his houſhold was weary of that trouble and noiſe. Then his Maſter agreed with the Keepers of Bedlam, and gave a peece of mony, and ſent him thither. It ſeemeth that he was poſſeſſed with an evill ſpirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therefore repent and amend, leſt the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witneſſe hereof William Mauldon of Newington.

Gods puniſhment upon a young damſell of 12. yeares old, blaſpheming the Majeſty of God.

The ſame William Mauldon chanced afterward to dwell at a towne ſixe miles from London called Waltamſtow, where his wife taught young children to reade, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1563. and the fourth yeare of Queene Elizabeths reigne. Unto this ſchoole, amongſt other children, came one Benfields daughter, named Dennis, about the age of 12. yeares.

As theſe children ſate talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be buſie with many things) to fall into communication with God, and to reaſon among themſelves, after their childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be.

Whereunto ſome anſwered one thing, ſome another. Among whom when one of the children had ſaid, that he was a good old father; the foreſaid Denis Benfield caſting out impious words of horrible blaſphemy, What he (ſaid ſhe) is an old doting foole.

What wretched and blaſphemous words were theſe ye heare. Now mark what followed.

When William Mauldon heard of theſe abominable words of the girle, hee willed his wife to correct her for the ſame. Which was appointed the next day to bee done. But when the next morrow came, her mother would needes ſend her to the Market to London, the wench greatly intreating her mother that ſhe might not goe, being marvellouſly unwilling thereunto. Howbeit through her mothers compulſion, ſhe was forced to goe, and went. And what happened? Her buſineſſe being done at London, as ſhe was returning againe homeward, and being a little paſt Hackney, ſuddenly the young girle was ſo ſtricken, that all the one ſide of her was black, and ſhe ſpeechleſſe. Whereupon immediately ſhe was carried back to Hackney, and there the ſame night was buried. Witneſſe of the ſame ſtory William Mauldon and his wife, alſo Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all alive.

Blaſphemy puniſhed.

A terrible example (no doubt) both to old and young, what it is for children to blaſpheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to ſuffer their young ones to grow up in ſuch blaſphemous blindneſſe, and not to nurture them betime in the rudiments of the Chriſtian Catechiſme, to know firſt their creation, and then their redemption in Chriſt our Saviour, to feare the name of GOD, and to reverence his Majeſty. For elſe what doe they deſerve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

Anno 1558.

A leſſon to children and young girles.

And therefore let all young maides, boyes, and young men, take example by this wretched ſilly wench, not onely not to blaſpheme the ſacred Maieſtie of the omnipotent God their Creator, but alſo not once to take his name in vaine, according as they are taught in his commandements.

A leſſon to fathers and godfathers and godmothers.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to ſee to the inſtruction and catechiſing of their children, for whom they have bound themſelves in promiſe both to God and to his Church. Which if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers had done to this young girle, verily it may be thought this deſtruction had not fallen upon her.

A leſſon to all atheiſts, epicures and infidels.

Thirdly, let all blinde Atheiſts, Epicures, Mammoniſts, belly gods of this world, and ſons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, which ſay in their hearts, there is no God, learne alſo hereby, not onely what God is, and what he is able to doe, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the world to come, unleſſe they will bee warned betime, by ſuch examples as the Lord GOD doth give them.

A leſſon to all blaſphemers and ſwearers.

Fourthly and laſtly, here may alſo bee a ſpectacle for all them which be blaſpemers and abominable ſwearers, or rather tearers of God, abuſing his glorious name in ſuch contemptuous and deſpitefull ſort as they uſe to doe. Whom if neither the word and commandement of God, nor the calling of the Preachers, nor remorſe of conſcience, nor rule of reaſon, nor their withering age, nor hoary haires will admoniſh; yet let theſe terrible examples of Gods ſtrict judgment ſomewhat move them to take heed to themſelves. For if this young maiden, who was not fully twelve yeares old, for her unreverent ſpeaking of God (and that but at one time) did not eſcape the ſtroke of Gods terrible hand, what then have they to looke for, which being men growne in yeares, and ſtriken in age, being ſo often warned and preached unto, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous oathes, not only to abuſe his name, but alſo moſt contumeliouſly and deſpitefully to teare him (as it were) and all his parts in pieces?

Lebar of Abyngdon, a blaſphemer of Gods martyrs, plagued.

About the yeare of our Lord 1565. at Brightwell in the County of Barkſhire, upon certaine communication as touching the right reverend Martyrs in Chriſt, Biſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, and Maſter Hugh Latimer, there came into an houſe in Abyngdon, one whoſe name is Lebar, being a Plowman, dwelling in Brightwell aforeſaid, and ſaid, that he ſaw that evill favored knave Latimer when he was burned: and alſo in deſpite ſaid, that he had teeth like a horſe. At which time and houre, as neare as could bee gathered, the ſon of the ſaid Lebar moſt wickedly hanged himſelfe, at Shepton in the County aforeſaid within a mile of Abyngdon.

These words were ſpoken in the hearing of me Thomas Ienens of Abyngdon.

Tho: Arundell archbiſh. of Cant.

Did not Thomas Arundell, Archbiſhop of Canturbury, give ſentence againſt the L. Cobham, and died himſelfe before him, being ſo ſtriken in his tongue, that neither he could ſwallow nor ſpeake for a certaine ſpace before his death?

Frier Champbel plagued.

Frier Champbel, the accuſer of Patrick Hamelton in Scotland, what a terrible end he had, read before.

Gods judgement upon Harvey a perſecuting Commiſſary.

Harvey a Commiſſary, that condemned a poore man in Calice, was ſhortly after hanged, drawne, and quartered.

Gods juſt plague upon W. Swallow

William Swallow, the cruell tormentor of George Egles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the haire of his head, and nailes of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well neare cloſed up, that hee could ſcant ſee. His wife alſo was ſtriken with the falling ſickneſſe, with the which malady ſhee was never infected before.

Gods juſt plague upon Rich. Potto.

Likewiſe Rich. Potto, another troubler of the ſaid George Egles, upon a certaine anger or chafe with his ſervants, was ſo ſuddenly taken with ſickneſſe, that falling upon his bed like a beaſt, there he died and never ſpake word.

Rich. Denton burned in his owne houſe.

Richard Denton, a ſhrinker from the Goſpel, while he refuſed to ſuffer the fire in the Lords quarrell, was afterward burned in his own houſe with two moe.

Fetties wife ſtricken with madneſſe.

The wife of John Fetty, being the cauſe of the taking of her husband, how ſhe was immediately upon the ſame by Gods hand ſtriken with madneſſe, and was diſtract of her wits, reade before.

Thomas Mouſe and George Revet, two perſecutors, were ſtriken miſerably with the hand of God, and ſo died.

Robert Edgore bereft of his wits.

Alſo Robert Edgore, for that he had executed the office of a Pariſh Clarke againſt his conſcience, through anguiſh and griefe of conſcience for the ſame, was ſo bereft of his wits, that hee was kept in chaines and bonds many yeares after.

Two papiſts of new colledge in Oxford drowned themſelves.

As touching John Plankney fellow of new Colledge in Oxford, Civilian, and one Habington, both fellowes of the ſame houſe aforeſaid, and both ſtubborne Papiſts, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to ſee what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortleſſe doctrine and profeſſion of Papiſtrie, as in theſe two young men, amongſt many other may well appeare. Of whom the one, which was Plankney, ſcholler ſometime to Marſhall (who wrote the booke of the Croſſe) is commonly reported and knowne to them of that univerſity, to have drowned himſelfe in the river about Ruly, at Oxford, Anno 1566. the other in a Well about Rome, or as ſome doe ſay, at Padua, and ſo being both drowned, were both taken up with Crucifixes, as it is ſaid of ſome, hanging about their neckes; the more pity that ſuch young ſtudents did ſo much addict their wits, rather to take the way of Papiſtry, than to walke in the comfortable light of the Goſpel, now ſo brightly ſpreading his beames in all the world; which if they had done, I thinke not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

A ſtory of a courtier one of the guard, which happened, An. 1568.

Albeit (I truſt) the Goſpel of Chriſt, being now received in the Queenes Court amongſt the Courtiers and ſervants of her Guard, hath framed their lives and manners ſo to live in the due feare of God, and temperance of life, with all ſobriety, and mercifull compaſſion toward their even Chriſtians, that they neede not greatly any other inſtructions to be given them in this ſtory: yet forſomuch as examples many times doe worke more effectually in the mindes and memories of men; and alſo partly conſidering with my ſelfe, how theſe, above all other ſorts of men in the whole realme, in time paſt ever had moſt neede of ſuch wholeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leave their unordinate riot of quaffing and drinking, and their Heatheniſh prophanity of life; I thought here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtrange and forreine perſon, but of one of their owne coat, a Yeoman of the Guard, not fained by mee, but brought to mee by Gods providence, for a warning to all

Admonition to Courtiers.

Courtiers, and done of very truth no longer agoe than in the yeere of our Lord, 1568. And as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the party not unknowne, being called Chriſtopher Landeſdale, dwelling in Hackney in Middleſex. The order of whoſe life, aud manner of his death being worthy to be noted, is this, as in ſtory here under followeth.

An example of Chriſtopher Landeſdale, one of the Guard, for all Courtiers to looke upon.

This foreſaid Landeſdale being married to an ancient woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithſtanding lived long in filthy whoredome with a younger woman; by whom he had two children, a ſonne and a daughter, and kept them in his houſe unto the day of his death. Alſo when he ſhould have been in ſerving of GOD on the Sabbath day, he uſed to walke or ride about his fields, and ſeldome hee or any of his houſe came to the Church after the Engliſh Service was againe received. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight alſo in making other men drunken, and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him father, and he would call them his ſonnes; and of theſe ſonnes, by report, he had above forty. And if he had ſeene one that would drinke freely, hee would marke him; and ſpend his mony with him liberally in ale or wine, but moſt in wine, to make him the ſooner drunken. Theſe bleſſed ſonnes of his ſhould have great cheere oftentimes, both at his owne houſe and at Tavernes: and not long before his death hee was ſo beaſtly drunken in a Taverne over againſt his doore, that he fell downe in the Taverne yard, and could not ariſe alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and ſo carried home.

Landeſdale a feaſter of the rich, and unmercifull to the poore.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaſter of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others; ſo his poore neighbours and poore tenants fared little the better for him: except it were with ſome broken meate, which after his feaſts his wife would carry and ſend unto them, or ſome almes given at his doore.

Beſides all this, he did much injury to his poore neighbours, in oppreſſing the Commons neere about him; which was a ſpeciall reliefe unto them, ſo that his cattell did eate up all without pity or mercy.

Poore Lazarus lying by the rich mans doore.

There chanced after this about two yeeres before he died, a poore man, being ſicke of the bloudy flixe, for very weakneſſe to lie downe in a ditch of the ſaid Landeſdales, not a ſtones caſt from his houſe, where hee had a little ſtraw brought him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Landeſdale had backe houſes and barnes enow to have laid him in, but would not ſhew him ſo much pity. And thus poore Lazarus there lay night and day, about ſixe weekes ere he died.

Certaine good neighbours hearing of this, procured things neceſſary for his reliefe, but he was ſo far ſpent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broyling in the hote Sunne, with a horrible ſmell, moſt pitifull to behold.

Yet the rich Glutton was better, for he ſuffered Lazarus to lie at his gates.

This poore man, a little before he died, deſired to be removed to another ditch into the ſhadow. Whereupon, one of the neighbours comming to Landeſdales wife for a bundle of ſtrawe for him to lie upon, ſhe required to have him removed to Newington ſide, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, if he ſhould die, it would be very far to carry him to the Church.

Beſides this, there was a mariage in this Landeſdales houſe, and the gueſts that came to the marriage gave the poore man mony as they came and went by him, but Landeſdale diſdained to contribute any reliefe unto him, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Maſter Searles, one of the Queenes Guard (who had more pity of him) to miniſter to him things neceſſary.

The death of poore Lazarus in the ditch.

To be ſhort, the next day poore Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney Churchyard; upon whom Landeſdale did not ſo much as beſtow a winding ſheet, or any thing elſe towards his buriall. And thus much concerning the end of poore Lazarus. Now let us heare what became of the rich Glutton.

About two yeeres after, the ſayd Landeſdale being full of drinke (as his cuſtome was) came riding in great haſte from London on Saint Andrewes day in the evening, Anno 1568. and as it is reported by thoſe that ſaw him, reeling to and fro like a Drunkard with his hat in his hand, and comming by a ditch, there tumbled in headlong into the ditch. Some ſay that the horſe fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true, the horſe, more ſober than the Maſter, came home, leaving his Maſter behinde him. Whether he brake his necke with the fall, or was drowned (for the water was ſcarcely a foote deepe) it is uncertaine; but certaine it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he being found dead in the ditch, the Crowner (as the manner is) ſate upon him: and how the matter was handled for ſaving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end ſo it fell out, that the goods were ſaved, and the poore horſe indited for his Maſters death.

The end of this unmercifull Epicure in the ditch.

The neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and conſidering the manner thereof, ſaid it was juſtly fallen upon him, that as he ſuffered the poore man to lie and die in the ditch neere unto him, ſo his end was to die in a ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in this ſtory (Chriſtian Brother and Reader) the true Image of a rich Glutton and poore Lazarus ſet out before thine eyes: whereby we have all to learne, what happeneth in the end to ſuch voluptuous Epicures and Atheiſts, which being voide of all ſenſe of Religion, and feare of God, yeeld themſelves over to all prophanity of life, neither regarding any honeſty at home, nor ſhewing any mercy to their needy neighbours abroad.

The image of the rich Glutton and poore Lazarus.

Chriſt our Saviour ſaith, Mat. 5. Bleſſed be the mercifull, for they ſhall obtaine mercy: but judgement without mercy ſhall be executed on them which have ſhewed no mercy, &c. And St. John ſaith, 1. John 4. Hee that ſeeth his brother have neede, and ſhutteth up his compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? &c. Againe, Eſay againſt ſuch profane drunkards and quaffers thus crieth out; Woe be unto them that riſe up early to follow drunkenneſſe, and to them that ſo continue untill night, till they bee ſet on fire with wine. In thoſe companies are Harpes and Lutes, Tabrets and Pipes and Wine: but they regard not the workes of the Lord, and conſider not the operation of his hands, &c. Woe be unto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out wine, and expert to ſet up drunkenneſſe.

A warning to Gentlemen.

The puniſhments of them that be dead, bee wholeſome documents to them that bee alive. And therefore as the ſtory above exemplified may ſerve to warne all Courtiers and Yeomen of the Guard; ſo by this that followeth, I would with all Gentlemen to take good heede and admonition betime, to leave their outragious ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

A fearfull example of Gods puniſhment upon a gentleman a greater ſwearer in Cornewall.

In the time and reigne of King Edward, there was in Cornewall a certaine luſtie young Gentleman, which did ride in company with other moe Gentlemen, together with their ſervants, being about the number of twenty horſemen.

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men. Amongſt whom this luſtie yonker entring into talke, began to ſweare moſt horribly, blaſpheming the Name of God, with other ribauldry words beſides. Unto whom one of the company (who is yet alive, and witneſſe hereof) not able to abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, in gentle words ſpeaking to him, ſaid, he ſhould give anſwer aud account for every idle word.

The Gentleman taking ſnuffe thereat; Why, ſaid he, takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding ſhéete. Well (quoth the other) amend, for death giveth no warning; for as ſoone commeth a Lambes skinne to the Market, as an old Shéepes. Gods wounds, ſaith he, care not thou for me; raging ſtill after his manner worſe and worſe in words, till at length paſſing on their journy, they came riding over a great Bridge, ſtanding over a péece of an arme of the ſea. Upon the which Bridge this Gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch ſort, as he ſprang cleane over with the man on his backe. Who as he was going, cried, ſaying, Horſe and man, and all to the Divell. This terrible ſtory happening in a Towne in Cornewall, I would have been affraid amongſt theſe ſtories here to recite, were it not that he, which was then both reprehender of his ſwearing, and witneſſe of his death, is yet alive, and now a Miniſter, named Heynes. Beſides this, Biſhop Ridley, then Biſhop of London, preached and uttered even the ſame fact and example at Pauls Croſſe. The name of the Gentleman I could by no meanes obtaine of the party and witneſſe aforeſaid, for dread of thoſe (as he ſaid) which yet remaine of his affinity and kindred in the ſaid country.

Gentle exhortation neglected.

The terrible end of a ſwearer.

Having now ſufficiently admoniſhed, firſt the Courtiers, then the Gentlemen; now thirdly for a briefe admonition to the Lawyers, we will here inſert the ſtrange end and death of one Henry Smith, Student of the law.

This Henry Smith having a Godly Gentleman to his father, and an ancient Proteſtant, dwelling in Camdeu in Gloceſterſhire, was by him vertuouſly brought up in the knowledge of Gods Word, and ſincere Religion; wherein he ſhewed himſelfe in the beginning ſuch an earneſt profeſſor, that he was called of the Papiſts, Prating Smith. After theſe good beginnings it followed, that he comming to be a Student of the law in the middle Temple at London, there through ſiniſter company of ſome, and eſpecially as it is thought of one Gifford, began to be perverted to Popery, and afterward going to Lovane, was more déeply rooted and grounded in the ſame; and ſo continuing a certaine ſpace among the Papiſts, of a young Proteſtent, at length was made a perfect Papiſt. Inſomuch, that returning from thence, he brought with him Pardons, a Crucifixe, with an Agnus dei, which he uſed commonly to weare about his necke, and had in his chamber Images, before which he was wont to pray. Beſides divers other Popiſh traſh, which he brought with him from Lovane. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in ſtory, but that the fact ſo lately done this preſent yéere, Anno 1569. remaineth yet ſo freſh in memory, that almoſt all the City of London not only can witneſſe, but alſo doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

The miſerable end of H. Smith, a Lawyer of the middle Temple, after he was perverted from the Goſpel.

Note what lewd company doth, incorrupting good natures.

M. Smiths Images and Agnus dei.

Not long after the ſaid Henry Smith, with Gifford his companion, was returned from Lovane, being now a foule jeerer, and a ſcornfull ſcoffer of that religion which before he profeſſed; in his chamber where he lay in a houſe in S. Clements Pariſh without Temple-barre, in the Evening as he was going to bed, and his clothes put off (for he was found naked) he had tied his ſhirt (which he had torne to the ſame purpoſe) about his privy places, and ſo with his owne girdle, or ribond garter (as it ſéemed) faſtned to the bed-poſt, there ſtrangled himſelfe. They that were of his Queſt, and other which ſaw the manner of his hanging, and the print where hée ſate upon his beds ſide, doe record, that he thruſt himſelfe downe from his beds ſide where he ſate; the place where he had faſtned the girdle being ſo low, that his hips well néere touched the floore, his legges lying acroſſe, and his armes ſpread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his Agnus Dei in a ſilver tablet, with his other Idolatrous traſh in the window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the Churchyard, he was buried in a Lane called Foskew Lane.

Henry Smith a Lawyer hanged himſelfe in his chamber, and after what manner.

This heavy and dreadfull end of Henry Smith, although it might ſéeme enough to gender a terrour to all young Popiſh Students of the Law; yet it did not ſo worke with all, but that ſome remained as obſtinate ſtill as they were before. Amongſt whom was one named Williams, a Student of the Inner-Temple, who being ſometime a favourer of the Goſpel, fell in like manner from that to be an obſtinate Papiſt, a deſpitefull railer againſt true religion, and in concluſion, was ſo hote in his Catholike zeale, that in the midſt of his railing he fell ſtarke mad, and ſo yet to this preſent day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turne him to a better minde, and convert him if it be his pleaſure, Amen.

One Williams a Lawyer, and a railer againſt the Goſpel, fell mad.

The miſerable end of Twyford is here no leſſe to be remembred, a buſie doer ſometimes in King Henries dayes by Boners appointment, in ſetting up of ſtakes for the burning of poore Martyrs. Who, when hée ſaw the ſtakes conſume alway ſo faſt; Yea, ſaid he, will not theſe ſtakes hold? I will have a ſtake, I trowe, that ſhall hold, and ſo provided a bigge trée, and cutting off the top, ſet it in Smithfield. But thankes be to God, ere the trée was all conſumed, God turned the ſtate of Religion, and he fell into an horrible diſeaſe, rotting alive above the ground before hée died. Reade more of him before. But becauſe the ſtory both of him, and of a number ſuch other like, is to be found in ſundry places of this hiſtory ſufficiently before expreſſed, it ſhall be be but a double labour againe to recapitulate the ſame.

Of the miſerable end of this Twyford, reade before.

¶ Ye have heard before of the condemnation and martyrdome of a certaine boy called Thomas Drowrie, condemned by Williams, Chancellor of Gloceſter, contrary to all right and counſell of the Regiſter then preſent, called Barker. Now what puniſhment fell after upon the ſaid Chancellor, followeth to be declared.

The ſtrange and fearfull death of the ſame Doctor Williams.

When God of his ineſtimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our ſinnes, for his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus ſake, had now taken from us that bloudy Princeſſe, and ſent us this Jewell of joy, the Quéenes Majeſty that now reigneth (and long may ſhe reigne) over us; that the Commiſſioners for reſtitution of religion were comming toward Gloceſter; the ſame day Doctor Williams the Chancellor dined with Maſter Jenings the Deane of Gloceſter, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the clocke to ſet forward to Chipping-Norton, about fiftéen miles from Gloceſter, to méete the Commiſſioners which were at Chipping-Norton, and ſaid to him; Chancellor, are not thy bootes on?

Chanc. Why ſhould I put them on?

To goe with mee (quoth the Deane) to meete theſe Commiſſioners.

Chancel. I will neither meete them nor ſee them.

Deane Thou moſt needes ſee them, for now it is paſt twelve of the clocke, and they will be here afore three of the clocke: and therefore if thou bee wiſe, on with thy boots, and let us goe together, and all ſhall be well.

Chanc. Goe your wayes M. Deane, I will never ſee them.

As I ſaid, W. Jenings the Deane ſet forward with his company toward the Commiſſioners, and by and by commeth one upon horſebacke to the Deane, ſaying; Maſter Chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is ſpeechleſſe. At that word the Deane with his company pricked forward to the Commiſſioners, and told them the whole matter and communication betweene them two, as above. And they ſent one of their men with the beſt words they could deviſe, to comfort him with many promiſes. But to bee ſhort, albeit the Commiſſioners were now neerer Gloceſter, than the Deane and his company thought, making very great haſte, eſpecially after they had received theſe newes: Yet Doctor Williams, though falſe of religion, yet true of his promiſe, kept his ungracious covenant with the Deane: for he was dead ere they came to the City, and ſo never ſaw them indeed.

Declaration of forains examples.

Wherefore to paſſe over our owne domeſticall examples of Engliſh perſecutors plagued by Gods hand (wherewith this our preſent ſtory doth abound) I will ſtretch my penne a little farther, to adjoyne with all a few like examples in forraine Countries.

Forraine Examples.

Holmeiſter ſuddenly ſtricken with death, going to Ratiſbone.

HOimeiſter the great Archpapiſt, and chiefe Maſter-pillar of the Popes falling Church, as he was in his journey going toward the Councell of Ratiſbone, to diſpute againſt the defenders of Chriſts Goſpel, ſuddenly in his journey, not farre from Ulmes, was prevented by the ſtroke of Gods hand, and there miſerably died, with horrible roaring and crying out. Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei.

What inconvenience commeth by the Popes deſperate doctrine.

What a pernicious and peſtilent doctrine is this of the Papiſts, which leadeth men to ſeeke their ſalvation by merits and workes of the law, and not by faith only in Chriſt the Sonne of God, and to ſtay themſelves by grace? And what inconvenience this doctrine of doubting and deſperation bringeth men to at length, if the plaine Word of God will not ſufficiently admoniſh, yet let us be warned by examples of ſuch as have been either teachers or followers of this doctrine, and conſider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be ſaid in this behalfe, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonitions ſake, it ſhall be requiſite.

The miſerable end of Guarlacus, Reader in Lovane.

In the Univerſity of Lovane was one named Guarlacus a learned man, brought up in that ſchoole, who at length was Reader of Divinity to the Monkes of Saint Gertrudes order. Where after he had ſtoutly maintained the corrupt errours of ſuch Popiſh doctrine, at laſt falling ſick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miſerable agony and perturbation of ſpirit, crying out of his ſinnes, how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgement of God, and ſo caſting out words of miſerable deſperation, ſaid, his ſinnes were greater than he could be pardoned, and in that deſperation wretchedly he ended his life. Ex Epiſtola Claudii Senarclæ ad Bucerum ante hiſtor. de morte Diazii.

The ſtory of Arnoldus Bomelius, ſtudent at Lovane.

Another like example we have of Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the ſaid Univerſity of Lovane, well commended for his freſh flouriſhing wit and ripeneſſe of learning, who ſo long as hee favoured the cauſe of the Goſpel, and tooke part with the ſame againſt the enemies of the truth, hee proſpered and went well forward; but after that hee drew to the company of Tyleman, Maſter of the Popes Colledge in Lovane, and framed himſelfe after the rule of his unſavoury doctrine, that is, to ſtand in feare and doubt of his juſtification, and to worke his ſalvation by merits and deeds of the law, hee began more and more to grow in doubtfull deſpaire and diſcomfort of minde; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to plucke away a mans minde from all certainty and true liberty of ſpirit, to a ſervile doubtfulneſſe, full of diſcomfort and bondage of ſoule.

Note what evill inſtruction and company doth.

Thus the young man, ſeduced and perverted through this blinde doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandring and wreſtling in himſelfe a long ſpace, till at length being overcome with deſpaire, and not having in the Popiſh doctrine wherewith to raiſe up his ſoule, hee went out of the City on a time to walke, accompanied with three other Students of the ſame Univerſity, his ſpeciall familiars. Who as they returned home againe after their walke, Arnoldus for wearineſſe, as it ſeemed, ſate downe by a ſpring ſide to reſt him a while. The other, ſuppoſing none other but that he for wearineſſe there reſted to refreſh himſelfe, went forward a little paſt him. In the meane time what doth Arnoldus, but ſuddenly taketh out his dagger, and ſtroke himſelfe into the body.

An horrible example of Arnoldus Bomelius, which killed himſelfe with his owne dagger.

His fellowes ſeeing him ſhrinking downe, and the fountaine to be all coloured with the bloud which iſſued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up, and ſo ſearching his body where the wound ſhould be, at length found what he had done, and how he had ſtricken himſelfe with his dagger into the breaſt. Whereupon they tooke him and brought him into an houſe next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could to repent his fact; who then by outward geſture ſeemed to give ſome ſhew of repentance, Notwithſtanding, the ſayd Arnoldus, eſpying one of his friends there buſie about him to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with maine force ſtabbed himſelfe to the heart.

Admonition to our Lovanians.

By theſe Lovanian examples, as we have all to learne, no man to bee ſure of his life, but that he alwayes needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bleſſe him with his truth and grace; ſo eſpecially would I wiſh our Engliſh Lovanians, which now make forts in that Univerſity againſt the open truth of Chriſts Goſpel, to be wiſe in time, and not to ſpurn ſo againſt the prick, Ne forte, &c.

Or if they thinke yet theſe examples not enough for ſufficient admonition, let them joyne hereunto the remembrance alſo of Jacobus Lato-

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mus, a chiefe and principall captaine of the ſame Univerſity of Lovane. Who after he had beene at Bruzels and there, thinking to doe a great act againſt Luther and his fellowes, made an Oration before the Emperour, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly, that he was laughed to ſcorne almoſt of the whole Court: Then returning from thence to Lovane againe, in his publike Lecture he fell in an open fury and madneſſe, uttering ſuch words of deſperation and blaſphemous impiety, that the other Divines which were there, and namely, Ruardus, Anchuſtanus, were faine to carry him away as he was raving, and ſo ſhut him into a cloſe chamber. From that time unto his laſt breath, Latomus had never any thing elſe in his mouth, but that he was damned and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of ſalvation for him, becauſe that wittingly and againſt his knowledge he withſtood the manifeſt truth of his word. Ex Epiſt. Senarclæi ante hiſt. de morte Diazii. Item, ex Oratione Pauli Eberi in comitiis Wittembergæ habita.

Jacobus Latomus an enemy to the Goſpel, brought to madneſſe and deſperation.

The terrible words of Latomus in his deſperation.

Thus Almighty God not only by his Word, but by examples in divers and ſundry wiſe doth warne us, firſt to ſeeke to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God appointed in his Word. The perfect will and full Teſtament of the Lord in his Word, is this, that he hath ſent and given his only Sonne unto us, being fully contented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect juſtification and full ſatisfaction for all our tranſgreſſions; and this is called in Scripture, Iuſtitia Dei. To this will and righteouſneſſe of GOD, they that humble themſelves, finde ſuch peace and reſt in their ſoules, as no man is able to expreſſe, and have ſtrength enough againſt all the invaſions and temptations of Sathan.

Gods will in his word to accept our faith only for juſtification.

Obedience to Gods will rewarded.

Contrariwiſe, they that will not yeeld their obedience unto the will and ordinance of GOD expreſſed in his Word, but will ſeeke their owne righteouſneſſe, which is of man, labouring by their merits and ſatisfactions to ſerve and pleaſe God; theſe not only doe finde with God no righteouſneſſe at all, but in ſtead of his favour procure to themſelves his horrible indignation, in ſtead of comfort, heape to themſelves deſperation, and in the end what inconvenience they come to by theſe above receited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is evident to ſee. And out of this fountaine ſpring not only the puniſhments of theſe men, but alſo all other inconveniences, which happen amongſt men, whereſoever this pernicious and erroneus doctrine of the Papiſts taketh place.

Diſobedience to Gods will puniſhed.

The chiefe fountaine of all miſchiefe in the world.

A Dominicke Frier of Munſter, as he was inveighing in the Pulpit againſt the doctrine of the Goſpel then ſpringing up, was ſtricken with a ſudden flaſh of lightning, and ſo ended his life. Ex Pantal. in 2. parte Rerum memor.

A Frier of Munſter ſtricken with lightning.

Manlius in his booke, De dictis Philippi Melancth. maketh mention of a certaine Taylors ſervant in Lipſia, who receiving firſt the ſacrament in both kindes with the Goſpellers, afterward, being perſwaded by the Papiſts, received with them under one kinde. Whereupon being admoniſhed of his Maſter to come to the Communion againe in the Church of the Goſpellers, hee ſtood a great while and made no anſwer. At laſt, crying out upon a ſudden, hee ran to the window thereby, and ſo caſt himſelfe out, and brake his necke.

A Taylors ſervant in Lipſia.

In the ſame Manlius mention is alſo made of a certaine Gentleman of name and authority, but he nameth him not, who hearing theſe words in a ſong; Ein feſte burg iſt unſer Gott, that is, Our only hold or fortreſſe is our God, Pſalme 46. anſwered and ſayd, Ich wil helſten die burg zerchieſſen, oder ich wil nit leben, that is, I will helpe to ſhoote againſt thy ſtay or fort, or elſe I will not live. And ſo within 3. dayes after he died without repentance, or confeſſing his faith. Ex Manlio, De dictis Philip. Melancth.

Gods puniſhment upon a certaine Popiſh Gentleman unnamed.

Of Sadoletus the learned Cardinall likewiſe it is reported of ſome, that hee died not without great torments of conſcience and deſperation.

Sadoletus, Cardinall.

The Commendator of Saint Anthony, who ſate as ſpirituall Judge over that godly learned man Wolfgangus, burned in Lotharing, in Germany, and gave ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſuddenly dead ſhortly after. Read before.

The Commendator of S. Anthony plagued.

Alſo his fellow, the Abbot of Clarilocus, and Suffragan to the Biſhop of Mentz, at the cracke of Guns ſuddenly fell downe and died.

Abbot of Clarilocus ſuddenly dead.

David Beaton Archbiſhop of St. Andrewes in Scotland, ſhortly after the condemning of Maſter George Wiſard, how he by the juſt ſtroke of God was ſlaine, and wretchedly ended his life within his owne Caſtle, in the diſcourſe of his ſtory is evident to ſee, whoſo liſteth further to read of that matter.

David Beaton Archbiſhop of Scotland, perſecutor, ſlaine in his owne Caſtle.

Joanes Sleidanus in his 23. Booke maketh relation of Cardinall Creſcentius, the chiefe Preſident and Moderator of the Councell of Trident, Anno 1552. The ſtory of whom is certaine, the thing that hapned to him was ſtrange and notable, the example of him may bee profitable to others, ſuch as have grace to be warned by other mens evils. The narration is this.

Ex Ioan. Sleidano lib. 23.

The twenty five day of March in the yeere aforeſaid, Creſcentius the Popes Legate, and Vicegerent in the Councell of Trident, was ſitting all the day long untill darke night, in writing letters to the Pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refreſh himſelfe, hee began to riſe; and at his riſing, behold there appeared to him a mighty blacke dogge, of a huge bigneſſe, his eyes flaming with fire, and his eares hinging low downe well neere to the ground, to enter in, and ſtraite to come toward him, and ſo to couch under the bord. The Cardinall not a little amazed at the ſight thereof, ſomewhat recovering himſelfe, called to his ſervants, which were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to ſeeke for the dogge. But when the dogge could not be found, neyther there, nor in any other chamber about, the Cardinall thereupon ſtricken with a ſudden conceit of minde, immediately fell into ſuch a ſickneſſe, whereof his Phyſitians, which he had about him, with all their induſtry and cunning could not cure him. And ſo in the Towne of Verona died this Popiſh Cardinall, the Popes holy Legate, and Preſident of this Councell; wherein his purpoſe was (as Sleidane ſayth) to recover and heale againe the whole authority and doctrine of the Romiſh See, and to ſet it up for ever.

The terrible judgement of God upon Cardinall Creſcentius, Preſident of the Councell of Trident, An. 1552.

The wretched end of Cardinall Creſcentius, Preſident of the Councel of Trent.

There were in this Councell, beſide the Popes Legates and Cardinall of Trident, 42. Biſhops, Doctors of Divinity 62. And thus was the end of that Popiſh Councell, by the provident hand of the Almighty, diſpatched and brought to nought. Ex Sleidano. lib. 23.

This Councell of Trident, being then diſſolved by the death of this Cardinall, was afterward notwithſtanding recollected againe about the yeere of our Lord, 1562. againſt the erroneous proceedings of which Councell other Writers there bee that ſay enough. So much as pertaineth only to ſtory, I thought hereunto to adde concerning two filthy adulterous Biſhops to the ſayd Councell belonging, of whom the one, haunting

Two adulterous biſhops of Trident Councell juſtly ſlaine in adultery.

ting to an honeſt mans wife, was ſlaine by the iuſt ſtroke of God with a Boreſpeare. The other Biſhop, whoſe haunt was to creepe thorow a window, in the ſame window was ſubtilly taken and hanged in a grin laid for him of purpoſe, and ſo conveighed, that in the morning he was ſeene openly in the ſtreete hanging out of the window, to the wonderment of all that paſſed by. Ex proteſtatione Concionatorum Germa. adverſus conventum Trident. &c.

D. Eckius the Popes ſtout champion.

Amongſt all the religious order of Papiſts, who was a ſtouter defender of the Popes ſide, or a more vehement impugner of Martin Luther, than Jo. Eckius? who, if his cauſe wherein he ſo travelled, had been godly, had deſerved (no doubt) great favour and condigne retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now forſomuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us conſider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the ſame with the end of M. Luther.

The end of Martin Luther compared to the end of Eckius.

In the which M. Luther, being ſuch an adverſary as he was to the Pope, and having no leſſe than all the world upon him at once, firſt this is to be noted, that after all theſe travels, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his owne native country where he was borne. Secondly, hee bleſſed him with ſuch a quiet death, without any violent hand of any adverſary, that it was counted rather a ſleep than a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was milde, ſo his ſpirit and minde continued no leſſe godly unto the end, continually invocating and calling upon the name of the Lord, and ſo commending his ſpirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a bleſſed and an heavenly ending. Fourthly, over and beſides theſe bleſſings, Almighty God did alſo adde unto him ſuch an honourable buriall, as to many great Princes ſcarce happeneth the like. And this briefly concerning the end of Martin Luther, as ye may reade before more at large.

The manner of John Eckius death.

Eckius laſt words.

Eckius dieth dreaming of his Guildens.

Now let us conſider, and conferre with this the death of John Eckius, and the manner thereof, which we finde in the Engliſh tranſlation of the Hiſtory of John Carion, fol. 250. in theſe words expreſſed. This yeere (ſayth he) died at Ingoldſtate, Doct. Eckius, a faithfull ſervant and champion of the Pope, and a defender of the abominable Papacy. But as his life was full of all ungodlineſſe, uncleanneſſe, and blaſphemy; ſo was his end miſerable, hard, and pitifull, inſomuch that his laſt words (as it is noted of many credible perſons) were theſe; In caſe the foure thouſand Guildens were ready, the matter were diſpatched, &c. (Dreaming belike of ſome Cardinalſhip that he ſhould have bought.) Some ſay that the Pope had granted him a certaine Deanry, which he ſhould have redeemed from the Court of Rome with the foreſaid ſumme. Now what a heavenly end this was of M. Eckius, I leave it to the Readers judgement.

Ex appendice Hiſt. Ioan. Carionis.

Gods judgement upon one John Vander warf, Shoulted of Antwerpe, a perſecutor.

Shilpad, a kind of ſhelfiſh, faſhioned like a Tode, with a hard and a broad ſhell upon his backe.

In the City of Antwerpe was (as they terme him there) a Shoulted, that is to ſay, the next Officer to the Markgrave, one named John Vander Warfe, a Baſtard ſon of a ſtocke or kindred called Warfe, of good eſtimation amongſt the chiefeſt in Antwerpe. Who, as hee was of nature cruell, ſo was hee of judgement perverſe and corrupt, and a ſore perſecutor of Chriſts ſtocke, with greedineſſe ſeeking and ſhedding innocent bloud, and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for the which hee was much commended of the bloudy generation. Of ſome hee was called a Bloud-hound or bloudy dogge. Of other he was called Shilpad, that is to ſay, Sheltode; for that he being a ſhort-grundy, and of little ſtature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a churle of the country.

This man, after hee was weary of his office (wherein hee had continued above 20. yeeres) hee gave it over; and becauſe hee was now growne rich and wealthy, he intended to paſſe the reſidue of his life in pleaſure and quietneſſe.

Our Ladies drunken feaſt.

During which time, about the ſecond yeere after he had left his office, he came to Antwerpe to the feaſt called our Ladies Dumegang, to make merry; which feaſt is uſually kept on the Sunday following the Aſſumption of our Lady. The ſame day in the afternoone about foure of the clocke, he being well loden with wine, rode homewards in his Wagon, with his wife and a Gentlewoman waiting on her and his Foole. As ſoone as the Wagon was come without the gate of the City called Croneborgh gate, upon the wooden bridge being at that time made for a ſhift with railes or barres on both ſides for more ſurety of the paſſengers (halfe a mans height and more) the horſes ſtood ſtill, and would by no meanes goe forward, whatſoever the guider of the Wagon could doe.

Then hee in a drunken rage cried out to him that guided the Wagon, ſaying; Ride on in a thouſand Divels name, ride on. Whereat the poore man anſwered, that he could not make the horſes to goe forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, ſuddenly roſe, as it were, a mighty whirle-winde, with a terrible noiſe (the weather being very faire, and no winde ſtirring before) and toſt the Wagon over the barre into the Towne ditch, the ropes whereat the horſes had been tied, being broken aſunder in ſuch ſort, as if they had been cut with a ſharpe knife, the Wagon alſo being caſt upſide-downe, with the fore-end thereof turned toward the Towne againe, and he drowned in the mire; and when he was taken up, it was found, that his necke alſo was broken. His wife was taken up alive, but died alſo within three dayes after. But the Gentlewoman and the Foole, by Gods mighty providence, were preſerved and had no harme. The Foole hearing the people ſay his Maſter was dead, ſayd; And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done, Anno 1553. Witneſſe hereof not only the Printer of the ſame ſtory in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerpe, whoſe name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of Papiſts, but alſo divers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of Engliſh Merchants, which were at Antwerpe, and are yet alive.

Francis Fraet the Printer and witneſſe hereof a good man and Martyr.

Bartholomeus Challaneus plagued.

Minerius plagued of God.

A Judge with three perſecutors plagued by Gods judgement.

Of the ſudden death of Bartholomeus Challaneus, or Caſſanus, perſecutor, reade before.

Of Minerius the bloudy perſecutor, or rather tormentor of Chriſts Saints, how hee dyed with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Judge which accompanied the ſayd Minerius in his perſecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three moe of the ſame company killed one another upon a ſtrife that fell amongſt them.

The terrible vengeance of God upon John de Roma a terrible perſecutor. Reade before

Joannes de Roma a cruell Monke, whom we may rather call a Hell-hound than perſecutor, what helliſh torments he had deviſed for the poore Chriſtians of Angrongne, the contents of the ſtory before doth expreſſe. Againe, with what like torments afterward, and that doublefold, the Lord payd him home againe, who in his rotting and ſtinking death neither could finde any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him, who neyther could abide his owne ſtinking carion, nor could any man elſe abide to come neere him. Hereof reade alſo before.

Such a like perſecutor alſo the ſame time was

Anno 1558.

The Lord of Reveſt plagued.

the Lord of Reveſt, who likewiſe ſcaped not the revenging hand of Gods Iuſtice, being ſtriken, after his furious perſecution, with a like horrible ſickneſſe, and ſuch a fury and madneſſe, that none durſt come neere him, and ſo moſt wretchedly died. Whereof reade before.

John Martin plagued.

Touching the like grievous puniſhment of God upon one John Martin a perſecutor, reade before.

Eraſm. in Epiſtola Apologetica, Deutil. Colloqui.

Eraſmus in an Epiſtle or Apology written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certaine noble perſon of great riches and poſſeſſions, who having wife and children, with a great family at home (to whom by Saint Pauls rule he was bound in conſcience principally above all other worldly things to attend) had purpoſed before his death to goe ſee Jeruſalem. And thus all things being ſet in order, this Noble man, about to ſet forward on his journey, committed the care of his wife (whom he left great with childe,) and of his Lordſhips and Caſtles to an Archbiſhop, as to a moſt ſure and truſty father. To make ſhort, it hapned in the journey this Noble man to dye. Whereof ſo ſoone as the Archbiſhop had intelligence, in ſtead of a father he became a theefe and a robber, ſeiſing into his owne hands all his Lordſhips and poſſeſſions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, hee layd ſiege againſt a ſtrong fort of his (unto the which his wife for ſafeguard of her ſelfe did flee) where in concluſion ſhe, with the childe that ſhe went with all, was pitifully ſlaine, and ſo miſerably periſhed. Which ſtory was done (as teſtifieth Eraſmus) not ſo long before his time, but that there remaine the Nephewes of the ſaid Noble man then alive, to whom the ſame inheritance ſhould have fallen, but they could not obtaine it.

Gods puniſhment upon a noble Gentleman in going a Pilgrimage.

Admonition.

What commeth of blinde ſuperſtition, when a man not containing himſelfe within the compaſſe of Gods Word, wandreth in other by-wayes of his owne, and not contented with the religion ſet up of the Lord, will binde his conſcience to other ordinances, preſcriptions, and religions deviſed by men, leaving Gods Commandements undone for the conſtitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I ſay) commeth thereof at length, by this one example, beſide infinite other of the like ſort, men may learne by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend Idolatrous Pilgrimage and raſh vowes, let them well conſider hereof. It is rightly ſaid of Saint Hierome; To have been at Jeruſalem is no great matter, but to live a godly and vertuous life, that is a great matter in very deed.

Falſe devotion a perillous thing.

Againſt Idolatrous Pilgrimage.

A wonderfull example of Gods judgement at Gaunt. An. 1565.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1565. there was in the Towne of Gaunt in Flanders, one William de Weber, accuſed and impriſoned by the Provoſt of S. Peters in Gaunt (who had in his Cloiſter a priſon and a place of execution) and the day when the ſayd William was called to the place of judgment, the Provoſt ſent for M. Giles Brackleman, principall Advocate of the Councell of Flanders, and Borough-Maſter and Judge of S. Peters in Gaunt, with other of the Rulers of the Towne of Gaunt, to ſit in judgement upon him, and as they ſate in judgement, the Borough-Maſter, named M. Giles Brackleman, reaſoned with the ſayd William de Weber upon divers Articles of his faith.

Three cauſes why Saints are not to be prayed unto.

The one whereof was, why the ſayd William de Weber denied that it was lawfull to pray to Saints; and hee anſwered (as the report goeth) for three cauſes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator.

The ſecond was, that if hee ſhould call upon them, the Lord did both ſee it, and heare it: and therefore he durſt give the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chiefeſt cauſe was, that the Creator had commanded in his holy Word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandement he durſt neither adde, nor take from it.

The Borough-Maſter M. Giles Brackleman alſo demanded, whether hee did not beleeve that there was a Purgatory which he ſhould goe into after this life, where every one ſhould be purified and cleanſed.

Purgatory denied.

He anſwered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could finde no ſuch place, but the death of Chriſt was his Purgatory: with many other queſtions preceeding after their order, untill hee came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the ſayd condemnation was read forth, the judgement of God was layd upon the ſayd Borough-Maſter, who ſuddenly at that preſent inſtant was ſtricken with a Palſie, that his mouth was drawne up almoſt to his eare, and ſo he fell down, the reſt of the Lords by and by ſtanding up and ſhadowing him that the people could not well ſee him; and alſo the people were willed to depart, who being ſtill called upon to depart, anſwered, the place was ſo ſmall to goe out, that they could goe no faſter. Then the Borough-Maſter of the Town being taken up, was carried to his houſe, and it is not yet underſtood nor commonly knowne that ever he ſpake word after he was firſt ſtricken, but was openly knowne to be dead the next day following. And yet notwithſtanding that this was done about ten of the clock, they burned the ſaid William de Weber within three houres after, on the ſame day.

The judgment of God upon Giles Brackleman the Borough-Maſter.

William de Weber martyr, burnt at Gaunt. Anno 1565.

The fourth day of March, 1566. the like example of the Lords terrible judgement was ſhewed upon ſir Garret Trieſt Knight, who had long before promiſed to the Regent to bring downe the preaching. For the which act (as the report goeth) the Regent promiſed againe to make him a Grave, which is an Earle. Of the which ſir Garret it is alſo ſayd, that he comming from Bruxels towards Gaunt, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and being come to Gaunt, the ſaid ſir Garret with other of the Lords having received from the Regent a Commiſſion to ſweare the Lords and Commons unto the Romiſh religion, the ſaid ſir Garret the 4. day of March above noted, at night being at ſupper, willed the Lady his wife to call him in the morning one houre ſooner than he was accuſtomed to riſe, for that hee ſhould the next day have much buſineſſe to doe in the Towne-houſe, to ſweare the Lords and people to the Romiſh religion. But ſee what hapned. The ſaid ſir Garret going to bed in good health (as it ſeemed) when the Lady his wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in her bed by her, and ſo unable to proſecute his wicked purpoſe.

Another terrible example of Gods judgement againſt ſir Garret Trieſt Gentleman, and then Alderman of Gaunt, a perſecutor, Anno 1566.

Another example of Gods judgment upon Martin de Peſter one of the principall Secretaries of Gaunt, Anno 1566.

The fifth day of March, 1566. which was the day that ſir Garret Trieſt appointed to bee there, and the Lords of Gaunt were come into the Town-houſe (as they had afore appointed) to proceed and to give the oath, according as they had their Commiſſion, and M. Martin de Peſter the Secretary being appointed and about to give the oath, as the firſt man ſhould have ſworne, the ſayd Martin de Peſter was ſtricken of God with preſent death likewiſe, and fell downe, and was carried away in a chaire or ſettell, and never ſpake after. Witneſſe hereunto.

These men of Gaunt are witnes hereof.

Peter de Bellemaker.
Abraham Roſſart,
Maerke de Mil,
Lieuen Hendrickx.
Ian Coucke.

Roger Vanhulle.
Ioys Neuehans.
Lyauin Neuehans.
Wil. unden Boegarde.
Ioys de Pitte.

A ſtory of a tame divell coniured in an Abbey in Suevia.

About the borders of Suevia in Germany, not far from the City of Vberling, there was a certaine Monaſtery of Ciſtercian Monkes, called Salmeſuille, founded in the dayes of Pope Innocent 2. by a noble Baron named Guntherame, about the yeere of our Lord, 1170. This Celle thus being erected, in proceſſe of time was inlarged with more ample poſſeſſions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the ſame; as Emperors, Dukes, and rich Barons.

A ſubtle device of the Monkes, to fray away their gueſts.

Amongſt whom moſt eſpeciall were the Earls of Montfort, who had beſtowed upon that Monaſtery many new liberties and great priviledges, upon this condition, that they ſhould receive with free hoſpitality any ſtranger both horſeman or footeman, for one nights lodging, whoſoever came. But this hoſpitality did not long ſo continue, through a ſubtle and divelliſh device of one of the Monkes, who tooke upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the divell, ratling and raging in his chaines, where the ſtrangers ſhould lie, after a terrible manner, in the night time to fray away the gueſts; by reaſon whereof no ſtranger nor traveller durſt there abide, and ſo continued this a long ſpace.

At length (as God would) it ſo hapned, that one of the Earles of the ſayd houſe of Montfort, benefactors to that Abbey, comming to the Monaſtery, was there lodged, whether of ſet purpoſe, or by chance, it is not knowne.

The puniſhment of God upon a Monk that would counterfeit the Divell.

When the night came, and the Earle was at his reſt, the Monke after his wonted manner beginneth his Pageant, to play the tame, yea rather the wilde Divell. There was ſtamping, ramping, ſpitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bounſing of boords, and ratling of chains, enough to make ſome man ſtarke mad. The Earle hearing the ſudden noyſe, and being ſomewhat peradventure affraid at the firſt, although he had not then the feate of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his ſword, he laid about him well favouredly, and following ſtill the noyſe of the Divell, ſo conjured him at the laſt, that the Monke, which counterfeited the Divell in jeſt, was ſlaine in his owne likeneſſe in earneſt. Ex Gaſpare Bruſchio, in Chronologia Monaſteriorum Germaniæ.

After the impriſonment of the Congregation, which were taken hearing Gods Word in Saint James ſtreete in Paris, Anno 1558. (as is above ſtoried) was a letter written to the King, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers hiſtories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by Gods righteous judgment, have fallen upon ſuch as have been enemies to his people, and have reſiſted the free paſſage of his holy Word, In which Letter, forſomuch as beſide the ſaid examples much other good fruitfull matter is contained, worthy of all men to be read, and eſpecially of Princes to be conſidered, I thought good here to copy out the whole, as the French booke doth give it. The tranſlation of the which letter into Engliſh, is after this tenour, as followeth.

¶ A Letter tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, written to King Henry the 2. French King.

The doings of Henry 2. F. king againſt the Lutherans never proſpered with him.

Conſider I pray you ſir, and you ſhall finde that all your afflictions have come upon you, ſince you have ſet your ſelfe againſt thoſe which are called Lutherans.

When you made the Edict of Chaſteaubriant, God ſent you warres; but when ye ceaſed the execution of your ſayd Edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the Pope, and going into Almany for the defence of the liberty of the Germaines afflicted for religion, your affaires proſpered as ye would wiſh or deſire.

This truce was betweene the French King and the Emperor, which the Pope cauſed to be broken.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you ſince you were joyned with the Pope againe, having received a ſword from him for his owne ſafeguard? And who was it that cauſed you to breake the truce? God hath turned in a moment your proſperities into ſuch afflictions, that they touch not only the ſtate of your owne perſon, but of your Kingdome alſo.

The cruell purpoſe of the duke of Guiſe diſappointed.

To what end came the enterpriſe of the Duke of Guiſe in Italy, going about the ſervice of the enemy of God, and purpoſing after his returne to deſtroy the Vallies of Piemont, to offer or ſacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turne upſide downe our counſels and enterpriſes; as hee overturned of late the enterpriſe of the Conſtable of France at S. Quintins, having vowed to God, that at his returne he would goe and deſtroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory.

The wicked vow of the Conſtable of France defeated.

The marvellous iudgment of God upon a burning perſecutor.

Have you not heard of L. Ponchet Archbiſhop of Toures, who made ſute for the erection of a Court called Chamber Ardent, wherein to condemne the Proteſtants to the fire? who afterwards was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called the fire of God; which began at his feete, and ſo aſcended upward, that he cauſed one member after another to be cut off, and ſo died miſerably without any remedy.

Gods fearfull hand upon Caſtellanus, perſecutor.

Alſo one Caſtellanus, who having inriched himſelfe by the Goſpel, and forſaking the pure doctrine thereof to returne unto his vomit againe, went about to perſecute the Chriſtians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was ſtricken in his body with a ſickneſſe unknowne to the Phyſitians, the one halfe of his body burning as hote as fire, and the other as cold as Ice; and ſo moſt miſerably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

There bee other infinite examples of Gods judgements worthy to bee remembred; as the death of the Chancellor and Legate du Prat, which was the firſt that opened to the Parliament the knowledge of hereſies, and gave out the firſt Commiſſions to put the faithfull to death, who afterward died in his houſe at Natoillet, ſwearing and horribly blaſpheming God, and his ſtomacke was found pierced and gnawne aſunder with wormes.

Alſo John Ruſe, Counſellor in the Parliament, comming from the Court, after he had made report of the Proceſſe againſt the poore innocents, was taken with a burning in the lower part of his belly, and before he could be brought home to his houſe, the fire invaded all his ſecret parts, and ſo he died miſerably, burning all his belly over, without any ſigne or token of the acknowledging of God.

The wicked end of Claude de Aſſes, perſecutor.

Alſo one named Claude de Aſſes, a Counſellor in the ſayd Court, the ſaid day that he gave his opinion and conſent to burne a faithfull Chriſtian (albeit it was not done indeed as hee would have it) after he had dined, committed whoredome with a ſervant in the houſe, and even in doing the act was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called Apoplexia, whereof he died out of hand.

Peter Liſet, chief Preſident of the ſaid Court, and one of the authors of the foreſayd burning chamber, was depoſed from his office, for being knowne to be out of his right wit, and bereaved of his underſtanding.

Alſo John Morin, Lieutenant criminall of the Provoſt of Paris, after hee had been the cauſe of the death of many Chriſtians, was finally ſtriken with a diſeaſe in his legges, called the Wolves, whereby he loſt the uſe of them, and died alſo out of his wits, many dayes before denying and blaſpheming God.

John Andrew, Booke binder, plagued.

Likewiſe John Andrew, Booke-binder of the Palace, a ſpie for the Preſident Liſet, and of Bruſeard the Kings Solicitter, died in a fury and madneſſe.

The terrible vengeance of God upon Jo. de Roma, a terrible perſecutor.

The Inquiſitor John de Roma in Provence, his fleſh fell from him by peece-meale, ſo ſtinking that no man might come neere him.

John Minerius a cruell perſecutor plagued of God.

Alſo John Minerius of Provence, which was the cauſe of the death of a great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaſpheming and deſpiſing God: beſides many other whereof we might make recitall, which were puniſhed with the like kinde of death.

The French K. by ſundry ſorts of troubles warned of God.

It may pleaſe your Maieſty to remember your ſelfe that ye had no ſooner determined to ſet upon us, but new troubles were by and by moved by your enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which GOD would not ſuffer, foraſmuch as your peace was grounded upon the perſecution which ye pretended againſt Gods ſervants: As alſo your Cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the courſe of the Goſpel, which hath taken ſuch roote in your Realme, that if God ſhould give you leave to deſtroy the profeſſors thereof, you ſhould be almoſt a King without ſubjects.

Riches and pride of the Clergy, the fountaine of all evils.

Tertullian hath well ſayd, that the bloud of Martyrs is the ſeede of the Goſpel. Wherefore to take away all theſe evills comming of the riches of the Papiſts, which cauſe ſo much whoredome, Sodomitry, and inceſt, wherein they wallow like Hogs, feeding their idle bellies; the beſt way were to put them from their lands and poſſeſſions, as the old ſacrificing Levites were, according to the expreſſe commandement which was given to Joſua. For as long as the commandement of God tooke place, and that they were voide of ambition, the purity of Religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aſpire to principality, riches, and worldly honours, then began the abomination of deſolation that Chriſt foretold.

The pureneſſe of the primitive Church how long it continued, and whereby.

The falſe donation of Conſtantine.

It was even ſo in the Primitive Church, for it flouriſhed and continued in all pureneſſe, as long as the Miniſters were of ſmall wealth, and ſought not their particular profit, but the glory of GOD only. But ſince the Pope began to be Prince-like, and to uſurpe the dominion of the Empire under the colour of a falſe donation of Conſtantine, they have turned the Scriptures from their true ſenſe, and have attributed the ſervice to themſelves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Maieſty may ſeiſe with good right upon all the temporalties of the Benefices, and that with a ſafe conſcience to employ them to their true and right uſe.

Exhortation to the king to ſeiſe upon the temporalties of the Clergy.

The riches of the Popes Clergy how they ought to be employed.

Firſt, for the finding and maintaining of the faithfull Miniſters of the Word of GOD, for ſuch livings ſhall be requiſite for them, according as the caſe ſhall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your Juſtices that give judgement. Thirdly, for the relieving of the poore, and maintenance of Colledges to inſtruct the poore youth in that which they ſhall bee moſt apt unto. And the reſt, which is infinite, may remaine for entertainment of your owne eſtate and affaires, to the great eaſement of your poore people, which alone beare the burthen, and poſſeſſe in manner nothing.

In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your Nobility, which live of the Crucifixe, ſhould employ themſelves to your ſervice, and the Common-wealths ſo much the more diligently, as they ſee that ye recompence none but thoſe that have deſerved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your Kingdome, which occupy the chiefeſt and greateſt Benefices, which never deſerved any part of them, &c. And thus much touching the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Popes lordly Clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the King, thus the letter importeth.

The malicious and lying ſlanders of the Papiſts to bring the true Goſpell is in hatred with Princes.

But when the Papiſts ſee that they have not to alledge for themſelves any reaſon, they aſſay to make odious to your Maieſty the Lutherans (as they call us) and ſay; If their ſayings take place, ye ſhall be faine to remaine a private perſon, and that there is never change of religion, but there is alſo change of Princedome. A thing as falſe as when they accuſe us to be Sacramentaries, and that wee deny the authority of Magiſtrates, under the ſhadow of certaine furious Anabaptiſts, which Sathan hath raiſed in our time to darken the light of the Goſpel. For the hiſtories of the Emperors which have begun to receive the Chriſtian religion, and that which is come to paſſe in our time, ſhew the contrary.

Conſtantine confirmed in his kingdome the more, by receiving the Goſpel.

Was there ever Prince more feared and obeyed, than Conſtantine in receiving the Chriſtian religion? was hee therefore put from the Empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſame, and alſo his poſterity which ruled themſelves by his providence. But ſuch as have fallen away, and followed mens traditions, God hath deſtroyed, and their race is no more knowne in earth: So much doth God deteſt them that forſake him.

Examples of England and Germany, how Princes loſe no honour by the Goſpel.

The Popes religion more noiſome to the ſtate of Princes than the doctrine of the Lutherans.

And in our time the late Kings of England and Germany, were they conſtrained in reproving ſuperſtitions, which the wickedneſſe of the time had brought in, to forſake their Kingdomes and Princedomes? All men ſee the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the Goſpel, doe under their Princes and ſuperiours. Yea, I may ſay, that the Princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received ſo readily the diſpenſations of the Pope, to drive out their owne Kings and naturall Lords.

Wholſome remedy ſhewed againſt the Popes pride.

The true and only remedy, ſir, is, that ye cauſe to be holden a holy and free Councell, where ye ſhould be chiefe, and not the Pope and his, who ought but only to defend their cauſes by the holy Scriptures; that in the meane while ye may ſeek out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor partiall, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true ſenſe of the holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good Kings, Joſaphat, Ezechias, and Joſias, ye ſhall take out of the Church all Idolatry, ſuperſtition, and abuſe which is found directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that meanes ye ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſervice of God, not regarding in the meane time the cavilling pretences of the Papiſts, which ſay that ſuch queſtions have been already anſwered at generall Councels: for it is knowne well enough, that no Councell hath beene lawfull ſince the Popes have uſurped the principality and tyranny upon mens ſoules, but they have made them ſerve to their covetouſneſſe, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrary which is among thoſe Councels, maketh enough for their diſproofe, beſide a hundred thouſand other abſurdities againſt the Word of GOD, which be in them. The true proofe for ſuch matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no times nor age hath any preſcription to bee alledged againſt them; for by them wee receive the Councels founded upon the Word of God, and

A blinde ſhift of the Papiſts to ſtop Princes from calling generall Councels.

The contrarieties in the Popes Councels enough for their diſproofe.

alſo by the ſame we reiect that doctrine which is repugnant.

Prophecie againſt the French king.

And if ye do thus ſir, God will bleſſe your enterpriſe, he will increaſe and confirme your reigne and Empire, and your poſterity. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which ſhall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did Pharaohs, and take off the Crown from your head, as he did to Ieroboam, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other Kings, which have followed mens traditions, againſt the commandement of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your children.

And if the Emperor Antonine the meeke, although hee were a Pagan and Idolater, ſeeing himſelfe bewrapt with ſo many warres, ceaſed the perſecutions which were in his time againſt the Chriſtians, and determined in the end to heare their cauſes and reaſons, how much more ought you that beare the name of moſt Chriſtian King, to be carefull and diligent to ceaſe the perſecutions againſt the poore Chriſtians, ſeeing they have not troubled, nor doe trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your Kingdome, and your affaires; conſidering alſo that the Iewes be ſuffered through all Chriſtendome, although they be mortall enemies of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which we hold by common accord and conſent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that untill ye have heard lawfully debated, and underſtand our reaſons, taken out of the holy Scriptures, and that your Majeſty have judged, if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhments. For if wee bee not overcome by the Word of God, the fires, the ſword, nor the cruelleſt torments ſhall make us affraid. Theſe bee exerciſes that GOD hath promiſed to his, the which hee foretold ſhould come in the laſt times, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuch perſecutions ſhall come upon them.

Tranſlated out of the French Booke, intituled Commentaries of the ſtate of the Church and publike weale, &c. pag. 7.

The ſtory and end of the French king.

The ſtory and end of Henry 2. the French K. that would not be warned.

WHoſoever was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou ſeeſt (good Reader) good counſell given to the king. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the ſame, no doubt but Gods bleſſing working with him, he had not only ſet that Realme in a bleſſed ſtate from much diſturbance, but alſo had continued himſelfe in all flouriſhing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For ſo doth the Lord commonly bleſſe and advance ſuch Kings and Princes as ſeeke his honour, and ſubmit their wils to his obedience. But commonly the fault of Kings and Potentates of this world is, that being ſet about with Paraſites, either they ſeldome heare the truth told them, or if they doe, yet will they not lightly be put from their owne wils, diſdaining to be admoniſhed by their inferiours, be their counſell never ſo wholeſome and godly. Which thing many times turneth them to great plagues and calamity, as by plentifull examples of Kings deſtroyed, wounded, impriſoned, depoſed, drowned, poyſoned, &c. may well to them that reade Hiſtories appeare: but eſpecially this preſent example of Henry the French King, the ſecond of that name, is in this our age notoriouſly to be conſidered. Who being well warned before (as may ſeeme) would not yet ſurceaſe his cruell perſecution againſt the Lords people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed againſt them; inſomuch that he ſaid to Anne du Bourg, one of the high Court of Parliament in Paris, threatning him, that he would ſee him burne with his owne eyes.

What commeth to kings that refuſe good counſell.

{ Anno 1558. }

Henry 2. the French king wholly ſet to perſecute the Church of Chriſt.

Further, how his purpoſe was to extend his power and force likewiſe againſt other places moe, in perſecuting the Goſpel of Chriſt and profeſſors thereof, to the uttermoſt of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter.

Gods mighty power againſt his enemies.

But notwithſtanding all theſe crakes and threatnings of the King (to ſee what the LORD can doe in making high Kings to ſtoope) even the ſame day when the King was in his moſt rage againſt theſe good men, Almighty God, taking the cauſe in hand to fight for his Church, ſo turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of his, both with his mouth and with his hand to worke his owne deſtruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand, in giving him the Lance into his hand, which the ſame day gave him his deaths wound, as by the ſequele hereof in reading ye may underſtand.

The ſtroke of Gods hands upon Henry 2. French king.

KIng Henry being in the Parlament houſe, which was kept at the Frier Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the Palace was in preparing againſt the marriage of his daughter, and his ſiſter, and having heard the opinion in Religion of Anne du Bourg Counſellor in the Law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſayd Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faur, Counſellors, to bee taken priſoners by the Conſtable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the County of Montgommery, the which carried them to priſon. Againſt whom the King being wrathfull and angry, among other talke, ſayd to the ſayd Anne du Bourg; Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt: And ſo on the 19. of Iune, Commiſſion was given to the Iudges to make his Proceſſe.

Henry 2. the French king ſore ſet againſt the poore Proteſtants.

During this meane while, great feaſts and banquets were preparing in the Court, for joy and gladneſſe of the marriage that ſhould bee of the Kings daughter and ſiſter, againſt the laſt day of Iune ſave one. So when the day and time above prefixed was come, the King employed all the morning in examining as well the Preſidents as Counſellors of the ſayd Parliament againſt theſe priſoners, and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine, which being done, they went to dinner.

The King, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the Tourney, which was ſolemnly made in Saint Antonies ſtreete, neere to the priſon where the foreſayd priſoners were committed, entred into the Liſts; and therein juſting, as the manner is, had broken many ſtaves right valiantly as could bee, running as well againſt the County of Montgommery, as other moe.

Henry 2. the French king in his triumph juſteth againſt Montgommery.

Whereupon hee was highly commended of the lookers on. And becauſe he had done ſo valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was deſired to ceaſe with praiſe. But he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his prayſe, would needes runne another courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to runne againſt the King, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to runne; the King being eagerly ſet, commanded him upon his allegeance to run, and (as ſome affirme) did alſo himſelfe put the ſtaffe in his hand, unto whoſe hands he had committed the foreſaid priſoners a little before. Montgommery thus being inforced whether hee would or no

Montgomery againſt his will commanded to Juſt againſt the King.

to runne againſt the King, addreſſed himſelfe after the beſt wiſe to obey the Kings commandement.

Whereupon he and the King met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their ſpeares the King was ſtricken with the counter-blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the viſour of his Helmet ſuddenly fell downe at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhivers entred into his head; ſo that the braines were periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although Phyſitians and Surgeons were ſent for from all places in the Realme, as alſo from Brabant by King Philip, but nothing availed, ſo that the 11. day after, that is, the 10. of July, 1559. he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned 12. yeeres, three moneths, and 10. dayes.

Henry 2. the French king ſtricken and killed in his owne juſting.

The devliſh perſwaſion of the Cardinall of Loraine at the death of the F. king.

Some report, that among other words he ſayd, that hee feared hee was ſtricken for caſting the poore Chriſtians wrongfully in priſon: but the Cardinall of Loraine ſtanding by (as he was alwayes at hand) ſaid unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he ſhould be ſtedfaſt in the faith. By this means the Hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladneſſe, did now ſerve for a Chappell to keepe the corps, being dreſſed with blacke mourning cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the ſpace of 40. dayes.

Certain Gentlemen executed at Amboiſe for ſtanding againſt the houſe of Guiſe.

About two yeeres after this, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1561. there were certaine Gentlemen put to death at Amboiſe, for taking armes againſt the houſe of Guiſe. Touching which Gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them ſhould be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thruſt his hands into the bloud of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then lifting them up to heaven, cried with a loud voice; Lord, behold the bloud of thy children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it.

The Lords puniſhment upon the Chancellor Olivier for his ſentence given againſt certaine Gentlemen, Proteſtants.

Not long after the ſame, the Chancellor Olivier, who was condemner of them, at the inſtigation and purſuit of the Cardinall of Loraine, through great remorſe of conſcience fell ſicke, and in a frenſie caſting out ſighes unceſſantly, and afflicting himſelfe after a fearefull and ſtrange faſhion for his unrighteous ſentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, ſhrieked upon a ſudden with an horrible cry, and ſaid; O Cardinall, thou wilt make us all to be damned. And within a very few dayes after he died.

The death of Francis 2. French king after he began to withſtand the courſe of the Goſpel. How the Lord worketh for his Goſpel.

Francis the ſecond of that name, King of France, at the perſwaſion of the Cardinall of Loraine, and of certaine others, cauſed an aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realme in the Towne of Orleans, among other things to maintaine the Papall See, to the overthrow of thoſe which would live after the ſincerity of the Goſpel: but being fallen ſicke, ſhortly after, in the foreſayd place, of a feaver, through an impoſtume in his left eare hee dyed the fourth of December, 1561. having reigned but one yeere, and about five moneths.

It was ſaid of this King Francis (as the author above mentioned reporteth) that when hee was drawing toward his end, the Cardinall of Loraine made him to ſay and pronounce theſe words which follow; Lord forgive me my treſpaſſes, and impute not unto me the faults which my Miniſters have done under my name and authority.

The words of king Francis at his death.

The terrible ſtroke of Gods revenge upon Carol. 9. the French king.

Neither is it unworthy of obſervation, that after the father it happened in much like ſort by Gods mighty judgement unto Carol. 9. his ſecond ſonne, and brother to Francis above mentioned, in theſe our later dayes; who after the horrible and bloudy murder of the Admirall, and other true profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel, both men, women, and children, to the number of many thouſands of divers Cities, inſomuch that the priſons and ſtreets are ſayd to be coloured with bloud, ſmoaking after ſuch a cruell ſort, as in our time or country the like hath not hitherto beene ſeene; by the terrible ſtroke of Gods juſt revenge, the ſame King, by credible report of ſtory, is ſaid to dye of bleeding, not only at his eares and noſe, but in all other places of his body, where bloud might have any iſſue.

The death of Charles the Emperor.

Unto theſe afore recited hiſtories of King Henry and his two ſonnes, might alſo be added the death of the Emperor Charles the fifth. Who in like manner being an enemy, and a great terrour to the Goſpel, was cut off likewiſe for doing any more hurt to the Church, much about the ſame time, Anno 1558. which was but three moneths before the death of Queene Mary, and ten moneths before the death of the ſaid Henry the ſecond. Touching the death of which Charles and Henry, and Francis, this Epitaph following was written in Latine Verſes, and printed in the French ſtory booke above alledged.

An Epitaph upon Charles Emperor, H. 2. French K. and Francis his ſon.

Conſiliis Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus, ingens
  Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus & excors,
  Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice, malis dum conſultoribus utens
  Sitis piorum ſanguinem,
Ipſe tuo vecors, inopina cæde peremptus,
  Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris
  Franciſcus, infœlix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
  Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula Reges.
  Vos ſapere vel mori jubent.

The ſudden death of Preſident Minard.

Not long after Anne du Bourges death, the Preſident Minard, who was a ſore perſecutor, and the condemner of the ſaid Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the Palace or Councell chamber to his owne houſe, being upon his Mule, even hard by his houſe, was ſlaine with a dagge; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cauſe he was ſlaine, for all the inquiſition and diligent ſearch that could be made, it was never knowne.

The puniſhment of God upon the K. of Navar, after he had revolted from the Goſpel to Popery.

Among many other examples worthy to bee noted, let us alſo conſider the end of the King of Navar, brother to the worthy Prince of Condy, who after hee had ſuſtained a certaine time the cauſe of the Goſpel, at length being allured by the flattering words of the Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinall of Loraine his brother, and upon hope to have his lands reſtored againe, which the King of Spaine retained from him, was contented to alter his religion, and to joyne ſide with the Papiſts, and ſo being in campe with the Duke of Guiſe, at the ſiege of Roane, was there ſhot in with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a Towne three miles from the campe, called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backſliding from the Goſpel, promiſing to God moſt earneſtly, that if he might eſcape that hurt, hee would bring to paſſe that the Goſpel ſhould bee preached freely through all France: Notwithſtanding, within five or ſixe dayes after he died.

Neither did the Duke of Guiſe himſelfe, the great Arch-enemy of God and his Goſpel, continue in life long after that, but both hee and the whole Triumvirat of France, that is, three the greateſt Captaines of Popery were cut off for doing any more hurt, to wit, the Duke of Guiſe before Orleance, the Conſtable before Paris, the Marſhall of S. Andrew before Dreux.

Of the Emperor Sigiſmundus.

AMongſt others, here is not to bée paſt over nor forgotten the notable example of Gods iuſt ſcourge upon Sigiſmundus the Emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the condemnation of Iohn Huſſe, and Hierome of Prague. After the death and wrongfull condemnation of which bleſſed Martyrs, nothing afterward went proſperouſly with the ſayd Emperor, but all contrary; ſo that hée both died without iſſue, and in his warres hée ever went to the worſt. And not long after, Ladiſlaus his daughters ſonne King of Hungary, fighting againſt the Turke, was ſlaine in the field. So that in the time of one generation all the poſteritie and off-ſpring of this Emperor periſhed. Beſides this, Barbara his wife came to ſuch ruins by her wicked lewdneſſe, that ſhée became a ſhame and ſlander to the name and ſtate of all Quéenes. Whereby all Chriſtian Princes and Emperors may ſufficiently bée admoniſhed, if they have grace, what it is to defile themſelves with the bloud of Chriſts bleſſed Saints and Martyrs.

A note of Chriſtopher Parker.

CHriſtopher Parker, called Parker the wilde, mentioned before in this book of Monuments, who being a perſecutor of Richard Woodman, did manacle his hands with a cord, did caſt himſelfe into a pond, and ſo drowned himſelfe at Herſtmonceux, in Suſſex, the 8. September, 1575.

The ſtory of one Drainer of Kent, commonly called Iuſtice Nine-holes.

The ſtory of one Drainer, otherwiſe called Iuſtice Nine-holes.

I May not in this place omit the tragedie of one Drainer of Smarden in the Countie of Kent, Eſquire, who bearing grudge againſt one Gregorie Dods, Parſon of the ſayd Towne, for reproving his vicious life, ſent for him by two men, which tooke him and brought him before him, where he was had into a Parlour, as it were to breake-faſt. In which behinde the doore hée had placed one Roger Matthew ſecretly, to beare witneſſe what he ſhould ſay, no more being in ſight but the ſayd Drainer and one of his men, who willed and perſwaded him to ſpeake fréely his minde, for that there was not ſufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talke without perill, whereby the ſayd Drainer ſent him to the next Iuſtice called M. George Dorell; who, perceiving it to bee done more of malice than otherwiſe, delivered him upon ſureties, to appeare at the next Seſſions at Canterbury, and at length he was baniſhed the Countrie.

A malicious practice to intrap a good man.

This ſaid Drainer afterward, being choſen Iuſtice, to ſhew himſelfe diligent in ſéeking the trouble of his neighbours, made in the Roode loft nine holes, that hée might looke about the Church in Maſſe time. In which place alway at the ſacring thereof, he would ſtand to ſée who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which perſons not ſo doing he would trouble and puniſh very ſore. Whereby he purchaſed a name there, and is called to this day Iuſtice Nine-holes, who now (God bée thanked) is Iohn out of office, and glad of his neighbours good will.

It ſo fell out, that ſince this was publiſhed, the ſayd Drainer came to the Printers houſe, with other aſſociates, demanding: Is Fox here? To whom anſwer was given, that Maſter Foxe was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth Drainer?) It was anſwered, Yea. Whereupon being required to come up into his houſe, he was aſked what his will was. Mary, ſayth hee, you have printed me falſe in your booke. Why, ſayth the Printer, is not your name Maſter Drainer, otherwiſe called Iuſtice Nine-holes? It is falſe ſayth he, I made but five with a great Augure, and the Parſon made the reſt. It was anſwered, I have not read that a Iuſtice ſhould make him a place in the Roode loft, to ſee if the people held up their hands. He ſayd, whereras you alledge, that I did it to ſee who adored the ſacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I ſet as little by it, as the beſt of you all. Indeede, ſayth the Printer, ſo wee underſtand now; for you being at ſupper in Cheapeſide among certaine honeſt company, and there burdened with the matter, ſayd then, that you did it rather to looke upon faire wenches, than otherwiſe. He being in a great rage, ſware, ſaying to this purpoſe; Can a man ſpeak nothing but you muſt have underſtanding thereof? But, ſayth he, did I any man any hurt? It was anſwered, that he meant little good to Maſter Dods aforeſaid, eſpecially procuring a ſecret witneſſe behinde his doore, to catch ſome words that might tend to Dods deſtruction. Which thing Drainer ſware, as before, was not true. To whom the Printer replied, that it was moſt true, for that the party there ſecretly hidden, hath ſince upon his knees, aſking forgiveneſſe for his intent, confeſſed the ſame to Dods himſelfe. I will hang that knave, ſaith he: And ſo he departed in a rage; and ſince is deceaſed, whoſe death and order thereof, I referre to the ſecret Iudge,

Drainer convict of falſhood.

A lamentable hiſtory of Iohn Whitman, Shoomaker, who ſuffered moſt cruell torments at Oſtend in Flanders, for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, and the truth of his Goſpel, Anno 1572.

A lamentable hiſtory of Iohn Whitman, Shoomaker.

IOhn Whitman Shoomaker, being about the age of 49. yeeres, borne in Tinen a Towne in Brabant, after his comming over into England, dwelt in Rie in the County of Suſſex, being married 23. yeeres: alwaies a profeſſor of the Goſpel, as well in the time of the freedome thereof, as in time of perſecution. About Candlemas, in the yeere 1572. unknowne to his friends in Rie, underſtanding of ſhipping in Rie, which was readie bound for Oſtend in Flanders, he went aboord the Saturday morning, and arrived at Oſtend that night, where hee lodged with one of his kinſmen there dwelling. The next day being Sunday, in the morning hee accompanied with his ſaid kinſman, tooke his journie, as it were to have paſſed higher into the countrie.

When they were about three miles on their way out of the Towne, ſuddenly Whitman ſtaied and would goe no further; but immediately returned backe againe to Oſtend, whither ſo ſoone as he was come, it being ſervice time in their Church, hee forthwith addreſſed himſelfe thither, and at the time of the heave-offering ſtept to the ſacrificer, and tooke from over his head his Idoll, ſaying theſe words in the dutch tongue; Is this your God? and ſo breaking it, caſt it downe under his feete, and trode thereon. Forthwith the people in an uproare came to lay hold on him, and hardly in the Church eſcaped he death by the ſouldiers there preſent, but being reſcued by ſome, to the intent to be further examined and made a publike ſpectacle hee was carried immediately to priſon. Upon the next day, being Munday, the Iudges and other Counſellors being aſſembled, hee was brought forth into the common Hall, and examined

Io. Whitman could not ſuffer the abominable Idolatry of the Papiſts. Iohn Whitman apprehended.

Io. Whitman brought before the Iudges.

of his fact, the intent, the counſell and abettors thereof, and alſo of his faith: where he very conſtantly in defence of his Chriſtian faith, and great deteſtation of Idolatrie, demeaned himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that he wrung teares from the eyes of divers, both of the chiefe, and others preſent. So was he committed againe to priſon. The next day being Tueſday, he was brought out againe before the Iudges into the ſame place, And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increaſed in his conſtancie. Whereupon ſentence was given upon him, to have his hand cut off, and his bodie ſcorched to death, and after to bée hanged up. So the day following, being Wedneſday, he was brought out of priſon to the Towne-hall, ſtanding in the Market place, all things belonging to execution being made readie there. Which when they were all readie, the Hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied the hands of Whitman, and came out leading him thereby. So ſoone as Whitman was out of the houſe, hée made ſuch haſte, and as it were, ranne ſo to the place of execution, that hée drew the Hangman after him. There was a poſt ſet up with ſparres from the top thereof, a ſlope, downe to the ground, in manner of a tent, to the end that he ſhould bée only ſcorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the Hangman commanded him to lay downe his right hand upon a blocke, which he immediately with a hatchet ſmote off: the good man ſtill continuing conſtant, the Hangman ſtept behinde him, and bid him put out his tongue, which hée forthwith did, as farre as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thruſt a long inſtrument like a packe-néedle, and ſo let it ſticke. Then the Iudges, ſtanding by in the common hall, reade againe his fact and ſentence. Whereunto he could make no anſwer, his tongue hanging out of his head: ſo was he ſtripped out of his Caſſocke, his hoſe being put off in priſon, and put within his tent, and made faſt with two chaines, and fire was put round about, which broiled and ſcorched his bodie moſt miſerably, all blacke, he not being ſéene, but heard to make a noyſe within the tent. When hée was dead, hée was carried out to bée hanged upon a gibbet beſide the Towne.

Sentence given againſt John Whitman.

The martyrdome & death of John Whitman.

Spectatores præſentes, Cutbert Car, Bartholomæus Bellington, Nautæ Rienſes.

Admonition to the Reader concerning the examples above mentioned.

IT hath béen a long perſwaſion gendred in the heads of many men theſe many yéeres, that to ground a mans faith upon Gods Word alone, and not upon the Sée and Church of Rome, following all the ordinances and conſtitutions of the ſame, was damnable hereſie, and to perſecute ſuch men to death, was high ſervice done to God. Whereupon have riſen ſo great perſecutions, ſlaughters, and murders, with ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian bloud through all parts of Chriſtendome by the ſpace of theſe 70. yéeres, as hath not before bin ſéen. And of theſe men Chriſt himſelfe doth full well warne us long before, truely propheſying of ſuch times to come, when they that ſlay his Miniſters and ſervants ſhould thinke themſelves to doe good ſervice unto God, Iohn 16. Now what wicked ſervice, and how deteſtable before GOD this is, which they falſly perſwade themſelves to be godly, what more evident demonſtrations can we require, than theſe ſo many, ſo manifeſt, and ſo terrible examples of Gods wrath pouring downe from heaven upon theſe perſecutors, whereof part we have already ſet forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is unpoſſible. Wherefore, although there bée many which will neyther heare, ſée, nor underſtand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate & well diſpoſed natures take warning in time. And if the plaine Word of God will not ſuffice them, nor the bloud of ſo manie Martyrs will move them to imbrace the truth, and forſake errour, yet let the deſperate deaths and horrible puniſhments of their owne Papiſts perſwade them, how perillous is, the end of this damnable doctrine of Papiſtry. For if theſe Papiſts, which make ſo much of their painted Antiquitie, do think their procéedings to be ſo Catholike, and ſervice ſo acceptable to GOD, let them joyne this withall, and tell us how come then their procéedings to be ſo accurſed of God, & their end ſo miſerably plagued, as by theſe examples above ſpecified, is here notoriouſly to be ſéene? Againe, if the doctrine of them be ſuch hereſie, whom they have hitherto perſecuted for heretikes unto death; how then is Almightie GOD become a maintainer of heretikes, who hath revenged their bloud ſo grievouſly upon their enemies and perſecutors?

Three Arguments againſt the Papiſts. Gods Word. Bloud of Martyrs. Gods puniſhment.

The plagues of God ſet againſt pretenſed antiquity.

The putting out of the French Kings eyes, which promiſed before with his eyes to ſée one of Gods true ſervants burned, who ſéeth not with his eies to be the ſtroke of Gods hand upon him? Then his ſon Francis after him, not regarding his fathers ſtripe, would yet néeds procéede in burning the ſame man: and did not the ſame God, which put out his fathers eyes, give him ſuch a blow on the eare, that it coſt him his life? If the plat-forme of Stephen Gardiner had béen a thing ſo neceſſary for the Church, & ſo gratefull unto God, why then did it not proſper with him, nor he with it, but both he and his plat-forme lay in the duſt, & none left behinde him to build upon it? After the time of Stephen Gardiner, and at the Councell of Trent, what conſpiracies and policies were deviſed? what practices and traines were laid through the ſecret confederacie of Princes and Prelates, for the utter ſubverſion of the Goſpel and all Goſpellers, which if God had ſéene to have béen for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they diſcloſed and forepriſed, but by the Lord himſelfe, which would not have them come forward?

Henry 2. the French King and K. Francis his ſon ſtricken, the one in the eies, the other with an impoſtume in the eare.

Ste. Gardiner.

The vehement zeale of Quéene Mary was like to have ſet up the Pope here againe in England for ever, if it had ſo much pleaſed the Lord God as it pleaſed her ſelfe; or if it had béen ſo godly as it was bloudy, no doubt but Gods bleſſing would have gone withall. But when was the Realme of England more barren of all Gods bleſſings? what Prince ever reigned here more ſhorter time, or leſſe to his owne hearts eaſe than did Quéene Mary?

Queen Mary

The Conſtable of France, when he covenanted with God that if he had the victory of St. Quintines, he would ſet upon Geneva, thought (no doubt) that hée had made a great good bargaine with God; much like unto Julian the Emperor, who going againſt the Perſians, made his vow, that if he ſped well, he would offer the bloud of Chriſtians. But what did God? came not both their vowes to like effect?

Conſtable of France.

The examples of ſuch as revolted from the Goſpell to Papiſtrie be not many; but as few as they were, ſcarce can any be found which began to turne to the Pope, but the Lord began to turne from them, and to leave them to their ghoſtly enemy; as we have heard of the King of Navar in France, of Henry Smith, and Doctor Sharton in England, with other in other Countries moe, of whom ſome died in great ſorrow of conſcience, ſome in miſerable doubt of their ſalvation, ſome ſtricken by Gods hand, ſome driven to hang or drowne themſelves.

King of Navar, Henry Smith, D. Sharton.

The ſtinking death of Stephen Gardiner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the Bailiffe of Crowland: The ſudden death of the Suffragan of Dover, of Doctor Dunning, of Doctor Geffrey, of Berrie the Promoter: The miſerable and wretched end of Poncher Archbiſh. of Towers, of Cardinall Creſcentius, Caſtellatus: The deſperate diſeaſe of Rockwood, of Latomus, of Guarlacus: The earthly ending of Henrie Beauford Cardinall of Wincheſter, of Eckius, of Thornton called Dicke of Dover: The wilfull and ſelfe murder of Pauter, of Richard Long; of Bomelius, beſides infinite other: The dreadfull taking away and murren of ſo many perſecuting Biſhops, ſo many bloudie Promoters, and malitious adverſaries, in ſuch a ſhort time together with Quéen Marie, and that without any mans hand, but only the ſecret working of Gods juſt judgement.

To adde to theſe alſo the ſtinking death of Edmund Boner, commonly named the bloudie Biſhop of London; who not many yeares agoe, in the time and reigne of Quéene Elizabeth, after he had long feaſted and banquetted in durance at the Marſhalſea, as hée wretchedly died in his blinde Poperie, ſo as ſtinkingly, and as blindely at midnight was he brought out and buried in the outſide of all the City, amongſt théeves and murderers, a place right convenient for ſuch a murderer; with confuſion and deriſion both of men and children, who, trampling upon his grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and man. What elſe be all theſe (I ſay) but plaine viſible arguments, teſtimonies, and demonſtrations even from heaven againſt the Pope, his murdering Religion, and his bloudie Doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to bee good, whoſe end is ſo evill?. If Chriſt bid us to know men by their fruites, and eſpecially ſeeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profeſſion of that doctrine pleaſe God, which endeth ſo ungodly? Eſaias, Chapt. 50. propheſying of the end of Gods enemies, which would needs walke in the light of their owne ſetting up, and not in he light of the Lords kindling, threatneth to them this finall malediction, in doloribus (ſaith he) dormietis, i. In ſorrow ſhall ye ſleepe. Let us now take a ſurvey of all thoſe perſecutors, which of late have ſo troubled the earth (and almoſt have burned up the world with fagots and fire, for maintenance of the Popes Religion) and ſee what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their religion hath brought them, but eyther to deſtruction, or deſperation, or confuſion and ſhame of life. So many great Doctors and Biſhops have cried out of late ſo mightily againſt Prieſts marriage; and have they not, by Gods juſt judgment working their confuſion, beene detected themſelves, and taken the moſt part of them in ſinnefull adulterie, and ſhamefull fornication? Cardinall Joannes Cremenſis the Popes Legate here in England, after he had ſet a law that Prieſts ſhould have no wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his whores, driven out of London with confuſion and ſhame enough, ſo that afterwards he durſt not ſhew his face here any more? Beſides the two Biſhops in the late Councell of Trent moſt ſhamefully taken in adulterie, mentioned before. Alſo beſides innumerable other like forraine ſtories, which I let paſſe, to come now to our own domeſticall examples, I could well name halfe a ſcore at leaſt of famous Doctors, and ſome Biſhops, with their great Maſters of Poperie, who, in ſtanding earneſtly againſt the marriage of Prieſts, have afterward been taken in ſuch diſhoneſt facts themſalves, that not only they have carried the publike ſhame of adulterous lecherers, but ſome of them the marks alſo of burning fornication with them in their bodies to their graves. Whoſe names, although I ſuffer here to bee ſuppreſſed, yet the examples of them may ſuffice to admoniſh all men that bee wiſe, and which will avoid the wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Poperie.

A ſecret note of Papiſts which have bin great cryers out of Prieſts marriage, and themſelves after taken in open adultery.

Compariſon between the end of Popiſh perſecutors and the goſpellers.

And thus having hitherto recited ſo many ſhamefull lives and deſperate ends of ſo manie Popiſh perſecutors ſtricken by Gods hand; now let us conſider againe on the contrarie ſide the bleſſed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have ſtood ſo manfully in the defence of Chriſts Goſpel and the reformation of his religion, and let the Papiſts themſelves here be iudges. Firſt, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy ſervant and ſingular Organ of God Martin Luther?

To ſpeake likewiſe of the famous John Duke of Saxonie and Prince Elector, of the good Palſgrave, af Philip Melancton, of Pomeranus, Urbanus, Rhegius, Berengarius, of Ulricus Sminglius, Oecolampodius, Pillicanus, Capito, Muuſtreus, Joannes Caluinus, Petrus Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Johannes Muſculus, Biblander, Geſnerus, Hoſman, Auguſtinus Marloratus, Lewes of Bourbon Prince of Condie, and his godly wife before him, with many moe, which were knowne to be learned men, and chiefe ſtanderds of the Goſpel ſide againſt the Pope, and yet no man able to bring forth any one example eyther of theſe, or of any other true Goſpeller, that eyther killed himſelfe, or ſhewed forth any ſignification or appearance of deſpaire, but full of hope and conſtant in faith, and repleniſhed with the fruit of righteouſnes in Chriſt Jeſus, ſo yeelded they their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

The godly end of the goſpellers to be noted.

From theſe Forreiners, let us come now to the Martyrs of England, and marke likewiſe the end both of them, and ſemblably of all others of the ſame profeſſion. And firſt to beginne with the bleſſed and heavenly departure of King Edward the ſixth, that firſt put downe the Maſſe in England, and alſo of the like godly end of his good Uncle the Duke of Sommerſet, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private perſons beſides of the like religion, in whoſe finall departing no ſuch blemmiſh is to bee noted, like to the deſperate examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the conſideration of the bleſſed Martyrs, who although they ſuffered in their bodies, yet reioyced they in their ſpirits, and albeit they were perſecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with ſuch inward ioy and peace of conſcience, that ſome writing to their friends profeſſed they were never ſo merrie before in all their lives, ſome leapt for ioy, ſome for triumph would put on their Scarfes, ſome their wedding garment, going to the fire, other kiſſed the ſtake, ſome embraced the fagots, ſome clapt their hands, ſome ſung Pſalmes, univerſally they all forgave, and prayed for their enemies, no murmuring, no repining was ever heard amongſt them: ſo that moſt truely might bee verified in them, which their perſecutors were wont to ſing in their Hymnes.

The bleſſed end of K. Edward 6.

The patient end of the Duke of Somerſet the Kings uncle.

The quiet and ioyfull end of the martyrs.

Cæduntur gladiis more bidentium,
Non murmur reſonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conſcia
Conſervat patientiam, &c.

Brieſly, ſo great was their patience, or rather ſo great was Gods ſpirit in them, that ſome of

Anno 1558.

Two ſpeciall notes of the true church of Chriſt.
Outward affliction.
Peace of conſcience.
2 Tim. 3.
1 Cor. 1.

them in the flaming fire moved no more, then the ſtake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them moſt aptly agreed the ſpeciall tokens which moſt certainly follow the true children of God, that is, outward perſecution, and inward comfort in the holy Ghoſt. In the world (ſaith Chriſt our Saviour) yee ſhall have affliction, but in me ye ſhall have peace, &c.

And likewiſe the words of S. Paul be plaine. Whoſoever (ſaith hee) ſtudieth to live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

But then what followeth with this perſecution? the ſaid Apoſtle again thus declareth, ſaying, As the paſſions of Chriſt abound in us, ſo aboundeth alſo our conſolation by Chriſt, &c. according as by the examples of theſe godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their bodies outwardly lacked no perſecutions by the hands of the wicked: ſo amongſt ſo many hundreds of them that ſtood and dyed in this religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath beene found to have killed himſelfe, or to have dyed otherwiſe than the true ſervant of GOD, in quiet peace, and much comfort of conſcience?

The wretched end of Papiſts giveth teſtimony againſt their own doctrine.

Which being ſo, what greater proofe can wee have to juſtifie their cauſe and doctrine againſt the perſecuting Church of Rome, then to behold the ends of them both? Firſt, of the Proteſtants, how quietly they tooke their death, and cheerefully reſted in the Lord, and contrariwiſe to mark theſe perſecutors, what a wretched end commonly they doe all come unto.

The end and death of Edm. Boner.

Experience whereof wee have ſufficient in the examples above declared, and alſo of late in Boner, who albeit hee died in his bed unrepentant, yet was it provided by God, that as he had beene a perſecutor of the light, and a childe of darknes, ſo his carkaſſe was tumbled into the earth in obſcure darkneſſe, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Chriſtians; and as hee had beene a murderer, ſo was hee layd amongſt theeves and murderers, a place by Gods judgement rightly appointed for him.

Admonition to perſecutors which yet remaine alive.

And albeit ſome peradventure, that have beene notable perſecutors in times paſt, doe yet remaine alive, who, being in the ſame cauſe as the other were, have not yet felt the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them thinke, that, becauſe the judgement of God hath lighted ſooner upon other, therefore it will never light upon them; or becauſe God of his mercie hath granted them ſpace to repent, let not them therefore of Gods lenitie build to themſelves an opinion of indemnitie. The bloud of Abel cried long, yet wrought at length. The ſoules of the Saints ſlaine under the altar, were not revenged at the firſt, Apoc. 6. but reade forth the Chapter, and ſee what followed in the end. Bloud, eſpecially of Chriſts ſervants, is a perillous matter, and cryeth ſore in the eares of God, and will not be ſtilled with the Lawes of men.

God maketh the perſecutors of his people commonly to be their own perſecutors.

Wherefore let ſuch bloud-guilty homicides beware, if not by councell, at leaſt by the examples of their fellowes. And though Princes and Maieſtrates, under whoſe permiſſion they are ſuffered, doe ſpare their lives, let them not thinke therefore (as ſome of them ſhame not to ſay) that man hath no power to hurt them, and ſo thinke to eſcape unpuniſhed, becauſe they bee not puniſhed by man, but rather let them feare ſo much the more. For oftentimes ſuch as have been perſecutors and tormentors to Gods children, God thinketh them not worthy to ſuffer by man, but eyther reſerveth them to his own judgement, or elſe maketh them to be their own perſecutors, and their own hands moſt commonly hangmen to their own bodies.

Saul murdered of himſelfe.
Achitophel murderer of himſelfe.

So Saul, after he had perſecuted David, it was unneedfull for David to purſue him againe: for he was revenged of him, more than he deſired. It was needleſſe to cauſe Achitophel to bee hanged: for he himſelfe was the ſtifler or ſtrangler of his own life.

Iudas murderer of himſelfe.

Neither for the Apoſtles to purſue Iudas that betrayed their Maſter: for hee himſelfe was his own hangman, and no man elſe, that his bodie bruſt, and his guts braſt out.

Senacherib murdered of his own ſons.

Senacherib, had he not for his perſecutors his own ſons, and it coſt Ezechias nothing to bee revenged of him for his tyrannie?

Herod & Antiochus murdered by lice.

Antiochus and Herod, although the children of God, whom they ſo cruelly perſecuted, laid no hand upon them, yet they eſcaped not unpuniſhed of Gods hand, who ſent lice and wormes to bee their tormentors, which conſumed and eate them up.

Pilate murderer of himſelfe.

Pilate, after he had crucified Chriſt our Saviour, within few yeares after was hee not driven to hang himſelfe?

Nero murderer of himſelfe.

Nero, after his cruell murders and perſecutions ſtirred up againſt the Chriſtians, when hee ſhould have beene taken by the Romanes, God thought him not ſo worthie to be puniſhed by the hands of them, but ſo diſpoſed the matter, that Nero himſelfe when hee could finde no freind nor enemy to kill him, made his own hands to bee his own cut-throat.

Diocleſianus & Maximinus Emperors depoſed themſelves.

Diocleſianus, with Maximinian his fellow Emperor, which were the authors of the tenth and laſt perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, being in the middeſt of their furious tyrannie againſt the name of Chriſt, needed no mans helpe to bridle them and plucke them back: for God of his ſecret judgement put ſuch a ſnaffle in the mouthes of theſe Tyrants, that they themſelves of their own accord depoſed and diſpoſſeſſed themſelves of their imperiall function, and lived as private perſons all their lives after: And notwithſtanding that Maximinian, after that, ſought to reſume his imperiall ſtate againe, yet by Maxentius his Son hee was reſiſted, and ſhortly after ſlaine.

Maximinus eaten up with lice.

What ſhould I here ſpeake of the cruell Emperor Maximinus? who when he had ſet forth his Proclamation engraven in braſſe, for the utter aboliſhing of Chriſt and his religion, was not puniſhed by man, but had lice and vermin guſhing out of his entrailes to bee his tormentors, with ſuch a rotten ſtinch laid upon his bodie, that no Phyſitians could abide to come neere, and was cauſed to be ſlaine for the ſame.

Maxentius & K. Pharaoh, both drowned in their own harneſſe.

Maxentius the ſon of Maximinian, and Pharaoh the King of Egypt, as they were both like enemies againſt God and his people, ſo dranke they both of one cup, not periſhing by any mans hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their harneſſe in the water.

Achaz, Achab, Ieſabel, Manaſſes, Ioachim, Zedechias, puniſhed of God for their perſecutions.

Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kings among the Iewes, which were bloudy and wicked, were not ſpared, as Achaz, Achab, Ieſabel, Manaſſes, Ioachim, Zedechias, with many other, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquitie: let not theſe bloudy Catholikes then think, which have beene perſecutors of Chriſts Saints, that they being in the ſame cauſe as the other above recited were, ſhall eſcape the ſame judgement, which the longer it is deferred, the ſorer many times it ſtriketh, unleſſe by due repentance it be pretended in time: which I pray God it may.

The murdering mother church with her bloudy children admoniſhed.

Innumerable examples moe to the ſame effect and purpoſe might bee inferred, whereof plentifull ſtore wee have in all places, and in all ages of men to bee collected. But theſe hitherto for this preſent may ſuffice, which I thought here to notifie unto theſe our bloudie children of the murdring mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be ſaid, Manus veſtræ plenæ ſunt ſanguine, &c. Your hands be full of bloud, &c. Eſay, Chap. 1. to the intent that they, by the examples of their other fellowes before mentioned, may be admopiſhed to follow the Prophets councel, which followeth and biddeth, Lauamini, mundi eſtote, &c. Be you waſhed and make your ſelves clean, &c. Eſay 1. and not to preſume too farre upon their own ſecuritie, nor thinke themſelves the further off from Gods hand, becauſe mans hand forbeareth them.

What the lawes of this realm could ſay againſt the perſecutors in Q. Maries time.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the lawes of this realme could make againſt them, as againſt open murderers, I will not here diſcuſſe, nor open that I could ſay (becauſe they ſhall not ſay that wee deſire their bloud to be ſpilled, but rather to bée ſpared) but yet this I ſay, and wiſh them well to underſtand, that the ſparing of their lives, which have béene murtherers of ſo many, is not for want of power in Magiſtrates nor lacke of any juſt law againſt them, whereby they might juſtly have béen condemned, if it had ſo pleaſed the Majeſtrates to procéede (as they might) againſt them; but becauſe almighty God peradventure in his ſecret purpoſe, having ſomething to doe with theſe perſecutors, hath ſpared them hitherto, not that they ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, but that peradventure he will take his own cauſe into his own hand, eyther by death to take them away (as he did by Boner. and by all Promoters in a manner of Quéene Maries time) or elſe to make them to perſecute themſelves with their own hands, or will ſtir up their conſcience to bée their own confuſion, in ſuch ſort as the church ſhall have no néed to lay hands upon them.

The nature of the church is not to perſecute with bloud.

Wherefore with this ſhort admonition to cloſe up the matter, as I have exhibited in theſe Hiſtories the terrible ends of ſo many Perſecutors plagued by Gods hand: ſo would I wiſh all ſuch whom Gods lenitie ſuffereth yet to live, this wiſely to ponder with themſelves, that as their cruell perſecution hurteth not the Saints of God, whom they have put to death, ſo the patience of Chriſts Church, ſuffering them to live, doth not profit them but rather heapeth the greater judgement of God upon them in the day of wrath, unleſſe they repent in time: which I pray God they may.

In that the perſecutors of the Church be ſuffered of the Church to live, it is to their confuſion.

And now to re-enter againe to the time and ſtorie of Q. Elizabeth where we left before.

In whoſe advancement and this her Princely governance, it cannot ſufficiently bée expreſſed, what felicitie and bleſſed happineſſe this Realme hath received in receiving her at the Lords Almighty and gracious hand. For as there have béene divers Kings and Rulers over this realme, and I have read of ſome, yet I could never finde in Engliſh Chronicle the like that may bee written of this our noble and worthie Queene: whoſe comming in was not only ſo calme, ſo joyfull, and ſo peaceable, without ſhedding any bloud, but alſo her reigne hitherto (reiguing now 24. yeares and more) hath beene ſo quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this preſent day her ſword is a Virgin, ſpotted and polluted with no drop of bloud. In ſpeaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the morall or of the divine Philoſopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compaſſe of an Hiſtoriographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now preſent, the like whereof, as I ſaid, is not to bee found lightly in Chronicles before. And this as I ſpeak truly, ſo I would to bee taken without flatterie, to bee left to our poſteritie, ad ſempiternam clementiæ illius memoriam. In commendation of which her clemency, I might alſo here adde how mildely her grace, after ſhe was advanced to her Kingdome, did forgive the foreſaid ſir Henry Benifield without moleſtation, ſuffering him to enjoy goods, life, lands and libertie. But I let this paſſe.

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Sir H. Benifield forgiven.

Thus haſt thou, gentle Reader, ſimply, but truly deſcribed unto thee the time, firſt of the ſorrowfull adverſitie of this our moſt Soveraigne Queen that now is, alſo the miraculous protection of God, ſo graciouſly preſerving her in ſo many ſtraits and diſtreſſes, which I thought here briefly to notifie, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lords ought not to be ſuppreſſed, and that alſo her Majeſtie, and we likewiſe her poore ſubjects, having thereby a preſent matter alwaies before our eyes, bee admoniſhed both how much we are bound to his divine Majeſtie, and alſo to render thankes to him condignely for the ſame.

Now remaineth likewiſe in proſecuting the order of this, as of other hiſtories before, to notifie and diſcourſe of things memorable eſpecially in the Church, ſuch as happened in the time of this her Majeſties quiet and joyfull government. And firſt here I let paſſe by the way the death of Cardinall Poole, which was the next day after the death of Queene Marie, the death alſo of Chriſtopherſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, Hopton Biſhop of Norwich, omitting alſo to ſpeake of Doctor Weſton, who being chiefe diſputer againſt Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as is before declared, firſt fell in diſpleaſure with the Cardinall and other Biſhops, becauſe he was unwilling to part from his Deanry and houſe of Weſtminſter unto the Monkes, whom indeede he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the Church of Rome. Then being removed from thence, he was made Deane of Windſor, where he, being apprehended in advoutry, was by the ſame Cardinall put from all his ſpirituall livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and flying out of the Realme, was taken by the way and clapt in the Tower of London, where he remained untill this time that Q. Elizabeth was proclaimed. At which time being delivered, he fell ſicke and dyed.

November 13

D. Weſton.

Alſo I let paſſe the coronation of this our moſt noble and Chriſtian Princeſſe, and the order of the ſame, which was the fifteenth day of January, Anno 1559. To paſſe over alſo the triumphant paſſage and honourable entertainment of the ſaid our moſt dread Soveraigne, thorow the city of London, with ſuch celebrity, prayers, wiſhes, welcommings, cries, tender words, Pageants, Enterludes, declamations and verſes ſet up, as the like hath not commonly bin ſeene, arguing and declaring a wonderfull earneſt affection of loving hearts toward their Soveraigne. Item, to pretermit in ſilence the letters gratulatory, ſent to her Majeſtie from divers and ſundry forraine places, as from Zuricke, Geneva, Baſill, Berne, Wittemberge, Argentine, Frankeford, &c. Theſe I ſay with many other things to let paſſe, we will now (God willing) begin with the diſceptation or conference betweene the Popiſh Biſhops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at Weſtminſter; after that firſt we have inſerted a certaine Oration of a worthy Gentleman called M. John Hales, ſent and delivered to the ſaid Queene Elizabeth in the beginning of her reigne, the copy whereof is this.

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¶ An Oration of Iohn Hales to the Queenes Majeſtie, and delivered to her Majeſtie by a certaine Noble man, at her firſt entrance to her reigne.

To the Noble Queene Elizabeth.

Great benefits and treaſures do nothing profit, where the uſe of them cannot be enjoyed.

Albeit there be innumerable gifts & benefits of Almightie God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any perſon, on whom it ſhould pleaſe his goodneſſe to beſtow it: yet is none of them either ſeparate by it ſelfe, or joyned with any other, or yet all mingled together, to bée companied to this one; that it hath pleaſed God of his mercy to deliver this realme our Countrie from the tyrannie of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of vertuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treaſure of Solomon, and might not bee ſuffered to have the uſe thereof, in what better caſe were hée than miſerable Tantalus, over whoſe head the Apples continually hung, yet being hunger-ſtarved hée could never touch them? If a man had as ſtrong a bodie as had Sampſon, and beſides, were as whole as a fiſh, as the Proverbe is, yet if hée were kept in bands, what ſhould it avayle him? Yea, rather if it bée well conſidered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torments and paines may bee a hurt.

If a man had as many children as had Gedeon the Judge, and might not bée ſo ſuffered to bring them up in the feare of GOD, and good knowledge and manners, had hee not béen more happie to bée without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had Saint Paul, and durſt not profeſſe it openly with mouth, as hée is commanded, but for feare of death ſhould declare the contrarie in deede, ſlander the word of God, and denie Chriſt, which is forbidden, ſhould it not rather bée a furtherance to his damnation than otherwiſe?

And to be ſhort, if any one man had all theſe gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the bodie, the minde, and of grace, yet if hée might not have the uſe of them, what ſhould they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicitie is not in having, but in uſing; not in poſſeſſing, but in occupying, not in knowledge, but in doing.

Felicity not in having, but in uſing.

But alas, our naturall mother England, which hath béene counted to bée the ſureſt, the richeſt, and of late alſo the moſt godly Nation of the earth, hath béene theſe whole five yeares moſt violently by Tyrants forced to lacke the uſe of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature had endued her. Her naturall and loving children could not bée ſuffered to enioy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and ſuccour her or themſelves; but whatſoever they had, was eyther by open force, or by craftie dealing pulled from them. And ſurely this had bin tolerable, if none other miſchiefe had beene therewith intended.

He is a gentle thiefe (if theeves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his perſon. For ſuch loſſe with labour and diligence may be recovered. Hee may bee called a mercifull murtherer, that only killeth the aged parents, and uſeth no force on the children.

For nature hath made all men mortall, and that in like ſpace; and to kill the parents, is as it were but a prevention of a ſhort time, if it were to the uttermoſt enioyed. But theſe tyrants were more ungentle than common theeves, more empty of mercie than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners owne hands, that it might bee ſaid to the world they gave it with their heart, and were not therewith pleaſed, but they would have their lives, that they ſhould not bewray them; and yet herewith they were not ſatiſfied, but they meant to roote out the whole progenie and nation of Engliſhmen, that none ſhould bee left to revenge and crie out on their extremities, and to bring our Countrie into the Spaniards dominion.

Wicked practiſes of moſt cruell tyrants.

It is an horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for the children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but moſt horrible of all to murther the children in the ſight of their parents, or the parents in the ſight of their children, as theſe moſt cruell tormentors have done.

But what doe I ſtand in theſe things which have ſome defence, becauſe the Turkes perchance uſe ſo to doe, and Ethnikes kill one another, to make ſacrifice of men to their phantaſticall gods?

It was not enough for theſe unnaturall Engliſh tormentors, tyrants, and falſe Chriſtians, to bee the Lords of the goods, poſſeſſions, and bodies of their brethren and country men: but being very Antichriſts, and enemies of Chriſts croſſe, they would be gods, and reigne in the conſciences and ſoules of men. Every man, woman, and childe muſt denie Chriſt in word openly, abhorre Chriſt in their deeds, ſlander his Goſpel with word and deed, worſhip and honor falſe gods as they would have them, and themſelves did, and ſo give bodie and ſoule to the Divell their Maſter, or ſecretly flee, or after inward torments be burned openly. O crueltie, cruelty, farre exceeding all cruelties committed by thoſe antient and famous tyrants, and cruell murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Diocleſian, Decius, whoſe names for their cruell perſecution of the people of God, and their owne tyrannie practiſed on the people, have been, be, and ever ſhall be in perpetuall hatred, and their ſoules in continuall torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to ſet forth particularly all the acts that have been done theſe full fiue years, by this unnaturall woman; (No, no woman, but a monſter, and the divell of hell covered with the ſhape of a woman) as it is moſt neceſſarie for the glory of God, and the profit of his Church, and this realme, it ſhould be done: he ſhall finde it a matter ſufficient for a perfect great Hiſtory, and not to be contained in an Oration, to be uttered at one time by the voyce of man. But to comprehend the ſumme of all their wickedneſſe in few words; Behold, whatſoever malice in miſchiefe, covetouſneſſe in ſpoile, cruelty in puniſhing, tyrannie in deſtruction could doe that all this poore Engliſh nation theſe full five years eyther ſuffered already, or ſhould have ſuffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

Cruelty of late dayes far exceeding al cruelties committed by the ancient and famous tyrants in times paſt.

And albeit there have béene many that have hazzarded and loſt thyir lives to ſhake off this moſt rough brake (wherewith this Viragin, rather than Virgin as ſhée would be called and taken, boaſted herſelfe to bée ſent of GOD, to ride and tame the people of England) albeit there have béene many that have gone about to looſe their brethren out of the yoke of this moſt miſerable captivity, and albeit ſome have proved to breake the bands of this moſt cruell tyranny, yet could they never bring to paſſe that which they ſo earneſtly laboured, and ſo manfully attempted.

And

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And it is nothing to bée wondred, let the Papiſts boaſt thereof what it pleaſeth them. For almightie God being a moſt indifferent governor, puniſhing evill, and rewarding good, could not of his juſtice ſuffer his ſcourge ſo ſoone to be taken from this our land, if he meant the ſalvation of the people, as moſt manifeſtly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this realme the greateſt Jewell that might be, that is, the free uſe of his lively word (which if they had imbraced and followed, it would have reformed all diſorders and ſinnes for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people nothing regarded it, but eyther utterly contemned it, or abuſed it, and many made it a cloake and colour to cover their miſchiefe. So that if hée ſhould ſuddenly have withdrawne this plague, as tyrants and evill Governors be the plague of God, they would neither have paſſed on his juſtice, nor yet ſhould they have felt the ſwéetneſſe of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things preſent, and neither remember things paſt, nor yet paſſe on things to come, unleſſe they be warned by excéeding extremities.

Tyrants and evill governors be the plagues of God.

Beſides this, it is moſt evident, that he had determined to make this noble conqueſt alone with his owne hand and mighty power, and would not that it ſhould bée done by man, leſt man ſhould impute any part of the glory of this victory to his owne ſtrength, or to his owne policy, or that Fortune ſhould ſéeme to beare any ſtroke in ſo glorious a conqueſt, and ſo bée partaker, in mens opinions, of the triumph ſo worthy.

God worketh all things to his owne glory.

Neither did his almighty power worke this when man would have it diſpatched, that is, as ſoone as the enemy beganne to gather their force; for it is not ſo great a victory to diſcomfit a few diſperſed people, as it is to deſtroy a perfectly united army; but he ſuffered them to make their force as great as was poſſible, to worke whatſoever miſchiefes by ſmile, baniſhment, priſonment hanging, heading, burning, or otherwiſe could be imagined.

Neither would his moſt provident wiſedome doe it out of ſeaſon: but as the good huſbandman doth not crop his trée, till it have rendered his fruit: ſo would hee not roote out theſe peſtilent Tyrants, till the moſt profit might bée taken thereof.

When hée had given ſufficient leaſure to all kinde of men to declare themſelves who were Crocodiles, ſometime lying in water, ſometime on land, that is, both Goſpellers and Papiſts; who were ſpunges, ſuſpected whether they had life or no life, whether they were Chriſtians or Epicures: who were Chameleons, that could turne themſelves into all colours, with Proteſtants, Proteſtants, with Papiſts, Papiſts, with Spaniards, Spaniards, with Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen; who were Gnatoes that could apply themſelves to every mans appetite that was in authoritie; who were Marigolds, that followed Maries mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turne with every winde; who were Maſtives, that could bite and barke not; who were curres, ever barking; who were Foxes, that would promiſe much, and performe nothing; who could binde themſelves with many oathes, and doe cleane contrary; who were Caines, that ſought the innocent Abels deaths; who were the Wolves, that worried the lambes; and finally, when he had ſuffered the ſpirituall ſhavelings to ſpue out their venome, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this moſt victorious conqueſt. And with his works he ſéemeth plainly to ſay thus unto us: Ye ſée (my people) what I have done for you, not for your ſakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I moſt plenteouſly poured on you, and have deſerved moſt grievous puniſhment for your unthankfulneſſe: but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glories ſake, which I will have opened to all the world in theſe later dayes, to the fear of the evill doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye ſée what will follow it: be hereafter more prudent and wiſe than ye were before, Yée may, if ye will, be more circumſpect in time to come, than ye have béene in time paſt: ye may if ye liſt put me to leſſe trouble, and kéep your ſelves in more ſafety. I have not only diſcovered mine, yours, and my land of Englands enemies, and all the crafts, ſubtilties, and policies that have béene, or may be uſed by them, or any like hereafter, but I have alſo taken away their head and captaine, and deſtroyed a great number of them, that yée ſhould not be troubled with them, and ſome of them have I left, that ye may make them ſpectacles and examples to the terror and feare of their poſterity. Love me, and I will love you: ſeeke my honor and glory, and I will worke your commodity and ſafety: walke in my wayes and commandements, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we conſider the wonderfull mercy that it hath pleaſed GOD to uſe towards us, in the delivering of the realme and us his people, out of the hands of theſe moſt cruell tyrants, as we cannot but doe, unleſſe wee will declare our ſelves to bee the moſt unthankfull people that ever lived, wee muſt needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but alſo farre to exceede the deliverance of the children of Iſrael out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Senacherib. For it is not read, that either Pharaoh or the other two ſought any other thing, than to be the Lords of the goods and bodies of the Iſraelites, they forced them not to commit adultery, and to ſerve falſe gods, as theſe Engliſh tyrants did.

Affliction tryeth men whether they bee good or evill.

God plenteouſly poureth his benefits upon us, not for our ſakes, but of his infinit mercy, and for his glories ſake.

Wonderfull is Gods mercy in delivering this realme from the tyranny of the Papiſts.

But beſides, if wee will note the wonderfull workes of God in handling this matter, we ſhall well perceive, that farre much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his Church and people, than perchance all men at the firſt doe ſee. For hee hath not only diſpatched the realme of the chiefe perſonages and head of theſe tyrants, but alſo as it were declareth, that hee minded not that either they or their doings ſhould continue. For albeit that all acts, done by tyrants tyrannouſly, be by all lawes, reaſon and equity, of no force, yet becauſe no Diſputation ſhould follow on this, what is tyrannouſly done, and what is not tyrannouſly done, he hath provided that this queſtion needeth not to come in queſtion. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and ſuffered them to build on falſe grounds which can no longer ſtand, than they bee propped up with rope, ſword, and fagot. For her firſt Parliament whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatſoever King Edward had for the advancement of Gods glory brought to paſſe, was of no force or authority. For ſhee perceiving that her enemies ſtomacke could not bee emptied, nor her malice ſpued on the people by any good order, ſhee committeth a great diſorder. Shee by force and violence taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme, they could not have their free election of Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament. For ſhee well knew, that if either Chriſtian men, or true Engliſhmen ſhould

The Papiſts buildings ſtand ſo long only as they be propt up with rope, ſword and fagot.

be

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Burgeſſes unlawfully, diſorderly, and violently thruſt out of the Parliament houſe in Q. Maries dayes.

The third Parliament in Q. Maries dates, not orderly & formally called, and therefore of none effect.

be elected, it was not poſſible that to ſucceed which ſhe intended. And therfore in many places divers were choſen by force of her threats, meete to ſerve her malicious affections. Wherefore that Parliament was no Parliament, but may be juſtly called a conſpiracie of tyrants and traitors. For the greater part, by whoſe authoritie and voices things proceeded in that Court, by their acts moſt manifeſtly declared themſelves ſo: the reſt being both Chriſtians and true Engliſh men, although they had good wills, yet were not able to reſiſt or prevaile againſt the multitude of voices and ſuffrages of ſo manie evill, falſe to God, and enemies to their Countrie. Alſo divers Burgeſſes being orderly choſen, and lawfully returned, as in ſome places the people did what they could to reſiſt her purpoſes, were diſorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of law in their places placed. Doctor Taylor Biſhop of Lincolne a Chriſtian Biſhop and a true Engliſhman, being lawfully and orderly called to the Parliament, and placed in the Lords houſe in his degree, was in his robes by violence thruſt out of the houſe. Alexander Nowell with two other, all three being Burgeſſes for divers ſhires, and Chriſtian men and true Engliſhmen, and lawfully choſen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the houſe of the Commons: for the which cauſe the ſaid Parliament is alſo voyd, as by a Preſident of the Parliament holden at Coventrie in the 38. yeare of King Henrie the ſixth, it moſt manifeſtly appeareth. And the third Parliament called in the name of her huſband, and of her evill grace, wherein they would have undone that her noble Father and the Realme had brought to paſſe for the reſtitution of the libertie of the Realme, and for extinguiſhment of the uſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, is alſo void, and of none authority. For that the title and ſtile of ſupreme head of the Church of England, which by a Statute made in the 35. yeare of the reigne of the ſayd King Henrie, was ordained, that it ſhould bee united and annexed for ever to the imperiall crowne of this Realme, was omitted in the writs of ſummoning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no childe without a man, ſo cannot thoſe writs bring forth good and ſure fruit, becauſe this part of the title, which was ordained by the Parliament for the forme to be alwaies uſed in the Kings ſtile, was left out. For greater error is in lacke of forme, than in lacke of matter. And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no law ſpirituall nor temporall (as they terme them) nor any good reaſon, but allow theſe rules for infallible principles. And if any man will ſay, that it was not in the free choice, libertie, and pleaſure of the King of this realm and the Queen, whether they would expreſſe the ſaid title in their ſtile, or not, as that ſubtile ſerpent Gardiner, being Chancellor of the realme, and traiterouſly ſending out the writs of Parliament without the ſame ſtile, perceiving hee had over-ſhot himſelfe in calling the Parliament, and having committed many horrible murthers and moſt miſchievous acts, would have excuſed it, as appeareth by a peece of a Statute made in the ſame Parliament, in the eighth chapter and two and twentieth leafe, it may be juſtly and truly anſwered, that they could not ſo doe. For albeit every perſon may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the common-wealth or a third perſon.

And this title and ſtile more touched the common wealth, and realms of England, than the King. For, as I ſaid before, it was ordained for the conſervation of the libertie of the whole Realme, and to exclude the uſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome. And therefore no King nor Queene alone could renounce ſuch title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to bee taken away orderly and formally by Act of Parliament ſufficiently called and ſummoned. For the naturall and right way to looſe and undoe things, is to diſſolve them by that meanes they were ordained. And ſo it moſt manifeſtly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authoritie: but all that they have done, hath beene meere tyrannie. O moſt marvellous providence of almightie God, that alwaies and in all things doth that is beſt for the wealth of his people. O moſt mightie power, that ſo ſuddenly overthroweth the counſels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought. O infinite mercie, that ſo gently dealeth with his people, that hee ſaveth them whom hee might moſt juſtly deſtroy. O moſt joyfull, moſt merrie, and never to bee forgotten Hopewedneſday, in which it hath pleaſed thee O God, to deliver thy Church, this Realme and thy people from ſo horrible tyranny. No tongue can expreſſe, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily ſet out, much leſſe exornate theſe thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodneſſe ſufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this moſt joyfull time? Yea, who did not looke rather for thy moſt ſharpe viſitation, and utter deſtruction of this realme, as of Sodome, Gomorra, and Jeruſalem.

A joyfull day.

But wee ſee and feele, good Lord, that thy mercie is greater than all mens ſinnes, and farre above all thy workes. And albeit there is no Chriſtian and naturall Engliſhman, woman, or childe, either preſent, or that ſhall ſucceede us, which is not or ſhall not be partaker of this moſt exceeding mercie and wonderfull benefit of almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praiſe and thanke him: yet there is not one creature that is more bound ſo to doe, than you noble Queene Elizabeth. For in this horrible tyranny, and moſt cruell perſecution, your grace hath beene more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you, ſometime they have had you in ſtrong hold, ſecluded from all libertie; ſometime at libertie, but not without moſt cruell Gaolers cuſtodie; and many times they determined, that without juſtice ye ſhould be murdered privily. They thought, if your Grace had beene ſuppreſſed, they ſhould have fullie prevailed: If yee had beene deſtroyed, their doings for ever ſhould be eſtabliſhed: If yee had beene taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undoe that they had ordained. But he that ſitteth on high, and laugheth at their madneſſe, would not ſuffer that the malicious purpoſes, and moſt cruell deviſed injuſtice ſhould have ſucceſſe. He tooke upon him the protection of you. He only hath been your Jeoſeba, that preſerved you from this wicked Athalia. Hee onely was the Joiada, that deſtroyed this cruell Athalia. He only hath made you Queen of this realme, in ſtead of this miſchievous Marana. No earthly creature can claime any peece of thanks therefore, no mans force, no mans counſell, no mans aide, hath been the cauſe thereof. Wherfore the greater his benefits have beene toward you, the more are you bound to ſeek his glory, and to ſet forth his honor. Ye ſee his power what he is able to doe; he alone can ſave, and hee can deſtroy, he can pull downe, and he can ſet up. If yee feare him and ſeeke to doe his will, then will hee

God preſerveth the innocent, and maketh fruſtrate the malicious purpoſes of the wicked.

favour you, and preſerve you to the end from all enemies, as he did King David. If yee now fall from him, or juggle with him, looke for no more favor than Saul had ſhewed to him. But I have a good hope that both his juſtice and benefits bee ſo printed in your heart, that yee will never forget them, but ſeeke by all meanes to have the one, and to feare to fall into the other. I truſt alſo your wiſedome will not only conſider the cauſes of this late moſt ſharpe viſitation, but alſo to your uttermoſt power endevor to out-roote them.

And foraſmuch as beſides this infinite mercie poured on your grace, it hath pleaſed his divine providence to conſtitute your Highneſſe to bee our Debora, to be the governeſſe and head of the body of this realme, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requiſite above all things, as well for his glorie and honor, as for your diſcharge, quietneſſe and ſafety, to labour that the ſame body now at the firſt be cleanſed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as if the body of man bee corrupted and diſeaſed, he is not able to manage his things at home, much leſſe to doe any thing abroad: ſo if the body of a realme bee corrupt and out of order, it ſhall neither bee able to doe any thing abroad, if neceſſitie ſhould require, nor yet proſper in it ſelfe. But this may not bee done with peecing and patching, cobling and botching, as was uſed in time paſt, whileſt your moſt noble father and brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one head of the Serpent Hydra, and deſtroy not the whole body, many will grow in ſtead of that one; and as in a corrupt bodie that hath manie diſeaſes, if the Phyſitian ſhould labour to heale one part, and not the whole, it will in ſhort time breake out afreſh: ſo unleſſe the bodie of a Realme or Common wealth bee cleane purged from corruption, all the particular lawes and ſtatutes that can be deviſed ſhall not profit it.

An apt ſimilitude.

Wee neede no forreigne examples to prove it: looke upon this Realme it ſelfe, it will plainely declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanſe the bodie from his corruption, but there muſt be alſo preſervatives miniſtred to keepe it from putrefaction; for naturally of it ſelfe it is diſpoſed to putrefie: ſo after the bodie of a realme is purged, unleſſe there bee godly ordinances for the preſervation thereof ordained and duely miniſtred, it will returne to the old ſtate. For this body, which is the people, is univerſally naturally diſpoſed to evill, and without compulſion will hardly do that is his duty.

Thus muſt your grace doe, if ye minde the advancement of Gods glorie, your owne quietneſſe and ſafetie, and the wealth of this your politike bodie. And they be not hard to bring to paſſe, where goodwill will vouchſafe to take to her a little paine. The Realme will ſoone be purged, if vice and ſelfe love be utterly condemned. It will bee in good ſtate preſerved, if theſe three things, Gods word truely taught and preached, Youth well brought up in godly and honeſt exerciſes, and Juſtice rightly miniſtred, may be perfectedly conſtituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaſeth them, the ſpirituall houſe of God ſhall never be well framed or builded, nor the publike ſtate of your Realme well ordered. For in what bodie GODS word lacketh, the unitie and charity, that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is ſoone extinguiſhed. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good ſucceſſe be hoped, no more than the husbandman can looke for a good crop where he ſowed no good ſeed. And where Juſtice is not truly and rightly miniſtred, there the more lawes and ſtatutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And ſurely, if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compaſſed, as God forbid that charges ſhould be weighed be they never ſo great, where Gods glory and the wealth of the Realme may bee furthered: yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did King David the father, and King Solomon his ſon, imploy to build the ſtony houſe of God? How much more charges ſhould a Chriſtian Prince imploy to build and ſet up the lively houſe of God? But verily, I am fully perſwaded, that it ſhall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of ſuperfluous charges, which otherwiſe your Grace ſhall be forced to ſuſtaine, ſhall thus bee cleane cut away, and ſo your revenues by a meane moſt profitable, and to no good perſon hurtfull, increaſed.

Three things which preſerve the good eſtate of a realme or cõmon wealth

Charges not to be weighed, where Gods glorie is to be furthered.

Wherefore for Gods ſake noble Queene, let not the opportunitie, now by God offered, bee by your Grace omitted. A Phyſitian can in nothing ſo much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchaſe himſelfe ſo great eſtimation, as when he findeth his patient throughly ſicke and weakened, and doth reſtore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewiſe if a Prince ſhould deſire of God a thing whereby hee might declare the zeale that he beareth to God, or whereby he might winne fame and glorie, hee could deſire nothing ſo much, as to come into a ſtate corrupted, as this Realme of England, at this preſent is, not to deſtroy it as did Cæſar, but to make it as did Romulus.

If your Grace can bring this to paſſe, as I am out of all doubt yee may quickly; yee ſhall doe more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men ſhall confeſſe that you are not only for proximitie of bloud preferred, but rather of God ſpecially ſent and ordained. And as the Queene of Saba came from farre off to ſee the glorie of King Solomon, a woman to a man: even ſo ſhall the Princes of our time come, men to a woman, and Kings marvell at the vertue of Queene Elizabeth. Thus ſhall we your ſubjects be moſt bound to praiſe God, and to thinke our ſelves moſt happy, that comming ſo ſuddenly from the worſe, be forthwith preferred to the beſt, rid from extremeſt calamitie, and brought to the greateſt felicitie; and it ſhall bee beſides an example for all evill Princes, to leave their perſecution of Chriſt and his members, to ceaſe from their tyrannie, wherewith they continually oppreſſe their poore ſubjects. And ſo all people, not only we of this your Realme, but of all other nations, ſhall have juſt cauſe to pray for your Graces health, and increaſe of honor.

This Oration of Maſter Hales being premiſed, now let us proſecute, the Lord willing, that which we promiſed, concerning the diſputation or conference had at Weſtminſter. The copie whereof here followeth.

The Conference or Diſceptation had and begun at Weſtminſter, the laſt of March, upon certaine queſtions or articles of Religion propoſed, and alſo of the breaking up of the ſame, by the Papiſts default, at the firſt beginning of Queene Elizabeth.

SO it pleaſed the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſtie, having heard of the diverſitie of opinions in certaine matters of religion amongſt ſundrie of her loving ſubjects, and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome godly and chriſtian concord (by the advice of the Lords and others of the privie Councell, as well for the ſatisfaction of perſons doubtfull, as alſo for the knowledge of the verie truth in certaine matters of difference) to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt learned of either part, and to conferre together their opinions and reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her Majeſties commandement, certaine of her privie Councell declared this purpoſe to the Archbiſhop of Yorke (being alſo one of the ſame privie Councell) and required him that hee would impart the ſame to ſome of the Biſhops, and to make choiſe of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there ſhould bee the like number named of the other part. And further alſo they declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matter ſhould bee. And as for the time, it was thought meete to be as ſoone as poſſible might bee agreed upon. And then after certaine dates paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid Archbiſhop, that there were appointed, by ſuch of the Biſhops to whom hee had imparted this matter, eight perſons, that is to ſay, foure Biſhops, and foure Doctors. The names of whom here follow under written.

The Papiſts,

The Biſhop of Wincheſter.
The Biſhop of Lich.
The Biſhop of Cheſter.
The Biſhop of Carlile.
The Biſhop of Lincolne.
D. Cole.
D. Harpsfield.
D. Langdale.
D. Chedſey.

The Proteſtants,

D. Story B. of Chicheſter.
D. Coxe.
M. Whitehead.
M. Grindall.
M. Horne.
M. D. Sandes.
M. Geſt.
M. Aelmer.
M. Iuell.

Who were content, at the Queens Majeſties commandement, to ſhew their opinions, and, as the ſaid Archbiſhop termed it, render accompt of their faith in thoſe matters which were mentioned, and that eſpecially in writing, although he ſaid, they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. The matter which they ſhould talke upon, was comprehended in theſe three propoſitions, hereunder ſpecified.

1. It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtome of the ancient Church, to uſe a tongue unknowne to the people, in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

2. Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and Eccleſiaſticall rites, ſo the ſame be to edification.

3. It cannot bee proved by the word of GOD, that there is in the Maſſe offered up a ſacrafice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead.

It was hereupon fully reſolved by the Queenes Majeſtie, with the advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould bee in writing on both parts, for avoyding of much altercation in words; and that the ſayd Biſhops ſhould, becauſe they were in authority of degree ſuperiors, firſt declare their mindes and opinions to the matter, with their reaſons in writing. And the other number, being alſo eight men of good degree in ſchooles, and ſome having beene in dignity in the Church of England, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their opinions in like manner, and ſo each of them ſhould deliver their writings to the other, to bee conſidered what were to bee improved therein, and the ſame to declare againe in writing at ſome other convenient day, and the like order to bee kept in all the reſt of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſo alſo ſignified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the Nobility and ſtates of the realme underſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference ſhould be, and that in certaine matters, whereupon (the Court of Parliament conſequently following) ſome lawes might bee grounded; They made earneſt meanes to her Majeſty, that the parties of this conference might put and reade their aſſertions in the Engliſh tongue, and that in the preſence of them of the Nobility and others of her Parliament houſe, for the better ſatisfaction and enabling of their owne judgements, to treat and conclude of ſuch Lawes as might depend hereupon.

This alſo, being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both parties, and ſo fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the firſt meeting to bee the Friday in the forenoone, being the laſt of March, at Weſtminſter Church. At which foreſaid day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the Queenes Majeſties commandement, the Lords and others of the privy Councell were preſent, and a great part of the Nobility alſo. And notwithſtanding this former order appointed, and conſented unto by both parties, yet the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his Collegues alledged they had miſtaken that their aſſertions and reaſons ſhould bee written, and ſo onely recited out of the booke, ſaying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeate in ſpeech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt probation.

This variation from the former order, and eſpecially from that which themſelves had by the ſayd Archbiſhop in writing before required, adding thereto the reaſon of the Apoſtle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to ſubverſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the Queenes Majeſties Councell ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part; and ſo the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter and his Collegues appointed Doctor Cole Deane of Pauls, to bee the utterer of their mindes; who partly by ſpeech onely, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certaine times being informed of his Collegues what to ſay, made a declaration of their meanings and their reaſons to their firſt propoſition: which being ended, they were aſked by the privy Councell if any of them had any more to bee ſayd, and they ſayd, No. So as the other part was licenced to ſhew their minds, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written; which, after a prayer and invocation made moſt humbly to almighty GOD for the enduing of them with his holy ſpirit, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the doctrine of the Catholike Church builded upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne, Batchelor in Divinitie, late Deane of Dureſme, and after Biſhop of Wincheſter. The copie of which their Proteſtation here followeth according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their Preface alſo before the ſame.

FOr as much as it is thought good unto the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we ſhould declare our judgement in writing upon certaine propoſitions; we, as becommeth us to do herein, moſt gladly obey.

Seeing that Chriſt is our only maſter, whom the father hath commanded us to hear; and ſeeing alſo his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawfull for us to depart, no not one haires bredth, and againſt the which (as the Apoſtle ſaith) we can doe nothing; we doe in all things ſubmit our ſelves unto this truth, and doe proteſt that we will affirme nothing againſt the ſame.

And foraſmuch as we have for our mother the true and Catholike Church of Chriſt, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and is of Chriſt the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgement, we obey her authoritie as becommeth children; and wee doe devoutly profeſſe, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three Creedes, that is to ſay, of the Apoſtles, of the Councell of Nice, and of Athanaſius.

And ſeeing that wee never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy Canonicall Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and Catholike Church of Chriſt, but have preached truly the word of God, and have ſincerely miniſtred the ſacraments according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the which our doctrine and faith the moſt part alſo of our adverſaries did ſubſcribe not many yeares paſt (although now as unnaturall they are revolted from the ſame) wee deſire that they render account of their backſliding, and ſhew ſome cauſe wherefore they doe not onely reſiſt that doctrine which they have before profeſſed, but alſo perſecute the ſame by all meanes they can. We doe not doubt, but through the equitie of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, wee ſhall in theſe diſputations be intreated more gently than in yeares late paſt, when we were handled moſt unjuſtly, and ſcantly after the common manner of men. As for the judgement of the whole controverſie, we referre unto the moſt holy Scriptures, and the Catholike Church of Chriſt (whoſe judgement unto us ought to bee moſt ſacred:) notwithſtanding by the Catholike Church wee underſtand not the Romiſh Church, whereunto our adverſaries attribute ſuch reverence, but that which Saint Auguſtine and other Fathers affirme, ought to bee ſought in the holy Scriptures, and which is governed and ledde by the Spirit of Chriſt.

The firſt propoſition.

It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtome of the Primitive Church, to uſe a tongue unknowne to the people in common prayers and adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

By theſe words (the word of God) we meane onely the written word of God, or Canonicall Scriptures.

And by the cuſtome of the Primitive Church, we meane the order moſt generally uſed in the Church for the ſpace of 500. yeares after Chriſt, in which times lived the moſt notable Fathers, as Juſtine, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Baſill, Chryſoſtome, Hierome, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, &c.

Two parts of the propoſition.

This aſſertion above written hath two parts. Firſt, that the uſe of the tongue not underſtood of the people, in common prayers of the Church, or in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is againſt Gods word.

The ſecond, that the ſame is againſt the uſe of the Primitive Church.

The firſt part of the propoſition.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the fourteenth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, almoſt throughout the whole Chapter. In the which Chapter S. Paul intreateth of this matter, ex profeſſo, purpoſely. And although ſome doe cavill that Saint Paul ſpeaketh not in that Chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it moſt evident to any indifferent reader of underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the expoſition of the beſt Writers, that he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of Preaching and Prophecying, but alſo of prayer and thankeſgiving, and generally of all other publike actions, which require any ſpeech in the Church or Congregation. For of praying he ſaith; I will pray with my ſpirit, and I will pray with my minde, I will ſing with my ſpirit, and I will ſing with my minde. And of thankeſgiving (which is a kinde of prayer) thou giveſt thankes well, but the other is not edified. And how ſhall he which occupieth the roome of the unlearned ſay, Amen, to thy giving of thankes, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? And in the end, deſcending from particulars to a generall propoſition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is cleere by the very words of Saint Paul, and the ancient Doctors Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Hierome, and other, do ſo underſtand this Chapter, as it ſhall appeare by their teſtimonies which ſhall follow afterward.

¶ Upon this Chapter of S. Paul we gather theſe reaſons following.

The argument, or probation.

1. All things done in the Church or Congregation, ought ſo to be done as they may edifie the ſame.

But the uſe of an unknowne tongue, in publike prayer or adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edifie the Congregation.

Therefore the uſe of an unknowne tongue, in publike prayer or adminiſtration of Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The major proved.

The firſt part of this reaſon is grounded upon S. Pauls words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The minor proved.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by S. Pauls plain words. Firſt by this ſimilitude. If the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to battell? Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeake with tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the ayre, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, how can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giving of thankes, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? for thou verily giveſt thankes well, but the other is not edified.

These be S. Pauls words, plainly proving, that a tongue not underſtood, doth not edifie. And therefore both the parts of the reaſon thus proved by Saint Paul, the concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

Another argument or probation.

2 Secondly, nothing is to bee ſpoken in the Congregation in an unknowne tongue, except it bée interpreted to the people, that it may bee underſtood. For ſaith Paul, If there bee no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknowne tongue, taceat in Eccleſia, let him hold his peace in the Church. And therefore the common prayers and adminiſtration of ſacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are againſt the commandement of Paul, and not to be uſed.

Another argument.

The Miniſter in prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments uſing language not underſtood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien, which of Saint Paul is accounted a great abſurditie.

The fourth argument or probation.

It is not to bee counted a Chriſtian common prayer, where the people preſent declare not their aſſent unto it by ſaying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of aſſent.

Ambroſ. per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui reſpondent Amen.

But S. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their aſſent in ſaying Amen, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as afore.

Therefore it is no Chriſtian common prayer where the people underſtand not what is ſaid.

The fifth argument.

Paul would not ſuffer in his time a ſtrange tongue to bée heard in the common prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kinde of ſpéech was then a miracle, and a ſingular gift of the holy Ghoſt, whereby infidels might bée perſwaded and brought to the faith; much leſſe is it to be ſuffered now amongſt Chriſtian and faithfull men, eſpecially being no miracle nor eſpeciall gift of the holy Ghoſt.

The ſixth argument.

Some will peradventure anſwer, that to uſe any kinde of tongue, in common prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, is a thing indifferent.

Objection diſſolved.

But S. Paul is to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, hée commandeth to kéep ſilence if there bée no interpreter, and in the end of the Chapter he concludeth thus, If any man bee ſpirituall or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandements of the Lord. And ſo ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange tongue, in prayer and adminiſtration, is againſt the word and commandement of God.

To theſe reaſons, grounded upon Saint Pauls words, which are the moſt firme foundation of this aſſertion, divers other reaſons may bee joyned, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwiſe.

The 7. reaſon.

In the old teſtament all things pertaining to the publike prayer, benedictions, thankeſgivings, or ſacrifices, were alwaies in their vulgar and naturall tongue. In the 2. booke of Paralipom. Chapt. 29. it is written, that Ezechias commanded the Levites to praiſe God with the Pſalmes of David, and Aſaph the Prophet, which doubtleſſe were written in Hebrew their vulgar tongue. If they did ſo in the ſhadowes of the law, much more ought we to doe the like, who (as Chriſt ſaith) muſt pray, in ſpiritu & veritate.

The 8. reaſon.

The finall end of our prayer (as David ſaith) is, ut populi conveniant in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hieruſalem.

But the name and praiſes of God cannot bee ſet forth to the people, unleſſe it bée done in ſuch a tongue as they may underſtand, therefore common prayer muſt bee had in the vulgar tongue.

The 9 reaſon.

The definition of publike prayer out of the words of S. Paul, Orabo ſpiritu, orabo & mente, Publicè orare, eſt vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea ſpiritu, hoc eſt, lingua teſtari. Common praier is to lift up our common deſires to God with our minds, and to teſtifie the ſame outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approved by S. Auguſtine, De magiſtro, cap. 1. Nihil opus eſt (inquit) loquutione, niſi forte ut ſacerdotes faciunt, ſignificandæ mentis cauſa, ut populus intelligat.

The 10 reaſon.

The miniſtration of the Lords ſupper and baptiſme are as it were Sermons of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt.

But Sermons to the people muſt be had in ſuch language as the people may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vaine.

The 11 reaſon or probation.

It is not lawfull for a Chriſtian man to abuſe the gifts of G O D: but he that prayeth in the Church in a ſtrange tongue, abuſeth the gifts of God. For the tongue ſerveth onely to expreſſe the minde of the ſpeaker to the hearer. And Auguſtine ſaith, De doctrina Chriſtiana, lib. 4. cap. 10. Loquendi omnino nulla eſt cauſa, ſi quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur. There is no cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they for whoſe cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our ſpeaking.

The 12. reaſon or probation.

The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and ſorts of men, were they never ſo wilde, evermore made their prayers and ſacrifices to their gods in their owne mother tongue. Which is a manifeſt declaration that it is the very light and voyce of nature.

¶ Thus much upon the ground of S. Paul and other reaſons out of the Scriptures, joyning therewith the common uſage of all nations, as a teſtimonie of the law of nature.

The ſecond part of the firſt propoſition.

Now for the ſecond part of the aſſertion, which is, that the uſe of a ſtrange tongue in publike prayer and adminiſtration of ſacraments, is againſt the cuſtome of the Primitive Church; it is a matter ſo cleere, that the deniall of it muſt needs proceede either of great ignorance, or elſe of wilfull malice.

Iuſtinus Apol. 2.

The firſt argument out of Iuſtine Martyr.

For firſt of all Iuſtinus Martyr deſcribing the order of the Communion in his time, ſaith thus. Die ſolis urbanorum ac ruſticorum cœtus fiunt, ubi Apoſtolorum Prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri poteſt prælegumtur: Deinde ceſſante lectore, præpoſitus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honeſtarum rerum invitans. Poſt hæc conſurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitis profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum & aqua; tum præpoſitus, quantum poteſt, preces offert, & gratiarum actiones, plebs verò Amen accinit. That is to ſay, Upon the Sunday aſſemblies are made both of the Citizens and Country men, whereas the writings of the Apoſtles and of the Prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth ceaſe, the head miniſter maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſo honeſt things. After this we riſe all together and offer prayers, which being ended (as we have ſaid) bread and water are brought forth. Then the head Miniſter offereth prayers and thankſgiving, as much as he can, and the people anſwereth Amen.

¶ Theſe words of Iuſtine, who lived about 160. yeares after Chriſt, conſidered with their circumſtance, declare plainely, that not onely the Scriptures were read, but alſo that the prayers and adminiſtration of the Lords ſupper were done in a tongue underſtood.

The ſecond argument out of Baſill.

The Liturgies both of Baſill and Chryſoſtome declare, that in the celebration of the Communion, the people were appointed to anſwer to the prayer of the miniſter, ſometimes Amen, ſometimes, Lord have mercie upon us, ſometimes, And with thy ſpirit, and, We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which anſwers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue underſtood.

Baſilius. Epiſt. 63.

And for further proofe, let us heare what Baſill writeth in this matter to the Clerkes of Neocæſarea. Cæterum ad objectum in Pſalmodiis crimen quo maxime ſimpliciores terrent calumniatores, &c. As touching that is laid to our charge in Pſalmodies and ſongs, wherewith our ſlanderers doe fray the ſimple, I have thus to ſay, that our cuſtomes and uſages in all Churches be uniforme, and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riſeth, goeth to the houſe of prayer, and in travell, tribulation, and continuall teares, they confeſſe themſelves to God, and at the laſt riſing againe, goe to their ſongs or pſalmody, where being divided into two parts, they ſing by courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly ſayings, and alſo ſtirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other meanes bee alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the ſong, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers ſongs and prayers paſſing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they ſing unto the Lord a ſong of Confeſſion, every man framing to himſelfe meet words of repentance.

If you will flie us from henceforth for theſe things, ye muſt flie alſo the Egyptians, and both the Libians, ye muſt eſchew the Thebanes, Paleſtines, Arabians, the Phenices, the Sirians, and thoſe that dwell beſides Euphrates; and to be ſhort, all thoſe with whom watchings, prayers, and common ſinging of Pſalmes are had in honor.

Teſtimonies of Saint *Ambroſe,* written upon the fourteenth to the Corinthians, the firſt Epiſtle, *Super illud, qui enim loquitur linguis.*

Ambroſius. **Another argument of S. Ambroſe.**

HOc eſt quod dicit, quia qui loquitur incognita lingua, &c. This is it that he ſaith; becauſe he which ſpeaketh in an unknowne tongue, ſpeaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

Ambroſe.

The ſame author afterwards, Super illud, ſi benedixeris ſpiritu.

Hoc eſt, ſi laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota, &c. Upon theſe words, if thou bleſſe or give thankes with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the roome of the unlearned, ſay, Amen, at thy giving of thankes, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?

That is (ſaith Ambroſe) if thou ſpeak the praiſe of God in a tongue unknowne to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he underſtandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he anſwereth not Amen. That is as much to ſay as (true) that the bleſſing or thankſgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which doe anſwer, Amen. That all things ſpoken might be confirmed in the mindes of the hearers, through the teſtimony of the truth.

Ambroſe.

¶ Afterward in the ſame place upon theſe words, If any Infidell or unlearned come in.

Quum enim intelligit & intelligitur, &c. For when he underſtandeth, and is underſtood, hearing God to be praiſed and Chriſt to be worſhipped, he ſeeth perfectly that the Religion is true, and to bee reverenced, wherein hee ſeeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkneſſe, as among the heathen, whoſe eyes are covered, that they ſeeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themſelves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falſhood ſeeketh darkneſſe, and ſheweth falſe things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is ſimply praiſed, of whom are all things, and one Lord Ieſus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can underſtand, or of whom he may bee tryed, hee may ſay, there is ſome deceit and vanity, which is therefore ſung in tongues (not underſtood, hee meaneth) becauſe it is a ſhame to open it.

Vpon this place, *Omnia ad ædificationem fiant.*

Ambroſe.

Concluſio hæc eſt, ut nihil in caſſum in Eccleſia geratur; hocque elaborandum magis, ut & imperiti proficiant, ne quid ſit corporis per imperitiam tenebroſum. Let all things be done to edifie.

This is the concluſion, that nothing ſhould be done in the Church in vaine, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned alſo might profit, leſt any part of the body ſhould be dark through ignorance.

Againe, *Si non fuerit interpres, taceat in Eccleſia.*

Ambroſe.

Hoc eſt, intra ſe tacite oret aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In Eccleſia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus proſit.

If there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the Church.

That is, let him pray ſecretly, or ſpeak to God within himſelfe, which heareth all dumb things: for in the Church he ought to ſpeake which may profit all men.

Teſtimonies out of Saint *Hierome*, upon that place of *Paul*, *Quomodo qui ſupplet locum idiotæ, &c.*

Hieronymus.

PEr illum, ſaith Saint Hierome, qui ſupplet locum idiotæ, laicum intelligit, qui nullo gradu Eccleſiaſtico fungitur. It is the lay man, ſaith he, whom Paul here underſtandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no Eccleſiaſticall office. How ſhall he anſwer Amen to the prayer that he underſtandeth not?

And a little after upon theſe words, *Nam ſi orare lingua, &c.*

Hoc dicit, quoniam ſi quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non ipſi efficitur ſine fructu, ſed audienti. Quicquid enim dicitur, ignorat. This is Pauls meaning, ſaith Hierome, If any man ſpeaketh in ſtrange and unknowen tongues, his minde is not to himſelfe without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

¶ And in the end of his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Galathians, he ſaith thus:

Quod autem (Amen) conſenſum ſignificat audientis, &c. That (Amen) ſignifieth the conſent of the hearer, and is the ſealing up of the truth, Paul in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians teacheth, ſaying, But if thou ſhalt bleſſe in ſpirit, who ſupplyeth the place of the ignorant, how ſhall he at thy prayer anſwer (Amen) ſeeing he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt? Whereby he declareth, that the unlearned man cannot anſwer, that that which is ſpoken is true, unleſſe he underſtand what is ſaid.

The ſame Hierome ſaith in the Preface of S. Pauls Epiſtle to the Galathians, that the noiſe of (Amen) ſoundeth in the Roman Church like an heavenly thunder.

Baſil ho. 4. hexam.

As Hierome compareth this ſound of common prayer to thunder, ſo compareth Baſill it to the ſound of the ſea, in theſe words, If the Sea bée faire, how is not the aſſembly of the congregation much farer? in the which a joyned ſound of men, women and children, as it were of the waves beating on the ſhore, is ſent forth in our prayers unto our God.

Chryſoſt. in 2. ad Cor. ca. 14.

Cum populus ſemel audivit, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ſtatim omnes reſpondent, Amen.

When the people once heare theſe words (world without end) they all forthwith anſwer, Amen.

Idem eodem loco, in illa verba, ſi ingrediatur infidelis, aut indoctus.

And the ſame writer upon the ſame chapter, upon theſe words, How ſhall hée that occupieth the roome of the unlearned, ſay Amen? En rurſus amuſſi (quod dicitur) ſaxum applicat, Eccleſiæ ædificationem ubique requirens, &c. Behold again, he applieth the ſtone unto the ſquire (as the Proverbe is) requiring the edifying of the Congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and ſheweth that it is no ſmall diſcommoditie, if they cannot ſay, Amen.

Another argument out of Chryſoſtome.

And againe the ſame Chryſoſtome, Quin & in precibus viderit quis populum multum ſimul offerre, tum pro energumenis, tum pro pœnitentibus. Communes enim preces & á ſacerdote & ab illis fiunt, & omnes dicunt unam orationem, orationem miſericordia plenam. Iterum, ubi excluſerimus à ſacerdotalibus ambitibus eos qui non poſſunt eſſe participes ſanctæ menſæ, alia facienda eſt oratio, & omnes ſimiliter ſurgimus, &c. that is, Yea in the prayers you may ſée the people offer largely, both for the poſſeſſed and the penitents. For the Prieſts and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pitie. And excluding out of the Prieſts limits all ſuch as cannot bée partakers of the holy table, another prayer muſt bée made, and all after one ſort lye downe upon the earth, and all againe after one ſort riſe up together. Now when the peace is given, wée all in like manner ſalute one another, and the Prieſt in the reverent myſtries wiſheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for Et cum ſpiritu tuo, is nothing elſe but this. All things that belong to the ſacrament of thankſgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thankes alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby it may appeare, that not the Prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the Prieſt, which could not have béen, if hée had uſed a ſtrange tongue in the miniſtration of the ſacraments.

Dionyſius.

Dionyſius deſcribing the manner of the miniſtration of the Lords ſupper, ſaith, That hymnes were ſaid of the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian. ſer. 6. de or. dominica.

Cyprian ſaith, The Prieſt doth prepare the mindes of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, ſaying, Lift up your hearts: that whiles the people doth anſwer, wée have our hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may bée admoniſhed that they ought to thinke of none other thing than of the Lord.

Aug. in Pſal. 18

S. Auguſtine, Quod hic ſit, intelligere debemus, &c. What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with reaſon of man, not with chatting of birds. For Owſels and Popinjaies, and Ravens, and Pies, and other ſuch like birds are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with underſtanding, is given by Gods holy will to the nature of man.

Aug. de Magiſ.

The ſame Auguſtine, There néedeth no ſpéech when wée pray, ſaving perhaps as the Prieſts do, to declare their meaning, not that God, but that men may heare them, and ſo, being put in remembrance by conſenting with the Prieſt, may hang upon God.

Novell conſtitut. 113.

To theſe teſtimonies of the ancient writers, we will joyne one conſtitution of Juſtinian the Emperor, who lived 527, yeares after Chriſt, Iubemus ut omnes Epiſcopi pariter & Presbyteri, &c. We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts doe celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers uſed in holy Baptiſme, not ſpeaking low, but with a cléere or loud voyce, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the mindes of the hearers may bée ſtirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſaying, Truely, if thou onely bleſſe or give thankes in ſpirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned, ſay the Amen, at the giving of thankes unto God? for hée underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily giveſt thankes well, but another is not edified. And againe, in the Epiſtle to the Romanes he ſaith, Cordu creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem fit confeſſio ad ſalutem, with the heart a man belééveth unto righteouſnes, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.

Therefore for theſe cauſes it is convenient, that amongſt other prayers, those things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy oblation, bée uttered and ſpoken of the moſt religious Biſhops and Prieſts unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt our God with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, with a loud voice. And let the moſt religious Prieſts know this, that if they neglect anie of theſe things, the dreadfull judgement of the great GOD and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, neither will we when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this conſtitution of Iuſtinian the Emperour, three things are worthy to be noted.

Firſt, that the common prayer and miniſtration done with a loud voice, ſo as may bee heard and underſtood of the people is a meane to ſtirre up devotion in the people, contrary to the common aſſertion of Eckius and other adverſaries, who affirme that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, that Juſtinian maketh this matter of not ordering common miniſtration and prayers, ſo as it may bee underſtood of the people, not a matter of indifferencie, but ſuch a thing as muſt bée anſwered for at the day of judgment.

Thirdly, that this Emperor, being a Chriſtian Emperor, doth not onely make conſtitution of Eccleſiaſticall matters, but alſo threatneth revenge and ſharp puniſhment to the violaters of the ſame.

¶ Theſe are ſufficient to prove that it is againſt Gods word, and the uſe of the Primitive Church, to uſe a language not underſtood of the people, in common prayer and miniſtration of the ſacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an untruth and abuſe crept at the firſt into the Church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtiffely at this day, and upon what ground theſe, that will bée thought guides and paſtors of Chriſts Church, are ſo loth to returne to the firſt originall of S. Pauls doctrine, and the practice of the Primitive Catholike Church of Chriſt.

¶ The God of patience and conſolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Ieſus, that we all agréeing together, may with one mouth praiſe God the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

Iohn Scory.
Richard Coxe.
David Whitehead.
Edmund Grindall.
Iohn Iewell.
Robert Horne.
Iohn Aelmer.
Edmuud Geſt.

And the ſame being ended with ſome likelihood, as it ſéemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the audience; certaine of the Biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former anſwer, that they had now much more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they might have béene well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered and thus openly agréed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the Munday following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their mindes and reaſons in writing to the ſecond aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they could, and firſt reade the ſame: and that done, the other part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame writings. And in the meane time, the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all ſuch other matters as they any otherwiſe could thinke of for the ſame: and as ſoone as they might poſſible, to ſend the ſame book touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhould receive of them that writing which Maſter Horne had there read that day, and upon Munday it ſhould be agréed what day they ſhould exhibite their anſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The order of the ſecond daies talke.

The Lord Keeper of the great Seale, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Duke of Northfolke, and all the Councell being ſet, the Biſhops on the one ſide, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers on the other ſide, thus began the Lord Keeper.

My Lords and Maſters, I am ſure ye remember well, what order of talke & writing was appointed to be had this day in this aſſembly, at our laſt méeting, which I will not refuſe now to repeat again for the ſhortneſſe of it, which was, that ye appointed here on both ſides ſhould bring in Engliſh writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond queſtion, and in this place appointed to reade the ſame. Therefore begin my Lords.

Wincheſt. I am determined for my part that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt queſtion.

L. Keeper. Will ye not then procéed in the order appointed you?

Wincheſt. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt queſtion or propoſition: and we ſhould ſuffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to intreat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond queſtion, and this is the order we would uſe. I judge all my brethren are ſo minded.

Biſhops. We are ſo determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to kéepe, which ye by this meanes do break and little regard.

Wincheſter. Sith our adverſaries part, if it pleaſe your Grace and Honours, have ſo confirmed their aſſertion and purpoſe, we ſuffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Doctor Watſon Biſhop of Lincolne, being at this talke very deſirous to have ſpoken, ſaid now to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; I pray you let me ſpeake, which was permitted him: we are not uſed indifferently, ſince that you allow us not to open in preſent writing what we have to ſay for the declaration of the firſt queſtion, inſomuch, as that which ye take for the infirmation of the ſame, was meant nothing to that purpoſe, for that which Maſter Cole ſpake in this laſt aſſembly, was not prepared to ſtrengthen our cauſe, but he made his Oration of himſelfe, and ex tempore, that is, with no fore-ſtudied talke.

At ſuch the Biſhops words the Nobility and other of the audience much frowned and grudged, ſith that they all well knew, that Maſter Cole ſpake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the ſame, and in that the ſame places which the Biſhops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things doe well declare the matter to be premeditate, and not done ex tempore, for that Maſter Cole was appointed by them to be their ſpeaker. Whereupon this of the Biſhop of Lincolne was the worſe taken, notwithſtanding he went onward complaining, and ſaid; we are alſo evill ordered as touching the time, our adverſaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two daies before the laſt aſſembly in this place. What with this buſineſſe, and other trouble we have béen driven to, have béen occupied the whole laſt night. For we may in no wiſe betray the cauſe of God, nor will doe, but ſuſtaine it to the uttermoſt of our powers, as we ought ſo to endeavour by all maner of means. But hereunto we want preſently indifferent uſing.

L. Keeper. Take ye héed that ye deceive not your ſelves when it ſhall come to juſt triall of the matter, and that then it be not proved againſt you, that ye complain without cauſe, when the order and your manner towards it ſhall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to heare you after the order taken and appointed for you to reaſon therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deale with you.

Lich. Cov. Let us ſuffer no miſorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is convenient and méet we ſhould have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you ſirs heare me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the Councell, who you well know of, that their writing, which ye are now ſo willing to have heard, ſhould have béen read the firſt day, and then did we underſtand that Maſter Cole had ſaid what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to ſay, and upon that indifferency among us. I judge ye were aſked in the end of Maſter Coles rehearſall, whether that which he ſpake, was it yée would have him ſay, and ye granted it. Then whether ye would that he ſhould ſay any more in the matter, Yée anſwered no, whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing then indéed without all good indifferency or plaine dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to ſay. So marks you with how ſmall equity you uſed your ſelves.

The B. We had indéed more to ſay, if we might have béen indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave I ſay, and look what gaines you ſhould have if your preſent requeſt ſhould be granted you, that call ſo much of indifferent uſing, how you ſhould uſe thoſe other men? For many who are here preſent, were then away, ſo would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Marke ye whether it had not béen more fit that yée had provided it againſt the firſt day, when they orderly read theirs, ſith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to doe in the matter, you were of both ſides (I am ſure) warned at one time. Howbeit to ſatisfie your importunitie and earneſtneſſe of this crying out to have your firſt writing heard, I might well allow, if it ſo pleaſed the reſt of the Quéenes moſt honourable Councell, that you diſpatch the worke of the ſecond queſtion, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the firſt, ſo that when the day commeth that each of you ſhall anſwer the other in confirmation of the firſt queſtion, then the ſame day ye ſhall have time to reade this your firſt writing, which ye now would ſo faine reade. To this order all the Councell willingly condeſcended.

Lich. Cou. Nay, my Lords, they reading one, and we two bookes in one day, we ſhould not have time enough to reade them both. It would occupie too much time.

L. Keep. For my part I might well ſtay at the hearing of them both, and ſo I judge would the reſt of the Councel, and likewiſe the whole audience. At which ſaying there was a ſhout, crying on all ſides; Yea, yea, we would heare it gladly.

Lincolne. We cannot reade them both at one time: for their writing (I am ſure) would require an houre and a halfe, if ſo be it be ſo long as their laſt was, and then our anſwer would require no leſſe time after the firſt queſtion.

L.Keeper. I have ſhewed you we could be well contented to tarrie out the time when it commeth thereunto. Therefore ye néede not to be therein ſo curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I ſhall ſay unto you.

Lincolne. We have béen wonderfully troubled in the order of this diſputation. For firſt it was appointed us by my Lord the Archbiſhop, that we ſhould diſpute, and that in Latine, and then had we another commandement that we ſhould provide a Latine writing, and now at laſt we are willed to bring forth our writings in Engliſh.

At theſe words the Lord Kéeper of the great Seale, the Archbiſhop, with all the Councell much muſed, and many murmured at ſuch his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the Lord Kéeper anſwered; I marvell much of the uſing of your ſelfe in this point, ſith I am aſſured the order was never otherwiſe taken than that you ſhould bring forth in Engliſh writing what you had to ſay for your purpoſe.

Hereupon the Biſhops of Lichfield and Chicheſter, to excuſe my Lord of Lincolne, ſaid; We ſo underſtood the order, my Lords.

L.Keeper. How likely is that, ſith that it was ſo plainly told you? But to end theſe delayes, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to intreate of the ſecond queſtion.

Lich.Cou. We were appointed this day by your Honours to bring in what we had to ſay in the firſt queſtion.

At the which ſaying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talke, contrarie to ſuch his report.

L.Leeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the laſt time, that yée ſhould yéeld the ſame to theſe men, meaning the Proteſtants, as ſoone as yée might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you ſhould have theirs, and this day you ſhould intreate of the ſecond queſtion, and of the third, if that ye had leaſure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memorie much faile me. The ſame all the Councell affirmed.

Lincolne. We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the firſt queſtion alſo.

L.Keep. Ah ſirs, if ye be ſo hard to be ſatisfied, and to encline to the truth, let my Lords here ſay what was then determined.

B.Yorke. Ye are to blame to ſtand in this iſſue, for there was a plaine decréed order taken for you to intreate of the ſecond queſtion. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and ſhew what ye have to ſay in the ſecond queſtion.

L.Keep. Goe to now, begin my Lords.

Lich.Cou. It is contrarie to the order in diſputations, that we ſhould begin.

Cheſter. We have the negative; the affirmative therefore they muſt begin.

Lich. Cou. They muſt firſt ſpeake what they can bring in againſt us, ſith we are the defending part.

Cheſter. So is the Schoole manner, and likewiſe the manner in Weſtminſter Hall is, that the Plaintifes part ſhould ſpeake firſt, and then the accuſed party to anſwer.

Lich. Cou. I pray you let the propoſition bee read, and then let us ſée who hath the negative part, and ſo let the other begin.

L.Keeper. The order was taken that ye ſhould begin.

Lich.Cou. But then we ſhould doe againſt the Schoole order.

L.Keeper. My Maſters, yee inforce much the Schoole orders. I wonder much at it, ſith divers of thoſe orders are oftentimes taken for the exerciſe of youth, and ought to maintaine a faſhion, and many preſcriptions, which we néede not here to recite, much leſſe obſerve. We are come hither to kéep the order of God, and to ſet forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change.

Carlile. We are of the Catholike Church, and abide therein, and ſtand in the poſſeſſions of the truth; and therefore muſt they ſay what they have to alledge againſt us, and ſo we to maintaine and defend our cauſe.

Lich.Cou. Yea, even ſo muſt the matter bee ordered.

Cheſter. When they bring any thing againſt us, it is ſufficient for us to denie it: Therefore muſt they begin.

Lich. And when they affirme any thing, and we ſay nay, the proofe belongeth to them, and ſo it behooveth them to ſhew firſt what they affirme, and for what cauſe and purpoſe.

L.Keeper. Here reſteth our purpoſe and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they doe not, ſith it was determined ye ſhould begin.

Lich,Cou. We heard of no ſuch order.

L.Keeper. No did? Yes, and in the firſt queſtion ye began willingly. How commeth it to paſſe that ye will not now doe ſo?

Cheſter. Then had wee the affirmation, which ſith that our adverſaries have now, they ſhould preſently begin.

This the Proteſtants denied, ſaying, that they in the firſt day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuſe to begin.

L.Keeper. If you have any thing to ſay, my Lords, to the purpoſe, ſay on.

Lich. A particular ſort of men can never breake an Univerſall Church, which wee now maintaine: and as for theſe men, our adverſarie part, I never thought that they would have done ſo much as have named themſelves to be of the Catholike Church, challenging the name as well as we.

Proteſtants. We doe ſo, and we are of the true Catholike Church, and maintaine the veritie thereof.

Lincolne. Yet would ye overthrow all catholike order.

Horne. I wonder that yee ſo much ſtand who ſhould begin.

Lincolne. You count it requiſite that we ſhould follow your orders, as we have taken the queſtions at your hands, in that ſort as you have aſſigned them.

Lich, Coven. Yea, even ſo wee be driven to doe now.

L. Keeper. Nay, I judge if ye mark the matter well, the queſtions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both.

Horne. Indeede my Lords of the Queens moſt honourable Councell, theſe queſtions or propoſitions were propoſed unto us by your Honours, and they then having the preheminence, choſe to themſelves the negative, and yet freely began firſt: now againe why doe they not the like?

Lichfield being angrie that he ſhould ſo ſtraitly ſpeake againſt them, went quite from the matter, ſaying; My Lord Keeper of the great Seale, and you the reſt of the Queenes moſt honourable Councell, I hope that you all, and the Queenes Majeſtie her ſelfe, are inclined to favour the veritie in all things, and the truth of the Catholike Church, which we muſt, will, or can doe no otherwiſe, but earneſtly maintaine to the uttermoſt of our power, and to this purpoſe let us now well weigh who are of the true Catholike Church, they or we.

L. Keeper. Tarrie, now you goe from the matter, and make queſtions of your owne.

Lichfield yet not ſtraying from his digreſſion, ſaid thus; We muſt needes goe to worke, and trie that firſt, what Church they be of. For there are manie Churches in Germanie. Maſter Horne, Maſter Horn, I pray you which of theſe Churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Chriſts Catholike Church.

L. Keeper. Ye ought not thus to runne into voluntarie talke of your owne inventing, nor to deviſe new queſtions of your owne appointment, and thereby enter into that talke; ye ought not ſo to doe. But ſay on, if you have any thing to ſay in this matter.

Lich. Nay, we muſt firſt thus goe to work with them, as I have ſaid, if that wee will ſearch a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we aſſuredly ſtand in it. Theſe men come in, and they pretend to bee doubtfull. Therefore they ſhould firſt bring what they have to impugne or withſtand us withall.

Winch. Let them begin; ſo will we go onward with our matter.

Cheſter. Otherwiſe, my Lords, if they ſhould not begin, but end the talke, then ſhould the veritie on our ſides bee not ſo well marked; for they ſhould depart ſpeaking laſt, cum applauſu populi, with the rejoycing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore I am reſolved that they ſhall begin ere that we ſay any thing.

Cheſter. I am ſorrie my Lords, that we ſhould ſo long ſtand in the matter with your Honours, and make ſo many words, and ſo much adoe with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferencie if they begin not; and ſurely wee thinke it meete, that they ſhould for their parts give us place.

Lichfield. Yea, that they ſhould and ought to doe where any indifferencie is uſed.

Aelmer. We give you the place (doe we not?) and deprive you not of the preheminence, becauſe you are Biſhops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Biſhop. A goodly giving of place, I aſſure you: yea marie ye gave place, ſuch words they uſed, with more ſcoffes.

L. Keeper. If ye make this aſſembly gathered in vaine, and will not goe to the matter, let us riſe and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you my Lords, require not at our hands that wee ſhould be any cauſe of hinderance or let to our religion, or give any ſuch evill example to our poſterity, which we ſhould doe if we gave over to them, which in no wiſe we may, or will doe.

L. Keeper. Let us then breake up, if you be thus minded. With theſe words the Biſhops were ſtraightwaies riſing. But then ſaid the Lord Keeper; Let us ſee whether every one of you be thus minded. How ſay you my Lord of Wincheſter, will you not begin to reade your writing?

Winch. No ſurely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howſoever my brethren doe.

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the Biſhop was called, who ſate next to Wincheſter in order. It was the Biſhop of Exceter, who being inquired his minde herein, anſwered that he was none of them. Then the Lord Keeper asked the other in order; and firſt Lincolne, who ſaid he was of the ſame minde that Wincheſter was of: and likewiſe anſwered Lichfield Coven. Cole, and Chadſey. Then Cheſter, being asked his ſentence, ſaid; My Lords, I ſay not that I will not reade it, if ye command us; but we ought not to doe it: yet I deſire your Honours not ſo to take it, as though I would not have read it. I meane not ſo.

L. Keeper. How ſay you to it, my Lord of Carlile?

Carlile. If they ſhould not reade theirs this day, ſo that our writing may be laſt read, ſo am I contented that ours ſhall be firſt read.

L. Keeper. So would yee make orders your ſelves, and appoint that we ſhould ſpend one day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the Abbot of Weſtminſter was asked his minde, who ſaid; If it pleaſe your Honours, I judge that my Lords here ſtay moſt on this point, that they feare when they ſhall begin firſt, and the other anſwer thereupon, there ſhall be no time given to them to ſpeake, which my Lord miſliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwiſe bee in talke appointed in ſuch aſſembly and audience: thinke you that there can be continuall anſwering one another? when ſhould it after that ſort have an end?

Lich, Coven. It muſt be ſo in diſputation to ſeek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how ſay you my Lord Abbot, are you of the minde it ſhall be read?

Abbot. Yea forſooth, my Lord, I am very well pleaſed withall. Harpsfield being inquired his minde, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My Lords, ſith that ye are not willing, but refuſe to read your writing after the order taken, we will breake up and depart: and for that ye will not that we ſhould heare you, you may perhaps ſhortly heare of us.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Weſtminſter, betweene theſe two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge (good Reader) where the fault was, and conſider withall what theſe Papiſts be, from whom if ye take away their ſword and authority, you ſee all their cunning how ſoone it lyeth in the duſt, or elſe why would they not abide the triall of writing? why would they or durſt they not ſtand to the order agreed upon? Whether ſhould we ſay ignorance or ſtubbornneſſe to be in them more, or both together? Who firſt being gently (as is ſaid) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being ſecondly (as appeared by the Lord Keepers words) preſſed more earneſtly, they neither regarding the authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cauſe, utterly refuſed that to doe. And finally, being againe particularly every of them apart diſtinctly by name required to underſtand their opinions therein, they all ſaving one (which was the Abbot of Weſtminſter, having ſome more conſideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other, ſo alſo ſome other more undiſcreetly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſſe, and ſelf-will, as hath not beene ſeene and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, being of the two eſtates of this Realm, the Nobility and the Commons, beſides the preſence of the Queens Majeſties moſt honourable privy Councell, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the godly and moſt Chriſtian purpoſe of the Queens Majeſtie made fruſtrate. And afterward, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincolne, having moſt obſtinately both diſobeyed common authority, and varied manifeſtly from their owne order, and ſpecially Lincolne, who ſhewed more folly than the other, were condignely committed to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſaving the Abbot of Weſtminſter) ſtood bound to make daily their perſonall appearance before the Councell, and not to depart the City of London and Weſtminſter, untill further order were taken with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

Biſhops committed to the Tower.

Beſides the former proteſtation or libell written and exhibited by the Proteſtants concerning the firſt queſtion, there was alſo another like writing of the ſaid Proteſtants made of the ſecond queſtion, but not publiſhed, which if it come to our hand, we will likewiſe impart unto thee.

As theſe Biſhops above named were committed to the Tower, ſo Boner Biſhop of London, about the ſame time was commanded to the Marſhalſea, where he both in his blinde bloody hereſie, and alſo in his deſerved captivity, long remained, abiding the Queenes pleaſure. Gods pleaſure I beſeech him ſo be wrought on that perſon, that the Church of Chriſts flocke, if they can take or look for no goodneſſe of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of other no more harme hereafter than they have done already. We all beſeech thee this O Lord eternall, Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Amen.

Boner caſt in the Marſhalſea.

About this time, at the beginning of the flouriſhing reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was a Parliament ſummoned and holden at Weſtminſter, wherein was much debating about matters touching Religion, and great ſtudy on both parts imployed, the one to retaine ſtill, the other to impugne the doctrine and faction which before in Queene Maries time had been eſtabliſhed. But eſpecially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no induſtry on the Papiſts ſide, to hold faſt that which they moſt cruelly from time to time had ſtudyed, and by all meanes practiſed to come by: yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was the providence of God at that time, that for lacke of the other Biſhops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the reſidue that there were left, could doe the leſſe; and in very deed, God be praiſed therefore, did nothing at all in effect. Although yet notwithſtanding there lacked in them neither will nor labour to doe what they could, if their cruell ability there might have ſerved. But namely amongſt all other, not onely the induſtrious courage of Doctor Story, but alſo his words in this Parliament are worthy to be knowne of poſterity: who like a ſtout and furious champion of the Popes ſide, to declare himſelfe how luſtie he was, and what he had and would doe in his Maſters quarrell, ſhamed not openly in the ſaid Parliament houſe to braſt out into ſuch an impudent ſort of words, as was a wonder to all good eares to heare, and no leſſe worthy of hiſtorie.

D. Stories impudent words in the Parliament.

The ſumme of which his ſhameleſſe talk was uttered to this effect: Firſt, beginning with himſelfe, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a ſetter forth of ſuch religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late Soveraigne that dead is, Q. Mary, were ſet forth in this realm, he denied nothing the ſame, proteſting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conſcience did leade him thereunto, and alſo his Commiſſion did as well then command him, as now alſo doth diſcharge him for the ſame, being no leſſe ready now alſo to doe the like, and more, in caſe he by this Queene were authoriſed likewiſe, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I ſee (ſaith he) nothing to be aſhamed of, ſo leſſe I ſee to be ſorry for, but rather ſaid that he was ſorry for this, becauſe he had done no more than he did, and that in executing thoſe lawes they had not been more vehement and ſevere. Wherein he ſaid there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earneſtly had exhorted to the ſame, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little ſprigs and twigs, while they ſhould have ſtriken at the roote, and cleane have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his perſecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an Herewigge (for ſo he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he toſt a fagot at his face as he was ſinging Pſalmes, and ſet a Winebuſh of thornes under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreover Sir Philip Hobby, and another Knight of Kent, with ſuch other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counſell was to plucke at, and to bring them under coram, wherein (ſaid he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wiſely. This or much like was the effect of the ſhameleſſe and tyrannicall excuſe of himſelfe, more meet to ſpeake with the voice of a beaſt, than a man.

The words of D. Story in the Parliament houſe.

This Martyr burnt at Uxbridge was Maſter Denley.

Although in this Parliament ſome diverſity there was of judgement and opinion betweene parties, yet notwithſtanding, through the mercifull goodneſſe of the Lord, the true cauſe of the Goſpell had the upper hand, the Papiſts hope was fruſtrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King Edwards time concerning religion was revived againe, the ſupremacy of the Pope aboliſhed, the Articles and bloody Statutes of Queene Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel perſecution which had conſumed ſo many poore mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old Biſhops were depoſed, for that they refuſed the oath in renouncing the Pope, and not ſubſcribing to the Queenes juſt and lawfull title. In whoſe roomes and places, firſt for Cardinall Poole ſucceeded Doctor Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterburie. In the place of Heth ſucceeded Doctor Young. Inſtead of Boner, Edmund Grindall was Biſhop of London. For Hopton, Thurlby, Tonſtall, Pates, Chriſtopherſon, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feaſie, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed Doctor John Parkuſt in Norwich, Doctor Coxe in Ely, Jewel in Saliſbury, Pilkenton in Dureſme, Doctor Sands in Worceſter, Maſter Downam in Weſtcheſter, Bentam in Coventry and Lichfield, David in Saint Davies, Ally in Exceter, Horne in Wincheſter, Scory in Hereford, Beſt in Carliſle, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterborough. Bartlet in Bathe, Geſt in Rocheſter, Barlo in Chicheſter, &c.

And here to make an end of this Story. Now it remaineth to proceed further to the Appendix, in ſupplying ſuch things as have either been omitted, or newly inſerted, as followeth.

The Appendix of ſuch Notes and Matters, as either have been in this Hiſtory omitted, or newly inſerted.

IN the ſtory of Sir Roger Acton above mentioned, I finde that with him were taken many other perſons, that all the priſons in and about London were repleniſhed with people. The chiefe of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of Hereſie, and attainted of high Treaſon, as movers of war againſt their King, by the temporall Law in the Guildhall, the twelfth day of December, and adjudged to be drawne and hanged for Treaſon, and for Hereſie to be conſumed with fire, Gallowes and all, which judgement was executed in Januarie following on the ſaid Sir Roger Acton, and twenty eight other.

Some ſay that the occaſion of their death was the conveighance of the Lord Cobham out of priſon. Other write that it was both for treaſon (as the Adverſaries termed it) and hereſie.

Certaine affirme, that it was for faigned cauſes ſurmiſed by the ſpiritualty, more of diſpleaſure than truth, as ſeemeth more neere to the truth.

Concerning *Iohn Frith*, of his life and ſtory this followeth more to be added.

FIrſt, this John Frith was borne in the town of Weſtrame in Kent, who after by diligent eſpials was taken in Eſſex flying beyond the Seas, and brought before the Councell, ſir Thomas More then being Chancellor, and ſo from them committed unto the Tower, where he remained priſoner the ſpace of a quarter of a yeare, or thereabout. It chanced that Doctor Currein, ordinary Chaplaine unto King Henry the eighth, preached a Sermon in Lent before his Majeſty. And there very ſore inveighing againſt the Sacramentaries (as they them termed and named) which favored not the groſſe opinion that Chriſts body was carnally reall in the Sacrament, he ſo far diſcourſed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and ſaid; It is no marvell though this abominable hereſie do much prevaile among us; for there is one now in the Tower of London ſo bold as to write in the defence of that hereſie, and yet no man goeth about his reformation, meaning John Frith, who then had anſwered ſir Thomas More in writing againſt a confutation of that erroneous opinion, which of late before the ſaid Maſter More had written againſt John Friths aſſertion in that behalfe. This Sermon of purpoſe was deviſed and appointed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter and other to ſeeke the deſtruction of Frith, by putting the King in remembrance that the ſaid Frith was in the Tower there ſtaid, rather for his ſafeguard than for his puniſhment, by ſuch as favoured him, as the Lord Cromwell, who being Vicegerent in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall came then into ſuſpition therefore. For in ſuch ſort was the matter handled before the King, that all men might well underſtand what they meant. The K. then being in no point reſolved of the true and ſincere underſtanding of the doctrine of that Article, but rather a perverſe ſtout adverſary to the contrary, called to him my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Frith unto examination, ſo that he might either be compelled to recant, or elſe by the Law to ſuffer condigne puniſhment.

Friths long protract in the Tower without examination was ſo hainouſly taken of the King, that now my Lord of Canterbury with other Biſhops, as Stokeſly then Biſhop of London, and other learned men were undelayedly appointed to examine Frith. And for that there ſhould be no concourſe of Citizens at the ſaid examination; my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom reſorted the reſt of the Commiſſioners. Now before the day of execution appointed, my Lord of Canterbury ſent one of his Gentlemen and one of his Porters, whoſe name was Perlebeane, a Welchman borne, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croidon. This Gentleman had both my Lords letters and the Kings ring unto my Lord Fitzwilliams Conſtable of the Tower, then lying in Canon rowe at Weſtminſter in extreame anguiſh and paine of the Strangullion, for the delivery of the priſoner. Maſter Fitzwilliams more paſſionate than patient, underſtanding for what purpoſe my Lords Gentleman was come, banned and curſed Frith and all other Heretikes, ſaying; Take this my ring unto the Lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man your heretike with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him. When Frith was delivered unto my Lord of Canterburies Gentleman,

man, they twaine with Perlebeane ſitting in a Wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth: The ſaid Gentleman much lamenting in his minde the infelicity of the ſaid Frith, began in this wiſe to exhort him to conſider in what eſtate he was, a man altogether caſt away in this world, if he did not looke wiſely to himſelfe. And yet though his cauſe were never ſo dangerous, he might ſomewhat in relenting to authority, and ſo giving place for a time, help both himſelfe out of trouble, and when opportunity and occaſion ſhould ſerve, prefer his cauſe which he then went about to defend, declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would ſtand on his ſide ſo far forth as poſſibly they were able and durſt doe; adding hereunto, that it were great pitty that hée being of ſuch ſingular knowledge both in the Latine, Gréek, and both ready and ripe in all kinde of learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient Doctors, ſhould now ſuddenly ſuffer all thoſe ſingular gifts to periſh with him with little commodity or profit to the world, and leſſe comfort to his wife and children, and other his kinsfolkes and friends. And as for the verity of your opinion in the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, it is ſo untimely opened here among us in England, that you ſhall rather doe harme then good: wherefore be wiſe, and be ruled by good counſell, untill a better opportunity may ſerve.

This I am ſure of (quoth the Gentleman) that my Lord Cromwell and my Lord of Canterbury much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in yéeres, olde in knowledge, and of great forwardneſſe and likelihood to be a moſt profitable member for this Realme, will never permit you to ſuſtaine any open ſhame, if you will ſomewhat be adviſed by their counſell: on the other ſide, if you ſtand ſtiffe to your opinion, it is not poſſible to ſave your life. For like as you have good friends, ſo have you mortall foes and enemies.

I moſt heartily thanke you, quoth Maſter Frith unto the Gentleman, both for your good will, and for your counſell: by the which I well perceive that you minde well unto me; howbeit my cauſe and conſcience is ſuch, that in no wiſe I either may or can for any worldly reſpect, without danger of damnation ſtart aſide and flie from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the Supper of the Lord, or the Communion, otherwiſe called the Sacrament of the Altar: For if it be my chance to bée demanded what I thinke in that behalfe, I muſt néeds ſay my knowledge and my conſcience, as partly I have written therein already, though I ſhould preſently loſe twenty lives if I had ſo many. And this you ſhall well underſtand that I am not unfurniſhed, either of Scriptures or ancient Doctors, Schoolemen, or other for my defence; ſo that if I may be indifferently heard, I am ſure that mine adverſaries cannot juſtly condemne me or mine aſſertion, but that they ſhall condemne with me both S. Auguſtine, and the moſt part of the old Writers: yea, the very Biſhops of Rome of the oldeſt ſort ſhall alſo ſay for me, and defend my cauſe. Yea marry, quoth the Gentleman, you ſay well; if you might bée indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Maſter Chriſt was not indifferently heard, nor ſhould be, as I thinke, if he were now preſent againe in the world, ſpecially in this your opinion, the ſame being ſo odious unto the world, and wée ſo farre off from the true knowledge thereof.

Well, well (quoth Frith then unto the Gentleman) I know very well, that this doctrine of the ſacrament of the Altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this Realme, is very hard meat to be digeſted both of the Clergy and Laity. But this I will ſay to you, taking the Gentleman by the hand, that if you live but twenty yéeres more, whatſoever become of me, you ſhall ſée this whole Realme of mine opinion concerning this ſacrament of the Altar: namely, the whole eſtate of the ſame, though ſome ſort of men particularly ſhall not be fully perſwaded therein. And if it come not ſo to paſſe, then account me the vaineſt man that ever you heard ſpeake with tongue: Beſides this, you ſay that my death would be ſorrowfull and uncomfortable unto my friends.

I grant (quoth he) that for a ſmall time it would ſo be. But if I ſhould ſo mollifie, qualifie, and temper my cauſe in ſuch ſort as to deſerve only to be kept in priſon, that would not only be a much long griefe unto me, but alſo to my friends would bréed no ſmall diſquietneſſe both of body and minde. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cauſe ſhall bée better unto me and all mine, than life in continuall bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to doe with his poore ſervant, whoſe cauſe I now defend, and not mine owne; from the which I aſſuredly doe intend (GOD willing) never to ſtart, or otherwiſe to give place, ſo long as God will give me life.

This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of Canterburies Gentleman and Frith had comming in a Wherry upon the Thames, from the Tower to Lambeth.

Now when they were landed, after ſome repaſt by them taken at Lambeth, the Gentleman, the Porter, and Frith, went forward towards Croydon on foote. This Gentleman ſtill lamenting with himſelfe the hard and cruell deſtinie towards the ſaid Frith: namely, if he once came amongſt the Biſhops; and now alſo perceiving the excéeding conſtancy of Frith, deviſed with himſelfe ſome way or meanes to conveigh him cleane out of their hands; and thereupon conſidering that there were no moe perſons there to conveigh the priſoner, but the Porter and himſelfe, he tooke in hand to winne the Porter to his purpoſe. Quoth the Gentleman unto Perlebeane the Porter (they twaine privately walking by themſelves without the hearing of Frith) you have heard this man I am ſure, and noted his talke ſince he came from the Tower. Yea, that I have right well marked him (quoth the Porter) and I never heard ſo conſtant a man, nor ſo eloquent a perſon. You have heard nothing, quoth the Gentleman, in reſpect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in Univerſity or Pulpit declare his learning, you would then much more marvell at his knowledge. I take him to be ſuch a one of his age in all kinde of learning and knowledge of tongues, as this Realme never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet thoſe ſingular gifts in him are no more conſidered of our Biſhops, than if he were a very Dolt or an Idiot; yea, they abhorre him as a devill therefore, and covet utterly to extinguiſh him as a member of the devill, without any conſideration of Gods ſpeciall gifts. Marry (quoth the Porter) if there were nothing elſe in him but the conſideration of his perſonage both comely and amiable, and of naturall diſpoſition, gentle, méeke, and humble; it were pitty he ſhould be caſt away. Caſt away (quoth the Gentleman?) He ſhall be ſure caſt away.

way if we once bring him to Croydon, and ſurely (quoth the Gentleman) before God I ſpeak it, if thou Perlebeane were of my minde, we would never bring him thither. Say you ſo, quoth the Porter? I know that you bee of a great deale more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can deviſe honeſtly or finde ſome reaſonable excuſe, whereby we may let him goe and provide for himſelfe, I will with all my heart condeſcend to your deviſe. As for that (quoth the Gentleman, it is already invented how and which waies hee ſhall conveigh himſelfe without any great danger or diſpleaſure taken towards us, as the matter ſhall bee handled. You ſee (quoth the Gentleman) yonder hill before us named Briſtow Cawſie, two miles from London, there are great woods on both ſides, when we come there we will permit Frith to goe into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may conveigh himſelfe into Kent among his friends, for he is a Kentiſh man borne, and when he is gone, we will linger an houre or twaine about the High-way, untill that it ſomewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haſt we will approach unto Streatham, which is a mile and a halfe off, and make an out-crie in the Towne that our priſoner is broken from us into the woods on the right hand towards Wayneſworth, ſo that wee will draw as many as we may of the Towne to ſearch the country that way for our priſoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length loſt him in the woods, becauſe we had no more company, and ſo we will rather than faile lie out one night in ſearching for him, and ſend word from Streatham to my Lord of Canterbury at Croydon in the evening of the priſoners eſcape, and to what coaſt he is fled. So that by the morning, if hee have any good lucke at all, he will ſo provide for himſelfe, that the Biſhops ſhall faile of their purpoſe. I aſſure you (quoth Perlebeane) I like very well the deviſe herein; and therefore goe ye to Frith, and declare what we have deviſed for his delivery: for now we are almoſt at the place.

When my Lord of Canterburies Gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joyned himſelfe in company with the ſaid Frith, and calling him by his name, ſaid; Now Maſter Frith, let us twaine commune together another whiles: you muſt conſider, that the journie which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, ſo grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and ſorrowes, that I little paſſe what danger I fall in, ſo that I could finde the meanes to deliver you out of the Lyons mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have ſo deviſed a meanes, whereby you may both eaſily eſcape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we alſo be rid from any vehement ſuſpicion. And thereupon declared unto Frith the full proceſſe diſcourſed before, how every thing in order ſhould be handled.

When Frith had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he ſaid to the Gentleman; Oh good Lord, with a ſmiling countenance, is this the effect of your ſecret conſultation, thus long betweene you twaine? Surely, ſurely, you have loſt a great deale more labour in times paſt, and ſo are you like to doe this; for if you ſhould both leave me here, and goe to Croydon, declaring to the Biſhops, that you had loſt Frith, I would ſurely follow after as faſt as I might, and bring them newes that I had found and brought Frith againe. Doe you think (quoth he) that I am affraid to declare my opinion unto the Biſhops of England in a manifeſt truth?

You are a fond man (quoth the Gentleman) thus to talke: As though your reaſoning with them might doe ſome good. But I doe much marvell, that you were ſo willing to flie the Realme before you were taken, and now ſo unwilling to ſave your ſelfe. Marie there was and is a great diverſitie of eſcaping betweene the one and the other, quoth Frith.

Before, I was indeede deſirous to eſcape, becauſe I was not attached, but at liberty, which liberty I would faine have enjoyed for the maintenance of my ſtudie beyond the ſea, where I was Reader in the Greek tongue, according to Saint Pauls counſell. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher power, and as it were by Almighty Gods permiſſion and providence delivered into the hands of the Biſhops, only for Religion and Doctrines ſake, namely, ſuch as in conſcience and under paine of damnation I am bound to maintaine and defend, if I ſhould now ſtart aſide and runne away, I ſhould runne from my GOD, and from the teſtimonie of his holy Word, worthy then of a thouſand hels. And therefore I moſt heartily thanke you both for your good wils toward me, beſeeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for elſe I will goe thither all alone. And ſo with a cheerefull and merry countenance he went with them, ſpending the time with pleaſant and godly communication, untill they came to Croydon, where for that night hee was well entertained in the Porters lodge. On the morrow he was called before certaine Biſhops and other learned men, ſitting in commiſſion with the Lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he ſhewed himſelfe paſſing ready and ripe in anſwering to all objections, as ſome then reported, incredibly and contrary to all mens expectations. And his allegations both out of Saint Auguſtine and other ancient Fathers of the Church were ſuch, that ſome of them much doubted of Saint Auguſtines authority in that behalfe. Inſomuch, that it was reported of ſuch as were nigh and about the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (who then was not fully reſolved of the ſincere truth of that article) that when they had finiſhed their examination of Frith, the Archbiſhop conferring with Doctor Heath privately betweene themſelves, ſaid; This man hath wonderfully travelled in this matter, and yet in mine opinion he taketh the Doctors amiſſe. Well, my Lord, ſhould Doctor Heath ſay, there was no man that could avoide his authorities of S. Auguſtine. Wherein, ſaid my Lord? Then D. Heath began to repeat yͤ ſaid authorities of S. Auguſtine again, inferring and applying them ſo ſtraightly againſt my L. of Canterbury, that my Lord was driven to this ſhot anker, and ſaid; I ſee by it, quoth he to Heath, that you with a little more ſtudy will be eaſily brought to Friths opinion, or ſuch like words in effect: and ſome chaplains there were of my L. of Canterburies, which openly reported, that D. Heath was as able to defend Friths aſſertions in the ſacrament, as Frith was himſelfe.

This learned young man being thus throughly ſifted at Croydon, to underſtand what he could ſay or doe in his cauſe, there was no man willing to preferre him to anſwer in open diſputation as poore Lambert was. But now without regard of learning or good knowledge hee was ſent and detained unto the Butchers ſtall; I meane Biſhop Stokeleyes Conſiſtory, there to heare not the opinion of Saint Auguſtine and other ancient Fathers of Chriſts Primitive Church of the ſaid ſacrament, but either to be inſtructed and to heare the maimed and halfe cut-away ſacrament of Antichriſt, the Biſhop of Rome, with the groſſe and fleſhly imagination thereof, or elſe to periſh in the fire, as he moſt conſtantly did, after he had before the Biſhop of London, Wincheſter, and

Chicheſter, in the Conſiſtorie in Pauls Church, moſt plainely and ſincerely confeſſed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter, &c.

A note of William Plane.

IN the later dayes of King Henry the eighth, about that time Anne Aſkew was in trouble, one Doctor Crome was travelled withall to recant, for that he had preached ſomewhat againſt things maintained of the Papiſts in the Church. And one M. Tracy hearing thereof, brought a letter ſecretly to one Plane dwelling in Bouge Rowe, and deſired him to carry it to D. Crome, which letter tended to the end to perſwade him not to recant, but to ſtand in the truth. When this good man William Plane had it, as he was ever willing to further the truth, ſo he gladly delivered the ſame to Doctor Crome. Which when he had received, and read it, hée laid it downe upon the table, and after the ſayd William Plane was gone, an arch-papiſt came thither to perſwade him to recant, and in travelling with him hée found the ſayd letter on the board, which when hée had read, he examined him from whence it came; ſo what through flattery and threatning, he declared who was the meſſenger that brought it. Then was William Plane ſent for, caſt in the Tower, where he lay miſerably thirtéene wéekes, none admitted to come to him, in which time he was extremely racked, within halfe a finger breadth as farre as Anne Aſkew: but they could never get of him of whom he had the letter, nor for all their extremity would he accuſe any man; ſo in the end he was delivered out of the Tower, and lived about thrée yéeres after, and ſo godly ended his life. But unto this day would that Tracy never inquire in what condition his wife and children were left, although he was his meſſenger in carrying the letter: But (good Lord) the ſtrange diſeaſe that grew upon him by that extreme racking, as it is odious to rehearſe, ſo I will wiſh them to repent that were the inſtruments of his torments, if they be alive, and warne other Papiſts to the ſame, in whom any cruelty hath béen in the like cauſe.

A note of Lady Iane.

THe Lady Jane, ſhe whom the Lord Guilford married, being on a time, when ſhe was very young, at Newhall in Eſſex at the Lady Maries, was by one Lady Anne Wharton deſired to walke, and they paſſing by the Chappell, the Lady Wharton made low curteſie to the Popiſh Sacrament hanging on the Altar: which when the Lady Jane ſaw, ſhe marvelled why ſhe did ſo, and aſked her whether the Lady Mary were there, or not. Unto whom the Lady Wharton anſwered no: but ſhe ſaid that ſhe made her curteſie to him that made us all. Why (quoth the Lady Jane) how can he be there that made us all, and the Baker made him? This her anſwere comming to the Lady Maries eare, ſhe did never love her after, as is credibly reported, but eſtéemed her as the reſt of that Chriſtian profeſſion.

The copy of Queene Maries letter to the Duke of Northfolke.

A letter of Q. Mary to the Duke of Northfolke.

RIght truſty and right intirely beloved Couſin, we gréete you well, and having by the aſſiſtance of God and our loving ſubjects diſcomfited Wyat and the other Rebels of our County of Kent, who having paſſed the River of Kingſton, came backe againe towards London, and were encountred above Charing Croſſe, and there were overthrowne, and the moſt part of them were there ſlaine, Wyat, and thrée of the Cobhams, Bret, Knevet, Rudſtone, Iſeley, and other the chiefe Captaines taken priſoners: We have thought good as well to give you knowledge hereof, to the end ye may with us and the reſt of our loving ſubjects rejoyce, and give God thankes for this our victory, as alſo further to ſignifie unto you, that where the ſaid rebell did alway pretend the matter of our marriage to be the cauſe of this unlawfull ſtirre, now plainely appeareth by good and ſubſtantiall examinations of divers of the ſaid Traitors, that whatſoever they pretended, the finall meaning was to have deprived us from our eſtate and dignity Royall, and conſequently, to have deſtroyed our Perſon. Which thing, as we doe aſcertaine you of our Honour to be matter of trueth, ſo we pray you to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed in all places of thoſe our Counties of Northfolke, and Suffolke, to the intent our good and loving ſubjects thereof be no more abuſed with ſuch falſe pretenſes, or other untrue rumours or tales, by whomſoever the ſame ſhall be ſet forth. And now things being in this ſort quieted, we cannot but give you thankes for the readineſſe that you have béene in with the force of our ſaid Countrie, to have ſerved us if néede had béene, praying you to doe the like on our behalfe to all the Gentlemen and others with you, with whom nevertheleſſe we require you to take ſuch orders as the force of our ſaid countrie may be ſtill in like readineſſe, to be imployed under good and ſubſtantiall Captaines, to be choſen of the Gentlemen inheritors within the ſaid Shire, for our further ſervice upon one houres warning, whenſoever we ſhall require the ſame. And in the meane time our pleaſure is, that ye have good regard to the quietneſſe and good order of the countrie, ſpecially to the apprehenſion of ſpreaders of falſe and untrue tales and rumours, whereby ye ſhall both deſerve well of your whole countrie, and alſo doe acceptable ſervice, which we will not faile to remember accordingly. Yeoven under our Signet at our Palace of Weſtminſter, the eight of February, the firſt yéere of our reigne. In haſte.

A Treatiſe of M. Nicholas Ridley, in the name, as it ſeemeth, of the whole Clergy, to King Edward the ſixth, concerning Images not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped in Churches.

¶ Certaine reaſons which moue us that we cannot with ſafe conſciences giue our aſſent, that the Images of Chriſt, &c. ſhould be placed and erected in Churches.

FIrſt the words of the commandment, Exod. 20. Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any graven Image, &c. And the ſame is repeated more plainely, Deut. 27. Maledictus homo qui facit ſculptile & conflatile, &c. ponitque illud in abſcondito, &c. That is, Curſed is the man which maketh a graven or molten Image, &c. and ſetteth it in a ſecret place, and all the people ſhall ſay, Amen.

In the firſt place theſe words are to be noted, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe, that is, to any uſe of religion.

In the later place theſe words, And ſetteth it in a ſecret place; for no man durſt then commit Idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appeare, that Images both for uſe of religion, and in place of perill for Idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to Idolatry, ſheweth the reaſon why he made this generall prohibition, Ne forte errore deceptus adores ea & colas. That is to ſay: Leſt peradventure thou being deceived, ſhouldſt bow downe to them and worſhip them.

This generall law is generally to be obſerved, notwithſtanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appeare by the example following.

God forbade the people to joyne their children in marriage with ſtrangers, adding the reaſon; Quia ſeducet filium tuum, ne ſequatur me. That is: For ſhe will ſeduce thy ſon, that he ſhall not follow me, Deut. 7.

Moſes was not deceived or ſeduced by Iethroes daughter, nor Booz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the generall law was to bee obſerved, Thou ſhalt joyne no marriage with them. And ſo likewiſe, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any graven Image, &c.

Deut. 4. God giveth a ſpeciall charge to avoide Images. Beware (ſayth he) that thou forget not the Covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and ſo make to thy ſelfe any graven Image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a conſuming fire, and a jealous God.

If thou have children and nephewes, and doe well in the land, and being deceived, doe make to your ſelves any graven Image, doing evill before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I doe this day call heaven and earth to witneſſe, that you ſhall quickly periſh out of the land which ye ſhall poſſeſſe, ye ſhall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will deſtroy you, and ſcatter you amongſt all nations.

Note what ſolemne obteſtation God uſeth, and what grievous puniſhments he threatneth to the breakers of the ſecond commandement.

In the tabernacle and temple of God no Image was by God appointed openly to be ſet, nor by practiſe afterwards uſed or permitted, ſo long as religion was purely obſerved; ſo that the uſe and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the ſame.

If by vertue of the ſecond commandement Images were not lawfull in the temple of the Iewes, then by the ſame commandement they are not lawfull in the Churches of Chriſtians. For being a morall commandement, and not ceremoniall (for by conſent of Writers, only a part of the precept of obſerving the Sabbath is ceremoniall) it is a perpetuall commandement, and bindeth us as well as the Iewes.

The Iewes by no meanes would conſent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that Images ſhould bee placed in the temple at Ieruſalem, but rather offered themſelves to the death, than to aſſent unto it. Who, beſides that they are commended by Ioſephus for obſerving the meaning of the law, would not have indangered themſelves ſo farre, if they had thought Images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For as S. Paul ſayth, 2 Cor. 6. Quid templo Dei cum ſimulachris, &c. Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. li. 18. cap. 5. and 15.

Gods Scripture doth in no place commend the uſe of Images, but in a great number of places doth diſallow and condemne them.

They are called in the booke of Wiſedome, the trap and ſnare of the feete of the ignorant.

It is ſayd that the invention of them was the beginning of ſpirituall fornication: And that they were not from the beginning, neyther ſhall they continue to the end.

In the 15. Chapter of the ſame booke it is ſayd, Vmbra pictura, labor ſine fructu, &c. And againe, they are worthy of death both that put their truſt in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worſhip them.

The Pſalmes and Prophets are full of like ſentences, and how can we then praiſe the thing which Gods ſpirit doth alwayes diſpraiſe?

Furthermore, an Image made by a father (as appeareth in the ſame booke) for the memoriall of his ſonne departed, was the firſt invention of Images, and occaſion of Idolatry, Wiſedome 14.

How much more then ſhall an Image made in the memory of Chriſt, and ſet up in the place of religion, occaſion the ſame offence? Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſtor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Images have their beginning from the Heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot bee profitable to Chriſtians. Whereunto Athanaſius agreeth, writing of Images againſt the Gentiles. Athanaſius cont. Gentes, ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν, ἐν οὐδενί ποτε καλὸν κρίνειν, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον. That is to ſay: The invention of Images came of no good, but of evill, and whatſoever hath an evill beginning can never in any thing bee judged good, ſeeing it is wholly naught.

Saint Iohn ſayth, my little children beware of Images, but to ſet them in the Churches, which are places dedicated to the ſervice and invocation of God, and that over the Lords table, being the higheſt and moſt honourable place where moſt danger of abuſe both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to imbrace and receive them. Tertullian expounding the ſame words, writeth thus, Lib. de corona militis. Filioli, cuſtodite vos ab Idolis; non iam ab idlololatria quaſi ab officio, ſed ab Idolis. i. ab ipſa effigie eorum. That is to ſay: Little children, keepe your ſelves, from the ſhape it ſelfe, or forme of them.

Images in the Church either ſerve to edifie or to deſtroy. If they edifie, then is there one kinde of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but alwayes diſallow; if they deſtroy, they are not to be uſed, for in the Church of God all things ought to be done to edifie, 1 Corinth. 14.

The commandement of God is, thou ſhalt not lay a ſtumbling blocke or a ſtone before the blind: and curſed is hee that maketh the blinde wander in his way.

The ſimple and unlearned people, who have been ſo long under blinde guides, are blinde in matters of religion, and inclined to errour and Idolatry. Therefore to ſet Images before them to ſtumble at (Nam laquei pedibus inſipientium ſunt, that is, They be ſnares and trappes for the feete of the ignorant) or to leade them out of the true way, is not only againſt the commandement of God, but deſerveth alſo the malediction and curſe of God, Wiſd. 14.

The uſe of Images is to the learned and confirmed in knowledge neither neceſſary nor profitable. To the ſuperſtitious a confirmation in errour. To the ſimple and weake an occaſion of fall, and very offenſive and wounding of their conſciences; and therefore very dangerous. For Saint Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 9. offending the brethren, and wounding their weake conſciences, they ſinne againſt Chriſt. And Matthew 18. Woe bee to him by whom offence or occaſion of falling commeth, it were better that a milſtone were tied about his necke, and hee caſt into the ſea, than to offend one of the little ones that beleeve in Chriſt. And where objection may bee made, that ſuch offence may be taken away by ſincere doctrine and preaching, it is to be anſwered, that that is not ſufficient, as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

And though it ſhould be admitted as true, yet ſhould it follow, that ſincere doctrine and preaching ſhould alwayes and in all places continue as well as Images; and ſo whereſoever an Image to offend were erected, there ſhould alſo of reaſon a godly and ſincere Preacher bée continually maintained: for it is reaſon that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as generall as the poyſon, but that is not poſſible in the Realme of England that Images ſhould bée generally allowed, as reaſon and experience may teach.

As good Magiſtrates, which intend to baniſh all whoredome, doe drive away all naughty perſons, ſpecially out of ſuch places as be ſuſpected; even ſo Images, being Meretrices, i. Whores, for that the worſhipping of them is called in the Prophets fornication and adultery, ought to be baniſhed, and eſpecially out of Churches, which is the moſt ſuſpected place, and where the ſpirituall fornication hath béen moſt committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtfull to the greateſt number, but in all Churches and Common-wealths the ignorant and weake are the greateſt number, to whom Images are hurtfull, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, that Images in Churches doe ſtirre up the minde to devotion, it may be anſwered, that contrariwiſe they doe rather diſtract the minde from praier, hearing of Gods Word, and other godly meditations, as we reade, that in the Councell chamber of the Lacedemonians no picture or Image was ſuffered, leſt in conſultation of weighty matters of the Common-weale, their mindes by the ſight of the outward Image might bée occaſioned to bée withdrawne, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this preſent time doth declare that thoſe parts of the Realme, which thinks and are perſwaded that G O D is not offended by doing outward reverence to an Image, doe moſt deſire the reſtitution of Images, and have béen moſt diligent to ſet them up againe: Reſtitution therefore of them by common authority ſhall confirme them more in their errour to the danger of their ſoules, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth:

Nihil magis eſt certum, quàm quod ex dubio factum eſt certum. That is to ſay: Nothing is more certaine or ſure, than that which of doubtfull is made certaine.

The profit of Images is uncertaine, the perill, by experience of all ages and ſtates of the Church (as afore) is moſt certaine.

The benefit to bée taken of them (if there bée any) is very ſmall; the danger in ſéeing of them, which is the danger of Idolatry, is the greateſt of all other. Now to allow a moſt certaine perill for an uncertaine profit, and the greateſt danger for the ſmalleſt benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting to God, and a grievous offence.

Probations out of the Fathers, Councels, and Hiſtories.

FIrſt, it is manifeſt, that in the Primitive Church Images were not commonly uſed in Churches, Oratories, and places of aſſembly for religion; but they were generally deteſted and abhorred, inſomuch that the want of Imagery was objected to the Chriſtians for a crime.

Origen reporteth, that Celſus objected the lacke of Images, lib. 4. contra Celſum.

Arnobius ſayth alſo, that the Ethnikes accuſed the Chriſtians that they had neither Altars nor Images.

Zephirus in his Commentary upon the Apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullians words; Qui locus perſuadendi frigeret penitus, niſi perpetuo illud teneamus: Chriſtianos tunc temporis odiſſe maximè ſtatuas cum ſuis ornamentis, &c. That is to ſay: Which place of perſwaſion were very cold, and to no purpoſe at all, except we hold this alwayes; That Chriſtians in thoſe dayes did hate moſt of all Images with their trimme decking and ornaments.

Ireneus lib. 1. cap. 24. reproveth the heretikes called Gnoſtici, for that they carried about the Image of Chriſt made in Pilates time after his owne proportion (which were much more to bée eſtéemed than any that can be made now) uſing alſo for declaration of their affection towards it, to ſet garlands upon the head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly; Non eſt dubium, quin religio nulla ſit, ubicunque ſimulachrum eſt: lib. Divin. inſtit. 2. cap. 19. That is to ſay; It is not to be doubted, that there is no religion whereſoever is any Image. If Chriſtians then had uſed Images, he would not have made his propoſition ſo large.

St. Auguſtine De Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 31. commendeth Varro the Roman in theſe words: Quum Varro exiſtimauerit caſtius ſine ſimulachris obſervari religionem, quis non videt, quantum appropinquaverit veritati? That is to ſay: When as Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without Images, who doth not ſée how néere he came to the truth? So that not only by M. Varroes judgement, but alſo by St. Auguſtines approbation, the moſt pure and chaſte obſervation of Religion, and néereſt the truth, is to be without Images.

The ſame S. Auguſtine in Pſal. 113. hath theſe words; Plus valent ſimulachra ad curuandam infoelicem animam, quàm ad docendam: That is to ſay; Images have more force to bowe downe and crooke the ſilly ſoule, than to teach it.

And upon the ſame Pſalme hée moveth this queſtion; Quiuis puer, imo quævis beſtia ſcit non eſſe Deum quod vident, cur ergo Spiritus ſanctus toties monet cavendum quod omnes ſciunt? That is to ſay: Every childe, yea every beaſt knoweth that it is not God which they ſée, why then doth the holy Ghoſt ſo oft give warning to beware of that thing which all doe know?

Saint Auguſtines anſwer.

Quoniam cum ponuntur in Templis, & ſemel incipiunt adorari à multitudine, ſtatim naſcitur ſordidiſſimus affectus erroris. That is to ſay; For when they are ſet in Churches, and begin once to be worſhipped of the multitude or common people, ſtraightway ſpringeth up a moſt filthy affection of errour.

This place of Saint Auguſtine doth well open how weake a reaſon it is to ſay, Images are a thing indifferent in Chambers and in Churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumſtances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawfull to buy and ſell in the Market, but not ſo in Churches. It is lawfull to eate and drinke, but not ſo in Churches. And therefore ſaith St. Paul, Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An Eccleſiam Dei contemnitis? That is to ſay: Have you not houſes to eate and drinke in? Doe you contemne the Church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawfull and honeſt in private places, which are neither comely nor honeſt, not onely in Churches, but alſo in other aſſemblies of honeſt people.

Tertullian ſaith, he uſed ſometimes to burne frankincenſe in his chamber, which was then uſed of Idolaters, and is yet in the Romiſh Churches, but he joyneth withall; Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud Idola, That is to ſay: But not after ſuch a rite or ceremony, nor after ſuch a faſhion, nor with ſuch preparation or ſumptuouſneſſe, as it is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and ſet in honorabili ſublimitate, that is to ſay, in an honourable place of eſtimation, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, and eſpecially over the Lords Table, which is done (uſing the words of Tertullian) eodem ritu, & eodem habitu, that is, after the ſame manner and faſhion which the Papiſts did uſe, eſpecially after ſo long continuance of abuſe of Images, and ſo many being blinded with ſuperſtitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a moſt certain ruine of many ſouls.

Epiphanius in his Epiſtle to John Biſhop of Jeruſalem (which Epiſtle was tranſlated out of the Greeke by S. Jerome, being a likelihood that Jerome miſliked not the doctrine of the ſame) doth write a fact of his owne, which doth moſt cleerely declare the judgement of that notable learned Biſhop concerning the uſe of Images, his words are theſe: Quum veniſſem ad villam quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidiſſemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, & interrogaſſem quis locus eſſet, didiciſſemque eſſe Eccleſiam, & intraſſem ut orarem: inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ tinctum atq; depictum, & habens imaginem quaſi Chriſti vel ſancti cujuſdam, non enim ſatis memini cujus fuit. Cum ergo hoc vidiſſem in Eccleſia Chriſti contra authoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, ſcidi illud, &c. Et paulo poſt. Et præcepi in Eccleſia Chriſti iſtiuſmodi vela quæ contra religionem noſtram veniunt non appendi, &c. That is to ſay: When I came to a village called Anablatha, and ſaw there as I paſſed by a candle burning, and enquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a Church, and had entered into the ſame to pray, I found there a vaile or cloth hanging at the doore of the ſame Church, dyed and painted, having on it the Image of Chriſt as it were, or of ſome Saint (for I remember not well whoſe it was.) Then when I ſaw this, that in the Church of Chriſt againſt the authority of the Scriptures the Image of a man did hang, I cut it in peeces, &c. And a little after. And commanded that ſuch manner of vailes or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the Church of Chriſt.

Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be obſerved.

Firſt, that by the judgement of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches is againſt the authority of the Scriptures, meaning againſt the ſecond commandement, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any graven Image, &c.

Secondly, that Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but alſo painted Images: forſomuch as he cut in peeces the Image painted in a vaile hanging at the Church doore; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lords Table?

Thirdly, that he ſpareth not the Image of Chriſt: for no doubt that Image is moſt perillous in the Church of all other.

Fourthly, that he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeale cut it in peeces, following the example of the good King Ezechias, who brake the braſen ſerpent, and burnt it to aſhes.

Laſt of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant Biſhops to be carefull, that no ſuch kinde of painted Images be permitted in the Church.

Serenus Biſhop of Maſſilia broke downe Images, and deſtroyed them when he did ſee them begin to be worſhipped, Greg. in regiſt. epiſt. 109.

Experience of the times ſince hath declared, whether of theſe two ſentences were better. For ſince Gregorius time the Images ſtanding in the Weſt Church, it hath been overflowed with Idolatry, notwithſtanding his or other mens doctrine: Whereas if Serenus judgement had univerſally taken place, no ſuch thing had happened. For if no Images had been ſuffered, none could have been worſhipped: and conſequently, no Idolatry committed by them.

¶ To recite the proceſſe of Hiſtories and Councels about the matter of Images; it would require a long diſcourſe, but it ſhall be ſufficient here briefly to touch a few.

It is manifeſt to them that reade Hiſtories, that not only Emperors, but alſo divers and ſundry Councels in the Eaſt Church have condemned and aboliſhed Images both by decrees and examples.

Petrus Crinitus de honeſta diſciplina, li. 9. ca. 9. ex libris Auguſtatibus hæc verba tranſcripſit. Valens & Theodoſius Auguſti Imperatores præfecto prætorio ad hunc modum ſcripſerint. Quum ſit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus ſuperni numinis religionem tueri: Signum Salvatoris Chriſti nemini quidem concedimus coloribus, lapide, aliave materia fingere, inſculpere, aut pingere, ſed quocunque reperitur loco tolli jubemus, graviſſima pœna eos mulctando qui contrarium decretis noſtris, & imperio quicquam tentaverint. That is to ſay, Petrus Crinitus in his booke of honeſt diſcipline, the 9. book, the 9. chap. wrote out of the Emperors bookes theſe words: Valens and Theodoſius the Emperors wrote to the high Marſhall or Lieutenant in this ſort. Whereas we are very carefull, that the religion of Almighty God ſhould be in all things kept, We permit no man to caſt, grave, or paint the Image of our Saviour Chriſt, either in colours, ſtone, or other matter; but whereſoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, puniſhing them moſt grievouſly that ſhall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and Empire.

Leo the third, a man commended in Hiſtories for his excellent vertues and godlineſſe, who (as is judged of ſome men) was the author of the Booke De re militari, that is, Of the feat of War, being tranſlated out of the Greek by ſir John Cheeke, and dedicated to King Henry the eighth, your Highneſſe father, by publike authority commanded aboliſhing of Images, and in Conſtantinople cauſed all the Images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto aſhes.

Conſtantine the firſt his ſon, aſſembled a Councell of the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church, in which Councell it was decreed, as followeth. It is not lawfull for them that beleeve in God thorow Jeſus Chriſt, to have any Images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures ſet up in Temples to be worſhipped, but rather that all Images by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of Churches. Which decree was executed in all places where any Images were, either in Greece or in Aſia. But in all theſe times, the Biſhops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing like Chriſtian Biſhops the perill of the Church, alwaies in their aſſemblies allowed Images.

Not long after, the Biſhop of Rome, practiſing with Tharaſius Patriach of Conſtantinople, obtained of Irene the Empreſſe, her ſonne Conſtantine being then young, that a Councell was called at Nice, in the which the Popes Legates were Preſidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that Councell it was decréed, that Images ſhould not onely bee permitted in Churches, but alſo worſhipped, which Councell was confuted by a book written by Carolus Magnus the Emperor, calling it a fooliſh and an arrogant Councell.

Soone after this Councell, aroſe a ſharpe contention betwéene Irene the Empreſſe, and her ſonne Conſtantine the ſixth, the Emperor, who deſtroyed Images. And in the end, as ſhe had before wickedly burned the bones of her father-in law, Conſtantine the fifth; ſo afterward unnaturally ſhe put out the eyes of her ſon Conſtantine the ſixth.

About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the Sunne was darkened moſt terribly for the ſpace of ſeventéene daies, God ſhewing, by that dreadfull ſigne, how much he miſliked thoſe kindes of procéedings.

To be ſhort, there was never thing that made more diviſion, or brought more miſchiefe into the Church, than the controverſie of Images: by reaſon whereof, not onely the Eaſt Church was divided from the Weſt, and never ſince perfectly reconciled, but alſo the Empire was cut aſunder and divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turkes to enter and overcome a great piece of Chriſtendome. The fault whereof moſt juſtly is to be aſcribed to the Patrones of Images, who could not bée contented with the example of the Primitive Church, being moſt ſimple and ſincere, and moſt agréeable to the Scripture: (For as Tertullian ſaith; Quod primum verum, quod poſterius adulterinum, That is to ſay: What as is firſt, that is true, and that that is later is counterfeit.) But with all extremitie maintained the uſe of Images in Churches, whereof no profit nor commoditie did ever grow to the Church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of ſoules have béen caſt into eternall damnation by the occaſion of Images uſed in place of religion, and no Hiſtory can record, that ever any one ſoule was wonne unto Chriſt by having of Images. But leſt it might appeare that the Weſt Church had alwaies generally retained and commended Images: It is to be noted, that in a Councell holden in Spaine, called Concilium Eliberinum, the uſe of Images in Churches was cléerely prohibited in theſe forme of words: Placuit in Eccleſiis picturas eſſe non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur. That is to ſay: We decree, that pictures ought not to be in Churches, leſt that be painted upon the wals, which is worſhipped or adored.

But this notwithſtanding experience hath declared, that neither aſſembling in Councells, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of lawes, preſcribing of puniſhments, hath holpen againſt Images, to the which Idolatry hath been committed, nor againſt Idolatry whileſt Images ſtood. For theſe blinde Bookes and dumbe Schoolemaſters (which they call Lay-mensbooks) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of Idolatry, than all other written bookes and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horrour of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your Highneſſe a few cauſes of many which doe move our conſciences in this matter, we beſeech your Highneſſe moſt humbly not to ſtraine us any further, but to conſider that Gods word doth threaten a terrible judgement unto us, if we, being Paſtors and Miniſters in his Church, ſhould aſſent unto the thing which in our learning and conſcience wee are perſwaded doth tend to the confirmation of errour, ſuperſtition, and Idolatry: and finally, to the ruine of the ſoules committed to our charge, for the which wée muſt give an account to the Prince of Paſtors at the laſt day, Hebrewes 1 . 1. Pet. 5. We pray your Majeſtie alſo not to be offended with this our plainneſſe and liberty, which all good and Chriſtian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly Biſhops.

Saint Ambroſe writing to Theodoſius the Emperor, uſeth theſe words; Sed neque imperiale eſt libertatem dicendi negare, neque ſacerdotale quod ſentiat non dicere. Item, in cauſa verò Dei quem audies, ſi ſacerdotem non audies cujus majore peccatur periculo? quis tibi verum audebit dicere, ſi ſacerdos non audeat? Epiſt. lib. 5. Epiſt. 29. That is to ſay: But neither is it the part of an Emperor to denie frée liberty of ſpeaking, nor yet the dutie of a Prieſt not to ſpeake what he thinketh. And againe; In Gods cauſe whom wilt thou heare, if thou wilt not heare the Prieſt, to whoſe great perill the fault ſhould bée committed? Who dare ſay the truth unto thee, if the Prieſt dare not? Theſe and ſuch like ſpéeches of S. Ambroſe, Theodoſius, and Valentinianus the Emperors did alwaies take in good part, and we doubt not but your Grace will doe the like, of whoſe not only clemencie, but alſo beneficence, we have largely taſted.

We beſéech your Majeſty alſo, in theſe and ſuch like controverſies of religion, to referre the diſcuſſement and deciding of them to a Synod of our Biſhops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Conſtantinus Maximus, and other Chriſtian Emperors, that the reaſons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtfull matters.

And to returne to this preſent matter, we moſt humbly beſéech your Majeſty to conſider, that beſides weighty cauſes in policie, which we leave to the wiſedome of your honourable Counſellors, the ſtabliſhment of Images by your authoritie ſhall not only utterly diſcredit our Miniſters, as builders up of the things which we have deſtroied, but alſo blemiſh the fame of your moſt godly father, and ſuch notable fathers as have given their life for the teſtimonie of Gods truth, who by publike law removed all Images.

The almighty and everliving God plentifully indue your Majeſty with his ſpirit and heavenly wiſedome, and long preſerve your moſt gracious reigne and proſperous government over us, to the advancement of his glorie, to the overthrow of ſuperſtition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highneſſe loving ſubjects.

A note of M. Ridley.

MAſter D. Ridley ſometime Biſh. of London of whom mention is made, was a man ſo reverenced for his learning and knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have bin an excellent Clerke, whoſe life if it might have bin redeemed with the ſumme of 10000. markes, yea, 10000. pounds, the Lord Dacres of the North, being his kinſman, would have given it to Q. Mary, rather than he ſhould have been burned. And yet was ſhe ſo unmerciful, for all his gentleneſſe in King Edw. dayes, that it would not bee granted for any ſute that could bee made. Oh, that ſhe had remembred his labour for her to K. Edw. the 6. with Cranmer before mentioned, in ſuch ſort that even ſhe had yeelded but the reward of a Publicane, Mat. 5. then had the earth not ſo been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our ſins which were the cauſe thereof, and grant that we never ſo provoke his anger againe, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen.

Reade before.

Another note of M. Ridley.

Maſter Ridley late Biſhop of London, being priſoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the ſame, to prove belike whether he would goe to Maſſe or no, which once he did. And M. Bradford being there priſoner alſo the ſame time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to perſwade him from the ſame, and ſheweth the occaſion that thereby ſhould enſue, which (God be honored) did M. Ridley no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himſelfe maketh mention, writing againe in the later end of the book of Marcus Antonius, which he ſent to M. Bradford, and never after that polluted himſelfe with that filthy dregs of Antichriſtian ſervice.

A Commiſſion ſent from the Pope, with the ſentence definitive to proceed againſt the reverend Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.

PAulus Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi, & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ Mariæ Reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ, illuſtribus ac venerabilibus fratribus Londinenſi & Elienſi Epiſcopis ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Dudum per literas veſtras chariſſime fili Philippe Rex, & Chriſtiana filia Maria Regina nobis ſignificatur, quod iniquitatis filius Thomas Cranmerus, olim Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſ, in hæreſes aliaq; tam grandia & enormia crimina erat prolapſus, quod non ſolum regimine Eccleſiæ Cantuarienſis ſe reddiderat indignum, verum etiam majori pœnæ ſe fecerat obnoxium. Nos de præmiſſis certam notitiam non habentes, & tanta crimina ſi vera eſſent, impunita, Eccleſiamq; ipſam ſine paſtore idoneo derelinquere nolentes, dilecto filio noſtro Iacobo, tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in via, tunc ſancti Simeonis, Presbytero Cardinali, de puteo nuncupato, vel de præmiſſis etiam ſummariè, ſimpliciter, & de plano ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii, ac ſine ulla terminorum ſubſtantialium vel telæ judiciariæ obſervatione, citato dicto Thoma ſe informaret, & quicquid inveniſſet nobis referret, per ſpecialem commiſſionem manu noſtra ſignatam, dedimus in mandatis, ſibi attribuentes poteſtatem in curia, & extra, citandi, & inhibendi, ac literas compulſoriales, generales & ſpeciales ac remiſſorales, in forma conſueta ad partes decernendi, & perſonas quaſcunque, ſi opus eſſe arbitrarer, ad exhibendum jura, ſive ad perhibendum teſtimonium, etiam per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas cogendi, & compellendi, ſeu, ſi pro celeriori expeditione ſibi videretur, ad recipiendum informationem hujuſmodi, aliquem probum virum in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutum in partibus iſtis commorantem cum ſimili citandi, inhibendi & cogendi facultate, deputandi, ac ſubdelegandi: ac ſicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte veſtra, fili Rex, & filia Regina petitio continebat, dictus Iacobus Cardinalis, commiſſionis hujuſmodi vigore, citatione ad partes contra eundem Thomam ad veſtram, fili Rex & filia Regina, inſtantiam decreta, venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Epiſcopum Gloueeſtrenſem, una cum certis aliis ejus in ea parte collegis, & eorum quemlibet in ſolidum ad informationem ſuper præmiſſis recipiendum ſubdelegavit, eiſq; vices ſuas in præmiſſis commiſit. Et poſtquam dictus Epiſcopus Glouceſtrenſis in cauſa hujuſmodi ad certos actus proceſſerat, & ipſum Thomam ſuper præmiſſis examinaverat, citatione prædicta, una cum ejus legitima executione in partibus facta, coram eodem Iacobo Cardinali judicialiter producta, & proceſſu per audientiam literarum noſtrarum contradictarum contra eundem Thomam citatum & non comparentem decreto, cum proceſſu coram dicto Epiſc. Glouceſtrenſi contra ipſum Thomam in partibus habito coram præfato Iacobo Cardinali productus fuiſſet, & idem Thomas, ad id citatus, contra eum nihil diceret, imo comparere non curaret, præfato Thoma ad videndum per ipſum Iacobum Cardinalem referri cauſam & referri juramentum in ſupplementum plenæ probationis quantum opus eſſet, & ad concludendum & audiendum ſententiam definitivam, ad certam tunc expreſſam diem, & horam per audientiam literarum contradictarum hujuſmodi citato, omnibus actis & actitatis cauſis hujuſmodi diligenter viſis & conſideratis, cauſam ipſam ac omnia in præmiſſis actitata nobis in conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto fideliter retulit: Qua relatione nobis ut præfertur facta, & cauſa ipſa cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, tunc in eodem conſiſtorio exiſtentibus, plenè diſcuſſa, & mature examinata, cum dilecti filii Petrus Rovilius, Clericus Ippotegienſis, ac Antonius Maſſa de Galleſio in dicta curia cauſarum, & veſtrum fili Rex & filia Regina procuratores, de quorum procurationis mandato in actis cauſæ hujuſmodi legitimis conſtare, dignoſcitur documentis, & Alexander Paleotarius, fiſci noſtri procurator pro ejus jure & intereſſe, & ipſius Thomæ citati & non comparentis contumaciam in cauſa hujuſmodi concludi & definitivè pronunciari petiiſſent, nos pro tribunali, in Throno juſtitiæ, more Romanorum Pontificum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum ſedentes, in cauſa hujuſmodi concluſimus, & noſtram deſuper in ſcriptis, quam per ſecretarium noſtrum legi & publicari mandavimus, & quam ipſe de verbo ad verbum legit & publicavit, definitivam tulimus & promulgavimus ſententiam, ſub hujuſmodi tenore.

Nos Paulus, divina providentia Papa quartus, ſalvatoris & Domini noſtri Ieſus Chriſti, cujus vices (licet immerito) in terris gerimus, nomine invocato, in throno juſtitiæ pro tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum, qui juſtus eſt Dominus, & in juſtitia judicat orbem terræ, pro oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram definitivam, quam de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium conſilio ferimus in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis quæ coram dilecto filio noſtro Iacobo tituli ſanctæ Mariæ in via, presbytero Cardinali, de puteo nuncupato, nobis in conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto (ut moris eſt) referenda inter chariſſimos in Chriſto filios noſtros Philippum Regem & Mariam Reginam Angliæ illuſtres denunciatores ex una, & quendam Thomam Cranmerum olim Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem reum & denunciatum de & ſuper crimine hæreſis & aliis exceſſibus cenſuriſque & pœnis propter crimen & exceſſus hujuſmodi per dictum Thomam reum denunciatum ac confeſſum & convictum incurſis, rebuſq; aliis in actis cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi latius deductis ex altera parte in prima inſtantia vigore ſpecialis commiſſionis noſtræ verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus dictum Thomam tunc Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum, animæ ſuæ ſalutis immemorem, contra regulas & dogmata Eccleſiaſtica ſanctorum patrum nec non Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ & ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones Chriſtianæq; religionis hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus, præſertim de corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti & ſacri ordinis ſacramentis aliter quam ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſervat ſentiendo & docendo, & ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ & ſummi pontificis primatum & authoritatem negando, nec non contra proceſſus qui ſingulis annis per prædeceſſores noſtros in die cœnæ domini more ſolito celebrati fuerunt, prout & nos dante Domino in futurum celebrare intendimus, in quibus proceſſibus per Romanos Pontifices prædeceſſores præfatos ad retinendam puritatem religionis chriſtianæ

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& ipſius unitatem, quæ in conjunctione membrorum ad unum caput Chriſtum videlicet ejuſque vicarium principaliter & ſanctam fidelium ſocietatem ab offenſione ſervanda conſiſtit, inter alia Wicleſiſtæ & Lutherani & omnes alii hæretici damnati & anathematizati fuerunt etiam abjuratam olim per Berengarium Andagavenſem Eccleſiæ Diaconum hæreſim innovando, & tam illam quam etiam per damnatæ memoriæ Iohannem Wiclef, & Martinum Lutherum hæreſiarchas, alias propoſita & damnata falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo & ſequendo & deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimi faciendo, impreſſoſque publicando, in illiſque ſcripta etiam in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac etiam coram ſubdelegato noſtro in reſponſionibus ad poſitiones ſibi factas pertinaciter aſſeverando, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione hujuſmodi permanendo, excommunicationis & anathematis necnon privationis Archiepiſcop. Cantuar. prædicti, aliorumque beneficiorum & officiorum Eccleſiaſticorum ſi quæ obtinet, & annuarium penſionum ſi quas ſuper beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis aſſignatas habet, juriumque actionum & privilegiorum quorumcunque bonorum quoque & ſeniorum Eccleſiaſticorum patrimonialium & ſecularium nec non inhabitatis ad quoſcunque dignitatis & beneficia, & alias contra tales perſonas tam de jure communi quam per literas proceſſuum prædictorum ſtatutas pœnas non ſolum tanquam credentem hæreticis prædictis & illorum ſequacem, ſed etiam tanquam hæreſiarcham notorium damnabiliter incidiſſe & incurriſſe, proptereaque ipſum Thomam excommunicatum anathematizatum, & Archiepiſcopatu Cantuarienſi aliiſque prælaturis, dignitatibus, officiis & beneficiis, nec non penſionibus, juribus, privilegiis, bonis & feudis prædictis privatum, & ad illa ac alia quæcunque inhabilem, Curiæ ſeculari tradendum, bonaque ejus per eos ad quos ſpectat confiſcanda fore & eſſe prout eum tradi & ejus bona confiſcari mandamus & concedimus, omnes quoque & quaſcunque perſonas Thomæ præfato ratione dicti Archiepiſc. Cantuarienſ. & aliarum prælaturarum ſi quas obtinuit & obtinet olim ſubjectas, à quibuſcunque fidelitatis & obedientiæ juramentis ei præſtitis abſolvendas & liberandas fore & eſſe prout abſolvimus & liberamus, ac juramenta hujuſmodi relaxamus, necnon ſupèr omnibus & ſingulis prædictis eidem Thomæ perpetuum ſilentium imponimus ſupplentes omnes & ſingulos tam juris quam facti defectus, ſi qui forſan in proceſſu cauſæ hujuſmodi intervenerint ita pronunciavimus. Cum autem à dicta ſententia utpore in cauſa hæreſis & per nos de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio lata appellari non potuerit, & dicti Petrus & Antonius & Alexander procuratores citato per audientiam literarum hujuſmodi coram nobis præfato Thoma ad videndum decerni literas executoriales ad aliquem prælatum qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciat eumque curiæ ſeculari tradat in partibus deputari in contumaciam dicti Thomæ ut præfertur citati & non comparentis literas executoriales decerni ac aliquos prælatos qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciant & eum curiæ ſeculari tradant in iſtis partibus deputari per nos multa cum inſtantia poſtulaverint: nos hujuſmodi juſtis poſtulationibus annuentes literas executoriales prædictas Apoſtolica autoritate decrevimus, ac vos fratres Epiſcopi qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciatis, & ea facta eum curiæ ſeculari præmiſſa tamen in ipſo actu traditionis inceſſione ad judicem ſecularem pro hujuſmodi tradendis per Eccleſiam ſolita fieri tradatis autoritate, & tenore prædictis deputavimus. Quapropter vos omnes & ſingulos ſupradictos quibus præſentes noſtræ literæ diriguntur rogamus, & vobis fratres Epiſcopi per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, & in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ & ſub ſuſpenſionis à divinis & interdicti ingreſſus Eccleſiæ ſententiis diſtrictius injungimus ut ad ulteriorem executionem ſententiæ noſtræ prædictæ procedatis. Et vos fili Rex & filia Regina, bona ipſius confiſcetis ſeu per eos ad quos ſpectat confiſcari, & ipſum Thomam poſtquam curiæ ſeculari juxta tenorem præſentium traditus fuerit, id quod juris fuerit, fieri mandetis & faciatis. Vos vero fratres Epiſcopi, vel alter veſtrum, ita quod alter pro altero ſe non excuſet, ſed hæc omnia in ſolidum ſub ſententiis prædictis exequamini, nec contra ea excuſationem aut exceptionem apponere valeatis autoritate noſtra, ceremoniis in ſimilibus ſervari ſolitis plenè obſervatis, actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciatis, eumque poſtea curiæ ſeculari modo ut præfertur tradatis, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione poſtpoſita compeſcendo non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis contrariis quibuſcunque, aut ſi aliquibus communiter vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint per literas Apoſtolicas, non facientes plenam & expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulta hujuſmodi mentionem, Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini, Milleſimo, Quingenteſimo, Quinquageſimo, Quinto. Decimo nono Calendas Ianuarii, Pontificatus Noſtri anno primo.

I. Bareng.

The forme of degrading an Archbiſhop.

INprimis, in publico extra eccleſiam paretur aliquis eminens locus congruens ſpacii, pro degradatione fienda.

Item, ſupra eundem ordinetur una credentia ſimplici tobalea cooperta.

Item, ſupra eandem credentiam ponantur ampulla vini & ampulla aquæ.

Item, liber Evangeliorum, liber Epiſtolarum, liber Exorciſmorum, liber Lectionum, Antiphonarium.

Item, Bacile cum baculo & Mantili.

Item, unum candelabrum cum candela extincta.

Item, claves, forfices, cultellus ſeu petia vitri.

Item, calix cum patina.

Paramenta pro Degradando.

SVperpellicium, Sandalia cum caligis, amictis, alba, cingulum, Manipulus, Tunicella, Stola, Dalmatica, Chirothecæ, alia ſtola Planeta, Mitra, Annulus pontificialis, Pallium, Baculus paſtoralis, & aliqua veſtis habitus ſecularis.

Pro Degradatore & Officialibus.

ITem, paretur faldiſtorium pro pontifice degradatore.

Item, Sedilia pro Officialibus.

Item, Adſint Miniſtri pontificis.

Item, Iudex ſecularis, cui degradatus committatur.

Item, Notarius qui proceſſum degradationis legat, ſi opus erit, vel Epiſcopo degradatori placuerit.

Item, Barbitonſor.

Item, Hora convenienti degradandus, habitu ſuo quotidiano indutus ſuper dictum locum adducatur, & à clericis induantur omnibus paramentis ſui ordinis.

Item, Eo ſic induto, pontifex degradator indutus amictu, alba, cingulo, ſtola, & pluviali rubeis, ac mitra ſimplici, baculum paſtoralem in ſiniſtra manu tenens aſcendet ad locum prædictum, & ibidem ſedebit in faldiſtorio, in convenienti loco ſibi parato verſus ad populum, aſtante ſibi judice ſeculari.

Tunc degradandus omnibus ſui ordinis veſtibus ſacris indutus, & ſingulis ornamentis ornatus, habens in manibus ornamentum ad ordinem ſuum ſpectans, ac ſi deberet in ſuo officio miniſtrare, adducitur ante Pontificem, coram quo genu flectit.

Tunc Pontifex degradator (ſedens ut ſupra) populo in vulgari notificat degradationis hujuſmodi cauſam.

Deinde contra degradandum ſententiam fert in hæc verba, ſi hujuſmodi ſententia lata non ſit.

IN nomine patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. Quia nos N. Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus, &c.

Degradation from the order of Archb.

Degradatio ab ordine Archiepiſcopali.

Primo, pallium degradator aufert à degradando, dicendo.

PRærogativa pontificalis dignitatis quæ in pallio deſignatur te eximimus, quia male uſus es ea.

Secundo, mitram aufert à degradando, dicendo.

Mitra pontificalis dignitatis, videlicet ornatu, quia eam malè præſidendo fœdaſti, tuum caput denudamus.

Tertio, librum Evangeliorum à degradandi manibus aufert, dicendo.

Redde Evangelium, quia prædicandi officio, quo ſpreto Dei gratia te indignum feciſti, te juſtè privamus.

Quarto, annulū aufert de digito degradandi, dicendo.

Annulum, fidei ſcilicet ſignaculum, tibi digne ſubtrahimus, quia ipſam ſponſam Dei Eccleſiam temere violaſti.

Quinto, baculo paſtorali per unum de miniſtris in manus degradandi tradito, illum aufert degradator, dicendo.

Auferimus à te baculum paſtoralem, ut perinde correctionis officium quod turbaſti non valeas exercere.

Sexto, chirothecis per miniſtros extractis degradator ab radit degradando pollices & manus leniter cum cultello aut vitro, dicendo.

Sic ſpiritualis benedictionis, delibutionis myſticæ gratia, quantum in nobis eſt te privamus, ut ſanctificandi & benedicendi perdas officium & effectum.

Septimo, caput degradandi cum eodem aut vitro abradit degradator, leniter dicendo.

Conſecrationem & benedictionem ac unctionem tibi traditam radendo delemus, & te ab ordine pontificali, quo inhabilis es redditus, abdicamus.

Tum degradando per miniſtros extrahuntur ſandalia.

Degradation from the order of prieſthood.

Degradatio ab ordine Preſbyteratus.

Calice cum vino & aqua & patina & hoſtia, per miniſtros in manus degradandi traditis, Conſecrator aufert poteſtatem celebrandi, dicens.

AMovemus à te, quin potius amota eſſe oſtendimus, poteſtatem offerendi Deo ſacrificium, Miſſamque celebrandi, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.

Pollices & manus abraduntur ſub hac forma.

Poteſtatem ſacrificandi & benedicendi quam in unctione manuum & pollicum recepiſti, tibi tollimus hac raſura.

Caſulam ſivè planetam per poſteriorem partem captivi accipit degradator, & degradandum exuit, dicens.

Veſte ſacerdotali charitatem ſignante te meritò expoliamus, quia ipſam & omnem innocentiam exuiſti.

Quarto, ſtolam aufert, dicens.

Signum Domini per hanc ſtolam ſignatum turpiter abjeciſti: ideoque ipſam à te amovemus, quem inhabilem reddimus ad omne ſacerdotale officium exercendum.

Degradation from the order of Deaconſhip.

Degradatio ab ordine diaconatus.

1. Libro Evangeliorum degradando in manus per miniſtros tradito, degradator aufert librū, dicens.

AMovemus à te poteſtatem legendi Evangelium in Eccleſia Dei, quia id non competit niſi dignis.

2. Dalmaticum aufert dicens.

Levitico ordine te privamus, quia tuum in eo miniſterium non impleviſti.

3. Stolam auferens de humeris degradandi degradator projicit eam poſt tergum, dicens.

Stolam candidam, quam acceperas immaculatam in conſpectu Domini perferendam, quia non ſic cognito myſterio exemplum converſationis tuæ fidelibus præbuiſti, ut plebs dicata Chriſti nomini poſſit exinde imitationem acquirere, juſte à te amovemus, omne Diaconatus officium tibi prohibentes.

Degradation from the order of a Subdeacon.

Degradatio ab ordine Subdiaconatus.

1. Epiſtolarum libro degradando in manum tradito, degradator eundem aufert, dicens.

AVferimus tibi poteſtatem legendi epiſtolam in Eccleſia Dei, quia hoc miniſterio indignus es redditus.

2. Tunicella aufertur, dicendo.

Tunica ſubdiaconali te exuimus, cujus cor & corpus timor domini caſtus & ſanctus in æternum permanens non conſtrinxit.

3. Manipulum aufert, dicendo.

Depone manipulum, quia per fructus bonorum operum quos deſignat, non expugnaſti ſpiritualis inſidias inimici.

4 Amictus aufertur ſub hac forma.

Quia vocem tuam non caſtigaſti, ideo amictum à te auferimus.

5. Vrceolis cum vino & aqua & bacili cū manu-tergio degradando traditis, ea aufert archidiacon.

Et nihil dicit.

6. Calicem vacuum cum patina traditum in manus degradandi, aufert degradator, dicendo,

Poteſtatem introeundi ſacrarium, tangendi pallas, vaſa & alia indumenta ſacra, omneque ſubdiaconatus miniſterium exercendi à te amovemus.

Cingulum album & amictum exuunt miniſtri.

Degradation from the order of Benet and Collet.

Degradatio ab ordine Acolytatus.

Vrceolum vacuum in manus degradando traditum, aufert degradator, dicens.

IMmunde, vinum & aquam ad Euchariſtiam de cætero non miniſtres.

Candelabrum cum cereo extincto degradator accipit de manibus degradandi, dicens.

Dimitte perferendi viſibile lumen officium, qui præbere ſpirituale moribus neglexiſti, ac univerſum Accolytatus officium hic depone.

Degradation from the order of exorciſing.

Degradatio ab ordine Exorciſtatus.

Librum exorciſmorum aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens.

PRivamus te poteſtate imponendi manum ſuper energumenos, & dæmones de obſeſſis corporibus expellendi, omni tibi exorciſtatus officio interdicto.

Degradation from the order of Readerſhip.

Degradatio ab ordine Lectoratus.

Librum Lectionum aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens.

IN Eccleſia Dei non legas ulterius, neq; cantes, neq; panes aut fructus novos ullatenus benedicas, quia tuum officium non impleviſti fideliter & devotè.

Degradation from the order of Doorekeeperſhip or Sextonſhip.

Degradatio ab ordine Hoſtiariatus.

Claves Eccleſiæ aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens.

QVia in clavibus erraſti, claves dimitte, & quia hoſtia cordis tui male dæmonibus obſeraſti, amovemus à te officium hoſtiarii, ut non percutias cymbalum, non aperias Eccleſiam, non ſacrarium, non librum amplius prædicanti.

Degradatio à prima tonſura.

Superpellicium degradando extrahit Pontifex degradator, dicens.

AVtoritate Dei omnipotentis, patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, ac qua fungimur in hac parte, tibi auferimus habitum clericalem, & nudamus te religionis ornatu, atque deponimus, degradamus, ſpoliamus & exuimus omni ordine, beneficio, & privilegio clericali, & velut clericali profeſſione indignum redigimus te in ſervitutem “ & ignominiam habitus ſecularis ac ſtatus.

“ **The ſecular ſtate ignominious, and diſdained with the proud Clergy.**

Eum forficibus tondere incipiat Pontifex degradator, & per Barbitonſorem ibidem præſentem totaliter tonderi faciat caput degradandi, dicens.

Te velut ingratum filium à ſorte Domini ad quam vocatus fueras abjicimus, & coronam tui capitis regale quidem ſignum ſacerdotii de tuo capite amovemus propter tui regiminis pravitatem.

Deinde ſi velit Pontifex, dicat.

Quod ore cantaſti, corde non credidiſti, nec opere impleviſti, ideo cantandi officium in Eccleſia Dei à te amovemus.

Tum Miniſtri pontificis exuunt degradatum veſte, & habitu clericali, & ipſum induunt habitu ſeculari.

Si degradatus tradi debeat curiæ ſeculari.

Pontifex degradator degradatum amplius non tangit, ſed in hunc modum pronunciat, dicens.

Denunciamus ut hunc exutum omni ordine ac privilegio clericali, curia ſecularis in ſuum forum recipiat.

Rogat judicem ſecularem ut citra mortis periculum, &c.

Domine judex, rogamus vos cum omni effectu quo poſſumus, ut amore Dei, pietatis & miſericordiæ intuitu, & noſtrorum interventu precaminum miſerrimo huic nullum mortis vel mutilationis periculum inferas.

A note concerning Doctor Cranmer in his Diſputation.

THat day wherein Doctor Cranmer late Biſhop of Canterbury anſwered in the Divinity Schoole at Oxford, there was alledged unto him by Doctor Weſton, that he the ſaid Cranmer in his booke of the ſacrament falſly falſified the ſaying of the Doctors, and ſpecially the ſaying of Saint Hilarie in theſe words, Vero for Vere, ſhewing a print or two thereof, to have defaced his doings therein: but Doctor Cranmer with a grave and fatherly ſobriety anſwered, that the print of S. Hilaries workes, whereout he took his notes, was verbatim according to his book, and that could his bookes teſtifie if they were there to be ſeen. Saying further, that he ſuppoſed D. Smith in that order rehearſed it in his book of the ſacrament, to the which D. Smith there preſent (though he were demanded the anſwer thereof) ſtood in ſilence, As Canis mutus non valens latrare. But by and by D. Weſton without ſhame, to ſhadow D. Smiths ſilence, ſpitefully ſaid to Cranmer; belike you took your learning out of Maſter D. Smiths book.

All this already is teſtified before.

IT chanced at that preſent to be in the Schoole one William Holcot Gentleman then a ſojourner in the Univerſity Colledge; he hearing the ſame untruth, and remembring that he had amongſt his bookes in his ſtudy the ſaid booke of Doctor Smith, at his returne to his ſaid ſtudy, deſirous to ſee the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Doctor Cranmer. And the ſaid Holcot, then and there better remembring himſelfe, found amongſt his bookes the booke of Stephen Gardiner, intituled the devils Sophiſtrie. In which booke was the ſaid ſaying of Saint Hilarie alledged by the ſaid Stephen verbatim, both in Latine and Engliſh according to Doctor Cranmers confirmation. Then the ſaid William Holcot intending (for the manifeſt opening and triall of the truth therein) to have delivered the ſaid Gardiners booke to Doctor Cranmer, brought it to Bocardo the priſon of Oxford, where Doctor Cranmer then remained; but there in the delivery thereof he was apprehended by the Bailiffes & by them brought before Doctor Weſton and his Collegues then at dinner at Corpus Chriſti Colledge, who ſtraight wayes laid Treaſon to the charge of the ſaid William Holcot, for the maintenance of Cranmer in his naughtineſſe (as they called it) and ſo upon ſtrait examination, to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the ſaid Gardiners booke, committed him to the ſaid priſon of Bocardo, where he ſojourned and ſlept in the ſtraw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Doctor Cole yet alive, then Deane of Pauls, and Doctor Jeffrey, two of them then Viſitours, further examined the ſaid Holcot of that his doings; threatning him to lay treaſon to his charge, and ſo to ſend him for the triall thereof to the then Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him preſently to ſubſcribe to the Articles then in queſtion, but he refuſed, deſiring reſpite untill the lawes of the realme had determined the ſame. And ſo was he againe committed to the ſaid priſon. And after three daies Doctor Weſton and the reſidue of the Viſitors ſolemnely in Saint Maries Church pronouncing ſentence againſt the late Biſhops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Lattimer; amongſt other called there before them the ſaid Holcot, willing him to ſubſcribe to their three Articles. He demanding them then theſe demands, firſt, whether they thought in their Conſciences that the Articles, whereunto they willed him to ſubſcribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the religion then they went about to plant were the true Religion of Chriſt: they anſwered all with one voice, Yea, yea. Then asked he them whether they thought themſelves able to anſwer, and would anſwer before GOD for him if he ſubſcribed thereunto as they willed him: And they likewiſe anſwered, Yea, yea. And ſo hee the ſaid Holcot

cot through feare and frailtie of the fleſh (as Neophitus) upon their threates ſubſcribed. Then they with many faire flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have againe his booke brought to Bocardo, leſt (as it ſeemed) he ſhould ſhew it to their ſhame. And they privily willed the Maſter and the fellowes of the ſaid Univerſitie Colledge to ſee the ſaid William Holcot forth comming: And if they within a fortnight after did not heare from the then Lord Chancellor what ſhould be done with him, that then they at the fortnights end ſhould expell him out of the ſaid Colledge, which they would have done, if the then Vicechancellour had not willed them to the contrary. Which Holcot, though then an Apoſtata, is yet now a penitent Preacher.

An Epiſtle of Biſhop Hooper in Latin, ſent to the Convocation houſe touching matters of Religion.

Epiſcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & cæteris Cleri ordinibus in Synodo Londinenſi congregatis, gratiam & pacem a Domino.

NOn vos latet (Viri doctiſſimi) in rebus arduis, ambiguis, & cauſis difficilioribus, judicium apud veteres (juxta mandatum Dei) delatum fuiſſe ſemper ad Sacerdotes, Levitas, & ad præſidem, qui pro tempore judicis munere fungebatur; ut omnes hi cauſas & lites difficiliores explicarent, ex præſcripto Legis Dei. Ita qualeſcunque controverſiæ fuerunt; ex ſententia Sacerdotum & præſidis, ad normam & præſcriptum Legis Dei latæ, componebantur. Et ab eo quod judices partibus litigantibus ſtatuiſſent, nullo modo erat declinandum. Quod ſi quis contumacius ſacerdoti aut præſidi non paruiſſet, juxta legem Dei ſententiam pronuncianti, pœnas contumaciæ morte luebat, quo populus, hac ultione & contumaciæ vindicta admonitus, metueret, & deinceps inſoleſcere deſiſteret. Quàm difficiles, imo quàm periculoſæ, inter nos & vos, de re Euchariſtica lites agantur, veſtræ conciones, ſcripta, & libelli teſtantur: nos vero qui meliorem, veriorem, & antiquiſſimam fidem ſuſtinemus, confiſcatione omnium bonorum noſtrorum, dura & inhumana carceris ſervitute ſentimus. Quare mei ipſius nomine, ac omnium fratrum qui mecum eandem Catholicæ ac ſanctæ religionis veritatem profitentur, vos omnes in Chriſto Ieſu obteſtor, ut cauſam hanc, vel aliquam quamcunque ob religionem ortam inter nos & vos, deferre dignemini ad ſupremam Curiam Parliamenti; ut ibi utraque pars coram ſacro & excelſo ſenatu ſeſe religioſe, & animo ſubmiſſo, judicio & autoritati verbi Dei ſubjiciat. Et ſi veſtram religionem, quam ſanctam, orthodoxam, ac catholicam eſſe contenditis, ex verbo Dei aſſerere poteſtis, illam & nos libenter amplexabimur, noſtram, quam modo pro ſacroſancta defendimus, repudiantes: Gratias item Deo & vobis agentes quam maximas, quod per vos ab erroribus liberati, ad veritatis cognitionem revocemur, Non ſolum autem hoc à vobis obteſtamur, ut vos veſtramque cauſam judicio verbi Dei coram ſummo parliamento deferatis; verum etiam ut nobis commodum detur tempus, quo veterum ſcripta & ſacras literas evolvamus, à ſancto ſenatu impetrare dignemini. Et ſi ibi juſtas ac legitimas rationes fidei noſtræ non reddiderimus, judicio magiſtratus nos ipſos ſubmittimus, ut debitam ultionem noſtri ſceleris & impietatis nobis infligat. Si hæc facere non recuſaveritis, religio quam caſtam, illibatam, et ſalvam, ac ab omnibus amplectendam eſſe contenditis, glorioſius de veſtra fide & religione, ac de nobis ipſis (qui illam impiam eſſe & falſam conteſtamur) victoriam reportabit. Nam ſi veſtra religio & cultus in cauſa Euchariſtiæ fontem & originem ducunt ex verbo Dei; procul dubio ſanctam, & ſempiternam eſſe oportet. Et ſcitis quod res ſancta & vera quo magis examinatur, et per verbum Dei exploratur, eo fit illuſtrior & purior. Et quanto purior et illuſtrior fit, tanto magis ab omnibus deſideratur, & obuiis ulnis excipitur. Quis enim non deſideraret & amplecteretur religionem & cultum à Deo mandatum, & ab illius verbo ſancitum ac confirmatum? Quare ſi veſtra religio & cultus dei res ſit adeo vera, ſancta, & à Deo mundo exhibita; non eſt quod ei metuatis. Nam quod variis modis tentatur ac probatur, modò pium ac ſanctum fuerit, jacturam ab hoſtibus nullam ſentit, ſed potius hoſtes conculcat ac interficit. Solis radii ſterquiliniorum ſordibus non coinquinantur; veritaſque divini verbi errorum tenebris & caligine non offunditur. Nec eſt quod vobis ipſis metuatis; modo re ipſa id præſtetis, quod ubique jactatis. Nam quotquot veſtras partes non ſequuntur, aliquo graviſſimo ignominiæ genere nimis ſuperbè afficitis: nos omnes omnino indoctos eſſe prædicatis, aut planè dementatos affirmatis. Vobis autem pluſquam divinam vendicatis prudentiam; nobis vero pluſquam belluinam ſtoliditatem tribuitis. Iam quam facile erit doctis indoctos, hominibus ſanæ mentis inſania percitos, ingenio & prudentia flagrantibus ſtolidos & ignaros vincere; ſacer Parliamenti conventus nullo negotio intelliget. Ideo, ſi omninò ob Chriſtum & illius cauſæ gloriam quam nos defendimus, aut ob ſalutem noſtram, ut veſtra prudentia nos ſtultitiæ arguamur, veſtraque doctrina & eruditione nos ignorantiæ accuſemur, hoc facere non vultis; tamen, ut publicè impietatis convincamur coram ſummo ſenatu, hoc præſtate. Et ſi iſtis rationibus nihil moveamini; tamen veſtra ipſorum cauſa certè poſtulat, ut palam eæ lites inter nos componantur, idque coram competenti judice; ne apud omnes pios male audiat, & fortaſſis hac ſuſpicione laboret, quaſi lucem & publicum examen fugiat, ne impietatis, & idololatriæ per verbum Dei deprehendatur. Et vos qui malam cauſam, imo peſſimam, ferro & igne defenditis, non tam docti nec pii, ut omnino videri & haberi vultis, inveniamini: ſed potius ignorantiæ & ſtultitiæ, quas nobis impingitis, redarguamini. Non vos fugit quomodo publice, palam, & in facie ac in præſentia omnium ſtatuum hujus regni, in ſumma curia Parliamenti, veritas verbi Dei per fidos, doctos, & pios miniſtros de veſtra impia miſſa glorioſe victoriam reportavit: quamvis per trecentos annos non ſolum locum & templum Dei occupaverit, verum etiam corda hominum (tanquam Deus) inhabitaverit. Sed quocunque titulo, nomine, honore, reverentia, ſanctitate, tempore, patronis, univerſalitate ſplenduit, ubi per ſanctiſſimum Regem Edovardum ſextum ſanctiſſimæ memoriæ ad vivum lapidem lydium verbi Dei examinari per proceres, heroes, ac doctos hujus regni erat mandatum; ſtatim evanuit, & nihil aliud apparuit, quam ſpurciſſimum & immundiſſimum idolum ſub pallio & nomine Dei impie contectum. Aequa & juſta petimus, ut palam & publice lites inter nos componantur. Si igitur veſtræ cauſæ & vobis ipſis non diffidatis, una nobiſcum apud ſanctum Senatum agere dignemini, ut coram illo, authoritate verbi Dei, quis noſtrum veriorem partem defenderit, dignoſcatur. Nullis enim legibus ſanctis & juſtis unquam fuit permiſſum, ut una pars litigans de altera parte judex conſtitueretur. Nam in omnibus controverſiis et cauſis difficilioribus (maxime in Religione) medius aliquis, & neutra litigantium pars in judicem eligenda eſt. Nec Chriſtus ipſe (quamvis ipſa veritas) æterni Patris Filius, hanc poteſtatem & imperium judicandi ſibi vendicavit: quandocunque lites de ejus doctrina, inter illum & Phariſæos, vel quoſcunque alios contigerunt. Sed ſemper ad legem appellavit, adverſarioſque ſuos ut legis præſcripto & ſententiæ ſtarent, rogavit; ſcrutamini (inquiens) Scripturas. Nos etiam à vobis nihil aliud in nomine Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſupplices petimus & rogamus, niſi ut cauſa de qua inter nos litigatur, ſententia & authoritate Verbi Dei decidatur ac finiatur. Et ſi per Verbum Dei fidem noſtram parum candidam & piam oſtendere valetis; porrigemus vobis herbam, dabimuſque dextras. Nec in impios Arrianos pii & ſancti Patres, hanc judicandi poteſtatem ſibi aſſumpſerunt; ſed adfuit diſputationi pius Princeps Conſtantinus Imperator, qui rationes partium litigantium diligenter perpendit, & ſententiam atque judicium cauſæ ſoli authoritati Verbi Dei detulit. Quid hoc eſt igitur? quo jure contenditis? vultis & noſtri & cauſæ noſtræ teſtes, accuſatores, & judices eſſe? nos tantum Legem & Evangelium Dei, in cauſa religionis, judicem competentem agnoſcimus; illius judicio ſtet vel cadat noſtra cauſa. Tantum (iterum atque iterùm) petimus, ut coram competenti judice detur nobis, qui vincula & carceres ſuſtinemus, amicum Chriſtianumque auditorium: atque haud dubitamus, quin noſtras rationes, & argumenta authoritate Verbi divini ſumus ſtabilituri, ac veſtra planè ſubverſuri. Hactenus præjudicio injuſtè gravamur; nec mirum, cum una pars litigantium judex alterius partis conſtituatur. Quapropter ad Verbum Dei, tanquam unicum & ſolum competentem, in cauſa religionis, judicem appellamus. Si præter & contra hanc legem Dei, falſa & impia (ut cœpiſtis) vi & dolo promovere non deſiſtetis; ſed fratres veſtros truculenter perſequendo pergetis; nos in tantis periculis conſtituti ad miſericordiam Dei confugiemus, qui ſolus & poſſit & velit nos à veſtris erroribus incolumes & ſalvos conſervare. Præterea, ut olim aliqui ex nobis, pro ſalute & incolumitate aliquot veſtrum, apud Magiſtratum civilem interceſſimus; ſic & nunc pro omnium veſtrum ſalute in Chriſto Ieſu apud Patrem cœleſtem intercedere non deſiſtemus, ut tandem ad meliorem & ſinceriorem mentem reverſi unicum Chriſtum Ieſum quem præcinuerunt Prophetæ, prædicaverunt Apoſtoli, quemque omnes pii agnoſcunt jam ([illegible] ad humanitatem) ſedentem ad dextram Pa[illegible] cœlis amplectamini, & exoſculemini; repudiato conficto & ementito illo Chriſto, ex pane confecto, quem non ſolum juvenes, virgines, & ſenes, verum etiam oves & boves, pecoraque campi, volucres cœli, & piſces maris panem agnoſcunt ac ſentiunt, & non Deum. Deſiſtite, rogamus, igitur enixe ulterius oculos piorum perſtringere. Verus enim Chriſtus, quatenus homo, jam amplius ſurſum ac deorſum per manus Sacerdotum agitari & immolari non poteſt. Infernum vicit, peccata veſtra in Cruce perlitavit, mortem deſtruxit, & jam aſtra tenet; quem olim videbitis venientem in nubibus cœli cum poteſtate magna & gloria, ſempiterniſque pœnis vos plangetis, niſi hic pœnitentiam falſæ & impiæ veſtræ doctrinæ egeritis. Si Deus autem, pro ſua inexhauſta bonitate & clementia, per Verbum ſuum lites iſtas inter nos componi dignetur; non dubito quin oculos veſtros ita ſit aperturus, ut quàm horribiliter & impiè Dei ac hominum teſtimonio & ſcriptis vos abuti videatis. Sed ſi furioſo & excandeſcenti ſpiritu veſtras partes, citra authoritatem Verbi Dei, defendere velitis; actum eſt omnino de veſtra æterna ſalute, quod Dominus propter Filium ſuum unicum avertat. Cogitate etiam apud vos ipſos an hoc ſit piorum Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ officium, vi, metu, & pavore corda hominum in veſtras partes compellere? Profectò Chriſtus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non confiſcationem bonorum, non regineæ majeſtatis terrorem, media organa conſtituit, quibus veritas ſui verbi mundo promulgaretur: ſed miti ac diligenti prædicatione Evangelii ſui mundum ab errore & idololatria converti præcepit. Vos non Chriſti ſed Antichriſti armis utimini, quibus populum invitum ad veſtra ſacra compellitis; & non volentem & inſtructum Verbo Dei trahitis. Sed quàm malus cuſtos perpetuitatis ſit timor, non ignoratis. Certè qui timet, niſi Dei ſpiritu ſemper revocetur, odit. Tradite igitur ſaluberrima præcepta Legis & Evangelii populo Dei, ut pro Chriſti Miniſtris per verbum Chriſti ab omnibus agnoſcamini. Ideò enim Miniſtri Eccleſiæ Chriſti eſtis conſtituti, ut tantùm Chriſti doctrinam populum Dei doceretis, & non ut novam, & à Chriſto alienam obtruderetis. Quæ jam vos in Eccleſia agitis, ſi coram æquo judice amicam ac Chriſtianam diſputationem non recuſaveritis; ex Verbo Dei oſtendemus, vel à Lege Moſaica mutuata, vel per Antichriſtum, & pſeudominiſtros in Eccleſiam fuiſſe introducta, ut hoc brevi tractatu excelſæ Parliamenti curiæ facilè conſtabit. Scio inter vos eſſe tam turgido & iniquo ſpiritu prædicatos, qui putant nos tantùm inanis gloriæ, ſuperbiæ, arrogantiæ, & famæ noſtræ fumo duci, & ideo velle potius ſemper malè currere, quàm admonitos de errore bene recurrere. Sed hoc Dèus novit, quod tantùm illius gloriam, noſtramque ſalutem in Chriſto quærimus, dicant adverſarii quid velint. Meminerint autem noſtri adverſarii & cogitent, quanquam apud illos nec pro doctis nec piis hominibus habeamur (& haud dubie nos ipſos omnis impietatis & peccati apud Deum quotidie accuſamus) tamen homines ſumus ratione prædití. Et quis (niſi inſanus) jactura & amiſſione omnium bonorum ſuorum, uxoris, liberorum, libertatis & vitæ redimeret famæ aut inanis gloriæ titulum? Profecto tanti pœnitere (ut dicitur) non emerimus. Igitur illius verbi veritatem noſtris bonis omnibus ac vitæ ipſi præferimus: Et ſi centies (Deo nos adjuvante) moriendum nobis fuerit; ad idololatriam & impium cultum Dei, quæ Dei miſericordia hactenus reliquimus, non revertemur. Domini ſumus, ſive vivimus, ſive morimur; ejus igitur voluntas in vobis & in nobis cum miſericordia fiat, Amen.

Veſtræ ſalutis in Chriſto

ſtudioſiſſimus.

Ioh. Hooperus.

A note of Biſhop Farrer.

Doctor Leiſon, Doctor of law, a Civilian, a Juſtice of Peace, the ſame who is mentioned before, would not ſuffer Biſhop Farrer (when hée was at the ſtake to be burnt) to ſpeake his minde, and about halfe a yéere after the ſaid Doctor Leiſon died, and when he would have ſpoke himſelfe he could not.

The trouble and examination of Thomas Hitton, Martyr, with his examinations, anſweres, condemnation, and martyrdome, Anno 1529. the 20. of February.

Thomas

Reade before. The ſtory and martyrdome of Tho. Hitton.

THomas Hitton of Martham in the Dioceſſe of Norwich, an honeſt poore man and religious, ever fearing God from his youth; and loving his word; when perſecution for the ſame word in the dayes of King Henry the eighth grew to be ſomewhat hote, tooke his journey toward Rocheſter in Kent, intending to have gone to Dover, and ſo to have croſſed the Seas into France and other countries for a time, where repoſing himſelfe a while, he might be free from the heate of perſecution. As he was going on his intended journey, one Thomas Swaineſland, Baily to William Warrham Archbiſhop of Canturburie, meeting him by the way, and ſuſpecting him to bee (as they called them) an Heretike, cauſed him to be ſtayed, and brought before the ſaid William Archbiſhop of Canturburie, his Maſter; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whither he intended to have gone, if he had not bin intercepted? The ſaid Thomas anſwered, that he came out of the Dioceſſe of Norwich, and purpoſed to have gone beyond the Seas, if God had ſo permitted. Then the Biſhop asked him, if hée had ever béene beyond the ſeas before, and what bookes he had brought over. He anſwered, that he had béene once beyond the ſeas before, and had brought certaine bookes with him from thence, namely, two new Teſtaments, and one Primer in Engliſh. The Biſhop asked him to whom he gave the ſaid bookes. He anſwered, he would not declare. For (ſaith he) ſuch is your bloudy crueltie, that you would never ſléepe quietly, till you had ſucked their bloud, as you meane to doe mine. The Biſhop ſéeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his conſtant ſpirit and fervent zeale to the Truth, commanded him to priſon till further opportunitie might ſerve for the ſhedding of his bloud.

W. Warrham Archbiſhop of Canturbury.

The examination of Tho. Hitton before the Archbiſh.

The ſecond appearance of Thomas Hitton before the ſaid Archb. of Canturbury.

WIthin a while after, the Biſhop commanded the ſaid Thomas to be brought before him againe, who demanded of him how he judged and beléeved of the religion then in force, and of the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome. The ſaid Thomas anſwered, that the Religion then uſed was moſt abominable Idolatrie, and contrarie to the holy Word of God. and as for the Pope (quoth he) he is Antichriſt, the firſt borne of Satan, and hath no more power or authoritie, then any other Biſhop hath in his owne Dioceſſe, nor ſo much neither. The Biſhop hearing this, was in ſuch a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talke no more with him, but returned him from whence he came, namely, to Bocardo, with commandment to appeare before him againe, upon the thirteenth day of the ſame moneth following, at his Manor of Knoll, to anſwer to ſuch articles and interrogatories as ſhould be objected ex officio, againſt him.

The third appearance of Thomas Hitton before the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canturbury.

THe ſaid Thomas Hitton at the day prefixed, made his perſonall appearance before the Biſhop at the place appointed, to whom the Biſhop miniſtred certaine Articles and Interrogatories for him to anſwer unto, commanding him to ſweare, to anſwer truely and unfainedly unto them, and every part of them. The ſaid Thomas Hitton refuſed to ſweare, ſaying, It is againſt Gods Lawes and good conſcience for any man to ſweare to ſhed his owne blood, for ſo he ſhould be a murtherer of himſelfe, and become guilty of his owne death. But notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſweare to anſwer, yet he anſwered truely and directly to every particular Article and Interrogatorie propounded unto him, but ſo as was ſmally to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly. This done, the Biſhop brake off his Seſſion for that time, and commanded him to priſon again, and to appeare before him in the place aforeſaid upon the Friday next following, to anſwer further as ſhould be demanded of him, granting him liberty withall to adde to, or ſubtract from his former anſwers, or elſe utterly to deny and revoke the ſame.

Tho. Hitton refuſeth to ſweare againſt himſelfe.

The fourth appearance of Thomas Hitton before the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canturburie.

THe day and time approaching, the ſaid Thomas Hitton appeared againe accordingly, and having heard his former anſwers and confeſſions diſtinctly by the Notarie read unto him, hee reformed them in certaine points; to ſome hee added, from other ſome hée ſubſtracted, but none hée denied. Then the Biſhop perceiving his unmoveable conſtancie in the truth, ſetting learning and reaſon apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to improve the ſpirit which ſpake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have reſpect to his ſoules health, and not ſo wilfully (as they termed it) to caſt away himſelfe for ever, but to repent, and to abjure his errors, and in ſo doing, he would be good unto him, he ſayd. When the Biſhop with all his perſwaſions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the truth of Gods word, then the Doctors and other the aſſiſtants attempted the like: all which notwithſtanding, the ſaid Thomas Hitton would not deſiſt nor ſhrinke one iote from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former articles and confeſſions to the end; Inferring withall, that they ſinned againſt the holy Ghoſt, in as much as they knew that Gods word was the truth, and that the Maſſe and all Popiſh religion is nothing elſe but idolatrie, lies, and open blaſphemy againſt the Maieſtie of GOD and his word, and contrarie to Gods word in everie reſpect, and yet they would allow and maintaine the ſame, contrarie to their own conſciences: whereat all the Bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to priſon againe, aſſigning him a day to come before them againe.

The conſtancy of Tho. Hitton in his confeſſion.

The fifth appearance of Thomas Hitton before the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canturbury.

AT the day appointed, the ſaid Thomas Hitton appeared, to whom the Biſhop ſaid, Thomas, doeſt thou beléeve that any man eyther ſpirituall or temporall, is of ſufficient authoritie to ſet forth any law or ſanction of himſelf, the breach whereof is mortall or veniall ſinne? To whom Thomas Hitton anſwered, that no man eyther ſpirituall or temporall might make any law or ſanction, the breach whereof is mortall or veniall ſinne, except the ſame law or ſanction be drawne out of the word of God, or elſe grounded upon the ſame with a good conſcience. And therefore the Church cannot ſet forth any law, the breach whereof is Mortall or Veniall ſinne, unleſſe it bée grounded upon the Word of GOD alſo. But if any man, or the Church of God it ſelfe, doe ſet forth any Law grounded

Another appearance of Tho. Hitton before the Archbiſhop.

upon the word of God and good conſcience; the breach thereof to the violater is mortall and deadly ſinne. After all manner of wayes and meanes attempted to draw this poore man from Chriſt and his truth, the Biſhop, ſeeing that he could not prevaile, determined to ſend him to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſo did, who aſſayed by all meanes poſſible to remove him from his former profeſſed truth. But ſeeing all his endeavors fruſtrate, and that he profited nothing, he ſignified the ſame to the Archbiſhop, and withall both went himſelfe unto him, and carried the poore priſoner with him thither alſo.

In the afternoone of the ſame day, the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canturbury, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and divers other aſſiſtants, called the ſaid poore man before them againe, and cauſed all the former Articles, Interrogatories, and demands to be read unto him in Engliſh, to the end he ſhould either have revoked the ſame, or elſe recanted them altogether, uſing both threates and faire promiſes to the performance thereof, but all in vaine: for his faith was built upon the rocke Chriſt Ieſus, and therefore unable to be removed with any ſtormes of perſecution whatſoever.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Tho. Hitton.

In fine, the Archbiſhop (with mature judgement you muſt beleeve) conſulting with the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and other, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the bloudy ſentence of death againſt him, and ſo was he, being condemned, delivered to the ſecular power, who carried him to the priſon, and ſoone after he was burned for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, as you may ſee more at large in his ſtory, for whoſe conſtancy in the truth, the everlaſting God be praiſed, Amen.

A note of a certaine good man troubled in Bulloyn the firſt yeare of King Edward the ſixth, for the Goſpel.

THe examination of mee William Haſtlen Gunner, in the Caſtle of high Bulloyne, in the yeere of our Lord, 1547. and the firſt yeere of the reigne of King Edward the ſixth. As I was in the Church of Bulloyne, called the Stals, upon the 10. of April being Eaſter Tueſday, reading of a godly Booke, called the lamentation of a Chriſtian, againſt the Citizens of London, betweene the houres of three and foure at afternoone, there came certaine men to me as I ſtood at an altar in the Church reading to my ſelfe, and aſked me what good booke I had: and I ſaid, they ſhould heare if they pleaſed: then they deſired me to reade out that they might heare, and ſo did I very gladly; but I had not read long, but the Prieſts and Clerkes were at their Latine Evenſong, and I reading mine Engliſh booke, there came a tipſtaffe for me, taking my two bookes from me, and commanded me to goe with him, for he ſaid I muſt go before the Councell of the towne. Then went I forthwith with him, and a little without the Church doore, ſir Iohn Bridges met us, and bade the Tipſtaffe carry me to ſir Leonard Beckwith Knight, to be examined; and comming before his preſence, he aſked me what bookes they were that I had at the Church, and was reading of one of them openly in the Church to the people: and I ſaid ſo farre as I had read them they were good godly bookes: and he ſaid, they were hereſie, and with that he aſked me how I did beleeve of the Sacrament of the Altar, whether I did not beleeve that to be the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bones: and I aſked him whether he meant that, that was in the Pixe or no? and hee ſaid, Yea, even that in the Pixe: and I ſaid, that ſince I had ſure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not beleeve it to be the body of Chriſt, but a bare piece of bread, nor by Gods helpe will I ever beleeve it otherwiſe to be: then he ſaid, I was an Heretike, and aſked me what I made of the Sacrament: and I ſaid, if it were duely miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, that then I did beleeve that the faithfull Communicants, in receiving that bleſſed Sacrament, did receive into their inward man, or ſoule, the very body and bloud of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. Then ſaid he, doeſt thou not beleeve it to remaine the very body of Chriſt after the words of conſecration pronounced by the Prieſt? And I ſaid, No. Then ſaid he, What doeſt thou make of the Church? I ſaid, as it is now vſed, it is a denne of Theeves, and the Synagogue of Sathan. Thou Heretike, ſaid he, there remaineth the very body of Chriſt. But I ſaid, that Chriſt being God and man, dwelleth not in temples made with mens hands: much other communication had we at that time, but this was the effect that day. Then he aſked me whether I would bee forthcomming till to morrow. And I ſaid, Sir, if you thinke that I will not, you may lay me where as I ſhall ſo be. Then he let me goe for that night, and ſaid, we ſhall talke further with thee to morrow; ſo I departed home. And about the ſpace of two houres after, Maſter Huntington the Preacher (which did much good with his preaching in Bulloyne at that time) came to me, and ſaid, that he heard me ſpoken of at my Lord Grayes, which was then Lord Deputy of the Towne and Countrey of Bulloyne, and I perceive ſaid he, that you are in great danger of trouble, if you eſcape with your life: for there are ſome of the Councell marvellouſly bent againſt you. I ſaid, the Lords will be done: well ſaid he, without you feele in your ſelfe a full purpoſe, by Gods help, to ſtand earneſtly to the thing that ye have ſpoken, you ſhall doe more hurt then good: wherefore, ſaid he, if you will goe to Calice, I will ſend you where you ſhall be well uſed, and be out of this danger. Then I thanked Maſter Huntington, ſaying, I purpoſe by Gods aſſiſtance to abide the uttermoſt that they can doe unto me. Well then (ſaid he) I can tell you, you will be ſent for to morrow betimes before the whole Councell: that is (ſaid I) the thing that I looke for. Then roſe I betimes in the morning, and went into the Market-place, that I might ſpie which way the Officer ſhould come for me; I had not tarried there long, but I ſpied a Tipſtaffe, and went toward him, and aſked him whom hee ſought, and hee ſaid, A Gunner of the great Ordnance in the Caſtle of Bulloyne: and I ſaid that I am he: Then ſaid he, you muſt goe with me to my Lords: and I ſaid, therefore I looked. When I came there, I ſaw my Lord and the whole Councell were aſſembled together in a cloſe Parlour. Doing my duetie to them, my Lord ſaid to me, it is informed me that thou haſt ſeditiouſly congregate a company together in the Church, and there in the time of Service thou diddeſt reade unto them an Hereticall Booke, and haſt not reverently uſed ſilence in the time of the divine Service, what ſayeſt thou to this? I ſaid, if it pleaſe your Honour, I was in the Church a good while before any Service began, and no body with mee, reading to my ſelfe alone, upon a Booke that is agreeable to GODS word, and no Hereſie in it that I read, and when it drew toward Service time, there came men to the Church, and ſome of them comming to me whom I knew not, aſking me what good booke I had, I ſaid it was a new booke that I have not yet reade over: then they prayed me that I ſhould reade ſo that they might heare ſome part with mee, and ſo I did, not calling, pointing, nor aſſembling any company to me. And for the Service being in Latine, that for the ſtrangeneſſe of the tongue, beſides much ſuperſtition joyned with it, was not underſtood of the moſt part of them that ſaid or ſung it, much leſſe of them that ſtood by and did heare it, whereas by the word of God all things in the Church or congregation ſhould be done to the edifying of the people: and ſeeing I could have no ſuch thing by their Service, I did endeavor to edifie my ſelfe, and other that were deſirous of reading of godly bookes. And becauſe the Church is ſo abuſed contrary to the word of God, being beſet round about with a ſort of abhominable idols, before whom no man ought to kneele, nor doe any manner of reverence, becauſe the Scriptures doe curſe both the Idoll, and the Idoll-maker, and all that doe any worſhip or reverence unto them, or before them, for that cauſe I uſed no reverence there. Well, ſayd my Lord, I would thou couldſt anſwer to the reſt as well as thou haſt done to this: but I feare me thou canſt not: for it is told me, that thou haſt ſpoken againſt the bleſſed Sacrament: and I ſaid, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip, that did I never in all my life, nor ever will doe by the Grace of God. With that my chiefe accuſer, ſir Leonard Beckwith Knight, ſaid to me, Diddeſt thou not ſay to me yeſterday, that thou didſt not beleeve the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration by the Prieſt, to bee the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bones, as it was borne of the Virgin Mary? It is true indeede that I ſayd ſo, for neither doe I beleeve it to remaine Chriſts body, nor ever will by the grace of God beleeve it ſo to be: for I beleeve that Chriſt with that body that was conceived and borne of the Virgin Mary, did aſcend up into heaven, and there (according to our beliefe) he ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, and from thence that body ſhall come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead; and yet in the mean while I beleeve, that (the ſacrament duly miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution) all the faithfull receivers of this ſacrament, lifting up the eyes of their minde into heaven where Chriſts body is, they doe receive in that ſacrament, into their ſoule or inward man, the very body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: yea and I beleeve further, that Chriſt concerning his divine power, or the power of his Godhead, is whereſoever two or three be gathered together in his name, that he is in the midſt even amongſt them; and that hee is ſo with his faithfull flocke even to the worlds end. Then they layd their heads together, and had privy talke: after that two of them ſaid to me, that it was ranke hereſie that I did beleeve it to remain bare bread after the Prieſt had conſecrated it; and not beleeving it to be the very body of Chriſt, I was worthy to be burned: then ſaid I earneſtly unto them, Thinke you not, though I be a vile abject in your light, and he that is moſt buſie among you to ſeeke my bloud, but that my bloud ſhall be required at his, or their hands? Then had they privy talk together againe, after the which my Lord ſaid unto me, Thou heareſt that they here lay hereſie to thy charge, and I am a man of war, and have no ſkill in ſuch high myſteries, wherfore thine accuſers ſay, that thou muſt ſuffer here as an heretike, that all the reſt of the gariſon may beware by thee that they fall not into the like hereſie, and ſo caſt away themſelvs. Then ſaid I, I appeale from this Councell to the Councell of England: then ſaid my Lord, I am very glad that thou haſt appealed to the Councell of England, for there are learned men, and Divines that can ſkill of ſuch matters, thither ſhalt thou be ſent ere it be long. Then was I carried to ſir John Abridges houſe, and having pen and inke, I was bidden to write mine articles, which were in effect thoſe points of religion which you have heard before in my examination: then on the morrow being thurſday, and the 15. of April, I was brought to the priſon in the towne, called the Marſhalſea, where I was very gently uſed: for a good Gentleman one Maſter Waghan was the Keeper there at that time, but ſurely when I was apprehended, I had not ſo much as one peny to help my ſelfe with; for we had beene long unpaid: furthermore I thought in that town of war, that there were very few or none that favoured the word of God, for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and deſpiſed of all men there: for I knew not paſt two or three there that had any love to the Goſpel, till I was in priſon, and then there came very many ſouldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me mony, ſo that I had as good as three pound given me in a ſmall time that I was in priſon. The 14. day of May toward night, I was ſent into England, one M. Meſſenger, and one other man brought me to London, even the ſame day, being Sunday at night, and 15. day of May. There was a great talke over all the City of one D. Smith that recanted that day they brought me to the Marſhalſea, and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but M. Huntington as a faithfull Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from Bulloyne to London, cauſing my articles to be ſeene, ſo that by his painfull diligence to the Councell for me, after that I had bin there little more than one moneth, I was diſcharged out of priſon, and bid get me home to Bulloyn to my living againe.

But ſurely if I had not appealed to the Councell of England, I had been burned in Bulloin, for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined, ſhortly to have been accompliſhed, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance, I give praiſe to the everliving God.

This was layd in Queene Maries Cloſet upon her deske againſt her comming unto her prayers,

O Loveſome Roſe moſt redolent,
Of vading flowers moſt freſh:
In England pleaſant is thy ſent,
For now thou art peereleſſe.
This Roſe which beareth ſuch a ſmell,
Doth repreſent our Queene:
O liſten, that I may you tell
Her colours freſh and greene.
The love of God within her heart,
Shall beautifie her grace:
The feare of God on the other part,
Shall ſtabliſh her in place.
This love and feare her colours are,
Whereby if ſhe be known,
She may compare both nigh and farre,
Unable to be overthrown.
The love of God it will her cauſe,
Unfained if it be,
To have reſpect unto his lawes,
And hate idolatry.
If that ſhe have the feare of God,
And be thereto right bent:
She will doe that he her bode,
And not her owne intent.
O noble Queene take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:
Look ere you leap, then ſhall you ſpeed,
Haſte maketh many ſhent.
Remember Saul that noble King,

What ſhame did him befall:
Becauſe that unto the Lords bidding
He had no luſt at all.
The Lord hath bid you ſhall love him,
And other gods defie.
Alas take heed, do not begin
To place idolatry.
What greater diſobedience
Againſt God may be wrought
Than this; to move mens conſcience
To worſhip things of nought?
What greater folly can you invent
Than ſuch men to obey?
How can you ſerve your owne intent
Not foreſeeing your owne decay?
And whereas firſt yee ſhould maintain
Your realme in perfect unity:
To rent the peoples hearts in twaine
Through falſe idolatry.
Is this the way to get you fame
Is this to get you love?
Is this to purchaſe you a name,
To fight with God above?
Is this your care, to ſet up Maſſe,
Your ſubjects ſoules to ſtroy?
Is this your ſtudy, no more to paſſe,
Gods people to annoy?
Is this to reigne, to ſerve your will,
Good men in bonds to keepe,
And to exalt ſuch as be evill,
And for your grace unmeet?
Such as made that fond divorce,
Your mother to deface,
Are higheſt you in power and force,
And moſt bounden unto your grace.
Well, yet take heed of had I wiſt,
Let Gods word beare the bell:
If you will reigne, learn to know Chriſt,
As David doth you tell.
What great preſumption doth appeare,
Thus in a week or twaine,
To worke more ſhame than in 7. years
Can be redreſt againe?
All is done without a law,
For will doth work in place:
And thus all men may ſee and know
The weakneſſe of your caſe.
That miſerable maſking Maſſe,
Which all good men do hate,
Is now by you brought up againe,
The roote of all debate.
Your Miniſters that love Gods word,
They feele this bitter rod;
Who are robbed from houſe and goods
As though there were no God.
And yet you would ſeeme mercifull
In the midſt of tyranny,
And holy, whereas you maintaine
Moſt vile idolatry.
For feare that thou ſhould hear the truth,
True Preachers may not ſpeak;
But on good Prophets you make ruth,
And unkindly them intreat.
Him have you made Lord Chancellor
Who did your bloud moſt ſtaine,
That he may ſuck the righteous bloud,
As he was wont againe.
Thoſe whom our late King did love,
You doe them moſt diſdaine:
Theſe things doe manifeſtly prove
Your colours to be but vaine.
Gods word you cannot abide,
But as your Prophets tell:
In this you may be well compared
To wicked Jeſabell.
Who had 400 Prophts falſe,
And fifty on a rout:
Through whoſe falſe preaching
Poore Ely was chaſed in and out.
Gods Prophets you doe evill intreat,
Baals Prieſts defend your grace:
Thus did the Jewes put Chriſt to death,
And let goe Barrabas.
Hath God thus high exalted you,
And ſet you on a throne:
That you ſhould priſon and deface
His flocke that maketh mone?
The Lord which doth his flocke defend,
As the apple of an eye,
Of this full quickly will make an end
And baniſh cruelty.
Therefore my counſell pray you take,
And think thereof no ſcorne:
You ſhall finde it the beſt counſell,
Ye had ſince you were borne.
Put away blinde affection,
Let Gods word be umpere,
To try out true religion,
From this evill favoured geere.

The inſtruction of King Edward the 6. given to ſir Anthony Seyntleger Kt. of his privy chamber, being of a corrupt judgement of the Euchariſt. Upon this ſaying of an ancient Doctor of the Catholike Church.

Dicimus Euchariſtiam Panem vocari in Scripturis, Panis in quo gratiæ actæ ſunt, &c.

IN Euchariſt then there is bread,
Whereto I do conſent:
Then with bread are our bodies fed,
And further what is meant?
I ſay that Chriſt in fleſh and bloud
Is there continually,
Unto our ſoule a ſpeciall food,
Taking it ſpiritually.
And this Tranſubſtantiation I
Beleeve as I have read:
That Chriſt ſacramentally
Is there in forme of bread.
S. Auſten ſaith, the word doth come
Unto the element:
And there is made, he ſaith in ſumme,
A perfect ſacrament.
The Element doth then remaine,
Or elſe muſt needes enſue,
S. Auſtens words be nothing plaine,
Nor cannot be found true.
For if the word, as he doth ſay,
Come to the Element:
Then is not the Element away,
But bides there verament.
Yet whoſo eateth that lively foode,
And hath a perfect faith,
Receiveth Chriſts fleſh and bloud,
For Chriſt himſelfe ſo ſaith.
Not with our teeth his fleſh to teare
Nor take bloud for our drinke:
Too great an abſurdity it were,
So groſly for to think.
For we muſt eate him ſpiritually,
If we be ſpirituall:
And whoſo eates him carnally,
Thereby ſhall have a fall.
For he is now a ſpirituall meate,
And ſpiritually we muſt
That ſpirituall meat ſpiritually eat,
And leave our carnall luſt.
Thus by the ſpirit, I ſpiritually
Beleeve, ſay what men liſt,
None other Tranſubſtantiation I

Beleeve of the Euchariſt.
But that there is both bread and wine,
Which we ſee with our eye:
Yet Chriſt is there by power divine
To thoſe that ſpiritually
Do eate that bread and drinke that cup,
Eſteeming it but light;
As Iudas did, which eate that ſop,
Not judging it aright.
For I was taught not long agone,
I ſhould leane to the ſpirit:
And let the carnall fleſh alone,
For it doth not profit.
God ſave him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did winne
To put from me that carnall thought,
That I before was in.
For I beleeve Chriſt corporally
In heaven doth keep his place:
And yet Chriſt ſacramentally
Is here with us by grace.
So that in his high myſtery
We muſt eate ſpirituall meat,
To keep his death in memorie,
Leſt we ſhould it forget.
This doe I ſay, this have I ſaid,
This ſaying ſay will I:
This ſaying though I once denaid,
I will no more to die. FINIS.

This young Prince became a perfect ſchoolemaſter unto old erroneous men, ſo as no Divine could amend him, and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame & glory. When Queene Mary came to her reigne, a friend of M. Sentlegers charged him with this his Pamphlet. Well, quoth he, content your ſelfe. I perceive that a man may have too much of Gods bleſſing. And even here Peter began to deny Chriſt, ſuch is mens frailty.

Finis qd. W. M. as it is ſuppoſed.

¶ A note of a letter of one Iohn Melvin, prisoner in Newgate.

¶ ***Chriſti electis ſalutem,***
Eſdr. 4.

¶ *Hoc ſeculum fecit altiſſimus propter multos; futurum autem propter paucos.*

¶ The Almighty Lord hath made this world for many, but the world or life to come but for a few.

Pauci electi. Matthew 20.

MOſt certain it is dearly beloved, that Chriſts elect be but few in compariſon of that great number which goe in the broad way into everlaſting perdition, which live after the fleſh, loving this preſent evil world, deny God in word and deed, whoſe eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened.

Pauci qui ſalvabuntur, Luke 13. 2. Tim. 2. Cognovit Dominus qui ſunt ejus.

Moſt certain it is alſo, that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath and knoweth his owne, whoſe names are written in the booke of life, redeemed with the moſt precious bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. So that the eternall Father knoweth them that be his.

Sanctis qui ſunt in terra, & præclaris his toto animo delector.

The almighty and eternall God grant, that we may have the teſtimonie of our conſcience, and the ſpirit of God to beare record with our ſpirits, that we be his elect children, walking in the ſpirit, not fulfilling the luſts of the fleſh, but as Chriſts members, having Chriſt Jeſus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true way, the infallible verity, and the eternall life. Chriſt hath given us example, let us follow him as deare children, for Gods delight is to behold his Saints which bee in the earth. Let us put on the whole armour of God, and walke in the light in theſe evill daies, in the which Satan in his Angels ſeeketh whom he may devoure. The almighty Lord deliver us from the mouthes of thoſe unſhamefaſt dogges. They truly ſeeke ours, and not us unto the Lord. Eſdras ſaith, and writeth truly, The world is made for them, and they for the world. Dearely bought, let us remember Chriſt which ſaith, I have choſen you out of the world, you ſhall be hated of all worldly men. Did ever the covetous, Idolaters, Oppreſſors, or Whoremongers love us? Nay, they love Maſſemongers, which ſay, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay, either they flatter the ears, or elſe they ſay nothing, as dumb dogs not able to barke, of whom be you ware, for though they come in ſheepes clothing, they be ravening Wolves, whoſe damnation ſleepeth not, from whoſe captivity the holy will of God ſave and preſerve you, Amen.

Ego vos elegi e mundo. Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo.

Ezek. 33. & 34.

Dearely beloved, we having the record of our conſcience that wee bee very members in Chriſts body, ſeparate from that malignant Antichriſts Church: Let us rejoyce in conſcience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope in all his promiſes, which be eternall and moſt ſure to us in Chriſt our Saviour, who loſeth none of all them, whom the eternall Father hath given him, but at his appearing to be our mercifull Judge, ſhall raiſe us up at the laſt day, for the trumpet of God ſhall blow, and bee heard of all Adams poſteritie; ſounding, Venite ad judicium; Come unto judgment, come and be judged. Let us therfore bee prepared, having the wedding garment, yea the whole armour of God, the marriage garment, cleare lampes, that is, pure hearts, and burning heavenly light in the ſame. Let us prepare our ſelves richly to reſtore to our Lord and Maſter our talents, with the increaſe of heavenly living and occupying; then without all doubt, we ſhall heare that moſt bleſſed wiſh of our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall then ſay, Rejoyce good ſervants, I will make you Stewards over many things: Enter into the everlaſting reſt, and kingdome, which hath been prepared for you from the beginning. This is the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, which at this preſent is in Babylon, and baniſhed to the deſert, the troubleſome waters of Satan in the Antichriſt and his ſhavelings, ſpewed out of Chriſts mouth. The Lord be our aide, avenger and deliverer when his holy will is, Amen.

John 17.

Auguſtine.

Dearely bought with the moſt precious bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that we be not deceived by the Antichriſt, let us ponder, weigh, marke, and ſtudy the heavenly doctrine of our Saviour Chriſt in his laſt Supper: the Text is, Benedixit, dixit bene, gratias egit, he ſpake heavenly and well, he gave thankes, he tooke bread, brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, Take, eate this ſacramentall bread, and me the bread of life which came downe from heaven, which giveth life to the world, take true faith, heavenly hope kindled with Chriſtian charity, thankſgiving for my death; let theſe heavenly vertues enter into your ſoules, then enter I. This is my body. This is the true eating of my body, which is given to the death of the croſſe, for the ranſome and ſins of Gods elect. Likewiſe after ſupper hee tooke the cup, he ſpake well, gave thanks, and gave it them, ſaying, Drinke yee all of this: drinke I ſay by this infallible verity, and everlaſting word joyned and annexed with this cup, my bloud which is ſhed from before the beginning of the world, for many, in remiſſion of ſinnes: hee or ſhee that thus dwelleth in mee, and I in him, eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud. Saint Auguſtine ſaith, Why prepareſt thou thy tooth and belly? beleeve and thou haſt eaten. Saint Bernard ſaith, When faith, hope, chriſtian

Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducaſti.

loue, and thankſgiuing for Chriſts death enter into a Chriſtian, Chriſt entereth. And againe St. Auguſtine ſaith upon theſe words of Chriſt, You ſhall alwaies haue the poore with you, but mée ſhall ye not haue alwaies with you: The Church had him but a few dayes touching his humanitie, now they haue him by faith, with theſe eyes they doe not ſée him. O Ieſus Chriſt thou Son of the liuing God, which art in the boſome of thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the Father eternall, giue us victorie ouer this Antichriſt in thy moſt precious bloud. Be faithfull to the end, and our Sauiour ſhall crowne us in glorie; let us ſanctifie the name of God in thought, word, and déed.

Eccleſia eum paucis diebus habuit quantũ ad humanitatem, modo fide tenet, oculis non videt.

I ſay unto the Papiſt, and will not flatter,
our God is in heauen whom they will not ſee:
And is no ſuch little pretty matter,
as their god the Pope faineth him to bee.
Pray for all the Preachers of the verity,
that God may giue us grace and conſtancy.
They ſing and ſay they haue him in a ſtring:
tye not the dog ſo, for feare of hanging.
To all the faithfull, whoſe names in generall,
in the booke of life, by Chriſt are written all.
The godly thought and patient minde
doth libertie in priſon finde.
Whoſo to patience can attaine,
ſhall finde in priſon is no paine.
Thrall, trouble, bound, or free,
as pleaſeth God, ſo ſhall all bee.
Wherefore I neuer will forſake
what pleaſeth God lay on my backe.

Iohn Melvin, Preacher and priſoner in Newgate.

¶ A note concerning the trouble of Iulius Palmer, lately come to my hands.

To his aſſured friend and brother in Chriſt, M. Perry, Preacher at Beuerſtone, giue theſe.

MAſter Perrie, after my hearty commendations in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt unto you and your wife, &c. whereas you haue written unto me for my help in ſtopping the malicious and envious mouth of Thomas Thackam, I would be as glad as any man to teſtifie the truth, both for that I know of the ſhameleſſe malice of the ſaid party, againſt the members of Chriſt, as alſo the godlie and vertuous behauiour of Palmer both before he was in priſon, and after in priſon, with the credit of that good and godly worke of that hiſtory: but ſurely many things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remember. And for theſe things I know, I write unto you. And firſt as touching the friendſhip ſhewed unto the Lady Vane, and his zeale therein uttered, truth it is that he receiued her into his houſe for mony for a ſmall ſpace, in the which time they two did not well agrée, for that ſhe could not ſuffer his wickedneſſe of words and geſtures unreproued, but that his wife many times, being of more honeſtie, made the matter well againe: but to be ſhort, ſuch was his friendſhip in the end towards that good Lady, being out of his houſe, that ſhe feared no man more for her life than him. And I being her man, ſhée gaue me great charge alwayes to beware of him. As touching his friendſhip towards Iohn Bolton in priſon, I am ſure hée neuer found any, as they that uſed to viſit him can ſomewhat ſay: Except you accompt this friendſhip, that he being bereft of his ſenſes, Thackam wrought him to yeelde unto the Papiſtes, and as a right member of them became his ſuretie that hée ſhould bée obedient unto them. And hée, being burdened in conſcience therewith, fled away unto Geneva: for the which flying, Thackam had nothing ſaid unto him, which ſheweth that he was their inſtrument. And this friendſhip to Iohn Bolton; for Downer I haue heard no euill of him; for Gateley and Radley now Vicar of Saint Laurence, and Bowyer a Tanner, they thrée left no meanes unpractiſed to catch and perſecute the members of Chriſt, as I my ſelfe can well proue. As touching Palmer, for that I many times frequented his company in his lodging, he would utter ſometimes unto me the griefe of his minde. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was ſomewhat ſuſpected with the woman of the houſe, hée was much grieued withall, the which he uttered with many tears. I then counſelling him to depart thence to avoyde the occaſion of offence, he ſaid no, but the Lord ſhould try him ere it were long: for, ſaid hee, Thackam hath let me his ſchoole, and now would haue it againe, and becauſe I will not let him haue it, this he hath brought upon me, but God forgiue him. Afterward being in priſon, I talking with him at the grate, hée ſhewed me his iudgement of the Scriptures, and deliuered it unto me, what became of it I know not now. He praiſed God highly for his eſtate, and then he ſaid he truſted it would appear whether Thackam had ſaid of him well or not. And further hée ſaid, that now Thackam hath his will to haue his ſchoole againe: for if I would haue yéelded up the ſchoole, hee would haue ſent mee away. I neuer truſted him ſo well, ſaid hee, to communicate my minde unto him before witneſſe, but ſometime alone, and therefore he hath deuiſed a letter in my name, and brought it to light, to cauſe me to be examined of my conſcience. This is as much as I can ſay at this time. Thus fare you well in the Lord, Amen. From Corſly this 18. of May.

Yours to command in Chriſt
Iohn Moyer, Miniſter.

Haue mée commended, I pray you, to all my friends at Reading.

A note of Iulius Palmer.

ALſo being at Magdalene Colledge about a moneth before he was burned, and reaſoning againſt one Barwike Maſter of Art, ſometime his familiar friend and old acquaintance in the ſaid Colledge, after much talke, Barwike ſaid unto him, Well Palmer, now thou talkeſt boldly and ſtoutly at thy pleaſure; if thou wert brought to a ſtake, thou wouldeſt tell me another tale. Take héed, it is an hard matter to burne. Hereunto Palmer anſwered, Indéed it is a hard matter for him to burne that hath his ſoule linked to his body, as a thiefes foot is tyed in a paire of fetters. But if a man be once able, through Gods help, to ſeparate and diuide the ſoule from the body, for him it is no harder thing to burne, than for me to eate this crumme of bread.

A true copy of the confeſſion of Patrick Patingham, ſent out of Newgate to certaine of his friends.

I Patricke Patingham, being condemned for the verity of Gods truth, that is to ſay, in confeſsing of one God, which was the Creator of all things viſible and inuiſible, and alſo that he made thoſe by his Son, whom he hath made heire of all things. And alſo I confeſſe, that he is the onely begotten Sonne of God, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveneſſe of ſinnes. And alſo in confeſſing Gods moſt holy Church, being builded upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt Ieſus being the head corner-ſtone. In whom, ſaith Saint Paul, every building coupled together, groweth to an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom I beléeve I am builded together as a member, and made an habitation for GOD in the ſpirit. And alſo I confeſſe, that Chriſt is the head of the holy Church, as S. Paul ſaith, and that God is Chriſts head.

And alſo I had ten Articles, that is to ſay, againſt their wicked traditions and commandements which they uſe, which are againſt the commandements of God, whereof they did condemn me, not ſuffering me to ſpeake in the Conſiſtorie houſe, but condemning mee, my cauſe not heard. But yet I did proteſt unto them, that their Church or Synagogue is of Sathan, that is to ſay, Sathan being the head thereof. Furthermore, my friend or friends unknowne, I have received your letter, and read it over, wherein you ſay that I am in a blaſphemous errour. Indéede friends I confeſſe, that it is an errour; If you will make my beliefe, that is to ſay, that Chriſt is the Sonne of the living God, to bée an errour, and to beléeve that there is one God, as Saint Paul ſaith, and one Mediatour betwixt God and man, even the man Chriſt Ieſus. And although there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be Gods many, and Lords many, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him. I beléeve that there is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme, and one God in all, and above all, and through all, which only God, as Saint Paul ſaith, worketh in all creatures that beléeve in him, and ſpeaketh in them, as Saint Paul ſaith; God in times paſt diverſly and many wayes ſpake unto the Fathers by Prophets, but in theſe laſt dayes he ſpake unto us by his Sonne, whom hée hath made heire of all things. My friend or friends, be it knowne unto you, that this is no errour, as ye ſuppoſe, but it is the truth of Gods will, that we ſhould beléeve, as Saint Iohn ſaith; That Chriſt Ieſus is the Sonne of the living God, and in ſo beléeving wée ſhould have everlaſting life. Thus with love I write unto you, praying God night and day to deliver you from evill which is in you, and to kéepe you from it. Wherefore my friend or friends, you are not crucified with Chriſt, you are not dead with him in Baptiſme, nor doe you know God, or his Son whom he hath ſent, or his commandements which he hath commanded, and yet will ye teach other, with moſt heartie prayer praying to God for you continually.

Patricke Patingham.

A note of a certaine letter of William Tymmes.

GRace, mercie, and peace from God the Father, through the mercies of his deare Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his holy ſpirit, that as you have full godly begun, even ſo you may continue to the end, to the glorie of God, and your everlaſting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts, to the glory of his holy name, Amen.

My deare ſiſters, after moſt hearty commendations unto you, and alſo moſt hearty thankſgiving unto you for all the great kindneſſe that you have alwayes ſhewed unto me moſt unworthy of the ſame: I certifie you that I am very glad to heare of your good health, which I pray GOD long to continue to his glory. And eſpecially I do much rejoyce in your moſt godly conſtancie in the Goſpell of Chriſt, which is the power of God unto ſalvation, unto ſo many as beléeve it. Therefore (my deare hearts) goe forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that theſe cruell tyrants, which now ſo cruelly perſecute the true members of Chriſt, ſhall ſay for very anguiſh of minde; Theſe are they whom we ſometime had in deriſion, and jeſted upon. We fooles thought their life to have béen very madneſſe, and their end to have béen without honour: But loe how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is among the Saints. Therefore wée have erred from the way of truth. The light of righteouſneſſe hath not ſhined unto us, and the ſunne of underſtanding roſe not upon us. We have wearied our ſelves in the way of wickedneſſe and deſtruction. Tedious wayes have we gone, but as for the way of the Lord wée have not knowne it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the pompe of riches brought us? All theſe things have paſſed away as a ſhadow, or as a meſſenger running before: As a Ship that paſſeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone, by the trace thereof cannot bee found, neither the path in the flouds, &c. For as ſoone as we were borne, we began inordinately to draw to our end, and have ſhewed no token of vertue, but are conſumed in our owne wickedneſſe. Such words ſhall they that thus have ſinned ſpeake in the hell, &c. But the righteous ſhall live for evermore, their reward is alſo with the Lord, and their remembrance with the Higheſt: therefore ſhall they receive a glorious Kingdome, and a beautifull Crowne at the Lords hands: for with his right hand ſhall he cover them, and with his holy arme ſhall hée defend them, &c. The ſoules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the paines of death ſhall not touch them, but in the ſight of the unwiſe they appeare to die, and their end is taken for very deſtruction, but they are in reſt. And though they ſuffer paine before men, yet is their hope full of immortalitie. They are puniſhed but in few things, nevertheleſſe in many things ſhall they be well rewarded; for God proveth them, and findeth them méete for himſelfe: yea, as the gold in the furnace doth hee trie them, and receiveth them as a burnt offering; and when the time commeth, they ſhall be looked upon, the righteous ſhall ſhine as the ſparkes that runne through the red buſh, they ſhall judge the Nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord ſhall reigne for ever. They that put their truſt in him ſhall underſtand the truth, and ſuch as bee faithfull will agrée unto him in love, and hee ſhall be a pillar in the Temple of God, and ſhall no more goe out, and there ſhall be written upon him the name of GOD. And they ſhall lie under the altar (which is Chriſt) crying with a loude voice, ſaying: How long tarrieſt thou Lord, holy and true, to judge and avenge our bloud on them that dwell on the earth? and they ſhall have long white gaments given unto them, and it ſhall be ſaid unto them, that they ſhould reſt yet for a little ſeaſon, till the number of their fellowes and brethren of them, that ſhould be killed as they were, were fulfilled. For, as Saint Iohn ſaith, they are worthy that thus overcome, to bee clothed in white aray, and their names ſhall not be put out of the Booke of life, but ſhall bee ſeparated from the Goates,

Wiſd. 5.

Wiſd. 4.

Hebr. 13.

and ſet on Chriſts right hand, hearing his ſweete and comfortable voice, when he ſhall ſay; Come ye bleſſed of my Father, and poſſeſſe the Kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world: And the very ready way to obtaine the ſame, is, as our Maſter Chriſt ſaith, to forſake our ſelves, taking up our Croſſe, following our Maſter Chriſt, which for the joy that was ſet before him abode the Croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet downe on the Throne at the right hand of God: therefore let us follow his example in ſuffering for his Word, ſeeing that he of his mercifull goodneſſe ſuffered ſo much for us when wee were his enemies: for it was our ſinne that killed Chriſt, and hee by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (ſeeing all theſe his mercifull benefits purchaſed for us onely by his death and bloud-ſhedding) let us with boldneſſe confeſſe his holy Word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto, and ſo be well aſſured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in Gods hands. Therefore (my deare ſiſters) as you have godly begun, ſo goe forward even through manie tribulations, even into the everlaſting Kingdome of heaven. To the which, GOD the Father of all mercie, for his deare Sonne Chriſts ſake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

Yours to command,
to my poore power,
Wil. Tymmes.

Continue in prayer,
Aske in faith,
And obtaine your deſire,
Praying for you, as I know that you doe for me.

Another Sermon of Maſter Latimer concerning his playing at Cardes,

NOw you have heard what is meant by this firſt card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpoſe againe to deale unto you another card, almoſt of the ſame ſute; for they be of ſo nigh affinitie, that one cannot bee well played without the other. The firſt card declared, that you ſhould not kill, which might be divers waies, as being angrie with your neighbour, in minde, in countenance, in word, or deede. It declared alſo how you ſhould ſubdue the paſſions of Ire, and ſo cleere evermore your ſelves from them: and where this firſt card doth kill in you theſe ſtubborne Turkes of Ire; this ſecond card will not onely they ſhould bee mortified in you, but that you your ſelves ſhall cauſe them to bee likewiſe mortified in your neighbour, if that your ſaid neighbour hath been through your occaſion moved unto Ire, eyther in countenance, word, or deede. Now let us heare therefore the tenour of this card.

When thou makeſt thine oblation at mine Altar, and there doeſt remember that thy neighbour hath any thing againſt thee, lay downe there thy oblation, and goe firſt and reconcile thy neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This card was ſpoken by Chriſt, as teſtifieth Saint Marke in his fifth Chapter, againſt all ſuch as doe preſume to come unto the Church to make oblation unto God eyther by prayer, or any other deed of charitie, not having their neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to ſay, as to reſtore thy neighbour unto charitie, which by thy words or deedes is moved againſt thee: then if ſo be it that thou haſt ſpoken to, or by thy neighbour, whereby hee is moved to ire or wrath, thou muſt lay downe thy oblation. Oblations bee prayers, almeſ-deedes, or any worke of charitie; theſe bee called oblations to God. Lay downe therefore thine oblation, begin to doe none of theſe foreſayd workes before thou goeſt unto thy neighbour, and confeſſe thy fault unto him, declaring thy minde, that if thou haſt offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as farre forth as thy words and ſubſtance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worſt. Thou art ſorrie in thy minde, that thou ſhouldeſt be occaſion of his offending. What manner of card is this will ſome ſay? Why? What have I to doe with my neighbours or brothers malice? as Caine ſaid; Have I the keeping of my brother, or ſhall I anſwer for him and for his faults? This were no reaſon: As for my ſelfe, I thanke God I owe no man malice nor diſpleaſure, if other owe mee any, at their owne perill be it. Let every man anſwer for himſelfe. Nay ſir, not ſo, as you may underſtand by this Card: for it ſaith; If thy neighbour hath any thing, any malice againſt thee, through thine occaſion, lay even downe, ſaith Chriſt, thine oblation; Pray not to mee, doe no good deeds for mee, but goe firſt unto thy neighbour, and bring him againe unto my flocke, which hath forſaken the ſame through thy naughtie words, mockes, ſcornes, or diſdainous countenance, and ſo forth: and then come and offer thine oblation, then doe thy devotion, then doe thy almeſ-deedes, then pray, if thou wilt have me heare thee. O good Lord, this is an hard reckoning, that I muſt goe and ſeeke him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deede. I cannot goe unto him. Peradventure he is an hundred miles from me, beyond the ſeas, or elſe I cannot tell where; if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart goe unto him. This is a lawfull excuſe before God on this faſhion, That thou wouldeſt in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if hee were preſent, and that thou thinkeſt in thy heart, whenſoever thou ſhalt meete with him, to goe unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and ſo never intend to come from him, untill the time that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Chriſt. Yet peradventure there be ſome in the world that be ſo divelliſh and ſo hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto charity. For all that, doe that lieth in thee by all charitable meanes to bring him to unitie: If he will in no wiſe apply thereunto, thou mayſt bee ſorrowfull in thy heart, that by thine occaſion that man or woman continueth in ſuch a damnable ſtate: this notwithſtanding, if thou doe the beſt that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to ſome Doctors minde, thou art diſcharged towards God. Nevertheleſſe, St. Auguſtine doubteth in this caſe, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deedes, ſhall availe thee before God, or no, untill thy neighbour come againe to good ſtate, whom thou haſt brought out of the way. Doth this noble Doctor doubt therein? what aileth us to be ſo bold, and count it but a ſmall fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for every trifle that ſtandeth not with our minde? You may ſee what a grievous thing this is to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in againe with all the goods that you have: for ſurely after the opinion of great wiſe men, friendſhip once broken will be never well made whole againe. Wherefore you ſhall heare what Chriſt ſaith unto ſuch perſons; Saith Chriſt, I came downe into this world, and ſo tooke on mee bitter paſſion for mans ſake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unitie and peace in mankinde,

kinde, to make man brother unto me, and ſo to expell the dominion of Sathan the devill, which worketh nothing elſe but diſſention: and yet now there be a great number of you that have profeſſed my name, and ſay you be Chriſtian men, which doe rebell againſt my purpoſe and minde. I goe about to make my fold; you goe about to breake the ſame, and kill my flock. How dareſt thou (ſaith Chriſt) preſume to come unto my altar, unto my Church, or unto my preſence, to make oblation unto me, that takeſt on thee to ſpoile my Lambes? I goe about like a good Shepheard to gather them together: and thou doeſt the contrary, evermore ready to divide and loſe them. Who made thee ſo bold to meddle with my ſilly beaſts, which I bought ſo dearely with my precious blood? I warne thee out of my ſight, come not in my preſence, I refuſe thee and all thy workes, except thou goe and bring home againe my Lambes which thou haſt loſt: wherefore, if thou thy ſelfe intend to be one of mine, lay even downe by and by thine Oblation, and come no further toward mine Altar, but goe and ſeeke them without any queſtions, as it becommeth a true and faithfull ſervant. A true and faithfull ſervant, whenſoever his Maſter commandeth him to doe any thing, he maketh no ſtops ne queſtions, but goeth forth with a good minde: and it is not unlike he continuing in ſuch a good minde and will, ſhall well overcome all dangers and ſtops, whatſoever betides him in his journey, and bring to paſſe effectually his Maſters will and pleaſure. In the contrary, a ſlothfull ſervant, when his Maſter commandeth him to doe any thing, by and by he will aſke queſtions, where, when, which way? and ſo forth, and ſo he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never ſo plaine, yet by his untoward and ſlothfull behaviour, his Maſters commandement is either undone quite, or elſe ſo done, that it ſhall ſtand to no good purpoſe. Goe now forth with the good ſervant, and aſke no ſuch queſtions, and put no doubts, be not aſhamed to doe thy Maſters and Lords will and commandement. Goe, as I ſaid, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is aforeſaid) whom thou haſt loſt by thy unkinde words, by thy ſcornes, mockes, and other diſdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to aſke of him the cauſe why he is diſpleaſed with thee, require of him charitably to remit, and ceaſe not till you both depart one from the other true brethren in Chriſt. Doe not like the ſlothfull ſervant thy Maſters meſſage with cautels and doubts; come not to thy neighbour whom thou haſt offended, and give him a peniworth of ale, or a banquet, and ſo make him a faire countenance, thinking that by thy drinke or dinner he will ſhew the like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheare, and yet there may remaine a bag of ruſtie malice, twenty yeare olde, in thy neighbours boſome; when he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkeſt all is well then. But now I tell thee it is worſe then it was, for by ſuch cloaked charity, where thou doeſt offend before Chriſt but once, thou haſt offended twice herein: for now thou goeſt about to give Chriſt a mocke, if he would take it of thee: Thou thinkeſt to blinde thy Maſter Chriſts commandement. Beware, doe not ſo, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatſoever thou be, and ſo as I ſaid, it ſhould be better for thee not to doe his meſſage on this faſhion, for it will ſtand thee in no purpoſe. What? ſome will ſay, I am ſure hee loveth me well enough. He ſpeaketh faire to my face, yet for all that thou maieſt be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man to ſpeake faire. If he love thee with his minde and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feete, with his hands and his body; for all theſe parts of a mans body be obedient to the will and minde. He loveth thee with his eyes that looketh chearefully on thee, when thou meeteſt with him, and is glad to ſee thee proſper and doe well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that ſpeaketh well by thee behinde thy backe, or giveth thee good counſell. He loveth thee with his feete, that is willing to goe to helpe thee out of trouble and buſineſſe. He loveth thee with his hands, that will helpe thee in time of neceſſity, by giving ſome almeſ-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in danger to doe good for thee, or to deliver thee from adverſity, and ſo forth, with the other members of his body. And if thy neighbour will doe according to theſe ſayings, then thou maieſt thinke that he loveth thee well, and thou in like wiſe oughteſt to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like faſhion, or elſe you bee bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be ingendered amongſt you. It may fortune thou wilt ſay, I am content to doe the beſt for my neighbour that I can, ſaving my ſelfe harmeleſſe. I promiſe thee Chriſt will not heare this excuſe; for he himſelfe ſuffered harme for our ſakes, and for our ſalvation was put to extreame death. I wis if it had pleaſed him, hee might have ſaved us and never felt paine; but in ſuffering paines and death, he did give us example and teach us how we ſhould doe one for another, as he did for us all. For, as he ſaith himſelfe, he that will be mine, let him deny himſelfe, and follow me in bearing my croſſe and ſuffering my paines. Wherefore we muſt needs ſuffer paine with Chriſt to doe our neighbour good, as well with the body and all his members, as with heart and minde.

Now I truſt you wot what your Card meaneth, let us ſee how that we can play with the ſame. Whenſoever it ſhall happen you to goe and make your Oblation unto GOD, aſk of your ſelves this queſtion, Who art thou? the anſwer as you know is, I am a Chriſtian man. Then you muſt again aske unto your ſelf, What Chriſt requireth of a Chriſtian man? by and by caſt downe your trumpe, your heart, and looke firſt of one Card, then of another. The firſt Card telleth thee thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not be angry, thou ſhalt not be out of patience. This done, thou ſhalt looke if there be any more Cards to take up, and if thou looke well, thou ſhalt ſee another Card of the ſame ſute, wherein thou ſhalt know that thou art bound to reconcile thy neighbour. Then caſt thy trump unto them both, and gather them all three together, and doe according to the vertue of thy Cards, and ſurely thou ſhalt not loſe. Thou ſhalt firſt kill the great Turkes, and diſcomfit and thruſt them downe. Thou ſhalt againe fetch home Chriſts ſheepe that thou haſt loſt, whereby thou maieſt goe both patiently, and with a quiet minde unto the Church, and make thy Oblation unto God, and then without doubt he will heare thee. But yet Chriſt will not accept our Oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our neighbour) if that our Oblation be made of another mans ſubſtance, but it muſt be our owne. See therefore that thou haſt gotten thy goods according to the lawes of God and of thy Prince. For if thou'getſt thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawfull waies, then if thou offer a thouſand pound of it, it will ſtand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors doe offend, for when they be made rich by other mens goods, then they will take upon them to build Churches, to give ornaments to God and his Altar, to gilde Saints, and to doe many good workes therewith; but it ſhall be all in their owne name, and for their own glory. Wherefore (ſaith Chriſt) they have in this world their reward, and ſo their Oblations be not their owne, nor be they acceptable before God. Another way God will refuſe thy voluntary Oblation, as thus: If ſo be it, that thou haſt gotten never ſo truly thy goods, according both to the lawes of God and man, and haſt with the ſame goods not relieved thy poore neighbour, when thou haſt ſeen him hungry, thirſty, and naked, he will not take thy Oblation when thou ſhalt offer the ſame, becauſe he will ſay unto thee: When I was hungry, thou gaveſt me no meate; when I was thirſtie, thou gaveſt me no drinke; and when I was naked, thou diddeſt not clothe me. Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, becauſe it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy poore neighbours, and thou haſt not therein done according unto this my commandement, Miſericordiam volo, & non ſacrificium, I had rather have mercy done, than ſacrifice or oblation. Wherefore untill thou doeſt the one more than the other, I will not accept thine Oblation. Evermore beſtow the greateſt part of thy goods in workes of mercy, and the leſſe part in voluntary workes. Voluntary workes be called all manner of offering in the Church, except your foure offering daies, and your tithes; ſetting up candles, gilding and painting, building of Churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of High-waies, and ſuch other, bee called voluntary works, which works be of themſelves marvellous good, and convenient to bee done. Neceſſary workes, and workes of mercy are called the commandements, the foure offering daies, your tithe, and ſuch other that long to the commandements; and workes of mercy conſiſt in relieving and viſiting thy poore neighbours. Now then, if men be ſo fooliſh of themſelves, that they will beſtow the moſt part of their goods in voluntary workes, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the neceſſary workes undone, which they are bound to doe, they and all their voluntary works are like to goe unto everlaſting damnation. And I promiſe you, if you build an hundred Churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of Saints, and honouring of the Church, and if thou goe as many Pilgrimages as thy body can well ſuffer, and offer as great Candles as Oakes, if thou leave the workes of mercy and the commandements undone, theſe workes ſhall nothing availe thee. No doubt the voluntary workes be good, and ought to be done; but yet they muſt be ſo done, that by their occaſion the neceſſary works, and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten: If you wil build a glorious Church unto God, ſee firſt your ſelves to be in charity with your neighbours, and ſuffer not them to bee offended by your workes. Then when ye come into your Pariſh Church, you bring with you the holy temple of God; as S. Paul ſaith, you your ſelves be the very holy temples of God: And Chriſt ſaith by his Prophet; In you will I reſt, and intend to make my manſion & abiding place: Again, if you liſt to gilde and paint Chriſt in your Churches, and honour him in veſtiments, ſee that before your eyes the poore people die not for lacke of meat, drinke, and clothing. Then do you decke the very true temple of God, and honour him in rich veſtures, that will never be worn, and ſo forth uſe your ſelves according unto the commandements; and then finally ſet up your candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts, for it is not fitting to ſee a dead man light candles. Then, I ſay, goe your Pilgrimages, build your materiall Churches, doe all your voluntary workes, and they will then repreſent unto God, and teſtifie with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware I ſay againe, that you doe not run ſo far into your voluntary workes, that ye do quite forget your neceſſary workes of mercy, which you are bound to keepe: you muſt have ever a good reſpect unto the beſt and worthieſt works toward God, to be done firſt and with more efficacy, and the other to be done ſecondarily. Thus if you doe, with the other that I have ſpoken of before, you may come according to the tenor of your Cards, and offer your Oblations and Prayers to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who will both heare and accept them to your everlaſting joy and glory, to the which he bring us, and all thoſe whom hee ſuffered death for, Amen.

A note of William Gie.

One William Gie, ſervant with Maſter Revet, Merchant, bought a Bible and Service booke of Richard Waterſon, who then dwelt with Maſter Duixle in Pauls Church-yard, and one Spilman bound the booke: and when the ſaid Gie had inquired for the ſaid Richard to have his book at Duixles, anſwer was made that he was not within, and ſo the ſaid Gie went his way to Spilmans for the book; and becauſe he found it not done, he left it there, and immediatly ſearch was made in Spilmans houſe, and the ſaid Bible and Service book was found and carried to Boner then Biſhop of London. He having the bookes, commanded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lollards Tower; and as Clump went for the key thereof Spilman conveighed himſelfe away. After that, Waterſon and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calie, John Hill, and John Avales, and being two daies in the Counter, were brought before Boner and other Commiſſioners. Being examined: Doctor Story demanded Gie; Wherefore he bought the Bible? He anſwered, to ſerve God withall. Then ſaid Boner; Our Lady Mattins would ſerve a Chriſtian man to ſerve God. The Bible, ſaid Story, would breed hereſies; a bibble bable were more fit for thee. So they concluded that either of them ſhould have forty ſtripes lacking one, and Boner ſaid it was the law. And they ſaid to Waterſon, if he would pay forty pound, he ſhould be releaſed of his ſtripes: at length they came to 10. pound, and when they ſaw he would not, they made a Warrant to Maſter Grafton, and ſent Waterſon and Gie to Bridewell to be beaten upon the Croſſe. And becauſe the matter ſhould not be ſlightly handled, Story was ſent with them to ſee it done. Gie being whipped upon the Croſſe, interceſſion was made that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

A note of Michaels wife.

Michaels wife aforementioned, being priſoner in Ipſwich for Religion, reſorted daily from the priſon to her huſbands houſe, and returned againe, keeping faith and promiſe. And her huſband thereat being fearefull, ſhe would comfort him, ſaying, ſhe came not to trouble him, neither ſhould he ſuſtaine trouble by her. Wherefore ſhe would will him to be of good cheere, for her comming was of good will to ſee him and her children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to ſhew her duty therein while ſhe might have liberty.

A note

A note of Iohn Spicer.

IN Quéene Maries time, there was one Iohn Spicer, of whom mention is made before, he being at the Stake, ready to giue his life for the truth, a bagge of Gunpowder was brought him by his ſonne. And another ſtanding by (one named Maſter Beckinham) tooke the Gunpowder of his ſonne, and put it under the girdle of the ſaid Spicer, and exhorted him to be ſtrong in the Lord; alſo diuers of the Sheriffes ſeruants comforted him in like manner, and deſired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer anſwered; Doubt you not of me (ſaith he) my ſoule is quiet; but be ye ſtrong and ſtand faſt in the Lord Ieſus, and commit your ſelues to him in the confeſſion of his holy name, and profeſſion of his truth.

A note of Mandrell.

MAndrell ſtanding at the Stake, as is mentioned before, Doctor Geffery the Chancellor ſpake to him, wiſhing him to yéeld to the Doctors, who many hundred yéeres had taught otherwiſe then he doth beléeue, &c. To whom Mandrell anſwered; Maſter Chancellor (ſaid he) trouble me with none of your Doctors whatſoeuer they ſay; but bring me the Booke of God, the old Teſtament and the New, and I will anſwer you. What ſayeſt thou Mandrell (quoth he) by the Saints in the Church, the Image of our Lady, of the Crucifixe, and other holy Saints? be they not neceſſary, &c. Yes, Maſter Chancellor (ſaid he) very neceſſary to roſt a ſhoulder of Mutton. Then Doctor Billing a Friar once, ſtanding by, ſaid; Maſter Chancellor (quoth he) heare how theſe Heretikes ſpeake againſt the Crucifixe and the holy Croſſe, and yet the holy Croſſe is mentioned in all the tongues, both Hebrew, Gréeke, and Latine. For in Latine it is called t. in Gréeke tau, &c. Whereupon one Thomas Gilford, a Merchant of Poole, ſtanding by, ſaid; Ah mercifull Lord (ſaid he) is not this a marvellous matter for a poore man thus to be charged, and put to the paines of fire for t. tau?

When Mandrell and Spicer were examined before the Chancellor, the Chancellor called them, ſaying: Come on, come on, ſaith he, thou Spicer art too blame, for thou haſt taught Mandrell theſe Hereſies. Thou art by thy occupation a Bricklaier: Yea, that I am. And can ſing in the Quire: Yea, that I can, ſaith he. And can play on the Organes. True, ſaith he. Well then, ſaid the Chancellor, and thou haſt marred this poore man, and haſt taught him all theſe Hereſies. No, Maſter Chancellor (quoth he) I haue not taught him, but I haue read him. He is able, thankes be to God, to teach both you and me.

A note of Elizabeth Pepper.

ELizabeth Pepper before mentioned, when ſhe was burned at Stratford, was eleuen wéekes gone with childe, as ſhe then teſtified to one Boſomes wife, who then unlooſed her neckerchiefe; and moreouer, when ſhe was aſked, why ſhe did not tell them, anſwered; Why (quoth ſhe) they knew it well enough. Oh ſuch are the bloudy hearts of this cruell generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchieuous murdering of the Saints of the Lord, that truely profeſſe Chriſt crucified onely and alone, for the ſatisfaction of their ſinnes.

A note of one confeſſing Gods truth at the Gallowes.

A Notorious Fellon, one Dicke Adams, being upon the Gallowes, making his confeſſion, and ready to be caſt downe from the ladder, was deſired at that inſtant by one Miſtreſſe Harris, the Grammar Schoolemaſters wife, to remember the bleſſed ſacrament before he died, to whom the ſaid Adams ſaid; Marry Miſtreſſe neuer in better time, who went up to the top of the ladder, and ſaid it was the moſt abominable Idoll that euer was, and willed all men to take it ſo; for we haue béene greatly deceiued thereby. Whereupon the Sheriffe cauſed him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went downe to his place, and was caſt from the ladder, ſpeaking to his laſt word, that it was an abominable Idoll: his body therefore was buried out of the Church yard by the High-way; who although hée was a théefe in his life, yet he earneſtly repented thereof, ſo that I doubt not but hée died the childe of God, and not unworthy to bée put in the regiſter of the Lords accepted Confeſſors.

A note of Gertrude Crockhay.

Referre this to the yeere of the Lord, 1556

IN the late dayes of Quéene Mary, among other ſtrange dealings of the Papiſts with the faithfull, this is not with the reſt to be forgotten, that a godly Matron named Gertrude Crockhay, the wife of Maſter Robert Crockhay, dwelling then at Saint Katherines by the Tower of London, abſtained her ſelfe from the Popiſh Church. And ſhe being in her husbands houſe, it happened in Anno 1556. that the fooliſh Popiſh Saint Nicholas went about the Pariſh, which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her doores againſt him, and would not ſuffer him to come within her houſe. Then Doctor Mallet hearing thereof (and being then Maſter of the ſaid Saint Katherines) the next day came to her with twentie at his taile, thinking belike to fray her, and aſked why ſhe would not the night before let in Saint Nicholas, and receiue his bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus; Sir, I know no Saint Nicholas, ſaid ſhée, that came hither. Yes (quoth Mallet) here was one that repreſented Saint Nicholas. Indéede ſir (ſaid ſhe) here was one that is my neighbours childe, but not Saint Nicholas. For Saint Nicholas is in Heauen. I was affraid of them that came with him to haue had my purſe cut by them. For I haue heard of men robbed by Saint Nicholas Clerkes, &c. So Mallet perceiuing that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Then in Anno 1557. a little before Whitſontide, it happened that the ſaid Gertrude anſwered for a childe that was baptiſed of one Thomas Saunders, which childe was chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe, after the order of the Seruice booke in King Edwards time, and that being ſhortly knowne to her enemies, ſhe was ſought for, which underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the ſea into Gelderland, to ſée certaine lands that ſhould haue come to her children in the right of her firſt husband, who was a ſtranger borne. And being there about a quarter of a yéere, at the length comming homeward by Antwerp, ſhe chanced to méet with one John Johnſon, a Dutchman, alias John De wille of Antwerp Shipper, who ſéeing her there, went of malice to the Margrave, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to priſon. The cauſe why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of Maſter Crockhay her huſband a péece of monie, which was not his due, for a ſhip, that the ſaid Maſter Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in priſon, lay there a fortnight; in which time ſhe ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheniſh wine fats, and after ſecretly put in ſackes, and caſt into the River. Now the good woman, thinking to be ſo ſerved, tooke thereby ſuch feare, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſſe, of the which at length ſhe died.

Then at the laſt ſhe was called before the Margrave, and charged with Anabaptiſtry, which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the errour, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly without any feare. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with her profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome of her friends delivered her out of priſon, but tooke away her booke, and ſo ſhe came over into England againe. And being at home in her huſbands houſe, hée thinking to finde meanes to get her to goe abroad, made one Vicars a Yeoman of the Tower his friend, who was great with Boner, to worke that libertie for her. Now this Vicars making meanes to Boner for the ſame, Boner put the matter over to Darbiſhire his Chancellor, who enioyned her to give certaine monie to poore folkes, and to goe on the Wedneſday and Sunday after to Church to Evenſong, which ſhe ſo did, and afterward had ſuch trouble in her conſcience thereby, that ſhée thought verily God had caſt her off, and that ſhée ſhould be damned, and never be ſaved: ſo not long after this, it hapned that Maſter Rough, of whom mention is made before, came to her houſe, unto whom ſhe made mone of her unquietneſſe for going to Church, and deſired his counſell what ſhe might doe, that ſhould beſt pleaſe God, and eaſe her troubled ſoule, &c. Unto whom Maſter Rough replyed many comfortable ſentences of Scripture to comfort her, and in the end gave her counſell to goe to the Chriſtian congregation, which ſecretly the perſecuted had, and confeſſe her fault unto them, and ſo to be received into their fellowſhip againe; who hearing that was glad, and intended ſo to doe, and ſo would have done, if ſore ſickneſſe had not immediately prevented the ſame. But when Doctor Mallet heard by one Robert Hemmings Woodmonger, that ſhée lay very ſicke indéede, which Hemmings was her great enemy, he came to her twice to perſwade her to recant, and to receive (as the Papiſts terme it) the rites of the Church. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, ſhe could not, nor would, for that ſhe was ſubiect to vomit; and therefore he would not (ſhe was ſure, ſhe ſaid) have her to caſt up their God againe, as ſhe ſhould doe, if ſhe did receive it. And ſo immediately vomited indéede; wherefore he ſéeing that, went from her into the Hall to her daughter named Clare Sacke, and told her, if her mother would not receive, ſhe ſhould not be buried in Chriſtian buriall, as he termed it. Then Clare went and told her ſicke mother what he ſaid unto her. Who hearing the ſame, ſpake theſe words following; Oh (ſaid ſhe) how happy am I, that I ſhall not riſe with them, but againſt them. Well (quoth ſhe) the earth is the Lords, and all that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him, &c.

Reade before.

Shortly hereupon, that is, the 27. day of March 1558. the ſaid Doctor Mallet came againe to her with one Doctor Weſt, Quéene Maries Chaplaine. And comming in, he ſaluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to perſwade her, who was one of the Quéenes Chaplaines, &c. and therefore hée deſired her to heare and beléeve him in that hée ſhould ſay, &c. Then Doctor Weſt exhorted her to receive their Sacrament, and to be aneled, for he ſaid, ſhe was ſtrong enough for it, &c. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was able and ſtrong enough to receive it indéede, but ſhe would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then ſaid Weſt, ye be in an ill minde; Doe ye thinke to die a Chriſtian woman? Yea, ſaid ſhe, that I doe. I pray you, ſaid Weſt, how came you firſt into that opinion. Marie, ſaid ſhe, there is he that firſt taught it me (meaning Doctor Mallet) at the Marriage of my Brother and his Siſter, where I heard him earneſtly preach this Doctrine, which I now doe hold. And if God ſhall lay our ſinnes to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a publike Preacher of the ſame, and now to turne from it. Then Mallet told her hée was then deceived by little new-fangled two pennie bookes, as you be now (ſaid he) but now I am otherwiſe perſwaded, as I would have you, and to receive the Sacrament, which if you would, you ſhould, I warrant you, be ſaved, my Soule for yours. At whoſe words ſhe earneſtly deſired them to be content: for (ſaith ſhe) ye be come to robbe and to draw me from my Chriſt, which I tell you truth you ſhall not doe, for I will never conſent to you while I live. When Weſt heard her ſay ſo, he drew his ſtoole nigher to heare her ſpeake, and being drunken, he fell downe, whereby Mallet was faine to helpe him up againe, and ſo immediately after they departed thence. And the thirteenth day of April next after that, ſhe died conſtantly in the Lord, and yéelded her ſoule and life into his holy hands, with theſe words; Oh Lord, into thy hands receive my ſoule, and ſo immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praiſe for ever, Amen.

While ſhe was beyond ſea, as it is ſaid before, Maſter Crockhay her huſband, by the procurement of Doctor Mallet, was cited to come before Maſter Huſſey the Commiſſarie who (had it not béene for that he made meanes unto the ſaid Huſſey before) would have ſent him to priſon, and bound him in recogniſance to ſéeke her out. But he more eaſily eſcaped their hands by friendſhip, as before I have ſaid.

Now when Doctor Mallet heard of her death, Maſter Crockhay, and one Robert Hemmings Bayliffe of Saint Katherines, being before him for the burying of her, he ſaid plainely, ſhée ſhould be buryed nigh to ſome High-way, and a marke ſet up, in token that an Heretike was buryed there. Then the ſaid Hemmings told him, the Hogges would ſcrape her up, which were not decent, nor beſt; and Maſter Crockhay intreated ſhe might be buried in his garden, which at length he granted, and willed the ſaid Hemmings to ſée it done, and that he ſhould be ſure he buried her there indéede.

After, when the corpes was brought to the ſaid Garden, the ſaid Robert Hemmings the Bayliffe would néedes ſée it opened: which when the cover was taken off, the wife of the ſaid Hemmings put her hand within the ſhéete, and felt the haire of the ſaid dead corpes, ſaying; Now will I iuſtifie that ſhe is here, and ſo ſhe did, telling Mallet that thoſe her hands did féele her; this is the effect of this ſtorie.

Now ſince the comming in of Quéene Elizabeth, the ſaid Doctor Mallet came to the ſaid Maſter Crockhay, and aſked him forgiveneſſe, alledging this Verſe of the Poet.

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio eſt.

The Lord give him repentance and grace to ſéeke perfect friendſhip with him, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen.

A note of William Wood.

The notable deliverances of W. Wood.

ACcording as I have ſent unto you the true record of my examination before the Doctors above mentioned, ſo I thought it not inconvenient to ſend you likewiſe certaine notes of my other two deliverances in Quéene Maries time, and this I doe not (as God knoweth) to get any praiſe to my ſelfe, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his workes, and that our brethren may know, that though there be many times but little helpe on earth, yet that there is more in heaven. About a moneth after my examination, one Apleby and his wife (that were perſecuted from Maidſtone in Kent) came to my houſe in Strowde, and deſired me that hée might have a place in my houſe for him and his wife for a time, becauſe perſecution was ſo hott, that hée could no longer ſtay there; and I at his inſtance let him have a place with me: but within a fortnight after the Papiſts eſpied him, and complained of him to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the Biſhop ſent his chiefe man, called Ralph Crowch, and he carried him to Rocheſter before the Biſhop, and the ſaid Apleby ſtood in the defence of the truth boldly; and the Biſhop ſent both him and his wife to the Iayle of Maidſtone, and there they were burned for the teſtimony of the Goſpel of God. And the Friday fortnight after I was in the Market at Rocheſter talking with another man, and the ſayd Ralph Crowch was ſent for me; and he comming within a ſtones caſt of me where I was talking with my neighbour George Smally, one William Stanley a Papiſt, dwelling alſo in Strowde, met with the ſayd Crowch, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, becauſe many times in their talke they looked on me, and then the ſayd Ralph Crowch went over the ſtréete to another Officer or Conſtable which knew not me, and ſent the ſaid Conſtable for me, and comming for me, knowing my neighbour George Smally, tooke him in ſtead of me, and carried him to the Biſhop, and when he came before him, the Biſhop ſayd to the Officers, this is not he knave, this is not he knave, and the Biſhop checked the Maior and his Officers, and ſayd that they mocked him, becauſe hée carried the other man for me, ſuch was the mighty providence of GOD to defend me, and the Maior the ſame night ſent forty bils and men with other weapons to beſet my houſe to take mée, but the Lord kept mée from them, and delivered me out of their hands, to him be glory therefore, Amen.

The third time that the Lord delivered mée was on Eaſter day next after. I had béen at London all the Lent, and on Eaſter Even at night I came home to Strowde to my wife, and a childe of thrée yéeres old told one of the neighbours that her father was come home. And on Eaſter day, after their Popiſh Evenſong was done, came Maſter Reade, Thomas Crowch, brother to the aboveſayd Ralph Crowch, William Stanly, Thomas Bets, Lionell Newman, and Roger Braunch, with thréeſcore people or thereabouts, and ſearched my houſe very ſtraitely for mée: but as Gods providence was, there was Mault a drying upon the Kill, and they ſearched ſo narrowly for mée, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the haire whereon the Mault lay, and went into the Kill hole, and there ſtood till they were gone, and ſo I eſcaped from them; but within an houre after there came a woman to my wife to borrow a bruſh, and ſpied mée thorow the key-hole of the doore, and there ſhe carrying tydings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beſet my houſe round about, and I ſayd to my wife, You ſee that theſe foure men ſeeke for my life, that is, Maſter Reade, Thomas Crowch, William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I doe think that none of the reſt will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee wife follow theſe foure men, and talke loude to them that I may heare, and ſo eſcape, and if they ſearch on the backſide, I may avoide on the ſtreete ſide; and be of good comfort, for our lives are in Gods hand, and though there be little helpe here on earth, yet there is helpe enough from heaven; and when theſe men were ſearching on the backſide, I went into the ſtreete, among (as I gheſſe) an hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither ſayd they any thing to me, ſo I went out of the Towne, and lay there at an honeſt mans houſe at the Pariſh of Cobham that night.

And at the ſame time alſo two of my neighbours, honeſt men and of good wealth, the one called Iohn Pemmet a Fiſherman, the other named Iohn Baily a Glover, becauſe they came not to their Popiſh Church to buy ſome of their Idolatrous wares, were complained of to the Iuſtices, who did binde them to anſwer for their faith before the Iudges at the Aſſiſes which were holden at Midſummer after (as I remember) at Rocheſter in the palace yard; and there was at that time a ſaile cloth of a ſhip tied to the top of the Biſhops Palace wall, to keep away the Sun from the Iudges, becauſe it was hott, and the winde blew and ſhooke the ſaile, ſo that when theſe two men were called to be examined, and when they ſhould have anſwered, there fell from the top of the wall three or foure great ſtones upon the Iudges neckes, ſo that ſome of them which ſate on the Bench were ſore hurt and maimed, ſo that they aroſe ſuddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.

From Tuddenham in Suff. the 25. day
of Iuly, 1583. Per me Gulielmum
Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham.

The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

THis Iohn Alcocke or Aucocke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithfull honeſt man, by his occupation a woad ſetter, ſingularly well learned in the holy Scriptures, and in all his converſation a iuſt and righteous man, that feared God, and ſtudied to doe indeede that thing that hee had learned in the Scriptures. Now after that ſir Richard Yeoman was driven away, and the people on Sundaies and other daies came to the Church, and had no man to teach them any thing (for as yet Parſon Newell was not come to Hadley to dwell, nor had gotten any Curate. Beſides that, the lawes made by King Edward were in force, and the Latine mumblings not received every where.) Iohn Alcocke therefore tooke the Engliſh booke uſed by King Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and ſo read certaine prayers in Engliſh before them: and moreover, hee gave them godly leſſons and exhortations out of the Chapters that he read unto them. For this, the Biſhop of Wincheſter Stephen Gardiner ſent for him, and caſt him into Newgate at London: where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelfe to aske forgiveneſſe of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, he was caſt into the lower dungeon, where with evill keeping, and ſickneſſe of the houſe, hee died in priſon. Thus died he a Martyr of Chriſts verity, which hée heartily loved and conſtantly confeſſed, and received the Garland of a well foughten battell at the hand of the Lord. His body was caſt out, and buried in a dunghill; for the Papiſts would in all things bée like themſelves; therefore would they not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodies to have honeſt and convenient ſepulture.

He wrote two Epiſtles to Hadley, which follow here.

The firſt Epiſtle of Iohn Alcocke.

Gal. 1.

GRace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which gave himſelfe for our ſins, that hée might deliver us from this preſent evill world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

Oh my brethren of Hadley, why are ye ſo ſoone turned from them which called you in the grace of Chriſt, unto another doctrine? which is nothing elſe but that there be ſome which trouble you, and intend to pervert the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſſe though theſe ſhould come unto you that have béen your true Preachers, and preach another way of ſalvation, than by Ieſus Chriſts death and paſſion, hold them accurſed. Yea, if it were an Angell came from heaven, and would tell you that the ſacrifice of Chriſts body upon the Croſſe once for all ever, for all the ſinnes of all thoſe which ſhall be ſaved, were not ſufficient; accurſed be he. If hée were an Angell, or whatſoever hée were, that would ſay that our ſervice in Engliſh were not right Gods ſervice, but will better allow the moſt wicked mumming that you now have: Thoſe, whatſoever they bée, except they doe repent and allow the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, they ſhall never come into that Kingdome that Chriſt hath prepared for thoſe that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have béen taught heretofore of the Lord Gods true and ſimple Prophets, that only did wiſh your health and conſolation.

Heb. 9. 10.
Chriſts ſacrifice.

Church ſervice.

True Prophets.

Doe not (my good brethren) I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, Matthew 11. Come unto me all you that are troubled and loden, with the dangers that ye are in theſe ſtormy daies, and heare my words, and beléeve them, and you ſhall ſée the unſpeakable comfort that you ſhall receive. The Lord is my Shephard, ſayth the Prophet David, ſo that I can want nothing, Pſal. 23. He féedeth his ſhéepe in gréene paſtures, and leadeth them unto cléere and wholeſome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepheard, ſaith our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, Iohn 10. for I give my life for my ſhéep, and I know my ſhéepe, and my ſhéep know me; but my ſhéepe will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and ſo ſéeketh the deſtruction of their ſoules. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count your ſelves the ſhéep of Ieſus Chriſt. Be ſure that ye know his voyce and obey it, and be not deceived through ſtrange voyces, but goe from them, and earneſtly abide by your profeſſion that you have made in your Baptiſme, and ſhrinke not from it. For if you doe, you ſhall declare your ſelves to be a vaine people, and without underſtanding. And for this cauſe doth God plague his people, and ſuffereth them to be deceived with falſe Prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the Prophet Eſay ſaith to the people of thoſe dayes, Eſay 1. becauſe they were ſlipping from the Lord their God, which had done ſo marvellous workes for them, as you well doe know in the hiſtories of the Bible. Heare O heaven (ſayth he) and hearken thou earth, for the Lord hath ſpoken, I have nouriſhed and brought up children, but they have done wickedly againſt me. The Oxe hath knowne his owner, and the Aſſe his Maſters Crib; but Iſrael hath received no knowledge, my people hath no underſtanding. Alas for this ſinfull nation, a people of great iniquity, a froward generation, unnaturall children.

Hirelings.

A vain people.

They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken alſo what the Prophet Ieremy ſayth, Ier. 2. Be aſtonied ye heavens, be affraid and aſhamed at ſuch a thing, ſaith the Lord, for my people hath done two evils. They have forſaken mée, the Well of the waters of life, and digged them broken pits that can hold no water. Is Iſrael a bond ſervant or one of the houſhold of the Lord? Why then is hée ſo ſpoyled? Why then doe they roare and cry upon him as a Lyon? Underſtand thoſe things now in theſe dayes that the Prophet ſpake of them. Oh my brethren of Hadley, why commeth this plague upon us, that wée have now in theſe dayes and other times? Hearken what the Prophets ſay; Commeth not this upon thée becauſe thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy God? Thine owne wickedneſſe ſhall reprove thée, and thy turning away ſhall condemne thée, that thou maiſt know and underſtand how evill and hurtfull a thing it is, that thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy GOD, and not feared him, ſaith the Lord God of hoſts, the holy One of Iſrael, that is to ſay, he that maketh Iſrael holy. And underſtand by Iſrael the children of GOD, and thoſe things that were ſpoken to the carnall Iſrael, are ſpoken unto us, that are or ſhould be the ſpirituall Iſrael. Grace be with you all, Amen.

An evill and hurtfull thing

Iſrael.

Yours, Iohn Alcocke, priſoner for
Gods Word in Newgate at
London.

The ſecond Epiſtle of Iohn Alcocke.

A letter.

MY brethren of Hadley, note well what Saint Paul ſaid in the tenth Chapter to the firſt of the Corinthians. Brethren, I would you ſhould not be ignorant of this, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all paſſed through the ſea, and were baptiſed under Moſes in the cloud, and in the ſea, and did eate one ſpirituall meate, and dranke of one ſpirituall drinke. They dranke of that ſpirituall Rocke that followed them, which Rocke was Chriſt: Nevertheleſſe in many of them had God no delight, for they were over ſmitten in the wilderneſſe. Theſe are examples unto us, that we ſhould not luſt after evill things as they luſted, that is ſay, we ſhould ſtand forth to defend the verity of God, which wée would doe right well, alas, were it not for loſſe of goods: we doe ſo much luſt after them, that we will rather ſay there is no God, than wée will profeſſe his Word to be truth to the loſing of our goods. And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Mark 10. he that is not content to forſake father and mother, wife and children, houſe and land, corne and cattell, yea, and his owne life for my truths ſake, is not méet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we muſt néeds be méet for the Divell, and we muſt néeds be ſervants to one of them. If we be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, but earneſtly confeſſe it to the uttermoſt of our power, then are we ſure to be confeſſed of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, and that before the Angels in heaven, to be his ſervants. But if we will ſo luſt to kéepe our

Luſt after evill things.

Confeſſion of the Goſpel.
Luke 12.

goods, and rather deny him, then to loſe our goods, then doth it follow whoſe ſervants we are. Therefore (my deare brethren of Hadley) beware that you doe not conſent to any thing againſt your conſcience. For if you doe, beware of Gods great wrath: I exhort you therefore (my beloved brethren in our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt) to ſtand faſt in your profeſſion, and become not manifeſt run-awayes from the trueth of our Lord God, but ſticke earneſtly to it, and doubt not but our Lord God will be unto you a ſtrong defence and refuge in the needfull time. Bow downe thine eare, O Lord (ſaith David, Pſal. 86.) and heare me: for I am poore and in miſery. Be mercifull unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the ſoule of thy ſervant; for unto thee, O Lord, doe I lift up my ſoule. For thou Lord art good and gracious, and of great mercy, unto all them that call upon thee. Give eare Lord unto my prayer, and ponder the voyce of my humble petition. All nations whom thou haſt made, ſhall come and worſhip thee, O Lord, and ſhall glorifie thy name. For thou art great, and doeſt wonderfull things: thou art God alone. Teach me thy wayes, O Lord, and I will walke in thy trueth: Oh knit my heart unto thee, that I may feare thy name. I will thanke thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praiſe thy name for ever. O you Chriſtian people of Hadley, comfort your ſelves one another in theſe notable Pſalmes of David, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble Iewell of our Lord God the Bible, and indeavour your ſelves to walke the way that it doth teach you.

Inuocati[illegible] and pray[illegible].

Pſalmes of David are comfortable. The Bible is a Iewell.

My good brethren, we as helpers, ſaith Saint Paul, 2 Cor. 6. doe exhort you that you receive not the grace of God in vaine. For behold now is the accepted time, now is the day of Salvation. Let us beware that we take ſure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walke in it, leſt when ye would deſire it, ye cannot have it. Underſtand the light to be the knowledge of Chriſt, and to obey, that is to have the light. For that cauſe came our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, to make himſelfe knowne, Iohn 12. Unto thoſe that did receive him, he gave power to be the ſonnes of God, and ſo to be made inheritors of his kingdome, which ſhall never end, Iohn 1. who would not be glad to become the Kings ſonne, that he thereby might be partaker of the kingdome that never ſhall have end? O vaine man, what art thou that wilt refuſe everlaſting life for a day or two, or an houre? thou canſt not tell how ſhort. Open thine eyes, and ſee thine owne comfort and refuge to Chriſt. O flie and refuſe this worldly wiſedome: for worldly wiſedome doth ſhut out the wiſedome of God. For the word of the croſſe is fooliſhneſſe unto them that periſh; but unto us which are ſaved it is the power of God. For it is written, 1. Cor. 1. I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the underſtanding of the prudent. Where are the wiſe? where are the Scribes? where are the diſputers of this world? hath not God made the wiſedome of this world fooliſhneſſe? For inſomuch as the world by the wiſedome thereof knew not GOD in his wiſedome, it pleaſed God through fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſave them that beleeve. For the Iewes require tokens, and the Greekes aſke after wiſedome; but we preach Chriſt crucified, ſaith St. Paul, to the Iewes an occaſion of falling, and unto the Greekes (a people that are wiſe in their owne conceits) to them is the preaching of Chriſt crucified fooliſhneſſe. But unto them that are called, both Iewes and Greekes, we preach Chriſt, the power of God and the wiſedome of God. For the fooliſhneſſe of God is wiſer then men, and the weakeneſſe of God is ſtronger then men.

Vanity of this life worldly wiſedome.

Brethren, looke upon your calling, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is fooliſh before the world hath GOD choſen; that he might confound the wiſe; and that which is deſpiſed before the world hath he choſen, and that which is nothing, that he might deſtroy that which is ought, that no fleſh ſhould rejoyce. Of the ſame are ye alſo in Chriſt Ieſus, which is made of God unto us wiſedome and righteouſneſſe, and ſanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, that he that rejoyceth ſhould rejoyce in the Lord, that your faith ſhould not ſtand in the wiſedome of men, but in the power of God. We ſpeake of this wiſedome among them that are perfect, not the wiſedome of this world, nor the rulers of this world, which goe to nought, but we ſpeake of the wiſedome of God, which the carnall man doth not underſtand. The naturall man perceiveth nothing of the ſpirit of God. It is fooliſhneſſe with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit ſearcheth out all things. Wherefore (my deare brethren) trie your ſelves well, whether you have the ſpirit of Chriſt, or no. If you have the Spirit of Chriſt, then are ye dead concerning ſinne; but ye are alive unto God through Ieſus Chriſt. If this ſpirit dwell in you, then will ye increaſe and goe forward in your profeſſion, and not feare what fleſh may doe unto the carkaſſe. Therefore ſtand faſt in the libertie wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and be not wrapped up againe in the yoke of bondage, that is to ſay, to goe from God by wicked life, or ſerve God another way then hee hath commanded in his holy Word. I truſt you goe forward (my deare brethren and ſiſters) in your promiſe that you made to your Lord God in your Baptiſme: I pray GOD open unto you the knowledge of himſelfe, and lighten the eyes of your underſtanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance is upon the Saints. For ye are the choſen generation, the kingly Prieſthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that ſhould ſhew the vertues of him which hath called you out of darkneſſe into his marvellous light, that is to ſay, to feare God, and to worke righteouſneſſe, and ſo to receive the end of your faith, the ſalvation of your ſoules. This is a true ſaying; If we bee dead with Chriſt, we ſhall live with him alſo. If we be patient, we ſhall alſo reigne with him. If we deny him, he alſo ſhall deny us. If we beleeve not, yet he abideth faithfull, he cannot deny himſelfe. The very God of peace ſanctifie you throughout, and I pray God that your ſpirit, ſoule, and bodies be kept blameleſſe, unto the comming of our Lord Ieſus. Faithfull is he that hath called you, which will alſo doe it. Brethren, pray for us, and greete all the brethren among you.

Spirit of Chriſt.

Galat. 5.

1. Pet 2.

2. Tim. 2.

1. Theſ. 5.

By me your brother in the Lord and
Saviour Chriſt, Iohn Alcocke,
priſoner of the Lord at
Newgate.

Give glory to God.

GOd be mercifull to thee (O England) and ſend thee a great number of ſuch faithfull Fathers and godly Paſtors, as Doctor Tailor was, to guide thee, feede thee, and comfort thee after thy great miſeries and troubles, that thou haſt ſuffered under the tyrannous captivitie and rage of the Romane Antichriſt, and ſuch ravening Wolves, as have without all mercy murdered the godly and learned Preachers, and give all men grace to conſider that ſuch horrible plagues and mutations have juſtly fallen upon this Realme for ſinne, and with unfained hearts to turne to GOD, who as he hath ſcourged us with leſſe plagues then we deſerved, ſo he calleth us againe by his undeſerued and unſpeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtleſſe now high time to turne unfainedly to God, and to correct our ſinfull livings, and to remember what Saint John Baptiſt ſaid, Matth.3. The axe is now ſet to the roote of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit ſhall be hewen downe and caſt into the fire. For this may all men aſſure themſelves of, both rich and poore, high and lowe, old and young, that the Almighty, Jealous, and Righteous God, will not ſuffer the ſinfull and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant that contemne his mercy now proffered unto them, to bee unpuniſhed, but as hee hath from the beginning of the World ſhewed himſelfe a righteous Judge, and puniſher of wickedneſſe, even ſo will hee doe ſtill now. God expulſed our firſt Parents Adam and Eve from Paradiſe, and laid upon them and upon us all theſe miſeries, ſickneſſes, calamities, and death, that we daily feele, and miſerably are oppreſſed withall, Gen.3. God in Noahs dayes drowned the whole world, onely eight perſons were preſerved, Geneſ.8.9. God burnt up Sodome and Gomorrah with fire and brimſtone from Heaven, and deſtroyed thoſe Cities and all the Countrie about, Geneſ.18. God gave over Jeruſalem, called the holy Citie of God, and delivered his owne people the Jewes into perpetuall captivity, Luke 19. If we ſeeke the cauſe of theſe puniſhments, was it not ſinfull living and unrepentant hearts? What ſhould I recite the calamity of other lands, ſeeing Gods judgements have not beene unexecuted upon this Realme of England for ſinfull living? The old Britaines were with Cadwallader their King conſtrained to flee and leave this land, becauſe of Peſtilence and Famine: What miſeries and deſtructions brought the Danes in with them? and what troubles ſuſtained the inhabitants of this Realme afore the ſame were againe driven out? What bloodſhed was here in King William Conquerors dayes? were not the Noble men ſlaine, and Gentlemen brought into bondage? were not their Matrones defiled, and their daughters given to be Kitchin drudges under the Normans proud Ladies? were not their lands, houſes, and poſſeſſions divided by lot unto ſtrangers? Their gold and ſilver wherein they truſted, was the baite that their enemies hunted after: What a plague was the civill war betweene the Kings and Barons? what horrible bloodſhed was in this Realme? till at the laſt Gods mercifull providence ended thoſe miſeries by the happy joyning of the two regall houſes together in the Marriage of King Henry the ſeventh. What miſeries have chanced in our time, we have not onely ſeene and heard, but wee have felt them; and God bee praiſed, had our parts of them. Doubtleſſe this all hath chanced for the ſinnes of the people, as the Prophet Jeremy plainely teacheth, ſaying, Iere.6 Who is a wiſe man that underſtandeth this? And to whom ſhal the word of the Lords mouth come, that he may Preach it forth? why hath the land periſhed, and is burnt like a wilderneſſe, ſo that no man may paſſe through it? And the Lord ſaith, becauſe they have forſaken my Law which I have given them, and they have not heard my voyce, and have not walked in them, and have gone after the vanitie of their owne hearts, and after Baalim the Images of Baal, which they have learned of their fathers. We ſee here plainely the contempt of Gods Word, and of the Preachers of the ſame, walking after their covetous mindes and lewdneſſe of their hearts, and following of their idolatrous inventions, brought the wrath of God upon the people, as witneſſed alſo Jeſus Syrach, ſaying, Eccleſ.10. Becauſe of unrighteous dealing, wrong, blaſphemies, and divers deceits, a Realme ſhall be tranſlated from one people to another. And a little after hee ſaith; The Lord hath brought the Congregation of the wicked to diſhonour, and deſtroyed them unto the end. God hath deſtroyed the ſeats of proud Princes, and ſet up the meeke in their ſtead. God hath withered the roote of proud Nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath overthrowne the lands of the heathen, and deſtroyed them unto the ground. He hath cauſed them to wither away: He hath brought them to nought, and made the memoriall of them to ceaſe from the earth. But what availeth it to reade ſuch threates of God, if we beleeve them not? Or, if we beleeve them to be Gods threates, and deſpiſe them? Doubtleſſe, the Lord is Righteous, a Jealous God, a puniſher of ſinne, as he himſelfe ſaith, Exod.20. I puniſh the ſinnes of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. God give us grace to remember this, and with ſpeedy and unfained repentance to turne unto God, I ſay (unfained repentance) and not (alas) as we have done in times paſt like Hypocrites to diſſemble with God and man, making Gods holy Word nothing elſe but a cloake to cover our malice, covetouſneſſe, whoredome, pride, exceſſe, gluttony, wrath, envie, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living moſt deteſtable in the ſight of God. If men will well conſider themſelves, they have long enough diſſembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeede, and to follow the counſell of the holy Ghoſt, ſaying unto us by the Prophet Jeremy, Ierem.3. Why doe mortall men murmure againſt God? let them murmure againſt their owne ſins. Let us ſearch our owne wayes, and let us ſeeke & returne unto the Lord. Let us lift up our hearts & hands unto the Lord in heaven; for we have done wickedly, & provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be intreated. Doubtleſſe, the Lord will not be intreated, except men very earneſtly turne unto him. We have felt in our ſelves, and ſeene before our eyes, that when God ſtriketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy ſtroake of his fiſt. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a father, let us thanke him, and returne unfainedly, ſo will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we ſhould returne and live, and not periſh with the wicked. I live (ſaith the Lord) and will not the death of a ſinner, but that he be converted & live, Ezech.33. Here the godly oath certifieth us of forgiveneſſe, and requireth an unfained converſion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and bee ſorry that ever they have with wicked living offended againſt that ſo good and loving a father, and truſt to have forgiveneſſe through Chriſts blood, and fully and firmely ſet their hearts to ſerve God, and to walke the wayes of his cõmandements all the dayes of their life. Then ſhall we be true Chriſtians, built upon the corner ſtone Chriſt, not wavering or changing at every puffe of winde, not ſeeking an Epicuriſh life in all voluptuous and vaine vanity, not ravening, extortioning, or with uſurie, oppreſſing the poore and needy, but ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, living in the feare of Gods judgements, and truſt upon his mercy, mortifying our brutiſh and carnall luſts, being mercifull and helpefull to the poore and needy, waiting for the bleſſed time when Chriſt ſhall call us, to bee ready and accepted before him. Our mercifull Lord and good father grant us grace ſo to doe, for the love

of

Reade Beda & our Engliſh Chronicles.

Sinne is the cauſe of plagues.

High time is turne to God.

of his dear Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, our certaine and moſt deare Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, bee all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

Pſal. 115.

Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints.

Apocalyps 6.

Theſe are they which are come out of great troubles, and have waſhed their clothes, and made them white in the bloud of the Lambe.

Certaine Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of things to be conſidered in reading this ſtory.

Amongſt other eſcapes and overſights in the Edition of this ſtory committed, part of them we leave to thine owne gentle caſtigation, gentle Reader: certain other ſpecialities there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

Cautions of the Author to the Reader.

Firſt, when mention is made of Peters being at Rome, and ſuffering at Rome, following certaine Authors; yet foraſmuch as other Writers there bee, and reaſons to prove that hee was not at Rome, I deſire thee therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other mens judgements, if any ſee or can ſay further in that matter.

Touching the ſtory of the Turkes, whereas I in following our Chriſtian Authors writing of the Turkes, have noted Solimannus to bee the 12. Turke after Ottomannus, as they doe all record: I have found ſince by the computation of the Turkes ſet forth in the table of their owne deſcent, the ſaid Solimannus to be the ſixth Emperour of the Turkes; and this Solimannus his ſon, which now reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to ſignifie unto thee, becauſe of their owne Turkiſh propheſie noted before, leſt in conſtruing of that prophecie, being in the ſame place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, where Maſter George Blag is named to be one of the privie Chamber; here is to be noted alſo, that although hee were not admitted as one of the privie Chamber, yet his ordinarie reſort thither, and to the Kings preſence there was ſuch, as although hee were not one of them, yet was he ſo commonly taken.

Item, in the ſtorie of the Duke of Somerſet, where it is ſaid, that at the returne of the Earle of Warwicke out of Norfolke, there was a conſultation amongſt the Lords aſſembling themſelves together in the houſe of M. Yorke, &c. againſt the Duke of Somerſet; here is to be noted, that the comming of the Lords to the ſaid houſe of M. Yorke was not immediately upon the Duke of Northumberlands returne, but firſt he went to Warwicke, and from thence after a ſpace came to the houſe aforeſaid.

Item, here is alſo to be noted touching the ſaid Duke of Somerſet, that albeit at his death relation is made of a ſudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Chriſt, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the Duke of Somerſet with Chriſt.

And though I doe ſomething more attribute to the commendation of the ſaid Duke of Somerſet, which dyed ſo conſtantly in his religion, yet I deſire thee (gentle Reader) ſo to take it, not that I did ever meane to derogate or impaire the martiall praiſe or facts of other men, which alſo are to bee commended in ſuch things where they well deſerved.

Item, touching the ſame Duke of Somerſet, where the ſtory ſaith, he was attainted, read indited

Item, where mention is made of one Nicholas Underwood to bee the betraier of the Duke of Suffolke; joyne with the ſaid Underwood alſo Nicholas Laurence, alias Nicholas Ethell, Keeper of Aſteley Parke, who taking upon him and promiſing to keep the Duke for two or three dayes, untill he might finde ſome meanes to eſcape, conveighed him into an hollow tree, and after moſt traiterouſly bewraied him.

This Nicholas Underwood dwelleth now at Coton by Nunne Eaton, and Laurence in Nunne Eaton.

Item, in the ſtorie of ſir Thomas Wyat there is alſo to be corrected, that where the ſtorie ſaith that he was taken by ſir Clement Parſon, which was not ſo, and he no ſuch Knight, amend it thus: that he firſt came to Clarentius, being ſent unto him, and afterward yeelded him to ſir Moris Bartley. Briefly and in generall, beſides theſe caſtigations above noted, if thou finde any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I deſire thee (gentle Reader) to beſtow a little pains with thine owne hand to amend them.

Notes omitted of them that were burnt at Briſtow.

William Sarton, Martyr, burnt at Briſtow.

The eighth day of Auguſt was brought William Sarton, Weaver of Briſtow, before one Dalby Chancellor of Briſtow aforeſaid, and by him committed to priſon, and alſo condemned, for holding that the ſacrament was a ſigne of an holy thing; alſo he denied, that the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt is there after their words of conſecration: he was burned the eighteenth of September, Anno 1556, and as hee went to the fire, he ſung Pſalmes. The Sheriffe, John Griffith, had prepared greene wood to burne him; but one Maſter John Pikes, pitying the man, cauſed divers to goe with him to Ridland, halfe a mile off, who brought good ſtore of helme ſheaves, which indeed made good diſpatch with little paine, in compariſon to that he ſhould have ſuffered with the greene wood. In the meane ſpace, whileſt they went for the ſheaves, the ſaid Sarton made many good exhortatious to the people, and after died conſtantly and patiently with great joyfulneſſe.

A note of Preſts wife of Exceter,

Preſts wife of Exceter, Martyr.

In Cornwall not farre from Lanceſton, within the Dioceſſe of Exceter, in Queene Maries dayes, dwelled a poore man, whoſe name was Preſt, his wife being an honeſt woman, very ſimple, but of good zeale and upright life, being taught by GOD in hearing of his Word (albeit it was in thoſe dayes very ſeldome preached any where) and feeling a ſweete taſte thereof, framed her life anew after the rule of the ſame. And baniſhed quite from her all the Popiſh dregs of ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, and gave her ſelfe wholly to prayer, and invocating the name of God, both for the afflicted Church of Chriſt in thoſe daies very dangerouſly toſt and turmoiled; as alſo for her owne inward contentation and ſpirituall conſolation, which ſhe not a little felt to her unſpeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when ſome, who before had knowne her, ſaw that marvellous change in her, and (as the cruell Serpent) envied her felicitie, they went upon the ſame immediately, and accuſed her to certaine Juſtices of the Shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and very perſecutors of the ſame; who taking the matter in hand, as very glad of ſuch occaſion, ſent for her to the place where ſhee was, and began at the ſecond, if not at the firſt daſh, to demand her beliefe in their Popiſh ſacrament of the altar.

The good poore woman, who had learned not to be aſhamed to confeſſe her Maſter Chriſt before men.

Doctor Raynolds Deane of Exceter, and M. Blackſton Treſurer of the Church of Exceter, Popiſh perſecutors.

men, and to render account of her faith when it was aſked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid backe nothing that eyther ſhe thought might profit them, if they had any grace to receive it, or elſe might ſound to Gods glory and praiſe, though it were never ſo much by them threatned and rebuked. Whereupon ſhee was forthwith committed to the Goale of Lanceſton, where ſhee remained a quarter of a yeere, or thereabouts, and afterwards was diſpatched of that vile and filthy priſon, and delivered over to the hands of two champions of the Popes, the one called Doctor Raynolds, Deane of Exceter, and the other named Maſter Blaxton, Treaſurer of the ſame Church, men ſurely fervent hote in the furtherance of the Romiſh affaires, and in withſtanding the truth of the pure Evangelicall Goſpel. So the time that this good poore woman was under their hands, ſhe had many ſore conflicts by them. And the ſaid Blaxton having a Concubine, which ſundry times reſorted to him with other of his Goſſips, alwayes when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, and there to make his Minion with the reſt of his company ſome mirth, hee would examine her, with ſuch mocking maner, in deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Chriſtian ſoule to have ſeene it. Then when hee had long uſed his fooliſhneſſe in this ſort, and had ſported himſelfe enough in deriding this Chriſtian Martyr; in the end hee ſent her to priſon againe, and there kept her very miſerably, ſaving ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his foreſaid gueſt came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly aforeſaid. But in fine, the vile wretches (after many combates, and ſcoffing perſwaſions) when they had played the part of a Cat with a Mouſe, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the ſecular power, who within ſhort ſpace after moſt cruelly brought her forth to the place where ſhe ſhould ſuffer, and there in great contempt of the truth (which ſhee moſt conſtantly confeſſed) they conſumed her carkaſſe immediately with fire into aſhes; which ſhe very patiently ſuffered, and moſt joyfully received, yeelding her ſoule and life unto the Lord, and her body to the tormentors; for the which the Lords name therefore be prayſed, Amen.

The martyrdome of one Snel, burned about Richmond in Queene Maries time, omitted in this Hiſtory.

The Martyrdome of one Snel by Richmond.

AT Bedaile a Market Towne in Yorkſhire, were two men in the later dayes of Queene Mary, the one named John Snel, and the other Richard Snel. Who being ſuſpected for religion, were ſent unto Richmond, where Doctor Dakins had commiſſion from the Biſhop of Cheſter to have the examination of them.

This Doctor Dakins many times conferred with them, ſometimes threatning fire and fagot if they would not recant, and ſometimes flattering them with faire fables if they would returne into the holy Catholike Church. But they ſtood conſtantly to the ſure Rocke Jeſus Chriſt, in whom they put their whole truſt and confidence, whileſt at laſt being ſo ſore impriſoned, that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not goe without crouches, they brought them to the Church by compulſion, where the one of them heard their abominable Maſſe, having a certaine ſumme of money given him by the benevolence of the people, and ſo departed thence: but the firſt newes that was heard of him within 3. or 4. dayes, was, that he had drowned himſelfe in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile.

Gods puniſhment upon the Doctor that condemned Snel.

Immediately after, Doctor Dakins giving ſentence that the other ſhould bee burnt, came home to his houſe, and never joyed after, but died. The Commiſſary of Richmond, named Pillings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to returne to the Church; but his labour was in vaine, the conſtant Martyr ſtanding ſtrongly to the faith which he profeſſed.

Then being brought to the ſtake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him Gunpowder, and a little ſtrawe was laid under his feete, and ſet round about with ſmall wood and tarre barrels; the fire was put in the ſtrawe, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together; Chriſt helpe me: Inſomuch that one Robert Atkinſon being preſent, ſaid; Hold faſt there, and we will all pray for thee. Thus this bleſſed Martyr ended his life.

A ſtory of one Laremouth, omitted in the bodie of this ſtory.

The marvellous deliverance of one Laremouth.

ALbeit I am loth to inſert any thing in this Booke which may ſeeme incredible or ſtrange to ordinary working for quarrelling adverſaries, which doe nothing but ſpie what they may cavill: yet forſomuch as beſides other reporters, the perſon is yet alive, called Thorne, a godly Miniſter, which heard it of the mouth of the party himſelfe, I thought therefore firſt for the incredible ſtrangeneſſe thereof, neither to place this ſtory in the body of theſe Acts and Monuments, and yet in ſome out-corner of the Booke not utterly to paſſe it untouched, for the Reader to conſider it, and to credit it as hee ſeeth cauſe. The ſtory is this: There was one Laremouth, otherwiſe called Williamſon, Chaplaine to Lady Anne of Cleve, a Scottiſhman, to whom being in priſon in Queen Maries daies, it was ſaid, as he thought, thus ſounding in his eares; Ariſe, and goe thy wayes. Whereunto when hee gave no great heede at the firſt, the ſecond time it was ſaid to him againe in the ſame words. Upon this, as he fell to his prayers, it was ſaid the third time likewiſe to him; Ariſe, and goe thy way, which was about halfe an houre after. So he ariſing upon the ſame, immediately a peece of the priſon wall fell downe, and as the Officers came in at the outward gate of the Caſtle or Priſon, he leaping over the ditch eſcaped, and in the way meeting a certaine Begger, changed his coate with him, and comming to the Sea ſhore, where he found a veſſell ready to goe over, was taken in, and eſcaped the ſearch, which was ſtraitely laid for him in all the countrey over.

A little ſhort letter of William Hunter ſent out of priſon to his Mother a little before his Martyrdome, to be referred and placed in his Story.

A letter of Wil. Hunter to his mother a little before his burning.

MOſt reverend and loving Mother, after my moſt humble wiſe I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, deſiring you to pray unto God moſt heartily for me, that I may have his bleſſing and yours, the which I eſteeme more worth unto me, then any worldly treaſure. In this preſent letter you ſhall underſtand the cauſe of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and proſperity, as ever I was in this preſent life. Wherefore I render thankes unto Almighty God for it, who alone is moſt worthy of all praiſe, truſting in GOD you be in health alſo. Furthermore, I certifie you wherefore my father continueth here, to the intent to heare ſome godly and joyfull tidings, both for ſoule and body, which I truſt it ſhall be to your ſingular comfort and conſolation, and to the great rejoycing of all other of my friends. Therefore I deſire you (gentle mother) to admoniſh my brother unto a godly life, with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, conſidering his bound duetie, that God may by your faithfull prayer aide and ſtrengthen mée in this my proſperous journy and courſe which I run, truſting to obtaine a crowne of everlaſting life, which doth ever endure.

No more unto you at this time, but God preſerve you unto everlaſting life.
So be it.

The Oration in effect of ſir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, ſpoken in the Starre-chamber the 29. of December, in the 10. yeere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. And in the yeere of our Lord God, 1567. Then being preſent,

Matthew, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
William, Marqueſſe of Northampton.
Francis, Earle of Bedford.
Lord. Clinton, Admirall of England.
William Howard, Lord Chamberlaine.
Biſhop of London.
Lord Gray, of Wilton.
Sir Edward Rogers Knight, Controller.
Sir Ambroſe Cave Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy.
Sir William Sicill Knight, principall Secretary.
Sir Francis Knolles Knight, Vicechamberlaine.
Sir Walter Mildmay Knight, Chancellor of the Eſchequer.
Lord Cattelene, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench.
Lord Dyer, chiefe Iuſtice of the common place.
Sir William Cordale Knight, Maſter of the Rolles.
Iuſtice Weſton.
Iuſtice Welch.
Iuſtice Southcotes.
Iuſtice Carowes.

IT is given to the Quéenes Majeſty to underſtand, that certaine of her ſubjects by their evill diſpoſitions doe ſowe and ſpread abroad divers ſeditions, to the derogation and diſhonour, firſt of Almighty God, in the ſtate of religion ſtabliſhed by the lawes of this Realme, and alſo to the diſhonour of her Highneſſe in diſproving her lawfull right of ſupremacie amongſt her ſubjects. And this that they do, is not done as in ſecrecie or by ſtealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies diſputed on. And thus by their bold attempts they ſéeme not to obey or regard the authority of lawes, nor the quiet of her ſubjects. As for example, by bringing in and ſpreading abroad divers lewd libels, and ſeditious bookes from beyond the ſeas, and in ſuch boldneſſe, that they doe commend thoſe writers in their ſeditious bookes, containing manifeſt matter againſt the eſtate eſtabliſhed. Which boldneſſe of men, ſo univerſally and every where ſéen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aide, or at the leſt way winkt at by them whom the Quéenes Highneſſe hath placed in authority to repreſſe theſe inſolencies. And the Quéenes Highneſſe cannot more juſtly charge any for this diſorder, than ſuch who be in commiſſions choſen to repreſſe theſe diſorders. If it bée anſwered mée, that they cannot ſée ſuch open boldneſſe and factious diſorders, I muſt ſay that they have no eyes to ſée; and if they heare not of ſuch contemptuous talke and ſpéech, I may ſay that they have no eares. I would have thoſe men judge what will come of theſe unbridled ſpéeches in the end, if reformations be not had thereof. What commeth of factions and ſeditions, wée have béen taught of late yéeres, and what the fruits thereof bée, which I beſéech God long to defend us from. If ſuch diſorders be not redreſſed by law, then muſt force and violence reforme. Which when they take place, may fortune fall as ſoone on them that ſéem to have leaſt conſideration in this matter. If force and violence prevaile, then ye know that law is put to ſilence, and cannot be executed, which ſhould only maintaine good order. If it be replyed againſt me, that to the ſuppreſſing of theſe open talkes there is no law, which by ſpeciall letter can charge any man offender; I muſt ſay, that whatſoever the letter of the law be, the meaning of the law was and is cleane contrary to the liberty of theſe doings. If it be ſaid, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can bee proved againſt him, that his ſpéech and deeds be done maliciouſly; what ye call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of theſe ſeditious bookes make mens mindes to be at variance one with another, diſtraction of mindes maketh ſeditions, ſeditions bring in tumults, tumults worke inſurrections and rebellion, inſurrections make depopulations and deſolations, and bring in utter ruine and deſtruction of mens bodies, goods, and lands: And if any ſowe the roote whereof theſe men come, and yet it can be ſaid that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciouſly labour to deſtroy both publike and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciouſly. And further, if it be ſaid to me, that the man which ſhould be charged with offence, muſt be proved to have done his act adviſedly: To that I anſwer. If any bring in thoſe bookes, diſtribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done adviſedly, I have no ſkill of their adviſedneſſe. If it be ſaid, that the law entreateth of ſuch acts as be directly derogatorie and of none other, what is direct overthwarting the law, when the contrary thereof is plainely treated, holden, and defended, and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be ſaid againe, that the world doth not now like extremitie in lawes penall, and calleth them bloudie lawes. As for extreme and bloudy lawes, I have never liked of them; But where the execution of ſuch lawes toucheth halfe a dozen offenders, and the not execution may bring in danger halfe a hundred, I thinke this law nor the execution thereof may juſtly bée called extreme and bloudy. In ſuch like compariſon I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference betwéen whipping and hanging. Indéede, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may eſcape hanging, in this reſpect, not whipping bringeth in this bloudineſſe and extremitie, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, then once hanged: The paines doe differ, but wiſe men will ſoone conſider the diverſitie. The truth is, to ſuffer diſobedient ſubjects to take boldneſſe againſt the lawes of God and their Prince, to wink at the obſtinate mindes of ſuch as be unbridled in their affections; to maintaine a foraine power of the Biſhop of Rome, directly againſt the Princes prerogative ſtabliſhed by lawes, is not this to hatch diſſention, and to cheriſh ſedition? To extoll the writings of ſuch, who by all their wits deviſe to ſupplant the Princes lawfull authoritie? If theſe doings bee not meanes to the diſturbance and utter ruine of this Realme, I know not what is good governance. If theſe be not the ſparkes of rebellion, what be they? Thus much having ſpoken to your wiſedomes, I doubt not of your aſſenting with me, the rather alſo becauſe I utter them unto you as from the Quéenes Majeſty by commandement, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of lawes, than is ſpied commonly abroad: Whereby we ſhall doe our duties to almightie God the better, declare our allegiance to our Soveraigne, regard the maieſtie of the lawes, love the quiet of our country, and procure the ſafetie of our ſelves.

God ſave the Queene.

And here I truſt, we are now come to an end of all our Engliſh Martyrs which hitherto have béen burnt for the veritie of the Goſpel, if we adde beſides to the ſame a godly countriman of ours, one named Richard Atkins an Hartfordſhire man, who of late about two yéeres paſt in the reigne of this our gracious Quéene, An. 1581. moſt miſerably was tormented at Babylon, that is, in the Citie of Rome. The cauſe and manner of whoſe ſuffering and martyrdome here enſueth, taken out of a certaine late printed ſtorie, and teſtified by ſuch as were preſent witneſſes and beholders of the ſame moſt tragicall execution. The purport of which ſtorie in words, as it is put downe by the ſayd reporter, here under followeth.

A true report of the horrible and mercileſſe martyrdome of one Richard Atkins, an Engliſhman, with extreme torments, and moſt cruell rage of furious tyrants, perſecutors, put to death at Rome.

ABout the moneth of July, Anno 1581. one Richard Atkins borne in Hartfordſhire, an Engliſh man, came to Rome, and having found the Engliſh Colledge, knocked at the doore. To whom divers of the Students there came out, to welcome him, underſtanding that hee was an Engliſh man. Among other talke had with him, they willed him to goe to the Hoſpitall, and there to receive his meate and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he anſwered, I come not (my Countrimen) to any ſuch intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great miſorder of your lives, which I grieue to heare, and pitie to behold: I come likewiſe to let your proud Antichriſt underſtand, that hee doth offend the heavenly Maieſty, robbe God of his honour, and poyſoneth the whole world with his abominable blaſphemies, making them doe homage to ſtockes and ſtones, and that filthy ſacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh Idoll. When they heard theſe words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welchman, and a Student in the Colledge, cauſed him to bee put in the Inquiſition; where, how they examined him, and how he anſwered them, I know not, but after certaine dayes hee was ſet at libertie againe. And one day going in the ſtréete, he met a Prieſt carrying the ſacrament; which offending his conſcience, to ſée the people ſo crouch and bow downe to it, he caught at it to have throwne it downe, but miſſing of his purpoſe, and it being iudged by the people, that he did catch at the holineſſe that (they ſay) commeth from the ſacrament, upon méere devotion, he was let paſſe, and nothing ſaid to him: few dayes after he came to St. Peters Church, where divers Gentlemen and other were hearing Maſſe, and the Prieſt at the elevation; he uſing no reverence, ſtepped among the people to the altar, and threw downe the Chalice with the wine, ſtriving likewiſe to have pulled the cake out of the Prieſts hands; for which divers roſe up and beate him with their fiſts, and one drew his rapier, & would have ſlaine him: ſo that in briefe he was carried to priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed ſuch a haynous offence; whereunto he anſwered, that he came purpoſely for that intent, to rebuke the Popes wickedneſſe and their Idolatrie. Upon this hee was condemned to be burned; which ſentence (he ſayd) hée was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the ſumme of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time hée remained in priſon, ſundrie Engliſh men came unto him, willing him to be ſorrie for that hée had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the meanes they uſed were in vaine, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to bée ſorrie for their wickedneſſe, while God did permit them time, elſe they were in danger of everlaſting damnation; theſe words made the Engliſh men depart: for they could not abide to heare them. Within a while after, he was ſet upon an Aſſe without any ſaddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having ſome Engliſh Prieſts with him to talke with him, but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the people in ſo góod a language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them for Chriſts ſake, to have regard to the ſaving of their ſoules. All the way as he went, there were foure that did nothing elſe but thruſt at his body with burning Torches, whereat he never moved, nor ſhrunke one jot, but with a chéerefull countenance laboured to perſwade the people, often bending his bodie to méete the Torches, as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his owne hand, and hold them burning ſtill upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondred. Thus he continued almoſt the ſpace of halfe a mile, till he came before St. Peters, where the place of execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burne his legges firſt, which they did, he not diſmaying any whit, but ſuffered all marvellous chéerefully; which moved the people to ſuch a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a croſſe, and willed him to imbrace it, in token that he died a Chriſtian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evill men to trouble him with ſuch paltrie, when he was preparing himſelf to God, whom he beheld in majeſty and mercy, ready to receive him into the eternall reſt. They ſéeing him in this minde, departed, ſaying; Let us goe and leave him to the Divell, whom hée ſerves. Thus ended this faithfull Souldier and Martyr of Chriſt, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Maſter: whereunto GOD grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Yong, who was at that time, and a góod while after in Rome, in ſervice with Maſter Doctor Morton; who ſéeing the martyrdome of this man, when he came home to his houſe, in preſence of Maſter Smith his ſon, M. Créed, and the ſaid John Yong, ſpake as followeth. Surely this fellow was marvellous obſtinate, hée nothing regarded the góod counſell which was uſed to him, nor ſhrunke all the way when the Torches were thruſt at his naked body. Beſide, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrées, as his legges firſt to put him to the greater paine; yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſſe, but that the Word of God cannot be but true, elſe we might judge this fellow to bée of God; for who could have ſuffered ſo much pains as hee did? but truely I beléeve the Divell was in him.

The curſed life and bloudy end of Doctor Story, a cruell perſecutor of Chriſt in his members.

I Had thought (Chriſtian Reader) here to have made an end, and to have concluded the volume of this Booke, had not the remembrance of Doctor Story, an Arch-enemy to Chriſts Goſpel, and a bloody perſecutor of Gods people, come into my minde. The diſcourſe of whoſe life and doings, I thought good here briefely to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Doctor Story being an Engliſh man by birth, and from his infancy not onely nuſled in Papiſtry, but alſo even as it were by nature earneſtly affected to the ſame, and growing ſomewhat to riper yeeres, in the dayes of Queene Mary became a bloody Tyrant, and cruell perſecutor of Chriſt in his members (as all the ſtories in this booke almoſt doe declare.) Thus he raging all the reigne of the foreſaid Queene Mary againſt the infallible truth of Chriſts Goſpel, and the true profeſſors thereof, never ceaſed till he had conſumed to aſhes two or three hundred bleſſed Martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the teſtimony of his trueth; and thinking their puniſhment in the fire not cruell enough, hee went about to invent new torments for the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuch was his hatred to the trueth of Chriſts Goſpel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruell blood ſhedding of his Servants, tooke away Queene Mary the great Pillar of Papiſtry. After whom ſucceeded Lady Elizabeth now Queene of England, who ſtaying the bloody ſword of perſecution from raging any further, cauſed the ſame Doctor Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, ſworne enemies to Chriſts glorious Goſpel. The ſaid Story having beene a while detained in priſon, at the laſt, by what meanes I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveighed himſelfe over the Seas, where hee continued a moſt bloody perſecutor, ſtill raging againſt Gods Saints with fire and ſword. Inſomuch as he growing to be familiar and right deare to Duke Dalva in Antwerpe, received a ſpeciall Commiſſion from him to ſearch the ſhips for goods forfeited, and for Engliſh Bookes, and ſuch like.

Stories education and birth.

Story a bloody perſecutor.

Story inventing new torments for the Martyrs.

Story apprehended.

Story conveighed himſelfe over the ſeas, where he continued a bloody perſecutor.

Story obtained a commiſſion to ſearch for Engliſh bookes.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a ſpace, by the which meanes hee did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble and extreme perill of life through his blood-thirſty cruelty: but at the laſt the Lord (when the meaſure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgement againſt him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to paſſe in order as followeth. It being certainely knowne (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all lands) that hee not onely intended the ſubverſion and overthrow of his native countrey of England, by bringing in forraine Hoſtility, if by any meanes he might compaſſe it; but alſo dayly and hourely murthered Gods people, there was this platforme laid (by Gods providence no doubt) that one Maſter Parker a Merchant ſhould ſaile unto Antwerpe, and by ſome meanes conveigh Story into England.

Story intendeth the overthrow of England.

A platforme laid to apprehend Story.

This Parker arriving at Antwerpe, ſuborned certaine to repaire to Doctor Story, and to ſignifie unto him, that there was an Engliſh Ship come, fraught with Merchandize, and that if he would make ſearch thereof himſelfe, hee ſhould finde ſtore of Engliſh bookes, and other things for his purpoſe. Story hearing this, and ſuſpecting nothing, made haſte towards the Ship, thinking to make the ſame his prey; and comming aboorde, ſearched for Engliſh Hereticall bookes (as he called them) and going downe under the Hatches, becauſe he would be ſure to have their blood if he could, they clapped downe the Hatches, hoiſed up their Sailes, having (as God would) a good gale, and ſailed away into England; where they arriving preſented this bloody Butcher, and Traiterous Rebell Story, to the no little rejoycing of many an Engliſh heart. He being now committed to Priſon, continued there a good ſpace: during all which time he was laboured and ſolicited dayly by wiſe and learned fathers, to recant his divelliſh and erroneous opinions, to conforme himſelfe to the trueth, and to acknowledge the Queenes Majeſties Supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, ſaying, that he was ſworne ſubject to the King of Spaine, and was no ſubject to the Queene of England, nor ſhe his Soveraigne Queene; and therefore (as he well deſerved) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the Queens Majeſty, and the Realme) to be drawne, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon an hurdle, and drawne from the Tower along the ſtreetes to Tiborne, where he being hanged till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and ſtripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privie members, he ruſhing up upon a ſudden, gave him a blow upon the eare, to the great wonder of all that ſtood by: and thus ended this bloody Nemrod his wretched life, whoſe judgement I leave to the Lord.

Story ſearched the Engliſh Ships for bookes, and is apprehended, and brought into England.

Story a traitor hanged, drawne, and quartered.

A note of Ralph Lurdane, perſecutor of George Eagles.

IN the hiſtory of George Eagles, alias Trudge-over-the-world, mention is made of his apprehenſion in a corne field, where, by the benefit of the height of the corne, and breadth of the field, he had eſcaped, had not one of his perſecutors with more malicious craft climbed a high tree to view over the place, and ſo deſcried him. This perſecutor named Ralph Lurdane (as we have ſince learned) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredome, was, within few yeeres after he had apprehended the foreſaid George Eagles for gaine of money, attached of fellony for ſtealing horſe, condemned, and hanged in the ſame place and towne of Chelmeſford, where George Eagles before ſuffered martyrdome.

A briefe note concerning the horrible Maſſacre in France, Anno 1572.

HEre, before the cloſing up of this booke, in no caſe would be unremembred the tragicall and furious Maſſacre in France, wherein were murthered ſo many hundreds and thouſands of Gods good Martyrs. But becauſe the true narration of this lamentable ſtory is ſet forth in Engliſh at large, in a booke by it ſelfe, and extant in print already, it ſhall the leſſe neede now to diſcourſe that matter with any new repetition; onely a briefe touch of ſummarie notes for remembrance may ſuffice. And firſt for brevitie ſake to overpaſſe the bloudy butchery of the Romiſh Catholikes in Orange againſt the Proteſtants, moſt fiercely and unawares breaking into their houſes, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and childe; of whom ſome being ſpoyled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the ſtreetes; ſome they ſmothered in their houſes with ſmoake, with ſword and weapon, ſparing none, the carkaſes of ſome they threw to dogges, which was An. 1570. in the reigne of Charles 9. Likewiſe to paſſe over the cruell ſlaughter at Roane, where the Proteſtants being at a Sermon without the city wals upon the Kings edict, the Catholikes in fury ranne upon them comming home, and ſlew of them above 40. at leaſt, many moe they wounded. This example at Roane ſtirred up the

The cruell Maſſacre in France.

Perſecution in the city of Orange.

Anno 1570. Perſecution at Roane.

40. Slaine comming from a Sermon.

Papiſts

Perſecution at Diepe.

Papiſts in Diepe to practiſe the like rage alſo againſt the Chriſtians there returning from the Sermon; whoſe ſlaughter had beene the greater, had they not more wiſely before beene provided of weapon, for their owne defence at neede. All which happened about the ſame yeare aforeſaid, Anno 1570. But theſe with ſuch like I briefly overſlip, to enter now into the matter aboue promiſed, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and moſt barbarous maſſacre wrought in Paris, ſuch as I ſuppoſe was never heard of before in any civill diſſenſion amongſt the very Heathen. In few words to touch the ſubſtance of the matter.

The horrible maſſacre at Paris.

The Kings diſſembled pretence.

The names of all the favourers of the Admirall deſcribed.

A bloudy marriage betweene the Kings ſiſter and Prince of Navarre.

After long troubles in France, the Catholike ſide, foreſeeing no good to bee done againſt the Proteſtants by open force, beganne to deviſe how by craftie meanes to entrap them, And that by two manner of wayes: The one by pretending a power to bee ſent into the lower countrey, whereof the Admirall to bee the Captaine; not that the King ſo meant indeede, but onely to underſtand thereby what power and force the Admirall had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The ſecond was by a certain marriage ſuborned, betweene the Prince of Navarre, and the Kings ſiſter. To this pretenſed marriage, it was deviſed that all the chiefeſt Proteſtants of France ſhould be invited, and meete in Paris. Among whom firſt they beganne with the Queene of Navarre, mother to the Prince, that ſhould marry the Kings ſiſter, attempting by all meanes poſſible to obtaine her conſent thereunto. She being then at Rochell, and allured by many faire words to repaire unto the King, conſented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where ſhee after much adoe, at length being wonne to the Kings mind, and providing for the marriage, ſhortly upon the ſame fell ſicke, and within five dayes departed, not without ſuſpition, as ſome ſaid, of poyſon. But her body being opened, no ſigne of poyſon could there be found, ſave only that a certaine Pothecarie made his brag, that he had killed the Queene by certaine venemous odours and ſmels by him confected.

Admirall wounded with a piſtolet ſhot out of a window.

Admirall ſlain in his bed, and throwen out of the window.

After this notwithſtanding the marriage ſtill going forward, the Admirall, Prince of Navarre, Condee, with divers other chiefe States of the Proteſtants, induced by the Kings letters and many faire promiſes, at laſt were brought to Paris. Where with great ſolemnity they were received, but eſpecially the Admirall. To make the matter ſhort: The day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of Auguſt. Anno 1572. Which marriage being celebrate and ſolemnized by the Cardinall of Borbone, upon an high ſtage ſet up of purpoſe without the Church walls, the Prince of Navarre and Condee came downe, waiting for the Kings ſiſter being then at Maſſe. This done, they reſorted all together to the Biſhops Palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a Palace in the middle of Paris to ſupper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of Auguſt, the Admirall comming from the Councell Table, by the way was ſtrucken with a Piſtolet, charged with three Pellets, in both his armes. Hee being thus wounded, and yet ſtill remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counſel to flee away, it ſo fell out that certaine ſouldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to bee readie at a watchword at the commandement of the Prince. Upon which watchword given, they burſt out to the ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, firſt beginning with the Admirall himſelfe, who being wounded with many ſore wounds, was caſt out of the window into the ſtreet, where his head being firſt ſtriken off, and embalmed with ſpices to bee ſent to the Pope, the ſavage people raging againſt him, cut off his armes and privie members, and ſo drawing him three dayes thorow the ſtreetes of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the Citie, and there hanged him up by his heeles to the greater ſhew and ſcorne of him.

10 Thouſand ſlaine in three dayes.

Ex hiſtoria Ric. Dinothi, lib. 5

After the Martyrdome of this good man, the armed Souldiers with rage and violence ranne upon all other of the ſame profeſſion, ſlaying and killing all the Proteſtants they knew or could finde within the City gates incloſed. This bloody ſlaughter continued the ſpace of many dayes, but eſpecially the greateſt ſlaughter was in the three firſt dayes, in which were numbred to be ſlaine, as the ſtory writeth, above ten thouſand, men, women, old and young, of all ſorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be throwne in the river: ſo that not onely the river was all ſtained therewith, but alſo whole ſtreams in certaine places of the Citie did runne with gore blood of the ſlaine bodies. So great was the outrage of that Heatheniſh Perſecution, that not only the Proteſtants, but alſo certaine, whom they thought indifferent Papiſts, they put to the ſword in ſtead of Proteſtants. In the number of them that were ſlaine of the more learned ſort, was Petrus Ramus, alſo Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapeſius, with others.

Petrus Ramus Lambinus, with other, ſlaine.

Commentarii de ſtatu Galliæ part. 3.

And not onely within the walls of Paris this uprore was contained, but it extended further into other Cities and quarters of the Realme, eſpecially Lyons, Orleans, Tholous, and Roane. In which cities it is almoſt incredible, nor ſcarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was ſhewed, what numbers of good men were deſtroyed; inſomuch that within the ſpace of one moneth, thirtie thouſand at leaſt of religious Proteſtants are numbred to be ſlaine, as is credibly reported and ſtoried in the Commentaries of them which teſtifie purpoſly of the matter.

The ſpirit and charity of the Pope to be noted.

28. of Auguſt.

S. Bartholomew, a bloudy day.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the Pope firſt heard of this bloudy ſtirre, he with his Cardinalls made ſuch joy at Rome, with their proceſſion, with their gunſhot, and ſinging of Te Deum, that in honour of that feſtivall act, a jubile was commanded by the Pope with great indulgence, and much ſolemnity. Whereby thou haſt here to diſcerne and judge, with what ſpirit and charity theſe Catholikes are moved to maintaine their Religion, which otherwiſe would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewiſe in France no leſſe rejoycing there was upon the 28. day of the ſaid moneth, the King commanding publike proceſſions thorow the whole Citie to be made, with bonefires, ringing, and ſinging; where the King himſelfe, with the Queene his mother, and his whole Court reſorting together to the Church, gave thankes and laud to God, for that ſo worthy victory atchieved upon S. Bartholomewes day againſt the Proteſtants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrowne and vanquiſhed in all the realme for ever.

The great diſtreſſe of the Proteſtants in France.

And in very deede to mans thinking it might appeare no leſſe after ſuch a great deſtruction of the Proteſtants, having loſt ſo many worthy and Noble Captaines as then were cut off, whereupon many, for feare revoking their religion, returned to the Pope, divers fled out of the Realme, ſuch as would not turne, keeping themſelves ſecret, durſt not be knowne nor ſeene, ſo that it was paſt all hope of man, that the Goſpel ſhould ever have any more place in France: but ſuch is the admirable working of the Lord, where mans helpe and hope moſt faileth, there he moſt ſheweth his ſtrength and helpeth, as here is to bee ſeene and noted. For whereas the little ſmall remnant of the Goſpel ſide, being now brought to utter deſperation, were now ready to give over unto the King, and many were gone already againſt conſcience, yeelding to time, yet the Lord of his goodneſſe ſo wrought, that many were ſtaied and reclaimed againe through the occaſion firſt of them in Rochell: Who hearing of the cruell Maſſacre in Paris, and ſlaughter at Tholous, moſt conſtantly with valiant hearts (the Lord ſo working) thought to ſtand to their defence againſt the Kings power; by whoſe example certaine other Cities hearing thereof tooke no little courage to doe the like: as namely Montalbane, the Citie called Nemanſium, Sanſere in Occitamia, Milialdum, Mirebellum, Fuduzia, with other Townes and cities moe: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumſpect, and take good heede of the falſe diſſembling practices not to bee truſted of the mercileſſe Papiſts, intending nothing but bloud and deſtruction.

Gods helping hand at need.

The towne of Rochel example to other townes.

The Cities of the Proteſtants take courage to defend themſelues.

These things thus paſſing at Rochell, the King hearing thereof, giveth in commandement to Captaine Strozzius and Guardius to ſee to Rochell. After this he ſendeth a Noble man, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochel men to receive him for their Governour under the King. Of this great conſultation being had, at length the Rochel men began to condeſcend upon certaine conditions; which being not eaſily granted unto, and eſpecially they hearing in the meane time what was done to others of their fellowes, which had ſubmitted themſelves, thought it ſo better to ſtand to the defence of their lives and conſciences, and to adventure the worſt. Whereupon began great ſiege and batterie to be laid againſt Rochell both by land and ſea, which was Anno 1572. about the fourth day of December. It would require another volume to deſcribe all things, during the time of this ſiege, that paſſed on either ſide, betweene the Kings part, and the Towne of Rochell; briefly to runne over ſome parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next yeere following, which was Anno 1573. in the moneth of January, commandement was given out by the King to all and ſundry Nobles and Peeres of France, upon great puniſhment, to addreſſe themſelves in moſt forcible wiſe to the aſſaulting of Rochell. Whereupon a great concourſe of all the Nobility, with the whole power of France, was there aſſembled, amongſt whom was alſo the Prince of Aniow, the Kings brother (who there not long after was proclaimed King of Polonie) accompanied with his other brother Duke Alanſon, Navarre, Condee, and other a great number of ſtates beſides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered againſt one poore Towne, had not the mighty hand of the Lord ſtood on their ſide, it had beene unpoſſible for them to eſcape. During the time of this ſiege, which laſted about ſeven moneths, what ſkirmiſhes and conflicts were on both ſides, it would require a long tractation. To make ſhort, ſeven principall aſſaults were given to the poore Towne of Rochell, with all the power that France could make. In all which aſſaults ever the Popes Catholike ſide had the worſt. Concerning the firſt aſſault thus I find written, that within the ſpace of 26. dayes were charged againſt the wals and houſes of Rochell, to the number of thirty thouſand ſhot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adverſary to invade the Citie: but ſuch was the courage of them within, not men onely, but alſo of Women, Matrones, and Maidens, with ſpits, fire, and ſuch other weapon as came to hand, that the adverſary was driven backe, with no ſmall ſlaughter of their ſouldiers: onely of the Towneſmen were ſlaine and wounded to the number of ſixty perſons. Likewiſe in the ſecond aſſault 2000. great field peeces were laid againſt the Towne; whereupon the adverſary attempted the next day to invade the towne: but through the induſtry of the Souldiers and citizens, and alſo of women & maides, the invaders were forced at length to flie away faſter then they came. No better ſucceſſe had all the aſſaults that followed: Whereby conſider (gentle Reader) with thy ſelfe, in what great diſtreſſe theſe good men were, not of Rochell onely, but of other Cities alſo, during theſe ſeven moneths above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord almighty ſuſtained them. Concerning whoſe wondrous operation for his ſervants in theſe hard diſtreſſes, three memorable things I finde in hiſtory to be noted.

Bironius.

Rochell men ſtand to their defence.

Rochell firſt beſieged by Bironius. Anno 1573.

The whole power of France ſet againſt Rochel.

The ſiege of Rochell during ſeven moneths.

7. Aſſaults againſt Rochel.

The one concerning the ſiege of Sanſer; which Citie being terribly battered and razed with gunſhot of great Canons, and field peeces, having at one ſiege no leſſe then three thouſand bullets and gunſtones flying upon them, wherwith the creſts of their helmets were pierced, their ſleeves, their hoſe, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their wals ſhaken, their houſes rent downe; yet not one perſon ſlaine nor wounded with all this, ſave onely at the firſt a certaine maiden, with the blaſt of the ſhot flying by her, was ſtrucken downe, and died.

Three notable examples of Gods great mercy in preſerving his ſervants.

The ſecond thing to be noted is this, that in the ſame Citie during all the time of the ſiege, which laſted ſeven moneths and a halfe, for all the ordinance and Battering peeces diſcharged againſt them, which are numbred to ſixe thouſand, not ſo much as 25. perſons in all were ſlaine.

The ſecond example.

The third example, no leſſe memorable, was at Rochell: Whereas the poorer ſort began to lacke corne and victuall, there was ſent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fiſh (called Surdones) which the poorer people did uſe in ſtead of bread. Which fiſh, the ſame day as the ſiege brake up, departed and came no more. Teſtified by them which were preſent there in Rochell all the time.

The third miraculous worke of God, in ſending in fiſh.

What number was loſt on both ſides during all this ſeven moneths warre, it is not certainely knowne. Of the Kings campe what number was ſlaine, by this it may be conjectured, that 132. of their Captaines were killed and ſlaine, of whom the chiefeſt was Duke-Damoule.

132. Captaines of the Kings army ſlaine.

To cloſe up this Tragicall Story, concerning the breaking up of this ſeven moneths Siege: thus it fell out, that ſhortly after the ſeventh aſſault given againſt Rochell, which was Anno 1573. about the moneth of June, word came to the Campe, that Duke Andius the Kings brother was proclaimed King of Polonie. Whereat great joy was in the Campe. By occaſion whereof the new King, more willing to have peace, entred talke with them of Rochell: who, as he ſhewed himſelfe to them not ungentle, ſo found he them againe to him not unconformable. Whereupon a certaine agreement pacificatory was concluded betweene them upon conditions. Which agreement the new Polonie King eftſoones preferred to the French King his brother, not without ſome ſute and interceſſion to have it ratified. The King alſo himſelfe, partly being weary of theſe chargeable warres, was the more willing to aſſent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lords great worke, the Kings royall conſent under forme of an Edict was ſet downe in writing, and confirmed by the King, containing 25. Articles. In which alſo were included certaine

Peace concluded betweene the King and the Proteſtants.

Duke Anjow the Kings brother made King of Poleland.

Peace agreed and concluded betweene the King & Proteſtants of Rochell, and certaine other Cities.

other Cities of the Proteſtants, granting to them benefit of Peace and liberty of Religion. This Edict or Mandate ſent downe from the King by his Herald at Armes, Bironius in the Kings name cauſed to be ſolemnely proclaimed at Rochel. An. 1573. the tenth day of June.

Anno 1573. Iunii 10.

The yeere next following, 1574. for two things ſeemeth fatall and famous; for the death firſt of Charles the ninth the French King, alſo moſt of all for the death of Charles, Cardinall of Loraine, brother to Guiſe. Of the manner of the Cardinals death, I finde little mention in ſtories. Touching the Kings death, although Ric. Dinothus ſaith nothing, for feare belike, becauſe he being a French-man, his name is expreſſed and knowne: but another ſtory (whom the ſaid Dinothus doth follow) bearing no name, ſaith thus: That he died the 25. day of May, upon Whitſon even, being of the age of 25. yeeres: and addeth more; Profluvio ſanguinis illum laboraſſe certum eſt, Certaine it is, that his ſickneſſe came of bleeding. And ſaith further: Conſtans fert fama, illum dum è variis corporis partibus ſanguis emanaret, in lecto ſæpe volutatum, inter horribilium blaſphemiarum diras, tantam ſanguinis vim projeciſſe, ut paucas poſt horas mortuus fuerit. That is, The conſtant report ſo goeth, that his blood guſhing out by divers parts of his body, he toſſing in his bed, and caſting out many horrible blaſphemies, laid upon pillowes with his heeles upward, and head downeward, voided ſo much blood at his mouth, that in few houres he died. Which ſtory, if it be true, as is recorded and teſtified, may be a ſpectacle and example to all perſecuting Kings and Princes polluted with the blood of Chriſtian Martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible perſecution in France.

The death of Charles the ninth the French King, and of the Cardinall of Loraine.

The maner of Charles the French kings death, to be noted.

Ex comment. de Stat. Gallic. part. 4.

The Conclusion of the Worke.

AND thus to conclude (good Chriſtian Reader) this preſent tractation, not for lacke of matter, but to ſhorten rather the matter for largeneſſe of the Volume, I here ſtay for this preſent time, without further addition of more diſcourſe, either to over-weary thee with longer tediouſneſſe, or overcharge the booke with longer prolixity, having hitherto ſet forth the Acts and Proceedings of the whole Church of Chriſt, namely, of the Church of England, although not in ſuch particular perfection, that nothing hath overpaſſed us; yet in ſuch generall ſufficiency, that I truſt not very much hath eſcaped us, neceſſary to be knowne, touching the principall affaires, doings, and proceedings of the Church and Churchmen. Wherein may be ſeene the whole ſtate, order, deſcent, courſe, and continuance of the ſame, the increaſe and decreaſe of true Religion, the creeping in of Superſtition, the horrible troubles of Perſecution, the wonderfull aſſiſtance of the Almighty in maintaining his trueth, the glorious conſtancy of Chriſts Martyrs, the rage of the Enemies, the alteration of Times, the travels and troubles of the Church, from the firſt Primitive age of Chriſts Goſpel, to the end of Queene Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious Queene Elizabeth. During the time of her happy Reigne, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the ſpace now of 24. yeeres, as my wiſh is, ſo I would be glad the good will of the Lord were ſo, that no more matter of ſuch lamentable Stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But ſo it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the World waxeth, the longer it continueth, the neerer it haſteneth to his end, the more Sathan rageth, giving ſtill new matter of writing Bookes and Volumes: Inſomuch, that if all were recorded and committed to Hiſtory, that within the ſaid compaſſe of this Queenes Reigne hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spaine, Germany, beſides this our owne Countrey of England and Ireland, with other Countries moe, I verily ſuppoſe one Euſebius or Polyhiſtor, which Pliny writeth of, would not ſuffice thereunto. But of theſe incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to give grace and ſpace. In the meane time the grace of the Lord Ieſus worke with thee (gentle Reader) in all thy ſtudious readings. And while thou haſt ſpace, ſo imploy thy ſelfe to reade, that by reading thou mayeſt learne dayly to know that which may profit thy ſoule, may teach thee experience, may arme thee with patience, and inſtruct thee in all ſpirituall knowledge more and more, to thy perpetuall comfort and ſalvation in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord; to whom bee all glory in *Secula Seculorum,* *Amen.*

Edward

Edward Bulkeley to the Chriſtian Reader.

WHereas that excellent man, both for learning and godlineſſe, Maſter Iohn Foxe of bleſſed memory, ended this worthy Worke with this ſhort declaration of that horrible Maſſacre and Murther of Gods Saints and Servants in France; I have thought good to ſet downe the ſame more particularly and largely, and afterward to adde thereunto a Declaration of other outragious cruelties, committed in France by the fauourers and followers of the Church of Rome upon faithfull Chriſtians, both before and after the ſaid Maſſacre: All faithfully collected and taken out of the Hiſtory of that honourable man *Iames Auguſt Thuanus*, Preſident of the Parlament of Paris, and Counſellor of Eſtate to the late French King Henry the fourth. And this I have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhorre that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take the better heede, that by our ſinnes and contempt of Gods holy Word, by his great mercie committed unto us, we doe not againe fall into the cruell clawes thereof, and into the bloody hands of her followers; as moſt certainely we had done, if God in great mercy had not prevented that ſavage, barbarous, and monſtrous Powder-treaſon.: of which great and mercifull deliverance God make us mindefull and truely thankfull in glorifying his name, and ſerving him in true holineſſe, and righteouſneſſe all the dayes of our life, Amen.

Iacob. Auguſt Thuan. Hiſtor lib.52.pag.17

WHen the Admirall was wounded in both his armes, he immediately thereupon ſaid to Maure, Preacher to the Queene of Navarre deceaſed; O my brother, I doe now perceive that I am beloved of my God, ſeeing that for his moſt holy names ſake I doe ſuffer theſe wounds. Pag.18. Then he whiſpered in the eare of one of them that bare up his arme, that hee ſhould deliver an hundred crownes to Marlin his Preacher, to be given to the poore of the Church of Paris.

Pag.36. The Admirall was ſlaine by Bemjus, of whom Alineus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never ſaw man in ſo preſent perill, ſo conſtantly & confidently ſuffer death.

Pag.38. Many honourable men and great perſonages were then murthered, as Count Rochfulcaud, Telinius the Admirals ſonne-in-law, Antonius Claromontus Marqueſſe of Ravely, Pag.39. Lewes Buſſius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Berntus, &c.

Pag.41. Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in bed with his two ſons, was ſlaine with one of them: the other was ſtrangely preſerved, who after came to great honour and dignitie.

Pag.43. Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chiefe Treaſurer to the King in Poytiers, a very good man, and carefull of the Common-wealth, after he had paid for his life a good ſumme of money, was cruelly murthered by ſome cut-throates, whom Stephen Fargon Patandery, that gaped for his office, had ſent for that purpoſe.

Pag.48. Magdalene Briſſonet, an excellent woman and learned, the widow of Ibermus, Maſter of Requeſts to the King, flying out of the Citie in poore apparrell, was taken, cruelly murthered, and caſt into the river.

Pag.52. Two thouſand were murthered in one day; and the ſame libertie of killing and ſpoyling continued certaine dayes after.

Pag.55. Peter Placie was ſtabbed in with daggers, and killed.

Pag.62. At Meldis two hundred were caſt into priſon, and being brought out as ſheepe to the ſlaughter, were cruelly murthered. There alſo twentie five women were ſlaine, Pag.63.

Pag.63. At Orleance a thouſand of men, women, and children were murthered.

Pag.64. The Citizens of Auguſtobona, when they heard of the Maſſacre at Paris, ſhut the gates of their Towne that no Proteſtant might eſcape, and caſt all that they ſuſpected into priſon, which afterward were brought forth and murthered.

Pag.65. At Avaricum in like manner the ſuſpected for Religion were caſt into priſon, and afterward murthered.

Ibidem. At the Towne of Charite, a troupe of Lewes Gonzagaes horſemen killed eighteene perſons.

Pag.68. At Lions there were eight hundred moſt miſerably and cruelly murthered; the children hanging at their fathers neckes, and the fathers imbracing their children, &c. Three hundred were ſlaine in the Archbiſhops houſe. Pag.69. The Monkes would not ſuffer their bodies to be buried.

At Romanium ſeven were killed, Pag.71.

Pag.72. At Tholoſſa 200. were murthered.

Pag.73. At Roane five hundred were put to death. At the laſt Thuanus writeth thus; This example paſſed unto other cities, and from cities to townes and Villages, ſo that it is by many publiſhed, that in all the Kingdome above 30000. were in theſe tumults divers wayes deſtroyed; although I thinke the number was ſomewhat leſſe.

Pag.23. A little before this Maſſacre, a man, nurſe, and infant carried to be Baptiſed, were all three murthered.

Lib.53. Pag.87. There was wonderfull great ioy in Rome for this Maſſacre, and the Pope with his Cardinals went in ſolemne Proceſſion to the Church of Saint Marke, to give thankes unto God for this great benefit beſtowed upon the See of Rom and the Chriſtian world. And the munday following there was ſolemne Service in the Church of Minerva, at which the Pope and the Cardinalls were preſent. Pag.88. A Iubily alſo was publiſhed, and in the evening the great Ordnance was ſhot off in the Caſtle of St. Angely. The Cardinall of Loraine gave a thouſand crownes to him that brought newes of it.

Pag.112. Bricamotius an old man of ſeventie yeeres, and Cavagnius were laid upon hurdles, and drawne unto execution; and being in the way reviled, and defiled with dirt caſt upon them, they were hanged. Bricamotius might have beene pardoned, if he would publikely confeſſe, that the Admirall had conſpired againſt the King; which he refuſed to doe.

Pag.117. Caſter, a citie in the countie of the Albingens, held by the Proteſtants, being upon the Kings great promiſes of their ſafety, delivered up into the hands of Crucete a noble man, was notwithſtanding with murthers and ſpoile cruelly waſted.

Pag.120,121. At Burdeaux, by the inſtigation of a Monke, called Enimund Angerius, were 264. cruelly murthered, of whom ſome were Senators. This Monke continually provoked them in his Sermons to this ſlaughter.

Pag.177. There was great rejoycing in the campe of the Duke of Alba, for the murther in Paris.

¶ I have thought good to adde hereunto of the like cruelty, committed at ſundry other times before this Maſſacre, by the followers of the Church of Rome, againſt the true profeſſors of Chriſt his Goſpel; taken alſo out of the hiſtories of the ſaid honourable man Iames Auguſt Thuanus, who in the firſt part of his ſecond Tome, lib. 29. writeth thus.

Pag.195. Anno Dom. 1562. AT Agendicum in Maine, a cruell ſlaughter of the Proteſtants was committed by the inſtigation of Aemarus, Inquiſitor of criminall cauſes, Cardinall Guiſe (as was thought) not being ignorant thereof, being Archbiſhop of that Citie, who, to the ſtirring up of more hatred againſt him, was accuſed to have béene at the ſtirre and ſlaughter at Vaſſey. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that the Proteſtants had taken ſecret counſell to invade and ſpoile the Churches, above an hundred of every eſtate and ſexe were by the enraged people killed, or drowned in the river Igonna, which runneth by the Citie; the houſes of many were ſpoiled; the Church without the Citie where the Proteſtants aſſembled, was pulled downe and made equall to the ground, and their Vines pulled up by the rootes.

Lib.30 pag. 232. The Duke of Guiſe entred into Bloeſe; which although he got without any fight, yet all furious libertie was permitted to the ſouldiers, houſes were ſpoiled, many Proteſtants which had remained were ſlaine, or drowned in the river; neither were women ſpared, of whom ſome were defiled, and moe murthered. Amongſt whom, one matron of good birth, having eſcaped drowning in water, could not eſcape from the hands of the murtherers. From thence he went to Mere, a Towne two leagues from Bloeſe, where Proteſtants had frequent aſſembly at Sermons; which for many dayes together was ſpoiled, and many killed, and Caſſobonius the Paſtor was drowned in the next river.

Pag.233. At Ligolium certaine men were ſtrangled, the Preachers eyes pulled out, and he burned by a ſoft and ſlow fire.

Pag.236. At Aniou, Albiacus the Paſtor was murthered, certaine women ſlaine, and ſome defiled; amongſt which, two ſiſters were abuſed in the ſight of their father, who was bound to a Well to behold that ſight.

Pag.238. John Turry a Preacher, above 70. yéeres old, being taken, was drowned in the river Clauium.

Pag.239. An hundred and twentie being put into the Church at Ceſaroduum, were cruelly murthered and drowned in the river Liger. Ibidem. Many moe men and women, which would not goe to Maſſe, were ſlaine by the procurement of one Antonie Pleſſiac Richell, who had béene a Monke, and was then a leader of footmen. Children that had béene baptiſed by the Proteſtants, were by them rebaptiſed.

Ibidem. John Burgeolus, Preſident of Turon, an old man, being ſuſpected to be a Proteſtant, having bought with a great ſumme of money his life and ſafety, was notwithſtanding taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and ſtaves, and being ſtripped of his clothes, was brought to the banke of the river Liger, and was hanged his féete upward, and head downeward in the water up to his breaſt; then (he yet alive) they opened his belly, pulled out his guts, and threw them into the river, and taking his heart, put it upon a ſpeare, carrying it with contumelious words about the citie.

Pag.247. Renatus Campanus did throw above fiftie whom either for religion he ſuſpected, or otherwiſe hated, into his great water pond, which in jeſt he uſed to call his great cup. In the water pooles of one Bojordanus were found above fiftie bodies of men that had béene cruelly ſlaine.

Pag.247. At Samararobridge certaine were ſlaine, Bibles in the French tongue and other bookes were burned, and the Pulpit overthrowne.

At Abbats-villa, Robert Sandeliſius Altocurius was ſlaine, and his ſon Francis, who firſt was wounded and left in the way for dead, and after being alive, and carried into an Inne, was taken out and killed. Francis Cantalupe Seconvilla, and Antony Cancelerte Altamrius kinſman flying away, were taken and killed.

Pag.246. At Valonia a tumult of purpoſe was raiſed, Huſuill, and Cocavill dwelling thereby were ſlaine with certaine men of the Towne, of whom was one John Gifford; who being overwhelmed with ſtones, and being ſuppoſed to be dead, yet after lifting up his head, and calling for helpe, was with ſpits and ſpeares thruſt thorow and killed; the hatred of the furious people being ſcarcely ſatisfied with his double death.

Pag.249. In Andomaribridge the Paſtor or Preacher lying ſicke, was taken, and having his eyes put out, and his eares cut off, was ſlaine, and his body was drawne thorow the Towne unto the Gallowes.

Lib.31. Pag.248. Thrée women were drawne thorow the ſtréets, and caſt into the river, and drowned.

Ibidem. The Towne of Barre being taken by the Papiſts, all kinde of cruelty was there uſed, children were cut up, and the guts of ſome of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their téeth. They that were in the Caſtle, when they had yéelded themſelves to the will of the conqueror, were almoſt all hanged. One Ralet ſpared not his owne ſonne, but ſuffered him in that tumult to be hanged.

Pag.292. The Italians which ſerved the King did for hatred of religion breake forth into ſuch fury, that they did rip up a living childe, did take his liver, being as yet red hote, and eate it as meate.

Pag.294. A yong maid of 16. yéeres old was murthered.

Pag.300. When the city Matiſcon was taken by corrupting the Kéeper of the keyes, whom yet they killed, great crueltie was ſhewed, ſo that they counted it a ſport to cut off mens legges and armes.

Pag.302. Sanpontius inviting Gentlewomen to Supper, would walke with them, and having his Souldiers about him, uſed to caſt ſome of his Priſoners (of which hee had many) from the bridge into the River, and with that ſpectacle did ſatisfie the eyes of his gueſts; of whom he would often aſke, whether they did ever ſée men leape better.

Pag.304. Anno Dom. 1562. When Gondrinius a follower of the Duke of Guiſe was ſlaine, there were found among his papers letters of the ſaid Duke; wherein he gave commandement for ſlaying of the Proteſtants in every Citie of his government.

Pag.342. Somaribius having taken without bloudſhed the Towne of Ciſtertion, yet abſtained not from ſhedding of bloud; but having killed above 200.

of them that did not reſiſt him, ſpoiled the towne.

Lib.32. Pag.376. Anno 1562.

At Albia of Cahors upon the Lords day the 16. kal. of December, the papiſts at the ringing of a bell did breake open the doores, where the Proteſtants were aſſembled, and killed without difference, ſome in the place, ſome as they were fleeing away, were here and there ſlaine, among whom was one Guacerius a rich Merchant; who being drawne into his own houſe, was with his wife and children murthered, and his houſe ſpoiled. About 45. were in that tumult murthered, and their bodies contumeliouſly uſed.

Pag.395. Ibidem.

At Galliacum, which is a towne by the river Tarvis, a great ſlaughter of Proteſtants was committed by the meanes of Laurence Stroſſius Cardinall, Biſhop of Albiens, in which, above 150. were murthered: of which, ſome were drawn thorow the ſtreets, and after death caſt into the fields, to be eaten of Kites; others were drowned in the river, or caſt headlong from an high place. Proteſtants houſes were marked with chalke to be murthered.

Lib.33. Pag.427.

In a Towne called Penna, 300. (notwithſtanding the ſafety of their lives was promiſed to them) were cruelly murthered by Spaniards, which were newly come to ſerve the French King; who alſo killed certain women there, ſcoffingly ſaying, that they were Lutheran men, diſſembling their ſex by their apparell.

Lib.34. Pag.512. Anno 1563.

Columbarius was ſlain in the ſiege of Montalbane, whoſe cruelty had been ſo great, that hee counted it but a ſport to burne women, children, and old men in an houſe together.

Pag.514.

The Towne of Nonne being yeelded to the Papiſts, upon condition, that the forraine ſouldiers ſhould depart ſafe with horſe and armour, leaving their Enſignes, and that the enemies ſouldiers that were footmen ſhould not enter into the Towne, and that no harme ſhould be done to the Towneſmen; but that they might (if they would) goe into the Caſtle: after the yeelding of it, the gates were ſet open, and ſtraight they came to murthering and ſpoiling without any regard of the foreſaid conditions. Men and women without difference were killed; the ſtreetes ſounded with miſerable mourning, blood flowing in the waies, and the laſcivious ſouldiers ſwords ſhining in the flames of the fire, which they had caſt upon the houſes. Many were cruelly killed, being throwne downe headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthineſſe and cruelty is reported. A certaine woman being drawne out of a privy place, into the which to avoid the rage of the ſouldiers ſhe had fled with her huſband, was in his ſight ſhamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a ſword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her huſband a deadly wound, whereof he dyed; the ſouldiers not being content to defile her body, but alſo to make her to defile her hands with the ſlaughter of her huſband.

Pag.628. Anno 1564.

Thuanus in his 36. booke, maketh a large declaration of a horrible conſpiracy of ſome in France with King Philip, for the taking and deſtruction of the Queen of Navarre, her ſon Henry, and Katherine her daughter, which was by Gods providence ſtrangely diſcovered and defeated, but the conſpirators not puniſhed.

Pag.638.

In Turone the Proteſtants being aſſembled to heare a Sermon, ſome were beaten, and ſome ſlaine; the preacher in the Pulpit thruſt thorow and ſlaine.

Ibidem.

Philibert Cureus, a noble and vertuous man, and an earneſt Proteſtant, was by conſpiracy of adverſaries ſlaine, as he was hunting and going to his brother.

Lib.39. Pag.880. Anno 1566.

An Auguſtinian Frier called Pulvarelius, comming to the towne Furium, and falſly lying, in ſaying that the Proteſtants, whom he called Hugonites, had killed all the Catholikes in Apamea, cauſed 35. Proteſtants to be pulled out of their houſes, and to be murthered.

Lib.44. Pag.271. Anno 1568.

At Samarobridge in Picardy, in time of peace, above an hundred Proteſtants were murthered: and at Autiſſiodore, which the Proteſtants having held in the laſt war, had now yeelded up, 150. were cruelly killed, and their dead bodies were drawne, and caſt partly into jakes, and partly into the river.

Pag.272. Anno 1568.

Cipierius, the Count of Tendas ſon, as he was returning from the Duke of Savoy his kinſman, was with his retinue, to the number of 35. cruelly murthered at Forum Julii.

Pag.273.

Within the ſpace of three moneths, in time of peace, were about 10000. murthered.

Pag.309.

Bordius a Captaine under the Prince of Condee at Mirabellum, was contrary to promiſe cruelly killed, and his naked body caſt into the ſtreete, that being unburied the dogges might eate it.

Lib.45. Pag.337. Anno 156

The Prince of Condee being taken priſoner, and his life promiſed him, was ſhot in the necke by Monteſquius, Captaine of the Duke of Anjoyes Guard, of whom Thuanus writeth thus; Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonii Condæi regiæ ſtirpis, viri ſupra natalium ſplendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illuſtriſſimi; qui fortitudine, conſtantia, ingenio, ſolertia, rerum uſu, comitate, facundia, liberalitate, quæ omnes ſimul virtutes in illo uno excellebant, paucos æquales, neminem ſua ætate, vel inimicorum confeſſione, ſuperiorem habuit: That is, This was the end of Lewes Bourbon Prince of Condee, of the Kings blood, a man above the honour of his birth moſt honourable in courage and vertue; who in valiancy, conſtancy, wit, wiſedome, experience, curteſie, eloquence, and liberality, all which vertues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confeſſion of his enemies, ſuperiour to him.

Pag.338.

Robert Stuart (a valiant Scottiſh Gentleman) being taken priſoner, was notwithſtanding ſtabbed with daggers, and killed.

Pag.380.

At Orleance an hundred men and women being committed to priſon, were by the furious people that ruſhed in moſt cruelly murthered.

Lib.46.

Nucetium was yeelded up by the ſouldiers, upon promiſe made to them of the ſaving of their lives; yet moſt of them being brought to Auguſtobona, were cruelly ſlaine by the furious people.

Lib.50. Pag.777. Anno 1572.

Many men and women were murthered for the ſpace of 3. daies at Orange.

Hitherto out of the hiſtory of Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus (who is reported to be a Catholike) which endeth in the yeare 1578. wherein I have for ſhortneſſe ſake omitted ſundry particular outrages and murthers committed by that bloody Babylonicall generation; from whoſe bloody hands God in mercy defend and preſerve us.

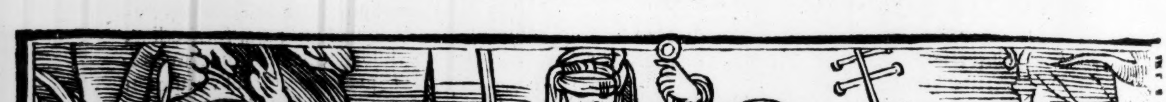
Hereunto I will only adde the murthering of Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, late French Kings, by Papiſts: the former murthered by Clement a Monk; the other by Francis Ravilliac a Franciſcan Frier: and to make up the full meaſure of impiety and cruelty, the barbarous and monſtrous Powder plot ſhall follow; whereby it was intended and purpoſed to have blowne up the Parliament houſe, when our gracious King James, Prince Henry, all the Nobility, Biſhops, Knights, and Burgeſſes ſhould be aſſembled therein. To the effecting of which devilliſh device, about thirty foure barrels of Gunpowder were laid under the ſaid Parliament houſe, and there found. This bloody conſpiracy was practiſed by preciſe Papiſts; whoſe conſciences would not permit them to come to our Churches; but did eaſily ſuffer and allow them to attempt this ſavage and horrible practice: viz. Francis Treſham, two Winters, ſir Everard Digby, Percy, &c. Hereunto alſo three Jeſuites (or rather Jebuſites) Henry Garnet (who ſuffered death for it) Oſwald Teſmond, and John Gerrard were privy and conſenting. Teſmond encouraged Bates unto it, abſolved him; and miniſtred the ſacrament to him. Gerrard miniſtred the oath of ſecrecy to Cateſby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes; abſolved them, and miniſtred the ſacrament unto them, as it is more largely declared in the booke intituled, The relation of the proceedings againſt the barbarous traitors, Garnet a Ieſuit, and his confederates, pag. 50. & 62. & 133. This bloody device ſhould have been executed the fifth of November, 1605, but was by Gods great mercy diſcovered and defeated, to the juſt deſtruction of thoſe deteſtable traitors, who fell into the pit that they digged for others, and to the eternall ſhame and confuſion of that bloody Babylon of Rome, and her favourers and followers.

Iohn 8. 44.

Ye are of your father the devill, and the luſts of your father ye will doe: he hath been a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, becauſe there is no truth in him. When he ſpeaketh a lie, then ſpeaketh he of his owne; for he is a lyar, and the father thereof.

FINIS.

A lively Picture, deſcribing the weight and ſubſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed Word, againſt the doctrines and vanities of mens traditions.



POSSIDETE ANIMAS VESTRAS
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1574

A CONTINVATION OF THE HISTORIES OF Forreine MARTYRS: From the happy reign of the moſt renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, to theſe Times.

With ſundry Relations of
thoſe bloudy Maſſacres executed upon the Proteſtants in the Cities
of *France*, in the yeare 1572.

WHERVNTO ARE ANNEXED
the two famous Deliverances of
our *Engliſh* Nation: the one from the
Spaniſh Invaſion in 88. The other
from the *Gunpowder Treaſon*, in
the yeare 1605.

Together with the Barbarous cruelties exercised upon
the *Profeſſors* of the Goſpell in
the *Valtoline*, 1621.

LONDON,
Printed by RIC. HEARN, for
the Company of *Stationers*,
Anno Dom. 1641.

A TREATISE OF AFFLICTIONS AND PERSECVTIONS OF THE FAITHFVLL, PREPARING THEM WITH PATIENCE TO SVFFER MARTYRDOME.

CHAP. I.

Shewing, That ſuch as will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt needs ſuffer afflictions.

WE are all prone by nature to decline afflictions, each one ſuppoſing to finde out ſome backe way to eſcape them. Firſt, Some are of opinion, that they can quit themſelves by playing the Temporizers; Secondly, Others, by hiding and concealing themſelves; Thirdly, Another ſort, by flying from thoſe places where Tyrants vexe and domineere; Fourthly, a fourth, thinking to beare off blowes by their greatnes and credit they have gotten in the world; Fifthly and laſtly, a fifth ſort imagining to find ſome evaſion, either by reaſon of their allyes, or good ſervices which they have done; dreaming forſooth, that either theſe or the like projects ſhould yeeld them good reſpect, and preſerve them from being called into queſtion by thoſe that hate them. In a word, which of us hath not ſome fetch or other to breake looſe, if he ſhould be either examined or purſued?

This is the true cauſe that ſo few are prepared, and carefull timely to foreſee what belongs to ſuffering ſhame and diſgrace for the truth, as the diſcommodities of long impriſonment, or what appertaines to the conſtant and patient bearing of hideous torments and death for the cauſe of the Goſpell. But alas, all theſe are but as fig leaves, and vaine hopes, which being ſomwhat pleaſing to the fleſh do only dull and deceive us; cauſing us to grow ſecure and careleſſe, and ſo unprovided to ſuffer, till we be ſurpriſed, and in ſafe cuſtody in our enemies hands. So that, when we ſhould be able to give a reaſon of the hope that is in us, we have not a word to ſay. 1 Pet.3.15.

To prevent theſe ſo great inconveniences, let us hold this for a ſure principle, That it is impoſſible to live godly, and not ſuffer perſecution. For God hath ſo decreed, that if we will partake of the glory of his Sonne, we muſt firſt be conformed to him in his 2 Tim.3.12. Rom.8.29.

Mat.7.14. ſufferings. Yea,this is that ſtrait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life. Through
much tribulation we muſt enter into the Kingdome of God, *Acts* 14.22.and whoſoever
Luke 14.27. beares not the Croſſe of Chriſt,following him,cannot be his Diſciple. The Apoſtle in
Heb.12.7. the Epiſtle to the *Hebrewes* plainly tels us,That if we be children, wee muſt taſte of that
diſcipline which God nurtures his withall in his Family. It is and muſt be the portion
Mat.10.16. of Gods beloved ones, to live in this world as ſheep amongſt wolves.

Indeed,if wee could live without ſin, we might then conceive ſome hope of freedome
from the Croſſe. But whileſt corrupt nature lives in us, and brings forth ſuch bitter
fruits,God hath,and will in all ages raiſe up ſome Tyrant or other, as means to mortifie
and tame the pride and rebellion thereof.Devils may as ſoone ceaſe to be,as that enmity
Gen.3.15. ſhould ceaſe between the ſeed of the woman and the ſeed of the ſerpent. As long as the
Mat.8.24. Church continues to be Chriſts poore Barque in the ſalt ſea of this world, ſhe muſt
make her account to be toſſed with ſtorms and tempeſts of perſecutions.

What ſhould I ſay, no Crowne is to be expected in Heaven, if we will not fight the
2 Tim.4 7. good fight of faith here on earth; nor to reap in joy, if in this world we refuſe to ſow in
Pſal.126.5. teares:The life of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt cannot be manifeſt in us, except we beare about
2 Cor.4 10. in our body the dying of the Lord Ieſus.

Let every Chriſtian then hold this for certaine, That when the world ceaſeth to hate
the Children of God, and the Devill to envy them, then may they looke,and not before,
to live in the world without perſecutions.

Iohn 16 33. Hath not the Way,the Life,and the Truth ſaid it ? In the world you ſhall have tribulation. And therefore let not the great ones of the World thinke to be exempted out of
this ranke,more than the ſmall·For to the Saints and members of the true Church afflictions are even as ordinary,as is Baptiſme,Faith,and the Spirit of Adoption.

Exod.2.15. Was not *Moſes* the adopted ſonne of *Pharaohs* daughter, faine to fly out of Ægypt to
Act.7.29. ſave his life ? Was not *David*, though anointed King, hunted by *Saul* his purſuer as a
Heb.11.27. Partridge into the mountaines ? *Iſaiah* and *Daniel* were of the bloud Royall, yet they eſ-
1 Sam.26.20: caped not;the one,from being cruelly rent in ſunder with a Saw,after he had preached to
Saint *Ierome* in his Commentary upon Iſaiah. his Nation ſixty yeares;nor the other (although next unto the King he ſwayed the affairs
Dan 6.16. of the Babylonish Empire)to be caſt into the lyons den.

In the times of the great perſecutions under *Diocleſian* the Emperour of Rome, who
were the firſt that were ſacrificed, but *Nicomede*, and the principall Favourites of the
Court? Who is ignorant that two of the moſt noble Princes of our times that ever Germany had,notwithſtanding their munition and meanes,were taken priſoners by the Emperour, or held captive five or ſix yeares in great diſtreſſe? What ſhould I here mention
Lady *Iane Gray* proclaimed Queene of England,and yet cruelly put to death? Or *Thomas
Cranmer*,Primate of England, burned to aſhes at Oxford? Or the Lord *Cobham* that religious and valiant Knight, hanged, and burned hanging in Saint *Giles* in the fields ? All
theſe,with many more, were apprehended, and not long after put to death, even then
when they might ſeeme moſt to have flouriſhed in the World.

Seeing then that neither age,ſex,power nor place can ſecure us from ſufferings,which
Act.20.23. are every where foretold in the holy Scriptures to abide us, whether wee be high or low,
let us in the name and feare of God prepare to take up the Croſſe of Chriſt betimes;
Prov.6.6. learne we of the ſilly Ant in Summer to ſtore up food againſt the cold and ſtormy Winter of Affliction: Imitating thoſe who dwelling in defenced cities are carefull to provide
themſelves of munition before they be beſieged.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Shewing, How the Faithfull ought to beare perſecutions patiently.

FOraſmuch as afflictions are thus neceſſary and inevitable to beleevers, that whether they will or no, they muſt paſſe this ſtrait way: they ought to bethinke them how to make hard things eaſie. And herein to follow the dealing of the Phyſitian with his patient, who, intending to give him ſome bitter Potion or Pill, is wont to ſweeten the one with Syrrup, and to wrap up the other in gold, leſt he ſhould abhor to take in, or ſwallow downe, either the one or the other. Even ſo are we, by committing to memory ſome elect and choice ſentences of holy Scriptures concerning the Croſſe, to cover over the ſame therewith, that it may not appeare ſo dreadfull unto us, as we apprehend it to be. For that which cauſeth us to fly and feare perſecution, is a prejudicate opinion we have conceived in our mindes, that ſome deadly poiſon lurks under it. And therefore wee ſhun ſo much as to taſte a little ſup thereof, in regard we imagine it to be the only bitter drug in the world.

Now, that which makes us fall into, and breeds in us this error, is becauſe (as therein ſo almoſt in all things elſe) we are led rather by ſenſe, than by the word, by which wee ought to ballance and regulate all our perſwaſions and reſolutions. For could we beleeve what the Prophets and Apoſtles (inſpired of God) have preached and written for the uſe of poſterity, as touching perſecutions, wee would not onely have them in a more honourable eſteeme, but thankfully and patiently beare them.

To which end, let us endeavour firmly to imprint in our minds theſe and the like ſen-
tences. Saint *Paul* tels us, that if we be reproached for the name of Chriſt, we may think
our ſelves happy; for the ſpirit of glory and of God (ſaith he) reſteth upon you. And 1 Pet.4.14.
Saint *Paul* ſpeaking of himſelfe and his aſſociates, ſaith thus, And not onely ſo, but we Rom.5.3.
glory in tribulation alſo, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience expe-
rience, &c. And in another place, God forbid that I ſhould glory ſave in the croſſe of our Gal.6.14.
Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Theſe places, with ſundry others to the ſame purpoſe, doe ſuffi-
ciently manifeſt how much the true Chriſtian ought to thinke himſelfe honored of God,
when it pleaſeth him to call ſuch an one forth to ſuffer for his name in the defence of his
Truth.

What other thing elſe, I pray you, was the cauſe of Saint *Pauls* glorying, and that 2 Tim.4.7,8.
glory in an higher degree, which Chriſt hath ordained for us by his death; with which Hoſ.13.14.
glory he is now invironed in the kingdome of his father? What elſe is it which is pro-
miſed to the Elect, as a recompence of their faith in Gods promiſes and all their loyall Iſa.24.16.
ſervices, but glory to the righteous? What is the principall glory which we attribute to
the Martyrs? Is it not in regard of their invincible patience and conſtancy of faith, by
which they overcame the world and their owne fleſh, which is not to be eſteemed a ſmall
or meane victory?

If *Alexander* obtained ſo great renowne by conquering *Darius*; and *Scipio* for diſcomfi-
ting *Hannibal*, &c. who ſlew but a few mortall men like themſelves; how much are wee,
in compariſon of them, to admire their valour, who have not onely warred againſt men,
but againſt their threats, gibbets, fires, yea againſt death it ſelfe, and in the end trium-
phed over it? We worthily magnifie the proweſſe of *Sampſon* and *Shamgar*; the one for Iudg 15.15.
killing a thouſand men with the jaw-bone of an aſſe; the other for killing ſix hundred Chap.3.31.
men with an Oxe goad. Yet did the force of the Martyrs farre excell theirs, who with the
ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, were inabled to overcome the devill with Eph.6.17.
all his retinue.

Tertullian tels us, That there is no better Order of Knighthood, nor chaines of greater In his Epiſtle
price, than thoſe to which the Martyrs of Ieſus Chriſt are faſtened, nor richer bracelets to the martyrs of his time.

than

It was Babilas Biſhop of Antioch in the yeare 250. *Ex Chryſoſt. li. contra Gentiles*

than the manacles wherewith their hands are bound. In the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory it is reported of a good Biſhop, who by the Emperor ***Decius*** being caſt into a filthy ſtinking priſon or hole for the name of Chriſt, with as many yrons as he could beare, intreated his friends (who ſomtime came to viſit him) that after his death they would bury with him the ſignes and tokens of his valour, meaning his bolts and fetters which were put upon his legs and hands, teaching us, That when we ſee it is the will of God to impoſe them upon us, and thereby to dub us Knights of his Order, we ſhould eſteem our ſelves no leſſe honored, than if a King, by way of gratifying a valiant champion for ſome great ſervices done for him, ſhould reward the ſame with ſome of his owne precious jewels, and then no leſſe to brave it out in theſe our Ornaments, than a woman when ſhe ſees her ſelfe decked with all coſtly array from top to toe.

In his book of Offices.

If that which ***Cicero*** writes be true, That no vertue gives to man greater luſtre than Magnanimity, we may thence ſafely conclude, That none ought in this kinde to be preferred before a Chriſtian Martyr; who neither loves, deſires, or admires ought, ſave that which is honeſt and praiſeworthy, nor gathers any riches to himſelfe but what he knows to be laſting, and hopes to poſſeſſe for ever in the Kingdome of Heaven: and therefore ſleighting either mens favours or diſpleaſures, as thoſe that are high borne contemne the one, when they ſeem to ſmile, and are not much daunted with the frowns of the other, knowing right well that all things under the Sun are but vanity, and ſubject to change with their ages and ſeaſons.

We read in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of one ***Phanutius*** Biſhop of Thebaides, who under the tyranny of ***Maximinus***, having one of his eyes put out, never preſented himſelſe before ***Conſtantine*** the Great, but that good Emperour embracing of him would kiſſe that eye, which being loſt, wee know how unſeemly it cauſeth that part to be. But thus the Emperour would ſhew, That nothing ought to be in higher eſteeme with us, than the croſſe of Chriſt, and the markes thereof when we beare or weare them on any part of our bodies.

If the good and holy life of a Chriſtian be ſo much ſet by of us, then muſt the death of ſuch a one be much more glorious, when for the name of Chriſt, hee takes the ſame joyfully. Who could be more deare in the eye of God the Father, than his Son Ieſus Chriſt? Yet gave he him to ſuffer death for our ſins, and by ſuffering the ſame, according to the will and appointment of his heavenly Father, hath he not obtained a name which is above every name, That at the name of Ieſus every knee ſhould bow, &c.

Mat. 3.17.

If Gods glory ought to be preferred before all things, yea, our owne ſalvation; and that Chriſt by dying to ſave us hath obtained the greateſt glory that ever was; what may we judge of that death we endure for his honour, his word, and for the maintenance of his pure worſhip and ſervice?

Abraham never performed a more honourable act, than in offering up his ſon *Iſaac* at Gods command, nor for which he is more praiſed. I demand then, that ſeeing our owne life is more deare and precious to us than the life of another, whether the Martyrs, who according to the will of God, and for his honour, have been ſo prodigall of their bloud, have not deſerved greater, or at leaſt an equall praiſe and commendation with ***Abraham***?

The Biſhops of old had ſuch an honourable eſteem of martyrdome, that they preferred it before their Epiſcopall dignities; ſo as both themſelves, and their Diſciples and followers whom they had taught, were ſo ambitious thereof, that when they wanted opportunity to ſuffer, being excluded therefrom by the interceding of friends, or were not the firſt that ſuffered, they took it ſo to heart, that ſome of them carried the grief thereof to their graves.

Thinke I pray you what a ſhame it were for a Gentleman, who, being called by his Prince to fight in his warres, ſhould buſie himſelfe onely about combing, curling, and perfuming his haire, tooting all day in a Looking-glaſſe, to decke and attire himſelfe: and then judge by that, what valiant ſouldiers we are, and what a goodly reputation wee ſhall reap either at the hands of God, or of good men, if in our ſpirituall warfare, wherein we are to be imployed during our whole life, whileſt the alarme is ſtrucken up, and every one mounted to give the onſet in the face of the enemy, we in the meane time will play leaſt in ſight, hiding our ſelves behind every buſh, as Schollers that are loth to go to Schoole for feare of the rod.

Good God? That men of noble ſpirits ſhould ſo much affect the renowne of being valiant, fearing nothing more than to be reputed for baſe fellows and cowards; yea ſome are ſo jealous thereof, that they cannot endure to heare ſo much as a ſuſpition of flying, and yet all this their valour tends only to covet a fame which conſiſts in skill how to kill and deſtroy mens lives.

Now we being kings then and the adopted children of God, if either greatneſſe of our courage, or nobleneſſe of our houſe or birth whence we are deſcended, may prevaile any thing with us: then who I pray you ought to ſhew forth more valour than the faithfull, or more dread the ſtaining of their honour by playing the daſtards; This being yet one argument more to put ſpirits in them; namely, that their proweſſe tends not to kill and ſlay mens bodies, as that of worldlings doth, but to ſave, heale, ſupport and ſuccour, as the arme and power of God, which is far more honourable than the other.

CHAP. III.

Manifeſting the great profit and benefit which the faithfull reap by Perſecution.

HAving ſhewed in the former Chapter that a more honorable condition cannot befall a Chriſtian than to ſuffer affliction for the name of Chriſt; wee are here to ſhew how nothing is more beneficiall and profitable, which will the better appeare if wee reckon up ſome few particulars thereof. To begin with the firſt then. In affliction God manifeſts his readineſſe to comfort us, and his power in ſuſtaining and upholding us, that we ſinke not under the weight of them. Examples whereof we have in ***Ioſeph*** and ***David***, and ſundry others; who, by the afflictions they ſuffered for righteouſneſſe ſake, were prepared (in that which God had appointed) the one to be Governour over the land of Ægypt, the other over the kingdome of Iſrael. For as in the time of warre, a Captaine or a Generall of an army, takes occaſion there to let his ſouldiers ſee his fidelity, vigilancy, fortitude and skill he hath in leading them out and in; and as a Phyſitian among the ſicke and diſeaſed, is occaſioned to exerciſe the profundity of his art and experience he hath atchieved; Or as friends, when we are in diſtreſſe, doe give us to underſtand what love they beare towards us, and how mindfull they are of us; Even ſo, or much more, doth God declare how greatly he loveth us, and how faithfull he is in performing his promiſes, in the time of our diſtreſſes, which is no meane benefit.

Three ſimilies

For the experience which we get from his bounty, love, power, and care of our welfare, cauſeth us with greater confidence to ſtay and reſt our ſelves wholly upon him; and the tryall alſo of his fidelity doth more and more confirme us in waiting for the performance of his promiſes, which conſequently occaſions him to accompliſh the ſame in us.

Againe, had we no other good for which wee ought to rejoyce in afflictions, and accuſtome our ſelves to beare them both patiently and thankfully, but this, that they ſerve to ſet forth Gods glory, which after a ſort ſhines in us, while during our troubles he upholds us in them, and in due time delivers us out of them; what can we deſire more? For his glory ought to be ſo deare unto us, that if our damnation it ſelfe might be a means to advance it, we ſhould not refuſe to undergoe it, but freely and willingly offer our ſelves to be caſt into hell. Subjects and ſervants joy in nothing more than in ſeeing their lords and maſters highly honoured, as on the contrary nothing vexeth them more, than when they ſee them diſeſteemed, or ought to be broached tending to the impeaching or obſcuring their eſtimation or honour. Shall we then who are not only ſubjects and ſervants, but have obtained the prerogative to be accounted ſons and friends in our fathers houſe and family, ſhall not we I ſay rejoyce? The ſecond fruit which we reap from affliction, is, that hereby God multiplies his gifts and graces upon us, as it is written, *My grace is ſufficient* 2 Cor. 12. 9.

for thee : for my power is made perfect in weakneſſe,2 *Cor.*12.9. Humility, Faith,Patience, Prudence, and Repentance,are augmented and increaſed in us by ſuffering perſecutions. For look as bodily exerciſe is an help to increaſe health, ſtrength, and heate in the outward man ; and catechiſing or poſing of children (to which we often call them) is the way whereby they grow in knowledge;even ſo the ſeverall tryals and troubles, through which God exerciſeth,and makes proofe of our faith, cauſe it to grow from a leſſe meaſure and degree thereof unto a greater.

A Captaine, who hath once or twiſe beſieged a city or caſtle, becomes much more expert,hardy, and wary than a freſh water ſouldier;ſo alſo is the prudence,counſell,courage,fortitude,and zeale much greater,and reſolution ſtronger, in ſuch as have often paſſed through the pikes of tribulations, than theirs who never knew what ſuch tryalls meant. Yet I affirme not that perſecutions have alwaies this effect in all, who have but once burnt their fingers in this fire of afflictions;as if they ſhould not cauſe them ſometimes to grow cold,and forſake their ſtanding:for as concerning ſuch, their faith was never truly grounded in them,they have only had the outſide and ſhadow of Faith. Even as the ſeed ſowed upon the ſtones eaſily drieth away,for lack of good moiſture,and rooting, by the exceſſive heating of the Sun;ſo this formall profeſſor, with his painted ſhewes of Religion,and outward appearance of faith,when the heat of perſecution approcheth, vaniſheth away and comes to nothing.

But where faith is livily rooted in the heart of the Beleever, and alwaies watered by the holy Ghoſt, although through ſtormes and tempeſts it may come to be ſhaken, yet doe the roots thereof grow more ſtrong and ſetled ; as the root of a tree planted in a high place,which hath the winds ſtill beating upon it,is fortified,and growes daily by the ſap, which the other wants that is ſeated in a low and ſhady place.In a word,perſecution may be compared to fire,which hardens the clay, and melts the waxe, and conſumes the ſtubble:ſo it works divers effects, according as it meets with ſundry ſubjects ; for either it addes courage to one ſtrong in faith,or elſe ſoftens ſuch as are yet weake,or in the end ruines ſuch as are Backſliders and Apoſtata's. Exo.14.22,28. So did the red Sea ſave the people of God, who beleeved in him and his promiſes,and drowned *Pharaoh* and his hoſt(being Infidels) in the bottome thereof as a ſtone.

Now whereas I ſaid, That perſecutions doe cauſe unto us the multiplying of Gods ſpirituall gifts and graces,my meaning is not only concerning the ſpirituall,but even of temporall good things alſo : for howſoever the latter of theſe happens not ſo uſuall to the faithfull as the firſt, becauſe the Lord according to his wiſe diſpenſation (knowing mans nature to be altogether corrupted) would not occaſion ſuch,by enriching them, to forget him,and fixing their minds on things earthly, to make them their treaſure ; yet hath it oft come to paſſe, that the Faithfull have been greatly enriched even by perſecutions.

Gen.13.2.6. Among others, *Abraham* proſpered more in power and worldly ſubſtance amongſt Heathens and ſtrangers, than ever he had like to have done in his owne countrey. Alſo Gen.27.21. & 41.45. *Ioſeph*, in his Fathers houſe but a ſilly Shepheard, being baniſhed thence by the hatred and perſecutions of his Brethren,became the Governour of a whole kingdom,*Gen.*42.6. Dan.2.48. & 5.29. Did not *Daniel* alſo obtaine ſuch honours and dignities in Babylon among Idolaters, as he could never have expected to be raiſed to the like in the land of Iudæa ? But to ſay no more of antient examples, I could alleadge many the like, and that of late yeares. But theſe formerly mentioned may ſuffice;but only this I thinke,that of all ſuch as have been perſecuted for the Truths ſake, there is not one(if he would ſpeake uprightly) but muſt acknowledge, that he was never unprovided for in his afflictions, nor left altogether without neceſſaries;God therby teaching him by experience,what care he had over him.

Let not perſecution therefore too much daunt us, leſt we or our poſterity ſhould by means thereof fall into poverty. For as we read in the hiſtory of *Iob*, after the Sabeans and Chaldeans had ſtripped him of all that ever he had, yet God in the end reſtored to him more than he had loſt.Say then that our goods be confiſcated by Tyrants,let us not feare we ſhall be utterly impoveriſhed thereby ; for it is the courſe which God takes in providing us of food and raiment, by way of rendring us a reward when wee have loſt our livelihood in his ſervice.

Simile. Kings are uſually wont to recompence ſuch as have ventured the loſſe of their lives and Livings in their quarrell. And do we not ſee many Italians baniſhed out of Naples and other parts, who have obtained great penſions in France? Shall we thinke then, that God hath leſſe love or reſpect of his, who ſhew themſelves forward to defend his Kingdome and honour? We may therefore aſſure our ſelves, that if we walke with a right foot in the way of Gods commandements, it is in a manner impoſſible for us to eſcape perſecution; but yet on the other ſide, wee ought much more to beleeve, that his bleſſings ſhall never ceaſe to accompany us, and to reſtore unto us an hundred fold backe againe that which Tyrants either can or would ſnatch away from us, be it food or rayment.

The third fruit which we may reap out of our afflictions is, That God uſeth them as his fatherly rods to correct the offences which we his children have and daily doe commit againſt him: So as they are no leſſe needfull for a Church than rods in a ſchoole, or houſhold diſcipline in a well governed Family. For we cannot long perſiſt in the right way without them, our nature being ſo corrupt as it is; we ſhould grow to be diſordered, if we were not held in by perſecutions and afflictions. What ſhould become of a Commonwealth, if every one were left to do as him liſted? So if God ſhould forbeare to correct his children, the city of God would in time come to be a Sodome, and the ſheepfold of Chriſt an Hog-ſtie or a Colledge of a Devils.

Afflictions ſerve in the church, as rods hanged up here and there in ſchooles.

A loving father, that puts forth his ſonne to be a ſcholler, intreats his Maſter now and then to correct him: And if through indulgency he neglects to doe it, the father will complaine of him that he marres his child. Would we be Schollers in Chriſts School, and not ſuffer him to doe that to us, which we would a Schoolemaſter ſhould do to our children? So indeed, if we ſhall refuſe to beare the yoke in our youth, we may worthily be condemned with the world when we are old. It is good for a man, ſaith the holy Prophet, *That he beare the yoke in his youth*, for ſuch is the untamedneſſe of our ſimple nature, that if it be not betimes curbed, & continually kept ſhort, it will hardly be reclaimed or brought within compaſſe. But if God once take the rod into his hands, we begin then to have ſome feare of offending him; and if we doe, we are ready to confeſſe it. The rod wakens the dead and drowſie conſcience: It makes us mourn and weep, as alſo to accuſe and condemne our ſelves for our ingratitude towards ſo good and gracious a Father; we begin to toſſe and roule our ſelves this way and that way to find eaſe, waiting from whence it will ſpring forth unto us.

Simile.

Lam. 3.27.

In this perturbation and anxiety of conſcience the holy ſpirit of God, ſeeing us caſt downe and humbled, ſets before our eies Gods mercy in Chriſt: Whoſe bloud applyed by faith purgeth and heales the wound which is made therein. This done, he will carry ſuch an hand over us as ſhall withhold us from vice, and draw us on to the love of vertue. And thus we ſee how the Lord doth by little and little correct our ſinnefull diſpoſition, by exerciſing us with manifold afflictions; whereby the whileſt hee provides for his owne glory. Let us therewith conſider his admirable bounty, ſeeing thus he covers our ſhame: for whereas he might juſtly cauſe us to ſuffer for our ſinnes which we have committed againſt his Majeſty, he in ſtead thereof turns it to ſuffering for his truth and holy names ſake; putting this honourable Title as a veile over us, to ſhadow our nakedneſſe.

For firſt he alters the nature of the puniſhment, which is due unto us for our miſdeeds, into an aſſured hope of recompenſing all our labour and travell we undergoe for righteous cauſes. And in the ſecond place, he turnes the diſhonour which we ought to receive, as a token of the vengeance which he might to our ignominy execute upon us, into an immortall Trophee of Honour, wherewith wee are crowned in the preſence of God and of his Angels. Thirdly, hereby he graciouſly provides for the peace of our conſciences, which, in ſtead of ſorrow and griefe wherewith they might be wounded for guilt of ſinne, on the contrary do ſenſibly rejoice and glory in theſe ſufferings for the name of Chriſt. And fourthly in the midſt of all theſe joyes, and moſt ſingular conſolations, yet the conſcience (for all that) ceaſeth not to retain a ſcruple or dramme of Rubarb mingled herewith, to purge out now and then ſome corrupt humors, and by perſecutions to put us in mind of our ſinnes committed againſt the Lord in times paſt.

But yet he ſo tempers and moderates theſe his drugges, and that in ſo exquiſite and artificiall a manner, that while he humbleth us with his left hand, hee ſupporteth us with his right hand; if he cauſeth griefe, by and by he comforts us; in ſmiting he heals us; in which mixture and tempering of things, ſo much diffring in nature and quality, conſiſts the ſalvation of our ſoules. Even as the skilfull and expert Phyſitian, by meaſuring out an equall and juſt proportion of contrary drugs meeting with our corrupt humors, provides for the ſafety of our bodies.

Simile.

We ſee that an hot or dry Summer, or a faire Spring time, brings many diſeaſes therwith; and how faſt weeds ſprout forth among the good herbs; beſides filling our houſes with flies, fleas, and like annoyances; the aire and ſtreets with unſavory and infectious ſmels: all which in Winter, in cold and froſty weather, do take their leave and are gone: So whileſt outward joy and proſperity with other contentments laſt, the body of the Church is peſtered with ſundry and divers ſpirituall bad humors and dangerous diſeaſes; which on the contrary it is preſerved and freed from by the variety of Gods fatherly rods and chaſtiſements.

(4) Now to proceed to the fourth benefit of afflictions, which is to kill the pride of our rebellious nature: The Hebrewes uſe theſe two words, to **afflict** and **humble**, for one and the ſame thing; as if the latter were the fruit of the former. Nor doe we want examples which may ſufficiently admoniſh us, that as worldly proſperity uſually cauſeth our hearts to ſwell, and to be puffed up; ſo on the contrary, adverſities and afflictions deject and humble us. Whileſt **Nebuchadnezzar** abounded in all his delights, his heart was ſwolne ſo farre with pride, that he began not only to oppreſſe his ſubjects, but to juſtle even againſt God himſelfe by his blaſphemies. But when God had once caſt him into the furnace of affliction, hee then became as meeke and humble a perſon as was in all his kingdome.

Dan.4.30.
Dan.3.15.
Dan.4.37.

2 Chr.33. from verſe 1. to verſ 24.

Manaſſes raigning in peace and liberty over the people of Iudah, grew ſo inſolent, that there was no impiety or injuſtice wherein he overflowed not; but being ſurpriſed by his enemies, and laid in yron bands and fetters, he was changed in an inſtant, and became as low in his owne eſteeme as ever he thought himſelfe high: which appeareth in his prayer made to God in his affliction, wherein he proſtrates himſelfe before him, confeſſing his offences with great compunction of heart and humility.

Acts 9. from verſe 1. to verſe 24.

Saint **Paul** bare himſelfe like a fierce and cruell Lyon all the while hee enjoyed favor from the high Prieſts, raging hither and thither, breaking forcibly into houſes, and apprehending ſuch as he found to be profeſſors of the Goſpell; but the ſame man, being touched by Gods hand in the way as he was journying towards Damaſcus (intending there to exerciſe his Commiſſion upon the Saints and ſervants of Chriſt) ſuddenly became alſo as meeke as a Lambe, and was ready to proffer his ſervice in whatſoever the Lord would enjoyne him to doe.

Euſebius, in his Prologue to the eighth booke of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, relates, how God ſeeing the pride which began to bud and ſpring forth in the Church, and principally among the Paſtors thereof (who out of their ambition ſtrove about dignities and preferments therein) was moved for that very thing to raiſe up that great perſecution which befell the Church under the reigne of **Diocleſian** and **Maximinian**, to crack their pride, and to provoke them to prayer, yea rather to watch over their flocks, than to contend who ſhould be the greateſt.

Wherein we may ſee, that by the bleſſing of God there is a kind of vertue in afflictions, to humble and bring thoſe home who through proſperity have forgotten themſelves, and ſtrayed out of the right way. Nay, ſo forcible are they to abate and take downe the pride of ſuch who otherwiſe are hardened and growne obſtinate, that even **Pharaoh**, as rebellious and ſtiffe necked as he was, ſeemed ſomtimes to bend and bow under the mighty hand of God. Whilſt God gave him ſome reſpite, it is true, he ſtill hardened his heart; but when the next judgement fell upon him and his people, he by and by became as pliable as a glove for ones hand.

Exo.8.8.& 9. 27.& 10,16.

Seeing then all of us naturally are thus inclined, to waxe proud by proſperity, a vice which God ſets and oppoſeth himſelfe againſt above other, as moſt abhominable in his ſight, we ought not me thinkes ſo much to be terrified at the approach of perſecutions, foraſmuch as they withhold from, and correct in us the ſame our pride, ſooner than all the inſtructions which are taught us by word of mouth.

The next benefit afflictions bring us, is to quicken us up to the prayer of faith, which is never better diſcerned than when afflictions lie heavieſt upon us. ***In my diſtreſſe*** (ſaith David) ***I cried unto the Lord.*** For as our deſires to obtaine mercy grow ſtronger, ſo are Pſal.120.1. our requeſts more or leſſe fervent; our deſire alway being according to our neceſſity. Let a man be ſicke, poore, or lie under any other greater tryall, the prayers of ſuch do beyond compariſon exceed in earneſtneſſe and fervour theirs, who are well and at their hearts eaſe. ***David*** in many of his Pſalmes preſſed the Lord in ſuch wiſe by prayer, Pſal.17.1,2. when troubles lay heavy upon him, as if he meant to take no deniall. & 28.1,2.

With what vehemency prayed the Apoſtles to God for ſtrength, being perſecuted Act 4.5,6. by the Rulers, Elders, and Scribes of Ieruſalem, inſomuch as the place was ſhaken where 24.9. they were aſſembled? He that ſhall duely weigh with what prayers and teares our Lord Heb.5.7. Ieſus Chriſt ſolicited his father in his paſſion, being nigh unto his death, will confeſſe Luke 22.44. that fire is not more apt to be kindled by the winds which blow upon it, than the prayer of Faith is fired and augmented by affliction. Would any man have imagined that ever ſuch voices of prayers and prayſes ſhould have been made in the belly of a Whale, as ***Ionas*** made being there as it were in the bottome of hell? Ionah 2. reade the whole chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Wherein is ſhewed that afflictions are not onely profitable, but pleaſant alſo.

I Grant that afflictions conſidered in themſelves are no way joyous but grievous, as the Apoſtle declareth, ***Heb.12.11.*** becauſe they are rather meſſengers of Gods diſpleaſure; the root alſo from whence they ſpring being indeed our ſins. But as we ſee how our Apothecaries in their ſhops have the skill to mixe poiſons with good and healthfull medicines: So our God, being infinitely more wiſe, knows ſo to temper our afflictions for our good, that out of things, bitter and diſtaſtefull to us in the owne nature, hee can compoſe not only a profitable, but a moſt pleaſant potion.

Yea, even as Bees out of the bittereſt herbs draw the moſt ſweet honey, ſo the Lord out of the tarteſt troubles extracts ſuch ſweets, that at length wee ſhall with ***Sampſon*** be Iudg.14.14. forced to ſay, ***Out of the Eater came forth meat, and out of the ſtrong came forth ſweetneſſe.*** Hunger in it ſelf is ſharp, and hard to be endured; yet our taſt is greatly delighted, when we can eat with an appetite. Could any man judge how beneficiall a fire were, if he were not ſometimes pinched with cold? Or with what delight could we accept of drink in the heat of Summer, if we were not almoſt dried up with thirſt? Or how acceptable reſt is, if we were not tyred out with travell and labour? As we ſee then, that theſe accidents (how grievous or incommodious ſoever, now incident unto our nature corrupted by ſinne) doe notwithſtanding diſpoſe us to receive exceeding contentments therefrom: So perſecutions, albeit in and of themſelves naturally abhorred, proceeding partly (as we have ſaid) from Gods diſpleaſure, and partly from Satan and his inſtruments; yet doe they fit and prepare us for the injoying of thoſe great conſolations which God hath promiſed to his Elect. Afflictions cauſe us to feele, firſt, That God is the Father of mercies, and of all comfort: Secondly, That the Office of Chriſt his Sonne is, To revive the 2 Cor 1. deſolate and broken in heart; Thirdly, That the holy Ghoſt is the comforter of his Church: Fourthly, That the word of God is it that miniſters comfort to us in all our tribulations and adverſities which for the moſt part befall us for adhering thereto. Rom.

For as he who would taſte meat ſavoury to his palate, uſeth ſalt therewith; ſo if wee would (to purpoſe) finde the Word of God taſtefull to us, commonly it is when wee are in affliction. When did the Apoſtles rejoyce more, than after they had taſted of the whip for the name of Chriſt? When did Saint ***Stephens*** face appeare as if it had been the face Acts 5.4 of an Angell, but when he ſtood before the Councell at Ieruſalem to anſwer for his life? Acts 6.

Dan.3.25. He that looked upon the three young men in the hot fiery furnace,ſaw them walking up and downe there,as in ſome pleaſant and delightfull medow or garden. Behold that antient father *Ignatius*, who (as himſelfe records) being led from Syria to Rome, there to be devoured, accompanied by ſea and land with a band of ſouldiers (which he tearmes ten Leopards) wiſhed by the way as he went, that he were in the middeſt of thoſe beaſts which were ready to rent him in pieces, and that their appetites might be whetted to diſpatch him quickly;fearing leſt it ſhould happen to him as to ſome other Martyrs, that the beaſts out of a kind of reverence and humanity would not dare to approch unto him; being ready, he ſaid, rather to provoke them to the fight, than that they ſhould ſuffer him ſo to eſcape.Pardon me,I pray you,ſaith he, for I know what is profitable for me: I now begin to be a Diſciple of Chriſt,I affect nothing this world affords ? What is ſo deare to me as Chriſt ? If it be not ſufficient for me to be torne with beaſts, let fires and all the tortures of men and Devils be prepared for me ; let all my body be diſmembred, my bones bruiſed to pieces, ſo that I may enjoy communion with my God, and come into the preſence of my Saviour. And when he heard the Lyons roaring, he ſaid, I am the Lords wheat, I muſt be ground with the teeth of wilde beaſts, that I may be found pure bread.

Simile. May we not now conjecture by the wiſhes of this holy Biſhop, what ſweet delight hee found in himſelfe in approaching nigh unto his Martyrdome?As a Queen then, or great Lady takes no greater content than when ſhe perceives in her husband ſome apparent ſignes of his favor, eſpecially then when ſhe hath conceived ſome ſuſpition of alienating his affection from her,or it ſeems to be any way cooled or abated : So the faithfull ſoule, who loves the Lord entirely,deſires nothing more, nor taketh at any time more delight, than when ſhe feeles from her husband Chriſt love for love, but chiefly in the houre of temptation and tribulation,which oft times cauſeth our heads and hearts to be poſſeſſed with jealouſies and ſuſpitions that we are out of his favour. Let us conclude then, that ſeeing (in regard of the reaſons heretofore alleadged) perſecutions are ſo honourable, every way profitable and delectable to the true Chriſtian ; What cauſe hath he either to be grieved or terrified when they befall him ? Nay, he ought with the Apoſtles and Martyrs to triumph and rejoyce.

To which purpoſe may fitly bee applyed that ſaying of *Themiſtocles* to his children, when hee ſaw the great honors that the King of Perſia had conferred upon him by their exile,finding kinder entertainment among ſtrangers than in their owne countrey ; We had periſhed,ſaid he,if we had not periſhed. So may we ſay, That did not our naturall life periſh here by perſecutions,we had never been ſaved in the kingdome of heaven.

Run we then(my brethren) with patience the race that is ſet before us ; let us not be aſhamed with *Simon* the Cyrenian to carry the reprochfull Croſſe of Chriſt;and ſeeing we muſt die once, let us deſire rather to die glorioully for righteouſneſſe ſake,than ignominiouſly by ſhunning it. If Princes had rather die in a breach than in their bed; and to loſe their life in the field,than an eye at tilt or tourney ; let us imitate them in this our ſpiritual conflict:earneſtly intreating the Lord,if it be his bleſſed will, that we may fight and die valiantly in the defence of his Truth,and for the honour of his ſonne. If worldly minded men can and will ſuffer many hard adventures,ſome for their honour,others for their profits and pleaſures,though but vaine and temporary ; with what longing ſhould we aſpire to that certaine and eternall happineſſe, reſt, and glory, wherewith all thoſe ſhall be crowned who fight manfully and conſtantly for the cauſe of Chriſt ?

But the world and worldlings ſmile at this wiſedome, counting it fooliſhneſſe ; the fleſh alſo joyning therewith thinks all we have ſaid to be either idle phantaſies,or meere paradoxes;and no marvell,for both of them being from the earth can ſavour nothing but what is earthly, as Chriſt ſaith. Betweene the judgement of the Church and that of the World there is a broad difference, when the queſtion is of determining what is true honour, profit, or pleaſure ; whence it is that in a manner the one ſcornes that which the other admires and adores. So as they never conſent in approving or condemning with one voice that which is queſtioned;for the belly hath no eares. If therefore we meane to be ruled aright either in the matter of faith or outward manners, let us not bee guided therein either by the worlds judgement, or yet that of the fleſh ; for the world is poreblinde,and the belly,as we have ſaid,hath no eares.

Ponder we then theſe things, that ſo wee may be prepared to obey the will of God: let us not wilfully ruſh into dangers; onely if God ſhall call us forth to ſuffer, purpoſing thereby to conforme us to our Head, and ſo to accompany that great cloud of witneſſes through the narrow way that leads to his kingdome, yeeld wee our neckes to beare the ſweet and eaſie yoke of Chriſt. Be it that Satan and his confederates doe perſecute the Church of Chriſt, yet hath ſhe an aſſured hiding place. The faithfull may be impriſoned, but in the meane while they leave the world in a worſe priſon, *viz.* ſhut up under the wrath of God. They may be in bonds, yet is not that ſo bad as to lie bound in the bonds of iniquity; they are oft ſhut up in darke and unſavoury places, but how can darkneſſe be grievous to them who are the children of light, eſpecially when God ſhines upon them with the light of his countenance? Stinking holes and odious ſmels cannot ſo offend and annoy them, but that the ſweet ſavour of a good conſcience, purified by faith, ſurmounts all. They may be put into dungeons in the world, yet being choſen of God out of the world, they have their converſation in heaven. Be it that they loſe a few commodities here, it is but as if they forſook counters to receive gold, things terreſtriall for celeſtiall. A Chriſtian may ſuffer, but he cannot die; he may loſe his life, but hee cannot loſe Chriſt; when he leaves the world he goes to God.

Wherefore let us then put on the whole armour of God, and as good ſouldiers of Ieſus Chriſt enure our ſelves to endure hardneſſe. So ſhall it come to paſſe, that continuing faithfull in this ſpirituall Warfare unto the death, we ſhall at length receive the crowne of eternall life.

Eph.6.11.
2 Tim.2.3.
Rev.2.10.

⁂

THE HISTORY OF FOVRE MARTYRS BVRNT AT LILE IN FLANDERS, IN THE YEARE, 1556. WHOSE NAMES ARE ROBERT OGVIER, AND HIS WIFE, BAVDICON, AND MARTIN, their two Sonnes.

THe example which is ſet before us in this ſo godly a Family may well ſerve for an entrance to the Continuation of the Hiſtory of forrein Martyrs, in that wee may thence learne, what thoſe true ornaments are wherewith both parents and their children ought to bee decked and adorned, namely with ſuch a light ſhining forth from the ſound knowledge of the Goſpell, as whereby the Church of God may be edified and confirmed in ſeeing them to hold the profeſſion of their faith conſtantly even unto the death.

Anno 1556.

THe City of LILE may well bee placed in the firſt ranke of thoſe Cities of Merchandiſe in the Low-countrey of Flanders, Artois and Haynault, upon which the Lord hath multiplied his bleſſings, not ſo much of worldly good things, as of his ſpirituall graces; yea; in ſo abundant meaſure, that even under the tyranny of Antichriſt in the Countries aforenamed, few places can be named where the Goſpell in that time was more freely publiſhed and preached, or with greater zeale received than there.

For, for three yeares together the Goſpell was ſecretly taught among them, ſometime in houſes, then, in woods, in fields, and in caves of the earth, not without the hazarding of their deareſt life, if they had been diſcovered: yet could not theſe apparent dangers under ſuch tyranny coole or abate the burning zeale which almoſt conſumed the heart of this people, hungring and thirſting after the ſpirituall food of their ſoules.

What was among them preached, was accordingly practiſed: workes of mercy and charity were there exerciſed, not onely towards thoſe of the houſhold of Faith, but even towards them which were without; ſo as many by means hereof were drawn and brought on to the knowledge of Chriſt. They ordained in their aſſembly certaine Deacons to receive the almes which were given; men fearing God, being well approved of, who went weekely from houſe to houſe to collect the almes of ſuch as they knew to be faithful: admoniſhing every one how to carry themſelves in their vocations, and of their duty in contributing towards the reliefe of the poore Saints.

And thus each one according to his place endevoured to expreſſe and manifeſt his faith by the fruits thereof, namely good works.

In a very ſhort ſpace of time, the Lord by the Miniſtry of his Word (though preached in ſecret) erected here a flouriſhing Church, ſo as the Congregation conſiſted of a competent number of men, women, and children, not onely of the city, but out of foure or five Villages beſides bordering nigh unto it, who came alſo with an eager appetite to be inſtructed.

In the meane while, you may conceive that ſatan and his adherents ceaſed not to ſtorm and rage hereat, not being able long to endure theſe their holy meetings; but when the time was now come, that God had given them power to prove and try his Church, they foreſlowed not to exerciſe their cruelty upon it, which long before they had plotted and contrived.

Upon Saturday then the ſixth of March, Ann. 1556. betweene nine and ten of the Clocke in the night, the Provoſt of the City with his Sergeants armed themſelves to make ſearch, if they could finde any met together in houſes; but as then there was no aſſembly. Therfore they came to the houſe of one whoſe name was Robert Oguier, which was a little Church: for all both great and ſmall, men-ſervants and maids were familiarly inſtructed there in the knowledge of God, as the iſſue well manifeſted.

Being violently entred into the ſaid houſe, and ſeeking here and there for their prey, they found certaine bookes which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the houſe; viz. Baudicon the ſonne of the ſaid Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talke of the word of God with ſome of the brethren, as he oft uſed to do. Returning home, he knocked at the dore: Martin his younger brother, watching his comming, bad him be gone, willing him not to come in. But Baudicon, thinking his brother miſtooke him for ſome other, ſaid, it is I, open the dore: with that, the ſergeants approching nigh unto it, opened the ſame, and cauſing him to enter in, ſaid, Ah Sir, you are well met,to whom he anſwered,I thank you my friends,you alſo are welcome hither.

Then ſaid the Provoſt,I arreſt you all in the Emperors name,and with that commanded each of them to be bound,to wit,the husband & his wife with their two ſons, leaving their two daughters to looke to the houſe. Now as they conveied them along through the ſtreets, Baudicon with a voice ſomewhat extended (which might eaſily be heard at that time of the night)ſaid, O Lord,aſſiſt us by thy grace not onely to be priſoners for thy name ſake, but to confeſſe thy holy truth in all purity before men, ſo farre as to ſeale the ſame with our blouds for the edification of thy poore Church.

The prayer which Baudicon made as he was led to priſon.

Thus were they brought into ſeverall priſons, where they were ſeverally handled; yet ceaſed they not to praiſe and bleſſe the Lord with one conſent; within a few daies after,the priſoners were preſented before the Magiſtrates of the City, and examined as touching their courſe of life, who directed their ſpeech firſt to Robert Oguier in theſe words : It is told us that you never come to maſſe, yea, and alſo diſſuade others from comming thereto; wee are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your houſe, cauſing erroneous doctrines to be preached there contrary to the ordinance of our holy Mother the Church, whereby you have tranſgreſſed the lawes of the Imperiall Maieſty.

Robert Oguier anſwered, whereas firſt of all you lay to my charge that I goe not to Maſſe;I refuſe ſo to do,indeed, becauſe the death and pretious bloud of the ſonne of God, and his ſacrifice is utterly aboliſhed there,and troden under foot. For Chriſt by one ſacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified. The Apoſtle ſaith, by one offering. For do we read in all the ſcriptures, that either the Prophets, Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles ever ſaid maſſe? for they knew not what it meant. Chriſt indeed inſtituted the holy Supper,in which all Chriſtian people doe communicate together,but they ſacrificed not. If you pleaſe to read the Bible over, you ſhall never finde the Maſſe once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the meer invention of men. You know then what Chriſt ſaith, In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandements of men. If either my ſelfe,or any of mine had beene at Maſſe, which is ordained by the commandement of men,Chriſt would have told us,we had worſhipped him in vaine.

Heb.10.14.

Mat.15.9.

As for the ſecond accuſation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my houſe honeſt people fearing God;I aſſure you not with intention to wrong or harme any, but rather for the advancement of Gods glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the Emperor had forbidden it,but what then? I knew alſo that Chriſt in his Goſpell had commanded it. Where two or three,ſaith he,are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them. Thus you ſee I could not well obey the Emperour, but I muſt diſobey Chriſt. In this caſe then,I choſe rather to obey my God,then man.

Mat.18.20.

One of the Magiſtrates demanded what they did when they met together.

To which Baudicon the eldeſt ſon of Robert Oguier anſwered ; if it pleaſe you my Maſters to give mee leave, I will open the buſineſſe at large unto you.

The Sheriffes ſeeing his promptnes, looking one upon another ſaid, well, let us heare it then. Baudicon, lifting up his eies to heaven, began thus:when we meet together in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to heare the word of God,we firſt of all proſtrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our Spirits doe make a confeſſion of our ſinnes before his divine Maieſtie. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided,and purely preached : wee alſo pray for our Soveraigne Lord the Emperour, and for all his honourable Counſellors, that the Common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God ; yea we forget not you whom we acknowledge our ſuperiors ; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole City,that you may maintaine it in all tranquillity. Thus I have ſummarily related unto you what we do : thinke you now, whether wee have offended ſo highly in this matter of our aſſemblies. Moreover if you will not be offended to heare the tenour of the prayers we make there, I am ready to recite the ſame unto you.

One of the Magiſtrates gave him a ſigne by which hee might underſtand that they deſired to heare it. Baudicon then kneeling downe before them,prayed with ſuch fervency of affection, that the like ardency of zeale never appeared in him in ſo admirable a maner as at that time; Inſomuch that the Magiſtrates were forced to burſt forth into tears;beholding what a gratious Spirit the yong man was endued withall. Then ſtanding up,hee ſaid, now your Maſterſhips may take a ſcantling by this, how wee are imployed in our meetings.

Whilſt they were thus examined,ech of them made an open confeſſion of the faith which they held. After this being returned againe into priſon,they not long after were put to the torture,to make them confeſſe who they were that frequented their houſe, but they would diſcover none,unleſſe ſuch as were well knowne to the Judges,or elſe were at that time abſent. About foure or five daies after, they were convented againe before their Judges,namely, the father & his two ſons : and after many words paſſed , they asked them whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Magiſtrates. Robert Oguier and Baudicon his ſonne,with ſome deliberation,ſaid, yes,we will.

Then demanding the ſame of Mart.the younger brother,he anſwered, that he would not ſubmit himſelfe thereto, but would accompany his Mother;ſo he was ſent backe againe to priſon, whileſt the father and the ſon were adiudged to be burned alive to aſhes. Now as they went to receive the ſentence,one of the Judges ſitting in his place,after ſentence pronounced, ſaid, to day you ſhall go to dwell with all the Devils in hell fire(which he ſpake as one tranſported with fury in beholding the great patience of theſe two ſervants of Chriſt)for they tooke all things quietly, vanquiſhing their enemies cruelty by patient bearing the Croſſe, and in prayſing God for the ſame. Having received the ſentence of death,they were returned to the priſon whence they came, being ioyfull that the Lord did them that honor to be enrolled in the number of his Martyrs. No ſooner entred they the priſon,but a band of Fryers came in thither:one amongſt the reſt told them, the houre was come in which they muſt finiſh their daies. Robert Oguier and his ſon anſwered, we know it well. But bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile priſon, will receive our ſoules into his glorious and heavenly kingdome.

One of the Fryers whoſe name was Lazard, a notable limme of Antichriſt, endeavoured to turne them from their faith, ſaying,Father Robert,thou art an old man,let mee intreat thee in this thy laſt houre to think of ſaving thine owne ſoule.And if thou wilt give eare to mee, I warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.

The old man anſwered, poore man,how dareſt thou attribute that to thy ſelfe which belongs to the eternall God, and ſo rob him of his honour ;

Anno 1556.

for it ſeemes by thy ſpeech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, who by and by will deliver me from this miſerable world. I have one Doctor, whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to heare, and I purpoſe to hearken to none other.

Mat.17.5.

A Fryer, called the Father of Saint Clare, exhorting him to take pitty of his ſoule which Chriſt had redeemed: Thou willeſt me, ſaid Robert, to pitty mine owne ſoule, doeſt thou not ſee what pitty I have on it, when for the name of Chriſt I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to day to be with him in Paradiſe? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Chriſt his death and paſſion, he will direct me the right way to his Kingdome. I beleeve whatſoever the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have written, and in that faith will I live and die.

The Fryer hearing this, ſaid, Out Dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Chriſtian; thou and thy ſon with thee are both reſolved to damne your bodies and ſoules with all the devills in the bottome of hell.

As they were about to ſever Baudicon from his father, he ſaid, Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus, he is an old man, and hath an infirme body, hinder him not I pray you, from receiving the Crowne of Martyrdome.

Another of the Fryers ſaid, Away varlet, thou art the cauſe of thy fathers perdition. The Friers then turning themſelves towards the Executioner, ſaid, On, on, Officer, doe thine Office, for we will be gone, we loſe but our labour, ſeeing the devill hath bewitched them.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being ſtripped of his clothes was fitted to be ſacrificed; now as one brought him Gunpowder to put to his breaſt, an odde fellow ſtanding by ſaid, Wert thou my brother, I would ſell all that I am worth to buy Fagots to burne thee, thou findeſt but too much favour. The yong man anſwered, Well Sir, the Lord ſhew you more mercy. Some that were preſent, ſaying, Good God, is it not a pittifull ſight to behold theſe poore men? A Doctor being by anſwered, And what pity would you have ſhewed towards them? I would in ſtead of allowing them this powder have them fryed on Gridirons, as S. Laurence was.

Saint Laurence was roſted on a gridiron by Pagans. In this age the godly find in a manner the like from falſe and fained Chriſtians.

A gentle perſwaſion.

Whileſt they ſpake thus to Baudicon, ſome of the Fryers cloſed in with the old man, perſwading him at leaſt to take a Crucifixe into his hands, leſt the people (ſaid they) ſhould murmure againſt you; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, becauſe you know, ſaid they, it is but a peece of wood.

Thus they faſtened it betweene his hands, but as ſoone as Baudicon was come downe, and eſpied what they had done to his father, he ſaid, Alas father, what doe you now, will you play the Idolater even at your laſt houre. And then pulling the idoll out of his hands which they had faſtned therein, he threw it away, ſaying, What cauſe hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Ieſus Chriſt of wood? We beare upon our hearts the Croſſe of Chriſt the Son of the everliving God, feeling his holy word written therein in Letters of Gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of ſouldiers were attendant upon them, no leſſe then if a Prince had been conducted into his kingdome. Being come to the place where they were to ſuffer, they aſcended up the ſcaffold which was there prepared for them. Then Baudicon asked leave of the Sheriffes to make a confeſſion of his faith before the people. Anſwer was made, That hee was to looke unto his ghoſtly Father and Confeſſor; confeſſe your ſelfe (ſaid they) to him. He was then haled rudely to the ſtake, where he began to ſing the ſixteenth Pſalme. The Fryer cryed out, Doe you not heare my Maſters, what wicked errours theſe hereticks ſing, to beguile the people withall. Baudicon hearing what he ſaid, replyed thus; Now ſimple idiot, calleſt thou the Pſalmes of the Prophet David, errors? But no marvell, for thus you are wont to blaſpeme againſt the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eye towards his father, who was about to be chained to the ſtake, he ſaid, Be of good courage father, the worſt will be paſt by and by. As the executioner was faſtening him to the poſt, he chanced to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him ſtand neerer to the ſame. The old man being ſenſible of the blow, ſaid, Friend, thou hurteſt my foot, why doeſt thou abuſe me thus? The Frier hearing this, ſaid, Ah theſe heretickes! They would be counted Martyrs forſooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as they were killed. To which Baudicon thus replyed: Thinke you then that we feare the tormentors? No ſuch matter; for had we feared the ſame, we had never expoſed our bodies to this ſo ſhamefull and painfull a kinde of death.

Then he often reiterated theſe ſhort breathings, O God, Father everlaſting, accept the ſacrifice of our bodies, for thy well beloved Sonne Ieſus Chriſts ſake. One of the Friers cried, Heretike, thou lieſt, he is none of thy father, the Devill is thy father. And thus, during theſe conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and ſpeaking to his father, ſaid; Behold, for I ſee the heavens open, and millions of Angels ready preſt to receive us, rejoycing to ſee us thus witneſſing the truth in the view of the World. Father, let us be glad and rejoyce, for the joyes of heaven are ſet open unto us.

Then ſaid one of the Fryers, I ſee hell open, and millions of Devils preſent to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forſakes any that put their truſt in him, ſtirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poore man who ſtood among the multitude, beholding this ſpectacle, who being moved with compaſſion, cryed aloud, Be of good comfort Baudicon, ſtand thou to it, thou fighteſt in a good quarrell, I am on thy ſide; after which words he departed thence, and a way being made for him, ſaved himſelfe from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the ſtraw and wood which burnt beneath, whileſt they (not thinking for the paines) ſpake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his fathers eares, Faint not father, nor be afraid, Yet a very little while and wee ſhall enter into the heavenly manſions.

In the end the fire growing hot upon them, the laſt words they were heard to pronounce, were Ieſus Chriſt thou Sonne of God, into thy hands we commend our ſpirits. And thus theſe two ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

Within eight dayes after, Iane the mother, and Martin her ſonne were executed in the ſame City of Lile; but of this more hereafter.

Iane the wife of Robert Oguier, and Martin her ſonne, Martyrs.

THe wife here followes her husband, and accompanies her ſonne: her converſion is admirable; for being ſevered from him, the Friers having ſeduced her laboured with her to turne her ſonne alſo out of the right way; but he underſtanding thereof recovers his mother againe,

Anno 1556.

and ſo they both gaue their lives for the truth, to the great confuſion of their enemies.

But before we come to deſcribe their happy ends, we will, as briefely as may be, note by the way the great conflicts of ſpirit which both of them ſuſtained.

There were ſent unto them many of the popiſh rabble, to turne them from their faith. Now that this their devilliſh enterpriſe might the rather be effected, they ſundred one of them from the other, ſo as by the politique deuice of a Monke, the poore woman began to waver, and let goe her firſt faith. At this their enemies reioyced not a little, whileſt the poore little flocke of Chriſt, hearing ſuch ſad newes, were in continuall perplexity, but the Lord left them not in this mournfull condition.

For on a day one of the Monkes reſorted to her in the priſon, counſelling her to win her ſonne Martin, and to draw him from his errors: which ſhe promiſed to doe. But when he was come to his Mother, and perceiued that ſhe was not onely fallen, but alſo quite turned out of the right way, he began with teares to bewayle her miſerable eſtate.

O Mother, ſaith he, what have you done? Have you denyed him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what evill hath he done you, that you ſhould requite him with this ſo great an iniury and diſhonour. Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have moſt feared. Ah good God, that I ſhould live to ſee this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His Mother hearing theſe his pittifull complaints, and ſeeing the teares which her ſonne ſhed for her, began againe to renue her ſtrength in the Lord, and with teares cryed out, O Father of mercies, be mercifull unto me miſerable ſinner, and cover my tranſgreſſion under the righteouſneſſe of thy bleſſed Sonne; Lord enable me with ſtrength from above, to ſtand to my firſt confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even unto my laſt breath.

It was not long after this her change, but the ſame inſtruments of Satan, who had ſeduced her, came in, ſuppoſing to finde her in the ſame minde wherein they left her: whom ſhe no ſooner eſpied, but with deteſtation ſaid, Avoyd Satan, get thee behinde me: for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me. I will by the help of God ſtand to my firſt confeſſion; And if I may not ſigne it with Inke I will ſeale it with my blood. And ſo from that time this fraile veſſell, who for a while relented, after her recovery grew ſtronger and ſtronger.

The Iudges ſeeing their conſtancy, delayed not to diſpatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burned alive, and their bodies being reduced to aſhes, the ſame to be ſcattered and diſperſed in the aire. The mother and the ſonne having heard their ſentence read, in the way as they were going backe againe to priſon, ſaid, now bleſſed be our God, who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: This is the wiſhed houre, our gladſome day is come. Let us not then, ſaid Martin, forget to be thankefull for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the Image of his Sonne. Let us remember thoſe who have traced this path before us: for this is the high way to the Kingdome of heaven. Let us then good Mother goe on boldly out of the Campe with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy Martyrs; for ſo we ſhall finde paſſage into the glorious Kingdome of the everliving God.

Heb.13.13.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brooke theſe words, ſaid, we ſee now thou heretique that thou art wholly poſſeſſed body and ſoule with a divell, as was thy father and brother who are both in Hell. Martin ſaid, Sirs, as for your railings and curſings, our God will this day turne them into bleſſings in the ſight of himſelfe and of all his holy Angels.

A certaine temporizer ſaid to Martin, thou ſilly youth thou ſayeſt thou knoweſt not what; thou art too well conceited of thy ſelfe and of thy cauſe. Seeſt thou not all this people here about thee? what thinkeſt thou of them? they beleeve not as thou doeſt, and yet I doubt not but they ſhall be ſaved. But you imagine to doe that which will never come to paſſe, though you pretend never ſo much that you are in the faith, and have the Scriptures for you.

See here the ſundry ſleights of Satan.

The good woman hearing this, anſwered, Sir, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord ſaith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leades to deſtruction, and therefore many goe in thereat: but the gate, ſaith he, is narrow that leades to life, and few there be that finde it. Doe ye then doubt whether we are in the ſtraight way or no, when ye behold our ſufferings? would you have a better ſigne then this, to know whether we are in the right way or no? Compare our Doctrine with that of your Prieſts and Monkes: we for our parts are determined to have but one Chriſt and him crucified; we onely embrace the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament. Are we deceived in beleeving that which the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have taught?

Mat.7.12.

How we may know we are in the right way.

One of the Fryers turning towards Martin, ſaid, young man, be well adviſed; for thy father and thy brother have acknowledged the ſeven Sacraments of the Church together with us: and thou poore ſilly youth haſt heard ſome wicked Heretique who hath deluded thee: thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe wiſer then ſo many learned Doctors as have lived in ſo many ages? Martin anſwered, I pray you Sir, doth not Chriſt our Lord tell us, that his Father hath hid the ſecrets of his Kingdome from the wiſe and prudent, and revealed them to babes? And doth not the Lord oftentimes catch the wiſe in their owne craftineſſe?

Mat.11.25.
Iob 5.13.

And whereas you ſay my Father and Brother have confeſſed ſeven Sacraments, I well perceive by this that I ought not to give credit to ought you ſay; know ye not that the Devill is the father of lies, and all liers? Is it not ſufficient that I acknowledge ſo many Sacraments as God himſelfe hath inſtituted and ordained, to wit, Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord?

Then came there into the priſon two men of great authority in the City of Liſle, the one called Mounſieur Barras, the other Beaufremes, who promiſed Martin great matters, if he would recant and returne to the Roman Church. Beaufremes among other ſpeeches ſaid thus unto him, Young man, I have compaſſion on thy tender yeeres, if thou wilt be ruled by us, I will promiſe thee thou ſhalt not die this ſhamefull death: moreover, I will give thee one hundred pounds ſterling.

100li. amount to two hundred crownes, but this faithfull Martyr of Chriſt was not like Iudas, who for love of money ſold his Maſter.

Martin gave him this anſwere. Sir, you preſent before me many temporall commodities: but alas, doe you thinke me ſo ſimple, as to forſake an eternall Kingdome for enjoying of a ſhort tranſitory life? No ſir, it is too late to ſpeake to me now of worldly commodities, but of thoſe ſpirituall, which God hath prepared for me to day in his Kingdome: nor doe I purpoſe to hearken after any other: onely, I pray you let me crave one houres reſpite to give my ſelfe to prayer, and calling upon the Name of my God: for you know now it is eight daies ſince my father departed this world, and hitherto I have ſcarce enioyed an hours reſt; That which I have had, hath rather been to ſlumber in, then have any quiet ſleepe, having continually had eight or nine perſons invironing me about, and talking unto me.

After theſe great men were forced to goe even as they came, Martin declared the effect of this his combat to certaine Brethren who were there detained with him in priſon; ſaying moreover, Let us lift up our heads Brethren, the brunt is over, this I hope is their laſt aſſault; forget not, I pray you, the holy doctrine of the Goſpell, nor thoſe good leſſons which you have learned from our Brother " Guy. Manifeſt it now to all, that you have received them not only into your eares, but alſo into your hearts; follow me, we leade you the way; feare not, God will never leave nor forſake you: farewell Brethren, ſaid he, and ſo departed from them.

It is very likely hee meanes Guy de Brez a godly Miniſter, of whom you ſhall read more, God willing, hereafter.

Soone after Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their Martyrdome: His mother having aſcended the ſcaffold, cryed to Martin, Come up, Come up my ſonne. And as he was ſpeaking to the people, ſhe ſaid, Speake out Martin, ſaith ſhe, that it may appeare to all, that we die not Heretiques. Martin would have made a confeſſion of his faith, but could not be ſuffered. His mother being bound to the ſtake, ſpake in the hearing of the Spectators, We are Chriſtians, and that which we now ſuffer is not for murther or theft, but becauſe we will beleeve no more than that which the Word of God teacheth us: Both rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the ſame.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing coole or abate the fervency of their zeale, but they continued conſtant in the faith, and with lifting up their hands to heaven, in an holy accord ſaid, Lord Ieſus into thy hands we commend our ſpirits. And thus they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord. Theſe were the fruits which theſe holy aſſemblies in the City of Liſle brought forth. None need to enquire whether the reſt were ſuffered to live in peace; for what other ſpectacles were to be eſpied in the high waies and fields, but poore fugitives flying hither and thither, for ſafegard of their lives. So great was the cruelty which was then and there exerciſed among them: and yet, when all is done, God will be glorified in his Saints and children.

The happy death of the mother and her ſonne.

¶ *Iohn Rabec, Martyr, burned at Aniers in France, the 24 of Aprill, 1556.*

THis Robert had his tongue cut out becauſe he would not pronounce Ieſus Maria, to joyne them both in one prayer; for being urged thereunto with great threats, he boldly anſwered, that if his tongue ſhould but offer to utter thoſe words at their bidding, himſelfe would bite it aſunder with his teeth.

A Martyrs tongue cut out for refuſing to call upon the virgin Mary.

¶ *Bartholomew Hector, Martyr, was burned according to the ſentence of the parliament of Turin in Piedmont, in the yeer 1556. Iune the 19.*

BEing called before Authority to be examined, he would anſwer them to nothing before he had made his prayer to God. Whereupon falling downe there on his knees, he beſought him to open his mouth, and to direct his ſpeech onely to utter that which might tend to his honor and glory, and to the edification of his Church. Afterwards, when he was bound to the ſtake, gunpowder and brimſtone was brought to be placed about him, he lifting up his eyes to heaven, and ſaying, Lord, how ſweet and welcome is this to me?

The Martyr would not anſwer the Adverſary till he had firſt craved aſſiſtance from God.

¶ *Charles Covincke, or le Roy de Gand, once a Friar Carmelite at Gand in Flanders, was apprehended and executed at Bruges in the ſame Countrey, Anno 1557. Aprill 27.*

BEing perſwaded by his brother to returne againe to his Order, and take upon him his fryers habit; he made him this direct anſwer, what needs that, ſaith he? now I have caſt off that popiſh weed I will never reſume it againe. Chriſt hath now ſet me free, I will be no longer of the Order of the ſlaves of Satan.

Charles would none of his popiſh habit which he had once rejected.

One of the Magiſtrates of Bruges conferring with him, promiſed to procure his deliverance if he would yeeld but a little; and if his fryers coate diſpleaſed him, he would get him a diſpenſation from the Pope to forbeare the wearing of it, and provide him a Canonſhip. Sir, ſaid Charles, I give you many thankes for your good will and theſe your kinde offers: would to God I could accept of them without offending his Majeſty; you offer me a Canonſhip, that I might live quietly and in ſecurity; but know you ſir, That reſt is no true reſt and quietnſſe which is obtained againſt the peace of a good conſcience?

That is not worthy the name of reſt which is procured with offence of conſcience.

A few dayes after his execution, one of them, who had his hand deepeſt in procuring his cruell death, died himſelfe in ſuch terror and horror of conſcience, that it gave ſufficient teſtimony to thoſe of Bruges, that they had put to death an Innocent, and that God was highly offended with thoſe that had perſecuted him.

A judgement of God upon a perſecutor.

¶ *Philibert Hamelin of Tournay, Miniſter and Martyr, was there executed in the yeere 1557.*

WHileſt he remained priſoner ſome of his friends dealt with him to breake priſon, and offered him meanes tending thereto. But he on the contrary, having reſolved to give his life for ſo juſt a quarrell as he maintained, refuſed, ſaying, I eſteeme it altogether unbeſeeming for a man that is called to preach Gods Word to others, to run away and breake priſon for fear of danger, but rather to maintaine the Truth taught even in the midſt of the flaming fire.

Preachers muſt be no breakers of priſons.

After ſentence of death was paſſed upon him by the court, whereby he knew he had not long to live, yet did he eat his dinner with the reſt of the priſoners as joyfully as though he had been in no danger, ſpeaking unto them of the happineſſe of eternall life, comforting all that ſate at table with him in the Conciergery.

A good conſcience is a continuall feaſt.

That none might hear what he ſaid at the place of execution, the trumpets were cauſed to be ſounded continually; yet might it be ſeene, both by his geſtures and cheerefulneſſe of his countenance, that they could not let him from ſpeaking to God.

¶ *Archambant Seraphon, Martyr, in the yeere 1557.*

BEing demanded what he thought of the Pope and his authority, he anſwered, I think verily that ſame is he of whom Saint Paul ſpeakes in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, Chapter the ſecond. Which words he being willed to ſigne with his hand; Yea, yea ſir, ſaid he, I am now

A practiſe of the Papiſts.

ready to ſigne it with my blood rather than with Inke.

The Martyrs ready to ſeale the truth with their blood.

Hee reports in a Letter written to his wife and friends, that whereas this Jaylor was wont to carry himſelfe as ſternly towards him as a Lyon, roaring alwaies in ſuch wiſe upon him that all the priſoners were amaſed at it, the Lord had now ſo mollified his heart, that he became as meek as a Lambe, declaring how he would come and viſite him himſelfe in his priſon, and as well as he was able comforted him, ſaying, Take no care, God will aſſiſt you; nor ſhall it be ſo ill with you as you thinke for. For what doe your enemies ſay, Alas he is but a ſilly pedler, who, paſſing along this way, broached his opinions to none: that alſo which he holds concerning the ſame, he keepes to himſelfe; therefore be of good cheere. Sir, ſaid he, I praiſe God I am of good comfort, being ready to receive whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint; If life, life; if death, death be it.

A Jaylor of a Lyon became a Lamb.

One thing I had like to have omitted concerning him, which yet is worth the noting, namely, this.

An exhortation to get the Pſalmes without booke.

This Archambant, in a letter to his wife, puts his brethren in minde to learn Davids Pſalms; My brethren, ſaith he, I exhort you in the Name of God, that you would learne, yea, learne the Pſalmes without booke whileſt you have time and leaſure; for when you ſhall be caſt into dark priſons (I ſay when God ſhall call you to ſuffer for his ſake) you ſhall then have no booke with you, whether of a ſmall or great Print, to ſee what part ſucceeds another; which I now utter to my great griefe and ſhame; for if I ſhould tell you I lacked forewarning long agoe, you can beare witneſſe to the contrary: Nor doe I know now what to doe, but even to humble my ſelfe before the Lord, crying unto him, Mercy, mercy, Lord have mercy upon me. Bleſſed and happy are they who are carefull to get knowledge and faith, as oyle into their veſſels, before the Bridegroome come.

When he looked on his hands, he was wont to ſay, ô fleſh, thou muſt ſuffer and be turned into aſhes, untill the laſt day.

Ieffery Vergale Martyr in the yeare 1557. *He was burned at Turin the laſt of December.*

STanding upon a ſtoole at the ſtake, the executioner according to the cuſtome prayed him to forgive him his death.

Ieffery anſwered him, I not onely forgive thee, but thoſe alſo who firſt impriſoned me at Burges, yea, thoſe that brought me to this City, and have condemned me to this death. Be not afraid, doe thine office, my death ſhall not be unprofitable.

The death of the Martyrs is not without fruit.

Nicolas Ieuville Martyr in the yeere 1557. *who with two others mentioned hereafter were burned in the place called Mawbert without Paris in France.*

THis godly Martyr being condemned to be burned alive, and his tongue to be cut out, the Tormentor being there preſent offered to put the halter about his necke, but he repulſed him twice, appealing from the Sentence. But becauſe he was preſſed upon to receive it the third time, and thinking his appeale would not take place, he took it, ſaying; Prayſed be God, for I am now counted worthy to be one of the heavenly Order.

Two innocents condemned to ſuffer death, the one of them being called Henry the Taylor.

THis Henry rejoyced at the hearing of the ſentence read, ſaying, This is the day we have long expected, and therefore give our ſelves willingly to die, but as for the puniſhment, my maſters, that we leave to you: yet we pray that God would pardon you this injuſtice.

These two were burnt at Antwerpe. The Martyrs willingly give their necks to the blocke, but left the puniſhment to their perſecutors.

At which ſpeeches the Magiſtrates turned away their faces not willing to heare it; but Adrian, who was the other Martyr, told them boldly, That God would require the blood of the juſt at their hands whom they daily put to death.

The next day being appointed for their execution, a great multitude were aſſembled into the Market place, to behold the behaviour of theſe godly men, who, as they were led to death, proteſted, That the cauſe why they dyed, was only for bearing witneſſe to the truth of the Goſpell, which words they uttered with ſuch courage, that the officers, who invironed them round about, ſtrove to damp the ſame by a great noiſe; which they made, leſt their voice ſhould be underſtood. Whileſt the executioner faſtened them to the ſtake, there was on an inſtant ſuch an hurly burly amongſt the people, that with one voice they cryed, Kill, kill, ruſhing one in upon another. By and by the ſhops and doores of houſes were ſhut up. The hangman let fall all his preparations, leaving the two patients ſtanding at the ſtake. The Margrave being on horſeback could by no meanes get away, being compaſſed in on each ſide. The Officers trembling for feare threw downe their halberds. The ſpy who attended there to hearken, not knowing where to beſtow himſelfe, forſook his horſe, and ran into a Church for feare.

There were they in great feare, where no feare was, for as ſaith the Pſalmiſt, God is in the generation of the righteous. Pſal. 14.5.

And though one told him that a cutpurſe had cauſed all this adoe, he would not be drawn to beleeve him, but ſaid, I know we are but dead men; it is not the Theefe, but the ſeditious people who now begin to work their revenge. Thus God confounded theſe bloodthirſty, ſhewing how he could have brought all their preparations to nothing if it had pleaſed him.

As ſoon as this hubbub was quieted, the ſervant of the executioner ran and ſtrangled the two Martyrs, who had now a good ſpace been faſtened to the ſtake, ſtill calling upon the name of the Lord. The fire being afterward kindled, the bodies were conſumed to aſhes the 19. of January, 1559.

A Recantation fathered upon a Martyr called Cornelius Hallewin, which he never conſented to, and how he tooke the ſame, in the yeare 1559.

THe father of this Cornelius, ſolliciting the Margraue & his wife (who as it was thought was Godmother to Cornelius) to get his ſonne out of priſon; It was ſo agreed among them, that a libell ſhould be framed under the name of Cornelius, wherein he ſhould now acknowledge his error, be confeſſed to a Prieſt, would alſo receive his Maker, and come againe into the ſtate of grace, as a good childe of his holy mother the Church. And further ſhould ſay, That Sermons were of no worth, because they were not made upon holy ground. Alſo requiring that if hee

had

Anno 1559.

had failed in ought elſe, the ſame ſhould be attributed to his young yeares, and therefore craued pardon. Howbeit the ſaid Cornelius wrote letters daily in the meane while to the brethren, ſhewing forth an admirable conſtancy in defending the faith; gladding the hearts of many, who gaue God thankes for the graces of his good Spirit wherewith he had indued him.

The Miniſter of the Flemiſh Church hearing of this Libell, by the meanes of ſome friends, got a Copy thereof, and hauing read it, conſidering how the tenor thereof tended to a great ſcandall, made the Elders and Deacons of the Church acquainted therewith, who were not a little grieued for the infirmity of their weake brother. Whereupon, the Miniſter wrote a ſharpe letter vnto him, willing him to turne and repent him of his backeſliding, by making a true Confeſſion thereof before the councel. When Cornelius had receiued this letter, & read it, he was ſo vexed & perplexed in his ſpirit, that he knew not how to demean himſelfe, ſo as all the godly his Priſon fellowes had much adoe to ſtay and comfort him. The blood guſhed out of his noſe, hée ſpread abroad his armes, and made pitifull outcries. What, to deny the truth (ſaid he) God forbid? Oh that the faithfull ſhould conceiue ſo hardly of me! Good God thou knoweſt that I am guiltleſſe, nor haue I this way offended. Then the reſidue of the brethren aduiſed him to get a ſight of his inditement, which if it contained no ſuch thing, then to ſend it to the Church, and ſo manifeſt to them his innocency touching that whereof he was accuſed: beſides, making a plaine confeſſion of his faith, to impart the ſame to the Councell, & therewithall to ſhew how he was abuſed by the Margraue and his Parents, which he accordingly did.

The ſaid Cornelius being condemned to die, the Margraue offered him ſo much more fauour as to die a more eaſie kinde of death, if he would but giue eare to the prieſts whom he had brought with him into the priſon. Cornelius replied, no Sir, God forbid I ſhould do ſuch a thing: doe ye with my body what ye will. As they bound him, & Herman Janſſen (who both ſuffered together) Herman willed the Margraue to take héed what he did: for, ſaith he, this will not goe for paiment in Gods ſight in bereauing vs thus of our liues. I wiſh you to repent therefore before it be too late, you cannot long continue this tyrannous courſe, for the Lord will ſhortly auenge it. The Margraue commanded they ſhould haue a croſſe or crucifixe put into their hands, promiſing Cornelius that if he would ſo doe, he ſhould only be beheaded and not burned: but they both reiected the Croſſe, ſaying; They would not give the leaſt ſigne that might be of betraying the truth, and that it was all one to them what death they put them to, ſo they dyed in and for the Lord. The puniſhment, they ſaid, could laſt but for a while, but the glory to come was eternall.

Then were they led towards the Market place, and Herman reioycing in the Lord ſung the hundred and thirtieth Pſalme. Cornelius followed him, and gaue the people godly exhortations. Being come to the place of execution, the ſword was laid there ready to behead them, if they would take the Croſſe into their hands, and admit the Friers into their company: But becauſe they would not yéeld one whit vnto them, wood was made ready to burne them. Then Cornelius fell on his knées, praying God to forgiue his enemies who had ſinned through ignorance. After which they were put into a little lodge made of fagots, and ſtrangled at the ſtake. But whileſt this was a doing, there fell out ſuch a tumult amongſt the people, that they were not a little afraid of an vprore; the hangman he caught hold of his ſword to defend himſelfe, thinking they would kill him firſt; but the buſineſſe was as ſuddenly quieted as raiſed. The fire being kindled flamed forth vpon the bodies of theſe holy Martyrs. The Margraue thought according to the vſuall courſe to haue quenched the fire, that ſo conueying the bodies away halfe burnt, they might be laid vpon the whéeles nigh vnto the city, in the accuſtomed places where they were to lie, as ſpectacles to be gazed on. But the peoples wrath being ſtirred croſſed him in his purpoſe, ſo as his Serieants and Halberdiers leauing him, he ſtood as one aſtoniſhed cauſing the executioner to finiſh out the reſt of this Tragedy.

Notes upon the occaſion of a ſedition at Paris, the fifth of March 1559.

THe fifth day of March, there was a great vprore raiſed in the church of Saint Innocents in Paris. The preachers all the Lent neuer ceaſed to moue the people to kill all the Lutherans they could méet withall, & not leaue the execution thereof to the Magiſtrates. Amongſt the reſt a Minorite, who preached in the ſaid Church, ſpent all his Sermons vpon that ſubiect. The ſame day taking his text out of the eight of Saint Johns Goſpel concerning the woman taken in adultery being brought to Jeſus Ch: he vttered execrable things againſt the Magiſtrate: ſhewing that it was no wonder if the Judges did not caſt the firſt ſtone at the Lutherans, becauſe they themſelues were alſo Lutherans; and therefore the people were not to attend them any longer, but to riſe & make open war againſt them, yea, vpon the chiefeſt of them, which were but ſuſpected to hold that doctrine. In this garboile a poore Prieſt (with a brother of his, a Captain, paſſing by, and thinking by faire language to pacifie the diſordered tumult) had his foot no ſooner out of the Church dore, but he was ſet vpon by this blood-thirſty crue, who although he asked forgiueneſſe in the name of the Saints, deſiring to be confeſſed, and ſhewed all outward ſignes of being one of their owne ſide, yet could he of this headleſſe beaſt the multitude obtaine no fauour, but was ſtabbed into the belly with a dagger, and fell downe dead. And yet they were not ſatisfied ſo, but the very meaneſt among them had a blow at him, raking with their hands in his wounds, and then in Triumph lifting him vp, bragged that they had bathed their hands in the blood of a Lutheran.

And thus thinking to martyr the Chriſtians, by the prouidence of God, it fell on thoſe of their owne ſide.

The Captain with much adoe getting into the Vicars houſe, they beſet the houſe leſt he ſhould eſcape their fingers. And hearing that the magiſtrate was comming to deliuer him, they feared not with one voice to ſay, that they would ſpare none, no not the King himſelfe though hée came in his owne perſon. If any more pitifull than the reſt vttered but ſo much as the leaſt word tending to compaſſion, they were cruelly handled on all ſides, ſo as many met with hard vſage euen for that.

Not fully a yeare before this, there fell out the like, if not a worſe ſpectacle of cruelty in the Church of Saint Euſtate.

For a Doctor of the Sorboniſts, commonly called the ſoule of Picardy, who in his ſermons preached out nothing but fire and fagots, incouraged the Pariſians to ſlaughter the Lutheranes, making many goodly promiſes to all ſuch as would vndertake ſuch a bloody deſigne: which was not ſo ſoone propounded, as accepted of by the people. For a poore ſcholler, who out of deuotion was preſent at the ſermon, happening (vpon ſome accident) to laugh at his fellow Pupill; an old turnecoate ſitting by and

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obſerving it cryed out forthwith, that a Lutherane mocked the Preacher. The people at the ſound of this voice began to ſtir, not knowing upon what ground: and haling him out of the Church miſerably maſſacred him, till they had forced both his eyes out of his head, buffeting him with their fiſts; and one among the reſt cauſed his horſe to trample upon him thrice.

John Barbeville of Normandy being queſtioned by three of the Counſell about the ſacrament, anſwered, that in the holy Supper being adminiſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, hee received by faith the body and blood of the Lord, but not after any carnall manner; foraſmuch as being now aſcended into heaven, hee ſhall not returne thence, till he come to iudge the quicke and the dead. Upon which article one of the Counſell added this ſcoffe, which aſcended into heaven, and drew the ladder up after him.

See here what mock-gods theſe be who cōdemne the poore chriſtians.

Upon ſome occaſion they ſaid unto him that he was but a ſilly aſſe, and therefore could not underſtand the Scriptures. Well ſaith he, be it that I am an aſſe, yet did you never reade, that God opened the mouth of the Prophet Balaams Aſſe to reprove him, for loading him with ſtripes when he was going to utter his lies againſt the Children of God? If God opened the Aſſes mouth, doe yee now wonder if he opens mine, to cauſe me to ſpeake againſt the falſehood and lies which you ſpread abroad againſt the people of God? For as the Aſſe ſpake being overcharged with blowes, which the falſe Prophet gave him, ſo now in regard of the heavie burden wherewith in times paſt you have oppreſſed me by your traditions, I am conſtrained to ſpeak as I doe.

A retorting ſpeech well applyed.

Another inquiſitor a Monke called Benedict told him that he was come to comfort and inſtruct him in the truth. How can you, ſaid Barbeville, ſay, you come to inſtruct me in the truth, when your ſelfe doth weare the habit of a lyar? I cannot expect it from you; for no man can gather figs of thiſtles, nor grapes of thornes.

¶ *God ſo wrought here, and the truth ſo prevailed, that though it was plainly confeſſed, yet the Priſoners were delivered, Anno 1559.*

THe court of the parliament of Paris, willing to moderate the cruelties uſed againſt thoſe of the reformed religion, ſollicited them what they could, to diſſemble and to yeeld in ſome points; wherein the well minded of that ſide were not yet rightly informed: but to this their aduice they would by no meanes conſent. Then they tooke another courſe, and that was ſimply to examine them touching the manner of eating Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament, without mentioning Tranſubſtantiation, or any carnall preſence; hoping this way to free them from the crime of ſacramentaries, upon which point for the moſt part the ſentence of death was pronounced: ſeeing they had heard formerly from the priſoners, That the churches of France held, how the body of Chriſt was receiued by the faithfull not in imagination, but truly and indeed, and that the ſignes were neither naked nor empty elements, but exhibited that whereof they were ſignes.

This was propounded to foure yong men who were in the flowre of their age, and lying priſoners in the Conſciergerie of the palace, if it might be, to ſatisfie them. Now when this confeſſion was preſented to the Court, all that were well affected were glad of it, in regard it was drawne ſo favorably; ſome being of opinion that it would worke their deliverance. Others there were which oppoſed this project, and requeſted they might be examined what they thought of the Maſſe, it being ſo neceſſarie an article; provided, that there might be ſome moderation in the ordinary courſe of ſuch interrogations. Notwithſtanding it was thought, that this would rather hinder than further their deliverance; yet did the better part perſiſt in their purpoſe of freeing them.

Being therefore asked again what they thought of the Maſſe, they anſwered, that they would ſtand to their firſt confeſſion. It was replyed, That the Court would reſt ſatisfied with that anſwer, if ſo be they would now only go to Maſſe. But with one voice they affirmed, that they would never yeeld to come there where God was ſo diſhonoured. The Court, to make it appeare that no advantage ſhould be taken againſt them for this their anſwer, gave them leave ſeverally to ſhew their reaſons. This pleaſed the priſoners well, and therefore they ſpared not to paint forth the Maſſe in its lively colours; that all might perceive there was cauſe ſufficient why they ſhould deteſt it.

First, one of them by way of oppoſition ſhewed how contrary the Maſſe was to the Lords ſupper. The ſecond declared, it was blaſphemy to affirme, that there was any other propitiatory ſacrifice for ſinnes then the blood of Chriſt. The third avouched, that if the article of Tranſubſtantiation (whereon the Maſſe depends) were allowed, Chriſt his deity and his humanity ſhould be aboliſhed, and therefore it muſt be flat idolatry to worſhip Almighty God in a corruptible peece of paſte. The fourth told them, that the fruits of the Sacramant could not be received where the Word was not joyned with the ſigne, where one of the ſignes were withheld, or where there was no Communion.

The Maſſe deciphered in its colours.

Thus was the Maſſe anatomiſed, with the abhominations thereof, with all boldneſſe; ſo as ſome of the Judges were conſtrained to averre openly, that there was a great abuſe in it indeed, being a manifeſt wrong done to the inſtitution of Chriſt; as alſo that the Laity were there deprived of the Cup, and the Bread only given, the whole being performed in a language which the poore people underſtood not.

It was beyond the expectation of all men, that ſo free a confeſſion would have paſſed for currant in that place, in which whoſoever came before them formerly, and made the like, was condemned to die. But now the Truth ſo prevailed, that againſt all hope and ordinary proceedings in times paſt, yea, contrary to the mindes of thoſe which were Gods chiefeſt enemies, the order was this, That howſoever ſentence of death had been pronounced againſt three others of this company, by the inferiour judges, yet theſe foure ſhould have their lives ſaved; provided, that they departed the countrey within fifteene daies. Which exception, though it ſavoured of ſome injuſtice, yet was it nothing in compariſon of the former cruelties; and this baniſhment turned rather for a benefit to them, than an hurt, for by this meanes they had liberty to go to ſuch places where God was purely ſerved.

Foure witneſſes of the truth gently entreated by their Judges.

¶ *The ſtory of Peter Chevet, Martyr.*

BEing asked whether he durſt affirme that he had the ſpirit of God? Yea, ſaid he, for I am one of Gods children, and therefore have the ſpirit of God given unto me, as the earneſt of my adoption.

He was in outward appearance a ſilly poore man, a vinedreſſer, of the age of 60. yeares and upwards.

It is to be feared, ſaid ſome, that you will bring your ſelfe in danger of the law, and ſo be burned.

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Truly, ſaid he, I doe not thinke to eſcape better cheape; and though you ſcortch and roſt me alive, yet will I never renounce Ieſus Chriſt. Is it not written, He that ſhall confeſſe me before men, him will I confeſſe before my Father which is in heaven, &c? Being asked whether he deſired not to be abſolved, confeſſed, and to receive pardon, having ſtood excommunicate now three yeares; he anſwered, I confeſſe my faults every day to my God, but where is that goodly abſolver that will take upon him to pardon me? The Officiall anſwering, ſaid, That is even I. Now poore man, ſaid Peter, it is a queſtion whether thou canſt ſave thy ſelfe, and wilt thou take upon thee then to ſave others? The Officiall finding himſelfe galled with this anſwer, threatned him with longer impriſonment. Alas, alas, ſaith he, though I ſhould rot in priſon, yet ſhall you ſtill finde me the ſame man.

Mat.10.32.

Being come to the place where he was to ſuffer, the Executioner would not take the paines to helpe him from off the cart, but tumbled him downe with his head forward. Notwithſtanding all this and other cruelties, he manfully overcame the ſame with invincible conſtancy. And when they pulled off his cloathes, he was heard to ſay intelligibly, How happy, how happy, ô how happy am I? with his eyes ſtill lifted up to heaven.

He was burned in the place called Maubert, nigh to the city of Paris, the 11. of March, 1559.

Hee could ſay the new Teſtament by heart, & was ſo prompt therein in all his anſwers, that the people who heard him, ſaid, if hee were ſuffered to ſpeake, hee would convert all the City of Paris.

¶ *A notable ſpeech uttered by Anne du Burg Counſellor for the King in Parliament, in the moneth of Iune, An. 1559.*

AMong the reſt there was a Counſellor called Anne du Burg, a man of ſingular underſtanding and knowledge, bred and nurſed up in the boſome of the Church of Chriſt. This man having rendred thankes to God, for mooving the Kings heart to be preſent at the deciſion of ſo waighty a cauſe as that of religion is, and having exhorted him well to conſider thereof, being the cauſe of Chriſt himſelfe, which of good right ought to be maintained by Princes, ſpake boldly therto, as God gave him utterance; It is not, ſaith he, a matter of ſmall conſequence, to condemne ſuch as in the middeſt of the fiery flames call upon the name of Ieſus Chriſt. This I doe but note here by the way, becauſe the conſequence is touched before by Maſter Iohn Foxe, where he mentions the terrible end of ſuch as were perſecutors of the truth.

Only one thing more touching the ſaid Anne du Burg I could not here omit, and it is this. A certaine woman being priſoner (for the ſame cauſe) right over againſt him, had a little window in her chamber which opened towards that where Maſter du Burg lay; from whence either by words or ſignes (when ſhe was not otherwiſe letted) ſhe encouraged him to perſevere conſtantly in the truth; by whom he was ſo comforted, that the ſame du Burg, being importuned by ſome of his friends to recant, uſed theſe words, nay, I trow not, ſaid he, for a woman hath taught me my leſſon, how I ought to carry my ſelfe in this buſineſſe to which God hath called me, feeling in himſelfe as it ſeemed the force and power of the godly admonitions of this poore woman.

In the Hiſtory of the martyrs mention is made of one Peter Brundeau, whoſe cōſtancy was ſo admirable in ſuffering the extremity of death, that it was the meanes to imbolden this worthy counſellor Anne Du Burg with others to ſuffer for the cauſe of the Goſpell.

Whoſe godly zeale was ſuch, as that her ſtory may not (as I thinke) be well omitted, but fully ſet downe as I finde it recorded in the volume of the French Martyrs. Her name was Margaret Rich, who ſuffered the nineteenth of Auguſt in the place called Maubert, not far from the City of Paris in France.

Chriſtian women, ſaith the Hiſtorian, behold here the courage and zeale of this Margaret your ſiſter, who is ſet before you for a patterne to imitate: ſhe encouraged both great and ſmall, who at that ſame time were priſoners with her.

Margaret Rich was born in Paris, the Wife of Anthony Ricant Bookſeller, dwelling in Paris in the place called the Mount of Saint Hillary, at the ſigne of the great Quaile. This woman was as vertuouſly diſpoſed as could be; ſhee had gotten ſome ſmall inſight into the myſtery of iniquity, by meanes of her husband, who yet ſuffered her to obſerve the ſuperſtitions of Popery, without urging her any further, for he was a man indifferent in the matter of Gods ſervice: but yet her conſcience gave her, that knowing her courſe to be evill, it was not ſufficient to forſake that, unleſſe ſhee did cleave to the contrary good which leads to life and ſalvation, namely to ſerve God according to his Word. Underſtanding then, that there were godly meetings of good Chriſtians, which aſſembled together in the City, ſhee found the meanes to come in amongſt them, and profited ſo well thereby, that ſhe reſolved in her ſelf never to goe again to the Maſſe, but to die rather.

At length being hardly uſed by her husband becauſe of this her ſudden change, hee threatned her ſo far as to carry her himſelfe to the Maſſe, (the next day which was Eaſter-Sunday) rather than that ſhee ſhould not goe. After ſhee had endured much from this man who would have her to play the diſſembler, ſhee to preſerve her ſelfe therefrom, being alſo afraid of her husbands fury, upon Eaſter day withdrew her ſelfe to a friends houſe of hers: thinking it ſafer to diſpleaſe her husband, than God, to whom ſhee had dedicated her ſelfe.

This day being paſt, becauſe ſhee would not over-long abſent her ſelfe from her owne home, ſhee determined to returne back againe to him, whom God had bound and conjoyned her with, though ſhee could not but foreſee the great evills and inconveniences which would follow thereupon, in regard of her ſaid husbands crooked diſpoſition. Shee came no ſooner home, but ſhee was diſcovered by the Curate of Saint Hillary, committed priſoner, & brought into the Conſciergery. They asked her where ſhe had kept her Eaſter: ſhe without faining told them, ſhe abſented her ſelf from home, that ſhe might abide a while with ſome of her loving friends, leſt ſhee ſhould be urged to prophane the ſupper of the Lord, as others uſually did; and therefore had kept the ſame according to Gods ordinance, in the aſſembly of faithfull & devout chriſtians. Being asked whether indeed ſhee had been preſent at thoſe ſecret meetings: ſhee anſwered yea, and eſteemed her ſelfe happy that ever ſhee came among them. And thus being queſtioned by the Counſell, with other priſoners, about the Maſſe, purgatory, auricular confeſſion, and ſuch other points, ſhee freely told them what ſhee had learned concerning the ſame out of Gods word; ſo as the fifth of May ſhe was ordered to be ſent to the Biſhop, or his officiall, to ſee if by any meanes ſhe might be reclaimed. But the officiall prevailing nothing with her, becauſe ſhe perſiſted conſtant in the profeſſion of the truth, he pronounced ſentence againſt her, declaring her to be a pertinacious and obſtinate heretique; yea ſuch a one as was to be redelivered over to the ſecular power, and thence to be ſent back to the Conſciergery.

Being brought back into the Court, certaine Doctors and others were ſent to reaſon with her: yet her faith for all that ſtaggered not, but remained victorious, notwithſtanding all their batteries laid againſt it,

Then by the ſentence of the Court ſhee was condemned to be carried in a dung cart to the place called Maubert, a gagge to be put into her mouth, and there to be burned and conſumed to aſhes. But before ſhe ſhould ſuffer death, ſhe was ſentenced to be put to the extraordinary torture, to make her confeſſe, whom ſhe knew, and was converſant withall, and to name the houſe where ſhee received the Communion: yet did this woman undergo all theſe her afflictions, with incredible joy, ſinging Pſalmes, and praiſing God continually: ſhe was never ſeen to ſhrinke at her impriſonment, ſhe daily exhorted the women who were priſoners with her, & comforted them. Such of the Martyrs as went from the Conſciergery to ſuffer death, paſſed by the chamber where ſhee lay, yet was ſhe not diſheartened to ſee them in the hands of their executioners, but cryed to them, exhorting them to rejoyce, and with patience to beare the reproach of Chriſt.

But to returne to the manner of her death; after ſentence ſhee was led to the Chappell, as the manner is; yet ſhee ceaſed not all the way to exhort the people, and to ſing Pſalmes, till ſhe was put into a Dung-cart to be conveyed to the place of execution. The renowne of her conſtancy was ſo famous from the beginning of her troubles, that no ſmall multitude of people were gathered together in the ſtreets, for the deſire they had to behold her: God ſo appointing that the great and more than ordinary graces of his ſpirit (which were in this woman) might be manifeſted before ſo great a confluence of ſpectators, and eye-witneſſes. She paſſed on then, as it were triumphing, through the middeſt of this aſſembly, not ſhewing any ſigne of the feare of death, but with a freſh colour and cheerefull countenance paſſed on with her eyes lifted up to heaven, nor did her gagge ſo disfigure her, but that ſhe ſhewed an amiable aſpect upon all that viewed her. So as even the rude and obſtinate multitude admired her; ſaying one to another, Doe you not ſee how this heretike ſmiles and laughes?

Comming to the place of her martyrdome, they told her if ſhee would relent, ſhee ſhould be ſtrangled. She anſwered, That her reſolution was ſo rightly founded upon the word of God, that ſhee never meant to change. And to let them ſee that death terrified her not, ſhee began to diſrobe her ſelfe without troubling the hangman at all. Being hoiſed up in the ayre, they asked her againe, if ſhee would not accept of the grace which the court offered her, to be ſtrangled? She gave them a ſigne, that ſhee would not. Then was the fire kindled, and ſo ſhee yeelded up her ſoul into the hands of God.

How one that was naturally deafe helped himſelfe.

He was exceedingly maligned of his neighbours for his piety, but eſpecially becauſe he had a little infant of his baptized ſecretly, & then for working upon a light holyday, which was the cauſe of his apprehenſion & death.

IT is recorded of John Beffroy a Lock-ſmith dwelling in Paris, that he had a long time behaved himſelfe very religiouſly, never denying his houſe for Chriſtian meetings, what danger ſoever might enſue thereupon. He had an incredible deſire to profit by the preaching of the Goſpell. And therefore being hindered by a naturall infirmity of deafeneſſe to underſtand what was ſpoken, hee uſed this help, commanding a Lad which he kept to hearken to the ſermon attentively, and at his returne home made the ſaid boy to tell him in his eare all that he had heard. Inſomuch that he became exceedingly expert in the knowledge of the truth, wherin he perſiſted conſtantly to the death, and was (after he had received the extraordinary torture) burned for the ſame in the place called the Grave, in the Moneth of December, Anno 1549.

Another relation of Anne du Burg.

DU Burg, being asked if he had conferred with any about certaine articles formerly mentioned, anſwered, That he had conferred with his bookes, but eſpecially the holy Scriptures.

Having framed a Confeſſion of his faith which he intended to have preſented to the court of parliament, certain counſellors which were advocats in the ſaid Court pretending friendſhip towards him, being yet but time-ſervers, ſhewing themſelves alſo diſcontented therewith, laboured with him to make another Confeſſion, not directly contrary to the truth, but ſomewhat ambiguous and doubtfull, ſo as it might give ſatisfaction to his Judges. Du Burg, having of a long time reſiſted, was in a manner overcome (by their intreaties) to conſent to their Counſell; telling him, it ſufficed that himſelfe underſtood his owne true meaning, though ambiguouſly expreſſed; as alſo that his Judges would not ſtand ſtrictly to examine ſuch a confeſſion as had only an outward appearance of conſenting to their doctrine. Now this diſguiſed confeſſion was no ſooner come into the hands of his Judges, but great hopes were conceived of his inlargement. But when the aſſembly had got a true copy thereof, they were greatly greeved, being more carefull of the ſaving his ſoule, of Gods glory, and the edification of his Church, then of ſuch a deliverance, which could not be obtained without great diſhonour to God.

And therefore they gave order to M. Auguſtin * Marlorate to write a large diſcourſe concerning the duty of ſuch as were called of God to beare witneſſe to his eternall truth before the Magiſtrate; wherein were alſo ſet downe Gods threatenings and judgements againſt ſuch as either directly or indirectly in what kinde ſoever did diſavow the ſame. 1 Exhorting him more highly to prize the glory of God, than his owne liberty; 2 the truth of the Goſpell, than a ſhort and tranſitory life. 3 That it beſeemed him not now to give over, having already made ſo happy a beginning, and ſo good a progreſſe in his Chriſtian courſe. 4 That the report of his conſtancy was ſpread not only through the kingdome of France, but throughout all Chriſtendome. 5 That he had beene a meanes to confirme many weak ones, and cauſed others to enquire after the meanes of Salvation. 6 That the eyes of all were fixed on him, to expect the manner of his comming out of priſon. So as if now through feare, or faintheartedneſſe he ſhould enterpriſe ought that might contradict his firſt confeſſion, he would thus become an occaſion of much ſcandall and offence. And therefore exhorted him to give glory to God, to edifie his Church, aſſuring him that God would never leave nor forſake him. Theſe Letters wrought in the conſcience of Du Burg a ſenſe of his ſinne: for which asking pardon of God, without any further delay, he ſent a petition to his Judges, in which retracting this his laſt confeſſion he proteſted to ſtand unto his firſt.

* Of the manner of whoſe death you ſhall read hereafter.

Slanders raiſed by the Sorboniſts againſt the Proteſtants of Roan in France, and what was the iſſue thereof.

THree Doctors of the Sorboniſts, whoſe names were Secard, Columbell, and Fancillon, in their collations to their pariſhioners accuſed thoſe of the Religion with their wonted ſlanders, as, that they committed whoredome one with another after

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after the candles were put out, and were taught to rebell againſt their King and governors; which governors alſo theſe Sorboniſts accuſed to connive and hold with them, inciting the people to run upon thoſe of the religion, ſince the Magiſtrates forbare to do their duty. But here God catched the wiſe in their owne craftineſſe; for by meanes hereof many began to looke into theſe matters whereof the godly were accuſed; Namely, to enquire both what they did and ſpake in their aſſemblies. Where ſeeing and finding the clean contrary to theſe accuſations before mentioned, they were drawne to abhorre theſe lying ſpirits, and by little and little came to cleave unto the ſaid aſſemblies themſelves; yea many who were lewdly given, and came in among them to another end.

But theſe accuſers, not content herewith, went in the night into Churches, not ſparing to deface the images that ſtood therein, and then charged the Proteſtants to be the onely actors thereof. Whereupon the Cardinall of Burbon Archbiſhop of Roan was often faine to repaire them with many ceremonies. But at laſt a Monke of Magdalens hoſpitall was taken with the manner of breaking downe theſe Images in the churchyard of Saint Marke. For which he received no correction, excuſing the matter, by ſaying, that whatſoever he had done therein proceeded from a good meaning. Yet among all theſe diſorders the church of Roan ſtill ſubſiſted, though not without great perill and danger.

¶ *The ſtory of a Lockſmith, Martyr, who being dry had holy water given him to drinke.*

ABout this time was a Lockſmith burnt in the city of Agen, upon the clamours and ſeditious ſermons of a frier called Melchior Flavin, who denounced this Lockſmith to be an heretike, becauſe he had made a Chriſtian and good confeſſion, and therefore purſued him unto the death. A little before he was to die, Redon the lieutenant of Agen asked him if he would drinke. Sir, ſaith the priſoner, if you pleaſe to give me drink, I will. Then the Lieutenant brought him a glaſſe of water, of which he dranke a little. Now, ſaid the other unto him, what haſt thou drunke? the priſoner anſwered, Water. Saith the other, Thou haſt drunke holy-water, which I gave thee to drive the divell out of thee. I know, ſaith the poore man, that every creature of God is good in its owne nature; but had you told me it had beene ſuch as now you ſay it is, I would not have drunke it, for it is defiled with idolatry. At this anſwer the Lieutenant hurled the glaſſe of water at the poore mans face with ſuch force, that the glaſſe breaking to pieces hurt him. For which inhumane act hee was reproved by his fellowes, and amerced to pay ten pounds. But the Lockſmith tooke his death patiently, and endured it conſtantly.

¶ *The miſerable death of a Conſul who was both an accuſer and a Iudge.*

IOſias Simler, a learned Divine of our time, in the life of Maſter Henry Bullinger, a worthy ſervant of God, and a faithfull Miniſter of the church of Zuricke, recordeth an hiſtory which he ſaith hapned in a city of Suitzerland among the papiſts, An. 1559. He expreſſeth neither the Conſuls name, nor the city, the thing being ſufficiently knowne to the inhabitants thereabouts. This Conſul, being a rich and potent man, intending to build a brave and magnificent houſe, ſent far and neere for the rareſt and moſt exquiſite workemen he could heare tell of. Amongſt the reſt he ſent to the city of Trent (ſo much renounced among Papiſts in regard of the laſt Councell the Pope had there) for an excellent carver and maſter Builder called John, a man very religious, and a lover of the Truth: for which cauſe the ſaid John refuſed at the firſt to goe thither, alledging for himſelfe that he was of a contrary religion to that which the Conſull profeſſed, and therefore could not ſafely inhabit among ſuch as would obſerve his contempt of the Maſſe and their other ceremonies. The Conſull promiſed him ſafety in reſpect of his perſon, and that he ſhould be forced to nothing againſt his conſcience. Upon this his promiſe, John came and wrought a long time with the conſull: but when he came to demand his wages they entred into ſome termes of diſcontent. In the end at the command of this Conſull, John was committed to priſon, and by the ſame Conſull accuſed for a ſleighter of the Romiſh religion, yea, to have ſpoken unreverently thereof: wherefore he was condemned to be beheaded.

As they led him to execution he went towards it with undaunted courage, and died very conſtantly; proteſting in the preſence of all the Spectators, that he moſt gladly layd downe this life preſent, for the maintenance of that religion whereof he had made profeſſion, beleeving undoubtedly that it was the Truth; but added, that the conſull who was the author of his death ſhould himſelfe die within three daies, and appeare before Gods judgement ſeat to render an account of his ſentence. Which came to paſſe according as this pious man foretold: for the Conſull being then in the prime of his youth, and of an healthfull diſpoſition of body, from that day began to be aſſailed firſt with an exceeding heate, and then with an extraordinary cold; and thus was he ſmitten with a new kinde of ſickneſſe, ſo as within three dayes he followed him, of whom he had bin both the moſt unjuſt accuſer and judge.

¶ *The ſpeech of a poore Porter called Chevillon whipped for the Truth, and after confined to the Gallies.*

BEing whipped thorow the ſtreets of Romans, he ſaid to him that laſhed him, Lay on my friend, lay it on and ſpare not, chaſtiſe this fleſh which hath ſo often rebelled againſt his God: thinking himſelfe happy that he ſuffered in ſo good a quarrell.

¶ *The miſerable end of one called Aubeſpine, a Counſellor of Grenolle, and a perſecutor.*

AFter theſe bloody perſecutions, this Aubeſpine fell in love with a gentlewoman, and therein gave ſuch way to his paſſion, that he forſooke his calling, caſting off all care of his owne welfare, to follow her whitherſoever ſhe went. But ſhe diſregarding him, he tooke it ſo to heart, that he neglected his owne perſon: by reaſon whereof ſwarming full of lice, he could by no meanes be rid of them; for they increaſed upon him, and came out at all the parts of his body, as they are ſeen to iſſue out of a dead carkaſſe. It was not long before his death, but feeling himſelfe ſmitten with Gods hand, he began to deſpaire of his mercy, and to ſhorten his dayes he concluded to famiſh himſelfe: in the meane while the lice gathered ſo thick about

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Gag them ſaid he, for if wee ſuffer them to ſpeake, they will doe more harme at their death than in their life: which practiſe was not onely liked but executed.

Iohn Ponce of Leon a Gentleman of Seuill in in Spaine.

AMong thoſe that with a firme faith ſealed the truth of the Goſpel with their bloud in the Spaniſh inquiſition at Sevill the foure and twentieth of September 1559. Don Iohn Ponce of Leon, the ſonne of Roderic Ponce of Leon Count of Baylen, may of good right deſerve to be placed in the firſt ranke. For beſides the noble race from whence he ſprang, the Lord had indued him with ſingular vertues well beſeeming ſo worthy and Chriſtian a Gentleman. Thoſe who were of his familiar acquaintance, and did well obſerve his converſation, gave this teſtimony of his ſincerity, that his like was not knowne in Spaine of a long time, in that a man of his eſtate was ſo forward to exerciſe his charity towards ſuch in whom he ſaw but any good inclination to religion: yea, his yearely revenues, which were alſo great, were not onely imployed, that way, but he ſeemed to exceede the chiefeſt of his ranke, in yeelding his helpe and aide towards the reliefe of the poore. All which the world taking knowledge of, attributed (as it is woont) that which proceeded from his ſo Chriſtian bounty, rather unto waſtfulneſſe and prodigality.

The Inquiſitors of Sevill envying the ſweete ſavour of ſuch a life and converſation as he led before them, flowing from an inward taſte of true Religion, ſpared him no more than thoſe of meaner condition. For having gotten him into their hands, they left no meanes unaſſayed, but uſed the utmoſt of their devices to weaken his faith. The truth is, that at the firſt this noble perſonage was much perplexed, but at the laſt the Lord fortified him ſo with his grace, that he was ſet in the firſt rounde of the guilty. Concerning his ſentence (howſoever this holy tribunall mixed the ſame with many untruths to bleare the eyes of the ignorant withall) yet may it eaſily be collected out of the tenor of his ſentence, what he confeſſed and profeſſed.

For in the ſaid ſentence were read his articles for which he was principally condemned to the fire; namely, That hee abhorred the Idolatry which is committed in adoring the Sacrament, calling it a breaden god. Alſo, that when he met it as it was carried through the ſtreets, either in ſolemnity or to ſome ſicke body, he paſſed into another ſtreet going apace before it, that he might give no reverence unto it. That comming often into the Cathedrall Church where maſſe was ſaid, he turned his back towards yͤ Prieſt, becauſe he would not ſee him elevate his God. That hee uſed much to walke to and fro about the ſcaffold where the faithfull were executed, with a kinde of delight, coveting to ſtand neere unto them, that by accuſtoming himſelfe in beholding the place, and torments he ſaw others indure, he might bee the better emboldened to ſuffer the like when God ſhould call him thereunto.

Theſe were in effect the Articles which were inſerted in his ſentence, a part whereof alſo was drawne out of the confeſſion of his faith, the ſum being this: Firſt. That a man is iuſtified and accepted of God onely for the merrit of Ieſus Chriſt apprehended by faith. That the popes pardons and indulgences ſent from Rome are meere deluſions, and that the Pope is Antichriſt, &c. That it was the deſire of his heart to be burned, or to ſuffer ſome other extremity for the maintenance of the Faith which he profeſſed. That he endevored to imploy the goods and riches wherwith God had bleſſed him, only for the defence and further inlarging of the doctrine of the Goſpel; Yea, to forſake life, wife, children, and all, for the ſame: to which end hee had daily ſent up many hearty prayers to God.

In all this buſines, the holy tribunall labored by cunning devices to obſcure this confeſſion, cauſing it to be bruited that he held not out to the end, with many other like inventions to make the people beleeve they had turned him to their Law: but herein they ſhewed themſelves not well adviſed, in that they belied both him and themſelves. For in publiſhing his crimes and offences with the manner of his death, what did they elſe but declare and manifeſt the truth of the fact, which plainly appeareth in theſe words of the ſentence; Iohn Ponce of Leon, burned for an heretike and an obſtinate Lutheran, &c. Which words made their fraudulent dealing apparent to ſuch as doubted any way of the conſtancie and perſeverance of this pious Chriſtian knight.

Iohn Gonzalve a Preacher in Sevill, Martyr: with whom were executed two of his ſiſters, their mother remaining in priſon, reſerved to act her part in another tragedie.

GOnzalve a renowned Preacher throughout the Countrey of Andalouſie, was alſo led in this inquiſitoriall triumph: who forſaking his Schoole Divinity, in which learning he excelled all his fellowes, gave himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, according to the purity whereof his whole converſation was ordered, both inwardly and outwardly. Hee was often obſerved in all his Sermons to ayme at this marke, namely to deliver mens minds from that blind conceit of meriting by workes; that ſo way might be made for iuſtification onely by Faith in Chriſt Ieſus, and deeply to ingraft into them the knowledge of the ſole merit of his plenary ſatisfaction. For which his labour hee expected to receive from man the ſame reward which all the true ſervants of God have had in their times.

Being then ſeized upon by thoſe of this Spaniſh inquiſition, hee yeelded a reaſon of his faith in that purity and ſincerity, as did the aforeſaid Iohn Ponce; who as they had beene friends and of familliar acquaintance, ſo were they ioyned together in the ſame confeſſion, and led to the ſame execution together. The night before he ſuffered he had a ſore conflict with an old ſect of Prieſts, who were of the Inquiſition, but in the end he cauſed them to returne vanquiſhed and aſhamed. He was led from the caſtle and priſon of Trion with his two ſiſters unto the place appointed for his end, that they with him might drinke of the ſame cup, leaving his mother and one of his brethren behind him in priſon, reſerved to be executed when their turn came about. He never ſhewed the leaſt ſigne of being diſmaid; but contrariwiſe with

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great conſtancy and courage of heart ſtanding above all the people, to whom he had formerly preached and delivered the patterne of ſound Doctrine; He began with a loud voyce to recite the Pſalme which begins thus, O Lord my Rocke be not thou ſilent to me, &c. not changing his countenance at all upon the Scaffold, though they had gagged him there, becauſe he comforted and freely exhorted one of his ſiſters to be conſtant: whoſe ſpirit he feared might otherwiſe faint. Hearkening very attentively to his ſentence which was there againe recited, he was not any thing at all abaſhed or troubled thereat, but tooke his ſolemne degrading patiently, receiving the markes and garments of his confeſſion, to wit, his yellow robe, an haltar, and a painted miter, with a joyfull and cheerefull heart; knowing that howſoever they were diſgracefull in the eyes of the world, yet he eſteemed of them as ornaments of honour in the ſight of God and his Angels; abhorring his maſſing attire, whereof they had diſrobed him.

When the time was come that thoſe which ſhould be burned were brought to the place of execution, they were every one commanded to recite the articles of their beleefe, which they willingly did: but when they came to the Article, I beleeve the holy Catholique Church, they were bidden to adde this word Romane, whereupon they were ſilent: then did the Monkes and Fryers importune Gonzalves ſiſters, and other Chriſtian women who were to be burned with them, to repeat the ſaid word Romane; who anſwered they would, if they might heare John Gonzalva pronounce it (not that they intended ſo to doe, but being confident of his renouncing the ſame) hoping by this meanes to free him of his gagge, and ſo to obtaine the liberty of ſpeech, by which he might render a reaſon of his faith, and ſo of this article among the reſt. Being ungagged, the firſt word he ſpake was, that they ſhould be of good courage, and not to adde one word more than what they had recited. Upon this their laſt confeſſion they were forthwith ſtrangled, as the fire was kindled upon them, to burne and conſume them.

¶ *Iſabell of Vaenia, Mary of Viroes, Cornella Mary of Bohorques, and Iane her ſiſter burnt at Sevill in Spaine.*

AMong all the moſt ancient profeſſors of true religion that had their abode in the Church of God at Sevill (who in a manner were all waſted by the Tyranny of the Inquiſition) the power of faith appeared in theſe foure women above ſpecified. Now howſoever they were all endued with ſingular piety and godlineſſe, yet the yonger of them named Bohorques, being under the age of one and twenty, was inſtructed above the reſt in holy letters, & by dayly reading and conference with good and godly men, wherewith Sevil at that time was well furniſhed, ſhee had obtained ſuch promptneſſe in the knowledge of the Texts of the old and new Teſtament, that many who were eſteemed learned in that City, have confeſſed they were often put to a non-plus by ſuch reaſons as ſhee alledged out of the Scriptures.

As touching the firſt of theſe, Vaenia; her houſe was a ſchoole or colledge of piety, being the place alſo where all the meetings were, to publiſh the praiſes of God. No evill example was to bee ſeene there, nor ought that ſavoured of feigned hineſſe, but ſuch as proceeded from uprightneſſe of heart and ſincerity. But the Inquiſitors, who alwayes lye in waite to take hold, though but with the leaſt thred of their net, caught theſe foure women with other their neighbours, in the ſame, when God knew they were fitted for the confeſſion of his holy truth. Now as the Latine tongue did much aide the ſaid Mary Bohorques to retaine her in reading of the holy Bible, whileſt the Popes Tyranny forbad the ſame to be read in the vulgar tongue; ſo ſhe came quickly to be invironed with the more adverſaries during her captivity. Doctor Egidus (whoſe memory was renowned throughout Spaine among all ſuch as truly worſhipped God) had been her Inſtructor, and was wont to ſay of this Maide, that he alwaies went from her more learned by conferring with her, then when he came to her.

Would to God many maids in theſe daies might deſerve to be ſo commended.

During her Captivity there came many Monkes to diſpute and reaſon with her; above all, thoſe of the order of Saint Dominicke, who were enforced to admire the ſpirit of wiſdome, wherewith this Damoſell was inſpired, as alſo at the pregnant anſwers which ſhe gave to their demands. Shee ſuffered ſo many kindes of torments, that by the violence thereof they forced her to nominate her ſiſter Jane Bohorques, and to confeſſe that ſhe had often been preſent at the Preaching of the Goſpell. This Jane was the wife of one called Francis Varquis, Lord of Higueras, a man of excellent note. Shee was ſixe Moneths gone with child when ſhe was committed to priſon, and therefore was not ſo ſtraitly uſed, nor hardly dealt withall as other of the priſoners were. But within eight daies after her delivery, her childe was taken from her, and then giving her no longer time of breathing, they began to deale with her after the guiſe of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, forming her inditement agreeable to the rigour and ſeverity thereof. In which her extremity ſhee had comfort of none, but of a vertuous young maiden, who afterwards was burned for the profeſſion of the truth: which maid being one day brought by the Inquiſitors to the torture, was in a manner diſmembred, and then layd upon a bed of ſtraw, whereon both were laid in the priſon, ſerving rather to vexe then any way to eaſe them, yet did the other yeeld her all the reliefe which her ſelfe or the place could poſſibly afford. Scarſe had this poore Damoſell recovered ſome eaſe after theſe intolerable bruiſes, but this aforeſaid Jane Bohorques taſted of the ſame bitter Cup, where ſhee was ſo cruelly tormented on the Burro, as they call it, which is a bench or forme whereon they give the Towell or Napkin, that the cords pierced through the fleſh into the bones, both of her armes and leggs: and in this pitifull plight the bloud guſhing out, ſhee was returned to her priſon, where within eight daies after it pleaſed God to free her out of the clutches of theſe bloudthirſty, into his eternall happineſſe and glory. Now they were very loth it ſhould bee bruited abroad that this gentlewoman, ſo well borne and delicately bred, ſhould dye under ſo cruell torments: but they who were the beholders of ſuch inhumanity could not be ſilent. Yet theſe good fathers, being under no controle, take their liberty thus to imbrue their hands in the bloud of Gods ſaints.

Her ſiſter Mary being led with the reſt of her fellowes to the place where they were to ſuffer, ſhe went thereto with ſuch joy and gladneſſe, as one triumphing over her enemies: which the whole tribunall obſerving, and fearing leſt others would be imboldened by her conſtant defence of the truth and ſinging of Pſalmes as ſhe went, gagged her. And when ſhe came to the place of execution, that they might obſcure the glory of this heavenly conſtancy they preſently ſtrangled her.

¶ *Iulian Hernaudes burned in Sevill in Spaine, Anno* 1559.

THis Julian, who for his ſmall ſtature was called, le petit, was ſervant to John Piers a Spaniard, and miniſter of the Goſpell in Geneva, where, through much reſrot of many learned men thither, religion flouriſhed. At which time being moved with godly zeale, rather then being counſelled thereto, he undertooke a buſineſſe, which as it was of great importance, ſo of no ſmall perill and imminent danger; for he brought with him thence and cauſed a great number of Bookes of the holy Scriptures in Spaniſh to be conveied into Spaine, earneſtly thirſting after the increaſe and growth of the light of the Goſpell in his native countrey; which godly enterprize of his the Lord ſo guided, that he brought the ſame to a proſperous Iſſue; Yea, which is yet the more admirable, even within the walles of Sevill, notwithſtanding all the watch and ward the Officers of the Inquiſition uſed.

These books to the poore Chriſtians there were welcommed with no leſſe joyfulneſſe, then the rain when it ſhowers downe upon the parched ground. For the Goſpell by meanes hereof grew, and was enlarged; ſo as the Lord thereby reaped a very great Harveſt. But the newes hereof comming to the eares of the holy Fathers, firſt, by the indiſcretion and foole-hardineſſe of one more zealous then wiſe, and then by the treachery of wily ſpies of the Inquiſition, who counterfeited a profeſſion of the Goſpell, meerely to enſnare and betray the ſincere profeſſors thereof, by their diſloyall practiſes: no ſooner had theſe venerable Fathers, or hunters rather, gotten a ſent of this game where it lay, but comming violently upon them, tooke the damme with her young ones. By which great ſurpriſall the whole flocke was ſcattered; but ſo many was the number of them even at their firſt apprehenſion, that it amaſed the huntſmen themſelves.

Pſal.72.6.

Deut.21.6.

For the priſons were ſo repleniſhed, that they were faine to borrow private houſes to ſhut up the priſoners in. At once they burned twenty and upwards of them together, whilſt in Sevill they detayned in bonds 800. Amongſt whom this Julian was one of the firſt which they met withall, whom they kept in priſon above three yeeres laden with Irons: during which time, every day afforded new ſpectacles of catching their prey. But ſuch was his wonderfull conſtancy, that he wearied his tormentors from vexing him any more; ſo as new forces never failed this little leane body, to ſuffer any tortors the Inquiſition could deviſe. He was naturally of a cheerefull ſpirit, and God ſo increaſed the ſame in him, that he came from the torture with no leſſe courage then when he was wont to come unto it: ſo as neither paine of the racke, nor the threats of the Officers, nor yet the cruelties they exerciſed upon him could withhold him from manifeſting to his priſon fellowes, as he went along by them, his conqueſt and victory, to the ſhame and reproach of his adverſaries, uſing to ſay in Spaniſh; Theſe hypocrites are gone away confounded, no leſſe then Wolves which have beene long hunted.

See what great increaſe God can bring out of weake beginnings.

Such honor have all Gods Saints.

After many fierce encounters and ſharpe diſputes with the Monkes and others of the popiſh crew, being brought out of the priſon into the Caſtle, there to receive the mark and livery of Chriſt the ſonne of God, with the reſt of the priſoners, it was reported, that he with a bold courage and ſetled countenance thus ſpake unto them; Courage my valiant and conſtant Brethren, now is the houre come in which, as the true Champions of Ieſus Chriſt, we muſt witneſſe his truth before men, and for a ſhort triall for his ſake wee ſhall triumph with him for ever and ever. But the officers of the Inquiſition interrupted him inſtantly, by putting a gagge in his mouth, with which he continued untill a little before he dyed. Mounting then upon the ſcaffold where he was to ſuffer, by manifold ſignes he ſhewed the conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſſe of his faith, which by words he could not. For in aſcending up the ſteps of the ſcaffold, kneeling downe he kiſſed them; and being faſtned to the ſtake, invironed and compaſſed round abut with fagots, he ſundry times bowed his head within the pile of wood, as if he deſired to die by fire, and ſo rendred up his ſoule into the hands of God, to the great admiration of the Spectators, and the animating of his fellow Martyrs who were to ſuffer with him. When he was to die, a certaine Doctor called Ferdinando Rodrigo, contrary to his intention, made the faith of this our little Julian much more glorious: for he thinking by terrifying him with the apprehenſion of the preſent torment he was to endure, obtained ſo much favour of the Sheriffe, as to permit him to ſpeake; thinking thereby to give the people ſome intimation of his recantation; which is the utmoſt triumph that theſe holy Fathers of the Inquiſition thirſt after: but it proved cleane contrary: for Julian recovering liberty of ſpeech, did yeeld a more cleere evidence and demonſtration of his faith than formerly he had done, and ſo confuted this Doctor Rodrigo, (calling him a ſeducer, and one that ſpake againſt his conſcience) that by and by in an outrage, to cover his ſhame, he cryed out like a Bedlam; Muſt Spaine, which commands ſilence to ſo many, be thus troubled now with this ſo contemptible a wretch? Kill him, diſpatch him, &c. At which words, the tormentors being there at a becke, forthwith kindled the fire upon him.

When the Martyrs were hindred to manifeſt their faith by ſpeech, yet they would by outward geſtures do it as well as they could.

¶ Now having thus formerly mentioned what tortures are exerciſed upon the bodies of Gods Saints by the mercileſſe Inquiſitors of Spaine, and that alſo upon thoſe of their owne Nation: it ſhall not be much from the purpoſe if from thence we take occaſion more particularly here to relate unto thee (Chriſtian Reader) with what inhumanity ſuch are uſed who for the cauſe of religion fall into the hands of theſe carnall tyrants, according as I finde the ſame ſet forth at large by my Author, whoſe footſteps in the whole Work I endeavour to follow.

WHen they purpoſe to torture any one, the Jaylor is commanded to bring forth his priſoner into the accuſtomed place where it is to be given; which place is under the earth, and very obſcure. Then going thorow many turnings, and thorow ſundry doores, ſo as the horrible cryes of thoſe who are there tortured can in no wiſe be heard, there is a ſeat prepared for the Inquiſitors on high, with a Regiſter alſo to behold that tragicall act. The torches being lighted, thoſe who are to act their parts in this wofull Tragedy are brought in: the tormentor who attends their comming, is covered all over with a blacke garment, cloſe to his body, and on his head a blacke Hood, which hides his face from being ſeene; having only two or three holes made therein for himſelfe to ſee and breathe at; and all this is the way to terrifie the poore Patient, who beholdeth as it were a grimme devill ready to torment him. Theſe Fathers being ſet upon their ſeat begin againe to charge the Priſoner voluntarily to confeſſe the truth: which if he refuſe to do, and if it then happen that an arme or any other member of his body be broken, or that they die on the torture (for that is all the favour he hath ſhewed him) they make it his own fault and none of theirs. After they have uſed all the terrible threates that can be, they cauſe him to be ſtripped ſtarke naked, whether man, woman, or maide, though they be never ſo modeſt and baſhfull. Many having fallen into their bloody fingers, thus to have their ſhame diſcovered to the ſight of others, was more greevous than all their torments beſides which they indured. Laying aſide then all humanity in unclothing them, they put upon them (a ſhame it is to ſpeake it) linnen breeches, as if their ſecret parts were better & more honeſtly covered with breeches than with a ſhirt or ſmocke, or as if the torments they meant to put them to would not pierce deepe enough as well in the one as in the other: with ſuch ſhameleſſe ſpectacles the chaſte Inquiſitors fed their ages, and with ſuch a cruell luſt ſatisfied their infamous and deteſtable virginity.

The man or woman ſtanding naked then, and their nakedneſſe covered only with little breeches, as was ſaid, they becken to the tormentor, ſignifying thereby what kinde of torture he is to put them to. For herein, as alſo in many things of a like nature, they have ſome ſecret watchword or ſigne among themſelves; and the Officers being well acquainted therewith can readily diſcerne what torments the holy Fathers would have men put unto, to teach them the faith of the Romane Church. The moſt uſuall are the cords with the pullies, ſinewes, fire, and water, of all which we will ſpeake in place convenient. Whileſt they thus ſtand naked, they exhort them once againe to tell the truth. If the Patient be to endure the Cord, they tie his hands behinde his back, pulling him up eight or ten times, according to the number of twitches limited by the Inquiſitor to the Tormentor; that ſo nothing may be done (there forſooth) without order. At the firſt incounter are reckoned up to him all his Articles; and then, beſides the binding of his hands, they tie his thumbes very hard together with a ſmall Cord, then they tie his hands and thumbes unto a greater Cord, hoiſing him up by a pully very high, which done, they put upon his legs heavy bolts, if hee have them not on before; to which are yet added, for the firſt pull, an iron weight of five and twenty pound, which is hanged to theſe bolts betweene his feet. Being thus arayed the Tormentor drawes him up on high, the Regiſter and the Inquiſitor mixing therewith their former exhortations to confeſſe. When he comes to touch the pulley with his head, they will him yet then to confeſſe: if he obey, they preſently let him down; if not, then they let him hang in this condition, untill he have anſwered their demands. Now, after he hath hung thus without making any confeſſion, they let him downe, to redouble on his feet the former weight. And then pulling him up againe, threaten him to hang till he there die, if hee declare not to them that which they aske of him; commanding the Tormentor to let him hang a long while in the aire, that through the heavineſſe of the weight which hangs at his feet, all his members and joynts be ſtretched out beyond meaſure. When the Patient through extremity of torment, which he endures, cryes out, they in like ſort cry as loud as they can, that he ſhould now confeſſe what he knowes: if not, then they let him fall. For when they perceive he continues conſtant, then they command the officer to let goe the Cord, which is as ſoone done as ſpoken, yet not wholly and altogether to the mid way, but to a certain ſtop, which hinders his falling to the ground, by reaſon whereof he receives ſuch a ſudden checke, that there is neither nerve, muſcle, ſinew, nor joynt in the arms or legs, nor in the whole body, which are not with extreame torture diſjoynted and diſplaced; ſo as being thus ſtopped in his fall in the mid way, his body is pittifully and miſerably ſtretched out.

But yet this ſufficeth not. For then if through their importunity he will confeſſe nothing, they augment the weight the third time, and thus in a manner being as good as dead, cauſe him to bee pulled up: to which cruelty they adde railing and reviling ſpeeches, calling him dog and heretike, who being obſtinate conceals the truth from them, and therefore deſerves to be left dying there. If the poore creature in regard of his intolerable agony cryeth unto Jeſus Chriſt to helpe him, and to have mercy upon him (as all ſuch doe as ſuffer for tha truth) then they ſcoffe and mocke him, ſaying, *Ieſus Chriſt, Ieſus Chriſt, let this Ieſus Chriſt alone a while, and tell us what that Ieſus Chriſt is thou calleſt upon?* Confeſſe to us that which we demand of thee; the which teſtifies to their faces how odious and hatefull a thing it is unto them to heare ſuch as ſuffer in the quarrell of Chriſt to call upon his name. If the ſorrowfull wretch deſire to be let downe, promiſing to confeſſe and to tell them ſomewhat, they will for all that torment him againe. For having pauſed a little, then they tell him that is not all, and ſo continue threatning him with the Strappado as before.

Impious blaſphemies.

This helliſh torture beginneth at nine of the clocke, and laſts till noone, or one of the clocke; and when they pleaſe to make an end, then they aske of the Tormentor if he have his other Engines ready, which they doe to ſtrike the greater terror into the bruiſed and martyred Patient, whom they now have in their hands. He anſwers he hath them not there; then they command him to fit and prepare them againſt the next day, and not to faile: we will ſee, ſay they, whether we can fetch the whole truth out of this fellow or no. And at their going out, they comfort the deſolate ſoule thus; *This ſhall ſuffice for this time, but looke betweene this and to morrow thou adviſeſt thy ſelfe well, what thou oughteſt to confeſſe, otherwiſe thou art like to die on the torture; nor think to eſcape by what thou haſt endured, for that is but as a bed of Roſes in regard of the torment which is to come.* Being gone, the Hangman indevours to ſet together the joynts of the Patients legges and armes, as well as he can. Then his clothes being put on, he is brought againe into his priſon, and if he be not able to goe, then hee is carried thither; and ſometimes this help proves a vexation unto him, in that they churliſhly hale him by his armes and legges. The Jaylour alſo in ſcorne askes of him, if he need a Chirurgion: now if they meane to torture him no more, then he is called for two or three dayes after, and as he paſſeth from the priſon, they make him come nigh the doore where he was tortured, where the Tormentor preſents himſelfe before him in all points as hath formerly been related, that at this very ſight the priſoner in his paſſage might be put in minde of what he had but a while ſince ſuffered. When he is come before them, there he findes the Inquiſitor, the Regiſter with others ſet in their ſeates attending for him, where according to the guiſe, they adjure him to ſpeak the truth. If at that time they can draw nothing out of him, they ſend him to priſon againe. But if he happen to diſcloſe ought ſerving their turne, then they ply him hard to utter all: and thereupon make him turne thence to the torture, hoping thereby to get ſomething more out of him.

If they purpoſe to exerciſe this their cruelty with all extremity upon the ſame Patient, they ſend for him the third day, whileſt his ſinews and joynts are in the prime of their paine, and ſo re-

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Anno 1560.

new their horrible threats unto him, to reveale his hereſies, and thoſe which had formerly mentioned, and who they be that are of his opinion; otherwiſe he muſt prepare himſelf for the torture, wherein if he any way miſcarry in his body, or if death it ſelfe doe follow, the fault ſhall be his, and not theirs. If he continue unmoveable in his mind, they cauſe the Jaylor to bring him to the place of torture, and there they ſitting in their Tribunall, command him to be ſtripped naked, and then tormented as you have formerly heard. Beſides, as an addition thereto, they tie his thighs & hamſtrings together with a ſmall cord, forcing the ſame ſo with pieces of wood, that the ſaid cords do eate into his very fleſh; in which extremity they leave him for ſome three or foure houres, or as they pleaſe, plying him the while with infinite threats and deriſions, which is all the comfort they miniſter to him in this his miſerable condition.

They have yet another kinde of torment, which Juſtices in other places exerciſe upon ſuch as are the moſt notorious offendors, whereof this holy Tribunall make uſe, as fitting well to their cruell humour. They call it the Burro, which is a planke of timber made hollow in forme of a gutter or trough, wherein a man may lie on his back; now juſt where the back bone ſhould repoſe it ſelfe, there is a round peece of wood lying overthwart, keeping up the backe from reſting in the bottome of the hollow place, ſo as it giveth no reſt to him that is tormented thereon. Now this trough is ſo framed, that the heeles of him who is put therein lie much higher than his head. Being put into this caſe or coffin, his legges, armes, and thighes are bound hard with ſmall cords, which by little and little are ſo ſtrained with certain ſticks, that they eate into the fleſh, yea pierce to the bare bone. Then they lay a linnen cloth on his face, to hinder his breathing at the noſthrils, whileſt they poure water into his mouth, which is diſtilled from above by this cloth to a certaine quantity, (as it ſeemes good to his Judge) not by drops, but ſtreaming downe, to cauſe the ſaid cloth to goe downe into his throat. The poore patient the whilſt lies in theſe torments as one in a manner dead, not being able either to ſtir or breathe. Now when this wet cloth is pulled out of the depth of his throate, to make him to anſwer unto their demands; If you ſhould behold how blood and water comes out together, you would imagine they had plucked the very bowels out of his belly: in which wofull plight he is held as long as they thinke good, even untill with horrible threats and torments he be returned back again to priſon.

If they pleaſe to proceed further in adding moe torments, within a moneth or two after the ſaid cruelties are renewed, either in more terrible or moderate manner, to ſome once, to others to the ſixt time.

There is yet another torment which is peculiar to this holy ſeat of the Inquiſitors. They cauſe a great fire of hot burning coales to be brought, which they apply nigh unto the ſoles of his feet whom they intend to torment, which are firſt thorowly anointed with greaſe or ſuet, that the heat of the fire may pierce more deeply.

Thus much be ſaid as touching theſe torments uſed by thoſe cruell tormentors of the bloody Inquiſition of Spaine upon the bodies of poore Chriſtians.

¶ *A note of Francis Oliver Chancellor of France.*

This Chancellor, who in the former perſecutions not behaving himſelfe according to a good conſcience, (being in times paſt ſo far enlightned as to make profeſſion of the truth) was viſited with a mortall diſeaſe; in which ſickneſſe he was obſerved to caſt forth hideous ſighs without ceaſing. In which perplexity the Cardinall of Lorraine came to viſit him, ſtanding aloofe off from him. To whom the Chancellor uttered theſe words; Ah Cardinall, thou wilt damne us all. It is alſo reported, that he much and often bewailed the death of Anne du Burg, of whom mention was made heretofore. And thus living a while in this miſerable condition he ended his dayes.

Gods judgement upon an Apoſtata.

¶ *A Papiſt defined by Iaques de Lo.*

Having called the vowes of papiſts papiſticall vowes, he was asked what a papiſt was. He is a Papiſt, ſaid De Lo, who ſquares his actions and converſation according to the Popes lawes. Anno 1560.

Being preſſed by the papiſts to confeſſe whom he knew of the reformed religion, he would name none but ſuch as had ſuffered; and withall further added, I entreat you my Brethren in the name of God, that you conceive no ſiniſter opinion as touching me in this behalfe: for I am reſolved, by the help of my God (without whoſe aſſiſtance I can doe nothing, and with which I can doe all things) to ſuffer my fleſh rather to be rent in pieces, then to reveale any whoſe perſons might thereby be endangered.

Note his admirable conſtancy.

¶ *The notable converſion of a notorious evill liver, by name Iohn Herwin, of Houtkerk in Flanders, Martyr; who by degrees was ſo far brrught into Chriſts Fold, that hee was called forth to beare witneſſe of the Truth, from which he was once as farre remote as the heavens are from the earth, in the yeare 1560.*

This John Herwin, born in Geeſtercorne, &c. in the Weſt ſide of Flanders, was of a diſſolute life, ſuch as ſouldiers for the moſt part are of; but God having a purpoſe to ſhew forth in him the admirable worke of converſion, to draw him to Chriſt, put it into his heart to leave his owne countrey, and come to the City of London. Beeing arrived there about Eaſter, the Lord going on with his worke brought him by his providence into a Brewhouſe, being a Brewer by his calling, where he met with a maſter and fellow ſervants fearing God; a thing ſeldome ſeen in men of that Profeſſion, ſeeing ordinarily they are exceſſive drinkers. His maſter cauſed him oft to reſort to the Dutch Church in the ſaid city of London, where by ordinary hearing of the Word preached he began firſt to taſte, and after to increaſe more and more in the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt. Newes comming over, that warres were likely to be in Flanders, cauſed him to leave England, and to returne againe into his owne countrey. He came thither at the ſame time that three other martyrs were there apprehended, but he was not taken with them.

The Bailiffe of Furne when he ſaw he could not meet with him, underſtanding that he was at Ponſcot, advertiſed the Bailiffe of the ſaid place, that he might take him at his ſiſters houſe. As ſoone as he heard thereof he delayed no time, but in the night time came with his Sergeants & ap-

prehended

Anno 1559.

prehẽded him. Now leading him to priſon, the bailiffe meeting certaine drunkards in the ſtreets, ſaid; they ſay, Wee have many Goſpellers in Houſcot, but it little appeares by theſe diſorders.

John Herwin hearing him ſay ſo, and not willing to balke it, replyed, Is drunkenneſſe a ſin, Maſter Bayliffe? Then ſayd the Bayliffe, What of that? Herwin made this concluſion; Why then commit you not theſe fellowes to priſon, ſeeing it is your office to puniſh vice, and to protect ſuch as feare God. The Bayliffe was mute: yet for all that Herwin was faine to take up his lodging in priſon, where hee behaved himſelfe ſo vertuouſly, that every one admired it. But becauſe hee was not called forth before the Magiſtrates of Houſcot ſo ſoone as hee deſired and expected, hee grew heavy and ſad, asking of ſome whom he knew well, if they could tell why they ſo delayed the matter? For his heart was fired with an holy zeale to confeſſe Jeſus Chriſt before his judges. Many feared him much, who knew what hee had been in times paſt; hee being as yet but a Novice, and a new commer on in the profeſſion of the Goſpell; in which caſe men for the moſt part have but ſome glimmering of the light, and are unſetled in their judgements.

At length hee was brought before the ſheriffes of the towne, who commanded a Prieſt to diſpute with him. At the firſt Encounter he asked Herwin how long it was ſince hee was confeſſed? alſo what hee thought of confeſſion, asking him ſundry other triviall queſtions, to which Herwin anſwered no leſſe modeſtly then Chriſtianly, in ſo much as they who were of ſound judgement eaſily diſcerned how hee was not the man hee had been in times paſt, but that his priſon had been to him a good ſchoole where hd had well conned his leſſon. The Prieſt demanded further whether he beleeved there were ſeven ſacraments or no? The bayliffe helping the Prieſt, ſaid, whats that to the purpoſe, whether there be ſeven or two, hee will acknowledge no more then hee liſt (for he had confeſſed there were but two.) The chiefe ſheriffe demanded of him in theſe termes, whither hee beleeved that the Lord remained upon the Altar, fleſh, body, and bone. I anſwer (ſaith Herwin) with Saint Steven, that the higheſt dwelleth not in temples made with hands. Heaven, ſaith the Lord, is my throne, and the earth is my footſtoole; what houſe will yee then make unto mee, and where is the place of my reſt? Hath not my hand made all theſe? And then tooke occaſion to admoniſh the Judges which ſate there, to examine the Doctrine of the Romane Church, by the true touchſtone which is the holy ſcripture, that ſo they might diſcern how oppoſite and contrary the one is to the other. Conſider alſo, ſaith hee, what the words of ſaint Peter import, where hee affirmes that we ought to obey God rather then man. Yea it is high time for you to thinke upon what I ſay, and that ſeriouſly alſo, for at the laſt day it is neither your prieſts, nor your placcards (which you thinke to ſtop our mouths withall) that ſhall any way excuſe you then. And as for the title of the Romane Catholike Church, which you hold out againſt us; I deny not but in the Apoſtles time and afterwards there was a true Church in Rome, as well as in Corinth, Galatia, among the Philippians, and in other churches; but after that ſhe fell from the pure word of God, and falſified the Sacraments thereof, turning eccleſiaſticall diſcipline into auricular confeſſion, God hath alſo forſaken her, ⁊ ſhe ought now no more to bee called a Church of God, but rather the Synagogue of Satan. As ſoone as the chiefe Sheriffe (who is called the firſt ſpeaker) heard this, he commanded him away.

Iſai. 66. 1, 2.

Act. 4. 19. & 5. 29.

A godly admonition to Judges and Magiſtrates.

When the church of Rome was a true Church.

Having then given ſufficient teſtimony of his Faith, before thoſe of Houſcot, he craved for Juſtice either one way or another. But they on the contrary urged him to deſiſt from his opinion. To which he anſwered, that his faith was not built of an opinion, but ſaid he, the Lord hath taught me to eſchew evill and do good. Yea, ſaid they, but ſeeſt thou not how theſe opinions have troubled the World? And alſo how many of the learneder ſort do contradict them? Anſwer. So far is it off that the doctrine of the Goſpell ſhould be the cauſe of troubles, that it only is the meanes of quieting the troubles, debates, and ſtrifes which raigne in the world. Theſe troubles ariſe indeed from the malice of men. And as touching your learned men you ſpeake of, it is impoſſible for humane wiſdome to comprehend the doctrine of God: for which cauſe Chriſt ſaith. Father I thanke thee, that thou haſt hid theſe ſecrets from the wiſe men of the World, and haſt revealed them to babes. Now as the Sergeants conveyed him to priſon, they counſelled him to ſpeake more mildly, and then he might doe well enough.

Pſal. 14.

Mat. 11. 25. Luke 10. 21.

Before his death he was ſorely ſet upon by certaine Sophiſters, who alledged to him the ſayings of many of the ancient Fathers upon the point of the Lords Supper; but he overcame them, by holding cloſe the true ſenſe of Chriſts words. In priſon he comforted himſelfe in ſinging of Pſalmes and ſpirituall Songs, ſome of which he indited himſelf. The Canons and prieſts ſeeing the people flock together to the priſon doore to heare him, eſpecially upon the Sundayes and holy daies, ſtrove by all meanes to put him by his ſinging. They coupled him with two malefactors, to be a griefe unto him: who obtaining certaine inſtruments by the helpe of their conſorts, brake priſon and fled. Herwin might thus have eſcaped if he would; but fearing his flight might be imputed to the godly Chriſtians in the City, he reſolved rather to remaine there, than to flie. His ſentence in the meane while comming from the Court, he was no ſooner advertiſed of it, but hee thanked God for advancing him to ſo high an honour as to be counted worthy to ſuffer for his name: Teſtifying the joy he inwardly had, by a Letter which he ſent to the brethren; praying and exhorting them to be conſtant and to perſevere in that Doctrine which they had received from God.

The fourth day of November betweene foure and five of the clocke in the morning, Herwin was ſent for by the Magiſtrates from priſon into the place of Judgement, where by intreatings and goodly promiſes they urged him to recant and receive their breaden God, which was then to bee offered up; or at leaſt to confeſſe that Jeſus Chriſt was there corporally preſent, upon which he ſhould by and by be delivered out of all dangers. Now Herwin refuſing their offer was bound and brought by force into the Chappell: but he in ſign of his deteſtation, turned his backe alwayes upon it, ſhutting his eyes, and ſtopping his eares. At the elevation of their Hoſt, one who was kneeling to it, asked him if Jeſus Chriſt was not now betweene the Prieſts hands. No, no, ſaid Herwin, he is in Heaven at the right hand of his Father.

Soone after the ſentence of death was read againſt him, ⁊ ſo was he delivered into the hands of the Tormentor. As he paſſed out of the townhouſe, ſtanding upon the firſt ſtep, ⁊ viewing the people who waited to ſee him, See here (ſaith he) how this wicked World rewards the poore ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt. Whileſt I gave my ſelfe to drunkenneſſe, to playiug at Cards and Dice, living in all diſſolution and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of theſe hands (lifting up his hands which were bound) I was then counted a good fellow, and at that time who but I? But no ſooner began I by converſion to aske after a godly life, but the world made war upon me, and became my enemy, perſecuting and impriſoning me, and now laſt of all ſending me to the place where I muſt pay my laſt debt. But the ſervant is no better than his Lord: For ſeeing they perſecuted him, no queſtion they will perſecute us.

Mat. 10. 24.
Iohn 15, 20.

Being come to the place where he was to ſuffer, one of the aſſembly reaching him forth his hand drew nigh unto him, comforting him, never leaving him till he entred into the Cabbin of wood in which he was to be burnt. He then began to ſing the thirtieth Pſalme, of which having ſung only the firſt ſtaffe, a Fryer hearing the ſame haſtned towards him (not without much difficulty) through the throng, that he might come neere to interrupt him, who kneeling on his knees ſaid, Oh Iohn, turne, there is yet time and ſpace. The Martyr, ſleighting his gloſing words, turned his back upon him. And many there preſent cryed to the Fryer, Turne thou, thou hypocrite: and thus was he ſuffered quietly to finiſh the Pſalme. The Fryer ſeeing himſelfe diſappointed this way of his purpoſe, continuing ſtill in his impudency, ſaid to the people, be ye not offended good people in hearing this Heretique ſing of God. They cryed againe to him, Hold thy peace thou Balaamite, here is no body offended. Many ſung with a ſoft voice with the Martyr, and ſome againe ſung aloud without faining.

There were more than foure hundred which encouraged him to continue to the end, as he had well begun. Then he ſaid unto them, Brethren, I fight under the Standard and in the quarrell of my great Lord and Captaine Chriſt.

Having ended the pſalme he made his prayer to God upon his knees. Then riſing up, and being about to enter into his lodge made with an heape of fagots, he ſaid to the people, I am now going to be ſacrificed; follow you me when God of his goodneſſe ſhall call you to it. When he was gone in, the Fryer put him in minde againe, that yet there was time to repent: but he, as one little minding what this deceiver ſaid, commended his ſpirit into the hands of God. Hee that reached him forth his hand ſtood in the midſt of the Sergeants, and not far off from the Tormentor, ſtill encouraging the Patient, and yet none laid hold on him; they were ſtricken with ſuch aſtoniſhment, partly with the Martyrs courage, and partly with their owne ſhame in putting to death an innocent. The Executioner not being his craftſmaſter ſtrangled and burnt him moſt cruelly, ſo as the people were heard to bewaile the manner of it, whileſt the Martyr yeelded up the ghoſt the ſaid fourth day of November, Anno 1560. His body was conſumed to aſhes, which were buried in the Market place of Honſcot.

¶ Here it ſhall not be amiſſe to inſert a godly prayer which a like notorious wretch (before his converſion) made at his death after he was converted, and ſuffered for the ſame cauſe. His name was Lieuin Blekere , by his Trade a Painter, who dwelt in a little village in the Low Countries , called Pamelle, Anno 1566.

O Heavenly Father, I give thee thankes that thou haſt pulled me out of darkneſſe, and haſt revealed the light of thy Goſpell unto me, for elſe I had periſhed everlaſtingly. O father, thou diddeſt ordaine me to be one of thy Witneſſes, even from my mothers wombe, yea, before the foundation of the world was laid. Now therefore Lord let this ſacrifice be acceptable unto thee, receive me thy poore ſervant into thy grace and favour, and pardon the ſin of my perſecutors.

To one that ſtood by he ſaid, Brother, fight the good fight of faith with me, and pray for me ſo long as you ſee life to be in me. And while he was yet ſpeaking the tormentor ſtrangled him. The dead body, being a little ſcortched with the fire was taken thence and hanged on a gibbet by Pamelle, whence he was taken downe in the night and buried.

¶ *Iohn de Boſchane drowned in a tub in priſon, the twenty eighth day of February, in the City of Antwerpe, Anno* 1561.

The evening before he ſuffered many of the faithfull expected what ſhould be done unto him. But the Magiſtrates of the towne fearing an uprore, knowing that he was a man free of ſpeech, and beloved of the people, tooke counſell to drowne him ſecretly in the priſon, which could not be executed without murther and cruell torment. For the tub (in which he ſhould be drowned) being neither large nor deep enough, the Martyr himſelfe being tall of ſtature, and the executioner having provided ſo little water that he could not poſſibly be drowned therein; therefore he was conſtrained, for the ſhortning of this ſo cruell a torment, to wound him in the body with divers ſtabs of a dagger, which were to be ſeen thereon after he was dead. Thus finiſhed this Boſchane Martyr his life, being twenty ſix yeares of age, in the City of Antwerpe, in the yeare of our Lord 1560.

A ſure way to make an end of him.

¶ *The ſtory of one Iohn de Buiſons, who was beheaded in the priſon, as Iohn the Baptiſt was, in the night.*

This holy ſervant of Chriſt having valiantly ſtood to the profeſſion of the Goſpell, was ſoone after condemned to die. Now fearing leſt any tumult or ſedition ſhould be raiſed in the City of Antwerp, he was beheaded in the priſon about one or two of the clocke in the night, to the glory of God, and the confuſion of his adverſaries, Anno 1561.

¶ *Simon Harme Martyr, who had ſentence of death pronounced two ſeverall times upon him in the City of Liſle in Flanders.*

This Simon was accuſed to have uttered ſome ſpeeches long ſince againſt the Church of Rome. Witneſſes being produced againſt him in the towne-houſe, the Magiſtrate condemned him to be beheaded. Now according to their cuſtome in that place, his hat being taken from him after ſentence pronounced, he was returned backe againe to priſon, expecting the houre of his execution. Then were ſent unto him certaine friers to confeſſe, or rather to vexe and torment him. But this godly man being throughly fenced with the ſword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, made them know to their ſhame that they were greatly miſtaken: for the Friers returning backe to thoſe who had imployed them in this buſineſſe, reported that this Simon was a moſt notorious heretique; which the Magiſtrates of the Citie hearing, cauſed him by and by to be called to judgement, ſending him his hat againe which they tooke from him, in token that they had revoked the ſentence firſt pronounced, to enter a new proceſſe againſt him. Thus got Simon ſome leaſure the better to diſpoſe of his affaires, alſo to comfort and counſell his friends by Letters, not weighing the torments of death which he was to endnre. Three dayes before he ſuffered, ſentence was pronounced touching another kind of death, namely to be burned, and his body to be conſumed to aſhes. Which kind of Martyrdome did manifeſt to all the people of the ſayd City the admirable power of the Lord, by how much more the paines were exceeding great, beholding how this his ſervant ſweetly gave up the ghoſt in peace in the midſt of the fiery flames.

The Martyr had his hat ſent him which was taken from him.

¶ *A note of one Iohn Martin, who bragged he would cut off a Miniſters noſe.*

THe Church of God increaſing ſo farre in the Valleyes of Angrongne in France, that they were faine to build a Church wherein to preach the Word publikely, in regard of concourſe of people reſorting thither, it happened that the forenamed John Martin, boaſting every where that he would cut off the miniſters noſe of Angrongne, was ſoone after ſet upon by a mad wolfe, who did indeed eat his noſe from his face, dying mad thereof himſelfe, and yet it was never obſerved that this Wolfe had ever hurt any before. Which terrible judgement was ſo manifeſt, that it was noyſed among all the neighbour Villages thereabouts, An. 1561.

A remarkable judgement of God.

¶ *A miſchiefe mercifully prevented by the meanes of prayer and calling upon the name of God.*

A Certaine Preſident being come into the city of Pigneroll, ſent for one of Saint Johns (very neere unto Angrongne) who at that time dwelt there, asking him if he had not cauſed a childe of his to be baptiſed at Angrongne, and why he had done ſo? The poore ſilly man anſwered, hee had done it becauſe Baptiſme was there adminiſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution. The Preſident hearing him ſay ſo, in great fury, commanded him in the kings name, upon paine of being burned, to get it rebaptiſed, The Father of the child beſought him that he would permit him to pray unto God before he gave him his anſwer. Which being done in the Hall before all the company, he further intreated him under his hand and Seale to cauſe it to be ſet downe, how he could diſcharge him of committing ſo great a ſinne; and that if he would take the guilt thereof upon himſelfe and his, then he would anſwer him. The Preſident hearing how he came about him, was ſo confounded in himſelfe for a while, that hee could not ſpeake. But by and by he bad take away the Villaine, and ſo he was never called before him againe.

¶ *Papiſts committed their children to Proteſtants, to bee preſerved from being deflowred.*

AMong other things (ſaith my Author) this is to be obſerved, that during theſe troubles in the Valleyes of Angrongne from the yeare 1555 unto the yeare 1561. The Papiſts which dwelt in the Country conveyed their daughters away into the Mountaines, and committed the cuſtody of them to theſe poore perſecuted Chriſtians of Vandois, for feare leſt their chaſtities ſhould be violated by the common ſouldiers, according as they had beene threatned by them, who were given over to all villainy and cruelty.

¶ *An aſſemble of the faithfull, deſcried nigh to Antwerpe, was by the enemies of the Goſpel put to flight, of which three being apprehended, two eſcaped, and one named Barthelemi de Hoy was executed Anno 1561.*

THe third day of the moneth of Auguſt in the yeare 1561, when great triumphs were uſually made in the city of Antwerpe about the plays and prizes of Rhetorike (as they call them) to the ſight and hearing whereof there commonly came great multitudes from many places: thoſe of the Religion being willing to take all opportunities to meete together in the feare of God, whileſt others were buſied in ſeeing and beholding thoſe vanities: a great number withdrew themſelves out of the City, and entered into a wood, nigh unto Markſem, that there they might heare the word of God preached with lively voice by the preachers thereof.

The Dorſart of Marklem being advertiſed thereof, reſorted thither with his Officers, being conducted to the place by certaine poore youths, being Nete-heards, whom he promiſed to apparell, if they could bring him to any place of the wood where the aſſembly was; Whileſt himſelfe ſtaying without, with two or three other on horſebacke, ſent the reſt of his Officers with the boyes into the wood. At the appearing of theſe wolves the poore ſheepe of Chriſt began to be affrighted, and to flie. The Miniſters and others ſeeing this diſorder admoniſhed the aſſembly not to ſtir, ſhewing how great inconveniences would follow upon ſuch an inconſiderate flight. The perſecutors were not above five or ſix, but the perſecuted were about foure or five hundred perſons; ſo as without any great difficulty they might have had the better hand of them. The principall aime which the Officers had, was to apprehend the Miniſter. For having caught one of the aſſembly, thinking hee had beene the man, they cryed one to another, Hold the Prieſt faſt, ſtriking him with their Piſtols and ſtaves, and ſo brought him out of the wood. The Dorſart, perceiving that this was not the Miniſter, kept him notwithſtanding as his prey, and left not purſuing this ſcattered flock untill night. After this hee tooke two others in the Lordſhip of Akeram.

Thus having apprehended theſe three priſoners, and withall having taken up many cloakes, hats, vailes, foreparts, and other accoutrements, which the poore diſperſed had loſt and let fall, theſe they tooke away as a ſpoyle, and returned to Markeſem,

ſem. This Dorſart layd hold on two others by the way, whom he ſuppoſed to be of that number, one of which was Barthelemi de Hoye, a Joyner, of the age of twenty foure yeares. Theſe five were committed to priſon one from another, ſome at Markſem, and others at Damme. Soone after the firſt three which had beene taken in the Juriſdiction of Akerem had the means to eſcape without any danger or detriment, by the aſſiſtance of their friends. Barthelemi onely remained in the cuſtody of the Dorſart, before whom he endured many baitings through the Parſon of that place, being ſet on by him: Beſides many others who daily by way of ſcorne queſtioned with him; asking, Why ſuch a young man as he could not content himſelfe with their religion and glorious Church, adorned with ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones, in which there was ſuch melodious muſick, both of voices and inſtruments, but muſt needes joyne himſelfe to that Church which was hated, deſpiſed, and expoſed to all inconveniences whatſoever. But Barthelemi overcame all theſe temptations by the grace and power of the Almighty, manifeſting it to all, that that which is greatly eſteemed amongſt men is altogether an abhomination in the ſight of God. Having then often juſtified the cauſe of God, and reproved the Roman Church of falſe doctrine, knowne by the fruits thereof, viz. the hatefull lives of the prieſts, &c. he was after a few daies brought out of Priſon, and at laſt beheaded the nine and twentieth of Auguſt, betweene foure and five of the Clocke in the morning, Ann.1561.

Carnall reaſons uſed by carnal people.

Luk.16.45.

¶ *A relation touching the Maſſacre at Vaſſy in the countrey of Champaigne in France.*

THe Duke of Guiſe being arrived at Joinville, asked of ſuch as he was familiar withall, whether thoſe of Vaſſy uſed to have ſermons preached conſtantly by their miniſter. It was anſwered they had, and that they encreaſed daily more and more. At the hearing of which report falling into a grievous chafe, upon Saturday the laſt of February, 1562. that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath againſt the religious ſort in Vaſſy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the Cardinall of Guiſe his brother, and thoſe of their traine, and lodged in the village of Dammartin the free, which is diſtant from Joinville about two French miles and a halfe.

The next day being Sunday, which was the firſt of March, after he had heard Maſſe very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred men armed with harquebuſes, Piſtols, and Coutelaxes, he left Dammartin, paſſing along to Vaſſy. As he went by the Village of Bronzevall, which is diſtant from Vaſſy but a ſmall quarter of a mile, the bell (after the uſuall manner) rang to the Sermon. The Duke hearing it, asked ſuch as he met with by the way, why yͤ bell rung ſo loud at Vaſſy. They told him it was to give the people warning of the Sermon which was to be made there. Then one called La Montague ſaid, It is for the aſſembling of the Huguenots: adding moreover, that there were many in the ſaid Bronzevall who frequented the ſermons preached at Vaſſy; and therefore that the Duke ſhould do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the Duke anſwered, March on, march on, we ſhall take them among the reſt of the aſſembly. Many who followed the Duke, to wit, pages and footmen, rejoyced not a little concerning this bloudy enterpriſe; not ſticking to ſay, that the booty and pillage would fall to their ſhares; ſwearing by blood and wounds, that there would be good ſtore of Huguenots there.

Now there were certaine ſouldiers and archers accompanying the, Duke, who compaſſed about Vaſſy; for, having beene muſtered at Monthierender, in ſtead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muſter was ended, they took their way thence to Vaſſy, moſt of them being lodged in the houſes of Papiſts. The Saturday before the ſlaughter they were ſeene to make ready their weapons, harquebuſes, and Piſtols: but the Faithfull not dreaming of ſuch a conſpiracy, thought the duke would offer them no hard meaſure, being the Kings ſubjects; alſo, that not above two moneths before the Duke and his brethren paſſing by nigh unto the ſaid Vaſſy, gave no ſigne of their diſpleaſure.

The Duke of Guiſe being arrived at Vaſſy with all his troupes, a young man a ſhoomaker ſtepping out of his houſe not farre from the doore where the aſſembly was, Montague pointing to him with his finger ſaid he was one of the Miniſters. Whereupon the Duke called this ſhoomaker to him, and asked of him whether he were a Miniſter, and of what Univerſity he was. Hee anſwered, that he was not of that Calling, neither was he a ſcholler. Notwithſtanding he hardly eſcaped from this troupe, which had invironed him round about: only one of the company told him, That if he had beene a Miniſter he had taken upon him a very baſe Calling.

So it is deemed in the eye of the world.

From thence the Duke, La Broſſe, and La Montague paſſed on in the ſaid City with their ſouldiers, as if they minded to take their way towards the village of Eſclairon, where it was given out hee meant to dine. But paſſing by the market houſe of Vaſſy, which is right over againſt and nigh unto the monaſtery in the way leading to Eſclairon, he turned and went directly toward the Common Hall or market houſe, and then entred into the Monaſtery; where having called to him one named Deſſalles, the Prior of Vaſſy, and another whoſe name was Claude le Sain, being the Provoſt of the ſaid Vaſſy, he talked a while with them, and iſſuing haſtily out of the Monaſtery was attended by many of his Followers. Then commandement was given to ſuch as were Papiſts, to retyre into the Monaſtery, and not to be ſeene in the ſtreets, unleſſe they would venture the loſſe of their lives. The Duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the towne Hall and about the Churchyard commanded them to march on towards the place where the ſermon was, being in a Barne diſtant from the Monaſtery about ſome hundred paces, quite oppoſite to that way which the Duke ſhould take to Eſclairon. This command was by and by put in execution by ſuch of the company as went on foot, going directly thither. Hee that marched formoſt of this rabble was La Broſſe, and on the ſide of theſe marched the horſemen, after whom followed the Duke with another company, as of his own followers, ſo likewiſe of thoſe of the Cardinall of Guiſe his brother.

By this time Maſter Leonard Morel the Miniſter, after the firſt prayer ended, and having begun his ſermon before his auditors, which might amount to about 1200 perſons, conſiſting of men, women, and children: The horſemen firſt approching to the Barne within a matter of twenty five paces, ſhot off two harquebuſes right upon thoſe who were placed in the galleries joyning to the windows. The people within perceiving that, they who were nigh to the doore uſed means to ſhut it, but were diſappointed, becauſe this diſordered company preſſed in upon them: who forthwith unſheathing their ſwords, cried furiouſly out, Death of God, kill, kill theſe Huguenots.

The

Anno 1559.

The firſt they ſeized on was a poore Cryer of Wine, who ſtood next the doore, asking him, if he were not a Huguenot, and in whom he beleeved? Having anſwered that he beleeved in Jeſus Chriſt, they ſmote him twice with a ſword upon his body, which felled him to the ground. Being got up againe thinking to recover himſelfe, they ſtrucke him the third time, whereby being overcharged with wounds he fell downe and dyed inſtantly. Two other men at the ſame time were ſlaine at the entry of the ſaid doore as they were preſſing out to eſcape.

Then did the Guiſe with his company violently enter in among them, ſtriking downe maine blowes upon the poore people with ſwords, daggers, and Coutelares, not ſparing any age or ſex. Beſides, they within were ſo aſtonied that they knew not which way to turne them, but running hither and thither fell one upon another, flying as poore ſheepe before a company of ravening Wolves entring in among the flocke.

Some of the murtherers ſhot off their peeces againſt them that were in the Galleries; others cut in peeces ſuch as they lighted upon; others had their heads cleft in twaine, their arms and hands cut off, and did what they could to hew them all to peeces; ſo as many of them gave up the ghoſt even in the place. The walls and Galleries of the ſaid Barne were Dyed with the blood of thoſe who were every where murthered: yea, ſo great was the fury of the murtherers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roofe of the houſe, if peradventure that way they might ſave themſelves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of theſe cruell tygers, ſome of them leaped over the walls of the Cty, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongſt the vines, which with moſt expedition they could ſooneſt attaine unto; ſome hurt in their armes, others in their heads and other parts of their bodies. The Duke preſented himſelfe in the houſe with his ſword drawne in his hand, charging his men to kill, eſpecially the yong men. Onely in the end women with child were ſpared. But purſuing thoſe who preſſed to get upon the houſe top, they cryed, Come downe ye dogges, come downe, uſing many cruell threatning ſpeeches unto them.

The cauſe why women with childe eſcaped, was, as the report went, for the Dutches ſake his wife, who paſſing along by the walls of the City, hearing ſo hideous out-cries which were made amongſt theſe poore creatures, with the noyſe of the peeces and piſtols continually diſcharged, ſent in all haſte to the Duke her husband with much entreaties to ceaſe this perſecution, for frighting women with childe.

The dutcheſſe intreats for a pacification; that thoſe of her ſex being with childe might not bee affrighted.

During this ſlaughter the Cardinall of Guiſe remained before the Church of the ſaid Citie of Vaſſi, leaning upon the wals of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were buſied in killing and ſlaying whom they could. Many of this aſſembly being thus hotely purſued, did in the firſt brunt ſave themſelves upon the roofe of the houſe, not being diſcerned of thoſe which ſtood without: but at length ſome of this bloody crue eſpying where they lay hid, ſhot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and ſlain. The houſhold ſervants of Deſſalles Prior of Vaſſi, ſhooting at the roofe people, cauſed them to fall downe from the roofe like pigeons: one of that wretched company was not aſhamed to boaſt after the maſſacre was ended, That he for his part had cauſed fire at the leaſt to tumble downe in that pittifull plight, ſaying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could poſſibly have eſcaped.

A lamentable ſpectacle.

The Miniſter in the beginning of the maſſacre ceaſed not to preach ſtill, till one diſcharged his piece againſt the pulpit where he ſtood, after which falling downe upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not onely to have mercy upon himſelfe, but alſo upon his poore perſecuted floke. Having ended his prayer, he left his gowne behinde him, thinking thereby to keepe himſelfe, as unknown: bnt whileſt he approached towards the doore, in his fear he ſtumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a ſword upon his right ſhoulder. Getting up againe, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold on and grievouſly hurt on the head with a ſword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himſelfe mortally wounded, he cryed, Lord into thy hand I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, thou God of truth.

Pſal.31.5.

Whileſt he thus prayed, one of this bloody crue ran upon him to have houghed him, but it pleaſed God his ſword brake in the hilts. Now to let you underſtand by what meanes he was delivered from ſo imminent a death, two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, as the reſt were about to kill him, ſaid, it is the Miniſter, let him be conveyed to my Lord Duke. Theſe leading him away by both the armes, brought him before the gate of the Monaſtery, from whence the Duke and the Cardinall his brother comming forth, ſaid, come hither, and asked him, ſaying, Art thou the Miniſter of this place? who made thee ſo bold to ſeduce this people thus? Sir, ſaid the Miniſter, I am no ſeducer, for I have preached to them the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt. The Duke perceiving that this ſhort and pithy anſwer condemned his cruell fact, began to curſe and ſweare, ſaying, Death of God, doth the Goſpell preach ſedition? Provoſt, goe and let a Gibbet be ſet up, and hang this bougrer.

At which words the Miniſter was delivered into the hands of two Pages, who miſuſed him vilely. The women of the City being ignorant Papiſts caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries ſaid, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cauſe of the ſlaughter of ſo many. Much adoe there was to hold off the women from being revenged upon the poore Miniſter.

Whilſt the Pages had him thus in their handling, the Duke went into the barn, to whom they preſented a great Bible, which they uſed for the ſervice of God. The Duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother the Cardinall ſaid, Loe here the Title of the Huguenot books. The Cardinall viewing it, ſayd, There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy Scriptures. The Duke being offended for that his anſwer ſuited not to his humor, grew into a greater rage than before, ſaying, Blood of God, how now? what? the holy Scripture. It is a thouſand and five hundred yeerey agoe ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered his death and paſſion, and it is but a yeere ſince theſe bookes were imprinted, how then ſay you that this is the Goſpell? by the death of God you ſay you know not what. This unbridled fury of the Duke diſpleaſed the Cardinall, ſo as he was heard ſecretly to mutter, An unworthy Brother. This Maſſacre continued a full houre, the Dukes trumpeters ſounding the whilſt two ſeverall times. When any of theſe deſired to have mercy ſhewed them for the love of Jeſus Chriſt, the murtherers in ſcorne would ſay unto them, you uſe the name of Chriſt, but where is your Chriſt now become? And when they ſaid Lord God, they blaſphemingly would ſay, Lord devill.

A grievous ſcorne.

There dyed in this Maſſacre within a few daies fifty or threeſcore perſons; beſides theſe, there were about two hundred and fifty others as well men as women who were wounded and ſpoiled, whereof ſome died, ſome were maimed, loſing ſome a leg, ſome an arme; ſome their fingers cut off from their hands, and caried away. The poores box which was faſtned to the doore of the Church with two Iron hookes, was wreſted thence, with twelve pounds therein, and never reſtored again. Nothing was to be ſéene in the ſtréets but Women with their haire hanging about their eares, faces beſmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with ſwords and daggers, with wéepings and lamentations. Barbers and Chirurgians were ſo ſet on worke, that he which had leaſt had thréeſcore under his hand to be dreſſed, and many periſhed for want thereof.

The poores mony violently taken away and never after reſtored.

The Miniſter was kept cloſe priſoner, ſo as for foure and twenty houres none were permitted to ſupply him with any neceſſaries at all, nor any ſuffered to ſée him or ſpeake with him, and was oft threatned by his kéepers to be ſowed up in a ſack and drowned. Faine would they have drawn him to have kept his Eaſter after the Popiſh guiſe, under faire promiſes of his inlargement; but he would by no means conſent thereto. Thus continued he priſoner untill the eight day of May, 1563. at which time he was ſet frée by the ſuit of the moſt illuſtrious prince of Portion.

Whileſt the Duke was at Eſclairon, the Lackeys and others of their ſort put to ſale, unto ſuch as would give moſt, cloaks, hats, girdles, Coifes, Kerchieſes, with other things which they had ſpoiled the maſſacred of; Crying them with a loud voyce, as if a common cryer had cryed houſhold ſtuffe to be ſold.

A memorable deliverance.

ONe called John of the Gardens, having lived a long time with his wife and childe (in regard of the preſent troubles) abroad in the fields nigh to a City called Seulis in France, at length determining to goe backe againe into the Citie, caſting himſelfe and his upon the providence of God, were met in the ſuburbs by two of the Citie, who willed the ſouldiers to put them to the ſword. The mother of the childe knéeling downe asked not her owne life, but requeſted that if they muſt néeds dye, they would firſt kill her child, becauſe ſéeing it die before her, ſhe might die with the leſſe ſorrow, fearing leſt the poore babe ſhould otherwiſe (in ſuch a time of trouble) be left to ſhift for it ſelfe; which ſpéech of hers ſo wrought upon the ſouldiers, that they ſaved all their lives.

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*The ſtrange deliverance of a godly Miniſter of the Church of Chaalons in Champaign called I. * Fournier, after he had indured many hard uſages.*

* He at the firſt was doctor of the Sorboniſts; a man well learned and of an unblameable life.

FIrſt being apprehended and ſpoyled of all that he had, they ſtripped him of his good apparell, and then put an old thred-bare Cloke upon him, and carried him away in a Cart, in regard of a hurt which he had formerly gotten in one of his féet; by reaſon whereof he was diſabled to go, and ſo was conducted with infinite jeſts broken upon him, and at every moment in danger of his life for ſixe miles together, till he came to Manehon, where he had like to have béene pulled in pieces by the rude multitude, but was preſerved notwithſtanding even by thoſe who had already determined to be his death; the priſon alſo being nigh unto the gate of the City.

The thirtéenth of September, a Captaine called Fraiine came to the priſon where he was detained, accompanied with many ſouldiers, who with mocks and threats mingled together ſware that within thrée houres he ſhould be hewed and hacked in péeces, and ſo ſhould be made a May-game to all the Citie; with which words he left him. Godet the kings Lievetenant with other of the Juſtices came in after him, demanding wherfore he was brought to S. Manchon, & forthwith commanded the Jaylour to load him with yrons, telling him in ſcorne, you are no better than ſaint Peter I am ſure, whom they laid in yron. But if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you, as he did him, by ſending an Angell unto you. I will not, ſaid the priſoner, compare my ſelfe with ſaint Peter: yet it is not twelve yeres agoe ſince (for preaching the ſame doctrine that Saint Peter did (I was impriſoned at Touiouſe, and yet admirably delivered: and though Saint Peter was delivered out of priſon, yet in the end he glorified God by his death. And if I ſhall be counted worthy to ſuffer with him for the truth, may it not be ſaid that I have the like pretious faith as Saint Peter had? but for that time he eſaped thoſe bolts, having hurt his leg and foot very ſore at his apprehenſion: His Shackles at that time were turned into a far more ſtraight priſon.

The Duke of Nevers was a good friend unto this Fournier, by whoſe mediation he was the rather ſpared. But the ſaid Duke receiving an hurt at Dreux whereof he dyed, and the Duke of Guiſe ſucceeding him in the government of Champaigne, his enemies began to renue their former grudge againſt him, who brought him to be examined by torture.

Where firſt they ſtrayned both his thumbs ſo hard with a ſmall Cord, that the blood came forth. Then turning his armes behinde his backe, they hoyſed him with a rope put betwéene his thumbs ſo tyed; twitching him up five or ſixe times thereby, ſometimes letting him down, and then letting him hang againe, till his ſpirits and ſpéech fayled him. But not content therewith they tyed a great ſtone to both the great toes of his féet, and then examined him; firſt if he had not a purpoſe to preach at Werdun, if the company who conducted him thither came together; his anſwer was, That he could not determine to doe that which he had no hope to performe, nor came it into his thought.

Then they asked him where he had thoſe clothes hee wore, ſéeing he was but barely cloathed when he came into priſon? He anſwered, That the Marqueſſe D'Jle when ſhe went from Chaalons, ſent them unto him by her Taylor. Being further asked who taught him to refuſe his judge, his anſwer was, That his owne reaſon counſelled him ſo to doe, & none elſe. This was the effect of that for which he was ſo miſerably tortured, and ſo in concluſion they let him fall with ſuch violence on his face, that he was grievouſly hurt thereon.

Being from thence removed to another priſon according to their cuſtome for two or thrée houres, and then returned to that he was in before, he could not be permitted to have ſo much as a Chirurgion to cure him of the gaſhes the Cords had made in his Fleſh, even to the bare bones: by reaſon whereof he continued in excéeding torment and anguiſh, not being able to bring his hands to his mouth, which were alſo ſo wrung that he thought if God ſhould grant him life, yet he ſhould yet be deprived of the uſe of his limbes.

His inditement being framed, and his condemnation ſubſcribed by ſundry Judges thereunto

This Buſſi was a governor of Champaigne, a covetous wretch and an enemy to religion.

to appointed, ſome other being of another opinion diſappointed that determination. The newes alſo of the Duke of Guiſes death comming in the neck of it, changed theſe Foxes into another ſhape. The names of the principall whereof were Cocot and Buſſi. Some that had been his Iudges, comming into the priſon, demanded of him if he bare them not ill will: he anſwered, that men of his profeſſion and religion ought not to malice any, no not their enemies, being rather enjoyned by God to love and pray for thoſe that perſecuted them; ſhewing furthermore, that whatſoever troubles had befallen him were none other but ſuch as God had foreordained for the ſetting forth of his owne glory; for which he eſteemed himſelfe moſt happy: only he warned them to bethinke themſelves well what wrong they had offered him, leſt the vengeance of God might ſometime or other overtake them.

The next day, being the twelfth of April, Buſſi, having received letters from the Conſtable for the enlargement of Fournier, being ſollicited thereto by the Captaine of La Tournelle; in ſtead of obeying the Conſtables command ſware that he ſhould be delivered indeed, that is to ſay, into the hands of the multitude: and thus ſtiffely refuſing either the publication of the letters, or to obſerve the Edict, cauſed three of his priſoners of the religion to be put into the dungeon, becauſe he heard them ſing Pſalmes.

In the meane while the Prince of Portien bringing backe the Germane ſouldiers, and paſſing by Chaalons, the chiefe men of that City, fearing to be overrunne, met him; whom he threatned to leave neither village nor houſe ſtanding, unleſſe they reſtored to him the ſaid Fournier in ſafety. Which they promiſing to doe, at their returne they ſo far prevailed with Buſſi, that he conſented to what they had ſo promiſed. And thus on the laſt of April (which was eight moneths ſince Fournier was firſt impriſoned) the Lieutenant Godet, and the Abbat of All Saints, with ſome others reſorted to him, declaring that they were willing now to ſet him at liberty; entreating him now to forgive and forget that which was paſt, that the Prince might ſee how forward they were to gratifie him herein. Fournier was brought into a Cathedrall Church not farre from the priſon, where he found the Captaine of the City with a great company of armed men ready to conduct him out of towne. But the place was forthwith beſet with people whom Buſſi to that purpoſe had ſtirred up, ſo that had it not been for thoſe who defended him within, and an extraordinary ſhowre of raine comming betweene of long continuance; which cauſed the greater part of the ſeditious to depart, Fournier had hardly eſcaped their hands, if a meanes had not been found to let him out by a back doore.

It is here to be noted, that upon the eighth day of October the Biſhop of Chaalons calling Fournier into his garden, endeavouring to turne him from the faith, ſaid, I marvell how you, being an ancient Doctor in Divinity, of the age of fifty eight yeares, and ſo well learned in the tongues, ſhould be thus led aſide with theſe opinions, giving credit ſo ſuddenly to the writings of Calvin and others. To Calvin? ſaid Fournier, you ſhould rather have ſaid, by beleeving and giving credit to the Word of God.

Godet beſtirring him, and being now farre more willing to ſave the ſaid Fourniers life, than he had been formerly to deprive him of it, in the evening bringing him to his owne houſe, and lodging him in his owne bed, did what he could the next day very early to ſend for the keyes of the City gates. Which when he could not obtain of Buſſi, who kept the gates faſt ſhut for feare of the Swart Ruttors, he then endeavoured to bring the ſaid Fournier ſecretly by a back way, to an houſe neere to the gate of the ſaid City; ſo as at eleven of the clocke, certaine Coaches going out, he was ſhuffled out amidſt them, and himſelfe brought him on the way about a quarter of a mile; where he was by and by received by thoſe who attended there for him, with a charge to bring him to their Prince, who at that time was in the Caſtle of Songz: Where he was kindly welcommed of the ſaid Lord, and of all his friends beſides, having compaſſion on him, in regard that now being fifty eight yeares old, he had ſuffered ſo many hard encounters. And within two dayes after he preached before the prince and all his Followers; and the day following, at the inſtant requeſt of thoſe of Vitri, went thither to preach and baptiſe children, the Prince being preſent there in his own perſon. At length Fournier, gathering a Church together at a place called Ver, ſpent ſome ſmall portion of time among his Flocke there, with wonderfull fruit: being ſore weakned when he was in priſon, (what with ſtrait dyet, and the extremity of the torture) he ſoone after finiſhed his courſe, leaving to poſterity a rare memory of his conſtancy and piety.

¶ *Savage cruelties committed upon the perſons of the godly at Bar upon Seine.*

SUch was the cruelty of the Executioners after they had ſlaine thoſe of the religion, that cleaving their bodies in twaine, they ſtucke not to plucke their hearts thence, as they lay upon the ground, gnawing them betweene their teeth, and ſo reaching them from one to another, ſaying, now they knew they had eaten the heart of a Huguenot before they dyed.

¶ *The violent rage of the ſouldiers at Iſſondun, who proceeded ſo far as to re-baptiſe the young Children of Proteſtants after the Popiſh manner.*

THe ſouldiers in this City of Iſſondon tooke little children who had beene baptiſed by the Miniſters of the Church there, and cauſed them to be re-baptiſed by their Prieſts, impoſing upon them other names; yea, they re-baptiſed a girle of thirteene yeares old, whom they preſented ſtark naked to the Font. Yet the yong Infants which began only to ſpeake declared both by evident ſignes and words that they would not be re-baptiſed, ſo as a girle of two yeares old, being brought naked to the Font, with much ſtruggling cryed with a loud voice, that their doings were too ſhamefull; ſaying that ſhe would not be baptiſed againe, and therewithall ſtrooke the Prieſt with all the power ſhe had. Alſo the ſon of Iean Haies, of the ſame age, tooke the Prieſt by the beard, and defended it ſelfe as well as it could. But for all this the Prieſts would not give over.

¶ *Another*

Anno 1563.

¶ *Another barbarous cruelty committed by the Peſants of Freſnay in the County of Main.*

IN the village of Freſnay, diſtant about ſome ten miles from the City of Mans, a little after that thoſe of the religion had forſaken the City, a certaine Weaver called Hagannot, who was wont to reade the prayers in the aſſembly among ſome few of the godly in that place, was haled in the night out of his houſe by the Peſants there, who having cut his throat afterward filled his mouth with the leaves of a new Teſtament which they found about him.

¶ *Execrable blaſphemies and outrages committed in the City of Angiers.*

A Company of rake-hels breaking into a merchants houſe, found there many Bibles, which they burned in the City; but chooſing out a great Bible amongſt the reſt, gilt and faire ruled, they faſtned it upon the point of an halberd, and going thence, went in proceſſion therewith through the high ſtreets of the City, with a great cry, ſaying, Lo, here the truth hangeth, the verity of the Huguenots, the truth of all the devills; lo, here the God, the mighty God hath ſpoken. And in this manner they paſſed along untill they came to the bridge, where they threw it into the river, ſaying, Behold the truth of all the devills drowned.

Voila la veritié pendue, la veritié des Huguenots, la veritié de tous les Diables: voila la Dieu le fort, l'eternel parlara, &c.

¶ *A ſtrange courſe to make victuals cheape.*

IN the City of Bloys, whileſt thoſe of the religion were cruelly handled, it ſo fell out, that in ſuch a diſorder even the Romane Catholiques themſelves dranke with them of the ſame cup; in regard whereof complaint was made on both parts, to the Duke of Guiſe, in hope of ſome redreſſe. His anſwer was, that the Kingdome was but too much repleniſhed with people, and therefore his purpoſe was to cut off as many as he could, that ſo all kinde of victuals might be ſold better cheape.

¶ *An outrage done to poore women, who met together to comfort one another.*

THere was an honeſt woman of the City of Blois, whoſe name was Nichole, the wife of one Iohn le Manchet, a maker of Sun-Dials, in whoſe houſe certaine neighbours meeting together to comfort and edifie one another, and to pray one with and for another, to the number of nine or thereabouts, with their daughters, theſe Murtherers hearing of it ranne violently in among them, thinking to have found a Miniſter preaching to them; but when they ſaw how they were miſtaken, they dragged them out by the haire of the head into the middeſt of the ſtreet; where loading them with abundance of ſtripes they caſt them into the river: in which calamity God endued them with ſuch ſtrength and ſkill, being unbound, that endeavouring to ſwimme, at length they arrived at an Iſle: where being ſeiſed upon againe by certaine Ferrimen, they were ſtripped naked, and then throwne againe into the River: and thinking yet to ſave themſelves, they were in the end knocked downe by the ſeditious in the ſuburbs of Vienna.

¶ *A pitifull and tragicall ſpectacle.*

A Certaine poore woman of Tours, whoſe husband they had not long before drowned, having an Infant about ſixe or ſeven weekes old ſucking at her breaſts, and holding by the hand a daughter of hers, very beautifull to looke upon, of the age of 15. or 16. yeares, was by many inſolencies haled to the river ſide, where having made her prayer upon her knees, the childe ſucking at her breaſt, ſhe ſhifted it there in the ſun, and after laid it upon the graſſe, then kneeling downe againe, commended it to God. Meane while this helliſh-rable uſed many words to turne the yong maiden from her religion, ſome uſing ſore threats, others making her many faire promiſes. One of the ſoldiers, being a braver gallant than the reſt, promiſed her marriage, ſo as the poore wench ſtood in a mammering, not knowing what to doe. Her Mother ſeeing her wavering, earneſtly exhorted her to perſiſt in the truth, her ſelf being at that inſtant ready to be plunged into the water. The daughter beholding ſuch an outrage, crying out uſed theſe words (all which was afterwards teſtified by thoſe who were conſenting to this murther, being alſo converted themſelves by ſuch a rare example of conſtancy) I will ſaid ſhe live and die with my mother, whom I know to be a vertuous woman: as for your threates and promiſes, I regard them not, do with me as you pleaſe. The Mother was not yet dead when theſe mercileſſe wretches threw in the daughter after her, who making towards her Mother and they both embracing each other, yeelded up their ſoules into the hands of God. The poore Infant was taken up by a ſoldier, who, having kept it a day and a night from the breaſt, laid it the next day in a Church porch, whence being taken up, and given to a nurſe to keep, it would never take the breaſt after, but within two daies it dyed.

¶ *An hiſtory containing the ſingular conſtancy of a Chriſtian Woman, together with her gracious Anſwers to her adverſaries.*

IN the ſame City of Tours, the death of an honeſt Matron called Olee is very remarkable. This woman having much profited in the knowledge of Gods word, was preſented before Chavigny, before whom ſhe gave a reaſon of her faith, confirmed by teſtimonies of ſcripture, with ſuch conſtancy in the preſence of certaine Fryers and Prieſts, that in the end they gave her no other anſwer but this, that ſhe was in a damnable eſtate. It ſeemes ſo indeed, ſaid ſhee, being now in your hands; but I have a God that will neither leave nor forſake me for all that. Thou haſt, ſaid they, renounced the Faith. It is true, ſaid ſhe, I have renounced your faith; which I am able to ſhew is rejected and accurſed of God, and therefore deſerves not ſo much as to be called Faith. Vpon this they committed her to priſon, where ſhe was againe ſollicited to recant; to which purpoſe they ſent certaine women unto her into the priſon; but all in vaine: for on the contrary ſhe ſpake her minde freely, and comforted the priſoners

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which were in the ſame priſon with her for religion.

Now it happened one morning, as ſhee was about to take ſome bodily refreſhing, newes was brought her that ſhee was condemned to be hanged with three men alſo. Which newes ſhe received with ſuch joy and rejoicing, that the officer had no ſooner ended his meſſage, but forthwith ſhe kneeling on her knees began to praiſe and magnifie the name of God, in that he had ſhewed her ſo much mercy, as to deliver her by ſuch a kinde of death out of the troubles of this wretched world; as alſo for that it pleaſed the Lord to honor her ſo far as to die for his truth, and to weare his livery, meaning the halter which the hangman had now put about her necke. Then ſitting downe at table to breake her faſt with the reſt of the company, giving thanks to God, ſhee exhorted them to be of good courage, and to truſt unto the end in his free and only mercy. Laſtly, having ſent her children ſome ſuch ſmall trifles as ſhee then had about her, ſhee called for a cleane linnen Waſtecote, making her ſelfe ready, as if ſhee had been going to a wedding.

Being conducted thus with the reſt of the priſoners about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and paſſing by Saint Martins Church, ſhe was commanded to receive a torch into her hand, and to acknowledge ſhee had offended God and the King, Away, away, ſaid ſhe, with it; I have neither offended God nor the King, according to your meaning, nor in reſpect of the cauſe for which I ſuffer. I am I confeſſe a ſinnefull woman; but I need no ſuch light, for helping me to aske forgiveneſſe of God for my ſins paſt or preſent: uſe ſuch things your ſelves, who ſit and walke in the darkneſſe of ignorance and error.

Then one of her kinsfolkes met her in the way, and preſented unto her view her little children, praying her to have compaſſion on them, ſeeing that by renouncing her religion ſhe might yet preſerve her life, and ſee them provided for. Upon this meeting her motherly affection cauſed her to ſhed plenty of teares: but by and by taking unto her new courage, I muſt needs tell you, ſaid ſhe, that I love my children dearly: but yet neither for love I bear to them or any thing elſe in this world, will I renounce the truth, or my God, who is and will be a Father unto them, to provide better for them than I could have done; and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them; and ſo paſſed on cheerfully without being any further daunted.

Drawing nigh to the place of execution, ſhe called upon God without ceaſing, lifting her hands up to Heaven. Now the men which came with her being ready to ſuffer, when ſhee ſaw them about to die ſilent, and not to call on God, ſhe exhorted them thereto, and began aloud to rehearſe the confeſſion of ſinnes, which begins thus, Lord God Almighty and everlaſting Father, &c. and ſo continuing forth the ordinary prayers, reciting alſo the Lords prayer, and the Articles of the Creed, ſhee with much peace and joy in the holy Ghoſt finiſhed her life.

¶ *A Note touching the King of Navarre that then was.*

DUring the ſiege of Rovan, Anthony of Bourbon King of Navarre, being forſaken of his faithfull friends and ſervants for conniving with the campe of Trium-Zirat, was ſhot into the right ſhoulder with an Harquebuſe, the fifteenth day of October, whereof he dyed the ſeventeenth following. Not many houres before his death, with teares in his eyes, he asked pardon of God, making a confeſſion of his faith, according to the forme then uſed amongſt thoſe of the Religion; proteſting that if he might be cured of his wound he would cauſe the goſpell to be preached throughout all the Kingdome of France. Hee was a Prince endowed with many good gifts of God, naturally of a gentle diſpoſition, and yet a valarous and couragious warriour, but ſo addicted to follow his pleaſures and delights, that to enjoy them, he eaſily abandoned the care of his more weighty affaires, and ſo was ſubject to no ſmall inconvenience, namely to be ill ſerved aud obeyed; in the meane while neglecting the ſervices of ſuch as had been his loyall and affectionate ſubjects: An imperfection which hath coſt France a million of mens lives, with innumerable ruines beſides; an end whereof is not ſuddenly to be expected.

And yet but eight daies before, through ill counſel and the ſolicitation of the Biſhop of Mande (one of them that betrayed him) he was confeſſed in the eare of the officiall of Rovan, & communicated after the popiſh manner.

The death and Martyrdome of Auguſtine Marlorat, one of the Miniſters of the reformed Church in Rovan, as alſo of three other perſonages, who ſuffered with him at the ſame time, Anno, 1562.

AMongſt the garboyles which by the ſeditious were moved at Rovan, Captaine Saint Eſtevo ſeized upon the bodies of Auguſtine Marlorat, of Du-Boſck, Sieur de Mandreville, Cruchet, Sieur de Soquence, and Noel Cotton. Mandreville perceiving this Captaine to be no well willer of theirs, yet promiſed him a thouſand Crownes, if he would ſave his life and the life of Marlorat, one of their Miniſters: which he having promiſed to doe, by and by he ſhewed him the place whereinto Marlorat was retired, namely a tower into which himſelfe, his wife and children were put, with ſome others. Thus being both brought together, the doore was preſently faſt ſhut upon them.

The ſeven and twentieth of October the Conſtable (accompanied with the Duke of Guiſe) comming to view the place, deſired to ſee Marlorat, to whom he ſaid, you are he who have ſeduced the people. To which he replyed, That if he had ſeduced them, it was God that had beene the doer of it rather than he; for, ſaid he, I have preached nothing unto them but his Divine truth. The Conſtable told him, that he was a ſeditious perſon, and the cauſe of the ruine of that City. To which he anſwered, As for that imputation, I refer my ſelfe to all that have heard me preach, bee they Papiſts or Proteſtants, whether I ever medled with matters of politike State or no: but contrariwiſe have according to my ability, labored to inſtruct them out of the holy Scriptures. The Conſtable with an oath replyed, That he and his abettors plotted together to make the Prince of Conde, King, the Admirall Duke of Normandy, and Andelot Duke of Britaine. To which Marlorat anſwering and teſtifying the innocency of thoſe noble perſonages, gat onely this for his labour, the Conſtable told him (confirming it with a ſolemne oath, that within a few dayes hee ſhould ſee whether his God could deliver him out of his hands or no; and ſo departed in great rage.

Not long after, theſe foure, to wit, Marlorat, Mandreville, Soquence and Cotton, and other chiefe men of the Church were brought into the

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pallace. But the names of the foure above ſpecified were onely taken, and forthwith their inditement drawne; whence preſently ſucceeded the ſentence at the inſtance of Bigot Advocate for the King: which ſentence here followeth.

The Court having been informed by the Interrogatories and confeſſions of the ſeditious in the city of Rovan, and other parts of the countrey, namely by M. Io. du Boſc of Mandreville, Preſident of the court of Requeſts in Rovan, Vincent Gruchet Seignior of Sequence, an antient Counſellor in the ſaid City, Noel Cotton ſeignior of Barthonville, the Kings Notary and Secretary, and Counſellor alſo of the ſaid City, with Auguſtine Marlorat Preacher and Miniſter in the ſaid City, Monke and Prieſt, having a wife, being all priſoners in the “Conſciergery of the ſaid Court; concluſions againſt them being taken by the Kings Atturney generall, all and every thing and circumſtance conſidered, the court hath and doth declare the foure perſons aforeſaid guilty and convicted of high treaſon in every particular: for the puniſhment and ſatiſfaction whereof the court hath adjudged and doth adjudge the ſaid Boſc to be drawne naked, onely a ſhirt upon him, on a ſled or hurdle, into the old market place, and there to be beheaded upon the ſcaffold of the city; which done, his head to be ſet upon a pole and placed upon the bridge of the ſaid City; and his body divided into foure parts to be ſet upon foure gibbets, for a ſpectacle to the beholders.

The name of a ſpacious priſon.

And as touching Gruchet and Cotton it is decreed, that they ſhall alſo be drawne in like manner upon a ſled before the towne houſe of the City, there to be hanged upon a gibbet, and afterwards their heads, being ſeparated from their bodies, to be affixed and ſet up upon the bridge of the ſaid City, and afterwards to be carried to the gibbet.

And as touching the ſaid Morlorat, the Court teſtifies that he is attainted and guilty of beeing one of the authors of the great aſſemblies, which have been the cauſe of rebellion and Civill wars. And therefore as a puniſhment, to ſatisfie the law for theſe crimes, the Court hath condemned and doth condemne the ſaid Marlorat, otherwiſe called Paſquier, to be drawne upon a ſled, and to be hanged upon a gibbet before our Ladies Church in Rovan: this done, his head to be ſtriken off from his body, and ſet upon a pole upon a bridge of the ſaid City. All their goods and heritages to be confiſcate to the Kings uſe, &c.

And underneath it was written;

¶ This preſent ſentence was pronounced and executed in the preſence of the Lords and Commiſſaries,

Alexander Moyſi, *Morterule*, and *Sirend* Meſſengers, the laſt of October, Anno 1562.

The death of Mandravill.

MAndraville at his death ſhewed a wonderfull conſtancy, expecting the ſtroke without being bound, calling earneſtly upon God, ſpeaking in the juſt defence of the reformed Churches, in the faith of which doctrine he profeſſed he was now preſt to yeeld up his ſoule into the hands of God.

AS touching Auguſtine Marlorat, a man excellently learned, and of an unblameable life, who had the teſtimony even of the Papiſts themſelves, that in his ſermons he never uttered ought that tended to ſedition or rebellion; they were not content to ſee him drawne upon a hurdle with ſhame and contempt, but alſo the Conſtable loaded him with a thouſand diſgraces and outrages; as alſo a ſon of his called Nombron ſlain ſoone after in the battell of Dreux. Beſides, Villebon gave him a ſwitch with a wand, not without reproachfull ſpeeches alſo. But he notwithſtanding bare all indignities very meekly and patiently.

Marlorate uſed diſgracefully as he went to be executed.

When he was come to the place where hee ſhould ſuffer, he made an excellent ſpeech, according as the time there permitted him; exhorting Gruchet and Cotton, who were to ſuffer with him, to ſtand faſt in the faith unto the end: which they alſo did. And yet the rage of the people not being herewith ſatisfied, a ſoldier with his ſword ſtrooke at Marlorats leg, being already dead. Upon which inſolencies God within a while after executed his juſt vengeance; for the Captaine who ſurpriſed Marlorat was ſlaine within the ſpace of three weekes by one of the baſeſt ſoldiers in all the band. And as concerning his Judges, two of them dyed ſoone after ſtrangely; namely one of them, to wit the Preſident, by a fluxe of blood, which they could by no meanes ſtanch: the other (which was a Counſellor) making water at his fundament, with ſuch ſtinch, that none could endure to come nigh him.

His behaviour at his death.

Strange judgements of God befalling ſuch as had an hand in perſecuting of him.

As for Villebon, he eſcaped at no better rate; for the ſixteenth day of February the Marſhall of Vieille Ville, comming to Rovan to take order about the affaires of Diepe, having invited him to dinner, among other talke betweene them, ſitting together after they had dined, the Marſhall lamenting the miſerable eſtate of that City, exhorted Villebon to uſe ſome meanes for the redreſſe of ſuch diſorders, being the Kings Lieutenant there. Which words Villebon tooke very harſhly, ſaying, That if any would dare to taxe him for not carrying himſelfe as he ought in his place, he would againe tell him to his face he lyed. Which words (with often repetitions) he uſed after ſuch a manner, as the Marſhall being therewith very much urged, was forced for ſaving of his honour to draw his ſword, wherewith he let drive with ſuch violence at Villebon, that if he had not received the blow with his hand, he had cleft his head downe to his teeth. So Villebon eſcaped at that time with the loſſe of his hand, wherewith he had diſhonorably ſmitten Marlorat at the place of execution. Which hand he cauſed to be buried with greater ſolemnity than himſelfe could attain unto afterwards.

A relation of ſuch troubles and perſecutions as happened to thoſe of the Religion in the City af Caen and other Cities of France, as hereafter follow in the yeare 1562.

Caen.

SUch and ſo long continued the troubles in the City of Rovan, that many were driven to eſcape for their lives into this City of Caen; for albeit the King had commanded, that the pillaging and ſacking of Rovan ſhould not laſt above twenty foure houres, the ſeditious there continued it above twenty foure weekes; and albeit they were forbidden to carry any goods out of that City, yet the Merchants of Paris, of Amiens, Beauvais, and others beſides, ceaſed not to load carts by land, and veſſels by water: which ſome of them notwithſtanding enjoyed not long; for ſuch as were the receivers of theſe ſpoiles were ſpoiled thereof by theeves which met them upon the way.

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Valougnes.

The body of Coqueville being ſtripped naked was dragged by the murtherers (of this town being in low Normandy) up and down his houſe with all deriſion into a chamber of his, where the exhortations were wont to be made; and there ſpurning the dead body with their feet, they bad him now pray to his God, and preach if hee could; yea the Prieſts who were then preſent ſtuck not with the points of their halbards to ſtuffe the mouths and wounds of the dead with the leaves of bibles, ſaying to the poore dead corpſes, Preach the truth of your God, and call upon him now to help you.

Thalouſe.

A Trumpeter and the common Cryer in the City called Nicholas Boſche, being commanded by the ſeditious to ſay, Ave Maria, anſwered with a ſtedfaſt countenance, Ah, the bleſſed Virgin! where is ſhe that I might ſalute her? Then looking about him this way and that way, he ſayd, I ſee ſhe is not here, ſhe is in heaven, and thither will I goe to find her, and ſo being brought to the place of execution, he dyed conſtantly.

Gaillac.

The murthers which were committed in this place were cruell and horrible; inſomuch as ſome were forced to goe up to the top of an high and great rocke whereon the Abbey of Saint Michael was built, having underneath it the river of Tar very deep, into which they were throwne downe headlong, meeting in the paſſage with another rocke; on which ſome were burſt and daſhed all to pieces; and if any fell into the river eſcaping with life, he was knocked downe immediately by the murtherers, who attended waiting in boats upon ſuch occaſions.

Among the reſt Peter Domo, the ſervant of an Apothecary, requeſted he might have leave to caſt himſelfe from a place higher than that from which others were throwne downe; on condition that if God ſhould in the fall preſerve him from being hurt he might then eſcape with life. He was carried up upon the top of the Abbey, where having made his prayers unto God, fetching his leap, he flew ſo right forth, that miſſing the rocke, he fell ſafely into the river, whence endeavouring to ſwim out, hee alſo was knocked down, notwithſtanding their promiſe made to him as touching the contrary.

Souraize.

A Poore woman called Caſtille Roques being a widow, aged about ſixty yeares, being in her poore Cottage in the City of Souraize, was ſet upon by Captaine Durre, having at his command three hundred men. Hee cauſed this widow to be faſt bound with cords, with another faſtened about her necke all night. The next day having halfe ſtrangled her by haling her here and there, he asked her how oft ſhe had plaied the whore with thoſe of her religion: to whom ſhe boldly anſwered, That in their Chriſtian meeting no ſuch villanies were committed. Durre, fretting and fuming at this her anſwer, tooke her by both the cheekes, forcing her head againſt a wall with ſuch violence, and ſo often therewithall, that he had almoſt beaten out her braines, and then willed her to give him ſeven hundred pieces of gold, which he ſayd ſhe had hidden: to which ſhe replying told him ſhe was a poore woman, and had onely a French penny; he chafing thereat drew her againe by the necke with the cord, and then applyed roſted egges even as they came hot out of the fire, under her arme-holes, ſo as they were much bliſtered therewith, and afterwards in deriſion bad her cry to her father which is in heaven. She anſwered, I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet hee can heare me well enough, and when his will is, he will alſo deliver mee out of thy hands; being more afflicted with the blaſphemies which this varlet uttered, then with all the torments which ſhe endured on her body. He having bemauled her ſhinnes with the pattents ſhee wore upon her feet, ſhee told him his cruelty farre exceeded that of the Turkes and Infidels.

Va tourneie.

Whereupon he calling her a Huguenot whore, told her, That theſe were but the beginnings of her ſorrowes, ſo as if ſhe did not diſcloſe unto him her ſeven hundred pieces of gold, hee would draw her cheeks and breaſts with Lard, and then faſten her to a forme, and burne her quicke, and after mount her up to the higheſt ſteeple in the City, and caſt her thence downe headlong. Well, ſaid ſhe, though my body fall never ſo low, that ſhall not let my ſoule from being carried up into heaven. This Captaine being herewith more inflamed with ire than before, ſeeing that none of theſe cruelties could ſhake the faith and conſtancy of this poore woman, he ſaid unto her, eat this Sugar, taking loame or mortar from off the wall, cauſing her to open her mouth with his dagger, and to ſwallow it downe. But not contenting himſelfe herewith, the villaine forced her to drink a glaſſe of Urine, which himſelfe had made in her preſence, and then threw the glaſſe, with what remained therein, in her face. Laſtly, he cauſed her to paſſe along through the troups of ſouldiers, with intention to have had her ſlaine among them: yet compaſſion moving them to ſpare her, he brought her into his lodging, where this inraged Wolfe by ſtrange cruelties would have cauſed her to loſe her life, had not ſome of the inhabitants by giving him ten crownes redeemed her, and ſo conveyed her to her owne houſe, where within a ſhort time after ſhe finiſhed her dayes.

One buried alive.

Peter Roch, ſervant to the Lievtenant of Dignes, being met withall in the countrey, was buried alive; they conſtrained him to dig his owne grave himſelfe, and ſo try whether it were large enough or no; unto which he was compelled by Bartholomew Chauſe-groſſe, and his complices.

Provence.

Two women crowned with thornes.

The wife of Andrew Reuaud being brought through Saint Martins of Caſtillon was ſtripped ſtarck naked; and reſiſting ſuch as would

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have violated her chaſtity, ſhe was whipped outragiouſly, then wounded with ſwords, crowned with thornes, then caſt into the river, and laſtly ſhot to death with harquebuſes.

Iannenta Calvin, of the place of Cella, being of the age of eighty yeres, brought into the city of Brignole with a crowne of thornes platted upon her head, being whipped till the bloud came exceedingly, was firſt ſtoned, and then burned alive.

Maſcon.

THe Murtherers in this city having ſeiſed upon the body of Bonnet Bor in Maſcon, one of the moſt noble houſes of the ſame, a man of great learning, and of an unblameable life, who in other places had ſerved in the Miniſtry twenty yeares, having been ranſommed three ſeverall times, was carried along with a thouſand ſcoffes and frumps, ſmitten with fiſts through the corners of the ſtreets, with crying, That whoſoever would heare this devout and holy man preach, ſhould come to the ſlaughterhouſe. Whither having brought him, they buffeted and mocked him two full houres.

Hee onely requeſted before hee died, that they would permit him to make his prayers to God. Whereupon cutting off the one halfe of his noſe, and one of his eares, they ſaid, Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then wee will ſend thee to all the Devils. Then he kneeled down, and lifting up his eies to Heaven prayed with ſuch fervency of ſpirit, that hee cauſed ſome of his murtherers to ſigh within themſelves.

Then directing his ſpeech to him who had cut off his noſe, he ſaid, Friend, I am here ready to ſuffer what thou haſt yet further to inflict upon me. But this I intreat of thee and thy companions, to bethinke you well of the outrages committed by you againſt this poore city; for know there is a God before whoſe Tribunall you muſt give an account of theſe your cruelties. At theſe words the bloud iſſued ſo faſt out at his noſe, that it hindred him from proceeding on in that hee was about to have ſaid.

A Captaine paſſing by cryed to the ſouldiers, Send this wretched man to the Devill. Which one of them hearing, tooke him by the hand, and brought him to the brimme of the river Saone, ſomewhat above the ſlaughter houſe, pretending to waſh and cleanſe him from the bloud wherwith his viſage was beſmeared, conducting him to a boat for this purpoſe; into which he was no ſooner entred, but he there preſently turned him over into the river; wherein he ſtriving for life, and crying to God for mercy, theſe tyrants battered him with ſtones till he ſunke under the water and ſo died.

See here in part (ſaith the Hiſtoriographer) the lamentable eſtate of the poore churches of France, during the firſt troubles, which ended with the end of the Duke of Guiſe, the principall actor therein; who was ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleance, not without the immediate hand of God, in the yeare 156[illegible]. by a poore gentleman whoſe name was Iohn Poltrot, a man very deſperate, but of ſmall ſtature, and therefore commonly called the little Spaniard; who ſhooting the Duke into the ſhoulder with a piſtoll, as he was riding to his tent in an evening upon a little negge, was for the ſame fact adiudged to be drawne in pieces by foure horſes, his head to be cut off, and his torne body to be burnt to aſhes.

¶ *A very comfortable Letter written by Wouter Oom Priſoner and Martyr in the City of Antwerpe, and full of conſolation againſt the feare of perſecution: directed to a Brother and Siſter of his.*

Grace and peace from God the Father, and from his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

WElbeloved brother and ſiſter, whom I love dearely for the truths ſake and for your faith in Chriſt Ieſus. Theſe are to certifie you that I am in bodily health, and enjoy the comfort of a good conſcience, I praiſe my Lord God therefore, who is able to increaſe the ſame more and more, by the powerfull operation of his holy ſpirit. Whoſoever they be that will forſake this preſent evill world, and become followers of their Captain Chriſt, muſt make account to meet with many perſecutions and afflictions: for Chriſt hath told us aforehand, that we ſhould be hated, perſecuted, and baniſhed out of the world, for his names ſake. And this they will doe, ſaith he, becauſe they have neither knowne the father, nor me. But be not afraid, ſaith he, for I have overcome the world. Saint Paul alſo witneſſeth the ſame thing, ſaying, all that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution. And again, to you it is given for Ieſus Chriſt, not onely to beleeve in him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. And doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſay, bleſſed are you when men perſecute you, and ſpeake all manner of evill falſly againſt you for my name ſake? Rejoice therefore and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Now whereto ſerveth all this, my beloved, but to bring us into a conformity with our Lord and Maſter Ieſus Chriſt? For Chriſt hath ſuffered for us, ſaith the Apoſtle ſaint Peter, leaving us an example, that we ſhould walke in his ſteps: who alſo endured the croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame for the obtaining of that joy which was ſet before him, and became poore to make us rich, Cor.8.9.

Mat.10.22.
Iohn 16.3.
2 Tim.3.12.
Phil.1.24.
Mat.5.11,12.
1 Pet.2.21.
Heb.12.2.

By him alſo are we brought by faith into that ſtate of grace, wherein we ſtand, rejoycing in the hope of the glory of God, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, ꝛc. Wherefore deare brother and ſiſter, be not afrayd of the fiery tryall which is now ſent amongſt us to prove us. For what Father loving his childe doth not correct it? Even ſo doth the Lord chaſtiſe thoſe whom he loveth: for if we ſhould be without correction, whereof all true Chriſtians are partakers, then were we baſtards and not ſons. And therefore Salomon ſaith, my ſonne, deſpiſe not the chaſtening of the Lord, neither faint when thou are corrected of him, for whom the Lord loveth, the ſame he correcteth, even as a Father the ſonne in whom he delighteth. Feare not then to follow the footſteps of Chriſt; for he is the head and we are his members. Even as Chriſt then hath obtained full joy & glory by ſuffering of anguiſhes and ſorrowes; ſo we alſo according to his example muſt through many tribulations enter into the heavenly places, even into the new Ieruſalem. Let us then ſay with ſaint Paul, Chriſt unto me is in life and in death advantage. Let us cry out with him, O wretched creatures that we are, who ſhall deliver us from this body of death? See here how the faithfull have deſired to be with Chriſt: for with Abraham

Rom.5.2.
Heb.12.
Prov.3.11,12.
Acts 14.22.
Phil.1.21.
Rom.7.24.

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Heb.11.10.

Abraham they had an eye to that holy City, which hath foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God. Let us then, my beloved, cheerefully and willingly follow the Lord, poſſeſſing our ſoules by patience. For it is a good thing, as ſaith the Prophet Jeremiah, both to hope and quietly to waite for the ſalvation of the Lord; and good alſo it is for a man to beare the yoke in his youth, for ſuch the Lord will comfort in the end, and reſtore unto them the joy of his ſalvation.

Lam.3.26.

Loe here deare brother and ſiſter, what conſolations our God hath treaſured up for us in his holy word; for us I ſay, whoſe deſire it is to feare the Lord, and to truſt in his grace and mercy. For the ſalvation of the righteous is of the Lord: hee is their ſtrength in the time of trouble. Wherfore (q) giving all diligence, let us adde to faith vertue, and to vertue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſſe, and to godlineſſe brotherly kindneſſe, and to brotherly kindneſſe love; for if theſe things be in us and abound, they will cauſe us neither to be idle nor unfruitfull in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The which God our Father grant us for his Sonnes ſake our Lord, Amen.

Pſal.37.39.

2 Pet.1.5,6,7,8.

Out of my hole, December the eleventh, 1562.

Wouter Oom priſoner for the truth.

Now becauſe ye may ſee that this Letter was not without its happy effect, hearken to the relation of the Hiſtory following.

There was one John Wolfe of the City of Audenard, who becauſe he could no longer inhabite there, without either the danger of his life, or wounding of his conſcience, his wife being great with childe, and as yet but weake in the knowledge of the Goſpell, he was forced for theſe reſpects to joyne himſelfe to the aſſembly of the Church in Antwerpe, where thinking himſelfe in ſafety, a neighbour of his owing him ill will accuſed him to the Margrave about the baptiſing of his childe. Whereupon being then committed, and examined where and in whoſe preſence his childe was baptized, he without ſtaggering anſwered, that he had it baptiſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, by a Miniſter ſet apart to that Office. The Margrave, not content with this anſwer, often preſſed him with ſundry threats of the torture to accuſe ſuch as he knew. But the ſharpeſt combat he endured was from his owne fleſh, counſelling him during his impriſonment, for the ſafegard of his life, to diſſemble and halt betweene two opinions. The cauſe was from the inward affection he bore towards his wife and childe, being yet but young and of ſingular beauty; in regard whereof many of the congregation expected no other but that he would ſinke under this tryall.

But in the middeſt of theſe aſſaults hee was heard, with prayers and ſighes, to cry mightily to God to bee delivered from this temptation. Which prayers of his were heard in due ſeaſon, even then when in the judgement of man he was ſuppoſed to be overcome thereof, meanes was made of bringing to his hands conſolatory letters: as alſo the ſaid Wouter Oom then priſoner with him, comforted him not a little by his letters. Whereby in the end he continued ſo ſtrong in the Lord, as alſo conſtant in the confeſſion of the truth, that in concluſion he received the ſentence of death with the aforeſaid Wouter. After which his wife came unto him, and they were permitted to talke together, burſting out each of them into ſuch abundance of teares, that it would have moved the moſt ſtony heart that ever was. At parting, with a bitter cry hee commmended her to Gods mighty protection, and his childe to be trained up in the true Religion. Soone after, hee was drowned in the tub or fat of the priſon, and the next day hanged upon one of the Gibbets neer unto the City.

Whither wee ought to fly in time of temptation.

¶ *A relation of the troubles and martyrdome of Chriſtian Quekere, Iaques Dienſſart, and Iean de Salomez of Steenwerk in Flanders.*

To whom God gave ſuch ability to anſwer their enemies demands, as if they had come from perſons much more learned. Which ſhewes, that God meaſures out to all the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit, according to his good will and pleaſure.

Whileſt the perſecution continued at this time in ſundry places of Flanders, under Philip King of Spaine, and that many fled into England under the protection of Queene Elizabeth; theſe three above mentioned were of the ſame number, who joyned themſelves to the Dutch Church in London, having given publique teſtimony of their faith before all the Congregation. In which place they continuod not long, but they were conſtrained upon ſome ſpeciall occaſions to returne into their owne countrey againe, taking boat about the end of June, Anno 1560.

They were no ſooner arrived at Nieuport, but two of them, to wit, James and Jeane, endeavored to paſſe on to Honſcot, leaving Chriſtian to come at his leiſure, becauſe he was not well at eaſe, having alſo a fardel of ſmall books of religion.

The Bailiſe with ſome others meeting him upon the way, asked him whence he came and whither he was going, as alſo what he was. Chriſtian framed them ſuch an anſwer that they could take no advantage againſt him (travelling as hee did upon the way) onely they ſpied about him that fardell of books, by occaſion whereof they brought him backe into the City: and having learned that he came over with two others, the Bailiffe forthwith ſent his lievtenant towards Honſcot; who ſo wilily handled the matter, that in the end he caught them, and brought them bound to the City of Furn. Where for a few daies they were priſoners together with the foreſaid Chriſtian; in which condition they mutually comforted and encouraged one another: but their adverſaries ſone ſeparated them, thinking therby to weaken their ſtrength, conſtancy, and fortitude.

Upon the firſt of their interrogatories (which was about the third and fourth of July) they asked James why he ſeparated from the church of Rome

Anſ. Becauſe it is not the church of Chriſt.

Queſt. How know you that?

Anſwer. Becauſe it hath neither the Word of God ſoundly preached, the Sacraments duly adminiſtred, nor the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline after a right manner executed. James gave good and ſolid reaſons hereof; ſhewing, that in their Church was taught, that ſoules muſt bee ſaved by ſaying of Maſſes, long prayers, invocation of ſaints, pilgrimages, with other ſuch vaine and deceivable hopes; yea, ſaid the Prieſt, doe you thus judge of thoſe who give to Jeſus Chriſt bread when he is hungry, and drinke when he is thirſty, and cloath him being naked, &c. And ſo went on with multiplying many words, not ſuffering the ſaid James to finiſh what he was about to have ſaid. Others asked him if he could prove that they had not the true adminiſtration of Baptiſme.

Anſwer. You have ſo obſcured it with your owne additions, that a man can ſcarce diſcerne it to be Baptiſme.

Queſt. What thinke you then of your owne Baptiſme.

Anſw. Were I now to be baptiſed, I would not receive it from your Church, ſo well it likes me that I have received it from you. Being demanded what he ſaid to the Sacrament of the Altar, he proved evidently how farre off it was from the firſt inſtitution of the Lords ſupper. And as concerning the Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, hee uttered more of their corrupting of it, then they were willing to heare.

After this, they were examined by two friers, who were choſen out for the purpoſe; one of them was John Campo, ſuperintendent of the Gray Friers of Dixmude, the other was called Peter Pennet Prior of the Carmelites in Ypre. Theſe two examined the three priſoners firſt upon the articles of the faith; and then, if they beleeved that Chriſt was made of the ſeed of the woman? James anſwered, we are all perſwaded that Jeſus Chriſt was made of the ſeed of the woman, according as God hath promiſed, Gen. 3.15. Moreover, of the ſeed of Abraham, and of David; and that he was in all things made like unto his brethren, ſinne onely excepted.

Gal. 4.4.
Rom. 1.3.
Heb. 4.15.

After many other queſtions upon divers points, they were asked, whether in the conſecration of the Maſſe the body of Chriſt was preſent there or no? No, ſaid James, It is nothing like the Lords Supper which Chriſt gave to them that ſate at table with him: According to which inſtitution the faithfull being aſſembled together, Acts 2.42. brake bread, &c. Nor ſhall ye find in the Scriptures, that one alone receiveth, or that the reſt ſtood and looked on. And if Saint Paul juſtly challenged the Corinthians, becauſe every one was forward to eat his owne ſupper apart, much more are you worthy of their reprehenſion. I doe therefore ranke you amongſt thoſe falſe prophets which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath warned us of, who will ſay thus unto us, Lo, here is Chriſt, and there he is.

1 Cor. 11.20.
Mat. 24 23.

Hereunto the adverſaries replyed, Doth not Chriſt in expreſſe words ſay, This is my body; This is my bloud?

Anſwer. The words muſt not be taken as they found in a literall ſence, for ſo they ſhall have no agreement with other like places of Scripture. You know the words belonging to the antient Sacraments were expounded by the holy Ghoſt himſelfe; Circumciſion is called the Covenant, and the Lambe is called the Paſſeover, albeit they were but the ſignes thereof.

They asked if God were not omnipotent.

Yes, ſaid James, but yet he will doe nothing againſt his Word.

1 Cor. 11.29.

Queſt. If the bread be not changed, why doth Saint Paul affirme, That whoſoever eats of this bread unworthily, eats judgement to himſelfe, not diſcerning the Lords body.

Wee acknowledge all this, ſaid they, becauſe a man ought to examine himſelfe, before he preſume to come to that holy banquet; for in the Supper we receive not only bread and wine, but doe alſo truly partake of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as Saint Paul teacheth us.

1 Cor. 10.16.
Matrimony.

In the fourth place, they were asked if mariage were not a Sacrament? No, ſaid James, for ſacraments are not things indifferent to Chriſtians, as mariage is; for Saint Paul ſaith, he that gives his Virgin in mariage doth well, but hee that gives her not in mariage doth better. We hold wedlocke to be an holy ordinance of God, inſtituted in Paradiſe from the beginning of the world, honoured by Jeſus Chriſt with his firſt miracle, yea we adde further, that as mariage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled, ſo whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.

1 Cor. 7.8. 29.38.
Gen. 2.
John 2.
Heb. 13.4.

Queſt. But ſaint Paul ſaith, it is a great Sacrament.

Epheſ. 5.32.

Anſwer. Why doe you forbid it then? But that place of Paul by you alledged is not to bee underſtood of mariage, but is meant of that ſpeciall myſticall union and Communion which is betweene Chriſt and his Church.

Confeſſion.

Queſt. They asked him if confeſſion were a Sacrament.

Anſwer. I finde but two Sacraments mentioned in the New Teſtament. If you can finde but any more, you ſhall doe well to ſhew them. But as touching confeſſion, it is to God, to whom we muſt confeſſe our ſinnes, according to Davids example, and of the Prodigall ſonne, and ſundry others, who with true repentance acknowledged their offences to God, who is faithfull and juſt to pardon and forgive them. But to confeſſe them to a prieſt, it is ſo farre off from being neceſſary, that I hold it altogether unlawfull. Theſe Fathers had their refuge to their wonted place of ſaint James, Confeſſe your faults one to another.

Pſal. 32.5.
Luke 15.18, 21.
1 John 1.9.
James 5.16.

Anſwer. The Apoſtle would have us to confeſſe our faults to ſuch as we have wronged by word or deed. Alſo God enjoynes us to reconcile our ſelves one with another by ſuch a confeſſion, if we would obtaine pardon of him.

Mat. 6.12.
Mat. 16.19.

Then they alledged that place of ſaint Mathew, That whatſoever they bound on earth was bound in heaven.

Anſwer. Chriſt ſpeakes there of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which ought to bee obſerved amongſt Chriſtians, by admonitions, and then by applying the cenſures, according to the doctrine of the Goſpell, that ſo obſtinate ſinners may be caſt out of the Church. But all the world may ſee that you know not what this true diſcipline of Chriſt meaneth, nor what a right Miniſtry is in your Churches.

Extreme unction.

Queſt. At leaſt you acknowledge Extreme unction to bee a Sacrament, ſeeing Saint James ſpeaks ſo cleerly of it.

James 5.14.
Marke 6.13.

Anſwer. The anointing that Saint James ſpeakes of is nothing like to your anointings. For that was a miraculous anointing for healing of the body, and that, whilſt the gift of healing was uſuall in the Church. But you anoint ſuch as lye drawing on, and doe it for the ſalvation of their ſoules. It is needfull, I grant, to ſend for the Miniſter, to comfort the ſicke, and to pray with them and for them, but not to beſmeare and greaſe them.

Confirmation.

Queſt. Well, what ſay you to Confirmation? is not that a Sacrament?

Anſwer. In all the Scripture (ſaid James) do I not finde ſuch a thing as your confirmation, as you now uſe it, and therefore I know not what it is. Here they cauſed the Regiſter to write, Non credit.

Then came they to the order of prieſthood, and asked if that were not a Sacrament.

1 Pet. 2.9.
Rev. 1.6.

Anſwer. No, no more than the reſt. I am not ignorant that S. Peter cals the faithfull a choſen generation, a royall Prieſthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people: nor yet where Saint John ſaith, that Chriſt hath made us Kings and Prieſts; but what is all this to your Biſhops and Prieſts?

Queſt. What thinkeſt thou of the Pope.

Anſwer. I thinke him to be the ſame that Da-

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niel and Saint Paul foretold he ſhould be. For he ſhewes himſelfe ſuch a one as they have deſcribed him to be, comming with falſe ſignes, and lying wonders, ſitting in the Temple of God, and exalting himſelfe above all that is called God forbidding marriage, which God hath ordained, and meat which God hath commanded to be received with giving of thankes.

2 Theſſ.2.9 10.

1 Tim.4 3.

Purgatory.

Queſtion. What ſay you then unto Purgatory?

1 Iohn 17.

Anſwer. We acknowledge none other Purgatory, but the blood of Chriſt, which only cleanſeth us from all our ſinnes.

Queſt. Doe not the Saints pray for us, and ought we not to pray to them?

Prayer to Saints.

Anſwer. God alone is to be worſhipped, and prayed unto. Whileſt the Saints were on earth they would not endure to be adored. Acts 10.25, 26. Which they then would rather have permitted (being clothed with corruption, and with naturall deſires of being honoured) then now when they have put off all carnall and humane affections. The Angels themſelves would not accept of Divine worſhip, Revelat. 19.10. and 22.9. They had many other diſputes, which Iames could not write for want of paper, as he intimated to them of the Church.

The fourteenth of Auguſt they were examined the third time by Peter Titleman Dean of Renay, Inquiſitor generall of Flanders, whoſe cruelties and extortions were exerciſed upon all the faithfull, in all the perſecutions and deaths which they ſuffered in the ſaid Countrey. This morning was brought before him Iane Solomez, of whom he diligently enquired of theſe of the City of Steenewerke where ſhe was borne; but eſpecially if ſhe knew one Charles Vanderkaw, a man renowned among the faithfull there. She anſwered ſhe knew him, but he was now dead. After he had asked her name, he queſtioned with her, eſpecially about the Sacraments, yea ſomewhat concerning the Lords Supper, holding her in theſe diſcourſes about two houres before him.

To Iames Dienſart he propounded no queſtions, but came about him with theſe flattering ſpeeches; My ſon, you are yong and in the prime of your youth: Therefore the Magiſtrate of this City is very deſirous you ſhould be withdrawne from holding this new doctrine, that ſo you might be brought againe into the right way; but as I underſtand, you ſo perſiſt therein, that there is no removing of you. Iames anſwered that it could not be called a new doctrine, which was built upon the Prophets and Apoſtles.

To whom the Inquiſitor replyed, That Martin Luther was the firſt that broached it.

Anſwer. And what ſay you then to ſo many learned men which lived before him, as Io. Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, &c. and ſome after him, as Calvin, Iohn Alaſco, Martin Micron, and others in England, France, and Frieſland? And though neither you nor I knew them, God knowes them as well as he did the ſeven thouſand of the godly, whom Elias in his dayes was ignorant of. The Inquiſitor, perſiſting in his old ſong, preſſed him with the ſucceſſion of his Prelates and Biſhops. Iames put him in minde of another marke of the true Church, namely that it was alwaies under perſecution; and thence inferred that himſelfe was a true member thereof.

1 Kin.19.28.

The Inquiſitor ſaid, we are now perſecuted in England: for now they begin to impriſon ſome of our Prieſts there.

Anſwer. It is true that Boner late Biſhop of London was committed to priſon, but not for his good deeds. The reſt of them have their liberty.

Now this Inquiſitor among other matters willing him to ſhew what ſervice was due to the Virgine Mary, ſaid, Is it not written, Honour all men? And what honour owe we then to the mother of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt?

1 Pet.2.17.

You give her (ſaid Iames) a goodly honour in bowing the knee before an Image of wood or ſtone, praying thereto as to your God. You may be aſhamed of ſuch abhominable practiſes and blaſphemies. Much other reaſonings they had, which the ſaid Iames, for lacke of paper and leiſure, could not commit to writing.

The ſame day in the afternoon Chriſtian Luckere, who was put into priſon apart, was alſo preſented before this inquiſitor, and examined upon many Articles. In all his anſwers he ſhewed much courage; and when the other went about to prove that Ieſus Chriſt was corporally preſent in the Sacraments, Chriſtian uſed ſixe or ſeven ſtrong reaſons to the contrary drawne out of the holy Scriptures, That it could by no meanes be granted, being repugnant to the truth. The adverſaries perceiving the conſtancy of theſe three priſoners, ſought by all meanes to vexe and weaken them. Firſt they ſevered them one from another to deprive them of mutuall comfort and conſolation. Secondly, gave charge, that in viſiting them none ſhould be ſo bold as to bring them ought to eate or drink. Thirdly, They were ſollicited by wicked ones to yeeld, and not wilfully to hazard their lives. Moreover, they had many other great provocations, and therefore by their Letters inſtantly requeſted the continuall prayers of the Churches to God for them.

When the godly ſtrangers in England were advertiſed of theſe their aſſaults, they ſollicited their Superintendent Edmund Biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the Archbiſh. of Canterbury, and others, to ſend Letters to the Magiſtrates of Furne, intreating that they would releaſe theſe three priſoners, whom they had apprehended as they paſſed along by the high waies ſide, without any misbehaving of themſelves, or holding any diſpute with any, and were innocent in regard of committing ought againſt the Lawes of the Countrey. As touching their Faith which ſome called into queſtion, they ſhould not for that bee moleſted; becauſe in like manner her Maieſty hath given free power and leave in caſe of Religion hitherto, that none of the Subiects of the Low-Countries, comming into England, and carrying themſelves modeſtly, ſhould be medled withall. But if they ſhall deale ſo hardly with thoſe of the Religion, who have ſubmitted themſelves as her Maieſties ſubiects under her protection, then ſhe ſhall be conſtrained, though to her great ſorrow, to mete out the ſame meaſure to thoſe of other Nations; but ſhe hoped and expected the contrary, both from the wiſdome and equity of the Magiſtrates of Furne.

These Letters were dated the 26. of Iuly 1560. and ſubſcribed.

Matthew Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Edmund Biſhop of London.
William Meyne.
William Haddon,
Maſter of the Requeſts, &c.

The Magiſtrates of Furne having received theſe Letters ſent them to Bruxels, where they were read before the Kings privy Counſell. But to extenuate the authority thereof, it was noiſed that they were forged by ſome Lutherans; ſo as in the end they reſolved (notwithſtanding) to proceed againſt the ſaid priſoners, according to extremity of the Lawes eſtabliſhed by the King.

Now

Anno 1562.

Now theſe of Furne having in vaine by all meanes aſſayed to turne the priſoners from their Faith, they reſolved to execute them. Many of the City, and others not dwelling far off, hearing the report of their purpoſed diſpatch, prepared to come to the ſight thereof, thinking it would have been on Wednesday which was Market-day. But the Magiſtrates taking notice of the multitude were ſomewhat amaſed, and cauſed him that was to doe execution to ride through the middeſt of the Market at high noone, as if he had been taking his journey out of the City, and ſo to make the people beleeve that they intended not their execution as yet. But on Wednesday towards the evening, the chiefe Bailiffe accompanied with ſome of the Magiſtrates, came ſecretly into the priſon, ſolliciting each of the ſaid priſoners with many intreaties and intiſing perſwaſions to recant; promiſing to ſet them free forthwith, if they would ſpeake but one word to that purpoſe. But the Lord ſtrengthned them ſo, that they overcame this dangerous aſſault. The adverſaries, ſeeing their expectations fruſtrated, cauſed all things the ſame night to be made ready for their execution the next day; to wit, chaines, ſtakes, fagots, &c. Now the Lord, who hath the diſpoſing of the moments of time in his owne hands, diſappointed this project by a vehement ſhower of raine, which he ſent, continuing all the forenoone.

The two Fryers formerly mentioned were called for; each of them accompanied with one of their own coat. Theſe began to aſſaile the priſoners from morning till eight of the clock, either to weaken, or elſe to turne them from their faith. Which becauſe they could effect neither upon James nor Chriſtian, they dealt with Jane, thinking to have prevailed with her; but to as little purpoſe as with the two others. Being thus diſappointed of their hopes, then they fled to their accuſtomed lies, which they term Fraudes pieuſes, pious beguilings, ſaying thus unto her; Will you only ſhew your ſelfe ſingular in cleaving to this opinion, whereas your priſon fellowes have renounced it?

The holy Virgin was nothing abaſhed thereat, but gave them this anſwer, That ſhe could not beleeve it; and albeit it were ſo, yet would ſhee never goe back from ſo certaine a truth, grounded not upon man, but upon Jeſus Chriſt?

Theſe lying Fryers, nothing prevailing with her neither, went their way. Then the priſoners encouraging one another, and preparing themſelves for death, ſang the ſeventy fourth Pſalme. The Magiſtrates of Furne, that they might with the more ſecurity execute their ſentence, cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut; and yet many got in, leaving their ſwords and ſtaves at the gate. Now as they brought the priſoners along to the towne-houſe, every one as they went reached forth their hand to them, and bad them that they ſhould be of good courage.

Appearing before the Magiſtrates they were denounced heretiques. To which Chriſtian, in the name of the reſt, ſaid, Not one of your doctors can prove us heretiques, nor can they convince us by Scripture. It was replyed that they ſleighted the Sacraments. To which they freely anſwered, We hold and allow thoſe Sacraments inſtituted by God, in much more reverence than you. Upon this the Magiſtrates conſulted together apart, and after a while came to their ſeats againe, pronoucing ſentence againſt theſe three, viz. to be ſtrangled, and then burned or ſcortched, and the remainder of the bodies to be hanged on the gibbet. They thanked the judges for their ſentence; yet advertiſing them well to bethinke themſelves of what they had done. As they were paſſing forth of the houſe to be led to the ſlaughter, many of the godly bad them farewell; comforting, incouraging, and exhorting them to continue conſtant. Whereat the head Bailiffe being much vexed puſhed Jane ſo violently with his foot, that ſhe fell downe the ſtaires, at which the people were much moved. Chriſtian went formoſt, Jane next, and James followed. In beholding of which ſpectacle few there were which brake not forth into ſighings, cryings, and teares, whileſt they gave the people ſo holy and godly exhortations. One of the Monks called John Vels, being by, gave to Jane (many of good credit hearing it) this counſell in his Language, Fight valiantly, the crowne of immortality is ready for you. Whileſt the executioner began to faſten their neck and feet with chaines to the ſtake, they ſung the hundred and thirtieth Pſalme, Out of the deep.

Fryer John Campone, being impatient of ſuch an harmony, yelled out like a mad man, ſaying, This ſhewes you are not Chriſtians; for Chriſt went to his death weeping. One in the middle of the aſſembly cryed as faſt on the other ſide, Thou lieſt thou falſe Prophet. Having finiſhed the two firſt ſtaves of the Pſalme, the hangman being about to ſtrangle Chriſtian, the other two ceaſed, crying to their brother; Be of good cheere and play the man. And Chriſtian, lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid twice or thrice, Lord God heavenly father into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. And then againe, Lord forgive their ſin who have put us to death. James and the maide made the like prayer. But becauſe James was laſt ſtrangled, and the people moved with compaſſion began to ſtir, the hangman kindled the fire upon James being but halfe ſtrangled. The people ſeeing him to die in the midſt of the fire, were yet more moved, ſo as the tormentor being in a maze got a ſtaffe out of a Boat headed with iron, and ſmote the Martyr twice or thrice on the right ſide, to make an end of him. Theſe three having a while lien in the fire, they were carried thence in a cart to the gibbet, where being put apart upon three poles they were afterward taken downe and buried.

Nicaiſe of Tombe born in Tournay, Martyr.

Whoſe conſtancy is to be imitated and followed of every good Chriſtian, in ſuffering for the truth of the Goſpell.

Nicaiſe dwelling in Tournay, and following the trade of Say-making, towards the end of his life, was then by the mercy of God brought to the knowledge of true religion. Now that he might be the more throughly inſtructed therein, he went with his wiſe and family into the City of Weſell in baſe Almaine. In which City there was at that time an aſſembly of ſtrangers, and eſpecially of thoſe who are called Wallons, exerciſing themſelves in hearing the word of God purely preached, and in receiving the holy ſacraments. But Satan the mortall enemy of Gods children, envying their happineſſe, ſoon after troubled this aſſembly in ſuch wiſe with ſundry queſtions, that ſome retyred to Frankfort, others to Strausburg, and ſome to other places. Nicaiſe returned to Tournay whence he came, not to communicate there with the ſuperſtitions and abhominations in which he had formerly been inwrapped, but to joyne himſelfe to the Chriſtian aſſembly which met together in that place; to maniſeſt the truth of that heavenly knowledge, which he had received out of the word of God.

Where notice being taken of him, they received him into their ſociety, amongſt whom he carried himſelfe in ſo Chriſtian a ſort, as they well percei-

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ved him to be a man of an holy converſation, joyned with an earneſt deſire to advance the glory of God, and the kingdome of Chriſt, in the edification of his Church. Now foraſmuch as affliction is the true touchſtone whereby the faithfull are diſcerned from Hypocrites; Nicaiſe then ſhewed outwardly what he was within. For being importuned to take an oath from thoſe who were deputed thereunto by the King of Spaine, to live according to the cuſtome of the Romiſh Church, and to obſerve the traditions invented by her; he, notwithſtanding the threats and injuries done unto him, conſtantly held out againſt the ſaid oath, not caſting how deare it might coſt him in the end. Some of his kindred wiſhed him at leaſtwiſe to withdraw himſelfe aſide for awhile into another City, till the urging of this oath was over, as alſo that his wife ſhould change her lodging in his abſence.

2 Theſ.2.9.10.

To this counſell he conſented; but the Lord, who governes all our intentions and purpoſes, had otherwiſe determined of him, namely to ſet him forth as an example of conſtancy unto others, and to beare witneſſe ſo farre to the truth of the Goſpell, as to ſeale the ſame with his bloud, by ſtaying him at that time in the City. For being ready to take his journey, a neere neighbour of his, being an enemy of the Goſpell, accuſed him to the commiſſioners for one that neither had nor would take the oath according to the forme appointed. Nicaiſe requiring to heare the tenour of the oath, before he would make them an anſwer, they told him that he muſt ſweare to keep & obſerve all antient cuſtomes; to receive in the ſacrament of the altar his creatour thrice in the yeare, and on Sundaies and Holidaies to heare Maſſe, morning and evening. As ſoone as hee had underſtood their meaning, hee told them, hee intended not at all to take any ſuch oath, nor to wound his conſcience in conſenting to things ſo manifeſtly contradicting the word of God; therewithall yeelding them the reaſons of this his reſolution; accuſing as well them for urging ſuch an oath, as thoſe alſo who gave their conſents thereto. Upon this he was committed and laid amongſt fellons, in the Gaole called Pipigne, untill Friday the twelfth of November, on which day he received ſentence of death; namely to be bound and ſo led into the Market place of the City, and there upon a Scaffold to be burned and conſumed to aſhes.

Having heard this ſentence, as he roſe up, hee ſaid, now praiſed be God; and as he was about to have ſpoken more at large, the Procurer fiſcall bing preſent prevented him, and thruſting him forward bad him march on. By and by they brought him to the place of execution; and as it well fell out, having no Prieſt accompanying him, when he was come downe to the Market place, a neere friend of his comming to him commended him to God, and ſo they kiſſed each other.

Being come nigh to the „ Befroy of the City, ſeeing there a great multitude of people, who were aſſembled together to ſee him paſſe by, lifting up his voice, he ſpake thus; O yee men of Tournay open your eyes, awake ye that ſleepe, and ſtand up from the dead, and Chriſt ſhall give you light.

„ which is a watch tower ſtanding before the City hall where the Clocke is.

He alſo prayed all whom he had any way offended to forgive him, as he for his part was ready to forgive all the world. The people hearing him ſay ſo, began to be moved, and to make a great muttering. The multitude alſo that were come together were ſo many, that the ſouldiers who incompaſſed the Patient (being now ready to ſuffer) could neither march nor keep ranke; ſo as they were about to ſhoot. Which the people perceiving began to be moved ſo much the more, ſo as there had like to have been a great tumult. But going on they drew nigh to the place where the ſcaffold was.

Nicaiſe all the while ſpent the time in prayer unto God, and being at the place of execution, hee uttered theſe words; Lord, they have hated mee without a cauſe; and aſcended up joyfully to the ſcaffold: where the Tormentors readily received him, and led him to the ſtake; and as they were faſtening him to it, he ſaid, Eternall Father, have pitty and compaſſion upon me, according as thou haſt promiſed to all that aske the ſame of thee in thy ſonnes name. Other prayers he made there to his God, and ſo continued to his laſt gaſpe. And albeit the multitude made ſuch a noiſe, and the beating of the drummes hindred his words from being all fully heard; yet he ſo often pronounced, and that with ſuch vehemency, the word Jeſus, that it notwithſtanding might plainly be underſtood as long as the breath was in his body. And thus yee have heard the godly life and bleſſed end of this conſtant martyr.

¶ *Martin Bayart, Claude du Flot, with Io. Dantricourt, borne in the Countrey of Artois, and Noel Tournemine, of Hering neere Seclin, Martyrs, 1566.*

YOu may eaſily diſcerne by the former Hiſtories, that the cruelties exerciſed againſt the Faithfull in Flanders nothing diminiſhed the increaſing of them; for the innocent bloud thus ſhed was a meanes to bring many ignorant ſoules to the knowledge of the Truth. Theſe foure above named, dwelling in the City of Liſle, walked in the feare of the Lord, with zeale according to knowledge, as the event well manifeſted.

There was a Jeſuit in the ſaid City who had a ſervant that was couſin to one of the Martyrs, with whom they laboured, not without ſome perill, firſt to ſhew him the odiouſneſſe of that ſect, and then to inſtruct him in the doctrine of the Goſpell. To which purpoſe they lent him a booke containing good inſtructions drawne out of the holy Scriptures. The ſilly fellow, not conſidering the hurt that might follow, ſhewed it ſoone after to his Maſter. The falſe Prophet by and by knew that this booke was not forged upon his anvile, and therefore diligently enquired of his man where he had it. Now that he might with the more expedition attaine his deſire, he gave him a piece of ſeven ſtivers, telling him he ſhould do well to bring him to the knowledge of them from whom he had received it; which was not hard to doe, in regard they all foure wrought upon their Trade (which was to dreſſe ſayes) in an honeſt widowes houſe who profeſſed the ſame Religion with them.

The Jeſuite comming to the knowledge hereof failed not, according to their guiſe, to reveale it to the Magiſtrate. Now leſt he might be ſuſpected to be the betrayer of them, the Fox withdrew himſelfe the ſame time out of the City, whilſt on a ſaturday morning about two of the clocke theſe foure were apprehended and impriſoned by the Magiſtrate. It fell out the ſame day, that certain writings were ſet up upon the Towne-houſe againſt the horrible tyranny of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, which was then intended to be brought in and executed throughout the Low-Countries, which no doubt was the meanes whereby the Magiſtrates were the rather incenſed againſt the priſoners. But foraſmuch as they were not found guilty of having any hand in this buſineſſe, they were onely examined about matters concerning

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their Faith. To which they anſwered with ſuch courage and conſtancy, without varying or wavering, that the Jailour wondred how they could anſwer the Judges ſo directly and pertinently (as it were with one conſent) being notwithſtanding ſevered one from another in the priſon.

The ſecond of March, 1566. they were condemned for heretiques by the Provoſt of the City, to which they replyed, that if they were Heretiques then Gods word muſt needs be hereſie, which could not be; and therefore they freely proteſted before all, that they were Chriſtians, and held nothing but that which was agreeable to the word of God. They were asked if they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Magiſtrates. They anſwered they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of God. Then was ſentence of death forthwith pronounced upon them, which was, that they ſhould be burned alive before the Towne-houſe. When they were brought out of Priſon to be executed, Noels father came and embraced him, and kiſſing him ſaid, Art thou led my ſon in this ſort unto death? This is nothing, Father, ſaid hee, for now am I going to life. And howſoever Noel wept in going up to the Scaffold, ſeeing his father ſo diſſolved into teares; yet recovering himſelfe, and being armed with new courage, he cryed, O yee Prieſts, if we would have gone to your Maſſe, we needed not to have been here: but Jeſus Chriſt never commanded nor inſtituted any ſuch thing.

The Prieſts ſtanding at the foot of the ſcaffold laboured to make the people beleeve they were Heretiques, and that their faith was the faith of devills, becauſe they rejected the Sacraments. But to that one of them anſwered, that their Faith was nothing like to that of devills; and as touching the Sacraments, they held ſo many as Chriſt ordained. Then ſaid Martin, ſuffer us to die in peace, for we are in the right way, and are going to Jeſus Chriſt, hinder us not in this our journey; with theſe and the like ſpeeches the Prieſts mouthes were ſtopped, not daring to come up upon the Scaffold, as they were wont to doe.

John Dauticourt comming up recited the articles of the Creed, adding ſomewhat by way of expoſition upon every Article. Thoſe who knew him before his impriſonment marvelled to heare him ſpeake ſo judiciouſly. The executioner thinking to pleaſe his Maſters offered to gag him: but the patient promiſed to hold his peace. Yet being ſtraitly faſtened to the ſtake by the necke, he ſaid to the people; O my friends, were it for ſpeaking wickedly that they commanded me to be ſilent, it were ſomewhat, but I cannot be permitted to ſpeake unto you the word of God, and with a loud voice ſaid, Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh? O Lord, we are delivered to death for thy ſake, and are appointed as ſheepe for the ſlaughter. But let us be of good cheere my brethren, for wee ſhall be more than conquerours, through him that loved us.

Mat.7.14.

The other three on their parts cryed and ſaid, This, this is the way that leads to life; this is the ſtrait way by which we muſt enter thereinto, as Chriſt our Lord hath taught us. Noel likewiſe ſaid, Enter you my brethren, and whileſt I am alive pray for me; for after death prayers prevaile not. When all of them were faſtened to their ſtakes, and covered with fagots, with fire ready to ſet thereto, they began with one voice to ſing the firſt part of the ſeven and twentieth Pſalme, and after that the ſong of Simeon to the end: after which the fire began to be kindled, in the middeſt whereof they were heard to cry ten or twelve times to the Lord, eſpecially John and Noel, with loud voices calling and ſaying, Lord receive us this day unto mercy, and unto thy kingdome. And thus ceaſing to cry any more, they yeelded up their ſoules into the hands of God. This conſtancy of theirs, proceeding from the worke of Gods Spirit, was not without ſingular fruit, for the inlarging of the Church; for many being touched therewith went home thence, as if they had gone from a powerfull ſermon.

¶ *Francis D' Aloſt in Flanders, Martyr, in the yeare 1566.*

THis yong man, being by his trade a Cutler, during the time of his ignorance frequented the Court much, and tooke great delight in the vanity of this world, which gat him much reſpect of many, but chiefly among thoſe of the Romiſh Religion, namely Prieſts and Monkes, who willingly converſed with him, taking much contentment in his carriage and courſe of life. But as ſoone as God of his goodneſſe by the meanes of his word had revealed unto him his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, he by and by altered and changed his former converſation: for having before lived in great diſſoluteneſſe, he now ſharply reproved ſuch as he knew to follow ſinfull wayes; yea, he often tared the Prieſts as well for their ſcandalous living as for their falſe doctrine, wherewith they abuſed the people; but principally for making them to fall downe to ſuch a god as could not defend nor keep himſelfe from Rats and Mice, and which is worſe, to offer it up for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

For theſe with other ſuch like ſpeeches, thoſe who erewhiles loved him began now to turne their love into hatred, inſomuch as he was faine to flie from them, yea, and out of the Countrey alſo, being baniſhed thence; threatning him, that if he were taken there againe, he ſhould be put to death, not as an heretike, but as one having offended the penall Lawes. But not long after the Lord wrought ſuch an alteration not only in the Politicall but in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate alſo, that not the Lawes concerning hereſie alone were diſanulled, but free liberty was granted to the Faithfull of the Low-countries, to returne home into their houſes againe, and to have the exerciſes of Religion, publikely and openly. Among theſe Francis returned at that time unto the City in which he was borne. But this freedome ſo ſuddenly granted laſted not long. For the devill, not enduring the light ſo to ſhine out, ſtirred up Imps afreſh to oppreſſe the godly. Francis then apprehending the danger, was minded one morning to depart out of the City; but God had another worke for him to doe. For as he was paſſing along, he was apprehended in the ſtreete by one of the City, who with the Bailiffe met him. The Bailiffe would faine have baulked him, as if he had not ſeene him; but ſaid the other, here he is, hold him faſt; ſo they took him. Being conducted to priſon, among other ſpeeches he ſaid, now yee have taken me, you thinke to deprive me of life, and ſo have your will of me, purpoſing my great dammage and hurt; but you are deceived, for it is all one, as if you tooke Counters from me, to fill my hand with a great ſumme of gold.

In priſon he had many diſputes with Prieſts and Cloiſter-men. But the Jailour of all other dealt harſhly with him, who could not endure to heare him ſpeake of God. But if at any time he heard him ſing Pſalmes and ſpirituall Songs, he would rage like a Bedlam. Once being very drunke, he ſet open the priſon doores, and ſitting on a bench he called to Francis, ſaying, come out thou naughty

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and wicked heretique, I will now ſee, if thy God can deliver thee out of my hands. Francis ſaid, as the caſe ſtands it might eaſily be effected; If I were minded to eſcape away now, as I was heretofore, I could eaſily doe it, but I will not; for God hath called me to ſuffer, and not to flie away, and therefore I will not reſiſt, but rather obey his will.

The drunkard hearing him ſpeake with ſuch mildnes, and moderation, and ſeeing that he would not come forth, being provoked thereto by him, in his fury he tooke up his ſtoole on which he ſat, and laid at him therewith, ſo as he had felled him to the ground, if the ſervant had not ſtepped betweene, who tooke it out of his Maſters hands by force: yet was the poore priſoner very ſorely hurt, and lay long in the Chirurgions hands before his head could bee healed. But to make him amends, this cruell jaylour dieted him ſo ſtrictly both for meate and drinke, that hee had died with hunger, had not God inclined the heart of his ſervant now and then, to relieve him, by conveying meate to him in ſecret.

After the Lord had thus by ſundry trials proved the patience and conſtancy of this his good ſervant, the Magiſtrates of the City of Aloſt conſulted how to put him to death, having oft called the Executioner to this their conſultation; but they could not agree in the manner how to effect it. Some were of opinion it were beſt to have him put to death ſecretly in the priſon; others adviſed to execute him openly, leſt they ſhould incurre the blot of being murderers. In the end waxing more hardy, having long detained him in bonds, they called him forth into judgment, and pronounced ſentence upon him, which was, that becauſe he had done contrary to the Kings Lawes, in returning againe to the City from which he was baniſhed, he had therefore deſerved to die, ſeeing alſo hee held certaine opinions directly oppoſite to the Church of Rome.

Francis hearing his ſentence read, without any ſhew of diſtemper, ſaid, Now ſeeing you are ſo thirſty after bloud, I willingly yeeld it into your hands, and my ſoule into the hands of my mercifull Lord God Almighty. Francis, ſaid they, we command you to hold your peace; for if you will not, wee will take order to bridle your tongue. Hee then promiſed them to obey their command. As hee went to ſuffer hee uſed that ſpeech of the Apoſtle ſaint Peter, I muſt now ſhortly put off this my earthly tabernacle, which the love of Chriſt Ieſus my Lord conſtraines me to doe. Being come into the market place where he was to be offered up a ſacrifice, he kneeled downe; and having ended his prayer, he ſayed to the executioner, doe now what you are commanded, the will of God bee done: and ſo preſenting himſelfe cheerefully to the ſtroke of death, he was beheaded the firſt of May, in the yeere 1566. his body being afterwards expoſed to the foules of the aire for a prey.

2 Pet. 1.14.
2 Cor. 5.14.

¶ *Iohn Tuſcaen of Andenard in Flaunders, Martyr, Iune the eighth, Anno 1566.*

Behold here how God meant to awaken the men of this time out of their bru- tiſh ſecurity, as it were with a thunder clap from heaven.

This young man a maker of Tapiſtry about the age of two and twenty yeeres, the ſon of one called Simeon Tuſcaen dwelling in the ſuburbs of Andenard, was trained up from his youth in all godly nurtrature. He hearing newes that things went more aukly to paſſe in Bruxels then hee could have wiſhed, determined in himſelfe to make it knowne by the effect, that the adoring of a breaden God, which the Roman Church ſo much worſhipped, was nothing elſe but an abhominable and execrable ſacriledge. Having caſt to and fro in his minde, and thoughts, the weightineſſe of the buſines he was to undertake, at length hee determined to demonſtrate the ſame more fully and apparently in a publike aſſembly, which was the thirtieth day of May in the ſaid yeare 1566. (which after the cuſtome of the Romaniſts is called the feaſt of God, or Corpus Chriſti day.) Now by reaſon that two Cities of Andenard and Pamelle are joyned as it were in one, there were two Temples dedicated there, not to the Lord, but the one to ſaint Walburgne, called the Church of Andenard, and the other to their Lady, which is within the juriſdiction of the Lord of Pamelle.

Iohn Tuſcaen directed his courſe towards this Church, to performe that which long before he had in his owne thoughts projected. Being come into the Quire of the Church in Pamelle, beholding there a multitude of People utterly eſtranged from the true worſhip of God, ready to fall downe and proſtitute themſelves before a breaden cake, forthwith (not caſting what ſhould be the iſſue) being urged thereto through a zeale of Gods glory, drew towards the Prieſt, while he was elevating and ſhewing the people that which they call the hoſt; and with great vehemencie ſnatched it out of his hands, caſt it to the ground, and brake it all to pieces, ſpeaking with a loud voice; ſee here, my Maſters, your goodly God, who you ſee is not able to helpe himſelfe, but is here broken all to pieces. How long, how long, O ye ſenſeleſſe Prieſts, will you thus defile the holy ſupper of the Lord? ſhall wee never ſee an end of your filthy Idolatries? If the authority of the holy ſcripture can nothing move you, yet at length be warned and admoniſhed by this preſent example, that there is not a jot of divinity in this bread, ſeeing it is ſubject to be thus handled: will yee worſhip a dead Idoll, your ſelves being living men?

At this ſo vehement and bold an exhortation, accompanied with ſuch conſtancy, all the people there preſent ſtood amazed and in ſuch an extaſie, (but yet withall ſuch a noiſe and buſtling throughout the Church) that the Curate of the pariſh, who before was in ſome by-corner there, comming towards the Quire, met Tuſcaen, as hee was paſſing through the preaſe without any feare or let. The Curate ſaluted him, not knowing what he had done, much leſſe ſuſpecting that he was the cauſe of all that tumult and ſtirre; for he was his couſin. Howbeit Iohn would take no knowledge of his ſalutation, but began to reprove him for deluding and abuſing the poore ſilly people, being their overſeer; for a day will come, ſaid he, in which you ſhall render an account to God for them. In the hearing of this, the Curate called upon the people to lay hold upon the ſaid Iohn Tuſcaen, as hee was going out of the Church faire and ſoftly. So that it had been eaſie for him to have quite himſelf out of their fingers, if he had but haſtned his pace a little, becauſe none offered to touch or apprehend him. The Curate ſeeing that, delaied not, but with all ſpeed got him to the under Bailiffe of Pamelle, by whoſe outcries and importunities the Bailiffe could doe no leſſe but goe with him to apprehend the great Heretique. As they were making towards him, hee ſhewed no more ſemblance of eſcaping, then before.

Then they tooke and impriſoned him without

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any reſiſtance. Dinner being ended, he was preſented before the Magiſtrates of Pamelle to be examined in the preſence of the Curate: after they had enquired of him who they were that incited and ſet him on to doe ſuch an outragious act unto the hoſt, they asked him what he held the bread in the Maſſe to be, and whether he did not beleeve it was the body of Chriſt: If, ſaith he, you conſider well what the Angell ſayd to the Apoſtles at his aſſumption. viz. Act. 1. 11. this ſame Jeſus, which is taken up from you into heaven, ſhall ſo come in like manner as ye have ſeene him goe into heaven; You may plainely diſcerne that we are not to ſeeke him here below.

Where Chriſt is to bee ſought.

After many other queſtions and anſwers, beeing ſent againe to priſon, he was the ſecond time examined: and being asked whether he was himſelfe when he did it, or diſtracted? Hee anſwered, That he had done it, not raſhly, but upon mature deliberation. Beeing further demanded what ſhould move him to commit ſo hainous an act? If this, ſaith he, ſeemeth ſo ſtrange unto you, then I pray you tell me who moved Moſes to breake the Tables of ſtone written with the finger of God? They perceiving that he ſecretly aimed at their Idolatrie, ſent him to priſon againe.

Exod. 32. 19.

The eighth of June he was brought betimes in the morning into the judgment Hall, to receive their ſentence which was to be pronounced againſt him; where two friers Minorites were purpoſely ſent to ſee if they could turne him from his conſtancy: to which purpoſe asking him, if he did not beleeve that God was included in the bread which is lifted up in the Maſſe? He anſwered them by another queſtion; namely, whether the Potter could make a pot? They ſayd yes, but what was that to the purpoſe? He asked them againe, if the pot could make a Potter? The good fathers, ſeeing whereabouts he went, forthwith left him. When he ſaw he had thus ſtopped their mouths, he thanked God.

Then the Magiſtrates of the city went up into the judgement ſeat, and gave ſentence againſt him; which was, firſt to have that hand ſtricken off, with which he had taken the Hoſt out of the prieſts hands, and his body to bee burned to aſhes, which afterward was to be ſcattered into the river.

Hearing this ſentence hee was very joyfull, thanking his Judges, and the Lord of Pamelle. But the Bailiffe of Audenard wiſhed him rather to aske forgiveneſſe of God and of the people, for the offence he had commited. If I have offended any (ſaid hee) I aske them forgiveneſſe. Then was he led forth to be executed; and as he went, he ſung in his own mother tongue the Lords praier with ſuch confidence, as argued the inward peace of his Conſcience, in dying in ſo good a quarrell.

The tormentor willed him to ſtretch forth his arme that his hand might be cut off; which he did, ſuffering the ſame with ſuch a patience, as if hee had felt no paine. And then with his eyes lifted up to heaven, he ſaid, O Lord God, it is for the glory of thy name that I endure theſe things: inable mee now with ſtrength from above, that I may finiſh this ſacrifice. Forthwith the fire was kindled, which made him at the firſt to ſhrinke a little; but by continuall and ardent prayer to God the violence of the torment was abated and aſſwaged. Now ſtanding in the middeſt of the flames, his body being in a manner halfe conſumed, hee ſhewed apparent ſignes unto the beholders of his invincible courage, by holding up as well as hee could, his armes on a light fire.

Thus was this valiant Martyr handled in the preſence of multitudes; which cauſed many to cleave the rather to the Doctrine of the Goſpell, ſeeing him dye ſo conſtantly. The River of Eſcant received his aſhes, that the Sentence given upon him might be fully accompliſhed,

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Martin Smetius Martyr, Anno 1567.

MArtin Smetius being priſoner in the Caſtle of Wilbourd, there came to him a Frier to examine him, and with a purpoſe to turne him from the Faith. But Smetius being a man learned, and of a quick underſtanding, remained conſtant, which ſo confounded his oppoſite, that hee went away with ſhame. The Fryer invented a recantation, to which it was reported that Smetius had ſubſcribed. But an Elder of the Church, whoſe name was Cornelius Specor, comming to the knowledge thereof (by the helpe of friends) got a ſight of the ſaid Recantation. Who in the preſence of divers friends conferring a certaine Letter (which Smetius had put his name unto) with that writing, found it in nothing to agree therewith, and therefore the recantation to bee meerely counterfeited, The eighth of February being Saturday, Smetius having his feete tied under an horſes belly, on which he was ſet, was thus brought to Wilbourd to the “Provoſt (who himſelfe was afterwards hanged for his villanies.) His Sergeants paſſing immediatly along with him through Malives, went towards Maladery of Wallen, where finding a ladder ſet up to an oake, they hanged him thereon. Smetius being on the Ladder uſed theſe words; Lord forgive them, for they know not what they doe.

“Hee was apprehended by his Provoſt with 20. horſemen as he was preaching at Malives, When Smetius ſaw them, hee exhorted the congregation to be quiet, for they are come, ſaid he, to take me: but the aſſembly was by and by ſcattered.

And then ſinging certaine verſes of a Pſalme, he yeelded up his ſoule into the hands of the Lord.

¶ *Maſter Iohn Goris and Ioris of Aſſchen Martyrs, Anno,* 1567.

JOhn Goris Chirurgion, borne in Audenard, travelling towards Gaud, was betrayed by two ſpies, who ſignified the ſame to the Bayliffe; himſelfe alſo going the ſame way whither Goris was travelling before him. The Bailiffe, thirſting after the bloud of this poore innocent, rid on till hee had overtaken him, asking him whether hee went? I am going, ſaid Goris, to the Pariſh of Nazaret. And I purpoſe alſo, ſaid the Bayliffe, to goe thither, wee will beare you company. Having paſſed on thus a little way, the Bayliffe thinking himſelfe ſure of Goris, began to lay hands upon him. Goris ſeeing that leaped over a ditch, and got into a little wood. The wood was preſently beſet with Countrey people; and being there apprehended, he was carried to Audenard, as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, where he was committed to priſon. They layed many things to his charge, which they were not able to prove. Being examined the ſecond time upon divers articles, hee anſwered thereunto with ſuch wiſedome, that the Counſell admired how a man of ſo meane account could defend his cauſe in ſo good a manner. But after they came to queſtion with him concerning matters of Religion, now I ſee, ſaith he, that you ſeek my bloud.

The night following hee was overtaken with ſuch an apprehenſion of the feare of death, that for ſaving his life hee was almoſt reſolved to deny the truth. But by the aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirit calling his thoughts together, hee inſtantly and ardently beſought the Lord to deliver him out of this temptation, that by the power of his grace he might overcome the infirmity of his

By this we ſee that man ſtands not by his owne ſtrength

fleſh

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Though I fall ſaith the Church, yet I ſhall ariſe. Mich.7.8. Act.7.60.

fleſh: which prayer of faith the Lord had ſuch reſpect unto, that from that time he manfully reſiſted all Satans aſſaults, and maintained the truth unto his laſt breath.

Having received ſentence he was nothing appalled thereat, but, like the holy Martyr S. Stephen, prayed God that he would not lay his death to their charge. Comming to the place where he was to be executed, caſting himſelfe downe proſtrate, he made his prayer to God; in which prayer albeit he ſought the Lord to forgive his Enemies, yet added he this withall; I am perſwaded, that God being a juſt Iudge will not leave their ſinne unpuniſhed. Which prediction fell out not long after; for the Bailife who apprehended him, & rejoyced in ſtanding by whilſt the martyr was executed, was not long after ſhot with a harquebuſe, whereof he preſently died like a wretch.

After Goris was thus executed, they brought forth his fellow priſoner, called Ioris of Aſſchen; who the ſame day ſuffered the ſame kind of death, that is to ſay, he was hanged upon a gibbet, which death he endured for the name of Chriſt with like conſtancy as did the former. Which courage of his he thus manifeſted to his parents and friends, in a letter written to them a little before his death.

¶ *A Letter written by Ioris of Aſſchen, to his Parents and Friends, a little before the time of his Martyrdome.*

MOſt deare Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother, I write here unto you comfortable newes, namely, that in all my life I never ſaw any day ſo pleaſing to me as this is; in which the Lord hath counted me worthy to be one of his Champions, and to ſuffer for his holy Name: For which I give him moſt humble and hearty thanks, I alſo thanke you much, good Father and Mother, that in all my diſtreſſes you have beene beneficiall and helpfull unto me, and carefull for me; for which the Lord aboundantly reward you in his kingdome. Rejoyce with me, I pray you, that God hath now called me to ſuch a glorious and welcome marriage day. Oh, how precious in the ſight of the Lord our God is the death of his Martyrs.

Deare friends, two Prieſts, yea, and ſome of the Magiſtrates alſo have ſought to terrifie me with many threats, thinking to turne me aſide from my holy profeſſion; but the Lord of his great mercy hath given me his grace to withſtand them all: for I plainly told them I was not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, but would be willing and ready to die in the defence thereof; following my Lord and Maſter Ieſus Chriſt thorow all afflictions, to be made partaker with him at the laſt of his eternall joyes in his celeſtiall Tabernacle. Wherefore if God ſhal cal any of you forth to ſuffer ought for his Names ſake, beare the ſame, I beſeech you, with meekneſſe and patience, not declining from the Truth for feare or favour, to the right hand or to the left; but feare him rather who is able to caſt ſoule and body into hell.

The time which God hath lent us to converſe in this world is but ſhort, and therefore let us begin to abandon the love thereof, with all things that are therein, betimes, that ſo we may be ready to follow the call of God.

Deare Father and Mother, I doe take my laſt farewell of you, untill we meet together againe in the Kingdome of heaven, where we ſhall partake of that joy which ſhall laſt for ever, all ſorrowes, teares, and griefes being wiped away. Be ye not therefore grieved I pray you, but be patient; for the affliction which is befalne me is moſt acceptable unto me, for which alſo I bleſſe and praiſe the Lord.

The Lord proſper you in all your wayes, to his glory and your good. Thanke all my friends for their love expreſſed toward me, and ſalute them kindely with an holy kiſſe in the Lord.

Your humble and obedient ſonne,

Iohn Ioris of Aſſchen.

Thus were theſe two witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt executed the fourteenth of April, 1567.

¶ *A worthy anſwer of a conſtant Martyr called Guy de Brez, Anno. Dom. 1567.*

GUy de Brez, a Miniſter of the Goſpell, being committed priſoner into the Caſtle of Tournay, was viſited by many Ladies & Gentlemen, onely out of a deſire to ſee him, in regard hee was a man ſo highly eſteemed. Some at the firſt view ſcoffed; others railed on him; but others were moved to take pitty and compaſſion on him. Among the reſt, the Counteſſe of Ren, accompanied with certaine Gentlewomen, comming into the priſon, and at the firſt entrance beholding the iron chain to which he was faſtned; Maſter Guy, ſaid ſhe, I wonder how you can either eate, drinke, or ſleepe in quiet; for were I in your caſe, the very terror thereof would goe nigh to kill me.

O Madam, ſaid he, the good cauſe for which I ſuffer, and that inward peace of conſcience wherewith God hath endued me, makes me eate and drinke with greater contentment than my enemies can which ſeeke my life: yea, ſo farre off is it that my bonds or chaine doe any way terrifie me, or breake off my ſleepe, that on the contrary I glory and take delight therein, eſteeming them at an higher rate than chains and rings of gold, or any other jewels of price whatſoever; for they yeeld me much more profit. Yea, when I heare the ratling of my chaine, me thinkes I heare as it were ſome ſweet inſtrument of Muſicke ſounding in mine eares: not that ſuch an effect comes meerely from my chaines, but in regard I am bound therewith for maintaining the truth of the Goſpell.

¶ The ſame Martyr in a Letter to his wife acquaints her with Gods gracious dealing with him in all his aſſaults.

SPeaking of his apprehenſion, he ſhewes how carnall reaſon began to play its part againſt the providence of God; for, ſaith he, theſe thoughts came thronging into my head; What meant we to go ſo many in company together as we did? had it not been for ſuch and ſuch we had never been diſcovered nor taken. Under ſuch like cogitations I lay for a while, ſaith he, even in a manner overwhelmed, till by the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit my minde was raiſed up to meditate on Gods providence. After which my heart began to feel wonderfull reſt and contentment, ſaying thus in my ſelfe, O my God, the day and houre of my birth was before ordained by thee, and ever ſince thou haſt preſerved and kept me in great perils and dangers, and hitherto delivered me out of them all. And if now the houre be come wherin I muſt paſſe out of this life into thy kingdom, thy

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holy will be done; I cannot eſcape out of thy hands; yea, though I could, yet Lord thou knoweſt I would not, ſeeing all my felicity depends upon conforming my will unto thine.

From theſe conſiderations I received no ſmall conſolation; and therefore, deare wife, rejoyce with me, I pray you, and bleſſe our good God for theſe his mercies towards me; for he doth nothing but that which is equall and right. You have béene privy to, and acquainted with all the travels, croſſes, and perſecutions which have befallen me, yea, and have your ſelfe béene partaker with me therein, when you accompanied me in my voyages during the time of my exile: and now after all theſe you ſée, my welbeloved in the Lord, how he holdeth forth unto me his hand of providence, to drive me home to himſelfe into his bleſſed kingdome. I now lead you the way, and when his will is you ſhall follow me thither. Our ſeparation ſhall not be for ever: it will not be long ere we be gathered under one head Jeſus Chriſt. This world is not the place of our reſt: no, heaven is our home, this is but the place of our baniſhment.

Let us therefore aſpire after our true countrey, namely heaven, and long to be received into the Manſions of our heavenly father, where we ſhall ſée our head and Brother, our husband and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the noble triumphant aſſemblies of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and ſo many millions of Martyrs; to whom I hope ſhortly to be gathered, having finiſhed the courſe of that adminiſtration which I have received of the Lord Jeſus. Wherefore deare wife be you comforted in the meditation of theſe things. Take into your conſideration the honour the Lord doth you, in giving you a husband who is not only called to be a Miniſter of Chriſts Goſpel, but alſo ſo highly advanced of God, as to be accounted worthy to partake of the crowne of martyrdome. It is an honour which the Angels in heaven are not capable of. I now rejoyce in my ſufferings, my heart leapeth within me; in my afflictions, I finde nothing wanting unto mee; I am filled with the abundant riches of my God; yea, ſo far am I comforted therewith, that I have ſufficient ſtore not onely for my ſelfe, but to impart thereof alſo to as many as I have opportunity to ſpeake unto. Which bounty and favour I beſéech my Eternall Lord God to continue to me his poore priſoner: yea, I am perſwaded that he will performe it unto the end; for by good experience I féele, that he never forſakes them that truſt in him. I could never have imagined that God would have béene ſo gracious as he hath béen to me his poore creature.

Angels not capable of being Martyrs.

Gods goodnes to his afflicted children is oft above and beyond their expectation.

I now taſte of the fidelity and bounty of Chriſt my Saviour; I am here taught to practiſe what I have preached unto others. Yea, let me not be aſhamed to confeſſe, that when I heretofore preached I ſpake but as a Parrat, in regard of that which I have now better learned by proofe and experience. I have profited more in the ſchoole-houſe of this priſon, than ever I did in all my life before: for I have the holy Ghoſt, who is my conſtant inſtructor and ſchoolmaſter, teaching me how to handle my weapons in this fight of afflictions. Satan on the other ſide, who is the ſworne enemy of all Gods Elect, compaſſeth me about on every ſide, as a roaring Lyon thinking to devoure me. But he who hath ſaid, Feare not, I have overcome the world, puts as it were new courage into me; and then I ſée the Lord bruiſing Satan under my féet; féeling the power of God perfected in my weakeneſſe, And thus the Lord cauſeth mee one while to féele my infirmity and weakeneſſe, that ſo I may take knowledge how I am but a poore earthen Veſſell (even weakeneſſe it ſelfe) to humble mee, that God may have all the glory; and then by and by hée fortifies and comforts me, (I may truly ſay) incredibly above all I could aske or thinke.

Priſons prove Gods ſchoole-houſes to the faithfull.

John 16.33.
Rom.16 20.
2 Cor.12.9.

It is profitable for the godly ſometimes to féele their infirmities.

For I would not change my condition with theirs who perſecute me; I take my reſt, eate and drinke, with more hearts eaſe then they. I am indéed lodged in the ſtrongeſt and vileſt priſon they have, darke and obſcure, which for the darkneſſe thereof is called Brunain; where I have no aire to breath at, but a little ſtinking hole, where they lay all their rubbiſh, and where the drunkards commonly vent their urine. I am laden with Irons both on my hands and féet, which are a continuall torment unto me, the irons eating through the fleſh even to the bare bones. The Provoſt Marſhall comes to view my fetters twice or thrice a day, fearing leſt I ſhould make an eſcape: for preventing whereof he hath placed thrée guards of fourty men before the priſon dore, &c.

Brunain a priſon of the Valencians.

By reaſon whereof he complaines he wrote with much difficulty, and therefore could not write as otherwiſe hee would have done.

And thus having given unto his Wife his advice, how to behave herſelfe during her widowhood, and how to traine up her Children, with his loving ſalutations remembred to her ſelfe and other his ſpeciall friends, he cloſeth up this Letter.

In the end of a letter written to his Mother the rather to encourage her willingly to offer him up to God, he puts her in minde of two memorable examples of women who were mothers of Children, in this manner following.

I remember, ſaith he, that I have read in the Eccleſiaſticall Stories, how that in the hot perſecutions of the Church in times paſt, the poore chriſtians were aſſembled together without a certaine City, to heare the word of God. Now a great commander was ſent of purpoſe to ſée theſe poore Innocents put to the ſword. And being on his way ready to put his bloody commiſſion into execution, the report thereof came to the eares of a true Chriſtian Woman, who haſted with all the ſpéede ſhe could, to be at this méeting, carying her little Childe in her armes. As ſhée drew nigh to this troope of horſemen, ſhée ruſhed in, to get through, expecting that they would make way for her. The governour ſéeing her make ſuch haſte, called her to him, and examined her whither ſhée poſted ſo faſt? ſhée gave him this ſhort anſwere. I am going, ſaid ſhée, to the aſſembly of the chriſtians. What to do? ſaid hée; haſt thou not heard that I am commanded to put them all to death? Yes, I know it well, ſaid ſhée, And therefore am I in ſuch haſte, that I may be counted worthy to loſe my life with them. But what wilt thou do with thy little Childe, ſaith he? I am carying it thither, that even it alſo may partake of the crown of Martyrdome with the reſt.

The firſt example.

The tyrants heart was ſo wounded with theſe prompt and plaine anſwers of this ſilly woman, that he retired backe to the Emperor who had committed the execution of this buſineſſe unto him, and told him the whole diſcourſe; by meanes whereof the Emperors wrath was appeaſed, and the execution ſtayed. Here was an heart inflamed indeed with the fiery zeale of Gods love. Here is a patterne fit to be preſented before all women and Mothers to imitate the ſame.

I call to minde one other Example of a mother and her ſonne in the times when Romanus ſuffered Martyrdome. Hee was commanded to worſhip idols. His anſwer was, as hee ſtood in the place of judgement, that he worſhipped one God only, in Jeſus Chriſt, his only ſon. And this, ſaith he, is an Article ſo well knowne, that if any childe, though but of 7. yeeres old, ſhould be examined concerning it, he would eaſily make a direct anſwer to it. Then a Childe about thoſe yeeres being preſented publickely, Romanus ſaid, come

hither

Anno 1566.

hither my pretty boy, anſwer me; ought wee to worſhip many Gods, or but one God in Jeſus Chriſt? The little child anſwered, That there be many Gods we children cannot beleeve; ſeeing to us there is but one God.

The ſecond example.

Then the tyrant apprehending the mother cauſed her child to be ſcourged with rods before her eyes. The babe intreated her to give him ſome drinke: to whom ſhe ſaid, Alas poore childe, I have no drinke to give thee; but now my ſonne goe and drinke of the cup of martyrdome, which Herod the king gavo the yong children to drinke of.

" Hitherto may be referred the invincible conſtancy of that pious mother mentioned in the 2. booke of the Machabees, with her ſeven children 2 Mac.cap.7. Reade the whole chapter

Then was the childs head ſtricken off. " Such examples are left upon record for our uſe, that in ſuch and the like mirrors we might behold how the mighty power of God being made perfect in the infirmity of weake fleſh, all of us, with one heart and voyce, ſhould render unto him the ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving for the ſame; ſhewing forth to our brethren and ſiſters his triumphs and victories with new ſongs of rejoycing. The which ſounding throughout the whole world, we may thereby incite all creatures, yea, the very Angels of heaven to magnifie and glorifie the name of our Lord eternally. So be it.

¶ *With this godly perſonage Guy de Brez was one Peregrine de la Grange ioyned as his priſon fellow and fellow laborer in the worke of the Miniſtery.*

Whoſe learned diſputes with Richardot biſhop of Arres doe heere follow, written with his owne hand.

THe biſhop at his comming into the priſon being informed of the priſoners name, and of his gentle diſpoſition, began thus with him.

Biſhop. I am much grieved Monſieur de la Grange to ſee you in this meane condition, and could wiſh it were farre otherwiſe with you then now I ſee it is.

La Grange. Sir, I humbly thanke you for your love and kindneſſe ſhewed towards me, altogether I confeſſe without any deſert of mine: and as for the baſe eſtate in which you now ſee me, God hath ſo comforted me therein with his grace, that I doe without any great difficulty patiently ſuffer what he hath pleaſed to lay upon mee; yea, I prayſe and bleſſe his name, that hee hath ballanced the weight of my afflictions according to the ſtrength which he hath given mee, ſo as I ſinke not under the burthen: for as my ſufferings in Chriſt abound, he cauſeth his conſolations by Chriſt to abound in me alſo.

2.Cor.1.3.

Biſhop, It is uſuall with ſuch as you are to glory in this kinde of ſpeech: for as ſoone as any afflictions befall you, you by and by ſtile them the ſufferings of Chriſt. And if any of you be put to death, then ye boaſt that it is for Gods truth: but when things are layd to the touchſtone, the matter is nothing ſo nor ſo.

La Grange. Sir, if your meaning bee of ſuch as have died for the doctrine for which I am bound with this chaine, and thus fettered with Irons: I doubt not but they have given ſuch a reaſon of their faith, that whoſoever ſhall read their anſwers, and weigh the ſame without partiality, muſt needs judge thereof even as wee doe. And for my owne part I am ready to make it good before any whom it conceres, that the doctrine I now hold and teach is according to godlineſſe, taken ont of the pure fountaines of the holy ſcriptures, without adding, diminiſhing, or varying any way therefrom.

1.Tim.6.3. Deut.12.32.

Biſhop. We reade that in all times men have been wont to ſhelter themſelves under the Title of Gods word, in ſo much that all the old hereſies maintained by heretiques have run to this covert; ſo as great heed is to be taken, leſt under this pretence men ruſh into errors.

La Grange. I am not ignorant, ſir, hereof, in regard that Satan knows how to transform himſelfe into an Angel of light, thereby to eſtabliſh his deluſions, cauſing darkneſſe thereby to be taken for light. But the holy Ghoſt, who is the Spirit of truth, hath in ſuch wiſe diſcovered his jugglings, that none are deluded thereby, but thoſe who at noone day cloſe their eyes that they may not behold the light.

2.Cor.11.14. Iohn 14.17. 2 Cor.4.4.

Biſhop. Doe you thinke that the holy Ghoſt hath given you ſuch an illumination, that the truth ſhould only be revealed to you, and to none other.

La Grange. God forbid, ſir, I ſhould have any ſuch thought. I am not of the minde of thoſe dreamers, who at this day bragge of their having particular revelations of the holy Spirit. But I ſpeake of an ordinary and generall revelation, ſuch as is taught us out of the Bible, which we call the holy Scriptures, according as it is therein declared unto us by the Prophets and Apoſtles.

He means the Anabaptiſts and their like. Eph.2.20.

This was the effect of the Biſhops firſt communication with de la Grange; after which hee was heard to ſay twice or thrice to the Kings Commiſſioners, that hee had no will to meddle any further with him. Being called for to be examined elſewhere before the ſaid Commiſſioners, Peregrine tooke his leave of the Biſhop, entreating him to intercede for him, that hee might be eaſed of his irons, alledging that the Priſon was ſtrong enough and ſufficiently garded.

The ſecond time they met together, the Biſhop having a prompt memory, made a rehearſall of what paſſed betweene them the day before, and after began thus with the ſaid Peregrine.

Biſhop. Seeing that which I hold as touching the Sacrament of the Altar is agreeable to the Scriptures, confirmed ſo long ſince by the conſent of all the ancient fathers, wherefore doe you not agree with us therein? Had you rather hold with theſe Noveliſts, as with Calvin and with the confeſſion of Auſpourge.

Grange. Sir, I am neither Calviniſt nor Papiſt; I am a Chriſtian, and what I hold concerning religion is taken out of Chriſts doctrine, who is the only Doctor of his Church. What Calvin hath taught conformable to the word of God, I am of the ſame minde with him: and whereas you call your Religion, the old Religion, and ours the new, it troubles me not at all, ſince the Father of lies hath long ſince forged the ſame, to diſgrace the truth, and to eſtabliſh and maintaine the multitudes of falſhoods and abſurdities of your Tenents which you hold. For example, becauſe Chriſt in giving his diſciples bread in the Sacrament, ſaid, This is my body, thence they would make us beleeve that the bread is become the body of Chriſt, as if the verbe eſt ſignified a change of the bread into another ſubſtance, which is found in no language whatſoever.

Biſhop. We maintaine not the Tranſubſtantiation of the bread from this Verbe eſt, knowing that the Hebrews uſe the Participle of the Preſent tenſe in ſtead of a Verbe; but rather from hence, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, This is my body.

La Grange. I told " you that Jeſus Chriſt in his Supper gives us that body which was con-

" For they had many diſputes touching this point, which are not here inſerted.

ceived by the holy Ghoſt in the wombe of the virgin Mary; which was crucified, dead and buried, raiſed againe the third day, and is aſcended into heaven; yet wee utterly deny that there is any change made of the bread. Therefore if you would have us beléeve it, let us have ſome proofe of ſcripture for it.

Biſh. To ſpeake properly, the Tranſubſtantiation of the bread cannot be proved by the Word of God, and yet we muſt beléeve it for the reaſons above ſaid.

La Grange. Your glozing then that you have the Word of God on your ſide is as you ſée come to nothing. And why have you then burned ſo many of Gods ſaints for denying that which you cannot maintaine by the ſcriptures? For our parts, we ſhould bluſh to affirme, that the ſubſtance of bread remaines after the words of conſecration, if we could not prove the ſame from the very forme of the inſtitution of the ſacrament, wherein Chriſt tooke bread, and having given thankes hee brake bread, and gave to his Diſciples bread, and they tooke and did eat bread: yea, Saint Paul rehearſing the inſtitution calls it bread thrice.

1 Cor.11.23, 26.17.

Biſh. You know that in the Hebrew Tongue bread is taken for the remainders of what was eaten; Paul therefore in that place ſpeakes of thoſe viands which the Corinthians did eate in their Love-feaſts, reproving their abuſe. So alſo, howſoever Paul calls it bread there, and that in the ſecond of the Acts of the Apoſtles mention is made of the breaking of bread, all this ſerves not your turne,

Act. .42.

La Grange. I grant that bread is taken in the Scripture in this ſence; but be it that bread be taken for the meat that was left, yet you reade not that the ſubſtance was changed into the ſubſtance of other meate, or loſt the property thereof. It is certaine that the Scripture uſeth not this phraſe, of breaking of bread in the uſe of the Lords ſupper, for nothing; for thereby we are given to underſtand, that it is not a ſigne onely in appearance or ſhew, but the true ſubſtance of bread.

Biſh. Let it be what it will; wee hold cloſe to the words of Jeſus Chriſt, where he ſaith, This is my body; and therefore alſo beléeve what wee ſpeake. I care not if I be deceived in this matter, nor for bearing reproche for the ſame, either before God or men; for before God himſelf I will pleade thus, Lord, thou haſt ſaid it, and I beleeve it.

Underſtand the words ſacramentally, and all is wel.

La Grange. We reſt in the ſame thing alſo; but withall we have an eie unto Chriſts meaning and intent, which was to eſtabliſh a ſacrament: we alſo receive from his mouth the ſame words as well as you, but ſacramentally, where the outward ſigne beares the name of the thing ſignified.

Biſh. As touching the ſacraments in the old teſtament (which had their extent only to the comming of Chriſt, and no further) we indéed doe hold, that the ſigne beares the name of the thing ſignified thereby; and thus the Paſchall Lambe was called the Paſſeover, and Circumciſion was called Gods Covenant, being but a ſigne thereof: but it is otherwiſe now in the ſacraments of the new Teſtament, which have their continuance unto the end of the world, containing in them the thing ſignified.

Exod.12.43, Gec.71.10.

La Grange. Your Diſtinction will be but idle if we come to the ſacraments of the new Teſtament, which are onely two, (howſoever the church of Rome holds ſeven) to wit, Baptiſme and the Lords ſupper. The ſcripture calls Baptiſme the waſhing of regeneration, because it is a ſigne thereof, yet bearing the name of that whereof it is but a ſigne. Nor among your owne Writers do we finde, that the water in Baptiſme is changed into the blood of Chriſt; which is notwithſtanding the true laver of regeneration. Alſo the cup is called the new Teſtament, becauſe it is a ſigne thereof.

Dare you now affirme that the cup is the new Teſtament? But becauſe you ſéeme to bring in for confirmation of your opinion the ancient Fathers, we are content to be tried herein by them, even in our cauſe alſo, and it ſhall appeare that they are not ſo contrary to us as you ſuppoſe; and this will cleare our Doctrine from the crime of novelty, wherewith yée ſlander it. Afterwards we will come to touch ſuch inconveniences and abſurdities as flow from your Doctrine.

The Biſhop anſwering that hée was content, La Grange began as followeth.

La Grange. Gelaſius, who was an ancient doctor, yea and a Pope alſo, ſaid in a Councell held at Rome, That the ſubſtance and nature of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, even as the humane nature of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt was united unto his divine eſſence. Chryſoſtome an ancient doctor, in his imperfect worke upon S. Matthew, denies that the body of Chriſt is incloſed under the bread in the ſacrament, but holds that it is only an outward ſigne thereof.

Gelaſius a pope of Rome

Chryſoſtome.

Biſh. I have, as you know, before anſwered that ſentence of Gelaſius, and then I told you that he was not ſéene in Philoſophie, and therefore could not diſpute ſubſtantially of the ſubſtance of the bread; yea, I verily thinke he underſtood not what this word ſubſtance meant, but tooke it for that which we call accidents; as ſometimes by this word accident wee underſtand ſubſtance; witneſſe Julian, who takes it in this ſence.

La Grange. Sir, I cannot conceive that ſuch a learned Father could be ſo ignorant, as not to know what the ſubſtance of bread ſhould meane, or at leaſt the nature thereof, ſéeing hée ate of it daily. S. Auguſtine hath this ſaying on the third Pſalme, That Chriſt ſhewed admirable patience in receiving Judas to that banquet in which hee inſtituted and gave to his Diſciples the ſigne of his body and blood.

Auguſtine.

Biſh. I doubt not but many ſuch ſentences are to be found in ſaint Auguſtine which ſéeme to favour your opinion; as where he ſaith to Adimantus the Manichée, That Jeſus Chriſt did not ſhun to call it his body, albeit he gave but the ſigne thereof. But ſuch kinde of ſpéeches muſt be expounded by conferring one place with another.

La Grange. Nay ſir, we have not onely ſaint Auguſtine, but alſo the moſt part of the ancient Fathers (all which you ſay are againſt us) on our ſide.

Biſhop. Well, but come now to the abſurdities and inconveniences of our doctrine, whereof you ſpake.

La Grange. Amongſt other, I will inſtance in this one; by the doctrine which you teach you ſever and diſiorne that which in it ſelf is joyned and united together. In the ſupper of the Lord the Sonne of God gives us his fleſh for our meate, and his blood for our drinke; which are coupled together by outward ſacramentall ſignes, bread and wine: now according to your doctrine the bread is converted into fleſh, and the wine into blood, and yée ſeparate the fleſh from the blood of Chriſt.

1. Abſurdity.

Biſh. We ſeparate not the fleſh from the blood, ſéeing that by concomitancy the fleſh is never without blood, nor blood without fleſh.

La Grange. If this be ſo, wee ſhould in one & the ſame action receive the fleſh & blood of Chriſt twice; for taking the bread, which you ſay hath blood accompanying it by your Concomitance,

2. Abſurdity.

you receive whole Chriſt in fleſh, and then againe in bloud; and thus we receive the fleſh twice, and the bloud twice.

Biſh. What inconvenience commeth of receiving the ſame twice in one action?

La Grange. Chriſt did not inſtitute his ſupper to be received twice in one action, but ſaith in the ſingular number, Take, eate, this is my body; he ſaid not in the plurall, Theſe are my bodies. This only abſurdity, if there were no more, overturnes the Lords inſtitution.

To this the Biſhop made no anſwer.

La Grange. If we marke Chriſts words, it will appeare that the abſurdities in your doctrine do croſſe this commandement, Eat; for what eat you ſir, I pray you, in this ſacrament?

Biſh. The accidents of bread.

La Grange. Eate you nothing but the accidents? It is ſaid, Eate, this is my body.

Biſh. We receive the body and blood.

La Grange. When you eate the body doe you not bruiſe it with your teeth?

Biſh. No, for Chriſts body is inſenſible; ſo as when we eate or bruiſe the cake, the body is not bruiſed therewithall, but the forme; the body is not diſmembred, but every bit is the body of Chriſt.

La Grange. Sir, you ſtill fall into the former abſurdities; for making three pieces of your cake in the Maſſe, and every piece thereof the whole body of Chriſt, it thereupon followes, that in taking three pieces you ſwallow downe three bodies of Chriſt together.

3. Abſurdity.

Biſhop. We muſt not be led thus by humane ſenſe.

La Grange. Sir, that which I ſay is manifeſt enough, and ſo that which you affirme of your formes cannot ſtand; for Chriſt ſaith not, Eat the formes, but, Eate, this is my body. Now wee cannot eate, unleſſe we gnaw with our teeth, in bruiſing therewith that we eate. If you ſay that the bread, which is fleſh as you hold, is conveyed under the tongue, and gently ſwallowed; then I anſwer, This is not eating but ſwallowing: for, Can he be ſaid to eate, who being halfe pined with hunger ſwallowes his bread and meate withou chewing? Nay, he may rather be ſaid to devoure it. Moreover, if the bread, which as you affirme is fleſh, bee put into a mans mouth, and ſwallowed, then how will you anſwere that which Chriſt ſaid in Saint Mathew, That whatſoever enters into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is caſt out into the draught, or backe chamber, as we call it.

Mat. 15. 17.

Biſh. Theſe words muſt be taken of our ordinary eating, which is caſt (ſaving your preſence) after it is eaten into the draught.

La Grange. What becomes then of this ſwallowed fleſh?

Biſh. The formes are turned into it, and the fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt is gone; but theſe things muſt not be too curiouſly examined.

La Grange. This anſwer cannot ſtand: the accidents, which you call kindes, cannot be changed thereinto, it is the ſubſtance which is changed. But let us come to a more ſubſtantiall argument: you teach, That whoſoever receives this Bread, which you call fleſh, receives Jeſus Chriſt. How is it then that Saint Paul ſaith, Hee that eateth and drinketh unworthily eats and drinks damnation to himſelfe, &c.

1 Cor 11. 27. 29.

Biſh. This argument hath ſome weight in it; for thus you reaſon, hee that receives Chriſt doth therewithall receive eternall life; but by our Doctrine all receive Chriſt in the ſacrament, therefore they muſt needs have eternall life.

I confeſſe it is true according to your minor propoſition, that they receive him: but I deny that all receive him unto life everlaſting; for if they receive not the fleſh by the holy Ghoſt, it profits them nothing.

La Grange. I have taken the firſt part of my propoſition out of Saint John, where Chriſt ſaith, he is the life; but ſeeing wee cannot receive ſo much as a common hearbe without the vertue of it, much leſſe can wee receive Chriſt without that life which is comprehended in him; otherwiſe we ſhould receive a dead body without efficacy, and not Jeſus Chriſt, who cauſeth thoſe that eate him to live eternally. For this ſacrament was inſtituted of God by his ſonne, to manifeſt and ſet forth his fatherly good will towards us, not contenting himſelf to have received us once as ſtrangers into his houſhold by baptiſme, but as his owne Children: and therefore hath ordained this ſecond ſacrament of the holy ſupper, that in his houſe wee might have wherewith to nouriſh and feed us continually. Now as touching the holy Ghoſt, it is by him that we eate the fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt and drinke his bloud, conjoyning by his powerfull working thoſe things together which by diſtance of place are ſevered farre off one from another, cauſing all that is in Chriſt to become ours, and as by a conduit pipe conveying unto us the true partaking of Chriſts fleſh and bloud; ſo as whoſoever receives Chriſt, hath eternall life.

John 11. 25.

Simile.

John 6. 51.

Why the Lords ſupper was ordained.

We partake of Chriſt in the Sacrament, by the effectuall working of the holy Ghoſt.

Biſhop. That is, if hee receive him by the holy ſpirit; for otherwiſe the fleſh profiteth nothing, as ſaint John ſaith.

John 6. 63.

La Grange. Sir, the place you alledge makes againſt you; for Chriſt there reproves his diſciples for thinking they ſhould eate his fleſh after a carnall manner, as it appeares by the words following; for the words, ſaid hee, which I ſpeake to you are ſpirit and life. If then wee are ſo wiſe as to obſerve that the Sunne, ſending downe its ſubſtance on earth by the beames thereof, doth after a ſort cauſe the hearbes to ſpring forth and grow, ſhall not the influence of the ſpirit of Chriſt be of much more efficacy to bring us to the true participation of his fleſh and bloud?

Simile.

Biſhop. Then the Biſhop was deſirous to bee gone, ſaying it grew late, and ſo for want of time our conference ended. The Biſhop commended me to God, and then tooke his leave of the company. This is the ſumme of our communication, ſo farre as I can remember.

By this briefe recitall we may obſerve what holy boldneſſe, mixed with meekeneſſe, the Lord had indued this his worthy ſervant with, even in the flower of his age, being drawne from his ſtudies and from the place of his birth to preach the Goſpell to the Valencians, and at length to ſeale up the ſame with his bloud.

A ſhort narration of the life and death of theſe two valiant Champions of Chriſt, Guy de Brez, and Peregrin de La Grange, Miniſters and martyrs.

NExt to the pure preaching of the word, nothing ſo much commends thoſe whom the Lord culls out to give their lives for the ſame, as doth an holy and blameleſſe converſation, continued unto their happy departure out of this world. It remaines then in few words, that we ſet forth the converſations of theſe two holy perſonages, that thereby the mercies and graces of the Lord beſtowed upon them may have the greater luſtre.

Guy

Anno 1566.

Guy de Brez borne in Mons in Hainault, beeing in his younger yeares much addicted to Popiſh ſuperſtitions, came by continually reading of the Scriptures to taſte the ſweetnes of Chriſtian Religion; which knowledge brought forth no ſmal fruit in him in due ſeaſon: Yet ſo, as it could by no meanes be reliſhed or received by them of his Nation. Whereupon he departed from Mons, and having learned the art of painting Glaſſe, came to London whileſt good King Edward the ſixth raigned, who gave perſecuted ſtrangers leave to have harbour within his realme of England. After his abode there a while, and underſtanding that the preaching of the Goſpell obtained ſome entertainment in the Low-Countries, he went over to give his aſſiſtance to thoſe of his owne Country.

The firſt fruits of his labours were moſt an end in beſtowing ſome exhortations in ſuch places where he found any willing to give him audience, though never ſo few in number.

But above all he clave to them of the City of Liſle, becauſe he found there a great number of beleevers who deſired nothing more than to heare the Goſpell publiquely preached unto them. At that time began alſo an holy conflict “ againſt the peſtilent ſect of the Anabaptiſts, which as cockle mingled it ſelfe amongſt the good corne. In this city he continued untill the flock of Chriſt were diſperſed by reaſon of perſecution, and then went to Gaud, where hee wrote his booke called the Staffe of Faith, extracted out of the ancient Fathers. After that beeing deſirous to profit more and more in the knowledg of ſuch things as were requiſite to be in a Miniſter of the Goſpell, hee travelled towards Lauſanna, and thence to Geneva, to furniſh himſelfe with the tongues; and thence withdrawing himſelfe into the Low-countries, hee there eſtabliſhed the churches of Liſle, Tournay, and of the Valencians; in which cities God ſo proſpered his labours, that he was preſerved by his divine providence, as it were in the middeſt of the fiery flames, from falling into the hands of his enemies. And not to ſtand longer in relating the paines and travels of this faithfull ſervant of Chriſt, not onely the reformed Churches of the ſaid country can teſtifie, but alſo theſe of Dier, Mondidier, and Amiens alſo, which hee was an happy inſtrument to ſupport, whileſt the cruell perſecutions in his owne Land would not permit him to continue his Office of teaching there.

“ Againſt which this godly man publiſhed a learned confutation in French, which booke I have in my hands.

The Duke of Bovillon obtaining him drew him to his city of Sedan, where he alſo continued a while in publiſhing the glad tidings of ſalvation, untill the Church of Antwerpe began in the moneth of Auguſt 1576, to call him to be thier Paſtor. But he could not obtaine leave of thoſe of Sedan to depart from among them without a great deale of difficulty, becauſe they evidently foreſaw by the beginning of perſecutions in the Low-countries, into what a Sea of troublous tempeſts hee ſhould bee caſt: and yet perceiving how the heart of this holy man longed to be gone, to yeeld his aſſiſtance to thoſe of his own nation; at length they conſented to let him goe with them that requeſted to have his helpe. Now having ſtayed but a while there, the brethren determined to ſend him to his ancient Church of the Valencians, who received him with no little joy, in regard the Lord had formerly ordayned him to erect a Church there peculiarly.

Peregrin de la Grange.

His meeke diſpoſition won him much reſpect.

To come now to Peregrine de la Grange, hee was borne in Chute nigh to Saint Marcellin in Daulphine. In the moneth of June in the yeare 1565 he was ſent from the Schooles of Geneva, at the requeſt and inſtance of the Valencians, to ſerve in the miniſtery among them. Such was his meeke and milde diſpoſition, that it won him much love and reſpect, and made his miniſtery to be ſo much the more acceptable in the eyes of all men. After the demoliſhing of Images in the City of the Valencians, two Churches were imployed by thoſe of the reformed Religion for the uſe of prayer, preaching the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Now the detaining of theſe Churches, the one of them being uſed by a ſtranger, namely by the ſaid la Grange who was none of King Philips Subjects, being alſo againſt the Decree of Margaret then Regent of the Low-Countries, gave occaſion to Noicurin, as then principall Bayliffe of Hainault and Valence, not onely to fruſtrate and break all accords with the ſaid Valencians, but moreover to afflict and beſiege them extremely. During which ſiege, becauſe the ſupper of the Lord was adminiſtred in both the ſaid Churches, it did ſo much the more enkindle the rage of the enemy againſt them, ſo as when the city was taken, La Grange was the more cruelly uſed, as you ſhall reade when wee come to ſpeake of his death.

The ſame adverſaries, who encountred Guy de Brez his companion, aſſailed him alſo; but he overcame them by the helpe of Gods holy Spirit, who gave them both ſuch power, as their enemies were not able to reſiſt.

They were impriſoned the eleventh of Aprill, and on Saturday the laſt of May the Provoſt of the bands came into the priſon about three of the clocke in the morning, to give theſe two priſoners warning to prepare themſelves for death: for they were to die at ſixe or thereabouts. Whereupon both of them began highly to magnifie God for his goodneſſe, and gave the Provoſt thankes for the good newes which he had brought them. Aſſoon as they were up and ready, Maſter Guy entred into the fore Court, bidding the reſt of the Priſoners good morrow; and then teſtifying to them his joy, ſpake after this manner; Brethren I am this day to die for the doctrine of the Goſpell; and now, bleſſed be God, I joy and rejoyce therein; I had not thought that God would ever have done me this honour. I feele my ſelfe repleniſhed with joy more and more, from minute to minute, my God addeth new courage unto me, and my heart leapes for joy within me.

Then exhorting the priſoners to be of good cheer, he told them it was no hard matter to die, and ſo by way of acclamation alledged that place out of the Apocalips, O how happy are the dead that dye in the Lord; for they reſt from their labours, and their workes ſollow them! Hee further beſought the priſoners to ſtand faſt in the doctrine of the ſonne of God, which he had taught them, avowing it to bee the undoubted truth, which was mainteined “ by him before the Biſhop of Arres and many others.

“ Which diſputes were formerly omitted in regard that in a manner they were the ſame with thoſe of Peregrin de la Grange.

Beware you do nothing, ſaid he, againſt a good conſcience; for I foreſee that the enemies of the Goſpell will execute the utmoſt of their rage againſt us; thinking thereby to weaken our faith, that ſo they might turne you from the truth, and ſo cauſing you to doe ſuch things as ſhould bring diſhonor to the cauſe for which you are in bonds. Take heed therefore ye ſhrinke not; for if yee doe, you ſhall certainely feele ſuch an hell in your conſciences, as will never ceaſe to vex and torment you. O my brethren, how good a thing is it to nouriſh a good conſcience?

One of the priſoners asking him whether hee had finiſhed a certaine work which he had begun, he anſwered, No; For now I muſt ceaſe to labour, becauſe I am paſſing along towards the heavenly reſt: the time of my departing is at hand, I goe to reape that in heaven which I have ſowne

on

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2 Tim.4.7,8.

on earth. I have fought a good fight, I am at the point of finiſhing up my courſe: from henceforth the Crowne of Glory is layd up for me, which the Lord the righteous Iudge ſhal give unto me. Me thinks (ſaid he with a joyfull and ſmiling countenance) that my ſpirit hath obtained wings to ſoare aloft into heaven, being invited this day to the mariage Supper of the Lambe.

As he was ſpeaking, the Provoſt came in with bands into the Court, and putting off his hat ſaluted him. Maſter Guy bad him welcome, and gave him thanks againe for his good newes. The Provoſt replied, It grieveth me much that things ſhould be carried thus. To which Guy joyfully anſwered, I accept of you as of my good Friend, I love you with all mine heart. Then taking his leave of the priſoners he went into the little hall of the priſon.

Soone after Peregrine de la Grange entred into the ſame Court, who as he carried himſelfe comfortably during all the time of his impriſonment, ſo then after his accuſtomed manner he began with an amiable countenance to cheere the priſoners, with bidding them good morrow; and then ſaid thus unto them; I am this day to die for the Truth, and then the heavenly Inheritance is prepared for mee: my name is written in the Booke of life, never to be blotted out, becauſe the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.

Phil.4.3.
Rom.11.29.

He proteſted alſo, That for his part he never taught ought there but the pure Word of God; as for the doctrine of the Papiſts, it led ſoules, he ſaid, to perdition aud deſtruction: and thence took occaſion to exhort the priſoners to ſeparate themſelves from it, and to cleave wholly to the Doctrine of the Goſpell. Then leaving them he went into another roome, and called for a bruſh to bruſh his hat and cloake, cauſing his ſhooes to be blacked; For now, ſaid he, I am bidden to the mariage of the Lambe, where I am to feaſt with him for ever and ever.

Going thence, ſome of the priſoners came to him, and finding him ſitting in the entry of the priſon upon a bench, with bread and wine ſet before him, which was brought him for his breakefaſt, they asked him if he went to ſuffer with thoſe ſhackles on his heeles? I would I might (ſaid hee) yea, and that they would bury them with mee too, that they might manifeſt the inhumanity of my adverſaries. And as thoſe brethren comforted him, he replyed, that he felt ſuch joy of the holy Ghoſt in his heart, that he could neither with mouth nor tongue expreſſe it; adding, That God ſhewed him a thouſand times more favour to take him after this manner out of this tranſitory life, than if he had let him die in his bed by ſickneſſe: for now (ſaith he) I ſhall dye with enjoying the benefit of all the powers of my ſoule, praying the Lord to have mercy upon me.

Then every one taking his leave of him they retyred, and forthwith Guy and La Grange were led to the towne hall to receive the ſentence of death, namely to be hanged for tranſgreſſing the Kings commandement given at the Court of Bruxels. And ſo not medling at all with any of the points of Doctrine which they had preached, they eſpecially inſiſted upon the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, againſt an expreſſe charge given them to the contrary.

To be ſhort, La Grange being brought to the place of execution, and now upon the ladder, hee proteſted with a loud voice (notwithſtanding the noiſe which the ſoldiers kept about the gibbet) that he died onely for preaching to the people the pure truth of God; taking heaven and earth to witneſſe the ſame with him.

Then was Maſter Guy brought thither; who, kneeling downe to have made his prayer at the foot of the ladder, was not ſuffered to make an end; for lifting him up they made him by and by to aſcend the ladder. Being thereon he faſtned his feet in the rundles, exhorting the people to carry themſelves with all due reſpect towards the Magiſtrates, ſhewing how ſome had overſhot themſelves in that behalfe.

Then Maſter Guy exhorted them to ſtand ſtedfaſt in the doctrine which he had taught them, avouching that it was the undoubted truth of God. He could not finiſh his ſpeech fully, becauſe the Commiſſioners gave a ſigne to the Executioner to haſten and make an end.

He was no ſooner turned off the ladder, but there fell out ſuch a tumult among the ſouldiers, being in armes in the market place, that they ran up and downe the City, ſhooting off their pieces againſt ſuch as they met, ſhooting off their pieces againſt ſuch as they met, as well Papiſts as others, yea killing one another in a grievous manner, ſo as ſome fell downe dead among many others that were wounded and hurt. And thus were they ſmitten with great feare without any ground thereof at all.

¶ *Notes touching the eſtate of the Faithfull in the City of Venice, and of ſome executed there for the Truth, in the yeare, 1566.*

IT pleaſed God for a long ſpace to free this noble City from being ſubjected to the cruell Inquiſition of the Pope, by reaſon whereof the face of a Church was to be diſcerned there, from the yeare 1530, to the yeare 1542. They enjoyed ſuch freedome of conferring and ſcanning of the points of Religion there, that they came in a manner to make profeſſion thereof publiquely; ſo as many ſtrange nations came to take notice thereof. But the Father of lies obſerving this began to beſtirre himſelfe, by ſetting his Lieutenant on worke, who hath his ſeat at Rome, to diſturbe theſe good beginnings: for it came to paſſe, that whilſt multitudes of good Chriſtians flocked thither from other parts, in proceſſe of time ſuch a courſe was taken by Antichriſts ſupporters, that many of them were impriſoned, and afteward ſent thence to Rome.

The reſt by a new found execution, never till then heard of, were caſt into the ſea, and drowned in the bottome of the ſame. The manner of it was thus: After they had received ſentence, an yron chaine was faſtened about their middle with a ſtone of great weight tyed thereto; and then were they laid upon a planke betweene two wherries, which being come to the place appointed, the wherries parting aſunder, the Martyrs were forthwith drowned. Yet for all this many ceaſed not ſtill to aſſemble together in a place appointed for that purpoſe, to talke and diſcourſe of heavenly matters, yea, and to make ſome collections for reliefe of the poore; ſo as in the yeare 1566 they called to them a miniſter of the Goſpell, to eſtabliſh & conſtitute a church among them; having alſo the Supper of the Lord adminiſtred to them. But ſome falſe brethren creeping in, under pretence of making the ſame profeſſion with them, betrayed them.

Then began the Popiſh Inquiſition to be erected there with the greateſt cruelty that might be, towards the maintenance whereof the Pope ſent every yeare a certaine ſumme of money to thoſe holy Fathers, to be diſtributed among ſuch as were appointed to be ſpies and revealers of ſuch ſecrets as they could come to the knowledge of. Thus were many caſt into the ſea and drowned,

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ſome were ſent to Rome; others were detained ſo long in priſons (which were like graves) that they rotted there.

¶ *Maſter Anthony Ricetto, Martyr.*

AMongſt others who were condemned to bee drowned, there was one Maſter Anthony Ricetto of Vincence, having a ſonne about twelve yeares old, who comming to viſit his father, according to the diſcretion of children, beſought him with teares to yeeld to thoſe who had condemned him, and to ſave his life, that he might not be left fatherleſſe.

A true Chriſtian (ſaid his father) is bound to forgoe goods, children, yea, and life it ſelfe, for the maintenance of Gods honor and glory: For which cauſe he was now ready and reſolved to lay it downe, the Lord aſſiſting him.

The Lords of Venice offered to reſtore unto him his patrimony, which was partly morgaged and ſold, if he would ſubmit himſelfe to the Church of Rome. But he refuſed whatſoever conditions they this way tendred unto him. Some that were priſoners with him, namely one M. Julius Ferlan hath reported much of the abſtinence, patience, and holineſſe of this excellent man, ſo farre as to paralell him to another John Baptiſt. On the fifteenth day of February 1565. which according to our computation is, 1566. Captain Clairmont came unto him, and told him, that Francis Sega was reſolved to recant. To which Ricetto by and by replyed, What tell you me of Sega? I will performe my vowes unto the Lord my God; and ſo he was led bound faſt to the wherry. A certaine Prieſt, who accompanied him, preſented unto him a wodden crucifix, exhorting him to returne and to die in the favour of God, reconciling himſelfe unto the Church of Rome, the holy Spouſe of Chriſt. But Ricetto, rejecting that Crucifix, beſought the Prieſt and thoſe that followed them to come out of the ſnare of the Devill, to cleave to Jeſus Chriſt; and to live, not according to the fleſh, but after the ſpirit; for if you doe otherwiſe, ſaid he, aſſure your ſelves your unbeliefe will bring you into that lake of fire that ſhall never be quenched. For though you confeſſe with your mouth that you know Jeſus Chriſt, yet you not onely deny him by your works, but you perſecute him in his members, being ſeduced and bewitched by the Pope, who is the open enemy of the Sonne of God.

"This Sega was his fellow priſoner, of whom ſee more hereafter

When they were come nigh to the two caſtles, the Captaine bound his hands; now, becauſe it was very cold, hee called for his cloke which they had taken from him. Then ſaid the wherry man, feareſt thou a little cold? What wilt thou do when thou art caſt into the Sea? Why art thou not carefull to ſave thy ſelfe from drowning? Doeſt thou not ſee that the poore flea skippes hither and thither to ſave her life? To whom hee anſwered, And I am now flying to eſcape eternall death.

Being arrived at the place where he was to ſuffer, the Captaine put a chaine of yron about his middle with a very heavy ſtone faſtened thereto. Then Ricetto, lifting his eyes to heaven, ſaid, Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe. And being laid on the planke, hee ſaid, Lord Ieſus into thy hands I commend my ſpirit: & then pulling this weighty ſtone towards him, not waiting till the boats were ſundred one from another, as in ſuch kind of executions they were wont to doe, this holy man ſlept in the Lord; which was no ſmall terrour to the Magiſtrate, in that there was never any that died this kind of death before, with ſo much conſtancy and reſolution.

¶ *Maſter Francis Spinola, Martyr.*

THe Sunday following, Maſter Francis Spinola of Milaine, being about the age of ſixe and forty yeares, was apprehended and brought into the priſon, called Des cleſſ de dix, That of ten keyes, where he found poore Francis Sega. Two daies after (which was the eight and twentieth day of February) Spinola was brought before his Judges, where they delivered into his hands a little Treatiſe of the Lords Supper, of which he freely confeſſed he was the author; ſhewing that the opinion which he there maintained was this, That the bread and wine were the ſignes, and not the things ſignified, and therefore muſt not bee adored. He was queſtioned with as touching the power of the Pope, prayer to ſaints, and about Purgatory. He anſwered that the Popes power was from man, which the Romane Conſiſtory and certaine Princes had given him: but that God the Father had given Jeſus Chriſt to be the Head of the Church, and to have all power in heaven and earth. What is Peter then, or what is Paul? He further added, that he would not worſhip nor pray to any other but to God only, as it is written. The memoriall of the Saints he well approved, as of thoſe who were the true branches ingrafted into the Vine Chriſt.

Francis Sega, Martyr.

Mat 28.18.

Luke 4.8. John 15.5.

Alſo for his part he acknowledgeth none other Purgatory, but the bloud of Chriſt, as it is manifeſt in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and in the firſt Epiſtle of John.

Heb. 9.

1 John 1.7.

Then as Spinola was returned into his priſon, Francis Sega (whom he was ignorant of) waited his comming, holding a candle in his hand, and paſſing by with his Keeper, ſaluted him by his name; whence it came to paſſe, that they two conferred together about the doctrine of the Goſpell. Now howſoever Sega differed from Spinola touching the number of ſacraments, yet he referred himſelfe to the judgement of the true Church of Chriſt in that behalfe. But after that he had learned that Spinola had conſtantly ſtood to the defence of the truth, he was very joyfull and much comforted, ſaying, That God had reſerved him for ſuch a time as this, to make him partaker with him of ſo great conſolation.

The conſtancy of one martyr puts life into another.

Hee wrote conſolatory letters to Spinola, committing his writings into his hands, whereof ſome were preſerved, and the reſt loſt by the careleſneſſe of a falſe brother. Upon the three and twentieth day of February, 1567. the Keepers of the priſon told Sega that he was to die within one houre after the ſhutting in of the evening. At the hearing of which newes hee intreated Spinola to pray with him. After prayer, Sega telling him that his ſoule was heavy to the death; Spinola gave him this anſwer, Feare not, for it will not be long before it ſhall feele thoſe joyes which ſhall endure for ever.

Being brought out of his darke dungeon, according to the time limited, hee tooke his leave of Spinola and the reſt of the priſoners. As hee was entred into the boat, a certaine frier began to perſwade him to returne into the right way. Sega anſwered, that he was already in the way of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and paſſing on he called upon the name of God. He ſeemed not to be much moved at the binding of his hands, but was a little amazed at the faſtening of his body to the chaine. Yet by and by taking unto him a Chriſtian reſolution, he tooke whatſoever they did unto him patiently. Being laid upon the bord or planke, hee commended his ſoule into the hands of God, and being left of the two boats (upon the edges whereof the planke was ſtayed) the one declining this way, and the other that way, he fell into his ſepulchre the ſea, and died patiently.

Spinola ſoone after was preſented the ſecond time before his Iudges, namely the tenth of March, where he reproved the Popes Legate with his clergy there preſent, as alſo the Lords of Venice who ſat in iudgement upon him, becauſe contrary to their conſciences they ſo perſecuted the truth of God, calling them the offſpring of the Phariſees, Caiphas, and the Gentiles, who now, ſaid he, kill Ieſus Chriſt in his members. The nine and twentieth of March following, hee was the third time brought before them, where they asked him if he would not recant his errors. He anſwered that the Doctrine he maintained was not erroneous, but the very ſame truth which Ieſus Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles taught and preached, and for which all the Martyrs, as well of old time as now, have willingly layd downe their lives, and endured the paines of death.

As he did the firſt time hee was convented before them.

After all this, Spinola became ſo weake, that he determined to ſtrike ſaile (as they ſay) and to apply himſelfe to the time; being brought hereinto by the advice of ſome, namely that he ſhould faine a giving of his conſent to what the Magiſtrate required of him, by meanes whereof hee might eſcape their hands. But about the tenth of September, comming againe to himſelfe, and eſpying whereunto this determination tended, hee proteſted before all, that he would ſtand in the confeſſion he had made from the firſt of April laſt paſt. Wherefore on the ninth of Auguſt hee was brought againe before the ſame Iudges, where he openly confirmed the ſame.

Spinola begins to waver.

But ſoone after recovers himſelfe.

His Iudges ſaid, that he ſhould either be drowned or burned alive. Then on the thirteenth of Ianuary 1566. (according to the Venetian account, which according to ours was 1567.) on Tueſday morning being come before the Tribunall, ſentence was pronounced upon him that hee ſhould be drowned as an Heretique. To which he gave them this anſwer, I am no heretique, but the ſervant of Ieſus Chriſt. At which words the popes legate commanded him to hold his peace, telling him that he lied. The next day in the morning (which was the laſt of Ianuary) he was brought into Saint Peters Chappell, where he was degraded, becauſe he had been a Prieſt; and the night following he was conducted unto the Sea, and there drowned in the place appointed; who died praying and bleſſing God with invincible conſtancy.

¶ *A relation of ſuch things as fell out under the government of the Duke of Alva, and of many men put to death, 1567.*

THe afflictions of the proteſtants in the Low-Countries were multiplied this yeare under the dominion of Ferdinando of Toledo Duke of Alva. It is well knowne that the Spaniards, uſing all their endeavours to rule over this Countrey at their pleaſures, had no better opportunity to accompliſh their deſign, then to eſtabliſh among them their inquiſition, thereby to domineere over the goods, honors, and lives of every one. The Nobles, Citizens, and Commons did what they could to oppoſe the ſame: to which purpoſe they had inſtantly beſought the King, to afford them his royall preſence, thet hearing once their complaints, his Majeſty might take ſome order for matters of ſo great importance; alledging to this end the example of the Emperour Charles his Father: who, upon a buſineſſe farre inferiour to this, adventured himſelfe with much diligence to paſſe through the enemies country, who were but a while before reconciled; onele to ſtay ſome mutinies begun in the City of Gand. Theſe things had ſo moved his Majeſty, that he made them a promiſe by letters of his comming. But his intention was broken off by ſuch as were the upholders of the inquiſition, that ſo they might with the more facility attaine the end of their deſires. In ſtead of their King then, they had ſent unto them the Duke of Alva, who at his entrance found the priſons repleniſhed with Gentlemen & other perſonages of note, whom the Dutches of Parma had left in bonds after her death,

Long did they languiſh in this captivity, whilſt the Duke of Alva by faire promiſes diſſembled a kind of meeke and gentle carriage of minde towards them, giving them ſome hope of a generall pardon, proceeding from the Kings clemency; that thus he might catch the lords and governors the more cunningly into his nets, whereof the Lord Lemorall Earle of Egmond, Prince of Gand, Governor of Flanders and Artois, and others of quality gave but too lamentable experience; who being fed with vaine hopes were at length inhumanely put to death.

The ſixteene Provinces alſo ſubiecting themſelves under this new government, loſt their antient liberties and priviledges; which evidently appeared by the exploits done from the yere 1567. hitherto by a new counſell of twelve, elected and ſetled there by the Duke; the principall of which were Vergas and Delrio, the Fathers of the inquiſition, which Councell was commonly called the *Councell of bloud,

To wit, Brabant, Lambourg, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Flanders, Artois, Haynaut, Holland Zealand, Namur, Zutphein, Friſeland, Malines, Utrecht Over-Yſell and Graningue.

* *Le Conſeil de ſang.*

¶ *The death of two Barons of Battembourg, the one called Gyſbrecht, and the other Thierri, brethren, with certaine other Gentlemen executed the ſame day at Bruxells, 1568.*

AMong many Gentlemen and Captains who were apprehended after the diſcomfiture of the Aſſembly in Holland, whom the Dutches of Parma had impriſoned in the caſtle of Villford, the two brothers of Battembourg a moſt antient Barony ſcituated upon Menſe, about two miles off from Nieumegne, did manifeſt above others how much they had profited by being inſtructed in the Church of Geneva. The elder of them was Gyſbrecht, and the other Dietrich or Thierri; who from the flower of their youth had conſtantly profeſſed and confeſſed the pure Doctrine of the Goſpell.

On Tueſday the firſt of Iune, Anno 1568. the Duke of Alva began to declare to the world his fained meekeneſſe, putting to death the ſame day theſe two brethren, beſides the Lords, Peter Dandelet, Philip Wingle, &c. They were firſt brought into Provoſt Spellans houſe, neere the horſe faire, in the City of Bruxels, compaſſed about with a ſtrong guard, and many drummes beating, that none might heare what were their laſt ſpeeches. As they went to their death, Battembourg the elder ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive, whereas Dietrich his brother was very cheerefull, comforting the other with his gracious words, ſaying, Ah brother, is not this the day we have ſo much deſired? Be not ſorrowfull now; for it is the higheſt honor that can befall us here to ſuffer for the Doctrine of the Sonne of God. It

Anno 1568.

may be for the love you beare me, you grieve to ſee me dye firſt: I am content that you ſhould drinke of that cup before me, in regard you are the elder; if not, all is one, ſeeing we are going to our God.

Gysbrecht by and by replied, Thinke not, deare Brother, that the joy of the holy Ghoſt is taken from me now I am drawing nigh to the Lord, being ready to dye for his holy name.

Then aſcending the ſcaffold, after he had made his fervent prayers to God, the Executioner taking off his head, he ſlept happily & ſweetly in the Lord. His brother following him next with ſuch alacrity, as much aſtoniſhed the ſpectators.

He deſired, as ſome ſay, to ſee his brother, and when he had eſpied his head, he cried, I ſhall by and by be with thee, my brother. So after he had ended his prayer, he was by a quicke diſpatch united unto him.

Thoſe who teſtifie theſe things report, That the other Gentleman had ſo much favour as to bee buried; but theſe two brethren were made a ſpectacle, being hanged up: the cauſe was, for that in the very ſame morning they ſuffered, as alſo before, they directly ſet themſelves againſt the Idolatries which were propoſed unto them.

The Saturday after, the fifth of June, the Earles of Egmond and Horne were beheaded, and there made a publique gazing ſtock. Of which two, the Earle of Horne, who died laſt, gave an evident proofe of that true knowledge of God wherewith he was indued, and in which hee had more eſpecially increaſed in the time of his troubles and afflictions.

¶ *An extract of a complaint with a proteſtation of the Prince of Orange and the Gentlemen of the Low countries, touching their oppreſſions.*

THis yeare in the month of July, the Prince of Orange, William of Naſſau, accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen of the Low-Countries, all profeſſors of the Goſpell, for prevention of the ſlanders and pretences of rebellion put upon them by the enemies thereof, publiſhed in writing a declaration; that it might appeare to all, that they were ſo farre off from plotting any treaſon againſt the Kings Majeſty, that on the contrary, they did by all the means they could acknowledge him to be their naturall Prince and Soveraign. The true cauſes indeed for which they tooke up armes under the authority of their Prince, for their owne defence, as alſo of thoſe who profeſſed the proteſtant religion, were the extortions, the confiſcations of body and goods, with the continuall condemnations and putting to death even of the moſt noble perſonages of the Countrey.

And that the Prince of Orange might make knowne to all, what injuſtice and cruelties were exerciſed upon thoſe of the Religion, he diſcovered the notorious ſubtilties of the cardinall of Gravella and others, who under the cloaks of the pretended catholique religion, ſought nothing elſe thereby but the diminiſhing of Cods glory, the Kings authority, and the welfare of the commonwealth, ſhedding the bloud of many a true Chriſtian, by whoſe death followed the loſſe of their temporall eſtates; and all, forſooth, under pretence of Juſtice.

And for as much as tortures, vexations, baniſhments, executions both by fire and water, by ſtrait impriſonments, ſword, and gibbets did ſtill increaſe more and more; that for theſe conſiderations the cauſe was lawfull and good, in taking upon them the defence of ſo miſerable a people, to whom the Dutcheſſe of Parma, Governeſſe under his Majeſty, had expreſly permitted the preaching of the Goſpell, for preventing of the perils and dangers which threatened the ruine of the ſaid countries.

And as the ſaid Prince had been a faithfull and loyall ſervant to his Majeſty, in doing him many acceptable ſervices, without either ſparing his perſon or goods, ſo was he alſo ready preſt to be imployed ſtill in the like, more then at any time heretofore. And thus proceeding on further, hee made it apparant to every one whoſe judgement was not foreſtalled, that the Duke of Alva, who in reſpect of the dignities conferred upon him ought himſelfe to be a patterne and a protector of the Nobility and Gentry, had notwithſtanding put to death threeſcore gentlemen, with others of quality, rich Burgemaſters of Bruxels, and of other Cities beſides; that this his ambition, being riſen to a notable height of cruelty, durſt put to death the Illuſtrious Earles of Egmond and Horne, without any ſhew of law or equity, who had ſo faithfully ſerved the Emperour Charles of famous memory in his wars.

Yea, that he might yet further debaſe the Nobility of the Countrey, which is as it were the principall ſupport of his Majeſty; hee cauſed the heads of the ſaid Earles to be ſet upon poles and forkes; By ſuch ſpectacles charging upon their parents and friends much obloquy and diſgrace. Yea, this horrible execution did ſtrike ſuch a feare and terror into many, that to avoyd theſe oppreſſions they fled the countrey. For a concluſion he added, that all theſe things layd together, the iſſue thereof tended to the extirpation of all true Religion, and conſequently the depriving of the faithfull not onely of their ſpirituall, but corporall good alſo. And therefore as a Prince, being a native member of the Empire, he held himſelfe obliged, in having compaſſion over the wrackes made among ſo many poore Chriſtians, to lend them his beſt helpe & furtherance for the free paſſage of the Goſpell, and the conſolation of ſuch of his Majeſties good Subjects, as were perſecuted, impriſoned, and oppreſſed.

¶ Before wee ſhut up the Hiſtory of the yeare 1568. wee will adde to the former Martyrs ſome that were executed in the Low-countries at divers times in the ſaid yeare, without tying our ſelves to any ſtrict order, touching their death.

¶ *Schoblant the ſonne of Barthel, Iohn de Hues, Ioris Coomans, Martyrs.*

THe eleventh of February there were taken and impriſoned in Antwerpe, Schoblant the ſon of Barthel, John de Hues, and Joris Coomans. After which, they were all joyfull and glad in the Lord, confeſſing that nothing fell out in this regard, but by his divine providence; as it appeares by Letters written to their brethren the ſeventeenth of March, containing that which followeth.

Seeing it is the will of God that we ſhould ſuffer for his holy name, and in the quarrell of his Goſpell, we certifie you brethren, that we are of good courage hitherto, howſoever the fleſh continually rebels againſt the ſpirit, counſelling it ever and anone according to the advice of the old ſerpent. But we are well aſſured that Chriſt who

hath

Anno 1568. Ioh. 14.18. Rom.16.20. Gen 3.15. Mat.11.35. hath bruiſed, will alſo ſtill bruiſe the Serpents head, and not leave us comfortleſſe. True it is, we are now and then pricked in the heele, but that is all the Serpent can doe; nor are we diſcouraged, but keep our faith cloſe to the promiſes of God, who is the Lord of heaven and earth, having created all things of nothing.

Gen.39.21. Dan.3.25. Dan.6.22. Pſal.18. He forſooke not Joſeph in Egypt, nor left the three yong men in the fiery furnace: no, nor Daniel in the Lions Den. This is the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous poſterity; ſo that we can without feare ſay with the Prophet David, the Lord is my helpe, tower, ſtrength, and refuge. By ſuch and the like Scriptures, deare brethren, we comfort our ſelves in our bands, rejecting all confidence in any man whatſoever. Be not diſmaid then, good brethren and ſiſters, for our bands and impriſonment. For ſo is the good will of God now towards us. And therefore pray rather that he will give us grace to perſevere conſtantly unto the end, ſo be it.

¶ *The examination of Schoblant taken the 24. of March, in the preſence of the Marqueſſe, of the Bailiffe, of the Secretary and many others, 1568.*

Marq. WHere were you borne?

Schob. in Sommerſwall.

Marq. Where did you marry your wife?

Schob. At Middleborough in Zealand.

Marq. Where were your children baptiſed?

Schob. In the Church of Chriſt, in which true Chriſtians are bound to baptiſe their children.

Marq. Though you ſhould ſay no more, we have ſufficient teſtimony from your owne mouth. Have you received the Lords Supper?

Schob. Yea ſir.

Marq. Are ye not a Miniſter?

Schob. No ſir.

Marq. Ought not you to ſubmit your judgement to that which hath been decreed in a generall councell, where ſo many learned men were aſſembled, Biſhops and Cardinalls, ſwaying the ſame.

Schob. I have read of ſome Councels where the Spirit of God was not preſent.

Marqueſſe. Would you not now willingly returne into the boſome of the holy Romane Church?

Schob. I will cleave to whatſoever God ſhall teach me out of his holy word. And thus for this time they parted.

On the ſeven and twentieth of March, Schoblant received ſentence of death; whereat he was nothing terrified, but began to ſing the ſong of Simeon, and the fortieth Pſalme.

The night following, he wrote his laſt farewell to his brethren, and excuſeth Joris for not being condemned with him, although they were both preſented at the ſame time before the Judges. I pray you deare friends be not offended, ſaith he, that Joris my fellow priſoner is not offered a ſacrifice with me. It is not, I aſſure you, for denying his Saviour. But let us meditate on that which the Lord ſaid to S. Peter; Iohn 21. If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. This I apply to my ſelfe at this time, for which I render humble and hearty thanks to God, who hath counted me worthy, not only to confeſſe the Lord Jeſus with my mouth, but alſo to ſeale the ſame confeſſion with my blood. I now brethren bid you farewell, waiting with a joyfull heart the call and cry of my husband, who now invites me to come unto him.

Out of priſon the ſame night before the day
wherein I muſt be offered up a ſacrifie.
Written with mine owne hand.

Schoblant the Sonne of
Barthel.

THe next day he entreated the Jaylour with a great deale of earneſtneſſe that he would not ſuffer the Fryers and Monks to come into trouble him: for, ſaid he, ſuch kinde of people can do me no good, ſeeing the Lord hath already ſealed up the aſſurance of my ſalvation in my heart by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my ſpouſe, putting off this earthly mantle, to enter into the celeſtiall glory, where I ſhall be freed from all ſuperſtitions. And then he added further, would to God I might be the laſt that theſe Tyrants ſhould put to death, and that their thirſt after blood might be ſo quenched with mine, that the poore Church of God from henceforth might enjoy her reſt and quiet.

Having ſung the fortieth Pſalme with his fellow priſoner, concluding the ſame with ſaying the Lords prayer, they kiſſed one another, and commended one another unto God with many teares.

After which the executioner came in, and when he had bound him, he led him away. In going out of the priſon he ſaid, farewell Joris, I goe before thee, follow thou me. Joris anſwered, ſo will I brother, I will follow thee. In his paſſage towards the place of execution, he forgot not his brethren, but manifeſted his love to them by ſuch ſignes as he could. Being tyed to the ſtake he was burned alive, calling upon the name of the Lord, in the yeare 1568. the tenth day of July.

¶ Iohn Hues finiſhed his courſe in Priſon.

¶ *Here followeth a Letter written by Ioris Coomans, out of Priſon, to the Church of God in Antwerpe.*

BRethren I write unto you being left alone, whereas we were three in number; John Hues is now dead in the Lord. I did my beſt to comfort him whileſt he breathed. So as now I am alone, and yet not altogether alone, ſeeing the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob is with me. He is my exceeding great reward, and will not faile to reward me as ſoone as I ſhall have laid downe this earthly Tabernacle: pray unto God that he will ſtrengthen me to the end; for from houre to houre I expect the diſſolution of this houſe of Clay. Gen 15.1

Not long after, Joris was examined by the Magiſtrates, who queſtioning with him of his faith, he anſwered freely thereto, proving what he ſaid by the holy Scriptures.

The Marqueſſe asked him if he were reſolved to die for the faith he profeſſed.

Yes, ſaith Joris, I will not only venture to give my body, but my ſoule alſo for the confirmation of it.

Anno 1568.

Marqueſſe. How came you to underſtand the Scripture, ſeeing you have not the Latine Tongue?

Ioris. Call in hither your Doctors, and I will let them ſee that I have learning ſufficient to confute them. You greatly admire them, but Chriſt gives thankes to his heavenly Father, for hiding his ſecrets from the wiſe and prudent, and revealing them to babes.

Mat. 11. 25.

Marq. I hitherto ſpared you in hope to ſee you recant, but you grow ſtill worſe and worſe.

Ioris. Sir, during the time of my impriſonment I have ſhed many a ſalt teare, and by the grace of God I am become much more reſolute and better. But to faſhion my ſelfe according to your appetite I have no ſtomack at all; no, although you burne me, as you have done my brother Scoblant,

Marq. And I can tell you that it will coſt you but little better cheape.

Ioris. I am ready if it be to morrow.

Then ſaid one of the ſtanders by. Sir, he hath neither wiſe, childe, nor goods to loſe, and that makes him ſo willing to die.

Ioris. Be it that I have none of all theſe, yet muſt I ſuffer death for conſcience ſake. But what care you for that? I would you could be ſilent and bethinke your ſelves well what you doe; you ſhall anſwer theſe your doings at the laſt day, where you muſt all appeare, and then there will be no reſpect of perſons.

Marq. If you uſe this kinde of language I will commit you to the hole; where you ſhall be fed only with bread and water, and that I thinke will tame your tongue. Therefore be quiet and ſing me no more of theſe Pſalmes.

Ioris. Well ſir, I may well reſtraine my outward voice, but neither you, nor all the World beſides, ſhall ever be able to let me from praiſing God in my heart; nor ſhall you ſit as Lords over my conſcience.

Marq. We have heard you preach but too long. Then he ſaid, Jaylor, take him and caſt him into the hole. Then was he put among theeves, as a Lamb among ſo many Wolves. Thus this conſtant witneſſe of Chriſt remained firm (ſcorning both their threats and torments) till they had burned him as they did Scoblant. Auguſt 14. the yeare 1568.

¶ *Giles Annik, Iohn Annik his ſon, and Lovis Meulen, Martyrs,* 1568.

Perſecution grew ſtill hot in Flanders.

GIles Annik, with John Annik his ſon, were driven from Renay in Flanders, and retired unto Emden in Eaſt Frieſland. But by reaſon of their ſo ſudden departure, they could not take their wives with them; and therfore returned thither again in the yeare 1568. to convey thē thence. The tyranny of the Duke of Alva and his Spaniards was then in the height; by reaſon whereof they durſt not enter the towne openly, but tooke up their lodging in the evening at an honeſt mans houſe, called Lovis Meulin. Now it was this night in which the enemies had foreappointed to make a ſecret ſearch in the towne for ſuch as profeſſed the Goſpell, knowing nothing of theſe two who were but now come thither. So paſſing by this houſe, and ſeeing the light of a candle in it, they imagined to meet with their prey there; wherefore forcing the doore open, they tooke theſe two priſoners, together with their hoſt; God having appointed them to be the witneſſes of Chriſt.

So after they had been detained in bands, they were all three condemned by the Magiſtrates to death, as heretiques. Giles was the firſt that they brought to the place of execution, and when the Prieſts offered to put their Idoll into his hands, he refuſed it: whereat his adverſaries being moved cauſed him to be gagged, that the people might not heare him ſpeake ought to their edification. Then was he burned, dying conſtantly and bleſſedly in the Lord.

Forthwith the Sergeants were ſent to fetch his ſon out of priſon; who, being endued with a ſingular fortitude and conſtancy, called to him one whoſe name was John Camber, being the firſt man that laid hold on him at his apprehenſion, ſaying, I forgive thee my death: then preparing himſelfe to die in the Lord, the hangman cut off his head. Likewiſe Lovis Meulen, who having lodged theſe ſtrangers, according to the rule of the Apoſtle, was executed by the ſword, which death he willingly endured for the name of Chriſt in the yeare, 1568.

¶ *Louyes de Kiken-Pooſt, Martyr,* 1568.

THis woman was the widow of one Huges Moyvert borne in Renay, about the age of ſixty yeares, one that truly feared God. The Magiſtrate of Renay impriſoned her in the yeare 1568. becauſe two yeares before ſhe with her children had conſented that a Miniſter ſhould preach in an outhouſe on the backſide of her dwelling; ſhe was alſo very charitable in releeving the poore, every way ſhewing forth the fruits of a true ſaving Faith. Having been kept in priſon ſeven moneths, ſhe was condemned to die the nine and twentieth of July. After her condemnation the Curate of Saint Martins came into the priſon, purpoſing to have heard her confeſſion. But the woman ſpake unto him with ſuch a divine grace, and with a ſpirit ſo repleniſhed with zeale, that the teares trickled downe his cheekes, and going his way he ſaid, I came to comfort you, but I have need rather to be comforted of you.

Then being brought by the Sergeants to the place of execution ſhe was beheaded; unto which ſhe yeelded her ſelfe with much boldneſſe and joy of heart, July the ninth.

A ſtrange accident fell out upon the death of this woman; for a couſin of hers being with child, and ready to lie downe at the ſame time when this Martyr was going to be executed, hearing the ſound of the Bell (which uſually toules when any are to ſuffer) ſhe fell into a trembling, and remained ſo three weekes, beyond her reckoning, her fruit ſtirring to and fro in her wombe as if a Weaver had moved his ſhuttle from one end of his Web to another; the neck of it bowing downe as if it had been broken with ſome blow. By which it appeared that theſe cruell tyrants were the cauſe of this poore innocents death. The woman viewing this ſtrange ſight ſent for the foreſaid Curate; who being come in, and beholding this ſpectacle, ſuddenly ſwounded and was never well after to his dying day.

¶ *Notes touching Chriſtopher Gauderin, Martyr, and others.*

THis Chriſtopher was bred up under the Abbot of Ename; who dying, the ſaid Chriſtopher addicted himſelfe to the making of Linnen Cloth, which he quickly grew expert in. But having been trained up in a bad ſchoole, as ſoone as the Sunday was come, he ſpent and conſumed all

his

Anno 1568.

The fruit of good counſell.

his weekes earnings. Now by reaſon of a friend of his that wrought with him, called Louys Stallens, God brought him into the right way. For the ſaid Louis would often tell him, that hee ought rather to diſtribute of his gettings to the Poore, than to ſpend them ſo waſtfully; for if he continued ſo, God would ſurely call him to an account for it. Theſe and the like exhortations ſo wrought upon this ſpendthrift, that he began to alter and change his courſe; ſo as in ſtead of frequenting Tavernes, he became a diligent hearer of Sermons, and alſo gave himſelfe much to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures: inſomuch that not long after he was called by the Church to the Office of a Deacon, the which he diſcharged carefully and faithfully.

Having occaſion to go to a place called Audenard, in the moneth of March, 1 5 6 7. to make diſtribution of certaine almes to the poore there, hee was arreſted and ſent priſoner to the Caſtle by the Bailiffe, who had formerly ſeene him in the ſaid Abbats houſe. The Bailiffe asked him how he came now to turne heretique; for you learned not this (ſaid he) of your Maſter the Abbat. Nay Sir, ſaid Chriſtopher, I am no heretique, but a right beleeving Chriſtian; which he taught mee not indeed, but rather other vile qualities, the which I am aſhamed now to rehearſe.

In priſon he had many diſputes touching matters of faith, which he ſo defended and maintained by the Word of God, that he put his adverſaries to ſilence.

Some objecting againſt him his youth, being about the age of thirty yeares, he would tell them, that mans life conſiſted but of two dayes, *viz.* the day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he muſt needs die once: for my part therefore (ſaid he) I am now willing by death to paſſe into eternall life.

Perceiving in the evening that he was certainly to die the next day, the ſtriking off of his bolts being a ſigne thereof, he ceaſed not to poure out his ſoule to God in prayer, untill ten of the clock, doing the like in the morning very early. His prayer being ended, he put on a cleane ſhirt, and waſhed himſelfe, ſaying to his fellow Priſoners, Brethren, I am now going to be married, I hope before noone to drinke of the wine of the kingdome of heaven. When he came downe he found three priſoners who were prepared to ſuffer with him; namely Jo. Liebert, William Spiere, and a woman called Jannekin Bearts.

Theſe foure exhorted one another, and encouraged each other to ſuffer death conſtantly. Which done, a Fryer forthwith preſented himſelfe before them, comming as he ſaid to convert them. But Chriſtopher ſaid unto him, Away from us thou ſeducer of ſoules, for we have nothing to doe with thee. Whereupon he by and by departed. Then came in the hangman; who as he was buſie about them to put into every one of their mouthes a gag, they bad one another farewell. John Liebert ſaid, What, ſhall we not have liberty in this our laſt houre to praiſe God with our voice & tongue? Chriſtopher anſwered, Brother, let not this diſcourage us; for the greater wrong our enemies thinke to doe unto us, the more aſſiſtance we ſhall finde from God: and ſo never ceaſed to comfort them till himſelfe was gagged alſo.

A confident ſpeech.

Then the Executioner brought them to the Towne houſe to heare their ſentence read; which in ſumme was this, That they ſhould be hanged becauſe they had been preſent at the hearing of ſermons. Thus theſe three men yeelded up their ſoules to God with admirable conſtancy, at the Gallowes.

The woman, being every way vertuouſly given, was condemned to be beheaded, becauſe ſhee had ſung Pſalmes, and made a certaine exhortation out of the word of God to her neighbours, at a womans up-ſitting. She was beheaded on the back ſide of the Towne houſe. Now becauſe her body was much enfeebled, ſhe was cauſed to ſit upon a ſtoole, receiving three blowes with the ſword overthwart the teeth. Yet ſhee conſtantly ſate ſtill till ſhe obtained the Crowne of Martyrdome, the ſame day in which the forementioned Martyrs dyed, which was the ſecond of June. Anno 1568.

¶ *Piere Coulogue, and Betken his Maid ſervant, Martyrs, Anno 1568.*

This Peter Coulogue, by his Trade being a Goldſmith dwelling in Breda, had long ſerved the Church there in the office of a Deacon; wherein he carried himſelfe with the good approbation of all. His houſe alſo was free for the aſſembly to meet in, as oft as the exerciſes of Chriſtian religion were performed amongſt them.

But the enemies of the truth not enduring the ſweet ſavour hereof impriſoned him, and laid him in irons: which the faithfull there tooke very heavily, uſing all the meanes they could to have acceſſe to viſit him. But the enemies taking knowledge thereof cauſed him to be conveyed into the Caſtle; whence both his and the Churches ſorrow was yet further encreaſed, becauſe they could not now come to be a comfort one to another.

His ſervant Betken, being very zealous and well read in the Scriptures, brought him his ordinary dyet from day to day, never ceaſing to comfort and confirme him out of the Word of God. All which ſhe had liberty to do nine moneths together. At length they impriſoned her alſo; whereof ſhe was right glad, thinking her ſelf happy to ſuffer ought for righteouſneſs ſake. Not long after Peter was put to the torture; which after he had endured, they came in like manner to his maid ſervant Betken: who ſpake unto them after this manner, My maſters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, ſeeing I have no way offended you? Is it for my faiths ſake? You need not torment me for that; for as I was never aſhamed to make a confeſſion thereof, no more will I be now at this preſent before you; I will freely ſhew you my minde therein. But for all this they proceeded on with that which they intended. Which ſhe perceiving ſaid, Alas my Maſters, if it be ſo that I muſt ſuffer this paine, then give me leave firſt to call upon God. To which her requeſt they yeelded. Now whileſt ſhe was making her prayer, one of the Commiſſioners was ſo ſurpriſed with feare and terror that by and by he ſwouned, and could not be fetched again. And thus the poore maid eſcaped the torture.

Soone after being examined touching her faith, they condemned theſe two innocents to be burned. Now as they were led to be executed, great ſorrowings and complaints were heard among the people. But as for Peter and his Maid, they praied to God with ardent affection, that he would perfect the good work which he had begun in them, and aſſiſt them with the power of his holy ſpirit untill they had finiſhed their courſe.

The courage and conſtancy of the ſaid Betken did ſo move many of the godly, both men and women, that not caſting what perill or danger might enſue thereof, they brake through the multitude, embracing the Priſoners, and praiſing God for their conſtancy; ſaying, Fight manfully, for the crowne is ready prepared for you.

After they were come where they ſhould ſuffer,

Anno 1568.

Betken began to ſpeake unto the people with an amiable countenance, ſaying thus unto them. Brethren and ſiſters, be you alwaies obedient to the word of God, and feare not thoſe that can kill the body, for on the ſoule they can have no power: as for me, I am now going to meet my glorious Spouſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And then falling both downe upon their knees, they prayed to the Lord with great devotion. Being riſen up from prayer, the executioner laying hold of them bound them with chaines to the ſtake, and then ſtrangled Peter, but would not ſtrangle the other, who encouraged her Maſter till he had yeelded up the ghoſt, and till the fire had taken hold of her ſelfe. Then was ſhe heard and ſeen to magnifie the Lord out of the middeſt of the flames; ſo as many among the multitude were raviſhed at her invincible conſtancy. Thus did theſe two Martyrs of the Lord give up their laſt breath in the fire. May the 29. Anno 1568.

Giles Meyere Martyr, Anno 1568.

IN Flanders at a place called Winderhout, diſtant from Gand about a mile, there was a certaine Curate called Giles de Meyere whom it pleaſed God to illuminate with the true knowledge of his Goſpell. Now having received a talent from God, he would not hide it with the Evill ſervant; but ſought all meanes how to imploy the ſame. He had the feare of God alwaies before his eyes, manifeſting the ſame as well in his Doctrine as in his converſation, being carefull to inſtruct thoſe whom God had committed to his charge. Yea, he went from houſe to houſe comforting and exhorting every one, as occaſion ſerved, out of the word of God; above all, labouring with them to beware of the abhominable ſuperſtitions of the Papacy.

Mat.25.18.

Acts 20.20.

He taught them that forgiveneſſe of ſins, the grace of God, and eternall life, was not to be obtained by our own merits, but by the free and only grace of God in Jeſus Chriſt.

The Clergy of Gand having notice given them hereof, namely, that their Doctrine and authority would come to be little ſet by, if this Curate ſhould proceed on thus in his courſe without let, they never reſted untill they had purſued him to the death. They impriſoned him then, in the moneth of March, anno 1567. caſting him into a deep and dark hole, where for a certaine ſpace hee remained, bearing this his affliction patiently, and conſtantly calling upon God night and day, praiſing him for eſteeming him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. In which his afflictions many good people, who came often to viſite him, received ſuch inſtruction, and conſolation from him, that they were hardly drawn to leave him, till of neceſſity they muſt; their departure was alwayes accompanied with abundance of teares.

The Prieſts and others of that rabble ceaſed not likewiſe to ply him with diſputations, thinking by that meanes to make him renounce his Faith; but to no purpoſe: for he remained ſtill firme and conſtant, keeping himſelfe cloſe to the word of God written, which ſo vexed them, that they procured him to be laid in the Caſtle, where his ſentence was to be hanged; The Spaniards being then at Gand take him thence, bound him, girding and ſtraining him ſtrangely with cords, and would needs have him burned. As he was led thither, they abuſed him ſhamefully with mockes, thruſting him forward, and ſtriking him cruelly. The Captaine of the band gave him a blow over the face with his Gantlet, which much disfigured him. Finally, theſe tyrants handled him worſe then any dog, only becauſe his patient and conſtant carriage of himſelfe tormented and enraged them.

Being come to the place, they thruſt him into his little Cabbin piled up with fagots and wood, and then ſet fire unto him; where he was heard diſtinctly and plainly to uſe theſe words (albeit they had gagged him) Father into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Thus this faithfull witneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt dyed quietly and conſtantly in the Lord, April the fourth, Anno 1568.

¶ *Among theſe ſad relations, a little to quicken and refreſh the ſpirit of the reader, I will here inſert a Letter full of conſolations, written out of priſon to the faithfull by one William Touart, Merchant, who had his dwelling in the City of Liſle in Flanders.*

THis honourable perſonage, being come to the age of eighty yeares or thereabouts, uſed his houſe for the ſpace of fourteene or fifteene yeares as a Church, wherein the aſſembly in the City of Liſle commonly met. Being chaſed and baniſhed thence in the yeare 1561. he withdrew himſelf for a while to Tournay, whence he was conſtrained to flie, and to goe to Amiens and Moundedier Cities of Picardy, that there he might enjoy the pure preaching of the Goſpell. Afterward returning into his owne countrey, he came to reſide in the City of Antwerpe, where after he had continued many yeares, he was at length impriſoned and condemned to be burned with two others, who ſuffered for the ſame cauſe. But it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe of him, that he dyed another kinde of death, to ſhew that his choſen ſervants have to triumph over the ſame, ſome one way, and ſome another. For being plunged into a ciſterne or tub full of water, he was drowned in priſon, and then they carried his body out of the City to a place called Berken, where the dead bodies of the condemned are laid upon the wheels or crutch. Among many letters which he wrote during the time of his impriſonment, my author hath ſelected out this one, which here followeth.

DEare brethren and ſiſters in Jeſus Chriſt, I moſt humbly thank my good God that he hath ſo fortified and comforted me by his grace, that I feele my ſelfe more cheared by lying in this darke priſon, then if I were walking in the open ſtreets or fields. I ſay, this I feele according to the ſpirit; for as touching the fleſh what doth it apprehend here but ſtinking vapors and ſmoke?

Wherefore my beloved, if it ſo fall out that you be apprehended for the name of Jeſus Chriſt, feare not the priſon, nor thoſe that have power to kill the body; for having done that, they can goe no further. Be yee not afraid then, ſeeing it is the reward which our good Captaine Jeſus Chriſt hath promiſed to all his faithfull ſoldiers and ſervants. He who turnes his backe in this conflict goes by the loſſe; but whoſoever fights manfully obtaines in the end the crowne, not a crowne of gold, but of glory immortall. We here lay downe a fading life, filled with griefes and troubles, to change the ſame for a life everlaſting; we put off the ragges of this mortall fleſh, to be clothed with robes immortall; we forſake a loathſome life for joy and felicity eternall; ought any gaine or exchange to be compared with this? O ſweet and happy Martyrdome, how doſt thou dignifie and enrich us, in deſpite of the world, devill, and our owne fleſh? And which of us now can complaine,

Rev.2.10.

ſeeing

ſéeing our Soveraigne Lord and Maſter hath ſo expreſſely foretold it to all his followers? will any man come after me, ſaith he? Let him then take up his croſſe and follow me. Let us beare, Oh let us then beare the croſſe chéerefully and with ioyfulneſſe, that we may be received in the preſence of his heavenly Father: for it is not only given us to beléeve in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake; and if we ſuffer with him, then wée ſhall alſo raigne with him.

Mat. 16 24.
Phil. 1 21.
1 Tim. 2. 12.

Oh that wée could admire his bounty, who no ſooner imployes us in his worke, but hath the wages ready in his hand wherewith to recompence us. Your ſorrow, ſaith he, ſhall be turned into ioy. Let us then caſt off every weight that preſſeth downe, and whatſoever elſe that ſtands in our way to heaven-ward; be it father, mother, brother, ſiſters, husband, childe, yea, and our own life alſo. Let us with the wiſe Merchant man ſell all, that with him we may purchaſe that pretious pearle. How happy doe I eſtéeme them who are called to ſuffer, and leave their life for confeſſing the name of Jeſus Chriſt? For the eternall Son of God will confeſſe their names before his heavenly Father, and his holy Angels. They ſhall be clad with white robes, and ſhine as the Sunne in the kingdome of Heaven, filled with gladneſſe in the preſence of the Lambe. They ſhal eat of the fruit of the trée of life, which is in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God.

John 16. 20.
Heb 12. 1.
Mat. 19 29.
Mat. 13 45, 46.
Mat. 10. 23.
Luke 12. 8.
Rev. 2 7.

Let us fixe the eyes of our minds upon theſe ſo great & pretious promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt, which he hath made to all thoſe which perſevere in well doing unto the end. O how happy ſhall wée be, when we are delivered from theſe bodies of death to live for ever with our God? Let us continually pray then with the Diſciples, Lord increaſe our faith. O deare brethren, remember mée alwayes in your prayers, who am bound here in the bonds of Antichriſt. Remember thoſe alſo who are in bonds, as if you were bound with them; pray I ſay, without ceaſing; for our adverſary the Devill is alwayes compaſſing us about with his fetches, to cauſe our hearts to faint. And you are not ignorant what a potent enemy our owne fleſh is unto us. But I confidently beléeve that our good God, who hath begun this good worke in me, will perfect the ſame even unto the day of Chriſt.

Luke 15. 7.
Heb. 13. 3.
Pet. 4. 5.
Gal. 5. 17.
Phil. 1. 6.

Fare ye well.

It was ſtrange to ſée what ſpectacles of dead bodies, ſlaine by the bloudy Inquiſition, were to be gazed on in a manner in every place: eſpecially in the Cities of Tournay, and of the Valencians, in regard of the multitudes of beléevers, both of men and women, who had long languiſhed in ſundry priſons, in great miſery and neceſſities. Now that we may not forget what fell out in the beginning of this yeare 1569. thus it happened.

In the City of Valence were executed ſeven and fifty perſons, whereof the greater part were Burgeſſes of the City; onely becauſe they clave to the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

This ſlaughter was diſtributed into thrée ſeverall dayes. Ten were beheaded on Munday the foure and twentieth day of January; twenty on Tueſday following; and the other twenty the day after that: and ſo the ſeven in their order after the reſt, not without much aſtoniſhment and lamentations of the poore people, with the remainder of the Burgeſſes of that City.

¶ *A notable cruelty executed upon a good woman called Perrette Curtet in the yere 1569.*

As ſhe was travelling from Orleance to a place called Moutagris where ſhe intended to méet her husband, called Maſter Anthony Chanonter des Meringes, who had eſcaped the fury of his enemies: ſhe being in her Inne at ſupper, two or thrée deſperate villaines knocked at the dore, and comming in asked of the ſaid Curtet, Art thou not Meringes wife? ſhée anſwered yes, Then rapping forth execrable blaſphemies they ſaid, thou art ſhe whom we looke for. This done, they ſtripped her into her ſmocke, tooke away her monies and rings from her, and brought her to the river ſide; where after great blaſphemies they ſaid, confeſſe thée. The woman anſwered, Séeing I muſt die, give me leave to call upon God firſt. They deriding her, ſaid, Pray then, let us heare what kind of prayer thou wilt make. She having in her prayers commended her ſoule to God, one of them ſware, Gods death, is this all? wilt thou ſay nothing elſe? Then ſaid one of them to another, Let us caſt her into the river: which they agréed to doe; ſome taking her by the head, and others by the héels, and ſo throwing her in, heaped great pieces of yce upon her to cauſe her to ſink, and then went their way. But underſtanding that the poore woman had got upon a great flake of yce, to ſave her ſelfe thereon, Peter Gouge returned, who was one of the murtherers, and had betrayed her into the hands of the reſt, notwithſtanding her husband had covenanted with him to convey her to him in ſafety; this Gouge, I ſay, finding her there, gave her a deaths wound, the which had never come to light, had not the ſaid Gouge confeſſed the ſame, being impriſoned by the Ducheſſe of Ferrare for that very fact; yet eſcaped he unpuniſhed (contrary to the law of Provoſts) albeit hée was ſent to the Provoſt Marſhall of Montagris to that end, and was ſet at liberty, for the hatred which theſe bare againſt the Doctrine of the Goſpell, whereof the ſaid des Meringes was a Miniſter.

Now the dead body floating to and fro upon the water reſted no where, untill it came over againſt the lodging where the ſaid des Meringes lay (as if it had there demanded execution of juſtice upon the offenders) where being known and conveyed thence was buryed by ſome of the aſſembly who yet remained in the City.

¶ *Another cruelty committed in Orleance about the ſame time.*

A Woman in the City of Orleance was conſtrained by the murtherers (who broke in upon her husband in the night) to ſtand and hold the candle to them, whileſt they murthered him.

¶ *Of the comming of the Queene of Navarre to the City of Paris in France, with the manner of her ſickeneſſe and death there.*

Before I come to mention the bloudy Maſſacres of France, eſpecially that of Paris,

Anno 1572.

1572, which made way to all the reſt, I cannot omit to place here, as an entrance thereunto, the hiſtory of that noble and vertuous Lady Jane de Albert, Queene of Navarre, becauſe it containes much matter worthy of due obſervation.

This good Queene, before ſhe could be drawn to come to Paris to ſolemniſe the mariage of her ſon the Prince of Navarre with the ſiſter of Charles the ninth then King of France, received letters upon letters from the ſaid King to accompany the Prince her ſon in that ſolemnity: now, wheras ſhe caſt ſome doubts touching her ſonnes mariage with one of another religion, the King aſſured her that all things ſhould be ſo wrought, as ſhould give her good ſatisfaction and content; promiſing that he would get a diſpenſation from the Pope to that end. But when the Queen underſtood that the King was minded to have this marriage ſolemnized at Paris, ſhe would by no means heare of it: for I will not, ſaid ſhe, put any confidence in that ſo mutinous a people, being the ſworne enemies both of my ſelfe and mine.

Pope Pius 5. whileſt he lived could by no means endure to heare of, or give his conſent to this mariage: but he died, & then way was made for this mariage to bee concluded.

Still the King perſiſted in his ſute for the obtaining of the ſame at her hands. Alſo having intelligence by ſome of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began a little to waver, he ſollicited her yet once againe to come, aſſuring her that all things ſhould be caried in ſuch peaceable ſort, that ſhe ſhould have no cauſe to complaine. At length the Queene came from Rochell to Bloyes in the moneth of March, 1572. with great attendance, where it is incredible to thinke what welcome ſhe had on all ſides, eſpecially from the King & his brethren, &c. who yet, when all was done, could ſay to his Mother, Now Madam, have I not quit my ſelfe well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net.

In Aprill following were the Articles concluded concerning the mariage of the Prince of Navarre with the Kings ſiſter. In the beginning of May the King wooes the Queene of Navarre again to come to Paris for preparing of things fitting for this mariage; which ſhe accordingly yeelded unto, and parting from Bloyes on the ſixth of the ſaid moneth, came to Paris on the fifteenth of the ſame. After which ſhe went from place to place in the City into ſundry houſes and ſhops, to finde out ſuch things as might tend to the adorning of the day of ſo great a ſolemnity.

The queene mother could by no means brooke this good Queene; and therefore not finding with what colour ſhe could diſpatch her with the reſt, and yet fearing the height of her ſpirit if ſhee ſhould ſurvive, as alſo that ſhe could not then ſo worke upon the flexibility of the Prince her ſonne as ſhe intended, ſhe conſulted with one Rene, whoſe practiſe it was to impoyſon things; who by ſuch meanes adventured to poyſon the Prince of Conde by the ſent of a poyſoned apple, which upon ſome ſuſpition was firſt tryed upon a dog: and it had almoſt coſt the Princes chirurgion his life, by ſmelling too nigh thereto. This Rene, ſelling to the Queen of Navarre his perfumed drugs, found the way how to poyſon her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the ſaid Rene was heard afterwards to make his brags, that hee had the like in ſtore for two or three more, who ſuſpected no ſuch matter.

On Wedneſday the fourth of June, the Queen fell ſick of a continuall Fever, and kept her bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from the griefe ſhe had in her lights, wherein by long continuance was bred an impoſthume, ſhe being alſo diſtempered with the heat of the ſeaſon and her extraordinary journeyes. This burning Fever grew ſo ſtrong upon her, that within five daies after ſhe died, to the great griefe of the better ſort, but to the joy of the ſecret counſell.

The malady indeed was in her braine, which was not ſearched: in which the Queen Mother had an hand, though ſhe ſeemed much to mourne for the affliction of her good friend. Now foraſmuch as in the time of her ſickneſſe ſhe manifeſted with what ſpirit ſhe was guided, we will here ſet downe the true narration of her behaviour, both in the ſame her ſickneſſe, and alſo at her death.

Perceiving in her ſelfe by the ſtrength of the diſeaſe (howſoever others ſleighted it) that ſhee could not long continue, ſhe made her ſelfe ready to receive from the hand of God that which he had appointed concerning her; and to that end requeſted ſhe might have ſuch nigh about her, as might comfort her in this caſe out of the word of God, as alſo to pray with her and for her, according to that which Saint James ſaith, Is any ſicke among you, Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over ſuch a one, knowing that the fervent praier of a righteous man availeth much with God.

Iohn 5.14,16.

Thus according to her deſire a Miniſter reſorting unto her ſhewed out of the Scriptures, that Chriſtians ought in all things to ſubmit themſelves to the will of God, as to the Father of ſpirits, that they might live. And albeit the rigor of his chaſtiſements doth ſomtimes ſeeme to our fleſh as if they were ſent to none other end but for our ruine and deſtruction; yet ought we to conſider, that becauſe he is juſt he can do nothing but juſtly, and being a father, he cannot but therein ſeeke the welfare of his afflicted children.

Heb.12.

To which ſhe replyed, I take all this, ſaith ſhe, as ſent from the hand of God my moſt mercifull Father; nor have I during this extremity feared to die, much leſſe murmured againſt him for inflicting the ſame upon me: knowing that whatſoever he doth, he doth the ſame ſo, as all in the end ſhall turne to my everlaſting good.

The Miniſter continuing in his ſpeech, added, That the cauſes of ſickneſſes and diſeaſes muſt be ſought beyond the courſe of phyſicke, which alwayes lookes to the corruption of the humours, or to the more noble parts of the body any way diſtempered: for howſoever it was not amiſſe to have reſpect to theſe things as to ſecond cauſes, yet ought we to aſcend higher, namely to the firſt, even to God himſelf, who diſpoſeth of all his creatures as it pleaſeth him. He it is that makes the wound and heales, that kils and makes alive. And therefore to him we ought to direct our prayers for comfort in all our griefes and ſufferings, and in the end for full deliverance; ſeeing it is no hard matter with him to reſtore health unto us, if his good pleaſure be ſuch.

Deut.32.39.

To this ſhe anſwered, that ſhe depended wholly upon Gods providence, knowing that all things are wiſely diſpoſed by him, and therefore beſought him to furniſh her with all ſuch graces as he ſaw to be neceſſary for her ſalvation. As for this life, ſaid ſhe, I am in a manner weaned from the love of it, in regard of the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but eſpecially becauſe I cannot live without daily offending my good God, with whom I deſire to be with all my heart.

The Miniſter told her, that long life, how ful of troubles ſoever it were, was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed among the bleſſings of God, ſeeing his promiſe implyes ſo much; and not onely ſo, but becauſe our life may many wayes ſerve to his glory, and is both an honor and a pledge of his favor, even as it is to him whom his prince imploys long in his ſervice having had experience of his fidelity for many yeares together. In which reſpect ſhe was earneſtly requeſted to pray, that if it were

Deut.5.16.

the

Anno 1566.

the will of God to imploy her yet longer in his ſervice, for the further inlargement of his Goſpell, that he would grant unto her ſuch recovery of health, and good diſpoſition of body, that with renued ſtrength ſhee might bee encouraged to finiſh her courſe much more nobly than heretofore.

Whereupon ſhe proteſted, that in regard of her owne particular her life was not deare unto her, ſeeing ſo long as ſhe lived in this fraile fleſh, ſhe was ſtill prone and apt to ſinne againſt God: onely, ſhe ſaid, her care was ſomewhat for her Children (which God had given her) in reſpect they ſhould be ſo ſoone deprived of her now in their young yeares; yet not doubting, ſaid ſhe, but although it ſhould pleaſe God to take me from them that himſelfe will be a Father and a protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greateſt afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care: theſe were her very words.

The Miniſter ſaid, that he bleſſed God to ſee in her Majeſty this aſſurance of faith, and ſo to caſt her care upon the providence of God, praying her ſtill to perſevere therein, which would ſufficiently ſeale unto her the truth of her faith. And thus, ſaid he, did the Patriarkes in times paſt commit the care of their poſterity over into the hands of God; as may appeare by Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, touching their ſeverall bleſſings.

Gen.24 1. Gen.27. & 48. 15.& 49.

But yet it was very requiſite, as he ſaid, that ſhe ſhould make choiſe of ſuch, who, for their ſincerity both in life and doctrine, might continue to water in theſe young Princely plants the ſeeds of piety, which had been ſowne in them by her ſo great paine and induſtry; ſeeing it was to bee hoped, that the example of her faith and conſtancy in the ſervice of God, which ſhe had ſet before them, would ſerve as a perpetuall inducement to imitate her ſo noble vertues.

Now whereas ſhe had againe declared that death was not terrible unto her, becauſe it was the way by which we paſſe hence to our eternall reſt; The Miniſter told her, that Chriſtians had little cauſe to feare death, in regard they ſhould not die at all, according to Chriſts words in the Goſpell of John, he that liveth and beleeveth in me ſhall never die. For death (to ſpeake properly) is no death to them, but a ſleep; being often ſo called in the Scriptures; and therefore Chriſt for their ſakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his owne perſon. So as now we may cry out with ſaint Paul, O death where is thy ſting? O grave where is thy victory?

Becauſe by death we paſſe to life.
John 8.51, 52.
John 11.26.
John 11.13, 14.
Acts 7.60.
1 Cor.15.55.

She was often admoniſhed by him to make confeſſion of her ſinnes before God, ſhewing that bodily diſeaſes tended to the diſſolution of nature, and that death was the wages of ſinne; declaring moreover that by this her chaſtiſement ſhe might diſcerne what ſhe had deſerved, if God ſhould now enter into judgement with her, not onely in regard of the fall of our firſt Parents, in which guilt ſhe was enwrapped, as well as others, but alſo by her owne perſonall ſinnes, ſeeing the beſt of men or women in the world are in themſelves but poore, miſerable and wretched offendors: yea, if the Lord ſhould puniſh us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but eternall death and condemnation.

Rom.6.23.
Rom.5.12.

At theſe words, ſhe began with her hands and eies lifted up to heaven, to acknowledge, that her ſinnes which ſhe had committed againſt the Lord were innumerable, and therefore more then ſhe was able to reckon up: But yet ſhe hoped that God for Chriſts ſake, in whom ſhe put her whole affiance, would be mercifull unto her.

Pſal.19.12.

From the later clauſe of her ſpeech the Miniſter tooke occaſion to declare at large upon what ground ſhe was to expect the fruit of this mercy of God in Chriſt; ſeeing the whole have no need of a Phiſitian, but they that are ſicke: and therefore Chriſt ſaith in that place, Hee came not to call the righteous, but ſinners unto repentance; And that he is ready to fill the hungry with good things, whereas in the meane while he ſends the rich empty away. Of all which, ſaid he, you ought ſo much the rather to be perſwaded in your conſcience, by how much the more the holy ſpirit witneſſeth to your ſpirit that you are the childe of God, Crying in you, Abba, Father. For what is faith elſe, but a firme truſt and aſſurance of the good will of God, manifeſted towards us in his bleſſed ſonne?

Mar.2.17.
Luke 1.
Rom.8.15
What faith

Now the Miniſter, fearing he might ſome way offend her by his overlong diſcourſe, held his peace; the rather becauſe the Phyſitians thought that a long continued ſpeech might bee hurtfull unto her; but ſhe on the contrary earneſtly requeſted him not to forbeare ſpeaking unto her about theſe matters of life and eternall ſalvation; adding, that ſhe now felt the want of it, in regard that ſince her comming to Paris ſhee had been ſomewhat remiſſe in hearing ſuch exhortations out of the word of God; And therefore I am now the more glad, ſaith ſhe, to receive comfort out of it in this my ſo great extremity.

The Miniſter then endeavoured to ſet before her the happineſſe of heaven, and what thoſe joyes were which the faithfull there poſſeſſe in the preſence of God: which when the ſcriptures intend to diſcover unto us, they onely tell us that the eie hath not ſeene, nor hath the eare heard, nor hath it entred into the heart of man, to conceive what theſe things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him. To which purpoſe he uſed this ſimilitude; as if a King, minding greatly to honor ſome noble perſonage, ſhould bring him to his Court, and there ſhew him his ſtate and attendance, his Treaſures, with all his moſt precious Jewels: even ſo, ſaith he, will the Lord one day reveale to all his elect and faithfull people his magnificence and glory, with all the treaſures of his Kingdome, after he hath gathered them home to himſelfe, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption and immortality.

Pſal.16.11.
1 Cor.2.9.
Simile.

This happineſſe therefore being ſo great, her highneſſe, he ſaid, ought to be the leſſe carefull about the leaving of this tranſitory life, ſeeing that for an earthly kingdome, which ſhe was now to forgoe, ſhe ſhould inherit an heavenly; and for temporall good things, which vaniſh and come to nothing in the uſing, ſhe ſhould for ever enjoy thoſe that were eternall and everlaſting. For her faith being now firmely ſetled upon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe might be ſuffered to obtaine eternall ſalvation by him, on which words he took occaſion to direct his ſpeech in more particular manner unto her, ſaying:

Madame, doe you verily beleeve that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave you? and doe you expect the full forgiveneſſe of all your ſinnes, by the ſhedding of his bloud for you?

To which ſhe readily anſwered ſhe did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for ſalvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly ſatisfied for the ſinnes of the whole world, and therefore was aſſured that God for his ſake, according to his gracious promiſes in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the goodly ſpeeches, which paſſed from this religious Lady in the beginning of her ſickneſſe; all which was within the ſpace of three or foure daies. Howſoever before that, and ſince alſo ſhe ceaſed not to continue the ſame her fruitfull and comfortable communications, now and then ſending forth moſt affectionate ſighings to God, as a teſtimony of that hope and deſire ſhe had in enjoying his preſence; often uttering theſe words, O my God, in thy good time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miſeries of this preſent life, that I may no more offend thee, and that I may attain to that felicity which thou in thy Word haſt promiſed me.

Neither did ſhe manifeſt her pious affection by theſe her words onely, but therewithall ſhewed a joyfull and reſolute countenance, as the vehemency of her ſickneſſe could beare: which gave ſufficient proofe to all that beheld her, that the feare of death could not drive her from the ſtedfaſtneſſe of her Faith.

When ſhe had finiſhed theſe her conſolatory ſpeeches, they uſually went to prayer; intreating the Lord that he would arme her with conſtant patience, and have mercy upon her. Which praier it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to inſert in this place, ſerving as a forme of praier upon the like occaſion.

¶ *The Prayer.*

O Lord our God, we confeſſe here before thy Divine Majeſty, that wee are altogether unworthy of thy infinite mercies, by reaſon of our manifold iniquities; and that we are ſo farre off from deſerving to be heard of thee in our requeſts, that we are rather worthie thou ſhouldeſt reject both our perſons and our ſutes: but ſeeing it hath pleaſed thee to make us a gracious promiſe of hearing and granting our requeſts, we humbly beſeech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteouſneſſe of thy deare Sonne, that through him our ſelves and poore ſervices may be well pleaſing before thee. For Lord we acknowledge that all our afflictions are meaſured out unto us by thine hand, who art a moſt juſt Judge, in regard we have every way provoked thee to wrath by our infinite ſinnings againſt thee; yea, by our rebellions, which now teſtifie againſt us. For alas Lord, our [illegible] hath no way been anſwerable to that perfect obedience which thou in thy holy Law juſtly requireſt at our hands, which we from day to day do tranſgreſſe; and therefore doe here caſt downe our ſelves at this time before thy glorious preſence, unfeignedly acknowledging our miſery and wretchedneſſe from the very bottome of our hearts.

Yet Lord mercy is with thee, and becauſe thou art our father, therefore thou deſireſt not the death of ſinners, but rather that they ſhould convert and live. For this cauſe we now fall downe before the throne of thy grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy, which thou haſt promiſed to ſuch as call upon thee in truth: beſeeching thee, which art the Father of mercies, to have compaſſion on all ſuch whom thou haſt humbled under thy mighty hand, by any of thy rods and chaſtiſements; but more eſpecially this thy ſervant the Queene, who lieth here before thee ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe, that as thou haſt righteouſly afflicted her for her ſinnes (which ſhe alſo doth with us acknowledge) ſo it would pleaſe thee tu pardoning them all unto her, for thy beloved ſons ſake, to grant that ſhe may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Above all, give her a ſweet ſenſe, yea a full aſſurance of thy eternall joyes, that ſo ſhe may with the greater patience take downe this bitter potion miniſtred unto her from thy hand, and that the ſole deſire of enjoying thy preſence may cauſe her to forget all worldly greatnes and magnificence; knowing that they are nothing in reſpect of the glory which is now ſet before her.

Endue her alſo with meekeneſſe of minde to beare the tediouſneſſe of her affliction; for howſoever the ſpirit be willing, yet the fleſh is weake, yea full of reſiſting and unbeliefe; that ſo receiving all things from thee as from a father, ſhe may the more willingly ſudmit her will unto thine.

And becauſe, O good God, thou haſt made her hitherto an happy inſtrument for the advancement of thy glory, and the defence of thy poore afflicted people; we pray thee, if it may ſtand with thy good pleaſure, reſtore her to health againe, that ſo the excellent work which thou haſt by her means begun may not be left unperfect, but by vertue of this her deliverance ſhe may with renewed forces undertake the ſame in better ſort than ever heretofore, eſpecially for the well educating and training up the children which thou haſt given her.

But Lord, if thou have a purpoſe now to call her home to thy ſelfe, who are we that we ſhould contradict thy holy will? onely we pray thee that thou wouldſt confirme her more and more in the knowledge of thy bleſſed Goſpell, and thereby alſo in the certainty of her ſalvation, which thou haſt given her by faith in thy ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, that thus ſhe may not ceaſe to ſanctifie and call upon thy holy name unto her laſt breath.

And as touching our ſelves, who are here by thy good providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life: that ſo, according to our duty, we may behold the ſame in this mirrour which thou haſt ſet before us; as knowing that even the greateſt in the world are ſubject to the ſame calamities, as well as the ſmall; that ſo our chiefe care may be to imploy the remainder of our time to thy honor and ſervice: all which we crave of thee in the name of Jeſus Chriſt thy ſon, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Thus we have as neere as we could gathered the ſumme of the prayer. During which ſhe ceaſed not, with hands and eies ſtedfaſtly lifted up to heaven, to fetch many deep ſighes, eſpecially when mention was made of that mercy of God in Chriſt which he extendeth towards poore ſinners. So as there was not any there preſent that might not evidently perceive, that her heart and affections were joyned to the prayer which we pronounced in her preſence.

And while ſhe thus lay, ſhe ſtill continued in her godly reſolution to depart hence, that ſhee might be with Chriſt, taking great delight in the holy and Chriſtian exhortations which were uſually made unto her by many godly and learned men, who came in to viſit her, to whom ſhee alſo manifeſted no ſmall teſtimony of that faith, and hope, which ſhe had in God, touching the ſalvation of her ſoule, by her holy and Chriſtian ſpeeches, which for brevities ſake are here omitted.

Yee, albeit the Lord exerciſed her much with the ſenſe of her inward diſeaſe, yet could you not at any time diſcerne any ſpeech ſavouring of diſcontentment, or impatience, to proceed out of her mouth; nay, ſcarſely a groane, which not only thoſe of her owne family, but many others can teſtifie, even the Queene Mother, with others alſo, who now and then came in to ſee her.

But if at any time ſhe felt any refreſhings from the violence of her diſeaſe (there being no malady ſo vehement which hath not ſome intermiſſion and breathing time) ſhe manifeſted to all her willingneſſe to obtaine the recovery of her former health, refuſing to that end no good meanes preſcribed for her by the learned Phyſitians. Againe, when ſhe perceived her ſickneſſe to encreaſe upon her, and that ſhe grew worſe and worſe, ſhe was no whit appalled thereat, but

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Anno 1568. ſhewed her ſelfe to be armed with an invincible conſtancy, to undergoe the utmoſt that death could doe againſt her, preparing her ſelfe willingly for that laſt conflict.

Moreover ſeeing her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, ſhe would forthwith rebuke them, ſaying, I pray you weep not for me, foraſmuch as you ſee God doth now by this ſickneſſe call me hence, to enjoy a better life, and to enter in at the deſired haven, towards which this fraile veſſell of mine hath for a long time beene ſteering; only ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe ſomewhat grieved, that ſhe lacked opportunity to reward them, and many more of her family and train which had done her faithfull ſervice, as ſhe could have wiſhed; excuſing her ſelfe with theſe words unto them, that it was not for want of good will, but by being overtaken and ſo prevented by this her unexpected ſickneſſe. But, ſaith ſhee, I will not faile to give order concerning the ſame to my uttermoſt ability.

In the end, feeling her ſtrength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt will and teſtament made, wherin ſhe above all wiſhed, that her children might have but the grace to honor and feare the Lord, exhorting them conſtantly to continue in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining eſpecially that her daughter the Princeſſe ſhould be educated and inſtructed therein, by the foure Ladies which ſhe had appointed and brought with her out of Bearne for that end and purpoſe. And being come to age, her deſire was that ſhe might be joyned in marriage to ſome Prince of the ſame religion, by the counſell and advice of the Cardinall of Bourbon and Gaſper Count of Colligny Admirall of France, whom ſhe made Executors and overſeers of her ſaid Teſtament. But here it may not be omitted briefly to relate another conference which ſhe had with a Miniſter of the Goſpell before her departure.

The eighth of June, which was the day before her death, ſhe cauſed a Miniſter of the Goſpel to be called for, and finding that ſhe was drawing nigher unto her end than before, ſhe willed him to ſpeake ſomewhat largely of ſuch temptations as Satan is wont to aſſaile Gods elect withall in their laſt conflict.

To which the Miniſter anſwered, that then was the houre indeed wherein that ſworne enemy of all the faithfull did moſt buſily beſtir himſelfe, if he could, to deprive them of the comfort of their ſalvation; not ſparing at that time eſpecially to ſet upon them with might and maine: but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with ſuch joy and comfort of the holy Ghoſt, as ſhall make them through the ſame more than conquerours.

The firſt engine then which ſatan uſeth againſt the Saints to cauſe them to deſpaire, is to preſent before their eyes the innumerable heapes of their ſins and pollutions, wherewith they have any way been defiled in their whole life; and then preſents unto them Gods juſtice, before which no fleſh can be able to ſubſiſt, unleſſe it be pure and ſpotleſſe: whence he infers, that miſerable ſinners can expect and looke for nothing, but an horrible deſolation and condemnation. But againſt theſe aſſaults in the firſt place muſt be oppoſed, (as David doth in the one and fiftieth Pſalme) the infinite multitudes of Gods compaſſions, which doe infinitely ſurpaſſe the multitudes of our ſins. And as touching the juſtice of God, we confeſſe that no creature that is defiled with ſin can in any ſort abide to be ſtrictly examined by it, if he ſhall call the ſame to a ſevere account: but we alſo know that God will never enter into judgement with thoſe that beleeve in his ſon, but allowes unto them that righteouſneſſe and obedience which was accompliſhed in him, which is only ſufficient for us, being imputed unto us, to oppoſe againſt the judgement of God: therefore in it alone they expect to ſtand before his face, and not by their owne dignity or worthineſſe. Indeed if they were to appeare before the throne of Juſtice, to receive thence what they have deſerved, they had good reaſon to be overwhelmed in utter deſpaire, as oft as they thinke upon or looke on the ſame: but turning their eyes upon him, who being the eternall Son of God hath clothed himſelf with our humane nature, to beare in the ſame the puniſhment due to our ſins, and therein acquitted us, then Gods juſtice doth no way affright us, but rather yeelds us aſſured comfort, becauſe they make this their full reſolution, that foraſmuch as God is juſt, he cannot require the ſame debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect ſatisfaction of him, whom he hath ordained to be our ſurety, and paid our debts for us, thence we gather aſſurance that he wil no more require them of us.

To which purpoſe theſe ſentences are to be well obſerved. It is Chriſt who hath borne our griefes and carried our ſorrows. Iſa.53 4.5. That the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed. That we all like ſheep have gone aſtray, and have turned every one to his owne way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Chriſt is our peace Eph.2.14. and the propitiation for our ſins. 1 Iohn 2.2. The Lambe of God which taketh away the ſins of the world. Iohn 1.29. Theſe with many the like ſentences the Miniſter propounded by way of anſwer to this vertuous Ladies demand: concluding the ſame thus, that Gods juſtice ought not to terrifie thoſe that beleeve in Chriſt, of whoſe righteouſnes and redemption they are partakers, 1 Cor.1.30. knowing that Jeſus Chriſt who knew no ſinne was made ſin (that is to ſay, an oblation for ſin) for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him. 2 Cor.5.21.

I grant, ſaith he, that theſe things belong not to all indifferently, but only to ſuch as beleeving in the Son of God doe wholly reſt themſelves ſatisfied in the merit of his death and paſſion, which merit of his, as Saint Peter witneſſeth, ſufficeth for their ſalvation. Acts 4.12.

After theſe matters premiſed, he asked her whether ſhe placed her whole confidence on Chriſt crucified, who dyed for her ſins, and roſe againe for her juſtification? Rom.4.25.

To which the noble Princeſſe anſwered, that ſhe neither expected ſalvation, righteouſneſſe, nor life from any elſe, then from her only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, being aſſured that his only merit abundantly ſufficed for the full ſatisfaction of all her ſins, albeit they were innumerable.

This being your Faith Madam (ſaid the Miniſter) you cannot come into condemnation, but are paſſed from death to life. Iohn 5.25. Then taking an occaſion again to reſume her former ſpeech, that ſhe had no cauſe to be afraid of Gods Throne of Juſtice, ſeeing it was turned into a Throne of Grace and Mercy unto her, Heb.4.16. and that the houre of death ſhould now be exceedingly welcome to her, ſeeing it could be nothing elſe but a ſweet paſſage into a far better life, Phil.1.23. as alſo the time in which all teares ſhould be wiped away from her eyes: Rev.21.4. He likewiſe ſhewed that ſhe ſhould doe well continually to be thinking on that excellent ſentence, Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, becauſe from thenceforth they reſt from their labours, and their workes follow them. Rev.14.13.

For then, ſaid he, the time approacheth wherein ſhe ſhould enjoy the viſible preſence and ſociety of her huſband Chriſt, and have fellowſhip with the bleſſed Angels, and celeſtiall ſpirits, with the

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to God, as a teſtimony of that hope and deſire ſhe had in enjoying his preſence; often uttering theſe words, O my God, in thy good time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miſeries of this preſent life, that I may no more offend thee, and that I may attain to that felicity which thou in thy Word haſt promiſed me.

Neither did ſhe manifeſt her pious affection by theſe her words onely, but therewithall ſhewed a joyfull and reſolute countenance, as the vehemency of her ſickneſſe could beare: which gave ſufficient proofe to all that beheld her, that the feare of death could not drive her from the ſtedfaſtneſſe of her Faith.

When ſhe had finiſhed theſe her conſolatory ſpeeches, they uſually went to prayer; intreating the Lord that he would arme her with conſtant patience, and have mercy upon her. Which praier it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to inſert in this place, ſerving as a forme of praier upon the like occaſion.

¶ *The Prayer.*

O Lord our God, we confeſſe here before thy Divine Majeſty, that wee are altogether unworthy of thy infinite mercies, by reaſon of our manifold iniquities; and that we are ſo farre off from deſerving to be heard of thee in our requeſts, that we are rather worthie thou ſhouldeſt reject both our perſons and our ſutes: but ſeeing it hath pleaſed thee to make us a gracious promiſe of hearing and granting our requeſts, we humbly beſeech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteouſneſſe of thy deare Sonne, that through him our ſelves and poore ſervices may be well pleaſing before thee. For Lord we acknowledge that all our afflictions are meaſured out unto us by thine hand, who art a moſt juſt Judge, in regard we have every way provoked thee to wrath by our infinite ſinnings againſt thee; yea, by our rebellions, which now teſtifie againſt us. For alas Lord, our life hath no way been anſwerable to that perfect obedience which thou in thy holy Law juſtly requireſt at our hands, which we from day to day do tranſgreſſe; and therefore doe here caſt downe our ſelves at this time before thy glorious preſence, unfeignedly acknowledging our miſery and wretchedneſſe from the very bottome of our hearts.

Yet Lord mercy is with thee, and becauſe thou art our father, therefore thou deſireſt not the death of ſinners, but rather that they ſhould convert and live. For this cauſe we now fall downe before the throne of thy grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy, which thou haſt promiſed to ſuch as call upon thee in truth: beſeeching thee, which art the Father of mercies, to have compaſſion on all ſuch whom thou haſt humbled under thy mighty hand, by any of thy rods and chaſtiſements; but more eſpecially this thy ſervant the Queene, who lieth here before thee ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe, that as thou haſt righteouſly afflicted her for her ſinnes (which ſhe alſo doth with us acknowledge) ſo it would pleaſe thee in pardoning them all unto her, for thy beloved ſons ſake, to grant that ſhe may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Above all, give her a ſweet ſenſe, yea a full aſſurance of thy eternall joyes, that ſo ſhe may with the greater patience take downe this bitter potion miniſtred unto her from thy hand, and that the ſole deſire of enjoying thy preſence may cauſe her to forget all worldly greatnes and magnificence; knowing that they are nothing in reſpect of the glory which is now ſet before her.

Endue her alſo with meekeneſſe of minde to beare the tediouſneſſe of her affliction; for howſoever the ſpirit be willing, yet the fleſh is weake, yea full of reſiſting and unbeliefe; that ſo receiving all things from thee as from a father, ſhe may the more willingly ſudmit her will unto thine.

And becauſe, O good God, thou haſt made her hitherto an happy inſtrument for the advancement of thy glory, and the defence of thy poore afflicted people; we pray thee, if it may ſtand with thy good pleaſure, reſtore her to health againe, that ſo the excellent work which thou haſt by her means begun may not be left unperfect, but by vertue of this her deliverance ſhe may with renewed forces undertake the ſame in better ſort than ever heretofore, eſpecially for the well educating and training up the children which thou haſt given her.

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And as touching our ſelves, who are here by thy good providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life: that ſo, according to our duty, we may behold the ſame in this mirrour which thou haſt ſet before us; as knowing that even the greateſt in the world are ſubject to the ſame calamities, as well as the ſmall; that ſo our chiefe care may be to imploy the remainder of our time to thy honor and ſervice: all which we crave of thee in the name of Jeſus Chriſt thy ſon, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Thus we have as neere as we could gathered the ſumme of the prayer. During which ſhe ceaſed not, with hands and eies ſtedfaſtly lifted up to heaven, to fetch many deep ſighes, eſpecially when mention was made of that mercy of God in Chriſt which he extendeth towards poore ſinners. So as there was not any there preſent that might not evidently perceive, that her heart and affections were joyned to the prayer which we pronounced in her preſence.

And while ſhe thus lay, ſhe ſtill continued in her godly reſolution to depart hence, that ſhee might be with Chriſt, taking great delight in the holy and Chriſtian exhortations which were uſually made unto her by many godly and learned men, who came in to viſit her, to whom ſhee alſo manifeſted no ſmall teſtimony of that faith, and hope, which ſhe had in God, touching the ſalvation of her ſoule, by her holy and Chriſtian ſpeeches, which for brevities ſake are here omitted.

Yee, albeit the Lord exerciſed her much with the ſenſe of her inward diſeaſe, yet could you not at any time diſcerne any ſpeech ſavouring of diſcontentment, or impatience, to proceed out of her mouth; nay, ſcarſely a groane, which not only thoſe of her owne family, but many others can teſtifie, even the Queene Mother, with others alſo, who now and then came in to ſee her.

But if at any time ſhe felt any refreſhings from the violence of her diſeaſe (there being no malady ſo vehement which hath not ſome intermiſſion and breathing time) ſhe manifeſted to all her willingneſſe to obtaine the recovery of her former health, refuſing to that end no good meanes preſcribed for her by the learned Phyſitians. Againe, when ſhe perceived her ſickneſſe to encreaſe upon her, and that ſhe grew worſe and worſe, ſhe was no whit appalled thereat, but

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ſhewed her ſelfe to be armed with an invincible conſtancy, to undergoe the utmoſt that death could doe againſt her, preparing her ſelfe willingly for that laſt conflict.

Moreover ſeeing her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, ſhe would forthwith rebuke them, ſaying, I pray you weep not for me, foraſmuch as you ſee God doth now by this ſickneſſe call me hence, to enjoy a better life, and to enter in at the deſired haven, towards which this fraile veſſell of mine hath for a long time beene ſteering; only ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe ſomewhat grieved, that ſhe lacked opportunity to reward them, and many more of her family and train which had done her faithfull ſervice, as ſhe could have wiſhed; excuſing her ſelfe with theſe words unto them, that it was not for want of good will, but by being overtaken and ſo prevented by this her unexpected ſickneſſe. But, ſaith ſhee, I will not faile to give order concerning the ſame to my uttermoſt ability.

In the end, feeling her ſtrength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt will and teſtament made, wherin ſhe above all wiſhed, that her children might have but the grace to honor and feare the Lord, exhorting them conſtantly to continue in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining eſpecially that her daughter the Princeſſe ſhould be educated and inſtructed therein, by the foure Ladies which ſhe had appointed and brought with her out of Bearne for that end and purpoſe. And being come to age, her deſire was that ſhe might be joyned in marriage to ſome Prince of the ſame religion, by the counſell and advice of the Cardinall of Bourbon and Gaſper Count of Colliguy Admirall of France, whom ſhe made Executors and overſeers of her ſaid Teſtament. But here it may not be omitted briefly to relate another conference which ſhe had with a Miniſter of the Goſpell before her departure.

The eighth of Iune, which was the day before her death, ſhe cauſed a Miniſter of the Goſpel to be called for, and finding that ſhe was drawing nigher unto her end than before, ſhe willed him to ſpeake ſomewhat largely of ſuch temptations as Satan is wont to aſſaile Gods elect withall in their laſt conflict.

To which the Miniſter anſwered, that then was the houre indeed wherein that ſworne enemy of all the faithfull did moſt buſily beſtir himſelfe, if he could, to deprive them of the comfort of their ſalvation; not ſparing at that time eſpecially to ſet upon them with might and maine: but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with ſuch joy and comfort of the holy Ghoſt, as ſhall make them through the ſame more than conquerours.

The firſt engine then which ſatan uſeth againſt the Saints to cauſe them to deſpaire, is to preſent before their eyes the innumerable heapes of their ſins and pollutions, wherewith they have any way been defiled in their whole life; and then preſents unto them Gods juſtice, before which no fleſh can be able to ſubſiſt, unleſſe it be pure and ſpotleſſe: whence he infers, that miſerable ſinners can expect and looke for nothing, but an horrible deſolation and condemnation. But againſt theſe aſſaults in the firſt place muſt be oppoſed, (as David doth in the one and fiftieth Pſalme) the infinite multitudes of Gods compaſſions, which doe infinitely ſurpaſſe the multitudes of our ſins. And as touching the juſtice of God, we confeſſe that no creature that is defiled with ſin can in any ſort abide to be ſtrictly examined by it, if he ſhall call the ſame to a ſevere account: but we alſo know that God will never enter into judgement with thoſe that beleeve in his ſon, but allowes unto them that righteouſneſſe and obedience which was accompliſhed in him, which is only ſufficient for us, being imputed unto us, to oppoſe againſt the judgement of God: therefore in it alone they expect to ſtand before his face, and not by their owne dignity or worthineſſe. Indeed if they were to appeare before the throne of Iuſtice, to receive thence what they have deſerved, they had good reaſon to be overwhelmed in utter deſpaire, as oft as they thinke upon or looke on the ſame: but turning their eyes upon him, who being the eternall Son of God hath clothed himſelf with our humane nature, to beare in the ſame the puniſhment due to our ſins, and therein acquitted us, then Gods juſtice doth no way affright us, but rather yeelds us aſſured comfort, becauſe they make this their full reſolution, that foraſmuch as God is juſt, he cannot require the ſame debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect ſatisfaction of him, whom he hath ordained to be our ſurety, and paid our debts for us, thence we gather aſſurance that he wil no more require them of us.

To which purpoſe theſe ſentences are to be well obſerved. It is Chriſt who hath borne our griefes and carried our ſorrows. That the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed. That we all like ſheep have gone aſtray, and have turned every one to his owne way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Chriſt is our peace and the propitiation for our ſins. The Lambe of God which taketh away the ſins of the world. Theſe with many the like ſentences the Miniſter propounded by way of anſwer to this vertuous Ladies demand: concluding the ſame thus, that Gods juſtice ought not to terrifie thoſe that beleeve in Chriſt, of whoſe righteouſnes and redemption they are partakers; knowing that Ieſus Chriſt who knew no ſinne was made ſin (that is to ſay, an oblation for ſin) for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him.

Iſa.53 4.5.
Eph.2.14.
1 Iohn 2.2.
Iohn 1.29.
1 Cor.1.30.
2 Cor.5.21.

I grant, ſaith he, that theſe things belong not to all indifferently, but only to ſuch as beleeving in the Son of God doe wholly reſt themſelves ſatiſfied in the merit of his death and paſſion, which merit of his, as Saint Peter witneſſeth, ſufficeth for their ſalvation.

Acts 4.12.

After theſe matters premiſed, he asked her whether ſhe placed her whole confidence on Chriſt crucified, who dyed for her ſins, and roſe againe for her juſtification?

Rom.4.25.

To which the noble Princeſſe anſwered, that ſhe neither expected ſalvation, righteouſneſſe, nor life from any elſe, then from her only Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, being aſſured that his only merit abundantly ſufficed for the full ſatisfaction of all her ſins, albeit they were innumerable.

This being your Faith Madam (ſaid the Miniſter) you cannot come into condemnation, but are paſſed from death to life. Then taking an occaſion again to reſume her former ſpeech, that ſhe had no cauſe to be afraid of Gods Throne of Iuſtice, ſeeing it was turned into a Throne of Grace and Mercy unto her, and that the houre of death ſhould now be exceedingly welcome to her, ſeeing it could be nothing elſe but a ſweet paſſage into a far better life, as alſo the time in which all teares ſhould be wiped away from her eyes: He likewiſe ſhewed that ſhe ſhould doe well continually to be thinking on that excellent ſentence, Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, becauſe from thenceforth they reſt from their labours, and their workes follow them.

Iohn 5.25.
Heb.4.16.
Phil.1.23.
Rev.21.4.
Rev.14.13.

For then, ſaid he, the time approacheth wherein ſhe ſhould enjoy the viſible preſence and ſociety of her husband Chriſt, and have fellowſhip with the bleſſed Angels, and celeſtiall ſpirits, with the

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holy Patriarkes, Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs of the Son of God, to partake with them of the ſame felicity and glory.

The Miniſter minding yet further to ſound her, whether ſhe were loth to leave this life, uſed theſe words: And now good Madam, ſaid he, if it ſhould pleaſe God by this your ſickneſſe to put an end to this weariſome pilgrimage of yours, where yet you remaine with us, and to call you home to himſelfe, whereof he gives us to ſee ſome evident ſignes and tokens, are you willing, I beſeech you, to goe unto him? To which this excellent Princeſſe with great magnanimity and courage, without any aſtoniſhment, replyed, Yes, I aſſure you.

Then he once againe added, good Madam, open the eyes of your Faith, and behold Jeſus your great Redeemer ſitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you unto him. Are you, are you willing to goe unto him? Yes, I aſſure you, ſaith ſhe, moſt willing, and much more willing than to linger here below in this world, where I ſee nothing but vanity.

The miniſter, not willing to continue longer in this kinde of diſcourſe, asked if ſhe were pleaſed that they ſhould goe to prayer, declaring that godly perſonages there preſent would willingly joyne their deſires with hers. To which ſhe conſenting, the ſaid Miniſter prayed by her a good ſpace, whileſt this pious Lady manifeſted her ardent affection to call upon God.

When prayer was ended, the Miniſter diſcerning in her the undoubted teſtimonies of her repentance, and of the ſorrow ſhe conceived for the offences which ſhe had committed againſt God, together with the aſſured confidence which ſhee had in his mercies, as a Miniſter of the Goſpell, and Embaſſadour of the Son of God, by the authority diſpenſed to him, having committed to him the word of reconciliation, he aſſured her in his name, that all her ſins were forgiven her of God, and that they ſhould never come into account before his judgement Seat; yea, that ſhe ſhould no more doubt thereof, then if the Sonne of God from heaven ſhould ſay unto her, Daughter thy ſins are forgiven thee. And to the end that troubled conſciences might the better be quieted, Chriſt hath uſed theſe words, ſpeaking to his Miniſters, ſaying, Whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſe ſins ye unlooſe, they are unlooſed. The reaſon is, becauſe the word which they pronounce is not the word of a mortall man, but of the immortall God, being of no leſſe weight, than if himſelfe uttered the ſame.

1 Cor. 5.

Mat. 16. 14.

Then he asked of her Majeſty, if ſhe accepted of ſo gracious a Meſſage which aſſured her of the free pardon of all her ſins. Yea, I doe, ſaith ſhee, and make no doubt thereof.

Not long after theſe exhortations, the Admirall comming in, and with him another Miniſter, ſhee alſo gave eare to him for a good ſpace together; whoſe diſcourſe tended to prepare her for death, as he had done who had ſpoken to her immediatly before; who having finiſhed his ſpeech prayed alſo with her and for her, which ſhe heard with great attention and affection. Then ſhe requeſted that theſe two miniſters might ſtay with her all night in her Chamber, and that they would in no wiſe leave her.

The greater part of this night was ſpent in holy admonitions which theſe two miniſters gave to this gracious Lady and Princeſſe one after another. Beſides theſe admonitions ſhe commanding that ſome Chapters of the holy Scripture, which were pertinent for her condition, ſhould be read unto her; one of the Miniſters read in her hearing certaine Chapters out of the Goſpell of Saint John, namely, from the foureteenth to the ſeventeenth. After he had read to her theſe Chapters, he went to prayer, which being ended the Queene deſired to take ſome reſt, but it was not long ere ſhe commanded them to reade again: whereupon the other Miniſter having made choiſe of certaine Pſalmes of David, full of ardent and affectionate prayers, ſuiting to this Princeſſes preſent affliction, he read them unto her, and for a concluſion read the one and thirtieth Pſalme, where the Prophet, among other things, doth there commend his ſpirit into the hands of God; becauſe, ſaith he, thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.

Pſal. 31. 5.

The Queene willed them to pray with her again: and thus, as I have ſaid, was the moſt part of the night ſpent in ſuch vertuous exerciſes, namely in exhortation, in reading the holy Scripture, and in prayer: during all which time the miniſters never diſcerned in any of her ſpeeches or behaviour the leaſt impatiency. Nay, whereas ſome dayes before ſhe fell ſick ſhe ſhewed how affectionately ſhe was bent to provide things moſt magnificent for the day of her Sons marriage, according as the State of ſo great an alliance required: it was admirable to obſerve, that after this ſickneſſe had ſeized upon her, God wrought in her ſuch a forgetfulneſſe and neglect of all ſuch matters, that ſhe never made ſhew of having ſo much as a thought thereof.

This night being thus paſſed and ſpent by this noble Queene, ſhe perſevering in the expreſſions of like pious actions and ardency of Faith, the next day in the morning betweene eight and nine of the clocke ſhe departed this life, to take poſſeſſion of a far better life, ſweetly yeelding up her ſpirit into the hands of God, the ninth of June 1572. the ſixth day after ſhe fell ſick, in the 44. yeare of her age.

She had her perfect ſpeech alwaies even to the houre of her death: ſhewing not only the ſtayedneſſe and ſoundneſſe of her judgement (which ever in times paſt ſhe had) in her care about the ſalvation of her ſoule, but in her other worldly affaires alſo.

Now to avoide all jealouſies and ſuſpitions of her being wronged by poyſon or otherwiſe in this matter of her ſo ſudden ſickneſſe, her body was opened, by ſundry expert and learned Doctors of Phyſick and Chirurgery, with all exquiſite diligence, who found her heart and liver very ſound and untouched, her lungs only excepted, which long before on the right ſide had been very ill affected, by reaſon of an extraordinary hardneſſe which they had contracted, and withall a great impoſthume, which, ſo far as man could judge, they concluded was the cauſe of her death. But they had no command given them to open the braine, and therefore finding ſomewhat out of frame in her body, they delivered their opinions only concerning the ſame.

Thus you have with as much brevity as I could, and as the merit of the thing required, the true report of the manner of this vertuous Princeſſes ſickneſſe and death, thus far related unto you; only my requeſt is (ſaith my Author) that if any have a more perfect and particular knowledge of the excellent parts wherewith the Lord had adorned and beautified her, they would not ſuffer the ſame to be buried in ſilence, but to cauſe it to ſee the light; that on the one ſide it may ſerve as an example to poſterity; and on the other ſide, that we may learne to bleſſe God for her piety and conſtancy.

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An Introduction firſt into that which leades to the death of the Admirall of France; Then, to the maſſacre at Paris, and ſo in ſome other Cities.

And firſt, what moved the Admirall to come to Paris.

AFter the death of the Queene certaine Princes were ſollicited by the King to give their attendance at Paris, for the ſolemniſing the marriage of the Prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother) according to the ceremonies which were thereto appertaining. Among the reſt, letters were directed to the Admirall by the King himſelfe, to come to this marriage; which were delivered unto him by Cavagues: wherein the King aſſured him he would not tarry long after him; Willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Pariſians, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered againſt him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bare him, and therefore wrote unto the Maior of the City, to looke unto it at his perill, that the Admirall had no wrong offered him by the Citizens, either at his entrance or continuance in the City. For of all the Cities in that Kingdome it is the moſt ſuperſtitious and eaſily moved to ſedition; and therefore the Admirall, being of a contrary religion, could expect but ill welcome at his comming thither: eſpecially becauſe at his ſollicitation the Croſſe of Gaſtines was remoued out of the ſtreet of S. Dennis.

The Queene mother and the Duke of Aniou wrote unto the Maior alſo, and likewiſe to the reſt of the Magiſtrates, to the ſame effect; but eſpecially to their ſervants, ſome whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be ſhort, they endeavoured to take all rubbes out of his way, that he might with the leſſe miſtruſt fall into the ſnare.

The Admirall, not caſting any perils, reſolved to take his journey to Paris. Albeit he lacked not ſundry advertiſements from his owne followers, and others his well-willers in the Kingdome; who honoured him much, deſiring him, that howſoever he had no ſiniſter opinion of the "King, of his mother, or any of theirs, yet at leaſt he was to take into his conſideration the place whither he went, and amongſt what enemies he was now to venture himſelfe. But he alwaies leaning upon the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and being confident in Gods providence, not moved by theſe advertiſements, tooke his journey to Paris with very few Attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received of the King, of his Brethren, and of the Queene mother, with others alſo.

"He gave this teſtimony in his anſwer to theſe advertiſements, that ſince France came to be a Kingdome, it never enjoyed a better King then Charles the ninth.

The marriage of the King of Navarre with the Kings ſiſter being ſolemniſed on the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Auguſt, 1572. and all the Triumphs and feaſtings accompanying the ſame being finiſhed, the Admirall determining to take his leave at the Court, and ſo to returne homewards, the Deputies of the Reformed Churches brought him their requeſts on a ſudden, to preſent the ſame to the King, in regard of many wrongs the ſaid Churches had ſuſtained; and therefore they inſtantly beſought him, that he would not leave the Court till ſome order might be taken for redreſſe thereof.

This with other impediments were the occaſions of detaining him ſtill there.

Mauravell comming to Paris whileſt theſe Feaſts laſted, having preſented his ſervice firſt to the King and his mother, the Duke of Aniou, with thoſe of the Guiſe; after ſome ſpeech had with the King and the Queene mother, one called Chaill had a command to direct him to the houſe whence the blow ſhould be given: who left him with a woman in the ſaid houſe, which woman was forbidden not only to aſke his name, but alſo ſo much as to enquire for what cauſe he was lodged there.

This Mauravell was he that ſhot the Admirall.

On Friday, the two and twentieth of Auguſt, in the morning he trimmed up his harquebuſe, watching ſecretly the Admirals comming.

The Admirall at his going forth out of the Louure meeting the King comming out of a Chappell which is before the ſame, paſſing thence to play at Tenniſe, he ſcarcely had gone an hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended on by ſome twelve or fifteene Gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the window of a lodging (where Willemur tutor to the Duke of Guiſe uſually lay) he was ſhot with an harquebuſe charged with three braſſe bullets, one of which tooke off the fore finger on his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arme. Feeling himſelfe thus wounded, hee willed ſome of his followers to enter that houſe, and to enquire who it was that had done that, or who ſet him on worke, to doe it: and then to advertiſe the King thereof, giving him to underſtand how well his command was obſerved.

Mauravell hurts the Admirall.

Now whileſt they were buſie to force open the doore, the murtherer fled out by a back way, eſcaping thence out of the gate of Saint Anthony; where one attended him, holding a Spaniſh gennet brought out of the Duke of Guiſes Stable; whereon he galloped away, yet not without ſome difficulty: for flying thus in ſome feare, he fell off his horſe twice or thrice.

A Gentleman ſeeing the Admirall hurt came to ſupport his left arme, binding up the hurt thereon with his handkerchiefe. And thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was diſtant from thence about ſome twenty paces. In his paſſage a Gentleman ſaid it was to be feared the bullets were poiſoned: to which the Admirall replyed, All muſt be as it pleaſeth God.

The King hearing of the Admirals hurt left his game, where he was playing till then with the Duke of Guiſe, and throwing away his racket as it ſeemed in an anger, with a ſad and heavy countenance withdrew himſelfe into his Chamber; the Duke of Guiſe following him within a while after.

The King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, with many other of the religion, having notice of the Admiralls hurt, complained to the King of this untimely accident; entreating they might have leave to depart out of the City, ſeeing they could expect little ſafety there. The King made his moane to them of the miſchance that hapned, ſwearing and proteſting that he would execute ſuch impartiall juſtice upon the offendor, and on all the complotters, as ſhould give the Admirall and all his friends content; only he willed them to ſtay, promiſing them ere long to provide for their ſecurity.

The King of Navarre and the Prince Conde complaine to the King.

The Chirurgians and Phyſitians were preſently ſent for, amongſt whom was Ambroſe Pare the Kings Chirurgian, a man very expert. He began firſt with the Admirals finger, which put him to much paine, in regard the ſciſſers were not ſharpe enough to cut it off at once; beſides hee was faine to ſtop and open the wound thrice. Then he came to the left arme, making inciſions in two places into which the bullet had pierced.

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The admirals ſpeech while he was in the Surgeons hands.

The Admirall endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderfull patience, whileſt thoſe which ſtood by and ſaw him ſo mangled could not refraine from teares. Captaine Monins held him with both his armes about the middle, and Cornaton held his hands. He ſeeing them aſtoniſhed, my friends, ſaid he, why weepe you? I thinke my ſelfe happy to be thus handled in the cauſe of God. And anone caſting his eyes upon a Miniſter called Merlin, he ſaid, here ye ſee, my friends, Gods bleſſings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to paſſe by the will of my heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majeſty in that hee is pleaſed to honor me ſo farre, as to ſuffer any thing for his holy name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perſeverance.

This Merlin was miraculouſly delivered in the maſſacre of Paris.

Then looking upon the ſaid Miniſter who wept over him. Oh Maſter Merlin, ſaith he, what will not you comfort me? Yes ſir, ſaid he; for wherein may you take greater comfort, then in calling to mind how greatly God hath alwaies honored you, in eſteeming you worthy to ſuffer rebuke for his names ſake, and true religion? The Admirall replied; alas, if God ſhould deale with me according to my deſerts, he might have put mee to worſe torments then theſe. But bleſſed be his holy name, in that he is pleaſed to take pity on mee his poore and unworthy ſervant. Be of good cheere, ſir, then ſaid another unto him: for ſeeing God hath ſpared your more noble part whole, you have cauſe therein to magnifie his goodnes. In theſe wounds you have received from God a teſtimony of his love, rather then of his diſpleaſure, ſeeing hee hath preſerved your head and underſtanding ſafe.

Then ſaid Merlin, ſir, you doe well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking onely unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath ſmitten you: therefore for the preſent, ceaſe to thinke on the malefactor. I aſſure you, ſaid the Admirall, I doe freely forgive him from the bottome of my heart, and thoſe alſo that are his abettors; being fully perſwaded, that none of them all could have done me the leaſt hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death it ſelfe to Gods children but an aſſured paſſage to an eternall reſt and life?

Now as the ſaid Miniſter declared how the evils which happen to the children of God in this preſent life, doe often incite and quicken them up to poure out their prayers into the boſome of the Almighty, the Admirall preſently with a loud voice and ardent affection prayed thus.

¶ *The Admirals godly and devout Prayer.*

The admirals godly and devout prayer.

LORD God and heavenly father, have pity upon me for thy goodneſſe and mercies ſake; remember not Lord the ſinnes of my life paſt, nor the offences which I have committed againſt thee; for if thou narrowly marke our ſinnes, the looſenes of our behaviour, and diſloyalties, in tranſgreſſing thy holy commandements; Lord, who ſhall ſtand? who is able to beare the weight of thy diſpleaſure? I renounce all Idoll Gods; I acknowledge thee to be the onely true God, and worſhip thee alone O Eternall Father, in thine Eternall ſonne Ieſus Chriſt. I beſeech thee for his ſake, that thou wouldeſt give unto mee thy holy ſpirit, and therewithall the gift of patience. I put my truſt in thy free mercy; for therein conſiſts the ſtay and prop of all my hope, whether I die now at this preſent, or live for the time to come. Behold Lord, here I am, doe with me as it pleaſeth thee; having this confidence in thee, that if I now depart hence, thou wilt receive me into the bleſſed reſt of thy kingdome. If it pleaſe thee to lengthen out my daies here on earth, O heavenly Father give me grace that I may ſpend the reſidue thereof in ſetting forth the glory of thy holy name, and in maintaining, to the utmoſt of my power, thy pure worſhip and ſervice. Amen.

The Miniſters pray with him.

Having ended this prayer, Merlin asked him, if it pleaſed him that the Miniſters of Chriſt ſhould now pray with him and for him. To whom hee ſaid, yes, with all my heart; I pray you begin. Whileſt Merlin pronounced the prayer, applying the ſame to the preſent occaſion, the Admirall with his eyes looking up to heaven expreſſed the ardency of his affection, in conſenting thereunto. Prayer being ended, Merlin began to propound unto the Admirall the examples of the Martyrs, ſhewing that from Abel to Abraham, and conſequently hitherto, whoſoever carried themſelves in any degree of faithfulneſſe in the houſe of God, felt at one time or other the ſmart of afflictions in divers kinds. The Admirall anſwered, that when hee called to minde the ſufferings of the Patriarchs and Martyrs, it much comforted him, and helped him ſomewhat to allay the tartneſſe of his afflicted eſtate.

The King & Queene Mother came to viſit the Admirall.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde having bitterly bewayled this outrage committed upon the Admirall (as you heard before) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the King, accompanied with the Queene Mother, his Brother, and other of the Lords, went to viſite the Admirall.

The King with teares ſeemed to be exceeding ſorry for that which was come to paſſe, promiſing him, with one blaſphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no leſſe than if it had beene committed upon his owne perſon: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in the Louvre, for his greater ſecurity and ſafety. Whereupon, the Admirall, after ſome diſcourſe made to the King in ſecret, gave him moſt humble thankes for ſo great a favour, as to viſite him in his owne perſon.

Upon the motion made by the King, Mazilles his chiefe Phyſitian was called, demanding of him, whither the Admirall might ſafely be removed thence into the Louvre, or no? His Anſwer to the King was, that it could not be done without danger. Some of the Admirals friends thought it fitting to requeſt a guard of ſouldiers to be aſſigned by the King unto him for his better ſecurity. The King anſwered, he liked well of that device, being fully determined to provide for the admirals ſafety as his owne, and would preſerve him no leſſe then the apple of his eie. After this the King called for the bullet of braſſe wherewith the Admirall was hurt, that he might ſee it, asking whither hee was not put to great paine when his finger was cut off, as likewiſe touching the dreſſing of his arme? Now as Cornaton ſhewed the bullet, having his ſleeve all bloudy (becauſe he was appointed to hold the Admirals arme, while it was in dreſſing) the King asked if that were of the Admirals bloud? and whither ſo much bloud iſſued out of his wounds? adding (after Cornatons anſwer) he never ſaw man in his life ſhew greater conſtancy and magnanimity of ſpirit then the Admirall did.

Then was the Queene Mother deſirous to ſee the Bullet, ſaying, I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when the Duke of Guiſe was killed before Orleance, the Phiſitian told me, that if the Bullet were gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poyſoned.

Then Cornaton anſwered, we have foreſeene that Madame; for being carefull to prevent that danger, the Admirall had a medicine given him to expell the poiſon, if peradventure any ſuch thing ſhould be.

Some good hopes of the Admirals recovery.

The Saturday before the Admirall was ſlain he began to be ſomewhat chéered, ſo as the Chirurgions and Phyſitians gave out, that they would warrant the Admirals life: becauſe his arme, having loſt but little of its ſtrength, would ſoone be healed. This newes was brought to the King, who ſéemed to entertaine the ſame joyfully. The new maried wife came alſo to viſit the Admirall. But all this was but a lightening before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armour in the City, and many torches lighted every where, borne by many of the people. Some Gentlemen, whoſe lodgings were nigh to the Admirals, roſe, and went out, asking ſome of their acquaintance the reaſon why there were ſo many up in armes at that houre of the night: They anſwered; That the King much deſired to ſée a caſtle aſſayled and defended, deviſed onely in ſport to give him content. They paſſing yet further came to the Looure, where they likewiſe ſaw many torches lighted, and troups of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themſelves, but began to picke a quarrell with them; and as one of the ſaid Gentlemen was about to ſpeake, a Gaſcoine ſouldier ſtrucke at him with a Partizan, and then they fell upon the reſt. The noiſe hereof ſpreading, the Quéene Mother ſaid, ſéeing it is not poſſible to retain the fury of the ſouldiers any longer from breaking out, “Let the bell of the Church of S. German be touled, ſaid ſhe.

“ That was the watchword, as you would ſay, when the maſſacre was to begin. The marke or ſigne by which the murtherers were to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, was a white handkerchiefe knit about the left arm, and a white croſſe in their hats.

The Admirall comming to the knowledge of this uprore) though he had but few of his followers about him, was not much moved thereat; truſting (as he often uſed to ſay) upon the Kings favor, whereof hee had large experience. Alſo hee knew that when the Pariſians ſhould underſtand how much the king diſliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him ſome miſchiefe, yet would they be quieted as ſoone as they ſaw Coſſeins and his guard,

This Coſſeins was appointed by the Duke of Anjou to defend the Admirals lodging, wherein the old Proverb was verified, That the Wolfe was ſet to keep the ſheep.

Proverb.

About breake of day, Auguſt the foure & twentieth, 1572. being ſaint Bartholomewes day, they began to knocke at the doore where the Admirall lay. La Bonne, who lay not farre from him, having the keyes, perceiving that there were ſome who came on a meſſage from the King to the Admirall, came downe quickly and opened the doore; preſently Coſſeins fell upon him and ſtabbed him with his dagger, ſo that he dyed. Then with his harquebuſiers ruſhing into the houſe, killing ſuch as they met, others fled. Cornaton awaking with the noiſe that hee heard at the doore (for he lay in the next Chamber by) ranne thither, cauſing the Switzers and other officers to fortifie it. Coſſeins hearing that cryed to him to open it in the Kings name, and he ſo handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the doore open, and after gained the ſtaires. The Admirall and thoſe that were with him, taking notice how they ſhot off piſtols and guns, finding themſelves incloſed in their enemies hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their ſins.

The Admirall riſing out of his bed, and putting on his night gowne, commanded Merlin the Miniſter to make the prayer. He alſo, calling earneſtly upon Jeſus Chriſt his God and Savior, commended his ſpirit into his hands. He that teſtified theſe things, and made report thereof, comming into the Chamber, and being asked by the Admirall what that tumult meant; ſir, ſaith hee, God is now ſummoning us to looke to our end. The admiral ſéeing what would be the iſſue, anſwered, I have long ſince expected death: ſave your ſelves if it be poſſible, for you cannot ſecure me; I commend my ſoule into the hands of the mercifull God. Thoſe who were preſent and eſcaped have affirmed, that the Admirall was no more affrighted at death, which he ſaw preſent before his eyes, than if there had béen no likelihood thereof at all.

The admirals Chriſtian and conſtant cariage of himſelfe in theſe broils

Forthwith every one in the Chamber getting up to the top of the houſe, and having found a window néere the roofe, ſaved themſelves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next roome to the Admirall were ſlaine, others miraculouſly eſcaped. In the meane while Coſſeins having made his way cauſed certaine Switzers of the D. of Anjous guard to enter into the houſe.

Beſine, Coſſeines, and Sarlabour, with their Targets in one hand, and their naked ſwords in the other, broke open the Admirals chamber doore, and Beſine (which was afterwards ſlain himſelfe by one Bertoville upon the way, after hee had eſcaped out of priſon) comming towards the Admirall, holding the point of his ſword to his breaſt, ſaid thus, Art not thou the Admirall? I am the man, ſaid hee, with an undaunted courage, as the murtherers afterwards confeſſed. Then beholding the naked ſword, Young man, ſaid the Admirall, thou oughteſt ſomewhat to reſpect my yeares, and my infirmity of body, but it is not thou that canſt ſhorten my dayes. Beſine deſperately thruſt the Admirall into the body with his ſword, and then ſmote him therewith on the head: the reſt had every one a blow at him; ſo as he preſently fell downe wounded to death.

The Admiral wounded to death.

Whilſt this miſchiefe was in acting, the Duke of Guiſe being below in the baſe Court, with other Romiſh Catholike Lords, cryed to the murtherer above, Beſine haſt thou done? It is done, ſaith he. Then the Duke replyed, Monſieur, our knight (meaning King Henries baſtard) will not beléeve it unleſſe he ſée it with his eyes; throw him downe out of the window.

Then Beſine and Sarlabour, lifting up the body of the Admirall, caſt him downe unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, expoſed to all ſort of ſcorne and mockes of the multitude, ſome trampling on him with their féet. Now becauſe the blow which Beſine had given the Admirall on his head, had ſo covered his face with bloud iſſuing thence, that his viſage could not be diſcerned, the Duke of Guiſe ſtooping downe tooke his handkerchiefe, and wiping his face therewith ſaid, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poore dead body a ſpurne on the head with his foot (whom all the murtherers in France feared whilſt he lived) he paſſed thence, encouraging his ſoldiers, ſaying, We have made a good beginning; now let us goe on to the reſt, for the King hath ſo commanded, the King hath ſo commanded, repeating it over twice.

An Italian of the Duke of Nevers guard cut off the Admirals head, and brought it to the King and Quéene Mother: which being embalmed was ſent to Rome to the Pope, and to the Cardinall of Lorrain, being there at that time. The common people on the Munday following cut off his hands and privy members, and then in this wofull plight being dragged up & downe thrée daies in the channels throughout the ſtréets, he was at the laſt carried out of the Citty to a gibbet in mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the féet; from whence ſome that were well diſpoſed, going together in the night to this gibbet, tooke downe the body of the Admirall; the which they interred ſo ſecretly, that doe the Papiſts what they could, they could never find it out, but it lay buried ſtill, ſo as they were faine to make a body of ſtraw,

The admirals head ſent to Rome.

and hung that up in ſtead of the body it ſelf, rather than none at all.

¶ *Here, as in fitteſt place is briefly related the ſentence which the Court of Parliament in Paris denounced againſt Gaſper Coligne Admirall of France, after hee was maſſacred as you have formerly heard, viz.*

1 First, That for his conſpiracy practiſed againſt the King and the State in the yeare 1572, the ſaid Court hath condemned him of high treaſon.

2 That his memory ſhall bee utterly raſed out.

3 If his body or any figure thereof ſhall bee taken, that the ſame ſhall be firſt drawne upon a hurdle to the place called Le Grene, and there hanged upon a Gibbet by the Executioner.

4 After which, a Gibbet ſhall be ſet up at Mountfaucon, and he there to be hanged up in the moſt eminent place thereof.

5 His armes and armor to be drawne at an horſe taile through the ſtreets of the ſaid City of Paris, and other Cities where they ſhould bee found, and there by the Miniſter of Juſtice to be broken and battered in pieces, in ſigne of his perpetuall ignominy.

6 All his goods and poſſeſſions to be forfeited to the Kings uſe.

7 All his children to be pronounced ignoble, as alſo held unworthy and uncapable of any honor or dignities whatſoever.

8 His houſe and caſtle of Chaſtillon upon the Loin, with the baſe Court and all appurtenances thereunto appertaining, to be defaced and demoliſhed to the ground.

9 Then in the ſaid place this ſentence ſhall be ſet up engraven in braſſe.

10 Laſtly, that on the foure and twentieth of Auguſt, 1572, generall proceſſions be made throgh the City of Paris, by way of thankſgiving to God for this puniſhment inflicted upon the conſpirator.

Pronounced and executed in Paris, the ſeven and twentieth, and nine and twentieth of October, Anno 1572.

Signe,

Malon.

Great joy at Rome for theſe ſorrowfull events.

At Rome ſolemn maſſes were ſung, and thanks rendred to God for the good ſucceſſe which the Roman Catholiques had obtained in maſſacring the Huguenots. At night, in token of joy and gladnes, were made many great bonfires in ſundry places: And, as the report went, the Cardinal of Lorraine gave a thouſand Crownes to him that brought this deſired newes unto him. Touching whoſe death I will here inſert that which I finde written of it.

A note touching the manner of the Cardinall of Lorrains death.

The Cardinall of Lorraine, a principall pillar in the houſe of Guiſe, a crafty and cruell perſecutor of the reformed churches, ſoone after the raigne of Henry the third, brother of Charles the ninth, in the yeare 1574, died at Avignon frantique; at the houre of whoſe death there hapned ſuch a horrible tempeſt in the aire, that all ſtood amaſed at it. The people obſerving how it fell out in one of the chiefe Cities where Popery bare the ſway, thought it the more remarkable; not ſticking to ſay, that this wiſe worldling, who had enriched himſelfe beyond meaſure by execrable practiſes, received now in the prime of his youth, and in the top of his hopes, the juſt reward of all his wicked proceedings; it being not poſſible, that a ſoul ſo repleniſhed with iniquity could depart quietly.

But thoſe of the Religion added, That in this his ſo ſudden departure ſhined the wonderfull providence of God, in that one of the Popes great ſupporters, comming to Avignon with a purpoſe to arme the King of France and Polonia againſt the Chriſtian aſſemblies (out of a vaine confidence thinking, that at his onely word and threat the Prince would be perſwaded to overthrow all) it ſhould fall out ſo contrary to his expectation, that the maſter builder and upholder of violent and bloudy counſels muſt now in the middeſt of his triumphs come to ſo fearefull and miſerable an end: That he, who bent all his wits to croſſe the counſell and wiſedome of God, ſhould at an inſtant in this City be ſmitten with frenſie. To give warning to all, that there is no wiſedome or counſell againſt the Lord; who blaſteth the ripeſt wits when they dare to oppoſe him therewith. But now to returne againe to the matter where wee left.

The ſame day that the Admirall was hurt, the King adviſed the King of Navarre, his brother in law, to lodge in his chamber, with ten or twelve of his truſtieſt ſervants, to protect him from the deſignes of the Duke of Guiſe, whom he called an unhappy boy.

The Admirall as it ſeemeth ſomewhat before his death made his will, in which he gave the king counſell, that he ſhould not give his brethren over great portions. The Queen Mother hearing this, and reading the ſame to the Duke of Alencon the Kings brother; Now you ſee, ſaith ſhe, the heart of your friend the Admirall, whom you ſo much loved and reſpected.

The Duke anſwered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the King.

The Admirall a loving and loyall ſervant to his Prince and Country.

The Engliſh Embaſſador made almoſt the like anſwer when the ſaid Queene told him, How the Admirall had adviſed the King not to truſt the Engliſh too farre.

Indeed Madam, ſaith he, hereby it appeared that though he bare but little good will to the Engliſh, yet he manifeſted himſelfe a loyall ſervant to the Crowne of France.

Brion governour to the Prince of Condes ſon maſſacred.

The Sieur de Brion, Governour of the little Marqueſſe Conde, ſonne to the late Prince of Conde, hearing theſe ſtirres, taking his little maſter even in his ſhirt, thinking to convey him ſomewhere out of the way, met theſe murtherers, who plucking from him the ſaid yong prince, maſſacred the old man in his preſence, whileſt the Prince with teares intreated them to ſpare his Governour. But they died his white haires in his owne bloud, and then barbarouſly dragged him through the mire.

Ten thouſand maſſacred within three daies in the City of Paris, &c.

This Sunday morning all that were popiſhly affected tooke liberty to kill and ſpoyle; it being credibly reported, That the number of the ſlaine that day and two other daies following, in the City of Paris, and in the Suburbs, did amount to above ten thouſand, counting Lords, Gentlemen, Preſidents, Counſellors, Advocates, Lawyers, Schollers, Phyſitians, Merchants, Tradeſmen, Women, Maids, and Children. The ſtreets were covered with dead bodies, the river was died with bloud, the gates and entrance into the Kings palace painted with the ſame colour: but the bloud-thirſty were not yet ſatisfied.

Anno 1569.

The pretence was this: Report was raiſed there that a treaſon of the Huguenots was diſcovered, who had conſpired to kill the King, his Mother, & his brethren, having already killed fifteene of the guard.

But going from houſe to houſe with their aſſociats where they thought to find any Huguenots, they brake open the dores, then cruelly murthered whomſoever they met, ſparing neither ſex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of yong maidens, women, men and children, which were diſcharged into the river, covered in a maner all over with the ſlain, and dyed red with their bloud, which alſo ſtreamed down the ſtreets from ſundry parts thereof, whereat the Courtezans laughed their fill, ſaying, That the warres were now ended, and that hereafter they ſhould live in peace, &c. But it would take up too much time to recite all the lamentable paſſages of this ſo ſad and ruefull a tragedy.

¶ *This with ſome others which follow, belonging to this Hiſtory, becauſe they could not bee omitted, are here under inſerted.*

TO begin then with Monſieur Pierre de la Place Preſident of the Court of Requeſts, whoſe ſtory we will relate ſomewhat at large, becauſe his ſingular piety requires the ſame. On Sunday morning about ſix of the clock, one called Captaine Michael, harquebuſier of the king, came into his lodging, into which he had the more eaſie acceſſe for divers private reſpects.

This was a token by which the murtherers were diſtinguiſhed from others.

This Captaine being armed, having a harquebuſe on his ſhoulder, a piſtoll at his girdle, and his handkerchiefe tyed about his left arme, preſenting himſelf before the ſaid De la Place, the firſt words he ſpake were, that the Duke of Guiſe had ſlaine the Admirall by the Kings appointment, with many Huguenots beſides: and becauſe the reſt of them of what quality ſoever were deſtinated to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common deſtruction: onely he deſired to have a ſight of that gold and ſilver which was in the houſe. The Lord de la Place ſomwhat amaſed at the audacious malapartneſſe of the man, who, in the midſt of ten or twelve perſons which were there preſent in the roome, durſt preſume to utter ſuch language, askt him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a King or no?

To this the Captaine blaſphemincluding anſwered, that he willed him to goe with him to know the kings pleaſure. The ſaid Lord de la Place hearing this, fearing alſo ſome danger to be towards, by ſedition in the City, ſlipped forth at a backe doore behind his lodging, purpoſing to get into a neighbors houſe. In the meane while moſt of his ſervants vaniſhed out of ſight, and this Captaine having ſtored himſelfe with a thouſand crowns, was intreated by the Lady Marets, daughter to the ſaid Lord, to convey her father with the Lord Marets her husband into the houſe of ſome Romane Catholike, which he conſented to doe, and alſo performed it.

After this, de la Place being refuſed at three ſeverall houſes was conſtrained to retire backe againe into his own, where he found his wife very penſive and grieved beyond meaſure, fearing leſt this Captaine in the end would caſt her ſonne in law and daughter into the river, as alſo for the imminent danger wherein her deare husband and all his family were.

But the ſaid Lord de la Place, being ſtrengthened by the ſpirit of God with incredible conſtancy in the inner man, ſharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildely demonſtrated unto her, that we muſt receive theſe and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and ſo having diſcourſed a while upon the promiſes of God comforted her.

Then he commanded ſuch ſervants and maids as remained in the houſe to be called together; who being come into his Chamber, according to his cuſtome on the Lords dayes, he made a forme of exhortation to his family: then went to prayer, and began to read a Chapter out of the booke of Job, with the expoſition or ſermon of Maſter John Calvin upon it. So having ſpoken ſomewhat of Gods mercy and juſtice, which as a good and wiſe father uſeth to exerciſe his elect with ſundry chaſtiſements, leſt they ſhould bee intangled here below with the things of this World, he ſhewed how needfull afflictions were for Chriſtians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan or men to hurt or wrong them, unleſſe the Lord of his good pleaſure gave them leave. What need have we then, ſaid he, to dread their authority, which at the moſt can but prevaile over our bodies? Then he went to prayer againe, preparing himſelfe and his whole family rather to endure all ſorts of torments, yea death it ſelfe, than to ſpeake or doe ought that might tend to the diſhonour of God.

Having finiſhed his prayer, word was brought him, that Senecay the Provoſt Marſhall with many archers were at the doore of his lodging, commanding the ſame to be opened in the Kings name, ſaying that he came to ſecure the perſon of the Lord de la Place, and to preſerve his houſe from being pillaged by the common ſort. The Lord de la Place having intelligence of this ſpeech commanded the doore to be opened to him, who entring in declared the great ſlaughter that was made upon the Huguenots every where in the city by the Kings command; adding this withall in Latine, that he would not ſuffer one to live, Qui mingat ad Parietem. Yet have I expreſſe charge from his Majeſty, ſaith he, to ſee that you ſhall ſuſtaine no wrong, but only conduct you to the Louvre, becauſe the King is deſirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of thoſe of the Religion, which he hath now in hand, and therfore willed him to make himſelf ready to goe to his Majeſty. The Lord de la Place anſwered, That he alwaies thought himſelfe happy before he left this life, to gaine any opportunity by which hee might render an account to his Majeſty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard ſuch horrible Maſſacres were every where committed, it was impoſſible for him to paſſe to the Louvre, without the certaine danger of his perſon; praying him to aſſure his Majeſty of his willingneſſe to come, the whileſt leaving in his lodging as many Archers as hee thought fitting, untill the fury of the people was ſomewhat pacified. The Provoſt agreed to his requeſt, and left with him one of his Lieutenants called Toute Voye, with ſome foure of his archers.

Not long after comes into his lodging Preſident Charron, then provoſt of the merchants, with whom conferring a little in ſecret, going his way he left with the foure archers which were there before, foure more of the city archers. The whole night following was ſpent in ſtopping up and fortifying of all paſſages from entring the houſe, with logs and proviſion of Flint-ſtones, damming up the windowes, ſo as it ſeemed by this ſo exact and diligent a defence, the archers were left in the houſe, to free the ſaid de la Place and all his family from the common calamity, till Senecay, returning the next day after two of the clocke in the afternoone, declared that hee had expreſſe charge from the King to bring him to his Majeſty without delay. Hee replyed as before, that it was dangerous as yet to paſſe through the City, in regard that even the ſame morning there was an houſe pillaged next to his.

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Seneca on the contrary inſiſted, ſaying, it was the common ſpeech of theſe Huguenotes to proteſt that they were the Kings moſt loyall and obedient ſubjects and ſervants; but when they were to manifeſt their obedience to his commands, then they came off but ſlowly, ſeeming rather much to abhor and deteſt it. And wheras he pretended danger, Seneca anſwered, that he ſhould have a Captain of Paris who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As Seneca cōtinued this ſpeech, the Captaine of Paris ſurnamed Pazon, a principall actor in this ſedition, entred the chamber of the ſaid Lord of Place, offering his ſervice to conduct him through the city to the King; which De la Place would by no means yeeld unto, telling Seneca, that he was one of the moſt cruell & bloudy minded men that was in all the City; and therefore ſeeing he muſt needs goe to the King, he intreated that the ſaid Seneca would be his guard. To whom Seneca anſwered, that having now other affaires to looke unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his wife (though otherwiſe a very gracious and good Lady) out of that entire love which ſhe bare to her husband, proſtrated her ſelfe at the feet of the ſaid Seneca, beſeeching and intreating him to accompany her husband to the King. But the ſaid De la place, who never ſhewed any ſigne of a dejected ſpirit, came to his wife, tooke her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it is not the arme of fleſh that we muſt ſtoupe unto, but unto God onely. Then turning himſelfe about, he perceived in his ſonnes hat a white croſſe, which through infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to ſave himſelfe, for which his father ſharply chid him, commanding him to plucke that marke of ſedition thence; telling him that we muſt now ſubmit our ſelves to beare the true croſſe of Chriſt, namely, thoſe afflictions and tribulations which it ſhall pleaſe our good God to lay upon us, as ſure pledges of that eternall happineſſe, which he hath treaſured up for all his elect ſervants. Thus ſeeing himſelfe preſſed by the ſaid Seneca, to goe with him to the King, reſolving upon death, which hee ſaw he could not avoid, he tooke his cloake, embracing his wife, earneſtly wiſhing her above all things to have the feare of God and his honor in precious eſteeme, and then went on his way boldly. Comming into the ſtreet where the glaſſe-houſe is, over againſt Cocks ſtreet, certain murtherers who attended there for his comming, with their daggers in a readineſſe, killed him, about three of the clocke in the afternoon, as an innocent lambe in the midſt of ten or twelve of Senecas Archers, who led him into that butchery: and then pillaged and embezeled away what they found in his lodging for the ſpace of five or ſix daies together. His body (whoſe ſoule was now received into heaven) being carried into a ſtable, and covering his face over with dung, the next day they threw him into the river.

De la Place addreſſeth himſelfe to go to the King.

He is firſt murthered, & then throwen into the river.

Peter Ramus maſſacred and afterwards diſgracefully handled.

Peter Ramus the Kings profeſſor in Logicke, a man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies; among other, one called James Carpenter, who ſent the murtherers to the Colledge of Prieſts, where the ſaid Ramus was hidden. But being diſcovered, hee offered a good ſumme of money to ſave his life; yet was he maſſacred, and caſt downe out of an high Chamber window to the ground, ſo as his bowels iſſuing out of the ſtones, were afterwards trailed through the ſtreets; the carkaſſe was whipped by certaine ſchollers, being ſet on by their tutors, to the great diſgrace of good letters which Ramus profeſſed.

I doe here, ſaith the Hiſtorian, forbeare to write what cruelties were exerciſed in this foreſaid City of Paris, on Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, and the daies following; becauſe in ſuch confuſions, thoſe that ſurvived had little leaſure to think upon the murthers committed in their preſence, to obſerve every particular; I content my ſelfe therfore to ſay in a word, that no man living in Paris, taking notice what was done there this Saint Bartholomewes day, &c. but will averre that there was never ſeen, heard nor read of, ſuch perfidious diſloyalties, ſtrange raviſhments, more then brutiſh cruelties, audacious robberies, execrable blaſphemies, as thoſe that were committed in theſe few dayes; wherein it was ſafe for one to be any thing, rather then an honeſt man.

¶ *Of a young man who preferred his Mothers ſafety in theſe broyls before his own.*

A Young man about the age of two and thirty yeares, a ſincere Chriſtian, and excellently well learned above many of his age and time, going early abroad this Sunday morning upon ſome ſpeciall occaſion, returning home, and perceiving what a ſtrange rumor there was concerning the death of the Admirall throughout the City of Paris, he out of his ſingular and childelike affection to his Mother, haſtened to her with all poſſible ſpeed, informing her what had happened, and ſo wrought for her, without delay, not regarding his owne ſafety, thet he ſecured her in a place, as you would ſay, fitted for the purpoſe. After which himſelfe being found alone ſhut up in his ſtudy at prayer, to which exerciſe he had long before devoted himſelfe; The furious Maſſacrers on that part of the City asked him if hee would obey the King, he anſwered, yes, but I muſt alſo obey God.

Then they began preſently with battle axes and ſtaves to load him with blowes on the head, that he received his owne bloud into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the river.

¶ *Two Miniſters maſſacred.*

TWo Miniſters appertaining to the King of Navarre, the one called More, the other Deſgoris, fell alſo into the hand of theſe murtherers, who killing them, caſt them into the water. I cannot learne, ſaith the hiſtoriographer, by report, that any moe Miniſters were ſlaine at this time, then theſe two. At the writing hereof many were living, who laboured in the worke of the Lord, in the Church of Paris, and were alſo miraculouſly preſerved.

¶ *An inhumane Cruelty.*

PHilip le Doux a great Jeweller, at his returne home from Guybray faire, being gone to bed, his wife at that time had the midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: ſhee hearing theſe furies below bouncing at the doore, commanding it to bee opened to them in the Kings name, as ill as ſhe was, adventured to goe downe, and opened the ſame to theſe tygers, who preſently ſtabbed her husband in his bed. The midwife ſeeing them bent to murther the woman alſo, now ready to lie downe, inſtantly intreated them to tarry, at leaſt ſo long till the infant (which would be the 20. Childe that God had given her) was borne. Having conteſted ſome while with them, they tooke this poore woman halfe dead with

A barbarous cruelty.

feare, and thruſt her into the fundament with a dagger to the very hilts. She finding her ſelfe mortally wounded, and yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corne-loft; whither they purſued her, giving her another ſtabbe into the belly with a dagger, and then caſt her out of a window next to the ſtreete; upon which fall the childe came forth of her body, the head formoſt, gaping or yawning, to the great aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Papiſts, who were conſtrained often with deteſtation to acknowledge and confeſſe the cruelties of their butchers.

¶ *Behold here another.*

What iron heart would not have been moved to compaſſion herewith.

ONE of the Maſſacrers having ſnatched up a little childe in his armes, the poore babe began to play with his beard, and to ſmile upon him; but in ſtead of being moved to compaſſion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and ſo caſt it all on a gore blood into the river, ſo as it was a good while ere it could recover the own colour againe.

To proceed on further and fully to relate all the tragicall acts committed in this Maſſacre at Paris, to ſet downe the thundrings of Guns and Piſtols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the ſlaine, the roarings and horrible blaſphemies belched forth by theſe Maſſacrers and devils incarnate, were enough to cauſe the Paper whereon they ſhould be deſcribed either to bluſh, or weepe.

Not to ſtay the Reader therefore any longer in this, having many things of the like nature to preſent unto thy view, we will paſſe from the dolorous City of Paris to other cities in France, and ſet before thee as in a glaſſe a company of horrible and rufull ſpectacles.

¶ *Maſſacres committed upon thoſe of the Religion, at Meaux in Brie.*

LEt us begin then with thoſe of Meaux in Brie, which is not above a daies journey from Paris.

There was a roule drawne where the maſſacre ſhould begin, continue, and end.

The poore Proteſtants in this City were deſtinated to drinke of this cup of Martyrdome after their brethren and ſiſters in the aforeſaid City of Paris. Therefore on the ſame Sunday the foure and twentieth of Auguſt, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon, a poſt was ſent to Meaux with letters, accompanied with a ſeditious fellow called le Froid. Being come thither, the Packet was preſented to Monſieur Lovis Coſſet, the Kings Atturney there. Upon the receit whereof, this Atturny haſted hither and thither in his own perſon to advertiſe ſuch cut-throats (as had had their hands in the pillaging and robbing thoſe of the religion in the firſt, ſecond, and third troubles) with command, that they ſhould be ready to come forth of their houſes armed, at the ſtroke of ſeven of the clock, and then cauſe the gates inſtantly to be ſhut.

This Coſſet was then branded for notorious villanies, and a miſhapen fellow.

The time prefixed being come, which was about ſupper time, the gates were ſhut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in ſundry parts of the City. Thus was that night paſſed, not without uprores and ſtrange events.

On the next day, which was Munday, about three of the clocke in the morning, theſe good Catholikes began to pillage the houſes of the Proteſtants, of the beſt things they had, which continued till eight of the clocke, their trading liked them ſo well. But the principall of all the ſpoiles were conveyed into the Court and houſe of this noble Atturney Coſſet; yet theſe were only the beginnings of ſorrows.

For after robbing and ſpoiling they fell to ſhut them up in priſons: which being filled, the maſſacrers having Coſſet for their Captaine (who uſually carried in each hand a Piſtoll ready to diſcharge) went into the ſaid priſon on Tueſday the ſix and twentieth of Auguſt, about five or ſix of the clock at night, with ſwords, daggers, and butchers knives.

Nigh to this priſon there was a great Court, encloſed on every ſide with walls and a very ſtrong Gate. In a corner whereof is a large paire of winding ſtaires, containing five and twenty, or thirty ſteppes, by which they goe up to the Judgement Hall to the Seat of Juſtice. Into this Court were the murderers aſſembled; which done, Coſſet went up into his ſeat. Then they had a ſcroule or bill containing the names of the priſoners there impriſoned, who were called over one by one to the number of two hundred and upwards, as ſome of the murderers themſelves have ſince reported, when as they impudently made their brags of theſe their horrible impieties and injuſtices.

Then the Atturney laughing began to call for the firſt man named in the bill; who being brought forth, and ſeeing naked ſwords before him, falling downe and craving forgiveneſſe of his ſins at the hands of God, was ſuddenly butchered by five or ſixe.

One Quintin Croyer, an Elder of the reformed Church, being called forth, and ſeeing many of his companions maſſacred before his eyes, kneeled downe, praying God to pardon theſe murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a Jerkin of double Buffe which he ware, and which they were loth to ſpoile, (for it was a good booty) they cut aſunder the points, and then gave him five or ſix ſtabs with a dagger into his body; and ſo this good man wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his ſpirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, a man zealouſly affected to religion, who had been Sheriffe of the City in the firſt troubles, having by his endeavours chaſed the Maſſe out of Meaux, for a time was mortally hated of theſe ſeditious Papiſts; and therefore they were not contented ſimply to kill him, but firſt cut off his noſe, eares, and ſecret parts, then giving him many ſmall thruſts into divers parts of the body, they conſtrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone thorow the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, in regard of the blood that iſſued from all the parts of his body, he fell with his face to the ground, and inſtantly calling upon the name of the Lord, received infinite gaſhes and wounds after he was dead.

By this time it grew late; therefore theſe bloodſuckers, having almoſt wearied themſelves in worrying theſe poore lambes and ſheep of Chriſt, deferred the execution of the reſt till after ſupper, as well to take ſome breathing and refection, as alſo to murther the reſidue with the greater alacrity. For in as much as the blood of the ſlaine ſhined yet upon the ſwords and armes of the murtherers (their ſleeves being tucked up) which ſomething hindered their proceeding; after they had drunke wine their fill, they meant to returne and make themſelves drunke with blood alſo; which that they might ſhed the more freely, they tooke with them Butchers great axes wherewith they ſmite downe their Oxen, and in the preſence of this honeſt Atturney felled theſe poore priſoners one after another; who called upon God and cry ing ſo loud for mercy, that all the City in a manner rung thereof. This maſſacre laſted from nine of the Clock at night till it was midnight. And for as much as there yet remained many priſoners alive, they deferred this their bloody buſineſſe till the next day.

☞ But this may ſuffice to have been ſaid as touching this maſſacre at Meaux in Brie; paſſe wee on now to the City of Troys in Champaigne, and there take notice, as it were by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

¶ *Perſecution of the Faithfull at Troys in Champaigne.*

NEwes comming to Troys of the Maſſacre executed at Paris, the greater part of the Judges and Officers of the King were ſent to the Bailiffe of Troys, with commandement diligently to make ſearch for all thoſe of the Religion, from houſe to houſe, and to impriſon as many as they could meet withall.

In this city there was a Merchant called Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent nature. This Belin was at the maſſacre in Paris on S. Bartholomews day; from whence he was ſent with Letters from the King dated the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, to the Maior and Sheriffes of Troys, to cauſe all theſe perſecutions to ceaſe, and the priſoners to be ſet at liberty. On the third of September he came to Troys with theſe two letters (which had been firſt publiſhed in Paris) with commandement to deliver them to the foreſaid Magiſtrates to be proclaimed there alſo.

But at the firſt entrance into the City, he began to enquire, that all might heare him, whether they had not executed the Huguenots there as they had done in Paris; which was his language thorow the ſtreets till he came home. But even ſome of the Papiſts, who were not ſo cruelly minded, demanded of Belin the contents of the K. letters, whereof they had ſome inkling before. But he, like a Bedlam ſwelling with choler, ſware that whoſoever ſaid they contained any thing tending to pacification, lyed. Haſtning therefore to the Bailiffes houſe at Troys, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed ſomewhat in his eare, he put him on to ſee this execution done. Now that the ſame might paſſe the better for currant, the help of the Executioner of Troys was requeſted, whoſe name was Charles.

Yet he ſhewing himſelf more juſt and humane than the reſt, peremptorily refuſed to have his hand in an act tending to ſo great cruelty; anſwering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before ſentence of death had firſt been pronounced by the Magiſtrate. If they had ſuch ſentence to ſhew againſt any of the priſoners, he was ready to doe juſtice; otherwiſe he would not preſume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life: and ſo with theſe words he returned home to his houſe.

Now albeit this anſwer, proceeding from ſuch a kinde of perſon whoſe office and cuſtome it was to ſhed blood, might ſomewhat have aſſwaged and taken off the edge of the moſt barbarous Tyger in the world; yet the Bailiffe ſleighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he ſent for one of the Jaylors of the priſon who kept thoſe of the religion; but he being ſicke of a Tertian Ague, Martin de Bures was ſent to know his pleaſure.

The Bailiffe telling him at large what Belin had ſignified to him in private; as alſo, that on a ſudden all the priſoners of the Religion muſt bee put to death, that ſo the place might be purged of them: This (he ſaid) you muſt not faile to doe. But (ſaid the Bailiffe) that the blood may not run into the ſtreets, you ſhall cauſe a trench to be digged in the middeſt of the priſon, and at the two ends thereof ſet certaine veſſels to receive the ſame.

But this de Bures for ſome conſiderations, as namely thinking the Kings Letters (whereof he had had ſome intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no haſt to performe his charge, acquainting no man with ought that had paſſed betweene the Bailiffe and him; no not Perennet the Keeper, who then lay ſick in his bed.

The next day, being Tueſday, which was the fourth of September, the Bailiffe came into the priſon about ſeven or eight of the Clock, and calling for Perennet asked of him with a ſmile, Perennet, is it done? Perennet, knowing nothing either more or leſſe, asked of him what? Then ſaith the Bailiffe, Why, are not the Priſoners diſpatched? and thereupon was ready with his dagger to have ſtabbed him. But comming a little better to himſelfe, he told Perennet what his purpoſe was, and how he was to behave himſelfe concerning the execution thereof; willing him by all meanes not to forget to make the ſaid Trench. At which words this Perennet ſtanding amaſed, though otherwiſe he was a fellow forward enough of himſelfe to commit any outrages againſt the Proteſtants, certified the Bailiffe, that ſuch an inhumane act could not be committed over to him, fearing leſt in time to come Juſtice might be followed againſt him by the Parents or Allyes of the Priſoners. No no, ſaid the Bailiffe, feare not, I will ſtand betweene you and all harmes. Others of the Juſtices have conſented thereto beſides my ſelfe, and would you have better ſecurity than that?

Within a while after, the Jaylor comming into the court of the priſon, where the priſoners were abroad recreating themſelves, cauſed every one to reſort to his cabbin or hole, becauſe, ſaid he, the Bailiffe will come by and by, to ſee whether the Keepers have done as he commanded them: which they did. Then began theſe poore ſheep to feare they were deſtinated to the ſlaughter, and therefore went preſently to prayer. Perennet inſtantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the Bailiffe had given him in charge. Then they all tooke an oath to execute the ſame; but approaching nigh to the Priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with feare, and their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſtood gaſing one upon another, having no courage to act ſuch a barbarous cruelty: and ſo returned to the Jaylors lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But in ſtead of laying this to heart, as an advertiſement and warning piece ſent them from above; as if of ſet purpoſe they meant to reſiſt againſt the checks of their owne conſciences, and ſo kick againſt the prickes, they ſent to the Taverne for ſixteene pints of the beſt wine, Troys meaſure, with ſheepes tongues, and other viands, and intoxicating their braines with wine, they drew a liſt or Catalogue of all the priſoners; which they delivered to Nicholas Martin, one of their Confederates, who was to call them forth as he ſaw their names ſet downe in the ſcroule; and thus as they came forth they maſſacred them.

Ludot one of the priſoners, being called forth as his turne came, preſented himſelfe before them with a cheerefull countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the ſtroke of death from theſe deſperate blood-ſpillers, he prayed them to forbeare him a little, till he had put off his doublet, being oiletted, which he was wont to put on when any tumult grew in the City: and having himſelfe unlaced it, preſenting his

naked

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naked breaſt unto them, he received the blow, and fell downe dead.

But poore Meurs eſcaped not ſo good cheape; for his turne being come, he was no ſooner in their ſight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his Halbert, redoubling the ſame oft to have killed him, yet could not. The poore man ſeeing himſelfe thus dealt withall by the Caitiffe, and no end made, tooke hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himſelfe pointing him to the ſeat of the heart, cryed to the murderer with a ſtedfaſt voice, Here, ſouldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart, and ſo finiſhed this life.

Howſoever in this maſſacre theſe two formerly mentioned are for brevities ſake only named, yet by that which immediatly followes you may perceive they were not a few who ſuffered in this tragedy.

The Maſſacre (ſaith my Author) being ended, the murtherers made a great pit on the back ſide of the Chappell of the priſon, whereinto they caſt the bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing. So as one called Maufere lying in the midſt of them, was eſpied to raiſe up himſelfe above his fellow Martyrs in this pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing earth (as was reported) ſtifled him, being but halfe dead. But becauſe the order which the Bailiffe ſet downe was not obſerved, namely the making of a trench in the priſon to receive the blood which was ſhed, it ran in ſuch abundance out at the priſon doore, and thence through a channell into a river nigh thereto, that it was turned into the colour of blood. Which ſome of the Papiſts themſelves taking notice of, being ignorant of the fact, were ſo terrified therewith, that they ran along the ſtreet, crying and pointing at every one they met withall to behold this horrible and lamentable a ſpectacle. Whereupon many haſting to the priſon by this occaſion, could conjecture no other but that the priſoners had ſlaine one another.

This was preſently noiſed through the City, inſomuch as ſome went to informe the lieutenant and bailiffe thereof. But what? it was as if they had run to the Wolves to tell them the Sheepe were devoured.

Whileſt this ſo ſavage a cruelty was committed in the priſon, one Bartholmew Carlet a Cooper, priſoner there for debt (who of all the troupe of murtherers in Troys was one of the principall) having in the former troubles exerciſed moſt notorious cruelties againſt thoſe of the Religion, was called in by theſe maſſacrers to be one of their aſſociates; who executed his part in ſo bloody a manner, that (as himſelfe afterwards often acknowledged) he with his owne hands ſlaughtered thirty of theſe poore innocents: So far was he growne paſt ſhame or common honeſty. But this his fact was ſo pleaſing to certaine of the Popiſh Religion at Troys, that for a recompence thereof they payed his debt, and ſet him free out of priſon; which was done (as the report went) by making a collection for him in certaine Pariſhes.

The next day after, which was the fifth of September, this worſhipfull Bailiffe of Troys, that he might apply the plaiſter when the parties were dead, cauſes the Kings Letters, which he had received the thirtieth of the moneth of Auguſt before going, to be publiſhed in all the corners of the City with ſound of Trumpet. The Bailiffe (as we have been credibly informed) was preſent in perſon at the publication, and as the Notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the ſame jeeringly, and not with a full and audible voice, as matters of ſuch conſequence ought to be read.

¶ *Of the maſſacre at Orleance.*

IT now remaines that we proceed unto the City of Orleance, and to take notice whether the papiſts there were leſſe cruell than thoſe of Paris. But, ſaith the Hiſtorian, when I call to mind what hath been the report of thoſe that were preſent at that time in Orleance, it cauſeth the haire to ſtand upright on my head. Yet for as much as it is convenient that poſterities to come may be acquainted with the fury of theſe monſters in nature, we will commit that to writing whereof we have credibly been informed.

On Saturday, the three and twentieth of Auguſt, Letters were ſent from the King to Orleance, unto Sieur de la Renic Preſident of Dijon, to prevent all diſorders, murthers, &c. With command, that he ſhould advertiſe the Citizens, how the Admirall was hurt, as alſo to aſſure thoſe of the religion, that ere long ſuch juſtice ſhould be executed on the actors, as all France ſhould take warning thereby not to enterpriſe the like.

This was carefully performed by the ſaid Sieur de la Renic the ſame day; who cauſed thoſe of the beſt rank of both religions to be preſent at the publiſhing of the Kings minde. The faithfull thinking themſelves ſecure, were quiet, and on the Sabbath day aſſembled in the place appointed for their meeting, to the number of 300. perſons, men, women, and children.

But on the ſame day towards night came a new order to the Juſtices, Maior, and Sheriffes of the ſaid City, by which they were injoyned to be up in armes, and to gather to them what ſtrength they could; with expreſſe charge to make havock of thoſe of the Religion. To this purpoſe the Captaines of twelve companies were appointed to be the leaders to the reſt, divided into eight and forty ſquadrons.

¶ *The cruell maſſacre of Dechampeaux a worthy Counſellor in the City of Orleance, by a wretched Villaine his neighbour.*

ONe of theſe blood-ſuckers called Texier came with a ſmall troupe to a Counſellors houſe of Orleance, whoſe name was Dechampeaux Lord of Bonilli, bidding himſelfe and his company to ſupper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheere, being ignorant of that which had hapned at Paris. But ſupper being ended, and all of them being riſen from the table, Texier bad him deliver his purſe. Dechampeaux laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jeſt, this cruell and unthankfull gueſt with blaſphemous oathes told in few words what had hapned in the City of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Romane Catholiques of Orleance, to cut off and root out the Proteſtants there. Dechampeaux ſeeing there was no time now to conteſt with him, gave mony to this theefe: who, to requite the curteſie and good entertainment he had had, embrued his honds in the blood of his hoſt and neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the City, and afterwards himſelfe with his troupe pillaged the whole houſe.

A cruell and unthankfull gueſt.

The ſix and twentieth day of Auguſt following the maſſacrers began the execution about the ramparts, after ſuch a ſtrange manner, as hee that had but a ſparke of humanity left in him, out

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of compaſſion would be moved to abhorre and deteſt it. In theſe quarters there inhabited many of the Religion. All the night long was heard nothing but ſhooting off of Guns and Piſtols, forcing open of doores and windows, fearefull outcryes of the maſſacred, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horſes, and rumbling of carts, hurrying of dead bodies to and fro; the ſtreete ſwarming with unwonted exclamations of thoſe of the common ſort, with horrible blaſphemies of the murderers, laughing their fill at their furious exploits; Some crying kill them all, and then take the ſpoile; others, ſpoile not, but kill all.

So all muſt goe to wrack.

On Wedneſday the maſſacre began more fiercely, and ſo continued to the end of the weeke, not ſparing to breake theſe and the like jeſts upon the poore maſſacred: Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers, and Pſalmes now? Let your God, whom you called upon, ſave you if he can. Yea ſome of them, who in times paſt had been profeſſors of the ſame Religion, whileſt they were maſſacring the poore innocents; durſt ſing unto them in ſcorne the beginning of the three and fortieth pſalm: Which in the French meeter runs, Revenge moy pren le quarrelle de moy, Iudge me O God, and plead my cauſe. Others ſtriking them ſaid, ſing now, Miſerecorde aupaure vicieux, Have mercy on me O God, which language they uſed to this poore people in Paris, and elſewhere. But theſe execrable outrages no way daunted the courage of the faithfull from dying ſtedfaſt in the faith.

Theſe were miſerable characters.

Touching the multitude of the ſlaine, the murtherers did not ſticke to vaunt that in this City they cauſed more than twelve thouſand men to periſh: Alſo an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of Children of nine yeare old and upward. But as ſome of themſelves have ſince reported, there were eighteen thouſand murdered, beſides women and children. The manner of their death was, firſt to ſhoot them with Piſtols, then to ſtrip them of their clothes, and either drowning or elſe burying the dead bodies in pits, namely ſuch as dwelt about the wals. They were armed alſo with knives and ponyards: in like manner with Javelins and partizans, wherewith they murdered theſe poore, meeke, and harmleſſe creatures.

On Tueſday at night certaine of this bloody crue came and knocked at the doore of one that was a Doctor of the Civill Law, called Taillebous; who opening a Caſement, and underſtanding that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him, came downe immediatly, and opened the ſame unto them. At the firſt greeting they told him he muſt die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with ſuch conſtancy and affection, that the maſſacrers being aſtoniſhed, and by a ſecret celeſtiall power reſtrained, contented themſelves onely with taking his purſe, in which there were fifteen Crownes, and ſo left him, offering him no more violence.

The force of fervent prayer

The day following certaine Schollers reſorting to his lodging, requeſted of him that they might ſee his Library, into which having brought them, one asked this booke of him, and another another, the which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet ſatisfied, their purpoſe being to kill him. He proſtrating himſelfe upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his owne houſe, whence he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted on the body of a certain Shoomaker, newly wounded, lying gaſping for breath. At which ſight ſtarting back as one ſomewhat appaled, he prayed them to kill him there; yet they would not, but conſtrained him to paſſe on forward. Being come to the Schooles of the Civill Law, at leaſt, ſaid he, let me die before this place, where I have taught ſo long. But they furiouſly repulſing him, more than before, made him goe further with them, where at length they knocked him downe.

A rich Burgeſſe of the City called Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove, a man of ſingular worth, and highly eſteemed of all, was at that time deadly ſick. Some of the murtherers came into his Chamber with a purpoſe to kill him; but ſeeing him in that caſe ſpared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, an Apothecary who brought him Phyſick, they cut off one of his armes, then drew him into the open market place, where they made an end of him.

The next day there came one to the lodging of him that was ſick, who was wont heretofore to viſit him. Now as he was entring in, he met the mother of the ſick party at the doore going unto Maſſe, and comming up into the Chamber he ſtabbed the ſaid ſick man with a dagger in many places, and ſo killed a dying man. Then with all ſilence, as if he had done no ſuch act, wiping his dagger, he went down the ſtaires again, and meeting one at the doore who came to viſit him that was ſick, this fellow ſaluting him paſſed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

A Cooke, having hid himſelf three whole daies, was inforced for hunger to come forth, for lack of meat. But whileſt he went about to eſcape one death, he fell into the talents of theſe Lions, who devoured him, and that forthwith.

Francis Stample a rich Merchant was threatened to have his throat cut preſently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having none about him, being taken by them out of his houſe, calling for pen and inke he wrote a letter to his wife, willing her forthwith to ſend him his ranſome: he had no ſooner ſealed the letter, but the murderers deprived him thereof and his life together, laughing at that they had done. And though they got from his widdow a round ſumme of money, yet could ſhe not obtaine at their hands the body of her dead husband.

But to fill up the meaſure of the popelings cruelty, that thoſe of the religion might taſte thereof to the utmoſt, the Papiſts were not content to be maſſacrers themſelves, but conſtrained ſuch of the Proteſtants as through feare had revolted, to play the murderers alſo. Thus placing theſe wicked revolters into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with weapons fit for the purpoſe, they preſſed them to march on before, and to give the firſt onſet, crying to them, Smite them, ſmite them; are they not of your brethren and holy ſiſters? And if they refuſed to doe as they were commanded, their turnes were like to be next.

¶ *The Maſſacres committed at Bourges and la Chanite, are the rather paſſed over in ſilence, because the hiſtory requires at this time to touch only upon ſuch things as are moſt remarkable, and ſhall after follow.*

YEt one thing ought not to be forgotten which fell out in the City laſt mentioned. There was one John Sarrazin of the age of ſeventy yeares and above, who for a long time had exerciſed the office of a Deacon in the reformed Church; the which he ſo faithfully performed, that he was eſteemed a father of the poore. This good old father was ſet upon on Tueſday night in his owne houſe the fourth of September, 1572. and laid at with ſwords by theſe furious murtherers: who with a venerable and ſmiling countenance looking upon them, ſaid, my friends, what will ye doe with me? have I ever offended any of you? And if I have, let him ſpeake. But nothing could any whit prevaile with theſe ſavage monſters to mollifie their ſtony hearts. For with a more then brutiſh rage they fell upon this gray head and poore withered carkaſſe, who to fence off the blowes crept under his bed, where one of theſe rakehels, his next neighbour and Godſon, gave him ſuch a thruſt in with his ſword into the belly, that his bowels iſſued out.

The poore man ſeeing himſelfe thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, ſaid, Ah Godſon, doe you uſe me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good. He languiſhed of this hurt two daies & two nights: during which time, as we have learned from his wife, who gave her attendance on him all the while, he ceaſed not with great zeale to call upon God, thinking himſelfe happy to have ſuffered that outrage for his name, and ſo not long after yeelded up his ſpirit, into the hands of God that gave it.

¶ *The horrible Maſſacre of the faithfull at Lyons in France.*

ON Wedneſday the ſeven and twentieth of Auguſt in the yeare 1572. about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, Sieur Mandolet governour of Lyons was advertiſed of the Maſſacre at Paris; and within an houre and an halfe after, a ſouldier paſſing through the ſtreets made it knowne to the people, that the Admirall, and all the Proteſtant Princes were ſlain. By and by the gates of the City were ſhut, and guards of ſouldiers placed here and there.

Huguenots he called them.

But leſt thoſe of the Religion ſhould be moved with ſuch an unwonted and an unexpected ſhutting in of the gates (as in the time of open warre) the Roman Catholiques cauſed it to be bruited that all was done to ſecure the Proteſtants. To which report ſome gave too much credit (for beſide the ordinary guard of the governour, and that of the Citadell, with the three hundred harquebuſiers of the City, which amounted to about a thouſand) there were gathered to them many beſides of the City with armes likewiſe; with command that if they deſcried any troupe of thoſe of the Religion comming abroad, though but with their ſwords guirt unto them, forthwith to cut them off with the reſt alſo. But they, having enured themſelves to an incredible modeſty and patience, gave not the leaſt appearance of defending themſelves, ſeeing a tempeſt now nigh at hand; which they knew could not ariſe without a ſpeciall providence of God.

The day following, notwithſtanding all theſe faire ſhewes, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the Papiſts, who had ſucked the bloud of many of them in the firſt troubles. For albeit they found no more paſſage for them out of the City then they did the day precedent, they might not now either freely goe out or come in upon their neceſſary occaſions: if they preſented themſelves in the ſtreets, they were clapt up in priſon; for which cauſe they were fain to keep their houſes. Night being come, they made a privy ſearch in their dwelling houſes; ſome they rifled, others were ranſomed, and the reſt impriſoned. Many of them never comming thither, were either killed in the corners of the ſtreetes with daggers, or elſe caſt into the river; whereof ſome (who were living when this Hiſtory was in writing) were ſaved by ſwimming, being carried down with the current of the ſtreame, halfe a mile beneath the City.

On Friday after there was a Proclamation with ſound of trumpets in all the chiefe places of the City, the ſumme of which was this, that thoſe of the Religion were to appeare before the governour at his houſe, there to be informed what the Kings pleaſure was concerning them. The greater part, being but too credulous, feared not to make their appearance at the place aſſigned, whence ſoone after they were committed to ſundry priſons. The night following there were heard from all parts of the City lamentable cries and ſhreekings, not onely of ſuch as were maſſacred in their houſes, but of others halfe wounded to death whom they haled to the river.

From that time forwards there were ſuch murthers and outrages committed, throughout the City, that it ſeemed hell was ſet open, and that Devils in the likeneſſe of men comming forth thence ran roring to and fro in the ſtreets.

On Sunday which was the laſt of this moneth of Auguſt, about eight of the clock in the morning, the reſt, who were left unmaſſacred the Fryday before, were made an end of then.

About one of the clocke the ſame day, commandement was given, that under every Ancient twenty five armed men with twelve Porters ſhould be gathered to conduct them to Saint Georges gate, which is by the Archbiſhops houſe, in which were more then three hundred and fifty priſoners; in which place the great Maſſacre was to bee executed. The keyes of the Archbiſhops houſe, wherein ſo many priſoners were incloſed, were delivered unto this bloudy crue; who joyfully offered themſelves to performe ſo horrible a buſineſſe; The which the ordinary executioner refuſed, and common Souldiers abhorred to undertake, when the ſame was firſt propounded unto them; they anſwering peremptorily they would never doe it.

The firſt alleadged, that if according to the courſe of Juſtice ſentence of death had been denounced againſt them, he knew what he had to doe; but for this their purpoſe he told them he thought they might have but too many executioners in the City to ſatiſfie their deſire. The ſouldiers anſwered, they thought it more then inhumane, to cut the throats of ſuch as never offended them. But if the priſoners had made any Inſurrection or ſedition in the City, they then might have ſome colour of reaſon to doe it; otherwiſe they meant not to ſtaine the honor of their profeſſion (which is accompanied with nobleneſſe of ſpirit) with ſo villanous an act, more befitting butchers then ſouldiers.

But Mandelot and his accomplices were not ſo ſcrupulous; for within three houres after, Clou Captaine of the Harquebuſiers of the City came with an enraged troupe, &c. the greater part whereof were furniſhed with ſhort ſwords and hangers.

As ſoone as Le Clou entred into the great Court, he gave the priſoners to underſtand with a loud voice, that they muſt die; and turning him towards his ſlaughter men, he ſaid, on, on, goe in, and to your worke: but firſt he forgat not to demand the priſoners purſes for his booty, which when he pocketted up, he gat him into a Gallery there, to ſatiſfie his helliſh luſt in taking a view of this rufull ſpectacle.

The murtherers began to fall upon the poore priſoners with ſuch barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them, in ſo furious a manner, that within leſſe than an houre they were all cut in pieces, not ſo much as one eſcaped their hands. All theſe for the moſt part were maſſacred kneeling on their knees, and lifting up their eies and hands to God for mercy, whilſt they had their hands and fingers cut off.

¶ *The death and martyrdome of Francis le Boſſu, a merchant, together with his ſons.*

AMong all thoſe who confeſſed the name of Jeſus Chriſt, and gave their lives for his truth, a certaine Merchant of hats and caps called Francis le Boſſu well deſerves to be ſet in the fore ranke, with his two ſonnes; for whileſt he trampled in the bloud of his brethren, being beſmeared therewith, and ſpirting as it were in his face; he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently: uſing this ſpeech, Children, we are not to learne now, that it hath alwaies been the portion of Beleevers, to bee hated, cruelly uſed, and devoured by Unbeleevers; as Chriſts ſilly Sheep of ravening wolves: if wee ſuffer with Chriſt we ſhall alſo reigne with him. Let not theſe drawne ſwords terrifie us, they will be but as a bridge whereby we ſhall paſſe over out of a miſerable life, into immortall bleſſedneſſe. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked, let us now goe and live with our God: let us joyfully march after this great company which is here gon before us, and let us make way for them that ſhall follow after.

When he ſaw the murtherers come, he claſped his armes about his two ſonnes, and they likewiſe embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children as if by the bond of nature (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received it) they meant to ward off the blowes which were comming towards their father, though with the loſſe of their owne lives: who when the maſſacre was ended were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

The Papiſts abhorre their own cruelties

Now after this furious aſſault, theſe impudent creatures went up and downe the City, ſhewing their white doublets all beſprinkled with bloud; boaſting, that ſome had killed an hundred, ſome more, ſome leſſe. Forthwith the great gates of the Archbiſhops houſe were ſet wide open for all commers; of whom ſurely there was none (were they of the devouteſt Romaniſts) but muſt needs have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to ſee ſo hideous a ſlaughter. And indeed ſome of them were heard to ſay, when they beheld this ſo inhumane and cruell an act, That certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, that had done this.

The next morning which was Munday, the firſt of September, the remainder of corpſes, which were not caſt into the water, were put into great boats, which being rowed over to the other ſide of the river of Saon, were all caſt on ſhore there; the corpſes being alſo ſpread upon the ground nigh to the Abbey of Eſnay like dung upon the earth. The Monkes would at no hand yeeld to have them buried in their Churchyard, eſteeming them unworthy of buriall; fearing alſo, that ſo many put together would be a meanes to infect the aire, and therefore gave them a ſigne to have them throwne into the river.

Now as the multitude were dragging them in thither, an Apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the greaſe that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the moſt corpulent bodies preſently ſought out, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that commodity being gotten thence, was ſold by theſe Merchants for three ſhillings the pound. And then not knowing how to wrecke their malice any further upon them, after many deriſions and ſcornes which the ſtanders by, but eſpecially the Italians, had done to theſe poore deſpiſed carkaſſes, they were tumbled into a great pit, and the reſt throwne into the river.

Thoſe of Daulphine, of Languedoc, and Provence were amaſed to ſee ſo many bodies floating upon the water, ſome diſmembred, others faſtned together with long poles, others lying on the ſhore, ſome having their eies put out, others their noſes, eares, and hands cut off, ſtabbed in with daggers in every part of their bodies, ſo as ſome among them had no humane ſhape remaining. Yea, ſo great a number of theſe mangled corpſes preſented themſelves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place began to make an outcry, as if the enemies had bin at their gates.

Not many moneths after, when all theſe bloudy Tragedies were ended, the Pope ſent a Legate to the King, called Cardinall Urſin. This Legat was received with great ſolemnity at Lyons, and the ſtreets hung with tapeſtry. Now having heard maſſe at Saint Johns Church, and returning by the ſame dore which he went in at, the greateſt number of the maſſacrers attended his comming there, and as he paſſed by they all kneeled downe for his abſolution. But the Legate not knowing the reaſon why they kneeled ſo before him, one of the principall agents kneeling there amongſt them, told the Legat that they were thoſe who had been the actors in the maſſacre. When the Legate perceived that to be the cauſe, he abſolved them all with making the ſigne of the Croſſe.

The maſſacrers abſolved by the Popes Legat.

¶ *Perſecution at Angiers in France.*

¶ *Maſter Iohn Maſon, a learned Miniſter, together with his wife and ſome others, Martyrs.*

A Proteſtant miniſter murthered in his garden.

AS ſoone as the maſſacre was begun at Paris, a Gentleman of Paris called Monſoreau obtained a Paſport with letters to maſſacre thoſe of the Religion at Angiers. Who, being diſappointed of his prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned Miniſter called Maſter John Maſon, ſirnamed de Launay, Sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at his entrance into the houſe, he ſaluted her and kiſt her, as it is the manner in France, eſpecially among the Courtiers, and asked her where her husband was? She anſwered him, that he was walking in his garden, and then directed him the way unto him.

Monſoreau having lovingly embraced La Riviere, ſaid unto him, Doe you know wherefore I am come? the King hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me expreſſe charge to doe it, as you ſhall know by his letters. After which words he ſhewed him a piſtoll ready charged. Riviere replyed, that hee knew not wherein he had offended the King; but ſeeing, ſaith he, you ſeeke my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my ſpirit into his hands.

Having made a ſhort prayer, he willingly preſented his body to the murtherer, who ſhot him in with his piſtoll, and ſo he died by and by.

Not long after the King ſent Puygaillard, who drowned nine or ten, and amongſt other the wife of this Miniſter de la Riviers above named, who expreſſed a ſingular conſtancy of faith even to her laſt breath.

This Miniſter and Martyr formerly mentioned, ſirnamed Launay, was the eldeſt ſon of Sieur de Launay, a man exceeding rich and wealthy, but an obſtinate Papiſt. When as the old man obſerved how his ſon was inclined to be a profeſſor of the Goſpell, he threatened to diſinherit him unleſſe he would abjure, promiſing on the contrary to beſtow great matters upon him, and to marry him honorably, if he would be ruled by him. All which his ſon refuſing, his fathers love began to be turned into hatred; inſomuch that the young man was forced to fly to Paris, where in time he was called to bee a Miniſter of the firſt reformed Church planted in that City, under the raigne of King Henry the ſecond; from which reformed Church other Churches in divers Cities in France fetched their light.

¶ *Perſecution at Rovan.*

When the Maſſacrers began to play their parts in this City, they counſelled thoſe of the religion to get themſelves into the priſons, as into places of greateſt ſecurity from the fury and rage of the people. But ſuch as followed this advice, were there even ready to be devoured, as poore Sheep, by theſe greedy wolves at their pleaſure.

Six thouſand maſſacred in few dayes at the city of Rovan

Thoſe who were murthered in the city in a few dayes, ſome in their houſes, and others in the priſons, amounted to ſix thouſand, beſides more than fifty women, upon whom they exerciſed no leſſe cruelty than upon men.

Their names for brevities ſake are here omitted. The dead bodies being piled together were conveyed in tumbrils out of the City, and throwne by heaps one upon another into great pits digged for that purpoſe. Their garments being waſhed in the river from their bloud, by certaine poore women, were afterwards diſtributed here and there to the poore by the Papiſts, that they might ſeeme with their unjuſt cruelty to mingle ſome workes of juſtice and charity.

¶ *A Note touching the ſhamefull revolt of a Miniſter called Du Roſier, with the event of it.*

Within a mile of Paris there is a place where thoſe of the Religion, which dwelt thereabouts, were wont to aſſemble to heare Sermons, and to participate of the Sacraments. Over this flocke was Huges Sureau (called Du Roſier) placed as overſeer.

Being in times paſt Miniſter at Orleance, he was diſcharged from thence, as one of a contentious ſpirit, and given to affect novelties.

In proceſſe of time he came to be eſtabliſhed the Miniſter of this foreſaid Church nigh unto Paris.

Hearing the newes of the Maſſacre, hee fled with the reſt for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, perſwading many priſoners to revolt as he had done; which cauſed him afterwards, if his repentance was ſound, to utter theſe words in a booke which I have, wherein hee bitterly lamented his wofull fall. The murtherers, ſaith he, by their cruell hands murthered mens bodies, whilſt their ſouls eſcaped ſafe; but I by my perſwaſions have been a killer of ſoules, in turning them from the truth which before they profeſſed.

The Judge who had him in bonds ſent letters preſently to Paris, to give notice of his apprehenſion, as alſo of ſome apparent ſignes which gave him hope of the Miniſters converſion.

The King by and by ſent for him; who being brought into his preſence, ſubſcribed inſtantly to an abjuration with deteſtation of the Huguenots profeſſion, before the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, maintained the Romiſh Religion, conſented therto with the Sorboniſts at that time there preſent; againſt whom a few yeares before he had learnedly defended the truth.

In this abjuration he endeavoured to confute many articles which were maintained by Calvin and Beza againſt the Romiſh Religion. In theſe diſputes, this Miniſter being of a prompt wit, and having ability to expreſſe himſelfe well, handled the matter ſo cunningly, that the King of Navarre, the Princeſſe his ſiſter, and the Princeſſe of Conde ſo far yeelded, that within five or ſix dayes after they went to maſſe, and received abſolution of the Cardinall of Bourbon.

The points about which this Roſier diſputed were theſe. Firſt, concerning the markes of the Church; Secondly, of the Trinity of Perſons; Thirdly, of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt; Fourthly, of Chriſts deſcent into hell; Fifthly, of originall ſinne; Sixthly, of the providence of God; Seventhly, of predeſtination and reprobation; Eightly, of mans free will, Ninthly, of Juſtification; Tenthly, of ſucceſſion; Eleventhly, of interceſſion of Saints; Twelfthly, of the ſacrifice of the maſſe; and laſtly of Tranſubſtantiation. The Sorboniſts cauſed this confeſſion to be printed, to which the Miniſters of the reformed Religion would not vouchſafe an anſwer, knowing that hee who made it did it contrary to his own conſcience, adding nothing thereto which had not been confuted a thouſand times.

All this upon his repentance he afterwards revoked, as is to be ſeene by his booke printed here in London in the French tongue, in the yere 1573, which confeſſion of his contrary to his abjuration I have in my cuſtody.

Now touching the Prince of Conde, the King propounded to him three things, either to goe to maſſe, to die, or elſe perpetuall priſon: and therefore to bethink himſelfe well which of the three he liked beſt. The Prince anſwered as it is reported, That by Gods grace he would never chuſe the firſt: as for the two later he referred himſelfe to the Kings pleaſure.

¶ *A maſſacre at Tholouſe in France.*

On Sunday which was the eight day after the maſſacre of Paris, about eight of the clocke in the morning, the chiefe of the Papiſts received advertiſement of that which had paſſed, with letters directing them what they were to doe. Then a Councell was called, at the breaking up whereof the great gates of the City were ſhut, only the wickets left open, at which there was ſet ſuch to watch as they thought fitting. Soone after it was noyſed through all the City, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion were maſſacred at Paris. Which the Proteſtants at Tholouſe noting, being gone forth about five of the clocke in the morning to heare the Sermon at Caſtanet, ſome thought it fit not to returne, but to reſort to ſome other place: others reſolved to goe backe againe, that they might take order about their affaires. Theſe, being ill adviſed, were ſuffered to enter in peaceably, leaving their ſwords and dag-

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gers at the gate. At evening ſouldiers were placed here & there; but in regard many Counſellors of the Religion were abroad (that they might the better entrap them) the next day the gates were not ſo carefully looked unto, but who would might come in, and goe out at their leiſure, without being queſtioned at all. This whs done to draw in the ſimple people who wandred up and downe the fields. The firſt preſident called Daſis, a ſubtle headed man, ſent to the Counſellors abroad to come in, promiſing them their ſafety upon his word, ſhewing that their abſence did but incenſe the Inhabitants of Tholouſe the more againſt them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a Maſſacre at Paris, but that was upon ſome private quarrell, ſo as the King was not minded for that to breake his edict of pacification.

Some of them were perſwaded aud returned; others caſting ſome perill reſolved to retire to Mountauban, Realmont, and elſewhere. On Tueſday following, that they might hold them whom they had gotten within the Walls, and draw in ſuch as yet kept themſelves without, they cauſed it to be publiſhed with ſound of trumpets; that the Kings will was that none of the religion ſhould be moleſted, but reſpectively uſed. The preſidents with ſundry others were preſent at this Proclamation, accompanied with a guard of ſouldiers, which cauſed many of the Religion, eſpecially the Counſellors, to ſuſpect ſome trechery; who therefore haſtened to the firſt preſident to know what theſe things meant. He anſwered, it was onely to reſtraine the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the birds who kept aloofe off, they wrecked their malice upon thoſe they had in their hands.

On Wedneſday next then, about ten of the clocke in the morning, having ſeparated their Troupes into divers quarters, they cauſed them to enter into the houſes of thoſe of the Religion, whom they impriſoned in ſundry priſons of the City. This buſineſſe held them all that Wedneſday. The guard was doubled at the gates, and one of the Parliament, with a Merchant that was a Papiſt, deputed as commanders at the ſaid gates, to examine all ſuch as went out, and to put backe ſuch as meant to eſcape. There was alſo a charge given, that none ſhould dare to conceale any of the ſaid Religion, as they would anſwer to the contrary. By meanes whereof many being diſcovered, were impriſoned. Among which were five or ſix Counſellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the reſt. Thus were they detained three weeks. In the meane while the Maſſacrers ſet upon the neighbour Cities.

The three weekes being expired, they put all theſe priſoners together into the Conſciergery, which is a ſpeciall priſon. After which they began to manifeſt themſelves: for the reaſon why they had deferred the ſlaughter of them ſo long, was, that they might obtaine authority from Paris; the which was brought them by their Deputies, whoſe names were Delpech and Madron, rich Merchants of the City. Theſe came with a warrant from the King, that if the Maſſacre was not finiſhed, then they ſhould not deferre any longer to put his will in execution. To which they ſhewed themſelves but too forward and ready.

On Saturday morning before the Sunne was up, certaine ſchollers who were night walkers, with other lewd fellowes to the number of ſeven or eight, armed with axes and butchers knives, entred into the ſaid Conſciergery, and cauſing the priſoners to be called down one after another, they maſſacred them beneath at the ſtaires foot of the Conſciergery, not permitting them ſo much much leiſure as to ſpeake, much leſſe to pray. It was thought that they maſſacred to the number of three hundred; afterwards ſpoiling them of all they had, ſtripping them out of their cloathes and ſhirts, and leaving them naked, their ſecret parts being onely covered with a piece of paper. They were expoſed to the view of all for the ſpace of two daies; whileſt they digged great pits, whereinto the corpſes thus cruelly maſſacred were caſt naked one upon another. The Counſellors whom they had impriſoned, after they were maſſacred, were hanged in their long gownes upon a great Elme which was in the Court of the Palace; and in the meane while the houſes of thoſe of the Religion were ſacked and pillaged.

Three hundred maſſacred in the City of Tholouſe in France.

Many among theſe, by reaſon of the barbarous cruelties uſed againſt their Brethren, abjured daily. Now becauſe the Sorboniſts provided a forme of abjuration to that purpoſe, for ſaving the lives of ſuch as recanted, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert the ſame in this place; it being imprinted at Paris by Nicholas Roffet.

The abjured minding to returne into the lap of our holy Mother the Roman Church, muſt preſent themſelves firſt to their Parſons or Curats, to be directed by them what they ought to doe. Afterward to be ſent thence to their reverend Biſhop and Dioceſan, or his Officiall, to pronounce the ſaid abjuration in manner and forme following.

¶ The forme of their Abjuration.

1 I Such a one of ſuch a Dioceſſe, and dwelling in ſuch a place, acknowledge by the grace of God the true Catholique and Apoſtolike Faith, from which I have wilfully gone aſtray and ſeparated my ſelfe; and now deſiring to returne into the true Sheepfold, which is the Catholique, Apoſtolique, and Romane Church, I do profeſſe to have abjured, and here before you my ſuperiour do abjure and deteſt all the Huguenote errors of Luther, Calvin, and all hereſies whatſoever, wherwith heretofore I have been infected and defamed, conſenting now to the doctrine of our holy Mother the Church, beſeeching you in the name of God, and of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his Mother, with all the hee ſaints and ſhe ſaints in Paradiſe, that it wil pleaſe you to receive me into the fold of the Chriſtian flock and people of God, who live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained Chriſts Vicar in the ſaid Church, ſubmitting my ſelf patiently to beare, and willingly to performe the penance you ſhall think fit to impoſe upon me, abſolving me from all my offences committed whileſt I lived in ſuch errors, for which I here aske pardon of God, of the ſaid Church, and of you my Paſtor (ſet over mee by God the Creator) to abſolve me with ſuch penance as you ſhall judge to be availeable for the ſatisfaction of my ſins and offences. And that it may be ſeen that from the heart I have made and doe make this abjuration.

2 I further confeſſe, before God and you, that I beleeve all that is contained in the Apoſtles, Athanaſius and Nicene Creeds, with all the confeſſions of faith beſides, allowed and approved by the Councels of the Catholique, Apoſtolique, and Roman Church, and ſo forth as it followeth in thoſe Creeds.

3 I alſo beleeve, acknowledge and confeſſe whatſoever is contained in the old and new Teſtament, approved by the ſaid holy Catholique Apoſtolique Roman church, according to the ſenſe and interpretation of the holy Doctors, and by

them received, rejecting wholly all other Interpretations as falſe and erroneous.

4 I acknowledge the ſeven Sacraments of the ſaid Church to have been inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as neceſſary for the ſalvation of mankinde, although all of them are not of neceſſity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the ſeven Sacraments be, Baptiſme, Confirmation, the Euchariſt, which is the holy Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, extreame Unction, Orders, and marriage; and that of them Baptiſme, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be reiterated without ſacriledge. That the ſaid Sacraments confer grace, and have thoſe effects which the Church hath taught, and that the forme and uſe according to which they are adminiſtred to Chriſtians is holy and neceſſary.

5 I further acknowledge, that the holy maſſe is a Sacrifice and oblation of the true body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, under the formes of bread and wine mingled with water; which bread and wine under the foreſaid formes are in the Maſſe, by the words of Conſecration there pronounced by the Prieſt, tranſubſtantiated and changed into the ſaid body and blood of Chriſt; albeit the qualities and accidents remaine in the ſaid formes after Conſecration; and that the Maſſe is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.

6 I acknowledge and confeſſe the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the body of Chriſt under the forme of bread only, I then likewiſe receive the blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

7 I confeſſe that prayer to, and interceſſion of Saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for Chriſtians, and in no ſort contrary to the honour of God.

8 That prayers made in the Church for the faithfull departed are beneficiall for them, for the remiſſion of ſins, and mitigating of their paines deſerved for the ſame.

9 That there is a Purgatory, where the ſoules of ſuch as are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithfull.

10 I confeſſe that honour ought to be given to the Saints raigning with Chriſt in heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make interceſſion for us to God, and that their reliques ought to be worſhipped.

11 That the commandements and traditions of the ſaid church, conſiſting in divine ceremonies, are holy and good, as faſtings, abſtinence from meats, obſervation of feaſts, and other Eccleſiaſticall rites, and ought to be obſerved according to the traditions of the Apoſtles and ancient Fathers, continued from the Primitive times, and ſince brought into the Church by the decrees of Councels, received thence long agoe or lately: Alſo that I will and ought to obey them as preſcribed and authorized by the holy Ghoſt, the ordainer of thoſe things which ſerve to the upholding of Chriſtian religion, and of the holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Romane Church.

12 I likewiſe beleeve and conſent to all the Articles concerning originall ſinne and Juſtification.

13 I alſo ſtedfaſtly beleeve that the pictures of Chriſt, of his holy Mother, and of all the Saints ought to be retained in the Church, that the uſes of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worſhipped.

14 I confeſſe that the power of indulgences and pardons is left to the Church by Jeſus Chriſt, and the uſe of them is greatly availeable; as alſo I acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the chief Mother of all Churches, and that ſhe hath the holy Ghoſt for her guide: and that all private and pretended inſpirations contradicting the ſame are of the Devill the prince of diſſention, who would rent in ſunder the ſeameleſſe Coat of Jeſus Chriſt.

15 Laſtly, I ſtrictly promiſe to obſerve and keepe whatſoever was decreed and ordained by the laſt Councell of Trent, and do promiſe before God and you, never to depart from the Catholike and Apoſtolike Romane Church. And if I ſhall (which God forbid) I ſubmit me to the correction and Canons of the ſaid Church, made, decreed, and ordained againſt them which fall into Apoſtaſie.

To which abjuration and confeſſion I have ſubſcribed with my hand, &c.

Some of thoſe who for feare abjured afterwards relented; others grew more and more hardened; inſomuch that in going oft to Maſſe they tooke part with the prieſts and murtherers, as if they had never made any profeſſion at all of the truth.

¶ *Perſecution at Bourdeaux the third of October, 1572.*

SOone after the maſſacre at Paris, tidings thereof came to Bourdeaux. Where it happened on a morning as the Proteſtants were taking boat to heare a Sermon in a meadow where they were wont to meet, being about three miles from Bourdeaux, betweene the river of Garonna and the brooke of la Jalla, that the Governour Mountferrand commanded them to come backe again. He had the skill to cloake the ſame under a plauſible pretence, namely, that they ſhould not be ſet upon there by the multitude.

After their returne they began to ſet a ſtrong watch and ward at the gates, ſo as none of the religion could have leave to paſſe forth, unleſſe he had a paſſeport from the Governour: yet meanes was made for their Miniſters eſcape without being perceived; who went to Medoc, expecting what the event of this buſineſſe at Bourdeaux would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they ſtaid certaine daies and nights, hiding themſelves in the rocks and mariſhes, untill they had opportunity to take ſhipping and ſo ſaile into England.

Inſtantly thereupon there arrived at Bourdeaux the Lord of Montpeſat from the King, who at his firſt comming fained as if he meant to ſettle all things in peace. Yet he wrought under hand in ſuch wiſe with the Governour, that the maſſacre was reſolved of, to which he was ſollicited by a Jeſuite called Edmund Angier, who out of the pulpit uſed horribly and bitterly to thunder and inveigh againſt the remiſneſſe and faint-heartedneſſe of the ſaid Governour. Inſomuch as on S. Michaels day (as they called it) ſpeaking of the Angels by whom God executes his judgements, he cryed out by way of Interrogation, who executed Gods judgements upon the Hugenots in Paris? The Angell of God. Who hath executed the like upon other Cities in this kingdome? The Angell of God. In a word, he never ceaſed in publique and private to ſollicite the Papiſts of Bourdeaux to follow the example of the Pariſians. And then as a croking Raven, day by day he menaced thoſe of the religion with the approaching of an utter ruine and deſolation, if they did not betimes returne into the boſome of the Romane Church, which offer if they now refuſed, they ſhould not be received in when they would.

Many being terrified with theſe threates, as alſo by the intreaties of their kindred, who ſet be-

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fore them the imminent danger which hung over their heads, revolted and abjured. The ſaid Sieur of Montpaſſet cauſed Maſter William Blanck, an Advocate in the Court of Parliament, to be called before him, who was counſellor to him and to his father in law; exhorting and perſwading him to returne to the unity of the Romane church.

Le Blanck anſwered, that he had ſufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he tooke upon him the profeſſion of that Religion which he now profeſſed; which he ſaid was the true religion, acknowledging the ſame in every reſpect far to exceed the other.

Montpeſſat hearing this, rebuked him ſharply; ſaying, that then he thought himſelfe wiſer than the King and all thoſe that profeſſed as his Majeſtie did. Inſomuch as they who ſtood about Le Blanck began to handle him roughly; ſo that hee had much adoe to eſcape with his life, had not Montpeſſat reſcued him from that danger, becauſe he was come thither upon his word. The Governour ſaid; if he had been there he would have ſlaine him.

The Covernour, being preſſed to diſpatch this maſſacre at Bourdeaux, wiſt not well what to do. For on the one ſide La Sieur de Veſins, with ſundry others comming from the Court, aſſured him from the King, that he wondred why the buſineſſe was deferred ſo long; ſhewing, that he could not performe a more acceptable ſervice unto him than it. On the other ſide Stroſſi, who hovered about Rochel to take it, wiſhed him to be well adviſed what he did, what command ſoever he had to the contrary: Foreſeeing belike, that if he went forward with this execution, the Rochellers would have had the ſaid Stroſſi in ſuch a jealouſie, that his project would have been defeated, and ſo would be no ſmall prejudice to the Kings affaires; putting him in hope, that he would ſtand betweene him and all perils.

For the truth is, the army by ſea, which was prepared againſt Rochel, lying for a time at Burdeaux, under pretence of conquering Florida, would have been ready enough to have made a generall maſſacre there, but that they were afraid the Rochellers would be incenſed thereat.

Yet in concluſion the Governour, having balanced things on both parts, was perſwaded by the Sieur Montpeſſat to put the maſſacre in execution. To which purpoſe an oath being taken, a catalogue was made of ſuch as they meant to ſpoile.

On Saturday then, which was the third of October, 1572. the Governour having aſſembled together all the ſcum of the City to aide and aſſiſt him in ſo barbarous an act, commanded them with other ſouldiers to be ready preſently after dinner to put the Kings command into execution. To which they were very forward, comming in their Liveries, attended on by Captaines of tens, to direct them touching that they had to do. The greater part of the maſſacrers had red hats given them by Peter Eſtounach, and for the blood wherwith they dyed their armes, they were called the Red Band: others called them the Cardinalls Band. The Governor commanded them to kil all thoſe of the Religion, eſpecially ſuch as had taken armes, and not to ſpare one. And himſelfe intending to ſhew them the way, went to the houſe of Maſter John Guilloch, Lord of Obiere, counſellor in the Court of Parliament, to execute the hatred he had long ſince conceived againſt him: who being about to eſcape away out at a backe doore, they caught and brought him into the outer court before his houſe, in the preſence of the Governour, who with a ſhort ſword maſſacred him; which done, his houſe was wholly pillaged.

At that time they brought a certaine Miniſter out of the Conſciergery, who a few daies before comming from the country Saintong to Bourdeaux (for his better ſafety as he thought) was there apprehended and impriſoned: and as ſoon as he was come out of the priſon they maſſacred him before the gates of the Palace.

Maſter William Sabins houſe (a Counſellor of the ſaid Parliament, who was one of the Religion) was forced open, pillaged and ſpoiled, and himſelfe cruelly murthered. His Clarke called Simonet, ſeeing his maſter about to be maſſacred, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the Religion, he anſwered yea, and would die with his maſter for the ſame. Thus they were ſlaine one in anothers armes.

¶ *The cruell Martyrdome of Du Tour, a Deacon of the Proteſtant Church.*

A Deacon of the reformed Church called Du Tour, an old man, who in the daies of his ignorance had been a Prieſt in the popiſh church, being ſick in his bed, was haled forth into the open ſtreet; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to Maſſe, and thereby ſave his life; he freely anſwered, No, eſpecially now drawing ſo neere his end, both in regard of his yeares and greevous ſickneſſe: I hope (ſaith he) I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternall ſalvation of my ſoule, as for feare of death to prolong this life for a few dayes; for ſo I ſhould buy a ſhort terme of life at too deere a rate. They hearing him ſay ſo, maſſacred him inſtantly.

It was lamentable to ſee the poore Proteſtants wandring up and downe, not knowing where to ſave their lives: ſome were rejected of their owne parents and kinsfolkes, who ſhut their doores againſt them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by thoſe to whoſe truſt they had committed themſelves: many were ſaved even by Prieſts and others, from whom a man would have expected no ſuch ſecurity. Some were ſaved by their very enemies, whoſe hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable outrages.

All the City was full of terrors and horrible threats againſt thoſe of the Religion, ſaying, that the Kings commandement was, that he would not have ſo much as one of them left in his Kingdome. And if any refuſed to goe to Maſſe, that an hole ſhould be digged for him in the earth, in which he ſhould forthwith be buried without any more adoe.

¶ *Scoffing Ballads ſung in contempt of the Admirall of Chaſtillon and other Proteſtants.*

Neare the Palace and throwout the City were defamatory Libels ſung againſt the Admirall of Chaſtillon and the Huguenots. In which regard, ſuch in whoſe hearts God had reſerved but any ſparkle of piety, were ſo terrified and vexed with their blaſphemies, that the condition of the maſſacred ſeemed to be much better than theirs who were left alive; who heard and ſaw thoſe things without ceaſing, which to an honeſt minde was more bitter then death it ſelfe.

The Governor was very carefull after the maſſacre was ended, to advertiſe the Sieur Montpeſſat, by a Gentleman, of all things which had paſſed, according to the promiſe he had made unto him. Which Montpeſſat was ſuddenly ſurpriſed

with

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Montpeſat ſuddenly ſurpriſed with a ſtrange diſeaſe.

with a diſeaſe; wherein feeling Gods hand heavy upon him, he uttered ſuch lamentable outcries, that his bloud and ſoule were poured out at once, a judgement juſtly inflicted upon him, for all the innocent bloud the which he had ſhed without a cauſe.

¶ *The judgement of God upon one Vincent.*

THe like judgement of God fell not long after upon another of theſe maſſacrers called Vincent, Advocate of the Court, one who had had his hand deepely dyed in this bloudy enterpriſe, not ſticking to boaſt that with his own hands hee had murthered Agraulet doore keeper of the Court. This man alſo fell dangerouſly ſick, but in the end recovering againe, and as he thought being in good health, he told ſome of his friends that hee felt his armes ſtrong enough to handle his Coutleaxe or ſhort ſword as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with ſuch a flux of bleeding at his noſe, as could not be reſtrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then uſed. It was an hideous ſight to ſee him ſtill bowing his head over a baſon full of bloud, which without ceaſing iſſued out of his noſe and mouth.

Vincent dies drenched in his owne bloud.

This bloudy wretch then, who breathed forth nothing but bloud in the time of his health, nor could have his eyes ſatisfied with ſeeing the bloud of innocents poured out, was forced whileſt he lived to ſee himſelfe drenched in his own bloud, even untill his laſt gaſpe.

Another of this wretched crew ſwelled ſo long that he burſt in ſunder.

Another of them, thirſting after bloud as much as any of the reſt, was taken with ſuch a ſwelling in all the parts of his body, that there was ſcarcely to be diſcerned in him the forme of a man, and ſo continued ſwelling more and more, till at the length he burſt in ſunder.

God meets with the Gevernor himſelf at length.

The Governour himſelfe who was the chiefe actor in this maſſacre, about two yeares after gathering all the forces he could to beſiege Genſes, with an intention to doe wonders there, preſenting himſelfe ready for the purpoſe, was choſen to goe in the ranke of five and twenty or thirty brave Gentlemen, and he onely ſhot with an harquebuſe dyed. The reſt by and by retiring came off ſafe, without doing any further exploit.

Thirty thouſand maſſacred within a few weeks in the Cities of France.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions and oppreſſions of the reformed Churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks well nigh thirty thouſand were put to death.

Now in the yeare 1572. many places whither the faithfull were fled for refuge, were aſſayled by open warre; namely, in the firſt place that of Sancerre, the Hiſtory whereof you have here in a ſhort view preſented before you in that which followeth.

¶ *A relation of the extreme famine which happened in the City of Sancerre in France, being beſieged with five hundred horſmen, and about five thouſand footmen the ninth of Ianuary, 1573. with their deliverance.*

The Sieur of Chaſtre was then Generall of the Kings army.

BEing (ſaith the ſtory) compaſſed about with irreconcileable enemies, from about the beginning of Aprill; the want of victuals having cauſed them to gather together all the aſſes and mules they had in the City, they were eaten up in leſſe than a moneth.

Then they came to horſes, cats, rats, mouſes mice, and dogges. After theſe were ſpent, they fell to eat oxe and cow-hides, ſheep-skins, parchment old ſhooes, bullockes, and horſehoofes, hornes of lanthornes, ropes, and horſe harneſſe, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of June the third part of the beſieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp ſeed, ground it, or ſtamped it in mortars, and made bread of it, the like they did with all ſorts of herbes, mingling the ſame with branne if they had it. There they eat meale of chaffe, nut-ſhels, and of ſlate, excrements of horſes, and men, yea, the offall which lay in the ſtreets was not ſpared.

The nine and twentieth of July, a poore man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, braines, and entrailes of a young childe about three yeares old which died of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meale. An old woman lodging in their houſe, eating a part of this mournefull dyet, dyed in priſon, within a few houres after her impriſonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the ſame the more. All children under twelve yeares of age dyed. It was lamentable to heare the pittifull voices uttered by poore parents for the miſery wherein their eyes beheld their languiſhing and dying infants.

To which purpoſe you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten yeares old, being ready to yeeld up the ghoſt, ſeeing his father and mother weeping over him (whoſe armes and legges when they handled, felt as if they had been dryed ſtickes) ſaid unto them, wherefore weepe ye thus, in ſeeing me famiſhed to death? Mother, ſaith he, I aske you no bread, I know you have none: but ſeeing it is Gods will I muſt die this death, let us bee thankfull for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus dye of famine? Have I not read it in my Bible? In uttering theſe with the like ſpeeches he yeelded up the ghoſt the thirtieth day of July.

That all the people died not of famine in the end of this moneth, it was by reaſon of certain horſes which were reſerved for ſervice if need ſhould be, and ſix kine which were left to give milk for the ſuſtenance of young infants. Theſe beaſts were killed, and their fleſh ſold for the reliefe of ſuch as were living, with a little corne which by ſtealth ſome brought into the City; ſo that a pound of wheat was ſold for halfe a crowne.

There died by fight in Sancerre but eighty four perſons, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many ſouldiers getting forth as they could out of the City, flying from the famine, choſe rather to dye by the ſword of the enemy; whereof ſome were ſlaine, others impriſoned, and the reſt put to death by the executioner.

God ſent theſe good men in due ſeaſon from a farre countrey to preſerve this diſtreſſed city from utter ruine.

But when all helpe of man failed, the King having ſworne that he would make them eat up one another, the King of Kings delivered them by his wonderfull providence. For at this inſtant the embaſſadors from Poland came into France to accept the duke of Anjou for their king, at whoſe intreaty (which could not well be denied) poore Sancerre, more than halfe famiſhed, was now ſet at liberty by raiſing the ſiege, who otherwiſe were determined to leave their bones there, rather than to yeeld themſelves into their enemies hands, in regard they had oft threatened them with a generall maſſacre. Whereas now by the Kings appointment they were permitted to paſſe out of the

City armed; if any would tarry, that they ſhould not be moleſted: having liberty granted them to diſpoſe of their affaires, as they pleaſed, with promiſe of conſerving the honour and chaſtities as well of virgins, as women, &c.

Of this ſiege Marſhall Mon Luc ſaid, that it was great, long, and ſightly: but though well aſſailed yet better defended.

Now let us come to the City of Rochel, which being at this inſtant ſtrongly beſieged by the forces of France, both by ſea and land, with about forty or fifty thouſand men, was yet in the end alſo delivered, though not without many hot conflicts, by the immediate hand of God; namely thus: The Embaſſadors of Poland arriving in France the ſeventeenth day of June, a truce was made on the ſudden, articles of peace drawne, and ſent to the King, who conſented to them, and returned anſwer in forme of an Edict, granting to thoſe of Rochell, Montauban, Niſmes, and others which ſtood upon their defence, liberty for the exerciſes of Religion; the reſt to live peaceably in their houſes, and therein to miniſter the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and marriage as they had wont to doe, ſo as their aſſemblies exceeded not the number of ten, beſides the parents.

He reſtored to the Rochellers and others their rites and priviledges, letting fall all the decrees given out againſt them, approving of their defenſive war; giving them leave, according to their ancient cuſtome, to retaine in their Cities, Towers, and Fortreſſes men and munition, yea, to receive in Governours among them, provided that they were ſuch as they had no cauſe to ſuſpect or except againſt.

By vertue of this Edict, upon the tenth day of July, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, the Sieur of Biron entred into the City at the gate called de Coigne, with an Herauld of armes, and foure of the Kings Trumpetters (at which houre peace was proclaimed in the moſt eminent places thereof) accompanied with the Lieutenant of the City, and with the Lord of Villiers. After which, dining at the Maiors houſe, he ſoone after retired, being conducted along till he came without the City.

A certaine Gentleman, Nephew to Puygaillard Governour of Angiers, bragging that he had beene one who murthered the Admirall, ſhewing a ſhort ſword which he had uſed in that ſlaughter, threatened the like to the Rochellers, but God cut him ſhort alſo, at the ſiege of Sancerre.

The ſame day many ſmall Veſſels laden with Biskets, Corne, Meale, Fiſh, and other proviſion entred into the Haven. At this ſiege the Duke D'Amaule loſt his life, with Coſſeins, who had broken into the Admirals Lodging, and began the maſſacre at Paris: beſides many great Lords, Gentlemen, Captaines, Lieutenants, and Antients, to the number of threeſcore, the greater part of which, having their hands embrued in thoſe other bloody maſſacres, being come thither received their reward, namely, either preſent death, or wounds ſo incurable that they eſcaped not with life,

One thing ought not here to be paſſed over in ſilence, to wit, the proviſion of victuals which God furniſhed this beſieged people withall, when all other proviſions began to faile them, namely, an infinite number of ſmall fiſhes never ſeene before in that haven, which every day yeelded themſelves to the mercy of the neceſſitous inhabitants. But as ſoone as the Edict was publiſhed, and the Rochellers ſet at liberty by the arriving of the Poliſh Embaſſadors, theſe ſea fiſhes withdrew themſelves.

¶ Although this relation following, touching another ſiege of this City of Rochel, ſutes nothing at all with the order of time, happening as it did in the yeare 1628. yet foraſmuch as it ſeemes to have ſome affinity with the terrible famine wherewith both the City of Sancerre and it were afflicted; let not the reader be offended for placing the ſame here ſomewhat out of place, being a thing ſo worthy of note.

¶ *An extract of a Letter written on board the Saint George, his Majeſties Ship in Saint Georges Iſland.*

There dyed in this ſiege of Rochel, the thirtieth of October, 1628, ſixteen thouſand perſons, the reſt enduring a world of miſeries; moſt of all their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other proviſions being very ſcarſe were at an exceſſive rate; viz.

A Buſhell of wheate	*xx. li.*
A pound of bread	*xx. s.*
A quarter of Mutton	*vi. li. od mony.*
A pound of Butter	*xxx. s.*
An Egge	*viii. s.*
An ounce of Sugar	*ii. s. vi. d.*
A dryed fiſh	*xx. s.*
A pinte of Wine	*xx. s.*
A pound of grapes	*iii. s.*
A pinte of Milke	*xxx. s.*

Alſo it is reported, that through the famine, yong maids of fourteen or ſixteen yeares of age did looke like old women of an hundred yeares old. The famine was ſuch, that the poore people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the Church yard unburied. All the Engliſh that came out looked like Anatomies. They lived two moneths with nothing but Cow hides and Goats skins boiled; the dogs, cats, mice, and frogs being all ſpent. And this with a world of other miſeries did they ſuffer, in hope of being releeved by others. Thus much I thought good to let you underſtand.

¶ *A deſcription of the manner of the death of Charles the ninth, King of France.*

In the yeare 1574. Charles the ninth, King of France (in the time of whoſe raigne theſe forenamed execrable maſſacres were executed) fell ſicke; which ſickneſſe ſeiſed upon him before his brother the Duke of Aniou tooke his voyage into Poland: from which during the winter ſeaſon he obtained ſome recovery. But that which then ſeemed to lie hidden brake forth again afreſh in the Spring; ſo as this Prince, after he had languiſhed three whole moneths, viz. February, March, and April, drew his Phyſitians to a conſultation about the ſtate of his body; who in the end concluded to purge and let him blood. But theſe remedies tooke not ſuch an effect as the King and they expected; for he ſtill waſted and conſumed away, being in the flower of his age, to the wonder of many. Some gueſſed he had taken a ſurfet either in eating or drinking; others, that hee was enchanted.

The thirtieth of May he dyed, in the preſence of his mother, and of the Cardinals of Bourbon and Ferrare, &c.

He was borne on the twenty ſeventh day of June, 1550. He began his raigne the firſt of December, 1560. and ſo reigned, as that it gives to poſterity juſt cauſe both of admiration and deteſtation. Thus this Prince lived not forty yeares

fully

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fully compleat. Now if any deſire to be further ſatisfied as touching the manner of his death, I referre them to that which Maſter John Fox hath written thereof not many lines before the concluſion of this booke, commonly called the booke of Martyrs.

A note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus the fifth, wherein the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde were declared Heretiques &c. with the cenſure thereof by the Parliament of Paris.

IN September 1585. Pope Sixtus the fifth, by a Bull ſent from Rome, condemned the king of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde for Heretikes, excommunicated them, degrading them and their ſucceſſors from their dignities, eſpecially laying claime to the Crowne of France, abſolving their ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and expoſing their Countries for a prey to them that could firſt ſubdue them.

The Court of Parliament of Paris made a notable remonſtrance to the King concerning theſe Buls, in the which they ſought to maintain the priviledges of the Gallicane Church. Among other things, theſe words that follow are very remarkable. The Court thinks that theſe Buls are ſet forth in a ſtile altogether of a new ſtamp, and ſo contrary to the modeſty of former Popes, that they can in no ſort diſcerne therein the ſpirit of a ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles. And therefore (as the deputies of the ſaid Court added) wee can neither find by our regiſters, nor by any antiquity, that the Princes of France ever ſubjected themſelves ſo farre to the authority of the Pope, nor that the Subjects have taken ſuch knowledge of the Religion of their Princes. The Court therefore cannoe determine ought thereupon, unleſſe firſt of all the Pope can cauſe his pretended right in tranſlation of Kingdoms, to appeare, which Kingdomes were eſtabliſhed and ordained of God, before the name of a Pope was heard of in the world: that he manifeſts not to us what title he hath to intermeddle with the matter of the ſucceſſion of a young and vigorous Prince, who, for ought the Pope knows, may have his ſucceſſion yet in his loynes: that he ſhews not with what appearance of juſtice or equity he ſhould deny that priviledge which is allowed to ſuch as ate accuſed of hereſie againſt the decrees of antient canons, namely that no man ought to be held as an heretique, untill his defence be fully and freely heard, till he have received often admonitions from many Synodes, and thereupon ſentenced by a Councell lawfully aſſembled.

Further they added, that ſeeing the pope in ſtead of inſtruction, breaths forth nothing in his Buls but deſtruction, changing his ſhepherds crooke into a terrible thunderbolt, rather to ſcatter then ſweetly to call the erring flocke into the Boſome of the Catholique Church, the Court cannot ſafely admit of, or entertaine a Bull ſo pernitious and oppoſite to the generall good of all the Chriſtian World, and to the ſoveraignty of the Crowne of France; yea, they further were of opinion, that this Bull deſerved to be throwne into the fire and burned, and the ſollicitors or upholders thereof for examples ſake to be ſeverely chaſtiſed; humbly beſeeching the King to maintaine his Edicts in his owne Kihgdome in peace.

This remonſtrance tooke ſmall effect: for not long after, the King being ſollicited by the principall of the league, ſet forth a declaration the ſeventh of October, upon the Edict publiſhed in July next before going; wherein having confiſcated the body and goods of thoſe of the Religion with their aſſociates, who in any Province had taken armes againſt the fury of the league, it was ordained, that thoſe of the Religion within ſixe moneths were to depart out of the Kingdome, unleſſe within fifteene daies fully accompliſhed after the ſaid declaration they ſhould abjure.

The Parliament, ſuffering themſelves to be carried downe by the violence of this ſtreame, accepted and admitted of this Edict. The Princes framed an oppoſition againſt the Popes Bull, appealing therefrom, as a wrong done unto them, offering to make it appeare in a free and lawfull Councell, that the Pope had malitiouſly belied them, in calling them Heretiques; ſo as if he refuſed this faire and lawfull courſe by them propounded, they would hold and eſteem him for that great antichriſt, and would proclaime an open irreconcileable war againſt him. This oppoſition was affixed and ſet up at Rome the ſeventh day of November.

Not long after, among thoſe of the Religion which were impriſoned, others were more ſeverely handled. Among many, take notice here of two honourable Women, whoſe memory ought to be celebrated in this Hiſtory of the Martyrs; namely, Radagonde daughter of Maſter John Foucoult, Atturney in the Parliament of Paris, Widow, of the age of fourty yeares, and Claude Foucoult her ſiſter, a Virgin about thirty ſix, who were apprehended the nine and twentieth of October 1585. the one of the Village of Pierrepit neere Paris, and the other in the ſuburbs of Saint German, and brought priſoners into Chaſtelet becauſe they denied to goe to maſſe, and would not abjure and forſake the true Religion. Being ſevered one from the other in priſon, they were examined upon ſundry Articles “ to which they made their direct anſwer according to the word of God.

“ To wit, touching the ſupper of the lord, prayer to ſaints, prayer for the dead, & about abſtaining from meats.

Then being put together, they were accuſed for diſobeying the Kings commandement, which was that thoſe of the Religion were either to depart the Kingdome by ſuch a time, or elſe abjure. They anſwered, that they were willing to leave the Kingdome, if they might obtaine a convenient time to take order about that little which they had there; but refuſing to yeeld to their requeſt, they were ſhut up again, and the ſeventh of November in the preſence of the Lieutenant, as alſo of the Advocate for the King, and a ſorboniſt, they pleaded their Innocency. Theſe men getting no advantage againſt them, but being rather confounded by the Wiſedome of Gods Spirit, ſpeaking by theſe two ſiſters, went and complained to the King, that they were obſtinate Heretiques. This was in the beginning of the yeare 1588.

They continued in priſon many weeks, being cumbred with many diſputes, yet remained unſhaken. The Friday before Eaſter the “ King himſelfe was to ſee them, asking them whether they would conforme themſelves to the Catholique Apoſtolique Roman church (as he called it) They with ſuch reverence and obeiſance, as became them, gave him their reaſons why they could not ſo doe, confirming the ſame by texts of Holy Scripture. His ſecond queſtion was, why they had not obeyed his laſt Edict. The Widow anſwered, ſir, ſaith ſhe, I have three ſmall Children to care for; and whereas your Majeſty allotted thoſe of the Religion the tearme of fifteene daies after ſix moneths ended to depart the Kingdome; I have done my utmoſt to take up ſuch monies as were due unto me, but thoſe who were indebted unto me, neglected to pay me. Beſides,

“ Hen. the third

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hee that kept my vineyards of Pierrepit, to quit himſelfe of me, accuſed me of hereſie, cauſing my ſiſter and my ſelfe to be here impriſoned, where we have lien ſix moneths, and if ſo be our petition preſented by us find no acceptance in your Majeſties ſight, we moſt humbly beſeech you to grant that we may be freed out of priſon, and wee will be gone inſtantly out of the Kingdome according to your Majeſties Edict.

The date is paſt, ſaid the King, nor will I ſhew you any favour, unleſſe you will promiſe to goe to maſſe. He was much diſpleaſed in ſeeing their conſtancy. Now at the ſame time there was preſented before him one ſirnamed Richelot, who had been apprehended that very day in which the women were taken for the cauſe of Religion, unto whom the King uſed not many words: only, in concluſion hee ſaid, there wanted nothing but fagots to burne him. This Richelot abjured that day in which theſe two ſiſters were executed. The King had five or ſixe Sorboniſts, which attended on him there, who offered to reaſon with the priſoners by occaſion of a word ſpoken by the widow. But the King preventing it, ſaid, we are not come hither to diſpute, let them be laid waſt, and none ſuffered to come to them.

Within halfe an houre after, the Duke of Longueville came to viſit them, ſaying, he was ſorry for their affliction, counſelling them to go to maſſe, alleadging, it is written, Thou ſhalt obey thy Prince,, and if he therein force you to it againſt your conſcience, he ſhall anſwer for it; adding, that they were to remember their ſexe, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They anſwered, that no earthly potentate had any warrant to command Chriſtians to ſinne againſt their conſciences.

They further beſought him to be a meanes for them to the king, that they might be delivered: but all the anſwer he gave them was this, That if they would not turne, the King would not deliver them: alſo there was great likelihood, after their long detenſion in priſon, that they muſt be executed in the end.

The next day being Eaſter Even, the Queene with the Ducheſſe of Joyeuſe came into Chaſtelet to viſit the priſoners. But in ſtead of ſpeaking to the two ſiſters her ſelfe, ſhe ſent unto them a wicked Apoſtata, called Mathew de Launy, who being a Miniſter turned popiſh prieſt, and one whom the league made no ſmall uſe of; who loading theſe honourable ſiſters with injuries and reproachfull ſpeeches, calling them dogges and Devils incarnate, and worthy to be burned, ſo left them and never came any more unto them. Soone after the day of the Barricadoes, which is a defence made of earth and ſtones heaped up, ſerving to ſtop a ſtreet or any paſſage, the Judges of Chaſtellot adjudged them to be hangd, and their bodies to be burned to aſhes. From which ſentence they appealed to the Court, and were brought into the Conſciergery, which is the name of a common Gaole belonging to Paris or any other priſon.

Queene Elizabeths picture burned in Paris.

On the Even before Saint John Baptiſts day in the moneth of June, the common people in Paris making fires as they were wont to doe, amongſt other inſolencies, burnt in divers parts of the City a picture repreſenting the Queene of England.

The next day the curates and preachers began in their ſermons to thunder, ſaying, That it was not enough to burne the pictures of heretiques, but to burne the bodies of the obſtinate priſoners: which ſo inraged the tumultuous ſort of people, that the day following, flocking together into the court of the palace, they threatned the Preſidents and the Counſell, that ſome miſchiefe ſhould follow unleſſe they condemned theſe two priſoners to dye. A gentle anſwer was returned to this factious crie, with promiſe alſo that the buſines ſhould not long be delayed.

The next day the eldeſt ſon of Radegonde preſented a petition to the Ducheſſe of Nemours, daughter to the late lady of Ferrare. Her grace ſollicited the Duke of Guiſe her ſon, for the priſoners: whoſe anſwer was, That his comming to Paris was not to petition the King in favour of thoſe of the Religion; and if he would doe ſo (in regard of the ſervices which the priſoners had done his grandfather) yet he could not, fearing leſt the mad multitude might ſet upon him.

The eight and twentieth day of the ſame month of June, the Court having confirmed the ſentence given at Chaſtellot, ſent them backe thither to be executed, ſo as about noone they were gagged, becauſe the maid profeſſed, that if they brought her into any Idols Temple, ſhee would extend her voice ſo loud againſt the ſame, that every one ſhould heare it. About three of the clocke they were led as ſheepe to the ſlaughter, where they conſtantly perſiſted in the profeſſion of the true Religion.

The widow being aſcended the Ladder ſhooke out of her hands a wodden croſſe, which they had by force affixed thereto, whereat the multitude were ſo provoked, that they began to throw ſtones and ſtaves at her, ſo as the hangman having turned her off the Ladder cut the rope by and by, letting her fall halfe dead into the fire, wherein ſhe yeelded up her ſoule into the hands of God, as alſo her ſiſter did.

¶ Being now come to the yeare, 1588. it gives us juſt occaſion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble Queene and Countrey, from the intended invaſion of the Spaniards the ſame yeare. The memoriall whereof, that it might the rather be continued to the ages ſucceeding, deſerves by way of hiſtory here to bee inſerted as in its due and proper place. Of which deliverance it may truly be ſaid (all things conſidered) that it was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation whereof here followeth.

¶ *A briefe diſcourſe touching the great preparations made by the Spaniards, and other Romiſh Catholikes, for that invincible Navy, intended for the invading and ſurpriſing of the Realme of England, together with their utter overthrow.*

The Spaniſh navy prepard to invade England.

HEr Majeſty of England having had intelligence from ſundry places of the great and diligent preparation of the King of Spaine in divers parts both by ſea and land, not onely of the ſtrongeſt ſhips in all places within his dominions, but of all ſorts of proviſion neceſſary for ſo mighty a Fleet, as hee intended to ſet forth; and theſe rumors of warre, which before were but ſleight, daily increaſing, at laſt it was certainely confirmed by the newes on all ſides, that in Spaine there was an invincible Navy preparing againſt England; that the moſt famous captaines in military knowledge, and the beſt ſouldiers were ſent for into Spaine, from Italy, Sicily, yea from America. For the Pope and ſome religious Spaniards, and Engliſh fugitives, now recalled the Spaniard to the cogitation of ſurpri-

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ſing of England, which purpoſe was interrupted by the Portugall warres. They exhorted him earneſtly to doe God this ſervice, that had done ſo much for him; now that he enjoyed Portugall with the Weſt-Indies, and many rich Iſlands, to adde England to all, were an eſpeciall ſervice of God, fit for his Catholike Majeſty. By this meanes hee might adde theſe flouriſhing Kingdomes to his Empire, and ſo keepe the Low-countries in peace, and ſecure the navigations to both Indies. That the preparations of Spaine were ſo great that no power was able to reſiſt it. They made him beleeve that it was an eaſier matter to overcome England, than to overcome the Dutchland, becauſe the navigation from Spain to England was much ſhorter, than to the Netherlands. And by ſurpriſing of England the other would eaſily follow.

Conſultation about the beſt way & means how to oppreſſe England.

Hereupon the conſultation began to be had, of the beſt way and meanes to oppreſſe England. Alvarus Baſſanus, the Marqueſſe of S. Croſſe, who was chiefe commander in the Navy, adviſed firſt to make ſure ſome part of Holland or Zealand, by the Land forces of the Duke of Parma, and by ſending before ſome Spaniſh ſhips, ſo to take ſome place on a ſudden, where the Spaniſh Navy might have a receptacle, and from whence the invaſion might with convenience begin. For in the Engliſh ſea, which is troubleſome, the windes oft changing, and the tides unknowne, the Navy could not be in ſafety. With him agreed Parma who much urged this expedition. Yet others diſliked this counſell, as a matter of great difficulty and danger, of long time, of much labor, of great expence, and uncertaine ſucceſſe. And that neither ſecretly nor openly it could be performed, and eaſily hindered by the Engliſh. Theſe thought that with the ſame labour and expences England might be won: and the victory would be ſure, if a well prepared army from Spaine might with a ſtrong Navy be landed on Thames ſide, and of a ſudden ſurpriſe London the chiefe City, by an unexpected aſſault. This ſeemed a thing moſt eaſie to be effected.

The Duke of Parma playes his part.

The Duke of Parma alſo in Flanders, by the commandement of the Spaniard, built ſhips, and a great company of ſmall broad veſſels, each one able to tranſport thirty horſe, with bridges fitted for them ſeverally; And hired mariners from the Eaſt part of Germany. And provided long pieces of wood, ſharpened at the end, and covered with yron, with hooks on the one ſide; And twenty thouſand veſſels, with an huge number of fagots, and placed an army ready in Flanders, of an 103. companies of foot, and foure thouſand horſemen. Among theſe were ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives, which were had of all other in moſt contempt. Neither was Stanley reſpected or heard, who was ſet over the Engliſh, nor Weſtmerland, nor any other who offered their help: but for their impiety towards their owne countrey were ſhut out from all conſultations, and as men unominous rejected, not without deteſtation. And Pope Sixtus the fifth, that in ſuch a purpoſe would not be wanting, ſent Cardinall Alan into Flanders, and renued the Buls declaratory of Pius 5. and Gregory the thirteenth. He excommunicateth the Queen, depoſeth her, abſolveth her ſubjects from all allegiance, and as if it had been againſt the Turks and Infidels, he ſet forth in print a Conceat, wherein he beſtowed plenary indulgences, out of the treaſure of the Church (beſides a million of gold, or ten hundred thouſand Duckats, to be diſtributed, (the one half in hand, the other halfe when either England or ſome famous haven therein ſhould be won) upon all them that would joyne their helpe againſt England. By which meanes the Marqueſſe of Burgaw, of the houſe of Auſtria, the Duke of Paſtrana, Amady Duke of Savoy, Veſpaſian Gonzaga, Jo. Medices, and divers other noblemen were drawn into theſe wars.

The Pope excommunicates the Queen, &c.

Queene Elizabeth, that ſhe might not be ſurpriſed at unawares, prepared as great a Navy as ſhe could, and with ſingular care and providence maketh ready all things neceſſary for war. And ſhe her ſelfe, which was ever moſt judicious in diſcerning of mens wits and aptneſſe, and moſt happy in making choice, when ſhe made it out of her owne judgement, and not at the commandement of others, deſigned the beſt and moſt ſerviceable to each ſeverall imployment. Over the whole Navy ſhe appointed the Lord Admirall Charles Howard, in whom ſhee repoſed much truſt; and ſent him to the Weſt parts of England, where Captaine Drake, whom ſhe made Viceadmirall, joyned with him. She commanded Henry Seimor, the ſecond ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, to watch upon the Belgicke ſhore with forty Engliſh and Dutch ſhippes, that the Duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Albeit ſome were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected, and ſet upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation reſolved, in the time of Henry the eighth, when the French brought a great Navy upon the Engliſh ſhore.

The Queen ſelects out ſuch able and ſerviceable men as were fitteſt to undertake ſo great imployment.

For the land fight, there were placed on the South ſhores twenty thouſand: And two armies beſides were muſtered of the choiceſt men for war. The one of theſe which conſiſted of 1000. horſe, twenty two thouſand foot, was the Earle of Leiceſter ſet over, and camped at Tilbury on the ſide of Thames. For the enemy was reſolved firſt to ſet upon London. The other army was governed by the Lord Hunſdon, conſiſting of thirty foure thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the Queene.

Order taken about the land fight.

The Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norice, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men famouſly knowne for military experience, were choſen to conferre of the land fight. Theſe thought fit that all thoſe places ſhould be fortified, with men and munition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spaine, or out of Flanders, as Milford haven, Falmouth, Plimmouth, Portland, the Iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the open ſide of Kent called the Downes, the mouth of Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hul, &c. That trained ſouldiers through all the maritime provinces ſhould meet upon warning given, to defend theſe places: that they ſhould, by their beſt meanes and power, hinder the enemy to take land; if he ſhould take land, then ſhould they waſt the Countrey all about, and ſpoyle every thing that might be of any uſe to the enemy, that ſo hee might find no more victuals then what he brought upon his ſhoulders with him. And that by continuall alarums the enemy ſhould find no reſt day or night. But they ſhould not try any battell, untill divers Captaines were met together with their companies. That one Captaine might be named in every ſhire which might command.

Two yeares before, the Duke of Parma conſidering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgicke warre, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with ayde from the Queene, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the meanes of Sir James Croft one of the privy Counſell, a man deſirous of peace, and Andrew Loe a Dutchman, and profeſſed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpoſe. But the Queene fearing that there was ſome cunning in this ſeeking of peace, that the friendſhip betweene her and the confederate Princes might bee diſ-

A Counſell about peace pretended on the adverſaries part, whilſt they intended to make war.

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It is the honor of a King, ſaith Solomon, to ſearch out a thing.

Delegats ſent into Flanders about a treaty of peace

ſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawne to the Spaniard; ſhe deferred that treaty for ſome time. But now, that the wars on both ſides prepared might be turned away, ſhee was content to treat of peace; but ſo, as ſtill holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpoſe in February Delegats were ſent into Flanders, the Earle of Darby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Doctor Dale, and doctor Rogers. Theſe were received with all humanity on the Dukes behalfe, and they preſently ſent Doctor Dale to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might ſee the authority delegated to him by the Spaniſh King. Hee appointed the place neere to Oſtend, not in Oſtend, which then was holdē of Engliſh againſt the King. His authority delegated he promiſed then to ſhew, when they were once met together. Hee wiſhed them to make good ſpeed in the buſineſſe, leſt ſomewhat might fall out in the meane time which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus ſpake ſomewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim ſhould be done againſt England.

Not long after, Doctor Rogers was ſent to the Prince, by an expreſſe commandement from the Queene, to know the truth, whether the Spaniard had reſolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus ſeemed to ſignifie. He affirmed, that he did not ſo much as thinke of the invaſion of England, when he wiſhed that the buſines might proced with ſpeed: and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that ſuch words fell from him.

The twelfth of April the Count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, D. Maeſius, and Garnier, delegated from the Prince of Parma, met with the Engliſh, and yeelded to them the honour both in walking and ſitting. And when they affirmed that the Duke had full authority to treat of peace, the Engliſh moved, thot firſt a truce might be made. Which they denied; alledging that that thing muſt needs be hurtfull to the Spaniard, who had for ſix moneths maintained a great army, which might not be diſmiſſed upon a truce, but upon an abſolute peace. The Engliſh urged, That a Truce was promiſed before they came into Flanders. The Spaniard againſt that held, That ſixe moneths ſince a Truce was promiſed; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the Queenes power to undertake a Truce for Holland and Zealand, who dayly attempted hoſtility. The Engliſh moved inſtantly, that the Truce might be generall for all the Queenes Territories, and for the Kingdome of Scotland: but they would have it but for foure Dutch towns which were in the Queens hands; that is, Oſtend, Fluſhing, Bergen up Zom, and the Briel; and theſe onely during the Treating, and twenty daies after; and that in the mean time it might bee lawfull for the Queene to invade Spaine, or for the Spaniard to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At laſt, when the Engliſh could not obtaine an abſtinence from armes, and could by no means ſee the Charter by which the Duke of Parma was authoriſed to treat of peace; they propoſed theſe things, That the antient leagues betweene the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgondy might bee renewed and confirmed; That all the Dutch might fully enioy their own priviledges; That with freedome of conſcience they might ſerve God; That the Spaniſh and forraine ſouldiers might bee put out of Dutchland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might feare them. If theſe things might be granted, the Queene would come to equall conditions concerning the townes which now ſhe held (that all might know, that ſhe tooke up armes not for her owne gaine, but for the neceſſary defence both of her ſelfe and of the Dutch) ſo that the money which is owing therefore be repayed. To the which they anſwered, that for renewing the old leagues there ſhould be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the priviledges of the Dutch, there was no cauſe why forraine Princes ſhould take care, which priviledges were moſt favourably granted not onely to provinces and townes reconciled, but even to ſuch as by force of armes are brought into ſubjection. That forraine ſouldiers were held upon urgent neceſſity, when as Holland, England, and France were all in armes.

Touching thoſe Townes taken from the king of Spaine, and the repaying of the money, they anſwered, That the Spaniard might demand for many myriads of Crownes to be from the Queene repayed him, as the Belgicke war hath coſt him ſince the time that ſhe hath favoured and protected the Dutch againſt him.

At this time Doctor Dale by the Queens command, going to the Duke of Parma, did gently expoſtulate with him touching a booke printed there, ſet out lately by Cardinall Allen, wherein he exhorts the Nobles and people of England and Ireland to joyn themſelves to the King of Spains forces, under the conduct of the Prince of Parma, for the execution of the ſentence of Pope Sixtus the fifth againſt the Queene, declared by his Bull; in the which ſhe is declared an heretike, illegitimate, cruell againſt Mary Queene of Scots, and her ſubjects were commanded to help Parma againſt her: (for at that time a great number of thoſe Bulls and Books were printed at Antwerp to be diſperſed through England.) The Duke denied that he had ſeen ſuch a Bull or Booke, neither would he doe any thing by the Popes authority, as for his owne King, him he muſt obey. Yet hee ſaid, he ſo obſerved the Queen for her princely vertues, that after the King of Spaine he offered all ſervice to her. That he had perſwaded the King of Spaine to yeeld to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for Engliſh than Spaniſh: for if they ſhould be overcome they would eaſily repaire their loſſe, but if you be overcome the Kingdome is loſt.

To whom Dale replyed, That our Queen was ſufficiently furniſhed with forces to defend the Kingdome. That a Kingdome will not eaſily be gotten by the fortune of one battell, ſeeing the King of Spaine in ſo long a warre is not yet able to recover his antient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the Duke, be it ſo, theſe things are in Gods hands.

After this the Delegates contended among themſelves by mutuall replications, weaving and unweaving the ſame web. The Engliſh were earneſt in this, that freedome of religion might be granted at leaſt for two yeares to the confederate Provinces. They anſwered, That as the King of Spain had not intreated that for Engliſh Catholikes; ſo they hoped the Queen in her wiſedome would not intreat any thing of the King of Spaine which might ſtand againſt his honor, his oath, and his conſcience.

When they demanded the money due from the States of Brabant, it was anſwered, That the money was lent without the Kings authority or privity: but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the King hath ſpent in theſe wars, ond then it may appeare who ſhould looke for repayment.

Thus the Engliſh of ſet purpoſe were from time to time driven off, untill the Spaniſh fleet was come neere the Engliſh ſhore, and the noiſe of Guns were heard from Sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the Delegates honorably brought to the borders neere to Calis. The Duke of Parma had in the meane time brought all his forces to the Sea ſhore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the Queene, as the wiſer then thought, to avert the Spaniſh fleet; continued by the Spaniard, that he might oppreſſe the Queene, being as he ſuppoſed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tryed to uſe time to their beſt advantages.

Preparation for ſetting forth of the Spaniſh fleet

In fine the Spaniſh Fleet well furniſhed with men, munition, Engines, and all warlike preparation, the beſt indeed that was ever ſeen upon the Ocean, called by that arrogant title the Invincible Navy, conſiſting of a hundred and thirty ſhips, wherein there were nineteene thouſand two hundred ninety; Mariners eight thouſand three hundred and fifty: chained rowers eleven thouſand and eighty: great Ordnance eleven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty. The chiefe commander was Perezius Guſmannus, Duke of Medina Sidonia; (For Antonius Columna Duke of Palian and Marqueſſe of Saint Croſſe, unto whom the chiefe government was allotted, dyed whileſt things were preparing.) And under him alſo Joannes Martinus Ricaldus, a man of great experience in Sea affaires.

The time when the navy ſet out.

The great fleet ſore ſhaken with a tempeſt.

The 30. of May they looſed out of the River Tagus, and purpoſing to hold their courſe to the Groine, in Gallitia, they were beaten and ſcattered by a tempeſt: three Gallies by the helpe of David Gwin an Engliſh ſervant, and by the perfidiouſneſſe of the Turkes which rowed, were caried away into France. The Fleet with much adoe after ſome dayes came to the Groine and other harbours neere adjoyning. The report was, that the Fleet was ſo ſhaken with this tempeſt, that the Queen was perſwaded, that ſhe was not to expect that Fleet this yeare. And ſir Francis Walſingham, Secretary, wrote to the Lord Admirall, that he might ſend backe foure of the greateſt ſhips, as if the war had been ended. But the Lord Admirall did not eaſily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle anſwer entreated him to beleeve nothing haſtily in ſo important a matter: As alſo that he might be permitted to keepe thoſe Shippes with him which hee had, though it were upon his owne charges. And finding a favourable winde turned Sailes towards Spaine, to ſurpriſe the enemies ſhaken Ships in their harbours. When he was not far from the ſhore of Spaine, the winde turned, and hee being charged to defend the Engliſh ſhore, fearing that the enemies unſeene might by the ſame wind be driven to England, he returned unto Plimmouth.

Now with the ſame winde, the twelfth of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groine. And after a few daies he ſent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertiſe the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himſelfe ready. For Medina his Commiſſion was to joyne himſelfe with the Ships and Souldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his Fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces upon Thames ſide.

The Spaniſh Navy the ſecond time ſcattered.

Flemming a Pyrate diſcovers the Spaniſh fleet to the Engliſh.

The ſixteenth day (ſaith the relator) there was a great calme, and a thicke cloud was upon the Sea till noone: then the North winde blowing roughly, and againe the Weſt winde till midnight, and after that the Eaſt; the Spaniſh Navy was ſcattered, and hardly gathered together untill they came within the ſight of England the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the Lord Admirall was certified by Flemming (who had beene a Pyrate) that the Spaniſh Fleet was entred into the Engliſh Sea, which the Mariners call the Channell, and was diſcryed neere to the Liſard. The Lord Admirall brought forth the Engliſh Fleet into the Sea, but not without great difficulty, by the ſkill, labour, and alacrity of the ſouldiers and mariners, every one labouring; yea the Lord Admirall himſelfe put his hand to this worke.

The faſhion of the Spaniſh fleet deſcribed.

The next day the Engliſh Fleet viewed the Spaniſh Fleet comming along with Towers like Caſtles in height, her front crooked like the faſhion of the Moone, the hornes of the front were extended one from the other about ſeven miles, or as ſome ſay eight miles aſunder, ſailing with the labour of the windes, the Ocean as it were groaning under it; their ſaile was but ſlow, and yet at full ſaile before the winde. The Engliſh were willing to let them hold on their courſe, and when they were paſſed by, got behind them, and ſo got the help of the winde.

The firſt fight

Upon the one and twentieth of July, the Lord Admirall of Eugland ſent a Pinace before, called the Defiance, to denounce the battell by ſhooting off ſome peeces. And being himſelfe in the Arch-Royall (the. Engliſh Pretorian ſhip or Admirall) he ſet upon a ſhip which he tooke to be the Spaniſh Admirall, but it was the ſhip of Alfonſus Leva. Upon that he beſtowed much ſhot. Preſently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher came in upon the Spaniſh hindmoſt ſhips which Ricaldus governed. Upon theſe they thundred. Ricaldus laboured as much as lay in him to ſtay his men, who fled away in their Navy, untill his ſhip beaten and much battered with many ſhot hardly recovered the Fleet. Then the Duke Medina gathered together his diſſipated Fleet, and ſetting up more ſaile, held on their courſe. Indeed they could doe no other, for the Engliſh had gotten the advantage of winde, and their ſhips were much more nimble, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full courſe, and then to turne and returne, and be on every ſide at their pleaſure. After a long fight, and that each of them had taken ſome triall, as of their owne courage, ſo of the Spaniards alſo, the Lord Admirall thought good not to continue the ſame any longer, in regard that forty ſhips were then abſent, which at that inſtant were ſcarce drawne out of Plimmouth Haven.

The night following, Saint Katherine a Spaniſh ſhip, being ſore torne with the fight, was received into the middeſt of the Navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian ſhip of Oquenda, wherein was the Treaſurer of the Campe, by force of Gun-powder that had taken fire, was fired: yet it was quenched in time by the ſhippes that came to helpe her. Of theſe that came to helpe the fired ſhip, one was a Galeon, in which was Petrus Waldez; the foremaſt of the Galeon was caught in the tackling of another ſhip, and broken. This was taken by Drake, who ſent Waldez to Dartmouth, and a great ſumme of money, viz. fifty five thouſand duckats, which he diſtributed amongſt the ſouldiers. This Waldez comming into Drakes preſence, kiſſed his hand, and told him they had all reſolved to die, if they had not beene ſo happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to ſet forth light, but neglected it; and ſome Germane Merchant ſhips comming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies followed them ſo far, that the Engliſh Navy reſted all night when they could ſee no light ſet forth. Neither did he nor the reſt of the Navy finde the Admirall untill the next day at Even. The Admirall all the night proceeding with the Beare and the Mary Roſe did carefully follow the Spani-

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ards with watchfulneſſe. The Duke was buſied in ordering his Navy. Alfonſus Leva was commanded to joyne the firſt and laſt companies. Every ſhip had his ſtation aſſigned according to that preſcribed forme which was appointed in Spaine; it was preſent death to forſake his ſtation. This done, he ſent Oliclius an Anceani to Parma, which might declare to him in what caſe they were, and left that Cantabrian ſhip of Oquenda to the winde and Sea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them in other ſhips. Yet it ſeemeth that he had not care of all: for that Ship the ſame day with fifty Mariners and ſouldiers lamed, and halfe burnt, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and was carried to Weymuth.

The three and twentieth of the ſame moneth, the Spaniards having a favourable North winde turned ſailes upon the Engliſh; the Engliſh being much readier in the uſe of their ſhips, ſet about a compaſſe for the winde, and having gotten advantage of the winde, they came to the fight on both ſides. They fought a while confuſedly with variable ſucceſſe: whileſt on the one ſide the Engliſh with great courage delivered the London ſhips which were incloſed about by the Spaniards; on the other ſide the Spaniards by valour freed Ricaldus from the extreme danger he was in: great were the effulminatiõs which by beating of Ordnances were heard this day. But the loſſe (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniſh ſide, their ſhips being ſo high that the ſhot went over our Engliſh ſhips; and the Engliſh having ſuch a faire mark at their taller ſhips never ſhot in vaine. Amidſt which encounters, Cock an Engliſhman, being caught indeed in the middeſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, could not be recovered, but periſhed, howbeit with great honor he revenged himſelfe. Thus a long time the Engliſh ſhips with great agility were ſometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one ſide, and then the other, and preſently were off againe, and ſtill tooke the Sea, to make themſelves ready to come in againe. Whereas the Spaniſh ſhips being of great burthen were troubled and hindred, and ſtood to bee markes for the Engliſh Bullets. For all that the Admirall would not admit the Engliſh to come to board their ſhips, becauſe they had a full army in their ſhips, which he had not; their ſhips were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as ſome would have had it, the Engliſh being much lower then the Spaniſh ſhips muſt needs have had the worſt of them that fought from the higher ſhips. And if the Engliſh had been overcome, the loſſe would have been greater than the victory could have been; for ours being overcome would have put the kingdome in hazard.

The Admirall would not ſuffer his ſhips to come to grapple with the Spaniſh.

The foure and twentieth day of July they gave over fighting on both ſides. The Admirall ſent ſome ſmall Barkes to the next Engliſh ſhore, to ſupply the proviſion; And divided all his Navy into foure ſquadrons: The firſt whereof was under his owne government; the next Drake governed; the third Hawkins; the laſt Forbiſher. And he appointed out of every ſquadron certaine little ſhips, which on divers ſides might ſet upon the Spaniards in the night, but a ſudden calme tooke them, and ſo that advice was without effect.

The third fight.

The five and twentieth day, being S. James day, S. Anne the Galeon of Portugall, not being able to hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by ſome ſmall Engliſh ſhips. To whoſe aide came in Leva, and Didacus Telles Enriques with three Galeaſſes: which the Admirall and the Lord Thomas Howard eſpying, made in againſt the Galeaſſes (the calme was ſo great that they were drawne in by boats with cords) and did ſo beat upon the Galeaſſes with great ſhot, that with much adoe, and not without great loſſe, they hardly recovered the Galeon. The Spaniards reported that the Admirall of Spaine was that day in the hindmoſt company, and being come neerer the Engliſh ſhips then before, was ſore beaten with the Engliſh great Ordnance, many men ſlaine in her, her great maſt overthrowne. And after that the Admirall of Spaine, accompanied with Ricaldus and others, did ſet upon the Engliſh Admirall, who by the benefit of the winde ſuddenly turning eſcaped. The Spaniards hold on their courſe againe, and ſend to the Duke of Parma, that with all ſpeed he ſhould joyne his ſhips with the Kings Fleet. Theſe things the Engliſh knew not, who write that they had ſtricken the Lanthorne from one of the Spaniſh ſhips, the ſtemme from another, and had ſore beaten a third, doing much harme to her. That the Non Parigly, and the Mary Roſe fought a good while with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ſhips came in good time to help her.

Knights made.

The next day the Lord Admirall knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, The Lord Sheffield, Roger Townesend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their valour well imployed in the laſt fight. After this they reſolved not to ſet upon the enemy untill they came into the ſtraight of Calis, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter ſtaid for their comming. Thus with the faire gale the Spaniſh Fleet goeth forward, and the Engliſh followed. This great Spaniſh Armadoe was ſo far from being eſteemed Invincible in the opinions of the Engliſh, that many yong men and Gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory againſt the Spaniards, provided ſhips of their owne charges, and joyned themſelves to the Engliſh Fleet; among whom were the Earles of Eſſex, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecills, Henry Brookes, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other Gentlemen of good note and quality.

Noblemen and Gentlemen joyne with the Fleet.

Purpoſing to execute their deſigne on Friday the 12. of Auguſt, the night being dark, but how happily the ſame was prevented, reade the next ſection following.

The ſeven and twentieth day at Even, the Spaniards caſt anchor neere to Calis, being admoniſhed of their ſkilfull Sea-men, that if they went any further, they might be indangered by force of that tide to be driven into the North Ocean. Neere to them ſtood the Engliſh Admirall with his Fleet within a great Guns ſhot. To the Admirall Seimor and Winter now joyne their ſhips; ſo that now there were an hundred and forty ſhips in the Engliſh Fleet, able and well furniſhed for fight, for ſaile, and to turne which way was needfull: and yet there were but fifteen of theſe which bore the burden of the battell and repulſed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often he had done before, ſo now with great earneſtneſſe ſent to the Duke of Parma to ſend forty flie boats, without the which they could not fight with the Engliſh, becauſe of the greatneſſe and ſlowneſſe of their owne ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh ſhips: And intreating him by all meanes now to come to Sea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spaniſh Armadoe, untill they tooke land in England.

But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an inſtant. The broad ſhippes with flat bottomes being then full of chinkes muſt bee mended. Victuals wanted and muſt be provided. The Mariners being long kept againſt their wills beganne to ſhrinke away. The Ports of Dunkerke and Nieuport, by which he muſt bring his army to the ſea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong ſhips of Holland and Zealand, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unleſſe he would come upon his owne apparent deſtruction, and caſt himſelfe and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and induſtrious, and inflamed with a deſire of overcomming England.

A notable ſtratagem of the Engliſh.

But Queene Elizabeth her providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her commandement the next day the Admirall tooke eight of their worſt ſhips, charging the Ordnance therein up to the mouth with ſmall ſhot, nailes, and ſtones, and dreſſed them with wilde fire, pitch, and roſin, and filled them full of brimſtone and ſome other matter fit for fire, and theſe being ſet on fire by the miniſtery and guiding of Yong and Prowſe, were ſecretly in the night by the helpe of the winde ſet full upon the Spaniſh Fleete, which on Sunday the ſeventh of Auguſt they ſent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards ſaw them come neere, the flame ſhining and giving light all over the ſea; they ſuppoſing thoſe ſhips, beſides the danger of fire, to have beene alſo furniſhed with deadly Engines, to make horrible deſtruction among them; lifting up a moſt hideous wofull cry, ſome pull up anchors, ſome for haſte cut their Cables, they ſet up their ſailes, they apply their oares, and ſtriken with a Pannick terror, in great haſte they fled moſt confuſedly. Among them the Pretorian galleaſſe floating upon the Seas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and feare drew towards Calis, and ſticking in the Sand was taken by Amias Preſton, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was ſlaine, the ſoldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned; In her there was found great ſtore of Gold, which fell to be the prey of the Engliſh. The ſhip and Ordnance fell to the ſhare of the Governour of Calis.

The Spaniards report, that the Duke when he ſaw the fiery ſhips comming commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, but ſo, as the danger being paſt, every ſhip might return again to his ſtation: and he himſelfe returned, giving a ſigne to the reſt by ſhooting off a Gun; which was heard but of a few, for they were far off ſcattered, ſome into the open Ocean, ſome through feare were driven upon the ſhallowes of the coaſt of Flanders.

The 4. fight before Graveling, Aug 8.

Over againſt Graveling the Spaniſh fleet began to gather themſelves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great Ordnance: to theſe Fenton, Southwell, Beeſton, Croſſe, Riman, and preſently after the Lord Admiral, Thomas Howard, and Sheffield came in and all joyned together. The Duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Ricaldus, and others with much adoe getting themſelves out of the ſhallows ſuſtained the Engliſh force as well as they might, untill moſt of their ſhips were pierced and torne; the Galleon S. Matthew, governed by Diego Pimentellus, comming to aide Francis Toletan, being in the S. Philip, was pierced and ſhaken with the reiterated ſhots of Seimor and Winter, and driven to Oſtend, and was at laſt taken by the Fluſhingers. The S. Philip came to the like end; ſo did the Galleon of Biſcay and divers others.

The laſt day of this moneth, the Spaniſh fleet ſtriving to recover the ſtraights again, were driven toward Zealand. The Engliſh left off purſuing them, as the Spaniards thought, becauſe they ſaw them in a manner caſt away; for they could not avoid the ſhallowes of Zealand. But the winde turning, they gat them out of the ſhallowes, and then began to conſult what were beſt for them to doe. By common conſent they reſolved to returne into Spaine by the Northerne Seas, for they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially ſhot, their ſhips were torne, and they had no hope that the Duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And ſo they tooke the Sea, and followed the courſe toward the North. The Engliſh Navy followed, and ſometimes the Spaniſh turned upon the Engliſh, inſomuch that it was thought by many that they would turne backe againe.

¶ *A deſcription of the Queenes comming to the Campe at Tilbury, with the manner of her behaviour there, as it is related by a Popiſh Spie, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The Copy of which letter by good happe was found in the chamber of one Richard Leigh a Seminary Prieſt, as well in French as Engliſh: which Prieſt was executed for high Treaſon whileſt the Spaniſh Armado was on the Sea.*

The Queene comes to the campe at Tilbury.

SHee cauſed alſo, ſaith he, an army to incampe neere the Sea ſide upon the river of Thames. After the army was come thither, ſhe would not by any advice be ſtayed, but for comfort of her people, and to ſhew her owne magnanimity of heart, ſhe went thereunto, lying at that time betweene the City of London and the ſea, under the charge of the Earle of Leiceſter, placing her ſelfe betweene the Enemy and her City; and there ſhe viewed her army, paſſing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned againe and dined in the army. Firſt viewing from place to place the people as they were by their Countries lodged and quartered by their ſeverall camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battell, prepared as it were for fight, ſhe rode round about with a Leaders ſtaffe in her hand, only accompanied with the Generall and three or foure others attending upon her: but yet to ſhew her ſtate (I well marked it) ſhe had the ſword carried before her by the Earle of Ormond. There ſhee was generally ſaluted with cryes, with ſhouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readineſſe, and willingneſſe to fight for her, as ſeldome hath the like beene ſeene in an army, conſidering ſhee was a Queene. All which tended to ſhew a marvellous concord in a mutuall love betweene a Queen and her ſubjects, and of reverence and obedience of ſubjects to their Soveraigne; all which ſhee requited with very princely thankes and a good ſpeech.

I could enlarge the deſcription hereof with many more particulars of mine owne ſight; for thither I went as many others did, and all that day wandring from place to place, I never heard any word ſpoken of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately perſon and princely behaviour, and in praying for her life and ſafety, with curſing of all her enemies, both traitors and all Papiſts, with earneſt deſire to venture their lives for her ſafety. And beſides ſuch particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter did ſo devoutly at certaine times ſing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers Pſalmes put into forme of prayers, in praiſe to Almighty God, no waies to be miſliked, that ſhe greatly commended them, and with very earneſt ſpeech thanked God with them. This that I write you may be ſure I doe not with any comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt arguments, that neither this Queene doth diſcontent her people, nor her people doe ſhew any diſcontent in any thing they be commanded to doe for her ſervice, as heretofore hath been imagined.

The ſame day wherein the laſt fight was, the Duke of Parma, after his vowes offered to the Lady of Halla, came ſomewhat late to Dunkerk, and was received with ſome opprobrious words of the Spaniards, as if in favour of Queene Elizabeth he had ſlipped the faireſt opportunity that could be to doe the ſervice. He to make ſome ſatisfaction, puniſhed the purveiours that had not made proviſion of beere, bread, and victuals which was not yet ready nor imbarked; ſecretly ſmiling at the inſolency of the Spaniards, when he heard them glorying, that what way ſoever they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the Engliſh were not able to endure the ſight of them. Bernardinus Mendoza did indeed by Bookes in France ſing a fooliſh and lying triumphant ſong before the victory. The Engliſh Admirall appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coaſt of Flanders, that the Duke of Parma ſhould not come out; himſelfe followed the Spaniards upon their backes, untill they were paſt Edenborough frith.

For which a Papiſt ſticks not to taxe him, writing upon this ſubject to Mendoza.

The Spaniards diſmaied flie away for feare.

The Spaniards ſeeing all hopes faile, and finding no other help for themſelves but by flight, fled amaine, and never made ſtay. And ſo this great Navy, being three yeares preparing with great coſt, was within a moneth overthrown, and after many were killed, being chaſed away (of Engliſh there were not one hundred loſt, nor one ſhip loſt, ſaving that of Cocks) was driven about all Britaine by Scotland, Orcades, Ireland, toſſed and ſhaken with tempeſts, and much leſſened, and came home without glory. Whereupon ſome money was coined with a Navy fleeing away at full ſaile, and this inſcription, Venit, Vidit, Fugit. Other were coined with the ſhips fired, the navy confounded, in honour of the Queene, inſcribed, Dux fœmina facti. As they fled, it is certain that many of their ſhips were caſt away upon the ſhores of Scotland and Ireland. More then ſeven hundred ſoldiers and Mariners were caſt up upon the Scottiſh ſhore, who at the Duke of Parma his interceſſion with the Scots King, the Queene of England conſenting, were after a yeare ſent into Flanders. But they that were caſt up upon the Iriſh ſhore by tempeſts came to more miſerable fortunes; for ſome were killed by the wilde Iriſh; others by the Deputies command; for he fearing that they might joyne themſelves to the wild Iriſh (& Bingham the Governor of Connach being once or twice commanded to ſlay them having yeelded, but refuſing to doe it) Fowle the under Marſhall was ſent, and killed them; which cruelty the Queen much condemned; whereupon the reſt being afraid, ſick, and hungry, with their torne ſhips committed themſelves to the ſea, and many were drowned.

And all their preparations blaſted: the Engliſh receiving ſmall loſſe, viz. not one hundred men in all, nor one ſhip but that of Cockes.

Queene Elizabeth came in publike thankeſgiving to Pauls Church, in a Chariot drawne with two horſes, her Nobles accompanying her with a very gallant traine through the ſtreets of London which were hung with blew cloth: the companies ſtanding on both ſides, were in their liveries; the Banners that were taken from the enemies were ſpred; ſhee heard the Sermon, and publique thankes were rendred unto God with great joy. This publique joy was augmented when ſir Robert Sidney, returning out of Scotland, brought from the King aſſurance of his noble minde and affection to the Queene, and to religion; which as in ſincerity he had eſtabliſhed, ſo he purpoſed to maintaine with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was ſent to him when the Spaniſh fleet was comming, to congratulate and to give him thankes for his propenſe affection towards the maintenance of the common cauſe; and to declare how ready ſhe would be to help him if the Spaniards ſhould land in Scotland; and that he might recall to memory with what ſtrange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britaine, urging the Pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thruſt from the Kingdome of Scotland, and from the ſucceſſion in England: and to give him notice of the threatning of Mendoza and the Popes Nuncio, who threatned his ruine if they could worke it; and therefore warned him to take eſpeciall heed to the Scottiſh Papiſts.

Queen Elizabeth giveth thankes to God for ſo unexpected a deliverance.

The King pleaſantly anſwered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, then that which Polyphemus promiſed to Vlyſſes, to devoure him laſt after all his Fellowes were devoured.

¶ To cloſe up this whole relation, heare what Theodore Beza writes in certaine gratulatory Verſes written in Latine, and ſent unto her Majeſty: the effect of which Verſes is this in Engliſh.

WIth Navy huge the Spaniard proud
The Engliſh ſeas had ſpread,
And all to ſet the Engliſh Crowne
Vpon the Spaniſh head.

And would you gladly underſtand
The cauſe of all this rout,
Ambition firſt did lay the plot,
And lucre brought them out.

How well this pride thus puffed up
A puffe did overthrow:
And ſwelling wave ſuch ſwelling wights
How well did overflow.

How well that Worrier of mankinde,
That Spaniſh cruell Wolfe
Was toſt and tumbled up and downe
Within the Ocean gulfe.

And you for whom both all the windes
And all the waters fight,
O noble Queene, of all the world
The only true delight.

Goe forward ſtill to rule for God,
Ambition laid aſide;
Goe forward ſtill for Chriſt his Flocke
In bounty to provide.

That thou maiſt England governe long,
Long England thee enjoy,
As well a love unto the good,
As to the bad annoy.

From Geneva, beſieged by the Duke of Savoy, the twelfth day of Auguſt, Anno 15 9.

Your Majeſties moſt humble
Orator,

Theodore Beza.

¶ *The death of the Duke of Guiſe, and Henry the third King of France.*

IT was not long after that the Duke of Guiſe, who was ſlain by the Lord Lougna at the kings Chamber doore, and King Henry the third were taken away; he being the laſt of the houſe of Vallois, and dying without any lawfull heires of his body begotten.

The manner of whoſe death was thus. A Frier of the Order of Saint Dominicke, called James Clement, pretended hee had matters of great conſequence to impart to the King: who being admitted into his preſence, upon his knees preſented the King with a Letter which he drew out of one ſleeve; which whilſt the King attentively read, the Frier pulled forth a poyſoned knife out of his other ſleeve, wherewith he ſtabbed the King into the lower part of his belly. The King feeling himſelfe hurt therewith, ſnaching it out of the wound, ſtrucke the ſame into the Friers eye, who haſting to get away, the King crying out, His Lords and Gentlemen perceiving what the Frier had done, ſlew him preſently with rapiers and ſwords. The King before hee died, having raigned fourteene yeares and ſeven moneths, called for the King of Navarre, all the Princes, Lords and Noblemen, that were in his campe, and declared that the King of Navarre was the true lawfull heire to the Crowne of France; willing them all to acknowledge him for their King, and that notice ſhould likewiſe be given throughout all his camp and Kingdome alſo.

The raigne of Henry the fourth over the kingdome of France.

Thus the ſoveraigne Judge of the world made way for the entrance of Henry the fourth to have dominion over the Kingdome of France. Now howſoever from the yeare 1589. to this preſent yeare 1598. the Churches of Chriſt have ſeene marvellous changes, and how the league for a time made many furious onſets: yet it pleaſed God ſo to moderate things, that the faithfull were preſerved from being perſecuted; yea, they obtained of their Prince many priviledges and favors. For the King in the firſt yeres of his raigne continuing in the profeſſion of the true Religion, wherein he had been bred and brought up, did manfully reſiſt both theſe of the league, and the Spaniards, the great God of battels bleſſing the right and juſt wars undertaken by this Prince, to the confuſion of all his enemies, till he fell to ſide with Popery; though the affairs of his Kingdome gained but little thereby.

¶ *A Note touching the Popes Bull.*

THe Leaguers ſeeing what proſperous ſucceſſe God gave King Henry the fourth in his wars undertaken againſt them, fearing that in the end all would yeeld unto him, they procured a new excommunication from Rome, againſt him and all his faithfull ſubjects, cauſing the ſame to bee publiſhed at Pont de l'Arch in Normandy, by Marcellus Laudrianus a malapert Jeſuite. The king, being advertiſed thereof, commanded his Court of Parliament holden at Cane, to proceed againſt Pope Gregory the fourteenth who ſent it, and his Nuncio that brought it, as againſt Tyrants, conſpirators with Rebels, perturbers of the ſtate, ſowers of ſeditions, and the common and notorious enemies of God and all goodneſſe.

Then taking the Popes Bull, he cauſed it to be faſtened to a Gibbet at Tours, by the common hangman of the towne, and there to be conſumed to aſhes, to the great rejoycing of all the beholders.

¶ *The Hiſtory of one Margaret Pierrone, who choſe rather to be burned her ſelfe, than willingly to burne her Bible, Anno 1593.*

THere was one Margaret Pierrone borne in a village of Cambray called Sanſay, who with her husband retired into the City of the Valencians. Now becauſe ſhe could not endure the bad qualities of a maid ſervant of hers, ſhee was by her ſaid maid accuſed to the new ſect-Maſters ſirnamed the Jeſuites, for that ſhee had not been in many yeares at the maſſe, as alſo for keeping in her houſe a Bible, in reading whereof was her whole delight. They acquainting the Magiſtrate herewith, ſhe was by and by apprehended: ſome friends ſent her an inckling thereof before hand once or twice, that ſhee ſhould get her ſome where out of the way: but the errand was not done, God having a purpoſe that ſhe ſhould beare witnes of his truth, to fill up the number of thoſe that were to die for the name of Jeſus.

Being in priſon, the Judges calling her before them, ſaid, Margaret, are you not willing to returne home unto your houſe, and there live with your husband and children? Yes ſaith ſhe, if it may ſtand with the good will of God. They added further, that they had ſo wrought with their Fathers the Jeſuites, that in doing a ſmall matter ſhe might be ſet at liberty, If, ſaith ſhe, it be not a thing contrary to Gods glory and mine owne ſalvation, you ſhall heare what I will ſay. No ſuch thing Margaret, ſaid they: for a ſcaffold ſhall be erected in the chiefe place of the City, upon which you are to preſent your ſelf, and there to crave pardon for your offending the Law; then a fire being kindled, you muſt caſt your bible therein to bee conſumed, without ſpeaking any word at all.

I pray you my maſters tell me, ſaith ſhee, Is my Bible a good booke, or no? Yes, we confeſſe it is, ſaid they, If you allow it to be good, ſaid the woman, why would you have me caſt it into the fire? Only ſaid they, to give the Jeſuits content. Imagine it to be but paper that you burne, and then all is well enough, doe ſo much for ſaving your life, and we will meddle no more with you; you may buy you another when you will.

They ſpent about two houres in perſwading her hereunto, ſhewing how ſhe might doe a leſſe evill, that a greater good might come of it. By the help of God, ſaith ſhee, I will never conſent to doe it. What would the people ſay, when they ſee me burne my Bible? will they not exclaime and ſay, yonder is a wretched woman indeed, that will burne the Bible wherein are contained all the Articles of our Chriſtian faith? I will burne my body ſure, before that I will burne my Bible.

Then ſeeing ſhe would in no ſort conforme her ſelfe either to the will of the Jeſuites, or to theirs, they cauſed her to be committed cloſe priſoner, and to be fed only with bread and water, none to be permitted ſo much as to ſpeake unto her, thinking by this hard uſage to overcome her: but all was to no purpoſe. Being thus long ſhut up, and no newes heard of her one way or other, every one imagined that they had put her to death privily. Her Judges were willing to have ſaved her life, ſending often a Doctor unto her called

Anno 1593.

N. of Vivenoyne to turne her from her reſolution; but he found it too hard a taſke for him to effect, often confeſſing to them that ſent him, that he found no cauſe at all in her why they ſhould put her to death.

But on Wedneſday the two and twentieth of January 1592, ſhee was condemned to be brought upon a ſtage ſet up in the Market place before the towne-houſe, there to ſee her bookes burnt; then her ſelfe to be ſtrangled at a poſt, and her body dragged to the dunghill without the City. Shee comming to the place, and aſcending the Scaffold, diſtinctly pronounced the Lords Prayer. Then ſeeing her bookes burned in her preſence, ſhe uttered theſe words with an audible voice; you burne there the word of God, which your ſelves have acknowledged to be good and holy. Having againe repeated the Lords Prayer, ſhe was ſtrangled and died peaceably in the Lord, ſo as ſhe was nothing altered in her colour after ſhee was dead, leaving to the Valencians the truth of this ſentence, Pretious in the ſight of the Lord is the martyrdome of his Saints; and to the Judges, and her hangmen the Jeſuites, a perpetuall corraſive to their conſciences.

Pſal.116.15.

¶ *An Engliſh man burned at Rome.*

IN the yeare 1595. about the end of May there was executed a young man at Rome about the age of five and twenty yeares, who went into the Church of Magdalen, where beholding their behaviour, being pricked forward with religious zeale and conſtant reſolution, not being able to endure the ſight of thoſe horrible impieties which were there committed amongſt them: As the Biſhop was ſetting forward to goe on proceſſion, this young man directed his way towards the Church porch: and as the proceſſion began to paſſe forward he waited till the Biſhop came that bare the Hoſt, and in his going forth ſtepped to the pixe, plucking it out of his hands, threw it to the ground, ſaying aloud, ye wretched Idolaters, doe ye fall downe to a morſell of bread? The people preſently fell upon the young man; yet without touching his perſon, notwithſtanding the great ſtirre they made, he was from thence ſent to priſon to the Capitoll. Complaint being made thereof to Pope Clement the eighth touching all that which had happened; He preſently ordained that he which had done it ſhould be burned the ſame day, for an example and terrour to all his companions. But ſome of the Popes Cardinals being then at hand, adviſed that he ſhould be detained rather a while in priſon, to be examined by all exquiſite tortures, to make him confeſſe his fellowes, and who had ſet him on. Having kept him eight daies in priſon, nothing could be drawne from him, but this ſpeech, Such was the will of God.

When they ſaw they could not prevaile, his inditement was framed, and his ſentence regiſtred, namely that he was to paſſe from the Capitoll, naked unto his middle, and to weare on his head the forme of a Devill, or Dragon, his breeches painted all over with flames of fire, and thus being bound in a cart, to be burned alive, being firſt carried in this manner about the City.

The Patient underſtanding how he was to be handled, lifting up his eies, implored helpe from the Almighty; and ſeeing how he was derided of all, continued in his devotion and prayers. He could not refraine from uttering ſomewhat againſt the life of the Cardinals and their aſſociates, who hearing it, began to be in a rage, and that he might no longer bewray their wickedneſſe, they cauſed a great gagge to be forced into his mouth, which vexed him more then all the reſt, when he teſtified, ſaying, How ſhall I call upon my God? But he patiently ſubmitted himſelfe to endure all their cruelties.

In this plight he was brought to Magdalens, where he had caſt downe the Idoll, and there one of the hangmen cut off his hand before the doore: at which the patient being not much moved, his hand being ſet on a pole in the cart, the two tormentors made him feele the force of the fire, taking each of them a great torch in his hand flaming, with which they ſcorched and burned his fleſh through all the city of Rome.

At length they arrived at the place called Campio de Fior, by which time the young man was brought into a pittifull caſe, being ſcorched all over his body, all bliſtered, and bloudy, having nothing whole but his head, which he now and then lifted up.

Being taken downe out of the cart, and ſeeing the poſt whereunto he was to be faſtened with three chaines of yron; he went of himſelfe to the poſt, and falling on his knees kiſſed the chaines with which he was there to be bound till the ſacrifice ſhould be ended.

But before the fire was put to him, he was urged by Friers and Prieſts to worſhip an Idoll which they preſented there before him. From which turning away his face, he ſhewed unto them his conſtant reſolution to the contrary, holding on his Chriſtian courſe unto the end: which he truly teſtified; for as ſoone as the flames of fire ſeiſed on him, bowing his head hee quietly yeelded up his ſoule into the hands of God.

¶ *The death and martyrdome of an old man of Millan, who was burned at Rome.*

THe ſame yeare they burned an old man who for a long time had lyen in the Inquiſitors caves. He dyed with great conſtancy and reſolution. Before his death he was exhorted and importuned by the Monks to kiſſe a crucifix. He ſeeing their impudency, ſaid, If ye take not this Idoll out of my ſight, you will conſtraine me to ſpit upon it, which when they heard, he was ſent away to the fire, and conſumed to aſhes.

¶ *The troubles and perſecution of Bartholomew Copin, a godly and religious martyr of Chriſt.*

IN the yeare 1601. Bartholomew Copin of the valley of Luſerne reſorted unto a place called Aſt in Piemont, with certaine merchandiſe, purpoſing to vent the ſame at a Faire there, which was to be kept the day following. It ſo fell out, that ſitting at ſupper in the evening with ſundry other Merchants, one amongſt the reſt began to uſe ſome ſpeech about the diverſities of Religions, and therewithall ſpake ſomething tending to the diſgrace of thoſe of the valleyes of Angrougne and the neighbour villages.

Copin hearing ſuch ſpeeches caſt forth againſt his Brethren, as he little expected from men of that ſort, and alſo againſt their Religion, all which tended to the diſhonour of God; hee feared leſt it ſhould be offenſively taken, if he ſhould not make ſome reply unto thoſe blaſphemies which he heard with his eares, and ſo anſwer him who held ſuch a diſcourſe againſt the religion which himſelfe profeſſed. He who reproved Copin asked, Are you

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Anno 1601.

one of Vandois? He anſwered, yes I am. And what? ſaid the other, beleeve you not that God is in the Hoſt? No, ſaid Copin. Oh, ſaid the other, ſee how falſe your Religion is? My religion, ſaid Copin, is no leſſe true then God is God, and as certaine as I am ſure to die.

The next day Copin was called before the Biſhop of Aſt, who told him that report had been made to him of ſome offenſive ſpeeches which hee had uſed the night paſt in his lodging; and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtaine pardon for the ſame, otherwiſe he muſt looke to be chaſtiſed according to his demerits.

Luke 9 23.

Copin anſwered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was firſt provided to ſpeake; nor had he ſaid ought, but what he was reſolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had beſtowed upon him ſome worldly goods, as alſo a wife and children, but that he was not ſo glued in his affection to any of them, but he could bee content to forgoe them all, rather than the peace of a good conſcience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleaſed him, he ſaid, to make enquiry thereof among the Merchants of Aſt, they could all reſolve him as touching his honeſt dealing: who alſo hee knew would witneſſe with him, that hee had wronged none in all that time hee had converſed among them. And inaſmuch as he was a Merchant trafiquing in and about his lawfull calling, he ought to be diſmiſſed and to be no further moleſted. For if it were lawfull for Iewes and Turkes to trade in Faires and Markets, and to uſe commerce throughout Piemont; that favor ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a Chriſtian. And as touching the matter of Religion, whereabout he was accuſed, he medled not at all therewith for his owne particular, but had queſtions propounded to him concerning the ſame by others: in which regard leave was granted him to anſwer and to yeeld a reaſon of his faith in any place, to any whomſoever they were that ſhould aske what he thought of the ſame: yea, liberty was granted even by his Excellency to thoſe of the Valleyes of Vandoyes to anſwer any man to a queſtion demanded; provided that hee proceeded not to teach and inſtruct others.

The Biſhop regarded none of theſe allegations, but commanded he ſhould be put into priſon. The next day the Biſhops Secretary came to viſite Copin, teſtifying how much good will hee bore him; adviſing him as a friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Pſal. 89. 47, 48.

Copin anſwered, that his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never ſeeke to ſave it to the prejudice of Gods glory: alſo, that he had not above two or three turnes to fetch here in this world, before he arrived in heaven; and therefore prayed God ſo to aſſiſt him by his grace, that hee might never leave the ſtrait way which leadeth thereto.

Mat. 8. 38.

A few dayes after hee was examined by a Monke, who was an Inquiſitor, in the preſence of the Biſhop, who vexed him a long while with his ſugred diſcourſe, and by faire words endeavoured to drawn him to abjure his Religion. But Copin reſiſted him ſtill by the holy Scriptures; ſhewing that if he ſhould now be aſhamed of Chriſt and deny him, Chriſt might juſtly be aſhamed of him, and utterly deny him before his heavenly father.

The Monke finiſhed his diſpute with this dogged farewell, Away thou curſed Lutherane, thou ſhalt goe to all the Devils in hell; and when thou commeſt to be tormented amongſt thoſe uncleane ſpirits, then wilt thou remember theſe holy admonitions which wee have tendred unto thee for the ſaving of thy ſoule, but thou haddeſt rather goe to hell, than to reconcile thy ſelfe to thy holy Mother the Church. It is not long ſince, ſaid Copin, that I was reconciled to the true Church.

After many violent aſſaults they gave way for his wife to come unto him, and with her one of his ſons, promiſing them to ſet him at liberty to goe home with them, if hee would make amends for his fault committed, by acknowledging the ſame. They gave his ſon and wife leave, to this purpoſe, to ſtay ſupper with him in priſon: during which time he uſed many exhortations tending to patience; albeit the wife ſhould depart to her houſe without an husband, or the child without his father: for be you well aſſured, ſaid hee, that God will be a better husband and a father unto you than ever I was or can be. For his owne part, he ſaid, he was not bound to love wife or children more then Chriſt: beſides, they had cauſe to rejoyce, and to think him happy, that God would honor him ſo farre as to beare witneſſe to his truth with the loſſe of his life, and hoped, hee ſaid, that God would be ſo favorable to him, as to ſupport him under any torments he was to endure for his glories ſake.

In concluſion hee commended his ſonne and one daughter to his wives care, which God had given them in the married eſtate; charging her againe and againe to ſee them brought up vertuouſly and in the feare of God. He charged his ſonne to obey his mother, ſo ſhould he be made partaker of the promiſed bleſſing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortifie him againſt all temptations. And thus having bleſſed his ſon, and taken leave of his wife, they were conducted out of the priſon, and he ſhut up as hee was before.

The woman and her ſon were diſſolved into teares, ſighing and crying out, that it would have moved the ſtonieſt heart to compaſſion: but this holy man, not contenting himſelfe with that hee had ſaid to them by word of mouth, writ unto his wife this Letter enſuing, the originall whereof ſhe hath exhibited to us, written and ſigned with the hand of the ſaid Copin, the inſcription thus following.

¶ *To my wel-beloved wife, Suſanna Copin, from the Tower of Lucerna.*

DEare yoke-fellow, I received much conſolation by your comming to this place, and by ſo much the more as it was beyond my expectation; and I ſuppoſe you alſo were not a little comforted that you had ſuch an opportunity offered you, as to ſup with me the laſt night, being Saturday the fifteenth of September, 1601. I know not well what they aymed at in permitting you ſo to doe. But God ordereth all theſe things. But as farre as I can gheſſe, it ſhall be the laſt time that ever we ſhall ſup together in this life: and therefore pray to God that hee will not ceaſe to be a comfort unto you. Truſt you ſtill in him, for hee hath promiſed never to leave nor forſake thoſe that put their truſt in him. God hath endued you with wiſedome, governe your owne family in ſuch ſort, that our children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for ſo the bleſſing of Almighty God ſhall light upon them.

Anno 1605.

Deare wife, be not over penſive for mee, for if God hath ordained me now to attaine unto the end of my race, and that I muſt render into the hands of the Almighty my ſoule, which ſo long time he hath lent me; my hope is, that of his holy and divine mercy he will receive it into his Kingdome, for his owne beloved Sonnes ſake Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, throgh whom I beléeve that my ſinnes are forgiven, for the onely merit of his holy death and paſſion. Alſo my praier is, that he will aſſiſt me by the power of his holy ſpirit unto my laſt breath.

Be fervent in praier, and in all other parts of Gods worſhip and ſervice, for this is the way to true bleſſedneſſe. Take no care about ſending any thing unto me for theſe thrée wéeks, and then I pray you ſend me ſome money if you thinke good to give the Iaylor, and ſomewhat more for mine owne neceſſaries, if it pleaſe God I live ſo long. Alſo I pray you call to minde what I have often told you, namely how God prolonged King Hezechias life for fiftéen yeares. But he hath preſerved my life much longer; for it is many yeares agoe ſince you ſaw me at the point of death, and through Gods goodneſſe I am alive: and I hope, yea I am aſſured that he will ſo long preſerve me as ſhall be for his glory and my eternall good, through his onely frée grace.

Iſa. 38. 5.

From the priſon of Aſt, the ſixteenth of September, 1601.

The Biſhop of Aſt was ſomewhat troubled about this his priſoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would bréed ſome ſcandall, and many might thereby be emboldned to open their mouths wide againſt the Romane religion. Beſides, there was a clauſe in the Contract made betwéene his Excellency and the people of Vandois, which exempted thoſe of the religion from offence, in theſe words; And if it ſhall fall out that they be asked or queſtioned withall in Piemont, about the cauſe of Religion, by any of his excellencies ſubjects, it ſhall be lawfull for thoſe of the ſaid Religion to anſwer without ſuffering any penall or perſonall puniſhment for the ſame.

Now Copin had a queſtion put to him, in which reſpect he ought to have béen cléered. But the Biſhop would by no meanes heare that hee had unjuſtly impriſoned him; and therefore that his death ſhould not be laid to his charge, nor yet that hee ſhould be ſent away abſolved, he ſent the cauſe of his Endictment to Pope Clement the eighth, to know what ſhould be done with him. We cannot learne what anſwer the Pope returned to the Biſhop; but not long after this good man was found dead in priſon, not without ſome apparent ſuſpition of his being ſtrangled there; leſt if they had executed him in publique, the people ſhould have been edified by his conſtancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to bee burned, and therefore having cauſed him to be brought out of priſon, they read his ſentence openly, and the body was caſt into the fire.

Thus have you the laſt among the Vandois, which is come to our knowledge, that were perſecuted to death for the cauſe of Religion.

¶ Mention hath heretofore been often made of ſundry bloudy maſſacres in forreine parts; but wee are now come to fall upon the report of a buſineſſe neerer home, which if the moſt wiſe and watchfull providence of God had not timely and graciouſly prevented, it would have (to the ruine of our Church and ſtate) proved ſuch a maſſacre, the like whereof the heart of man never conceived, the eare of man never heard of, nor the tongue or pen of man could ſcarſe ever have uttered; namely, at one blow to have blowne up not onely the King, Quéene, and royall poſterity, but the whole body of the ſtate in generall. Now as the Church and State had each of them a ſhare in this ſo admirable a deliverance from God upon the fifth day of November, Anno 1605. ſo each of them ſhewed their care, if it might be, for ever to perpetuate the praiſe of God for the ſame on the ſaid day; the one by ſtabliſhing an act of Parliament for it; the other by publiſhing a forme of thanksgiving the better to effect it; ſome expreſſion whereof the Reader may hap to méet with at the end of the diſcourſe following.

¶ *A diſcourſe touching the manner of the diſcovery of the Pouder-treaſon, with the examination of ſome of the Priſoners.*

WHile this land and whole Monarchy flouriſhed in a moſt happy and plentifull peace, as well at home as abroad, ſuſtained and conducted by theſe two maine pillars of all good government, Piety and Iuſtice, no forraine grudge, nor inward whiſpering of diſcontentment any way appearing; the King being upon his returne from his hunting exerciſe at Royſton, upon occaſion of the drawing néere of the Parliament time, which had béen twiſe prorogued already; partly in regard of the ſeaſon of the yeare, and partly of the Terme; as the winds are ever ſtilleſt immediately before a ſtorme; and as the Sunne blenks often hotteſt to foretell a following ſhowre; ſo at that time of greateſt calme did that ſecretly hatched thunder begin to caſt forth the firſt flaſhes and flaming lightenings of the approaching tempeſt. For the Saturday of the wéeke immediately preceding the Kings returne, which was upon a Thurſday (being but ten daies before the Parliament) the Lord Mounteagle ſonne and heire to the Lord Morley, being in his owne lodging ready to goe to ſupper at ſeven of the clocke at night, one of his Footmen (whom he had ſent of an errand over the ſtréet) was met by an unknowne man of a reaſonable tall perſonage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Maſters hands. Which my Lord no ſooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the ſame to be of an unknowne and ſomewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or ſubſcription, did call one of his men unto him for helping him to read it. But no ſooner did he conceive the ſtrange contents thereof, although hee was ſomewhat perplexed what conſtruction to make of it (as whether of a matter of conſequence, as indéed it was, or whether ſome fooliſh deviſed Paſquil by ſome of his enemies to ſkarre him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a moſt dutifull and loyall ſubject conclude, not to conceale it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding the lateneſſe and darkeneſſe of the night in that ſeaſon of the yeare, hee preſently repaired to his Majeſties Palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the ſame to the Earle of Salisbury his Majeſties principall Secretary. Whereupon the ſaid Earle of Salisbury having read the Letter, and heard the manner of the comming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his diſcretion; telling him plainly, that whatſoever the purpoſe of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in minde of divers advertiſements he had received from beyond the ſeas, where-

A letter delivered to the L. Mounteagle

Revealed to the Earle of Salisbury.

Anno 1605.

wherewith he had acquainted as well the King himſelfe, as divers of his privy Counſellors, concerning ſome buſineſſe the Papiſts were in both at home and abroad, making preparation for ſome combination among them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King ſome petition for toleration of Religion: which ſhould be delivered in ſome ſuch order, and ſo well backed, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſt. Like the ſturdy Beggers, craving almes with one open hand, but carrying a ſtone in the other, in caſe of refuſall. And therefore did the Earle of Salisbury conclude with the Lord Mountegle, that he would in regard of the Kings abſence impart the ſame Letter to ſome more of his Majeſties Counſell; whereof my Lord Mountegle liked well: only adding this requeſt by way of proteſtation, that whatſoever the event hereof might prove, it ſhould not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too ſuddaine an apprehenſion, that he delivered this Letter, being only moved thereunto for demonſtration of his ready devotion and care for preſervation of his Majeſty and the State. And thus did the Earle of Salisbury preſently acquaint the Lord Chamberlaine with the ſaid Letter. Whereupon they two in the preſence of the Lord Mountegle, calling to minde the former intelligence already mentioned, which ſeemed to have ſome relation with this Letter: The tender care which they ever carried to the preſervation of his Majeſties perſon, made them apprehend, that ſome perillous attempt did thereby appeare to be intended againſt the ſame; which did the more neerely concerne the ſaid Lord Chamberlaine to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to overſee as well all places of aſſembly where his Majeſty is to repaire, as his highneſſe owne private houſes. And therefore did the ſaid two Counſellors conclude, that they ſhould joyn unto themſelves three more of the Counſell, to wit, the Lord Admirall, the Earles of Worceſter and Northampton, to be alſo particularly acquainted with this accident: who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the ſaid Letter, they did conclude, that how ſlight a matter it might at the firſt appeare to be, yet was it not abſolutely to be contemned, in reſpect of the care which it behooved them to have of the preſervation of his Majeſties perſon.

Purpoſe of the Papiſts for delivering a petition to his Majeſty to crave toleration of religion.

The Lord Chamberlain made privy to the letter by the Earle of Salisbury.

Wherefore they reſolved for two reaſons, firſt to acquaint the K. himſelfe with the ſame before they proceeded to any further inquiſition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majeſties fortunate Judgement in cleering of obſcure riddles and doubtfull myſteries; as alſo becauſe the more time would in the meane while be given for the practiſe to ripen, if any was, whereby the diſcovery might be the more cleere and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more ſafe, juſt, and eaſie. And ſo according to their determination did the ſaid Earle of Salisbury repaire to the King in his Gallery on Friday, being Alhallow day, in the afternoone, which was the day after his Majeſties arrivall, and none but himſelfe being preſent with his highneſſe at that time, where without any other ſpeech or judgement given of the Letter, but only relating ſimply the forme of the delivery thereof, he preſented it to his Majeſty, the contents whereof follow.

Thought meet by the Counſellors to acquaint the King with the Letter.

Upon Alhallow day the Earle of Salisbury ſhewed the letter to the King.

MY Lord, out of the love I beare to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore, I would adviſe you as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſſe of this time. And thinke not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire your ſelfe into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no apparance of any ſtir, yet I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſell is not to be contemned, becauſe it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is paſt ſo ſoone as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it: To whoſe holy protection I commend you.

The King no ſooner read the Letter, but after a little pauſe, and then reading it over againe, hee delivered his judgement of it in ſuch ſort, as hee thought it was not to be contemned, for that the ſtile of it ſeemed to be more quicke, and pithy, then is uſuall to be in any Paſquill, or Libell (the ſuperfluities of idle braines.) But the Earle of Salisbury perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one ſentence in it, that it was like to be written by ſome foole or mad man, reading to him this ſentence in it, For the danger is paſt ſo ſoone as you have burnt the Letter, which he ſaid was like to be the ſaying of a foole: for if the danger was paſt ſo ſoone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooved to be of little availe, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eſchewed. But the King on the contrary conſidering the former ſentence in the Letter, That they ſhould receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them, Joining it to the ſentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, That the danger mentioned ſhould bee ſome ſuddaine danger by blowing up of powder: For no other inſurrection, rebellion, or whatſoever other private and deſperate attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof unſeene, except onely it were by a blowing up of Powder, which might be performed by one baſe knave in a darke corner; whereupon he was moved to interpret and conſtrue the latter ſentence in the Letter (alledged by the Earle of Salisbury) againſt all ordinary ſence and conſtruction in Grammar, as if by theſe words, For the danger is paſt ſo ſoone as you have burnt the Letter, ſhould be cloſely underſtood the ſuddainty and quickneſſe of the danger, which ſhould be as quickly performed and at an end, as that Paper ſhould be blazing up in the fire; turning that word of As ſoone, to the ſence of, As quickly: and therefore wiſhed, that before his going to the Parliament, the under roomes of the Parliament houſe might be well and narrowly ſearched. But the Earle of Saliſbury wondering at this his Majeſties commentary, which he knew to be ſo far contrary to his ordinary and naturall diſpoſition, who did rather ever ſin upon the other ſide, in not apprehending nor truſting due advertiſement of practiſes and perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawne himſelfe into many deſperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole State, more then of his owne perſon, which could not but have all periſhed together, if this deſignement had ſucceeded: He thought good to diſſemble ſtill unto the King, that there had beene any juſt cauſe of ſuch apprehenſion; and ending the purpoſe with ſome merry jeſt on this ſubject, as his cuſtome is, tooke his leave for that time. But though he ſeemed ſo to neglect it to his Majeſty, yet his cuſtomable and watchfull care of the King and the State ſtill boiling within him; And

having

His Majeſties judgement of the Letter.

A terrible blow indeed; at once to have wracked King, Queen, Prince, and Progeny, Religion, State, and all.

His Majeſties opinion for ſearching of the under roomes of the Parliament houſe.

having with the bleſſed Virgin Mary laid up in his heart the Kings ſo ſtrange judgement and conſtruction of it; he could not be at reſt till hee acquainted the foreſaid Lords what had paſſed betweene the King and him in private.

Whereupon they were all ſo earneſt to renew againe the memory of the ſame purpoſe unto his Majeſty, as it was agreed that he ſhould the next day, being Saturday, repaire to his Highneſſe: which he did in the ſaid privy Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlaine then being preſent with the King. At what time it was determined, That the ſaid L. Chamberlaine ſhould, according to his cuſtome and office, view all the parliament houſes, both above and below, and conſider what likelihood or appearance of any ſuch danger might poſſibly be gathered by the ſight of them: but yet, as well for ſtaying of idle rumors, as for being the more able to diſcern any myſtery, the nearer that things were in readineſſe, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoone before the ſitting downe of the Parliament, which was upon the Munday following. At what time he (according to this concluſion) went to the Parliament houſe, accompanied with my Lord Mountegle, being in zeale to the Kings ſervice earneſt and curious to ſee the event of that accident whereof he had the fortune to be the firſt diſcoverer: where, having viewed all the lower roomes, he found in the vault under the upper houſe great ſtore and proviſion of billets, fagots, and coales: and inquiring of Whyneard keeper of the Wardrobe, to what uſe he had put thoſe lower roomes and cellars; he told him that Thomas Percy had hired both the houſe and part of the Cellar or Vault under the ſame, and that the wood and coale, under which were hidden thirty ſixe barrels of powder great and ſmall, beſides great barres of Iron, peeces of Timber, and maſſie ſtones covered over with Fagots therein, was the ſaid Gentlemans owne proviſion. Whereupon the Lord Chamberlaine, caſting his eye aſide, perceived a fellow ſtanding in a corner there, calling himſelfe the ſaid Percies man, and keeper of that houſe for him, but indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand which ſhould have acted that monſtrous and helliſh Tragedy.

The determination to ſearch the Parliament houſe and the roomes under it

Wood and coale found by the L. Chamberlaine in the Vault.

The Lord Chamberlaine looking upon all things with a heedfull indeed, yet in outward appearance with but a careleſſe and reckleſſe eye, (as became ſo wiſe and diligent a miniſter) he preſently addreſſed himſelfe to the King in the privy Gallery, where in the preſence of the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admirall, the Earles of Worceſter, Northampton, and Saliſbury he made his report, what he had ſeen and obſerved there; noting that Montegle had told him, That he no ſooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the poſſeſſor of that houſe, but conſidering both his backwardneſſe in Religion, and the old deareneſſe in friendſhip betweene himſelfe and the ſaid Percy, he did greatly ſuſpect the matter, and that the letter ſhould come from him. The ſaid Lord Chamberlaine alſo told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great proviſion of wood and coale in that houſe, where Thomas Percy had ſo ſeldome occaſion to remaine; as likewiſe it gave him in his minde that this man looked like a very tall and deſperate fellow.

The Lord Chamberlaines report and judgment of what he had obſerved in the ſearch.

This could not but increaſe the Kings former apprehenſion and jealouſie: whereupon he inſiſted (as before) that the houſe was narrowly to be ſearched, and that thoſe billets and coales would be ſearched to the bottom, it being moſt ſuſpitious that they were laid there onely for covering of the powder. Of this ſame minde alſo were all the Counſellors then preſent. But upon the faſhion of making of the ſearch was it long debated: for upon the one ſide they were all ſo jealous of the Kings ſafety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution uſed for preventing his danger. And yet upon the other part they were all extream loath and dainty, that in caſe this Letter ſhould prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain; then a curious ſearch being made, and nothing found, ſhould not only turne to the generall ſcandall of the King and the State, as being ſo ſuſpitious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewiſe lay in ill favoured imputation upon the Earle of Northumberland one of his Majeſties greateſt ſubjects and Counſellors, this Thomas Percy being his kinſman and moſt confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King deteſted to be thought ſuſpitious or jealous of any of his good ſubjects, though of the meaneſt degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the ſecurity of the Kings perſon, yet did they much differ in the circumſtances, by which this action might be beſt carried with leaſt dinne and occaſion of ſlander. But the King himſelfe ſtill perſiſting that there were divers ſhrewd appearances, and that a narrow ſearch of thoſe places could prejudge no man that was innocent, he at laſt plainly reſolved them, that either muſt all the parts of thoſe roomes be narrowly ſearched, and no poſſibility of danger left unexamined, or elſe he and they all muſt reſolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to goe the next day to the Parliament, and leave the ſucceſſe to Fortune; which he beleeved they would be loth to take upon their conſciences: for in ſuch a caſe as this, an halfe doing was worſe than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That nothing ſhould bee left unſearched in thoſe houſes: and yet for the better colour and ſtay of rumour, in caſe nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of Whyneards miſſing ſome of the Kings ſtuffe or hangings which he had in keeping all theſe roomes ſhould be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpoſe was Sir Thomas Knevet (a Gentleman of his Majeſties privy Chamber) imployed, being a Juſtice of Peace in Weſtminſter, and one, of whoſe ancient fidelity both the late Queen and our now Soveraigne have had large proofe: who, according to the truſt committed unto him, went about the midnight next after to the Parliament houſe, accompanied with ſuch a ſmall number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the houſe, finding Thomas Percies alledged man ſtanding without the doores, his clothes and bootes on at ſo dead a time of the night, he reſolved to apprehend him, as he did, and afterward went forward to the ſearching of the houſe: where after he had cauſed to be overturned ſome of the billets and coales, he firſt found one of the ſmall barrels of powder, and after all the reſt, to the number of thirty ſixe barrels, great and ſmall. And thereafter ſearching the fellow whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other inſtruments fit for blowing up the Powder, ready upon him, which made him inſtantly confeſſe his own guiltineſſe, declaring alſo unto him, That if he had happened to be within the houſe when he tooke him, as hee was immediatly before (at the ending of his worke) he would not have failed to have blowne him up, houſe and all.

Diſputation about the manner of the further ſearch.

Agreed that the ſearch ſhould be under colour of ſeeking for Wardrobe ſtuffe miſſed by Whyneard

Faux found at midnight without the houſe.

Thus after Sir Thomas had cauſed the wretch to be ſurely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himſelfe returned back to the Kings Palace, and gave warning of his ſucceſſe to the Lord Chamberlaine, and Earle of Saliſbury; who immediatly warning the reſt of the Counſell that lay in the houſe, as ſoone as they could get themſelves ready, came with their fellow Counſellors to the Kings Bed chamber, being at that time néere foure of the clock in the morning. And at the firſt entry of the Kings chamber doore, the Lord Chamberlaine, being not any longer able to conceale his joy for the preventing of ſo great a danger, told the King in a confuſed haſte, that all was found and diſcovered, and the Traitor in hands and faſt bound.

Then, order being firſt taken for ſending for the reſt of the Counſell that lay in the towne, the priſoner himſelfe was brought into the houſe, where in reſpect of the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, no man was ſtaid from the ſight or ſpeaking with him. And within a while after the Counſell did examine him; who ſéeming to put on a Romane reſolution, did both to the Counſell and to every other perſon that ſpake with him that day, appeare ſo conſtant and ſetled upon his grounds, as wée all thought we had found ſome new Mutius Scevola borne in England; for notwithſtanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conſcience, his ſudden ſurpriſing, the terror which ſhould have béen ſtricken in him by comming into the preſence of ſo grave a Counſell, and the reſtleſſe and confuſed queſtions that every man all that day did vexe him with; yet was his countenance ſo far from being dejected, as he often ſmiled in ſcornfull manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the ſaid Scevola, his failing in the execution thereof, , whereof he ſaid the Devill and not God was the diſcoverer; anſwering quickly to every mans objection, ſcoffing at any idle queſtions which were propounded to him, and jeſting at ſuch as he thought had no authority to examine him.

All that day could the Counſell get nothing out of him touching his complices, refuſing to anſwer to any ſuch queſtions as he thought might diſcover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himſelf; whereunto he ſaid he was moved only for religion and conſcience ſake, denying the King to be his lawfull Soveraigne, or the annointed of God, in reſpect he was an heretique; and giving himſelfe no other name then John Johnſon, ſervant to Thomas Percy. But the next morning being carried to the Tower of London, he did not there remaine above two or thrée daies, being twice or thrice in that ſpace re-examined, and the rack only offered and ſhewed unto him, when the maſke of his Romane fortitude did viſibly begin to weare and ſlide off his face; and then did he begin to confeſſe part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appeare by his depoſitions immediatly following.

¶ *The true copy of the declaration of Guido Fawkes, taken in the preſence of the Counſellors whoſe names are underwritten.*

I Confeſſe, that a practiſe in generall was firſt broken unto me againſt his Majeſty, for reliefe of the Catholique cauſe, and not invented or propounded by my ſelfe. And this was firſt propounded unto me about Eaſter laſt was twelve moneth, beyond the Seas, in the Low-Countries of the Archdukes obeiſance, by Thomas Winter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there we imparted our purpoſe to thrée other Gentlemen more, namely, Robert Cateſby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright: who all five conſulting together of the meanes how to execute the ſame, and taking a vow among our ſelves for ſecrecy (which vow was this, You ſhall ſweare by the bleſſed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receive, never to diſcloſe, directly or indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to kéep ſecret; nor deſiſt from the execution thereof untill the reſt ſhall give you leave: after which, being confeſſed, and receiving abſolution, the forementioned received the Sacrament thereupon, by the hands of Gerrard the Jeſuite there preſent) Cateſby propounded to have it performed by Gun-powder, and by making a Mine under the upper houſe of Parliament: Which place wée made choiſe of the rather, becauſe Religion having béen unjuſtly ſuppreſſed there, it was fitteſt that juſtice and puniſhment ſhould be executed there.

This being reſolved amongſt us, Thomas Percy hired a houſe at Weſtminſter for that purpoſe, néere adjoyning to the Parliament houſe, and there we begun to make our Mine about the 11. of December, 1604.

The five that firſt entred into the worke were Thomas Percy, Robert Cateſby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and my ſelfe: and ſoone after we tooke unto us Chriſtopher Wright, having ſworne him alſo, and taken the Sacrament for ſecrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the houſe, which was about thrée yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we tooke unto us another Gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner with oath and Sacrament as aforeſaid.

It was about Chriſtmaſſe when we brought our Mine unto the wall, and about Candlemaſſe we had wrought the wall halfe through; and whileſt they were in working I ſtood as ſentinel to deſcry any man that came néere, whereof I gave them warning, and ſo they ceaſed untill I gave notice againe to procéed.

All we ſeven lay in the houſe, having ſhot and powder, being reſolved to die in that place, before we ſhould yéeld or be taken.

As they were working upon the wall, they heard a ruſhing in a cellar of removing of Coles, whereupon we feared we had béen diſcovered, and they ſent me to goe to the cellar; who finding the Coles were a ſelling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpoſe, Percy went and hired the ſame for yéerely rent.

We had before this provided and brought into the houſe twenty barrels of Powder, which we removed into the Cellar, and covered the ſame with billets and fagots, which were provided for that purpoſe.

About Eaſter, the Parliament being prorogued till October next, we diſperſed our ſelves, and I retired into the Low-Countries, by advice and direction of the reſt, as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as alſo leſt by my longer ſtay I might have growne ſuſpitious, and ſo have come in queſtion.

In the mean time Percy having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiving the key again of M. Percy, we brought in more powder and billets to cover the ſame againe, and ſo I went for a time into the Countrey till the thirtieth of October.

It was further reſolved amongſt us, that the ſame day that this act ſhould have béen performed, ſome other of our Confederates ſhould have ſurpriſed the perſon of the Lady Elizabeth the Kings eldeſt Daughter, who was kept in Warwickſhire at the Lord Harringtons houſe, and preſently

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ſently haue proclaimed her queen, hauing a proiect of a proclamation ready for that purpoſe; wherein we made no mention of altering of religion, or would haue auowed the deed to be ours, untill we ſhould haue had power enough to make our party good, and then we would haue auowed both.

Concerning Duke Charles the Kings ſecond ſon, we had ſundry conſultations how to ſeize on his perſon. But becauſe we found no meanes how to compaſſe it (the Duke being kept neere London, where we had not forces enough) wee reſolued to ſerue our turne with the Lady Elizabeth.

¶ The names of other principall perſons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible conſpiracy.

Everard Digby Knight.
Ambroſe Rookewood.
Francis Treſham.
Iohn Grant.
Robert Reyes.

Commiſſioners.

Notingham. *Worceſter.*
Suffolke. *Devonſhire.*
Northampton. *Saliſbury.*
Marre. *Dunbar.*
Popham.
Edw. Coke.
W. Waad.

¶ And in regard that before this diſcourſe could be ready to go to the Preſſe, Thomas Winter being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confeſſion in ſubſtance agreeing with this former of Fawkes, only larger in ſome circumſtances: I haue thought good to inſert the ſame likewiſe in this place, for the further cleering of the matter, and greater benefit of the Reader.

¶ *Thomas Winters confeßion, taken the three and twentieth of November, in the yeare 1605. in the preſence of the Counſellors, whoſe names are under-written.*

My moſt honourable Lords,

NOt out of hope to obtaine pardon; for ſpeaking of my temporall part, I may ſay, The fault is greater then can be forgiuen; nor affecting here the title of a good ſubiect; for I muſt redeeme my Countrey from as great a danger, as I haue hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchaſe any ſuch opinion: only at your honors command I will briefly ſet downe mine owne accuſation, and how far I haue proceeded in this buſineſſe, which I ſhall the faithfullier doe, ſince I ſee ſuch courſes are not pleaſing to Almighty God, and that all, or the moſt materiall parts haue been already confeſſed.

I remained with my brothar in the countrey from Alhallon-tide untill the beginning of Lent, in the yeare of our Lord 1603. the firſt yeare of the Kings reigne; about which time Maſter Cateſby ſent thither, intreating me to come to London, where he and other my friends would bee glad to ſee me. I deſired him to excuſe me: for I found my ſelfe not very well diſpoſed; and (which had happened neuer to me before) returned the meſſenger without my company. Shortly, I receiued another Letter, in any wiſe to come. At the ſecond ſummons I preſently came up, and found him with Maſter Iohn Wright at Lambeth, where he brake with me, how neceſſary it was not to forſake our Countrey (for he knew then I had a reſolution to goe ouer) but to deliuer her from the ſeruitude in which ſhe remained, or at leaſt to aſſiſt her with our uttermoſt endeauours. I anſwered, that I had often hazzarded my life upon far lighter termes, and now would not refuſe any good occaſion, wherein I might doe ſeruice to the Catholique cauſe; but for my ſelfe I knew no meane probable to ſucceed. Hee ſaid that he had bethought him of a way at one inſtant to deliuer us from all our bonds, and without any forraine help to replant againe the Catholique Religion; and withall told me in a word, It was to blow up the Parliament houſe with Gunpowder; for, ſaid he, in that place haue they done us all the miſchiefe, and perchance God hath deſigned that place for their puniſhment. I wondered at the ſtrangeneſſe of the conceit, and told him, that true it was, this ſtrake at the roote, and would breed a confuſion fit to beget new alterations: but if it ſhould not take effect, (as moſt of this nature miſcarried) the ſcandall would be ſo great which Catholique Religion might hereby ſuſtaine, as not only our enemies, but our friends alſo would with good reaſon condemne us. Hee told me, The nature of the diſeaſe required ſo ſharpe a remedy, and asked me if I would giue my conſent. I told him, yes, in this or what elſe ſoeuer, if he reſolued upon it, I would venture my life. But I propoſed many difficulties, as want of an houſe, and of one to carry the Mine, noiſe in the working, and ſuch like. His anſwer was, Let us giue an attempt, and where it faileth, paſſe no further. But firſt, quoth he, becauſe we will leaue no peaceable and quiet way untryed, you ſhall goe ouer and informe the Conſtable of the ſtate of the Catholikes here in England, intreating him to ſollicite his Maieſty at his comming hither, that the penall Lawes may be recalled, and we admitted into the ranke of his other ſubiects; withall, you may bring ouer ſome confident Gentleman, ſuch as you ſhall underſtand beſt able for this buſineſſe, and named unto me Maſter Faukes. Shortly after I paſſed the Sea, and found the Conſtable at Berghen neere Dunkirke, where by help of Maſter Owen I deliuered my meſſage. Whoſe anſwer was, that he had ſtrict command from his Maſter, to doe all good offices for the Catholiques, and for his owne part he thought himſelfe bound in conſcience ſo to doe, and that no good occaſion ſhould be omitted, but ſpake to him nothing of this matter,

Returning to Dunkirk with Maſter Owen, we had ſpeech whether he thought the Conſtable would faithfully help us, or no. He ſaid, he beleeued nothing leſſe, and that they ſought only their owne ends, holding ſmall account of Catholikes. I told him that there were many Gentlemen in England, who would not forſake their Countrey untill they had tryed their uttermoſt, and rather venture their liues, then forſake her in this miſery. And to adde one more to our number, as a fit man both for counſell and execution of whatſoever we ſhould reſolve, was wiſhed for M. Fawkes, whom I had heard good commendations of; hee told me the Gentelman deſerved no leſſe, but was at Bruſſels, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would ſend him ſhortly after into England. I went ſoone after to Oſtend, where Sir William Stanley as then was not, but came two daies after. I remained with him three or foure daies, in which time I asked him if the Catholikes in England ſhould doe any thing to help themſelves, whether hee thought the Archduke would ſecond them? Hee anſwered, no: for all thoſe parts were ſo deſirous of peace with England, as they would endure no ſpeech of other enterpriſe; neither were it fit, ſaid he, to ſet any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no ſuch reſolution, and ſo fell to diſcourſe of other matters, untill I came to ſpeake of Maſter Fawkes, whoſe company I wiſhed over into England. I asked of his ſufficiency in the warres, and told him we ſhould need ſuch as he if occaſion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus diſcourſing, and I ready to depart from Newport, and taking my leave of Sir William, Maſter Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and ſaluted us, This is the Gentleman, ſaid ſir William, that we wiſhed for, and ſo we embraced againe. I told him ſome good friends of his wiſhed his company in England, and that if he pleaſed to come to Dunkirke, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: ſo taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two daies after came Maſter Fawkes to Dunkirke, where I told him that we were upon a reſolution to do ſomewhat with Englond, if the peace with Spaine helped us not, but had as yet reſolved upon nothing; ſuch or the like talk we paſſed at Graveling, where I lay for a winde, and when it ſerved came both in one paſſage to Greenwich, neere which place we tooke a paire of Oares, and ſo came up to London, and came to Maſter Catesby whom we found in his lodging; hee welcommed us into England, and asked me what news from the Conſtable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not anſwer. This was the beginning of Eaſter Terme, and about the middeſt of the ſame Terme (whether ſent for by Maſter Catesby, or upon ſome buſineſſe of his own) up came Maſter Thomas Percy. The firſt word he ſpoke (after he came into our company) was, ſhall we alwaies (Gentlemen) talke, and never doe any thing? Maſter Catesby tooke him aſide, and had ſpeech about ſomewhat to be done, ſo as firſt we might all take an oath of ſecrecy, which we reſolved within two or three days to do; ſo as there we met behind ſaint Clements, Maſter Catesby, Maſter Percy, Maſter Wright, Maſter Guy Fawkes, and my ſelfe; and having upon a Primer given each other the oath of ſecrecy, in a Chamber where no other body was, wee went after into the next roome, and heard maſſe, and received the bleſſed ſacrament upon the ſame. Then did Maſter Catesby diſcloſe to Maſter Percy, and I together with Iacke Wright, tell to Maſter Fawkes the buſineſſe for which we tooke this oath, which they both approved. And then was maſter Percy ſent to take the houſe which maſter Catesby in mine abſence had learned did belong to one Ferris, which with ſome difficulty in the end hee obtained, and became as Ferris before was, Tenant to Whynniard. Maſter Fawkes underwent the name of Maſter Percies man, calling himſelfe Iohnſon, becauſe his name was the moſt unknowne, and received the keyes of the houſe, untill we heard that the Parliament was adjorned to the ſeventh of February. At which time we all departed ſeverall wayes into the countrey, to meet againe at the beginning at Michaelmas terme. Before this time alſo it was thought convenient to have a houſe that might anſwer to Maſter Percies, where wee might make proviſion of pouder and wood for the mine, which being there in a night made ready, ſhould in a night be conveied by boat to the houſe by the Parliament, becauſe we were loth to ſoyle that with often going in and out. There was none that wee could deviſe ſo fit as Lambeth, where Maſter Catesby often lay; and to be keeper thereof (by Maſter Catesbies choiſe) we received into the number, Keyes, as a truſty honeſt man: this was about a moneth before Michaelmas.

Sir Edward Cooke knight at the araignment of Garnet addes further, that Catesby and Thomas Percy meeting together complained one to another of the Kings proceedings: and therefore the only way was to kill the King, which Percy himſelf would undertake to do. No Tom, ſaid Catesby, thou ſhalt not ſo adventure thy ſelfe, there is a plot to our greater advontage, & then diſcovered to him the pouder treaſon.

Some forthnight after towards the beginning of the Terme, Maſter Fawkes and I came to Maſter Catesby at Morecrofts, where we agreed that now was time to begin and ſet things in order for the mine. So Maſter Fawkes went to London, and the next day ſent for mee to come over to him; when I came, the cauſe was, for that the Scottiſh Lords were appointed to ſit in conference of the union in Maſter Percies houſe. This hindered our beginning untill a forthnight before Chriſtmas, by which time both M. Percy and Maſter Wright were come to London, and wee againſt their comming had provided a good part of the pouder; ſo as we all five entred with tooles fit to begin our worke, having provided our ſelves of Baked meats, the leſſe to need ſending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were never ſeene, ſave onely Maſter Percies man, until Chriſtmas eve. In which time we wrought under a little entry to the wall of the Parliament houſe, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whileſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſſe, and diſcourſed what we ſhould doe after this deed was done. The firſt queſtion was how we might ſurpriſe the next heire: the Prince happily would be at the parliament with the King his Father, how ſhould we then be able to ſeiſe on the Duke? This burthen Maſter Percy undertooke, that by his acquaintance, he, with another Gentleman, would enter the Chamber without ſuſpition, and having ſome dozen others at ſeverall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horſebacke at the Court gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, untill which he would attend in the Dukes chamber) to carry him ſafe away: for he ſuppoſed moſt of the Court would be abſent, and ſuch as were there, not ſuſpecting, or unprovided for any ſuch matter. For the Lady Elizabeth, it were eaſie to ſurpriſe her in the countrey by drawing friends together at an hunting neer the lord Harringtons, and Aſhby Maſter Catesbies houſe, being not farre off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horſes, which if we could provide in any reaſonable meaſure (having the Heire apparent, and the firſt knowledge by foure or five daies) was oddes ſufficient.

Then what Lords we ſhould ſave from the Parliament, which was firſt agreed in generall, as many as we could that were Catholiques, or ſo diſpoſed; But after we deſcended to ſpeake of particulars.

Next what forrain Princes we ſhould acquaint with this before, or joyne with after. For this point we agreed, that firſt we could not enjoyne Princes to that ſecrecy, nor oblige them by oath; ſo to be ſecure of their promiſes: beſides we knew not whether they will approve the project or diſlike it. And if they doe allow thereof, to prepare before might beget ſuſpition, and not to provide untill the buſineſſe were acted, the ſame letter that carried newes of the thing done, might as well

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intreat their helpe and furtherance. Spaine is too ſlow in his preparations to hope any good from in the firſt extremities, and France too neere and too dangerous, who with the ſhipping of Holland, we feared, of all the world might make away with us.

But while we were in the middle of theſe diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould be anew adjourned untill after Michaelmas, upon which tidings we broke off both diſcourſe and working untill after Chriſtmas. About Candlemas we brought over in a boat the pouder, which wee had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Maſter Percies houſe, becauſe we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

Wee wrought alſo another fortnight in the mine againſt the ſtone wall, whirh was very hard to beat through; at which time we called in Kit Wright; and neere to Eaſter, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we reſolved to lay the pouder, and leave the mine.

Now by reaſon that the charge of maintaining us all ſo long together, beſides the number of ſeverall houſes, which for ſeverall uſes had been hired, and buying of pouder, &c. had layne heavy on M. Catesby alone to ſupport; it was neceſſary for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his charge, and to that end deſired leave, that he, with Maſter Percy, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſines; for many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the company ſhould be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Maſter Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thouſand of billets, and five hundred of fagots, and with that covered the pouder, becauſe we might have the houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. Maſter Catesby wiſhed us to conſider, whether it were not now neceſſary to ſend Maſter Fawkes over, both to abſent himſelfe for a time, as alſo to acquaint Sir William Stanley, and Maſter Owen with this matter. Wee agreed that he ſhould (provided that he gave it them with the ſame oth that we had taken it before) viz. to keep it ſecret from all the world. The reaſon why we deſired ſir William Stanley ſhould be acquainted herwith, was, to have him with us ſo ſoone as we could; And for Maſter Owen, he might hold good correſpondency after with forraine Princes. So Maſter Fawks departed about Eaſter for Flanders, and returned the later end of Auguſt. He told me that when he arrived at Bruſſels, Sir Willam Stanley was not returned from Spain, ſo as he uttered the matter onely to Owen, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the buſineſſe, but told him that ſurely Sir William would not be acquainted with any plot, as having buſineſſe now a foot in the Court of England: but he himſelfe would be allwayes ready to tell it him, and ſend him away ſo ſoone as it were done.

About this time did Maſter Percy and maſter Catesby meet at the Bathe, where they agreed, that the company being yet but few, M. Catesby ſhould have the others authority to call in whom he thought beſt; by which authority hee called in after, Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and laſt of all Maſter Francis Treſham. The firſt promiſed, as I heard maſter Catesby ſay, fifteene hundred pounds; the ſecond two thouſand pounds; Maſter Percy himſelfe promiſed all that he could get of the Earle of Northumberlands rents, which was about foure thouſand pounds, and to provide many galloping horſes to the number of ten.

Meane while Maſter Fawkes and myſelfe alone bought ſome new pouder, as ſuſpecting the firſt to be danke, and conveyed it into the cellar, and ſet it in order as we reſolved it ſhould ſtand.

Then was the parliament anew prorogued untill the fifth of November, ſo as we all went down untill ſome ten daies before, when Maſter Catesby came up with Maſter Fawkes to an houſe by Enfield Chace called White Webs, whither I came to them, and Maſter Catesby wiſhed me to enquire whither the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him that I heard that his grace would not be there. Then muſt we have our horſes, ſaid Maſter Catesby, beyond the water, and proviſion of more company to ſurpriſe the Prince, and leave the Duke alone.

Two dayes after being Sunday at night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me that a letter had been given to my Lord Mountegle to this effect, That he wiſhed his Lordſhips abſence from the Parliament, becauſe a blow would there be given; which letter he preſently carried to my Lord of Salisbury.

On the morrow I went to White-Webs, and told it Maſter Catesby, aſſuring him withall that the matter was diſcloſed, and wiſhing him in any caſe to forſake his countrey. He told me he would ſee further as yet, and reſolved to ſend M. Fawkes to try the uttermoſt, proteſting that if it were his caſe, he would try the ſame adventure.

On Wedneſday Maſter Fawkes went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

On Thurſday I came to London, & on Fryday M. Catesby, M. Treſham and I met at Barnet, where we queſtioned how this letter ſhould be ſent to my Lord Mountegle, but could not cõceive; for M. Treſham forſware it, whom we ſuſpected.

On Saturday night I met Maſter Treſham againe in Lincolnes Inne walkes. Where he told ſuch ſpeeches, that my Lord of Salisbury ſhould uſe to the King, as I gave it loſt the ſecond time, and repeated the ſame to Maſter Catesby, who hereupon was reſolved to be gone, but ſtayed to have Maſter Percy come up, whoſe conſent herein we wanted. On Sunday Maſter Percy being dealt with to that end would needs abide the uttermoſt triall.

This ſuſpition of all hands put us into ſuch confuſion, as Maſter Catesby reſolved to goe downe into the countrey the Munday that Maſter Percy went to Syon, and Maſter Percy reſolved to follow the ſame night, or early the next morning. About five of the clocke being Tueſday, came the younger Wright to my chamber, and told me that a Nobleman called the Lord Montegle, ſaying, Ariſe, and come along to Eſſex houſe, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland; ſaying withall, The matter is diſcovered. Goe backe Maſter Wright (quoth I) and learne what you can about Eſſex gate. Shortly, he returned, and ſaid, Surely all is loſt: for Lepton is got on horſebacke at Eſſex doore: and as hee parted, he asked if their Lordſhips would have any more with him; and being anſwered no, is rode as faſt up Fleetſtreet as hee can ride. Goe you then (quoth I) to Maſter Percy, for ſure it is for him they ſeeke, and bid him be gone, I will ſtay and ſee the uttermoſt. Then I went to the Court gates, and found them ſtraightly garded, ſo as no body could enter. From thence I went downe towards the Parliament houſe, and in the middle of Kings ſtreet found the gard ſtanding, that would not let me paſſe. And as I returned I heard one ſay, There is a Treaſon diſcovered, in which the King and the Lords ſhould have been blowne up. So then I was fully ſatisfied that all was knowne, and went to the ſtable where my gelding ſtood, and rode into the Countrey. Maſter Catesby had appointed our

meeting

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meeting at Dunchurch, but I could not overtake them untill I came to my brothers, which was Wedneſday night. On Thurſday we took the armor at my Lord Windſors, and went that night to one Stephen Littletons houſe, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to diſcover, my man came unto me, and ſaid, That an heavy miſchance had ſevered all the company; for that Maſter Catesby, Maſter Rookewood, & Maſter Grant were burned with Gun-pouder, upon which ſight the reſt diſperſed. Maſter Littleton wiſhed me to fly, and ſo would he. I told him I would firſt ſee the body of my friend, and bury him, whatſoever befel me. When I came I found Maſter Catesby reaſonable well, Maſter Percy, both the Wrights, Maſter Rookewood, and Maſter Grant. I asked them what they reſolved to doe: they anſwered, We mean here to die. I ſaid againe, I would take ſuch part as they did. About eleven of the clocke came the company to beſet the houſe, and as I walked into the Court, I was ſhot into the ſhoulder, which loſt me the uſe of mine arme: the next ſhot was the elder Wright ſtricken dead, after him the younger Maſter Wright, and fourthly Ambroſe Rookewood ſhot. Then ſaid Maſter Catesby to me (ſtanding before the doore they were to enter) ſtand by mee Tom, and we will dye together. Sir, quoth I, I have loſt the uſe of my right arme, and I feare that will cauſe me to be taken. So as we ſtood cloſe together, Maſter Catesby, Maſter Percy, and my ſelfe, they two were ſhot (as farre as I could gueſſe, with one bullet) and then the company entred upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, untill one came behind, and caught hold of both mine armes.

And ſo I remaine yours, &c.

Commiſsioners.

Nottingham.
Suffolke.
Northampton.
Marre.
Worceſter.
Devonſhire.
Saliſbury.
Dunbar.
Popham.

Edw. Coke.
W. Waad.

¶ The names of thoſe that were firſt in the treaſon, and laboured in the Mine.

Eſquires.

Robert Catesby.
Robert Winter.

Gentlemen.

Thomas Percy,
Thomas Winter.
Iohn Wright.
Chriſtopher Wright.
Guido Fawkes.

And Bates Catesbies man.

¶ Thoſe that were made acquainted with it, though not perſonally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Knight.

Eſquires.

Ambroſe Rookewood.
Francis Treſham.
Iohn Grant, Gentleman.
Robert Keyes.

But here let us leave Fawkes in a lodging fit for ſuch a gueſt, and taking time to adviſe upon his conſcience, and turne our ſelves to that part of the hiſtory, which concernes the fortune of the reſt of his partakers in that abhominable Treaſon. The newes was no ſooner ſpread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tueſday, the fifth of November, and the firſt day deſigned for that ſeſſion of Parliament; The newes, I ſay, of this ſo ſtrange and unlooked for accident was no ſooner divulged, but ſome of theſe conſpirators, namely, Winter, & the two brothers the Wrights, thought it high time for them to haſten out of the Towne, (for Catesby was gon the night before, and Percy at foure of the clocke in the morning the ſame day of the diſcovery) and all of them held their courſe, with more haſte than good ſpeed, to Warwicke ſhire toward Coventry, where the next day morning being Wedneſday, and about the ſame houre that Fawkes was taken in Weſtminſter, one Grant a Gentleman having aſſociated unto him ſome others of his opinion, all violent Papiſts and ſtrong Recuſants, came to a Stable of one Benocke a rider of great horſes, and having violently broken up the ſame, carried along with them all the great horſes that were therein, to the number of ſeven or eight, belonging to divers noblemen and gentlemen of that countrey, who had put them into the riders hands to be made fit for their ſervice. And ſo both that company of them which fled out of London, as alſo Grant and his complices met all together at Dunchurch at Sir Everard Digby his lodging the Tueſday at night, after the diſcovery of this treacherous attempt: the which Digby had likewiſe for his part appointed a match of hunting to have been hunted the next day, which was Wedneſday, though his mind was Nimrod-like upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent upon the bloud of reaſonable men than brute beaſts.

The taking of the horſes out of the ſtable at Warwicke by Grant and others.

The hunting match appointed by ſir Everard Digby.

This company and helliſh ſociety thus convened, finding their purpoſe diſcovered, and their treachery prevented, did reſolve to run a deſperate courſe, and ſince they could not prevaile by ſo private a blow, to practiſe by a publique rebellion either to attaine to their intents, or at leaſt to ſave themſelves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, having intercepted ſuch proviſion of armour, horſes, and pouder, as the time could permit, thought by running up and downe the countrey, both to augment peece and peece their number (dreaming to themſelves that they had the vertue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the firſt, and tumbling downe from a great hill groweth to a great quantity, by increaſing it ſelfe with the ſnow that it meeteth by the way) and alſo that they beginning firſt this brave ſhew in one part of the countrey, ſhould by their Sympathy and example ſtirre up and encourage the reſt of their religion in other parts of England to riſe as they had don there. But when

Their going into armes after the plot diſcovered.

Their number never above foureſcore.

they had gathered their force to the greateſt, they came not to the number of foureſcore, and yet were they troubled all the houres of the day to kéep and contain their own ſervants from ſtealing from them; who (notwithſtanding all their care) daily left them, being farre inferiour to Gedeons hoſt in number, but far more in faith or juſtneſſe of quarrell.

Their flight.

And ſo after that this Catholique troup had wandered a while through Warwicke ſhire to Worceſter ſhire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Stafford ſhire, this gallantly armed band had not the honor at the laſt to bee beaten with the Kings Lievtenant or extraordinary Commiſſioners ſent down for the purpoſe, but only by the ordinary Sheriffe of Worceſter ſhire were they all beaten, killed, taken, and diſperſed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumſtance ſo admirable, and ſo vively diſplaying the greatneſſe of Gods juſtice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the ſame.

Overtaken at Holbeach, in Stafford-ſhire, in Ste. Littletons houſe.

Although divers of the Kings Proclamations were poſted downe after theſe Traitors with all the ſpéed poſſible, declaring the odiouſneſſe of that bloudy attempt, the neceſſity to have had Percy preſerved alive, if it had bin poſſible, and the aſſembly together of that damned crew, now no more ſecret conſpirators, but open and avowed rebels; yet the farre diſtance of the way (which was above an hundred miles) together with the extreame déepneſſe thereof, joyned alſo with the ſhortneſſe of the day, was the cauſe that the hearty and loving affections of the Kings good ſubjects in thoſe parts prevented the ſpéed of his Proclamations. For on the third day after the flying downe of theſe rebels, which was on the Fryday next after the diſcovery of the plot, they were moſt of them all ſurpriſed by the Sheriffe of Worceſter ſhire at Holbeach, about the noone of the day, and that in manner following.

Grants attempt to ſurpriſe the Lady Elizabeth.

Grant, of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great horſes, who had not all the preceding time ſtirred from his owne houſe till the next morning after the attempt ſhould have béen put in execution, he then laying his account without his Hoſt (as the Proverbe is) that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped for ſucceſſe, tooke, or rather, ſtole out their horſes (as I ſaid before) for enabling him, and ſo many of that ſoule-leſſe ſociety that had ſtill remained in the countrey néere about him, to make a ſudden ſurpriſe upon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, having her reſidence néere to that place, at the Lord Harringtons houſe; whom they thought to have uſed for the colour of their treacherous deſigne (his Majeſty her Father, her Mother, and male Children being all deſtroyed above.) And to this purpoſe alſo had that Nimrod Digby provided his hunting match againſt the ſame time, that numbers of people being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the eaſilier have brought to paſſe the ſudden ſurpriſe of her perſon.

Now the violent taking away of thoſe horſes long before day, did ſéeme to be ſo great a riot in the eies of the common people, that knew of no greater myſtery: And the bold attempting thereof did ingender ſuch a ſuſpition of ſome following rebellion in the hearts of the wiſer ſort, as both great and ſmall began to ſtirre and arme themſelves, upon this unlooked for accident. Among whom ſir Fulke Grevill the elder, knight, as became one both ſo antient in yeares, and good reputation, and by his office being deputy Lieutenant of Warwicke ſhire, though unable in his body, yet by the zeale and true fervency of his minde, did firſt apprehend this foreſaid riot to be nothing but the ſparkles and ſure indices of a following rebellion; whereupon both ſtoutly and honeſtly he tooke order to get into his owne hands the munition and armour of all ſuch Gentlemen about him, as were either abſent from their owne houſes, or in doubtfull guard; And alſo ſent ſuch direction to the Townes about him, as thereupon did follow the ſtriking of Winter by a poore Smith, who had likewiſe béen taken by theſe vulgar people, but that he was reſcued by the reſt of his company; who perceiving that the country before them had notice of them, haſtened away with loſſe in their owne ſight, ſixtéene of their followers being taken by the townesmen, and ſent preſently to the Sheriffe at Warwicke, and from thence to London.

But before twelve or ſixtéene houres paſt, Cateſby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the reſt bringing then the aſſurance that their maine plot was failed and bewraied, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: They then tooke their laſt deſperate reſolution to flocke together in a troupe, and wander, as they did, for the reaſons aforetold. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their Soveraigne was ſo déeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort of the people (although then knowing of no further myſtery then ſuch publique miſbehaviours as their owne eyes taught them) as notwithſtanding all their faire ſhewes, and pretence of their Catholique cauſe, no creature, man or woman through all the countrey, would once ſo much as give them willingly a cup of drinke, or any ſort of comfort or ſupport, but with execrations deteſted them: So on the other part, the Sheriffes of the ſhires, wherethrough they wandred, convening their people with all ſpéed poſſible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilneſſe of the way, and the unprovidedneſſe of their people upon that ſudden could permit them. And ſo at laſt after Sir Richard Verney, Sheriffe of Warwickeſhire, had carefully and ſtraightly bin in chaſe of them to the confines of his County, part of the meaner ſort being alſo apprehended by him; Sir Richard Walſh Sheriffe of Worceſter ſhire did likewiſe dutifully and hotly purſue them through his ſhire; And having gotten ſure tryall of their taking harbour at the houſe above named, he did ſend trumpeters and meſſengers to them, commanding them in the Kings name to render unto him his Majeſties Miniſter; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt then was publikely viſible, did promiſe upon their dutifull and obedient rendring unto him, to intercede at the Kings hand for the ſparing of their lives: Who received only from them this ſcornfull anſwer (they being better witneſſes to themſelves, of their inward evill conſciences.) That he had néed of better aſſiſtance, then of thoſe few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to command or controll them.

The preparation to aſſault the houſe.

But here fell the wondrous worke of Gods Juſtice, that while this meſſage paſſed betwéen the ſheriffe and them, the ſheriffes & his peoples zeale being juſtly kindled and augmented by their arrogant anſwer, and ſo they preparing themſelves to give a furious aſſault; and the other party making themſelves ready within the houſe to performe their promiſe by a defence as reſolute; It pleaſed God that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one ſmall ſparke ſhould flée out, and light among leſſe then two pound weight of pouder, which was drying a little from the chimny; which being thereby blowne up, ſo maimed the faces of ſome of the principall rebels, & the hands and ſides of others of them (blowing up with it alſo a great bag full of pouder, which notwithſtanding

never

Anno 1620.

Cateſby, who was the firſt Inventer of this treaſon in generall, and of the manner of working the ſame by powder, in ſpecial, himſelfe now firſt maimed with the blowing up of powder, and next he and Percy both killed with one ſhot proceeding from powder.

never tooke fire) as they were not only diſabled and diſcouraged hereby from any further reſiſtance, in reſpect Cateſby himſelfe, Rookwood, Grant, and divers others of greateſt account among them were thereby made unable for defence; but alſo wonderfully ſtrucken with amaſement in their guilty conſciences, calling to memory how God had juſtly puniſhed them with that ſame inſtrument which they ſhould have uſed for the effectuating of ſo great a ſin, according to the old Latine ſaying, In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur: as they preſently (ſee the wonderfull power of Gods Iuſtice upon guilty conſciences) did all fall downe upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterpriſe: and thereafter giving over any further debate, opened the gate, ſuffered the Sheriffes people to ruſh in furiouſly among them, and deſperately ſought their own preſent deſtruction; the three ſpecials of them joyning backes together, Cateſby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two with one ſhot, Cateſby and Percy were ſlaine, and the third, Winter, taken and ſaved alive.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Catholiques, who dreamed of no leſſe then the deſtruction of Kings and Kingdomes, and promiſed to themſelves no lower eſtate then the government of great and ancient Monarchies, were miſerably defeated and quite overthrowne in an inſtant; falling in the pit which they had prepared for others, and ſo fulfilling that ſentence which his Majeſty did in a manner prophecy of them in his Oration to the Parliament; ſome preſently ſlaine, others deadly wounded, ſtrippped of their clothes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying rather of cold, than of the danger of their wounds; and the reſt that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led priſoners by the Sheriffe, the ordinary Miniſter of Iuſtice, to the Gaole, the ordinary place even of the baſeſt malefactors, where they remained till their ſending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all ſorts, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of Monſters; fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfie their curioſity in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo unheard of a villany; and generally all ſorts of people to ſatiate and fill their eyes with the ſight of them, whom in their hearts they ſo far admired and deteſted: ſerving ſo for a fearefull and publique ſpectacle of Gods fierce wrath and juſt indignation.

¶ Anno III. Iacobi Regis.

An Act for a publique thankeſgiving to Almighty God, every yeare, on the fifth day of November.

FOraſmuch as Almighty God hath in all ages ſhewed his power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his Church, and in the protection of religious Kings and States, and that no nation of the earth hath been bleſſed with greater benefits then this kingdome now enjoyeth, having the true and free profeſſion of the Goſpell under our moſt ſoveraigne Lord King James, the moſt great, learned, and religious King that ever raigned therein, enriched with a moſt hopefull and plentifull progeny, proceeding out of his royall loynes, promiſing continuance of this happineſſe and profeſſion to all poſterity: the which many malignant and devilliſh Papiſts, Ieſuites, and Seminary Prieſts much envying and fearing, conſpired moſt horribly, when the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, the Queene, the Prince, and all the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and Commons ſhould have been aſſembled in the upper houſe of Parliament, upon the fifth day of November, in the yeare of our Lord 1605. ſuddenly to have blowne up the ſaid whole houſe with Gun-powder; an invention ſo inhumane, barbarous, and cruell, as the like was never before heard of, as was (as ſome of the principall conſpirators confeſſe) purpoſely deviſed and concluded to be done in the ſaid houſe, that where ſundry neceſſary and religious Lawes for preſervation of the Church and State were made, which they falſely and ſlanderouſly terme cruell Lawes enacted againſt them and their religion, both place and perſons ſhould be all deſtroyed and blowne up at once, which would have turned to the utter ruine of this whole kingdome, had it not pleaſed Almighty God, by inſpiring the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie with a Divine ſpirit, to interpret ſome darke phraſes of a letter ſhewed to his Majeſtie, above and beyond all ordinary conſtruction, thereby miraculouſly diſcovering this hidden Treaſon, not many houres before the appointed time for the execution thereof: Therefore the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie, the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and all his Majeſties faithfull and loving ſubjects do moſt juſtly acknowledge this great and infinite bleſſing to have proceeded meerly from God his great mercy, and to his moſt holy name doe aſcribe all honor, glory, and praiſe. And to the end this unfeigned thankfulneſſe may never be forgotten, but be had in a perpetuall remembrance, that all ages to come may yeeld praiſes to his Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and have in memory this joyfull day of deliverance:

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That all and ſingular Miniſters in every Cathedrall and Pariſh Church, or other uſuall place for Common prayer within this Realm of England and the dominions of the ſame, ſhall alwaies upon the fifth day of November ſay Morning prayer, and give unto Almighty God thankes for this moſt happy Deliverance: and that all and every perſon and perſons inhabiting within this realme of England and the dominions of the ſame, ſhall alwaies upon that day diligently and faithfully reſort to the Pariſh Church or Chappell where the ſaid morning Prayer, Preaching, or other ſervice of God ſhall be uſed, and then and there to abide orderly and ſoberly during the time of the ſaid prayers, preaching, or other ſervice of God there to be uſed and miniſtred.

And becauſe all and every perſon may be put in minde of this duty, and be the better prepared to the ſaid holy ſervice, Be it enacted by authority aforeſaid, that every Miniſter ſhall give warning to his Pariſhioners publiquely in the Church at morning Prayer, the Sunday before every ſuch fifth day of November, for the due obſervation of the ſaid day. And that after morning Prayer, or preaching on the ſaid fifth day of November, they reade diſtinctly and plainly this preſent Act.

God ſave the King.

Anno 1611.

¶ *A Prayer and Thankeſgiving for the happy deliverance of his Majeſty, the Queene, the Prince, and the States of Parliament, &c.*

ALmighty God, who haſt in all ages ſhewed thy power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of thy Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings, and States profeſſing thy holy and eternall truth, againſt the wicked conſpiracies, and malicious practiſes of all the enemies thereof: we yeeld unto thee from the very ground of our hearts all poſſible praiſe and thankes for thy wonderfull and mighty deliverance of our gracious Soveraigne K. James, the Queen, the Prince, and all the royall branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of this realme, aſſembled together at this preſent in Parliament, by popiſh treachery appointed as ſheep to the ſlaughter, and that in moſt barbarous and ſavage maner, no age yeelding example of the like cruelty intended towards the Lords annointed and his people. Can this thy goodneſſe, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written in a pillar of Marble, that we may ever remember to praiſe thee for the ſame, as the fact is worthy a laſting monument, that all poſterity may learn to deteſt it? From this unnaturall conſpiracy, not our merit, but thy mercy, not our foreſight, but thy providence hath delivered us, not our love to thee, but thy love to thine annointed ſervant, and thy poore Church, with whom thou haſt promiſed to be preſent to the end of the world. And therefore not unto us, not unto us Lord, but to thy name be aſcribed all honor and glory in all Churches of the ſaints, throughout all generations: for thou Lord haſt diſcovered the ſnares of death, Thou haſt broken them and we are delivered. Be thou ſtill our mighty protector, and ſcatter our cruell enemies which delight in blood: infatuate their counſell, and roote out that Babiloniſh and Antichriſtian ſect, which ſay with Jeruſalem, Downe with it, downe with it, even to the ground. And to that end ſtrengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles and Magiſtrates of the land with judgement and juſtice to cut off theſe workers of iniquity (whoſe religion is rebellion, whoſe faith is faction, whoſe practiſe is murthering of ſoules and bodies) and to root them out of the confines and limits of this kingdome, that they may never prevaile againſt us, and triumph in the ruine of thy Church; and give us grace by true and ſerious repentance to avert theſe and the like judgements from us. This, Lord, we earneſtly crave at thy mercifull hands, together with the continuance of thy powerfull protection over our dread Soveraign, the whole Church, and theſe Realms, and the ſpeedy confuſion of our implacable enemies, and that for thy deare Sons ſake, our only Mediatour and Advocate, Amen.

¶ *Franco di Franco, an Italian made away in ſecret in the City of Vilne.*

IN the yeare 1611. on the day which the papiſts call the feaſt of God, a young man of ſix and twenty yeares old, being miraculouſly called unto the knowledge of the Goſpel, was by certain Italians led through a Church where maſſe was to be ſung, and being urged to ſhew how he liked it, began to refute their Idolatry with great zeale, admoniſhing the people there preſent, not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo ſeduced by the pompous ſplendor of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitions: Telling them, That that God which the Prieſt held up was no God, as thoſe ſeducers made them beleeve, but a meere Idoll, ſeeing it was not able to remove it ſelfe from one place to another unleſſe it were borne. Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God our Saviour is to be ſought, ſaith he, at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. This yong man was forthwith compaſſed about with an innumerable company of people, who buffeting him often on the face, and ſpurning him with their feete, haled him thence into the common Gaole of the City.

After many daies the Biſhop with ſundry other Lords, calling him before them, aſked him if the heretiques had not perſwaded him to uſe ſuch words as he had ſpoken: alſo whether he had not a reſolution to kill the Queene, or her ſon the King, or the Biſhop of Wilne? The priſoner wiſely and reſolutely anſwered, That no man had ſet him aworke to doe it, but only the zeale he had of Gods glory, his conſcience provoking him thereto; holding it impoſſible for him any longer to ſuffer that men ſhould attribute that honour to a dead Idoll, which is only due to Jeſus Chriſt his Saviour.

As touching their other demand, his anſwere was, that Chriſtian Religion teacheth us not to murther men, as Papiſts have hitherto done in France, England, in the Low-Countries, and elſewhere, as hiſtories doe daily ſhew. The priſoner alſo admoniſhed the Biſhop of Wilne to forſake all Idolatry, to preach Gods truth and verity, and ceaſe to bewitch the poore people with humane inventions: moreover this faithfull witneſſe did with much vehemency and conſtancy maintaine the truth of God, that the Biſhop of Wilne drove out of his Hall his ſervants and ſuch as came in there to heare him, But he got little by it, for as they went here and there in the City, they told it abroad, how in all their lives they never heard man ſpeake with that courage and boldneſſe of divine things to ſo good purpoſe, as this yong man had done.

Not long after he was againe brought before the ſame Judges, and queſtioned as before: but in ſtead of yeelding, he hardened his face againſt the impudency of his adverſaries. They purpoſing to quaile this his magnanimity, cauſed him to feele the torture. When he had ſuffered the utmoſt of their cruelty, he was ſo far off from abjuring the truth, that on the contrary his confeſſion diſcovered in him a greater reſolution then ever before, being deſirous and ſhewing himſelfe ready preſt to receive the Crowne of Martyrdome.

To be ſhort, the laſt of June 1611. which was the ſame day twelve-moneth 1610. where in the City of Wilne, being the capitall City of the great Ducheſſe of Lithuany, at eight of the clock in the morning there happened as terrible a fire as hath been heard of, at the houre in which the ſaid Biſhops and a great company of Jeſuites were going on proceſſion: the fire was ſo vehement, that within the ſpace of ſeven houres it devoured ſixe thouſand five hundred and fourteene houſes, which fell out as the Jeſuites ſuppoſed, becauſe they ſpared the Heretiques there. Whereupon the Martyr of Chriſt was cruelly butchered there by the enemies of the Goſpell, not in a publike place, nor by day, though he inſtantly requeſted the ſame at the hands of his Judges; but privatly in the night, in a place walled about nigh to the Governours houſe. Before they put him to death, he was cruelly tortured, and then bound by the executioner to a poſt, where they drew out his

Anno 1595.

tongue under his chinne; which done, cutting off his head, his body being divided into foure quarters, was carried the next day through the City upon ſo many poles.

¶ *An hiſtory of three Engliſhmen put to death at Rome.*

Thrée Engliſh men méeting together entered into a conference concerning the ſtate of the Church at that time, complaining that the zeale of Gods glory was wonderfully cooled among men, yea and that even thoſe of the religion were growne but too worldly wiſe; that ſatan by little was ſowing the ſéeds of Atheiſme every where, by rocking men aſléep in the cradle of ſecurity: whereupon having in humble manner commended themſelves into the hands of God, they determined to take their voyage to Rome, and there to encounter with the adverſary of Chriſt. Thither they came, and after a few daies two of them behaving themſelves modeſtly, did in ſecret manifeſt to ſome there the truth of the Goſpell, who being betrayed were impriſoned and put to death without any further adoe.

The third, having reſolved to act his part in publique, gave over himſelfe to ſuffer all the extremities the wit of man could invent. It came to paſſe one day that this man, eſpying the Pope in the middeſt of his maſſing devotion, ſtept quickly unto him, plucked the conſecrated Hoſt out of his hands, caſt it to the ground, trod it under foot, uttering invective ſpéeches againſt the Maſſe and Antichriſt. The people in a rage fell upon the Engliſhman; who, being altogether bruiſed with their fiſts and féet, ſaid, you hangman, finde out as many torments as you can, the hand of the Almighty will ſhew it ſelf the more gloriouſly. My ſoule is reſolved to vanquiſh death valiantly. He was forthwith bound and ſet upon an Aſſe, ſixe Torches were lighted, and from ſtréet to ſtréet the executioners bare them by him, burning therewith his face, mouth, and tongue firſt; for he had ſaid before to one of the tormentors, thou haſt no power over my ſoule, thou wretch, knoweſt thou not that God underſtands the voice of my ſecret thought and complaint. When the flames came overthwart his chéekes, he was heard to cry, Lord forgive theſe men, for they know not what they doe. After they had burned all his face, put out his eyes, ſcorched and roſted his body, in the end they conſumed it wholly to aſhes.

The learned author, who ſet forth this Hiſtory in a notable work of his, notes neither the yeare nor the names of theſe Engliſhmen. It ſhould ſéeme to be about the time of Pope Clement the eighth, in Anno 1595, for in his ample diſcourſe he mentions an old wiſe man le ſage veillard burned at Rome (after theſe Engliſh men) who before he went to the fire, ſpake with ſuch efficacy to his confeſſor ſent unto him (who alſo left him not till he yéelded up his ſpirit in the middeſt of the flames into the hands of Chriſt) that this confeſſor going the next day into the Pulpit, maintained the cauſe of the old wiſe man with ſuch boldneſſe and zeale, that all the audience hearing him attentively, without any reſiſtance, underſtood his meaning, and never accuſed the Preacher.

An admirable Capuchin.

But in Lent following, a Capuchin Fryer preaching before Pope Clement the eighth called him Antichriſt, and during that Lent ceaſed not to Preach the truth of the Goſpell, in the Chaire of peſtilence, under the robe and habit of a Liar, &c.

In the ſame work my author (ſaith our Hiſtorian) mentions another Italian preacher called N. Montalchin, who in deſcribing his Hiſtory hath theſe words: The Pope perceiving that by executing the Martyrs thus openly in the ſight of the people, in ſtead of terrifying them, thereby many were the more encouraged, he reſolved with himſelfe thenceforward to conceale his open violence out of the ſight of the Sun, and to exerciſe it rather in the dark, and in the night ſeaſon. The inquiſitors, who had Montalchin in their hands, were preparing a way to murther him privily, according to the Popes intention.

It ſo fell out, that the Jaylour ſmelling the injuſtice which theſe reverend Fathers were deviſing againſt the poore priſoner, adventured to give him notice of it, to the end he making his peace with God might fit himſelfe for death. This experienced ſouldier of Jeſus Chriſt plotted a way under hand, by a ſpirituall wile, to catch the wiſe in their craftineſſe: faining therefore a repentance, he called for his judges, telling them he was now minded to revoke his errors, after they had pronounced ſentence againſt him, and would in the hearing of all recant what he had in publike maintained againſt the truth.

His Judges, beléeving he had ſpoken in good earneſt, promiſed him his life upon thoſe tearmes. Now that they might the rather ſatisfie their pride, they made known to every one the time and place appointed for his abjuration. All the city aſſembled together to take knowledge of this ſo unexpected a novelty. Montalchin was brought and placed on a ſcaffold for that purpoſe. He ſtood there in his ſhirt, holding in his hands two torches lighted: then ſilence being obtained, he began to ſpeake to the people as followeth.

Deare brethren and Children, I have a long time taught you ſuch a doctrine as hath troubled you. I am now brought hither to open my minde unto you. Montalchin is a ſinfull man and therefore may erre. But lend me your attention a while, and I will let you ſée the difference betwéen both opinions: Thrée words (ſeul, ſeule, ſeulement) will ſerve to diſtinguiſh betwéene falſhood and truth.

1 I have taught you that Chriſt is our only ſacrifice, our only prieſt, who only was once offered for us. But the Doctors teach the contrary, to wit, that the true body of Chriſt without bread is offered up for the living and for the dead, that the prieſts ought daily to offer up the naturall body of Chriſt really in the Maſſe.

2 I have taught that in taking the viſible ſignes in the Sacrament, we doe therein by faith only take the ſpirituall and heavenly bread of our ſoules.

The Doctors ſay, that Chriſts body is taken fleſh and blood into the mouth and belly of the communicant.

3 I have preached that Jeſus Chriſt is our only mediator, and that by him alone we have acceſſe unto the Father.

But the Doctors goe further, and will have us to come to the Virgin Mary, making her and all the Saints departed our Mediators and Interceſſors.

4 I have declared that we are juſtified only by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that the frée mercy of God is the foundation of our ſalvation.

The Doctors would have us to help our faith, and grace by good workes as meritorious cauſes of ſalvation.

5 You have heard me preach that Chriſt only gives grace; and that he alone pardons ſins.

They affirm that the Church hath a Coffer or Cheſt, of which the Pope kéeps the keyes, whereinto are put the merits of ſaints, which he largely

Anno 1611. diſtributed abroad to ſuch as will buy his pardons with money.

6 I have told you that the Canonicall bookes of the old and new Teſtament are the onely ground of our faith and ſalvation.

The Doctors adde thereto their unwritten verities.

7 I have taught you that after this life ended there are only two places prepared for them to goe unto who die and depart out of this world; One, the place of joy and comfort, the other of torment.

The Doctors ſay, there are foure, viz. Paradiſe, Hell, Limbus, and Purgatory.

8 I have preached that the Pope is not a god on earth, but only a Biſhop, and that only of one place, if he therein behave himſelfe as a good Biſhip ought to doe.

The Doctors make him Lord of the world, and the head of the viſible Church.

9 Now O Chriſtian brethren, Judge you of that which I have ſaid, and ſée if you can diſcerne Truth from Error; Truth leads you to life, honour, and bleſſedneſſe; Error and lies to death and deſtruction.

Be now either ſervants of Truth, or the ſlaves of Error. For my part I will cleave to the truth of the Goſpell, and doe condemne all errors and lies: let Montalchin die, and live thou, O Lord Jeſus.

Then threw he downe his two burning torches, one this way, and another that way, offering his hands to be tyed and bound, which cauſed a great tumult among the people. Montalchin was returned back again to priſon.

Now Reader, it will not be hard for thée to imagine what entertainment he found there: whether or no the Popes " Decrée was executed to the full upon this worthy Confeſſor, who in the face of the world did ſo nobly triumph over Satan and Antichriſt his Lieutenant.

" Which was to put the martyrs to death, privily, as was noted in the beginning of this hiſtory.

Concluſion.

¶ The invincible conſtancy of the Martyrs tyred the Perſecutors; their fiery burning zeale dryed up the Rivers; the ſlaughter of mens ſwords ſéemed to be blunted; the Hangmens halters to be utterly ſpent and waſted, &c.

A TRVE NARRATION

Of a bloody maſſacre committed upon the
Proteſtants by the Papiſts in the greater part of the *Valtoline*, in the yeare 1620. after the new ſtile: Publiſhed for a neceſſary
admonition to all Eſtates, wherein the Goſpell is profeſſed amongſt
the Papiſts, and for an example to all true Chriſtians
of conſtancy in the Profeſſion of
the Holy GOSPELL.

MAT. 5. 10.

Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven.

¶ *The true declaration of the Maſſacres of the Valtoline.*

Albeit that the Griſon Lords, being as it were the Soveraigne Magiſtrates, had by ſundry Decrées, according to the common liberty of the two Religions in thoſe countries, granted, that in the Countrey of Boalez, a place belonging to the territory of Tell, there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a Church for the Religion, which ſhould receive the ordinary ſtipend which at that preſent was allowed to other Churches of the Valtoline, An. 1619. in the moneth of May: The Miniſter of the Church of Tell with the Miniſters of Irian and Bruſe, together with the aſſiſtance of the principall Lords of Tyrano and Tegly, did méet together in the ſaid place of Boalez, to preach in the Church of that place. But ſo great was the multitude and concourſe of the papiſts in that place in Armes, that they were of neceſſity inforced to give over their purpoſe; and at that time was Maſter Gaudentius Taches the Paſtor of Bruſe almoſt beaten to death with ſtaves, a young man of Tyrano was ſlaine outright, and others very cruelly handled by ſome of theſe villaines, who by that occaſion may worthily be called the firſt martyrs of the Country of Tyrano.

Within a ſhort time after was murdered a ſervant of the Governour of that place, where the rage and fury of thoſe murderers grew unto that height, that they did not only contemne the

Proclamations

Anno 1620.

Proclamations publiſhed by the Governor, but in ſcorn and deſpite thereof they paſſed up and downe before the Palace, threatening to kill the ſaid governor, and other principall perſons of the Church of France.

Now for that the ordinary Magiſtrate of that place was not ſtrong enough to repreſſe the outrages and inſolencies of thoſe villaines, from whom none could bee ſecure either in their houſes or abroad, by reaſon of the frequent attempts which they made upon the Proteſtants, the rather for that they bordered neere upon a forraine juriſdiction, to which they had recourſe when they had committed any miſchiefe, the Governour was conſtrained to make his addreſſe for juſtice to the ſoveraigne Dave of the countrey, who about the midſt of February, anno 1620, granted a commiſſion, wherein were named theſe commiſſioners, viz. the Lords Joachinas Montalta, at this time Vicar of the Valtoline, John Baptiſta of Salicht, a Doctor of Law, Ja. Rumel a captain, Salomon Candeamma Buoli, Landlaine of Tavos, in the ten juriſdictions, Dieteganus Fertmannus, captaine of the Lordſhip of Meienfield, and John Andrea Miniardino for the Chancellorſhip, &c.

By theſe perſons, beſides the proceſſes framed already by the Lords, John of Cappaul, Governour of Tyrano, and Andreo Enderlino of Tegly, there were againe divers proceſſes framed anew, and upon the impriſonment and revealing of certain perſons it was diſcovered and confeſſed, there was a reſolution made in the ſame place of Boalty to pnt to the ſword not only the Preacher if he had preached, but alſo all the people, as many as profeſſed the Goſpell, as they could light upon, yea even the magiſtrate himſelfe; beſides there were divers perſons diſcovered, and thoſe of principall ranke, who were the authors of thoſe wicked and barbarous practiſes, and had promiſed all poſſible ayde and aſſiſtance unto them.

And therefore, the importance of the buſineſſe being of great conſequence, it was thought expedient, that thoſe Lords, Commiſſioners, ſhould return to Tavos, and report to the Court of juſtice, which there reſided, all the buſineſſe which reſulted of theſe proceſſes; which they accordingly did about the midſt of April laſt paſt. Moreover, they were intreated by divers noble perſons of the proteſtant Church of the Valtoline, that they would with all poſſible ſpeed provide a garriſon of Griſons for the defence of the vally, in regard that by the foreſaid diſcovery they had great reaſon to feare a generall rebellion, in caſe they ſhould proceed to chaſtiſe the authors of thoſe tumults and diſorders, and that ſuch a buſineſſe could not be, without intelligence with the Spaniard, and that ſo much the more likely, that ſome certaine yeares agoe ſuch another practiſe had bin diſcovered and attempted to be put in practiſe, as came to paſſe 1584, and ſince of late.

All theſe buſineſſes were conſidered, but it was not poſſible to put the ſame in effect for many reaſons, had it not been that they received intelligence that a number of Spaniards approached neere to the three plebes, which were places adjoyning to the Valtoline, by which occaſion the Magiſtrate and governors of the Valtoline were conſtrained to put a guard neere the trenches of Trahona, and Morben, about the Calends of July 1620, thinking to ſecure the valley from the forraine enemy: and that guard conſiſted of the Countrey-men, and dwellers in the Valtoline: & this courſe wrought no other effect but that the Proteſtants by this meanes were incloſed in of all ſides, that they could not flee away on that ſide, by the way already concluded, but anticipated within eight daies which was the Sabboth day. The ninth of July 1620, followed the maſſacre in the countrey of Tyrane and Teglio, as now ſince in Sondres, a principall countrey of this Valley.

¶ *The maſſacre of Tyrane, wherein were murthered about threeſcore perſons.*

The beginning of their murthers was made at Tyrane, wherein thoſe barbarous and wicked fellowes were aſſiſted by certain villains who lived neer in a forrain juriſdiction, of whom the principall captains and ringleaders, were Jacopo Robuſtello of Groſſot, Marco Anthonio de Venoſta, a Doctor of phyſicke of Mazzio, and Francis Venoſta of Tyrane, a Doctor of the Civill Law. Theſe together with their confederats and dependants, both ſuch as were domeſtique, and came from forrain places, that were the moſt cruell and bloudy villaines which could be picked out thereabouts, before any enterpriſe covertly made, gave order, that all the waies and paſſages of every ſide ſhould be well guarded, to the end that their cruell enterpriſe upon the Proteſtants of the Countrey ſhould not ſo readily be diſcovered, and they the attempters themſelves ſhould be the leſſe troubled in the execution.

Then about ſixe of the clocke in the night, they entred into the Countrey of Tyrane, like ſo many foming wild Bores, making their rendevous of Doctor Franceſco Venoſta. They cauſed foure muskets to be diſcharged before the Palace of the Seignior Podeſta the principall magiſtrate of the place, and rung the great Bell of Tyrane. Upon which ſignall all the inhabitants in that vicinity tooke the alarme, and made head toward the ſaid houſe. They gave order to break the bridges which lay towards Bruſe, and on the place they planted a ſtrong guard, and this was done before day. Suddenly upon the dawning of the day, the Bels began to ring another peale a Matello, and then theſe traitors began to bandy and to range themſelves together. The Proteſtants, who without feare or ſuſpition of any practiſe againſt them, came out of their houſes into the ſtreets to ſee what the matter was, were ſuddenly ſhot and moſt cruelly murthered in the place. Others by force entred into the houſes of the Proteſtants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compaſſion ſlew all they could meet withall.

John Andrea Cataneo was by his wife delivered from the hands of thoſe murtherers, but was againe by force recovered by them. And although this Gentlewoman was a neere kinſwoman of Robuſtello, and of Doctor Venoſta, as couſins once removed, and this Cataneo had ever eſteemed them among his better friends, yet could not he obtaine the favor to have his life ſpared. He prayed them that firſt hee might have leave to ſpeake with the ſaid Doctor, which could not bee obtained. In the meane time he eſcaped into another houſe adjoyning, and hid himſelfe in a Garret in the top thereof, hoping to eſcape the hands of thoſe his furious perſecutors: but all in vaine, for they nevertheles purſued him into the houſe, wher he poore Gentleman hid himſelfe, they tooke him, and caſt him down out of the houſe into the ſtreet, and when they found there was yet life in him, they with a moſt inhumane and unſpeakeable cruelty diſpatched him with a piece of Timber.

Antonio de Salve, a Chancellor in that Valley being appointed Judge upon criminall cauſes, a man of the greateſt authority in the pregella, and other places, who at that inſtant was reſident at Sondres, being deſirous to ſave himſelfe together with his Deputy, Marco Antonio Venoſta a Doctor of Law in the houſe of Jacobo

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Homodeo was drawne out of the houſe into the ſtreet, with Venoſta and his ſervant Antonio Keller of Soglio in the ſaid Pregella, and ſlaine with a ſhot of musket, being of the age of forty two yeres.

Seignior Andrea Enderlin of Kublis in Pretigonia, a Gentleman of great worth, very ſingularly learned, and skilfull in many languages, being at that time Governor of Teglie, in the name of the three leagues, being in this hurly-burly by chance in Tyrane in the houſe of Battiſta Baruſſino, was alſo with his ſervant George Petterlin ſtrangled to death in the chamber where he was found: and this noble Gentleman, being firſt caſt out of the chamber window, was all his body over ſo beaten and bruiſed, that you could not know him; and yet after, their fury not ceaſing, they knitting a cord about his necke threw him into the river of Adda: notwithſtanding hee was afterward found and buried.

In the meane time, with this Governour alſo was ſlaine Iohn the ſon of Senior Michael Montio of Bruiſe, a Gentleman of ſingular goodneſſe and wiſedome, who before time had been Deputy to his father in the government of Trahona, and in the ſame demeaned himſelfe with great commendation. Who being deſirous to withdraw himſelfe from Tyrane to his owne houſe, was intreated by Ambroſio Baruſſino, ſonne of the foreſaid Battiſta, for his greater ſecuritie to lodge with him in his houſe. Which courteſy when he had accepted, ſuſpecting no treacherie in his new hoſt, he was by him ſhot with a musket, and caſt into the floud of Adda, being of the age of forty yeares.

The reverend Gentleman Senior Antonio Baſſo, Paſtor of the Proteſtant Church of Tyrane, a man of great ſanctity and wiſedome, and a lover of the peace of the Countrey, hearing the noyſe of theſe uprores, he and Maſter Samuel Andreoſcha the Paſtor of Mello in the lower Tercier, whom he had viſited that day, withdrew themſelves into a hall, where having recommended their ſoules to God, they were moſt cruelly ſlaine.

Neither did thoſe furious perſecutors reſt here, but beſides they cut off Baſſoes head, and carried it into the Church, and fixed it upon a pole in the pulpit where before time he was wont to preach, ſaying with all diſgrace and ſcorne, Come downe Baſſo, thou haſt preached long enough already.

In like manner at the ſame time the Palace of the Chequer of Tyrane was beſieged by thoſe helhounds; wherein dwelt Senior Iohn de Cappaul being at that time governor. To which place Michael Lazarone, a man of good acount and chancellor of that office, had retired himſelfe early in the morning to ſave his life. But becauſe he was extreamely hated of the Papiſts, by reaſon of his ſingular piety, religion, and ſincerity, hee was eſpecially purſued by them; inſomuch as thoſe rebels followed him even to the palace, threatning to ſet fire on the ſame, if he were not delivered into their hands. Lazarone ſeeing that notwithſtanding the Palace was well furniſhed with great ordnance, faulcons, muskets, munition, and other neceſſary proviſions, he was like to fall into the hands of his enemies, for that the ſaid Governor was reſolved in his judgement to overcome thoſe miſcreants rather by faire and courteous dealing than by force, was inforced that evening to fly out of the houſe, and to hide himſelfe about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himſelfe, and lay cloſe three whole houres all naked, poore Gentleman, to ſave himſelfe. But his enemies, and principally Doctor Vincentio followed him hotly, accompanied with many ſhot, and at the laſt they found him, and drew him out of the water. And albeit he did with teares in his eyes beſeech them that they would give him his life, in compaſſion of his deare ſmall children, yet could not he obtaine that favor at their hands, but they anſwered him, That this was no time for pitty, and favour: but if he would ſweare by the Popes Bull, and abjure his Faith, in that caſe they would ſhew him favor, and grant him his life. But he, with a great and couragious reſolution, anſwered, God forbid and defend that I for love of this temporall life ſhould deny my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who with his precious bloud upon the wood of the Croſſe did at ſo deare a rate redeeme me, and after that I have ſo long time through his grace freely and publikely confeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the loſſe of eternall life, to which I was elected before the foundation of the World; I ſay God forbid. Vpon this ſpeech he was in moſt barbarous and ſavage manner murthered by them.

The very ſame evening was the gate of the palace burnt to the ground by thoſe rebels, who the next morning entred into the ſame, raging with fury, and tooke the Governour priſoner with his young ſonne; ſpoyling and ranſacking wives, and maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The Governour of the Palace was carried away priſoner to the houſe of the foreſaid Dort Franceſco, and at laſt, after he had long time been tugged to and fro, hee was miſerably ſlaine with a ſhot.

Iohn Antonio Mazano endeavouring to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe rebels, and his wife defending him, was with her ſelfe and two young children miſerably killed.

Another called Iohn Antonio Schloſſer, a Gardoneſe, having made long reſiſtance, and killed one of the rebels, was at the laſt taken, and tyed to a tree, and ſo ſhot to death.

To be ſhort, theſe villaines had no regard of any perſon, neither young, nor old, nor weake, nor ſtrong, but all of all ſorts were either ſhot unto death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other deſtroyed; and the number of thoſe perſons in eſtimation, who in Tyrane received the crown of martyrdome for the profeſſion of the Goſpell, was about ſixty.

Of thoſe who by the grace of God, although with great danger, eſcaped through the horrid and vaſte Alpes into Retia and other parts, were only three perſons, that is, Doctor Iacobo Albertino, Iacobo Nevio de Coyra, and Egidio Venoſta, who left behind them wealth, wives, children, and whatſoever goods they had.

The Ladies who were not ſlain were conſtrained to change their Religion, and at this day goe to maſſe, ſaving the wife of the ſaid Lazarone and her daughters, and her niece, being the wife of the ſaid Egidio, who by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God continued in ſafety. And there alſo the eighth of Auguſt, the ſaid Ladies were releaſed, who retired themſelves into Retia, viz. the wife of this Lazarone, and her two daughters, leaving behind them in the Valtoline one daughter and two yong ſonnes who cannot obtaine leave to depart the countrey.

CHAP. 2.

¶ *The maſſacre of Teglie, wherein were murthered about ſixty perſons.*

These wicked traitors having in this manner committed the foreſaid execrable maſſacre in Tyrane, ſuddenly the ſtrangers and the outlawes of the mountaines, apparrelled in red caſ-

ſockes

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ſockes, and well mounted on horſebacke, marched in the morning to Tel at the houre when the Sermon was, and ran like ravening Wolves to the Volta Church, being guided by two Friers, Azzo and Carolo Beſta, & by Antonio Beſta their couſin germane. The Proteſtants who were in the Church, obſerving the evill intention of thoſe villains, aroſe ſuddenly from their ſeats, and endevored to ſhut the Church dore, and to barricadoe the place with the benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the Church: but not being able ſo ſpéedily to do it, ſome of them climed up unto the windowes, and diſcharged their muskets among the people without reſpect of any perſon, and killed very many of them. At laſt they forced the dore, entred, and ſlew all they found, ſaving a few who promiſed to go to maſſe. Some of the men and ladies with their children fled into the belfrey to ſave themſelves; but they ſet fire to the place, & moſt miſerably burnt all that were within.

Amongſt thoſe who were ſlaine in the Church, the chiefeſt of note was the reverend Lord John Piere Dante of Rozu of the higher Engadin, a miniſter of the Proteſtant Church of Tell, a man rarely endued with learning and the feare of God, and in thoſe reſpects honoured even of his enemies themſelves; who after he had with lively reaſons exhorted that afflicted Church of his conſtantly to perſevere unto death in the knowne and confeſſed truth, to the honor of his Savior, even ſo long as the brevity of the time would permit him, was to the griefe of very many miſerably ſhot to death, being of the age of 42 yeares.

Amongſt theſe was one Joſui Gatti a Doctor of the law, Lievtenant to the Podeſta of Tell, and principall Juſtice, an honorable Gentleman, and of excellent vertues, about 43 yeares of age, together with Daniel Gugelberge.

Gaudenzo Guizziardi a Gentleman of like worth and honour, Couſin germane to the father of the forenamed Azzo Beſta, of the age of ſixty foure yeares; Margaritta his daughter of the age of fourtéene yeares, or thereabouts, was wounded with a musket ſhot in the head, going about to bow her ſelfe by giving a laſt kiſſe to her deare father who was yéelding up the ghoſt.

Antonio the ſonne of Scipion Beſta, a Gentleman very rich and of excellent parts, although hee was the néere kinſman of Azzo Beſta, was ſhot to death, and died in the arms of his wife, being of the age of thirty ſeven.

Aſcanio Gatti an Apothecary of Tell, being ſeven and twenty yeres of age, George his brother eightéen yeres old, Jonata Piatti ſixty five yeares old, Maximilian Piatti foure and twenty yeares, Vincenzo Frigerio, Notary and Procurator of Tell, age 39. Marſſilio Piatti, age 38. Filiberto his brother, age 19. Virginio Piatti, age 28. Lorenzo Piatti of Boaltie, age 23. ſlaine with a musket ſhot at the window of the ſtéeple. Philippo Nova likewiſe of Boaltie, age 45. Bartolomeo his brother, age 42. Petro Marcioninno Maſter of the ſchool of Tell, age 35. Thomas de Boruno, age 64. together with his ſon Claudio Gatti a Notary, age 43. Andrea Tempino a Gardoneſe, age 41. Anna Gala di Zozio of the upper Agnadma wife of Bartolomeo Nova a Romane Catholike, age 42. Benedetto Cattaneo, age 17. Giouanni Pietro, and John Martin Cattaneo his ſons, Lucius Federicke, age 60. Andruno Morello age 50. Joſepho his brother, age 35. Alberto Marcumni, 45. Federico Valentino of Zernezo, of Agnadma the lower, dwelling at Gura, of the hundred of Chiure, age 64. Joanni Menghino of Poſvavo, dwelling in Gura, 40 yeares of age.

In the Stéeple of the Church were burnt theſe which follow; Horatio Gatti, ſonne of the abovesaid Joſue Gatti, age 6. Doctor Lelio Paravicino of Berbenno, a Phyſitian of great worth, and excellently practiſed in his profeſſion, dwelling in Tell, age 43. Azzo Guizziardi nephew of the above named Gaudenzo, a young courteous gentleman, and of rare hope, age 22, Friderico Guizziardi, age 34. Horatio Paravicino ſonne of Franciſco, age 6. Margareta Marlianica wife of Raphael Nova a Doctor of the Law, a Gentleman of great worth, age 43. Madalena her daughter, wife of Daniel Gatti, age 18. Anſhelmo Gatti Chancellor of the State of Tell, age 67. Giovan Pauli Piatti ſon of Jonata, age 48. Claudia Piatti daughter of Maſſimiliano, age 7. Violante late wife of Theodore Gatti, age 64. Giovanninna widow of Vincentio Nova, age 34. Pietro Regenzano Chancellor of the above named Podeſta of Tell, age 46. Joſue Meda, age 50. Martua of Borum, age 53. Madalena Girardona wife of Claudio Gatti, age 33. Auguſto Gatti ſon of Abraham, age 22.

Abroad without the Church and Stéeple were ſlaine Vincentio Gatti, brother of Anſhelmo, age 73. Andrea his ſonne, age 32. who was murthered in the ſtréet called Lagone. Claudio Gatti ſonne of Theodoro, Jonatan Meda ſonne of Joſue, Daniel Lazeroto, Vincentio Cattaneo, and Giovan Pietro Regenzano, who, comming from Morbegno from the garriſon, were ſlaine in a certaine place called Buffetto, age 18. or thereabouts. Thomazo Regenzano brother of Giovan Pietro, age 38. Melchior Marcionino wounded in the head, but after five daies being found in his bed, was ſolicited with great promiſes to renounce his Religion: but he with great earneſtneſſe and reſolution refuſing was murthered in his bed, age 65. Giovanni Antonio Federici, Doctor of Law in Sonico, in Valeamenica, age 38. was very néer to be murthered in priſon, from whence at the inſtance of Antonio Piatti Curate of Tell he was ſet frée.

In this place it is worth the noting, that Giovan Abondio Nova ſonne of Doctor Raffaele, a very learned young man, albeit out of humane infirmity to ſave his life he had promiſed in the Church of Tell to goe to maſſe, yet in ſhort time recovering himſelfe, and acknowledging his overſight, with much griefe and repentance for his fault, he with all ſpéed departed from Tell towards Sondres, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be ſafely protected by his deare kinſman Nudar Marliemico; but being required by the ſouldiers who kept the paſſage of Triſirta, to deny his Religion, for refuſing the ſame, he was ſlaine in the way, being 22 yeares of age. This young man is a ſingular example for them who fall méerly through infirmity and danger of death, not in other reſpect, but yet after their fall, through the grace of God, and the crowing voice of the word doe returne to repentance, confeſſing their fault, and with unfained ſorrow of heart bewailing the ſame; which even befel the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter himſelfe.

CHAP. 3.

The maſſacre following committed at Sondres in the mountaine of Sondrium and Malenk; wherein were left dead above 140 perſons.

These wicked and ſavage wretches, having in this manner executed and finiſhed this their impious and execrable enterpriſe at Tyrane and Tell, aſſembled themſelves in the middeſt of the Valley of Sondres, where the principall and chiefe Juſtice of the Country made his reſidence, having before placed ſecure guards upon every

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paſſage of the countrey about. They came principally by the conduct of Giovani Guizziardi, Proſpero Swadino, and Guilio Pozalis, being all three of Ponte, with an entire company of ſouldiers from Ponte, Chiur, and ſome few from Porti, who the very ſame Sunday marched to the gate of Alboſagia : in which place they found Lorenco Paribello a doctor, Giovan, Iacomo, and Floratio his ſons, with another company of ſouldiers attending the comming of the aboveſaid Iohn Guizziardi with his company.

This buſineſſe was freely divulged all abroad in Sondres by the Romane Catholikes themſelves, that theſe baniſhed came towards Sondres to execute the ſame deſigne which they before had practiſed at Tyrane and Tell, who offered their ayd to the chiefe Iuſtice to defend him againſt the invaſion, proteſting that they would no more endure any ſuch villanous attempts. Wherfore they took armes, under pretence and ſhew of defence, beating up the drummes, ane ringing the bells for the alarme: by which meanes not only great multitudes aſſembled in armes out of the countries adjoyning, but alſo with one purpoſe and conſent to doe miſchiefe, and to execute their malitious intentions againſt the proteſtants who ſuſpected nothing leſſe. In the meane time the proteſtants, truſting to the great promiſes which the Papiſts made them, mixed themſelves amongſt them.

Theſe perſons, concealing their miſchievous intent, killed at times ſometimes one, ſometimes another of the Proteſtants, in ſuch manner, as although divers of them were ſlaine, yet they did not underſtand the ſecret of the practiſe.

Some of them endeavouriug to flee towards the valley of Malenco, which lies againſt Polchiaro, Agnedma, and Pregalia, were murthered by certaine villaines of Ponchiero, a place about Sondres: and amongſt other Gentlewomen were wounded and run through in many parts Frances Marliannio, Giovanni Andrea Chiſſa, and others, particularly Doctor Bartholomeo Paravicino, Doctor of the Law in Berbenno, called the Fatt, who was cruelly murthered, being of age 53 yeares.

The day after was ſlaine in the morning Nicholo Marlianco, ſonne of Felloſio, a man ſingularly affected to the publique good, and to the advancement of the Goſpell. Hee was ſhot by his couſin germane Emilio Luvizaro meeting him in the ſtreet, the ſaid Marlianco going in the company of Lucio Dſchletta of Zornezo Agnadina the lower, to viſit the court of guard in the quarrevoy of Sondres, age 46.

At this time it was delivered for certaine, that the day before was murthered Ceſar the ſonne of Proſpero Paravicino, and of Hortenſia Marteninga, Counteſſe of Barco, a Gentleman of moſt rare abilities, travelling about his buſineſſe towards Treſiar, age 50. Beſides Proſpero his ſon was ſlaine, of age 27. alſo Battiſta Girrardo with his ſonne George, and many others : by which meanes, theſe proteſtants were ſo ſcattered and left deſtitute of any head for their conduct, that they could not poſſibly unite themſelves to make defence againſt their enemies.

Onely the Chancellor Giovan Andrea Migardino, calling to remembrance the matters contained in the aboveſaid proceſſes, the ſame ſabbath day the ninth of Iuly, with his brother Gregory, and others of the Church of Sondres, withdrew themſelves to the number of eighteene together, with certaine Ladies and their young children into their owne houſe, which is adjoyning to the Palace, and there they fortified themſelves with reſolution to defend themſelves even to the death, ſeeing that in the ſtreet wherein they dwelt none durſt come out of the doores, nor enter into the Church which ſtood over againſt them. Nevertheleſſe, the enemy reſolved to ſet upon the houſe with a thouſand armed men, threatening alſo the Magiſtrate to kill him, in caſe any of them ſhould take any harm by thoſe who were retired into the houſe. Whereupon the Magiſtrate commanded them in the houſe to depart ; who being well armed tooke their way on the ſudden by Sondres towards the bridge, where for a time they fortified themſelves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the Church of the Mountaine of Sondres. In which place being gathered together with the Paſtor, they made their prayers to God, and afterwards to the number of threeſcore and thirteene perſons in all they paſſed the valley of Malenco, which was beſet by the enemy on two ſides : but thoſe that kept thoſe places were by the providence of God ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled away, and the proteſtants, although they were purſued to the tops of the hils, did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

The enemy, that is to ſay, the proper Inhabitants of the valley, with their ringleaders Iames Robuſtello, Azzo Beſta, Iohn Guizziardi, Lorenzo Paribello, and others entred into the Palace, they deprived the Magiſtrate of his office, that is to ſay, Giovanni, Andrea Traerſio of Scants, of the upper Agnadua, Captaine and Governour of the Valtoline, who with his family had retired himſelfe into the houſe of Paul Clamar untill Wedneſday the eleventh of Iuly; on which day, under proteſtation to ſecure them, they were conducted to Malenco, where in the Village of Chiſſa, againſt their faith given, they were made priſoners, and detained for eight daies following. They who by the commandement of the ſaid captaine found themſelves to bee made priſoners were delivered, putting in their roome certaine of the Religion. They immediately changed the Calender, and gave for a prey the goods of the Proteſtants : by which occaſion great multitudes of perſons aſſembled from all the parts of the Valtoline to rob and ſpoile ; and by reaſon of the ſweetneſſe which they found in pillaging the goods they met with in divers noble houſes excellently well furniſhed, grew an intolerable heate and outrage to ſpoile, inſomuch as brother robbed brother, and the neereſt of kindred purſued and robbed one another, and followed one another to the death. The peaſants, hoping by meanes hereof to be exempted from paying their yearely rents, ranne with all fury and madnes about the woods, buſhes, and mountaines, ſearching after the poore Proteſtants, who were ſcattered by feare, whom they murthered as they found them with extreme cruelty.

Amongſt theſe were theſe Gentlemen of greateſt worth and reſolution, Doctor Bartolomeo Paravicino of Sondres, from whom they tooke about two thouſand crownes ; Doctor Nicolas his brother, whoſe brother Doctor Lelio had before been ſlaine in the Church of Tell; Petronio Paravicino, Doctor, and Giovan Battiſta Mallerio of Antwerpe in the Low-Countries, a man endued with excellent rare qualities of mind and body ; for he was both a good Philoſopher and a learned Divine, and very fit to inſtruct youth he was ſurpriſed in the houſe of Morone, and when they had ſtoned him to death, they cut off his head, ripped his belly, and tooke out his entrailes. His Children, Giovan, Andrea, and Catharine were carried to Millane.

Annaidi Lita, wife of Anthony Grotti of Chio in the territory of Vincentine, of an honorable and antient houſe, was come out of Italy but ſome few yeares before for the liberty of her conſcience. This Anna was firſt by them exhorted with faire words to change her Religion; but ſhe conſtantly perſevering therein, was admoniſhed that ſhe would at the leaſt have a care of her young infant which ſhe held in her armes, being about two months old; otherwiſe ſhee would make reckoning that in the twinkling of an eie both ſhe and her babe ſhould die: but ſhe with a bold and undaunted courage anſwered, That ſhe had not departed out of Italy her native Countrey, neither had ſhe forſaken all the eſtate ſhe had, to renounce at laſt that faith which had been inſpired unto her by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yea, that ſhe would rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths. And how, ſaith ſhe, ſhould I have regard in this caſe of my infant, ſince God our heagenly Father ſpared not his onely Sonne, my Lord Jeſus, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and of all ſinners: Then giving them the child, ſhe ſaid, behold the childe; the Lord God, who hath care of the birds of the aire, will much more be able to ſave this poore creature, although by you it were abandoned and left in thoſe wilde mountaines. So unlacing her gowne ſhee opened her breaſt, and ſaid, Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my ſoule, on which you have no power to lay hand, that I commend to my God, and preſently ſhe was ſlain, and afterwards cut in pieces, being thirty five yeares old. The infant, becauſe it was a lovely and a ſweet babe to looke on, was ſuffered to live. God reſtraining the cruelty of thoſe butchers, and was delivevered to a popiſh woman to nurſe up. And here is to be obſerved, that this bleſſed Martyr imitated the commendable example of her deare brother Giovanni Antonio, who for the profeſſion of the truth of the Goſpell having continued in the ſaid Chio, and endured a grievous impriſonment two yeres together, was at laſt condemned to the Galley, where he died within two moneths after. When he was bound in chains, being carried from Chio, he ſaid, You may indeed bind my perſon, but the word of God ſhall never the more be bound in the hearts of the elect, that it doe not ſhew manifeſtly it ſelfe, and bring forth fruit, &c.

A holy reſolution.

Behold here the power of faith.

Gods Word and Goſpell can never be bound in the heart of Gods elect.

According to this moſt Chriſtian example John Steeven Moron and Rodulfo Rivello, being both of them of the Valley of Sondres, did not onely in their proper perſons ſeal with their bloud the truth of the Goſpell, but moreover exhorted their children, John Andrea, and John Antonio, the one of them being fifteene yeares of age, the other ten, that they ſhould doe the like, following the honourable example of the ſeven brethren in the Machabees, and of their mother, who choſe rather to dye, than to obey the King, and to tranſgreſſe the Law of the Lord.

And yet by reaſon of the money and jewels found in the houſes and cheſts of the Proteſtants, the eagerneſſe and fury of each of thoſe miſcreants increaſed daily more and more; inſomuch as that there were neither noble nor ignoble, nor Lady, no neither man, woman, young nor old, of what condition ſoever, who were not ranſacked and ſpoiled, ſome twiſe, and others oft times thriſe over. Some honourable matrons had their rings pulled off their fingers, inſomuch as they would cut off their hands and fingers, if they would not preſently draw them off. Some women were by force dragged up to the tops of high and craggy mountaines, and threatened to be throwne downe headlong with their children, unleſſe they would goe to maſſe. And although Lucretia the wife of Antonio Lavizaro, and Katherina wife of Giulio Merlianico, being moved and terrified with the horror of death, had conſented to change their Religion, yet were they murthered for all that without any pitty at all.

The ſame befell to D. Jo. Battiſta Salici of Soglio in the Pregaglia; for although that his life was promiſed him, nevertheleſſe he was brought into the market place of the ſaid Campello pinioned with a cord, and miſerably ſlain with two musketiers, being of the age of 72, after he had bin robbed of his gold and ſilver, whereof great ſtore was found in his houſe, according to the common and too much practiſed rule of the Roman Catholikes, Hæreticis non eſt ſervanda fides.

Dominico Berto, an aged man of 67 yeres, was ſet upon an Aſſe, his face turned to the taile, which he held in his hand in ſtead of a bridle, and in his other hand a booke, whom in this manner they carried through Sondres, ſaying, Aleſſio, Aleſſio, &c. they cut off his eares, his noſe, his cheekes, boring holes in divers parts of his body, with a ſtrange and unheard of barbarouſneſſe, untill they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Chriſt his Savior with great and incredible courage & cheerfulneſſe endured all thoſe varieties of torments and martyrdome. And by this it may be gathered what they would have don with Seignior Aleſſio, a faithfull Paſtor of the Church of Sondres, if he had falne into the hands of theſe raging beaſts. But he by the great mercy of God was preſerved with his wife and children, in the company of ſeignior Georgio Jenatro Miniſter of Berbenno, and Charles Salice ſon of Cavaliere Hercole of happy memory, and others, not without great travell, danger and difficulties, among the craggy and dangerous mountains, whereon they travelled, it ſo pleaſing the gracious God by the vertue of his ſpirit graciouſly to aſſiſt him, although he was in the midſt of his perſecutors.

Anthony de Prati of the hils was with many words exhorted to abjure his Religion; but he conſtantly perſevered, and with a generous courage replyed in theſe words, My ſoule ſhall be taken up into Abrahams boſome, and after my death my enemies ſhall ſee the Angell of God hard by mee, &c. and accordingly an Angell appeared over his body in a white garment, being beheld of the by-ſtanders, who of their owne accord have publikely confeſſed the ſame.

Theophilo Moſſino received into his body a ſhot with a musket: but before he was dead a gag was put in his mouth, which being filled with gunpouder, fire was given to it, and in that manner he paſſed miſerably out of this life; Giovanni his ſon was ſlain with ſeven wounds.

Seignior Salvetto, being delivered out of priſon, was inſtantly exhorted to embrace the catholike Romane Religion. But notwithſtanding he conſtantly perſiſted, although he was both young in yeares, and a lover of worldly vanities: and having received a ſhot of a musket was carried by a ladder out of the Palace to the ground, from whence he raiſed himſelfe, and beſought them to finiſh the worke they had to doe about his body, that he might render his ſoule to his Creator, being 28 yeares of age.

Jo. Battiſta Mingardino, having received many wounds, and being ſtripped of his garments, and left naked in the woods, neverthele s after this ſo evill intreaty hee returned to his houſe: and although the Prieſts of Sondres did with all diligence poſſible exhort him to change his Religion, promiſing him, in caſe he would doe ſo, mountaines of gold; neverthe eſſe hee conſtantly perſevered in the truth of the Goſpell even to the end.

Chriſtina Ambria the wife of Vincenzo Bruno of Prada, Mudalena Merli of Montagna, and John Garato of Fruragiola, were throwne downe headlong into the river Adda, from divers bridges of Boſſetto, S. Petro and others, and ſo drowned, becauſe they had refuſed to embrace the Catholike Romane Religion, and that with ſo manly and conſtant a reſolution, as did worke an admiration in the perſecutors themſelves.

In this meane time notwithſtanding the reverend Seignior Bartholomew Marlianico received the crowne of Martyrdome, who ſometimes had preached at Sondres, a true ſervant of God, and for his life and manners unreprovable. Others had their mouths ſlit up to the eares; others received other flaſhes in the face, others were in other manner moſt cruelly mangled to the death, Battiſta of Grilio, called of the Bajacca, an aged man of ſeventy five yeares, being found in the houſe of the heires of Seignior Conte Viſſe Martinengo of moſt happy memory, being ſet upon by thoſe murthering caitifes, leaped out of a window and paſſed the river Maleto, and having gotten to his houſe and ſhifted his clothes, he was aſſailed again, taken priſoner, and carried to the Palace, put often to the ſtrapado, and laſtly was in ſuch ſort ſliced and hewne with a ſword, that he had nothing left him but the armes which were faſtened to the cord.

Paulo Baretta of Chio in the County of Vicence, a virgin of the age of ſeventy five yeares, of an honourable, noble, and antient family, who twenty ſeven yeares came before to Sondres to embrace the Goſpell, was by theſe villanies caried through Sondres, with all diſgrace, ſhame, and ſcorne, having a Myter of paper put upon her head, her face beſmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheekes, and in many other faſhions abuſed. Being required to call upon the holy Virgin Mary and the Saints, and to place her truſting in them: ſhe ſmiling did with great readineſſe anſwer them, My truſt and my ſalvation is in my onely Savior Jeſus Chriſt, and in him onely will I reſt. And it is alſo true, That I acknowledge the Virgin Mary for the moſt holy Virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be: who was a Virgin before the birth, a virgin in the birth, and after birth, and ſo ſhall remain. Who although ſhe be favoured and beloved of God, above all women in the world, to be made the Mother of my Lord Jeſus the Savior of the world: nevertheles, becauſe ſhe is not able to know our neceſſities, as not being omnipotent (for otherwiſe ſhe would be God himſelfe) and beſides hath had need of the merits of her ſon, it was not lawfull for her to call upon any other then the eternall God, who knoweth all things, and upon no creature of any quality whatſoever, &c. In this ſort ſhe endured the ſcornes and outrages with an incredible conſtancy and cheerfulneſſe, ſaying continually, I do willingly endure as becommeth mee to doe, deſiring no better uſage, ſince the very ſame hath been done to my Lord and Savior Jeſus, and to his Apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy martyrs. Laſtly, ſhe was carried away to be ſent to Millaine; but ſhe, rather then that ſhould be, deſired earneſtly that ſhe might be killed, ſeeing ſhe was reſolved to die in the faith of the Lord Jeſus, both there and at Millaine: but ſhe could not obtaine the favour to be killed there, but was carried along as hath been ſaid. On Wedneſday being the eighteenth of July was found in the plaine of Saint Gregory in the Valtoline in the high way the dead body of an old woman, which by the conjecture of ſome was the body of this woman Paulo, who in concluſion had been murthered by the aſſaſinate in that place.

There were divers other good Chriſtians, honeſt men, and fearing God, both of rich & of meane eſtate of Sondres from the mountain of Sondres, and from the valley and communalty of Malenco, that were in greater numbers cruelly murthered; who in regard they were ready to ſeale the truth with their bloud, our deſire was for this reaſon, that mention ſhould be made of them.

And theſe were the reverend Gentlemen, Marco Antonio Alba, of Caſale, of Montferrato, Paſtor of the Church of Malenco, a man full of zeale, of the age of ſixty three yeares; John Piedro Mingardino, Anaſtaſia his ſiſter, Lorenzo Hicke ſlain above the bridge of Sondres, and throwne downe into the water; Andrea his ſon, who had his noſe cut off, and his cheekes even to the furtheſt part thereof, that they might afterwards put him to the more cruell death; Andrea the ſon of Peter called Luther neere to the butchery of Sondres; John Oſwaldo a carpenter of di Cyra neer to the palace of Sondres, Daniel Newbecher neer to the floud of Sondres, whereinto hee was caſt, being halfe dead before, John Lorence neere unto the Church at the mount of Sondres, Gaudenzino di Moſſini, John in Bonginono, Battiſta and Andrea his ſons, John Antonio ſon in law of Vicenzo Bruno, Steffano Pagano of Poſchiavo. Antonio ſon in law of Vicenzo Bruno, Stephano Pagano of Poſchiavo, Antonio Samadeno Paolo, and Jacobo Demonegoni, Andrea ſon of Pietro Ducheno, Domenico his brother, Pietro his ſon, Nicolo Feacaiolo ſomtime Deacon of Sondres, Eugenio Chieſa, Giovanni Chieſa, Barnardo his ſonne. Radolpho his brother dwelling in Malenco had promiſed to goe to maſſe, for which cauſe his life was given him: but becauſe hee had furniſhed with victuals Signior Aleſſio, and his company, when they paſſed the mountaines, he was ſhot to death.

John Vientius Andreone Cani was hewed into many pieces, of age 84. Zacharia Ventura of Breſdiano, a poore, lame, dumb, begger, yet made he a ſigne with his finger, how ſmall accompt hee made of the maſſe.

Moreover John Patara a member of the Church of Sondres, being diſcovered to be one of the Religion, was on the ſudden ſhot with a musket in the backe and ſo died.

Many hid themſelves in holes, and caves, and in woods, out of which they durſt not come but by night onely to get ſome food, and that with great feare and terrour of the watching enemy; others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed onely upon roots, leaves, and graſſe, made an end of their lives; and many were murthered in divers places, who had no buriall at all; ſo as many carkaſes were to be ſeene in groves and woods in the mountaines, and in waters in many places.

CHAP. 4.

¶ *The maſſacre of Berbenno, wherein were ſlaine about eleven perſons.*

IN what manner alſo buſineſſes paſſed in the noble Countrey of Berbenno it doth likewiſe plainly appeare; for in that place alſo the rebels played their part of killing and ſpoyling the profeſſors of the Goſpell. For after they had executed their cruelties and outrages, as hath bin delivered before in Tyrane, Bruſe, Tell, Sondres, in the mountaine of Sondres, Malenco and other places, they alſo received ſpeciall commandement, as may appeare by a letter written to them by John Guizziardi, of the twelfth of July of the preſent yeare, that they ſhould with all their power and courage, murther, ſtrangle, maſſacre, and in ſumme ſhould uſe all diligence, without favour or mercy, to deſtroy all Lutheranes whereſoever: by vertue of which commiſſion they have not for their parts omitted any manner of outrage and villany againſt the Proteſtants. And firſt there were preſently murthered certaine perſons of good ranke and quality, and that with great cruelty, againſt

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faith and promiſe given them. The which was with ſo much the more rage and fury put in execution: for that thoſe Catholique Romans themſelves, who upon the firſt propoſition refuſing to give their conſents on the ſudden to thoſe murders, were without reſpect or favour on the ſudden murdered themſelves, as happened to Bartolomeo Porretto, and other Romane Catholikes.

The Proteſtants that were maſſacred were theſe that follow, Theophilus de Piſcatory of Ognano in Romagna, who had dwelt in Berbenno twenty yeares paſt, was ſlaine in a place above Berbenno called Luſcione, the tenth of July, of the age of ſixty five yeares.

Anna di Caſſavia of Pregaglia, wife of the aboveſaid Theophilus, was before murdered at a houſe called the Chanons of Berbenno the day aboveſaid, aged fifty yeares.

Concordia Crotta of Tyrane, the wife of Giovan Gugelman of the territory of Zuriz, who had dwelt in Berbenno as many yeares, was maſſacred in the place and on the day abovenamed, being of the age of forty three.

Aurelio the ſon of Nicolas Paravicino, going from Berbenno to Sondres, was ſlaine in the plaine of Caſtione, the eighteenth of July, aged fifty ſeven.

Bartolomeo the ſon of David Paravicino was wounded to death in the head with the ſhot of a Muſket, who, quite againſt the hope and expectation of the Chirurgions, lived five daies after, and then dyed, being eighteen yeares of age.

Ottavio Paravicino of Capelli, an honourable Gentleman, was together with two others underwritten, John Battiſta and Horatio Paravicino detained as priſoners in the Chanons of Berbenno, from the eleventh unto the ſixe and twentieth day of July, on which day they were requeſted and accompanied to Sondres by the commandement of Robuſtello, who pretended with all kindneſſe and courteſie to entertaine them; cauſing them to drinke, and to be accompanied even unto Saſſella: But there, by order of the ſaid Robuſtello, they were murdred; who replyed, being demanded why he did ſo, That they muſt never keepe faith with heretiques. This Ottavio was thirty eight yeares of age.

John Battiſta Paravicino of Capelli a Gentleman alſo of great honour, who was kept priſoner as aforeſaid, and conducted to Sondres, in his returne unto Saſſella, there with Ottavio was ſlaine, being of the age of foure and thirty yeares.

Horatio, brother of the ſaid John Battiſta, was wholly and in all things his faithfull companion, and in like manner rendred his life the day aboveſaid, being thirty two yeares of age.

Anna de Beveri of Gineura, wife of the abovenamed Ottavio, a Gentlewoman of an honourable eſtimation, being deſirous for the ſafety of her life to follow a company of Griſon ſouldiers, amongſt whom was a couſin of hers, and other kinſmen of hers, not being able to travell by reaſon of the ſharpneſſe and ſteepneſſe of the way, being a gentlewoman grave and tender, was ſhot in the backe with a Muſket, and left for dead the third of Auguſt, being forty yeares of age.

Theoſina Paravicina of Capelli, mother of the aboveſaid John Battiſta, and Horatio, a Gentlewoman of great worth, was ſlaine in her owne houſe, being of the age of fifty five yeares.

Adamo Scarumbeio of Tyrane was at the time of the barbarous maſſacre of Tyrane in the garriſon of Morbenno, from whence notwithſtanding he eſcaped and came to Clavenno, afterwards meaning to returne with the Band of Griſons to the Valtoline, and to accompany the ſaid Theoſina to Sondres, was murdered, being twenty yeares of age. He was a young man of ſingular expectation.

CHAP. 5.

¶ *The Maſſacre of Caſpano and Trahon, wherein there were murdered eleven perſons or thereabouts.*

BUt for all this the Trahoneſſe could not paſſe in the lower Valtoline, but that he received his part in this perſecution with the perſecution of divers perſons, which the Reader may ſee by the Catalogue inſuing.

Joſua the ſon of Hortenſio Malacrida, comming from Gaſpano, in his journey to Bulio, being encountred at the bridge of Maſino, and being demanded if he would goe to Maſſe, anſwering that he would not, was forthwith ſlaine and caſt into the river of Maſino, being of the age of thirty yeares.

The like befell to his brother Plinit, he was ſought for in Bulio by 25. perſons, and not being found there, was met in his return betwixt Arden and Bulio, and killed, being 26. yeares of age.

Andrea Paravicino of Bugo, of Caſpano Sarto, by his trade a Tailor, ſtayed there from the 9. of July, untill the comming of the Griſon Band into the Valtoline: but after the ſudden departure of the ſaid Band, being diſcovered by his countrimen and kinsfolkes, was taken and carried to Morbegnio, and being ſolicited to forſake the true Religion, and to embrace the Romane, and ſtanding conſtantly with great manfulneſſe thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed betweene two heapes of wood, to make him to recant. But all was in vaine; for being aſked if he were a Catholike, he anſwered, That he was. Then if he were a Romane Catholike; he alſo affirmed likewiſe, that he was ſo. But being demanded if he held the Romane faith as it is at this day, he anſwered, no. It is true, ſaid he, that I hold the ancient Catholique Romane faith, which was preached by S. Paul, That a man is ſaved by grace by the meanes of faith, and not by workes, leſt any man ſhould boaſt. Being demanded, if he beleeved the Pope to be head of the Church, he anſwered, No; becauſe Chriſt only is the head of the Church, according to the promiſe, I will be with you unto the end of the world.

And although the fire was firſt kindled, and then put out, of purpoſe to draw him to a recantation, neverthelesse he perſevered and endured that cruell death with admirable conſtancy, the 15. of Auguſt, being ſixty yeares old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of ſtature, yet was he great and mighty in the confeſſion of the truth, inſomuch that for the love of his Saviour he ſuffered death with ſingular cheerefulneſſe, being forty yeares of age.

His example was devoutly and conſtantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife; who was killed in the eight and thirtieth yeare of her age: and moreover theſe Herodian murderers not therewith content, but joyning one barbarous inhumanity to another, obſerving a daughter of hers, being an infant of three yeares old, to lie in the cradle, although it was a childe of a ſweet countenance, and theſe wretches ſeeing that the babe did looke lovingly and cheerefully on them, which would have been enough to have moved any adamantine heart to compaſſion, notwithſtanding they tooke the poore babe by the feete, and paſhed her againſt the wall, and in this manner moſt barbarouſly murdered the ſame.

Thomaſo Maeſtrella Carpenter, and a princi-

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pall enginer, excellent in building of mills and other buildings, was murdered in one of his mils at Melle, being eighty yeares of age.

Dominico of Paguno, called Luther of Scermele of the hundred of Canvicke in Trahoneſſe, being at his worke at Morbegno, was killed the fourteenth of Auguſt, age forty eight; he was followed by his ſon Jacomo, age eighteene, and Peter his ſon, of age fifteene; alſo of Maria his ſiſter: all which in one day, being the fourteenth day of Auguſt, were for the faith of the Goſpell profeſſed by them ſacrificed to God their Creator and Saviour.

CHAP. 6.

¶ *The Maſſacre of Bruſe, in which were murdered to the number of 27. perſons.*

THeſe wretched murderers were not contented in the places abovenamed, which were ſubjects to the Lords Griſons at Tyrane, Tell, Sondres, Monte di Sondrio, Berbenno and Malenco, to have maſſacred ſo many perſons who feared God, honorable, noble, learned, wiſe, and ſober, of authority and reverence, young and old, men, women, yea even their next alliance, ſtraiteſt friends and kinsfolks, by ſhooting them, by throwing them headlong from mountaines, by ſtoning them, by hewing them in peeces, by caſting them in rivers, by burning, by mangling them, and by all cruell meanes making them away: but they alſo executed the like cruelty in Retia it ſelfe, the countrey of their naturall Lords and Commanders.

For example, on Sunday the ninth of July, a young man called John the ſon of Dominico of Ada a Romane Catholike, early in the morning travelled to the bridge of the caſtle of Bruſe, being the way to Tyrane, to buy corn for his houſe; there he met Ambroſio the ſon of Baruffino his hoſt in Tyrane, with a company of people, who were at the time endeavouring to breake down the bridge, not ſuffering any paſſage to the ſaid John, but commanded him to returne back again. At which the man wondering, and aſking the reaſon, they anſwered, That they meant not only to ſtop the paſſage of the Lutheraues of Bruſe, but alſo at once utterly to root them out. This young man ſuddenly returned to Bruſe, and reported unto Martine Martino, the ſon of Dominico, this which he had ſeen and heard. Udillo being then his ſervant, who was a Proteſtant, runs with great ſpeed to give warning to the Proteſtants, not thinking that they were in the Church; but although they were diligently attending the ſermon, he was bold to publiſh the notice thereof to them all. The people were much aſtoniſhed at the newes, and were about to depart out of the church: but they were earneſtly deſired by the Paſtor to ſtay ſtill, proteſting, that he would not forſake them, but would live and die with them. So they continued ſtill, untill the Sermon and Prayers were ended. Then they armed themſelves, and aſſembled in the houſe of Michael Montio. Soone after they marched in their armes toward another bridge, which was neere to the countrey of Bruſe, and there they deſcryed ſome of their enemies, who then were comming to cut off that bridge. But perceiving the Proteſtants ready to reſiſt them, they returned back without any further attempt. On Sunday and Munday the Proteſtants ſtood upon their guard: on the Tueſday following in the evening came the enemies with a multitude of people, being accompanied with a great company of the Roman Catholikes of Bruſe. They ſet fire on the houſe of Anthonto Montine, and Pietro Ageſtino, and other houſes adjoyning. The proteſtants ſeeing ſo great a multitude of enemies, finding themſelves fewer in number, and weaker in ſtrength, ſome of them tooke themſelves to their heeles, the reſt were ſlaine between that evening and the next day.

There were ſlaine at that conflict twenty ſeven perſons, and among them theſe which follow.

Bettino of Azzala, ſonne of Pietro, of age fourty five yeeres; Perrotta his wife, being of the age of fourty; Pietro their ſonne, being of age twelve yeeres; Andreino Zopo, ſonne of Janotto, age fourty; James ſonne of John Domenico, Quadernetto, age thirty. John Monegatti, age fifty eight; Michaele della Roſa, age 28. Jacomena de Burieo, age thirty yeeres; Jean Moneta age eighty. This Woman was oftentimes adviſed to become a Romane Catholike, and to favour her age, telling her that if ſhee would, ſhee ſhould have her life given her: but ſhe with great reſolution replied, God forbid that I, who now of long time have had one foote in the grave, ſhould come to forſake my Lord Jeſus, who hath ſo long time preſerved me in the knowledge and confeſſion of his truth, and to put my truſt in creatures, and to receive in ſtead of his holy word the traditions of men. Upon which words this worthy Matron was inſtantly ſlaine.

Now there is no doubt but in this furious perſecution at Bruſe and in other places, there have beene murdered many good men for the foreſaid cauſe, whoſe names have not been mentioned in this diſcourſe: but whoſoever they were, they have departed with this comfort, that they have not ſuffered as murderers or robbers, or malefactors, or as buſie bodies in thoſe things which belong not to them, but as holy Chriſtians, who at no hand would worſhip Images, they beleeved that the bloud of Chriſt hath purged them from all ſinne; That Chriſt hath offered one onely ſacrifice once for ſins; that we ought to worſhip the Lord God alone, and onely ſerve him; that wee are ſaved by grace, by the meanes of faith, and that not of our ſelves, the ſame being the gift of God, not by workes, to the intent none might boaſt; That we ought to worſhip God in all places, holding up cleare hands unto him, that every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, being uſed with thankſgiving; that mariage is honorable in every ſort and condition of perſons, according to the expreſſe words of the holy Apoſtolique Scripture: and by reaſon of this very confeſſion were the inhabitants of Tyrano, Teglio, Sondro, Malenco, Berbenno, Trahono, Morbegno, Dabino, Caſpano, and Bruſo, ſo cruelly perſecuted and maſſacred.

There was of late time a booke printed in Italy, how the preteſtants of the aboveſaid places ſhould practiſe to execute upon the Catholiques, about the 15. day of Auguſt, the like, which ſince hath befalne themſelves: but how divelliſh a ſlander and calumny this is, may cleerely be gathered by this, that where the proteſtants of thoſe places are ten, the popiſh Catholiques are a thouſand. Who then would beleeve that ſo ſmal a number ſhould be able to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a multitude, and eſpecially againſt thoſe deſperate rebels, and outlawd villaines, who for their murders formerly committed, for their corruptions of the commiſſaries, and tranſgreſſions of the commandement of the Magiſtrate had before beene baniſhed out of the Country, being alſo ſuſpected of ſodomy, of falſification of money, and like ravening wolves, being throughly armed, entred like a moſt furious torrent on the ſodaine, ſlaughtering the poore naked proteſtants, who ſuſpected

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ſpected no ſuch wrong, even in thoſe Churches which before had been priviledged even among the Barbarous Pagans, to the intent that they might put in execution that bloody deſigne which had been reſolved on about 17. yeeres before, according to a Letter intercepted of a principall rebell in this action, who is neither afraid nor aſhamed to terme the ſame a holy reſolution, and an honourable enterpriſe: which it is indeed, if to ſpoile, to rob, to ſtrangle, to maſſacre, to burn, to hew in peeces children and women, to caſt them into fire and water, to falſifie faith, ought to be accounted an attempt of holineſſe: if it ought to be eſteemed a thing honorable and pleaſing to God, not to ſuffer the bodies of the dead, being buried in the earth and in the Church, to reſt quietly, but to take them up againe, and being taken up to handle them in moſt barbarous manner (as very lately had been done in the Countries of Caſpano and Trahone and in other places, where the bodies digged out of the ground, which before were entire and whole, were throwne into rivers and water, to be meat for the fiſhes) and having bruiſed and ground their bones to powder, moſt barbarouſly to caſt them into the fire. But here, if ever, the old tale of Aeſop is verified, where the poore ſilly ſheepe was accuſed to have troubled the water of a malitious wolfe, although the ſaid ſheep dranke below at the foot of the river.

Therefore it appeareth moſt clearely every way, that the aforeſaid perſons underwent thoſe ſufferings for no other cauſe, but only for the truth of the Goſpell; even as by the eternall decree of God, the holy Prophets, Saint Io: Baptiſta, the holy Apoſtles, yea even our Lord and head Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, and after him thoſe many millions of the elected martyrs in all ages have done before, and eſpecially in theſe miſerable laſt times, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Low-countries, Bohemia, Italie, Spaine, Portugall, &c.

Which martyrdome they endured willingly, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer blame for the name of Chriſt Ieſus, remembring the promiſe of this our Lord, Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſſe ſake, becauſe the Kingdome of heaven is theirs. Bleſſed are you when others ſhall revile and perſecute you, and ſhall falſely ſpeake all evill of you for my ſake. Rejoice and triumph, for your reward is great in heaven, for ſo have they perſecuted the Prophets who were before you. Reade to this purpoſe. 1 Pet. 4. Verſes, 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. which words, of all good Chriſtians are to bee well pondered and weighed: For firſt by ſuch triall we periſh not. Secondly, we are thereby made conformable to Chriſt our head. Thirdly, ſuch ſufferings cauſe unto us greater joy than ſorrow. Fourthly, they are infallible markes that the ſpirit of God reſts upon us. Fifthly, they manifeſt to all our unfained love to Chriſt and his Goſpell.

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Sixthly, hereby wee have good proofe that the Lord doth correct us, not as a ſevere Iudge, but as a moſt loving and tender hearted Father: to whom therefore with his bleſſed Son, and holy Spirit, be all glory and honour aſcribed in all the Churches of the Saints, world without end, Amen.

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SIGNES AND PRODIGIES, WHICH HAPPENED BEFORE THE MASSACRE IN THE VALTOLINE.

THe Proteſtants having appointed Gards and Sentinels in the ſteeples of the Churches of the Valtoline, beſides others which were commanded to watch in certaine places, to give the ſigne by fire, to the intent that the whole Valley being warned partly by the Becons, partly by the ſound of the bells, might together be ready on the ſuddaine to take armes for their defence againſt the Spaniard, if he ſhould make any incurſion upon the Valley: about the Calends of May 1620. in Sondres, the foreſaid Sentinels reported, that in a night as they watched, they heard in the Church of Gervaſe a murmuring as it were of many perſons, with great earneſtneſſe and vehemency of arguing and conteſting among themſelves: and from the Church there ſhined upwards through the ſteeple a great brightneſſe, in ſo much as the Sentinels lighted their torches, and aſſembled themſelves to goe downe into the Church to ſee what the matter might be. But as they were deſcending downe the ſtaires, their lights were put out, and returning afreſh to light their torches they were put out againe with greater ſtrength, and with much aſtoniſhment and trembling; and the brightneſſe which filled the Church ſuddenly vaniſhed, the weights alſo of the great Clocke fell downe, and they heard about ten knells of a Bell, in ſuch manner as it uſeth to ring to give the alarme, the which was heard by very many.

Likewiſe in Tyrane, there were heard the like knells by the great Bell; and the Magiſtrate commanded them ſuddenly to goe and know the cauſe, but he found that it was not done by the act of men, and inſtantly the ſervants running from the Belfrey, and diligently attending to ſee this buſineſſe, they diſcerned a thing like a Cat to deſcend downe into the place.

Signes and prodigies heard and ſeene in the Valtoline after the maſſacre, as hath been affirmed by divers perſons of credit, being departed from the ſaid Valley, and lying in the Valtoline after the maſſacre. In the Evangelike Proteſtant Church, and principally from Teglio and Tyrane a voice hath been heard to cry, woe, woe to you. The vengeance of God is upon you for the blood of the innocent.

Moreover there was heard the Bell of the Evangelike Church of Tyrane, to ring even at the ſame time that the ſermon was uſed to be: and in that Church a voice was heard, like the voice of Senior Anthonio Baſſo, who ſometimes had been there a Miniſter, and was murdered in the ſaid place, as if himſelfe had been preaching in the ſame place.

In Londres there was ſeen to deſcend an army from the Mountains every way furniſhed; which ſight was the cauſe that many take their flight, and departed out of Sondres; but ſuddenly this apparition vaniſhed like a cloud. The which ſtruck a great terror into the mindes of the people, inſomuch as many departed out of the Valley, as men that feared a caſtigation and puniſhment from heaven.

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Made by *N. Holmes* D. in D. And in this ſecond Edition 1641.
corrected, and enlarged by the Authour.

v. signifieth Volum.
con. signifieth Continuation of the Hiſtory of forren martyrs.
p. signifieth Page.
c. signifieth Colume.
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A Direction to the peruſer of this Index.

THat in caſe there fall out any miſtake in the penner, or printer, or in the Reader, that he lookes not aright under each head (for we are all but men): Then,

1. *To looke the thing under as many ſeverall heads, or alphabeticall words, as in all probabilitie the thing may be expreſſed in or by.*

2. *To have recourſe to the Chronologie; where thou mayſt readily finde each Emperour, Pope, King. A Biſhop, and the chiefe occurrences in their times, with the page in the laſt collume to finde it in the large volume.*

3. *To have regard to the time when things were done ſince Chriſt. Which remembred, the Chronologie will in that yeere touch the thing.*

4. *To mind how much each Volume conteines,* viz. *the firſt to the end of* Hen. 7. *The ſecond all* Hen.8. *and* Edw.6. *time: the third* Q. Mary *and* Q. Elizabeth. *And being confident in what Volume the thing is, the Contents of that Volume at the top or in the title of each page will diſcover the thing to thee.*

FINIS.